COMMODIFIED VOLUNTEER TOURISM AND CONSUMER CULTURE: A CASE STUDY FROM CUSCO, PERU

Jane L. E. Godfrey

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL OWNERSHIP

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of student: Date: 31 March 2016

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my late grandmother Heather McEwan Powell (1929-2013) who passed away shortly after I returned from collecting data in Peru.

Grandma, you were so proud of me and so disappointed when you realised you wouldn't see me graduate. Thank you for your unconditional support and your constant belief I could do whatever I put my mind to.

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PUBLICATIONS FROM THIS THESIS

Journal article

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Book chapter

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Peer-reviewed conference presentations

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Godfrey, J., Wearing, S., Schulenkorf, N., & Grabowski, S. (2014, December). *(Not so) risky business: Commercially packaged volunteer tourism as a 'safer' travel alternative to independent backpacking*. Paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism and Hospitality Research Conference, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Godfrey, J., Wearing, S., & Schulenkorf, N. (2013, October). *A critical case study of medical volunteer tourists in Cusco, Peru*. Paper presented at the International Conference: Sustainability Issues and Challenges in Tourism, Istanbul, Turkey.

Godfrey, J., & Wearing, S. (2013, August). *Paving the road with good intentions: Exploring the complexities and consequences of the increasing commercialisation of volunteer tourism using a Peruvian case study*. Paper presented at the Royal Geographical Society Annual Conference, London, England.

Godfrey, J. (2012, February). *From backpacking to volunteer tourism: Exploring the changing role of adventure*. Paper presented at the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference Melbourne, Australia.

Peer-reviewed conference posters

Godfrey, J., Wearing, S., Schulenkorf, N., & Grabowski, S. (2016, February). *Constructing identity through the 'moral consumption' of volunteer tourism*. Poster presented at the Council for Australasian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference, Sydney, Australia.

Godfrey, J., & Wearing, S. (2012, February). *Can volunteer tourism be more than just the successful commodification of altruism?* Poster presented at the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference, Melbourne, Australia.

Other presentations and publications

Godfrey, J. (2014, April). *Book review: International volunteer tourism: Integrating travellers and communities by Stephen Wearing and Nancy McGehee*. Available at http://newsroom.uts.edu.au/news/2014/04/international-volunteer-tourism

Godfrey, J. (2013, December). *'If we knew what it was we were doing, it wouldn't be called research': One PhD student's experiences of researching volunteer tourists in Peru.* Paper presented at the Australasian Tourism, Leisure, Sport and Hospitality Postgraduate Research Symposium, Sydney, Australia.

Godfrey, J. (2013, June). *A qualitative case study of medical volunteer tourists in Cusco, Peru: Preliminary findings*. Paper presented at the UTS Management Discipline Group Autumn Research Conference, Sydney, Australia.

Godfrey, J. (2013, February). *Sex, drugs and volunteering: The experiences of volunteer tourists in Cusco, Peru*. Presentation at the CAUTHE Volunteering and Tourism Special Interest Group Annual Meeting, Christchurch, New Zealand.

As per the original application to the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee, following the submission of this thesis a brief industry report will also be prepared and shared with the case study organisation and any interested research participants.

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GLOSSARY

Commodification   To assign an economic or market value to something that would previously have been outside the market, that is, "the substitution of market for nonmarket services" (Posner, 2005, p. 129).

Commodity   "Any good or service produced in order to sell or otherwise exchange it for something else in the market system" (Johnson, 2000, p. 51).

Consumer culture   "Consumer-crazed societies" (Berger, 2010, p. 50) where most people "have a minimal relationship to production and distribution" and therefore "consumption provides the only arena left to us through which we might potentially forge a relationship with the world" (Miller, 2005, p. 16).

Cusqueño   A person from Cusco (feminine form = 'Cusqueña'). Also used as an adjective to describe something as being 'of Cusco'.

Gringo   A term previously used in Latin America to refer to Americans but often used more broadly to include any white and/or English-speaking foreigners (feminine form = 'gringa'). The term is often derogatory but not always.

Neoliberalism   The re-assertion of classical liberalism that emphasises the rights of the individual against those of the state (Scott & Marshall, 2009) and promotes a free market with "as little governmental intervention in the economy as possible" (Greenwald, 1973, p. 397).

Volunteer tourists   "Tourists who… volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment" (Wearing, 2001, p. 2).

ABSTRACT

While conventional mass tourism has been criticised for negatively impacting the host community, volunteer tourism has traditionally been portrayed as an altruistic alternative which allows tourists to access a more authentic tourism experience by 'giving back' to the host community. This view has provided a platform which has seen volunteer tourism become increasingly popular and profitable over the last decade. This thesis employs a case study of a commercial volunteer tourism organisation in Cusco, Peru to investigate the commodification of volunteer tourism through a consumer culture perspective. This study uses a grounded theory approach and is based on 15 weeks of participant observation in Cusco and in-depth interviews with 33 volunteer tourists and three staff members from the case study organisation.

Three key aspects of commodified volunteer tourism are explored, that is: the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism, how volunteer tourists perceive commodified volunteer tourism, and how they consume it. Most of the volunteer tourists lived in guesthouses with other volunteer tourists; they volunteered for only a few hours each day and for much of the rest of the time behaved in a similar fashion to mainstream tourists. These findings suggest that, in many ways, the volunteer tourists were focused on the tourism or hedonistic aspects of the volunteer tourism experience rather than the volunteering or altruistic components. The early volunteer tourism literature promoted volunteering as a means for tourists to access a more authentic cultural exchange with the host community. In contrast, the volunteer tourists at the case study site largely remained within an enclave or 'bubble' which saw them operate in parallel to, but separate from, the host community.

The commodification of volunteer tourism is associated with a shift towards a business model and a focus on the transactional nature of commercial volunteer tourism where volunteer tourists have become consumers who purchase a specific experience and therefore expect to 'get what they paid for'. Consumer culture centralises the volunteer tourists' sovereignty and can therefore lead to an increased emphasis on creating an experience which satisfies the wants of the volunteer tourists rather than meeting the needs of the host community. This thesis contributes to the body of knowledge in this field by exploring both the theoretical and practical implications of the changing nature of volunteer tourism within consumer culture, and what this means for the volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation, and the host community.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> I'd read about the idea in a magazine. 'Voluntourism', it's called; vacations with a purpose. All over the world, people are combining travel with service and creating much more meaningful experiences. In exchange for some work and usually a placement fee, volunteers get food and a bed to sleep in… We wouldn't just be sightseeing. We'd be helping. Instead of impersonal hotels and budget restaurants, we'd be in communities where we were needed, making connections to local people, eating with them, living with them… The more I thought about it, the more excited I got. (Marshall, 2015, p. 8)

1.1   Introduction

Volunteer tourism has become increasingly popular in recent years and as a consequence has become increasingly commercialised and commodified. This thesis uses a consumer culture perspective to explore how this increasing commodification has changed the very nature of volunteer tourism. I examine three key aspects of commodified volunteer tourism: what the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism are, how volunteer tourists perceive commodified volunteer tourism, and how they consume it. These are addressed through the use of a case study from Cusco, Peru. This chapter contextualises the research study, describes the research questions and approach, and outlines the thesis structure.

1.2   Development of volunteer tourism

Conventional mass tourism developed quickly following the emergence of affordable air travel in the 1970s (Qantas, 2010) and in 2015 international tourist numbers reached 1.2 billion, 50 million more than the previous year (United Nations World Tourism Organisation, 2016). In contemporary Western society travelling overseas, especially amongst young people, "is no longer perceived as particularly exotic or unusual" (O'Reilly, 2006, p. 1008). As international travel became increasingly popular and normalised, sub-groups of tourists began to search for alternative tourism experiences that would allow them to get "off the beaten track" (Ooi & Laing, 2010, p. 192).

One example of these alternative tourism offerings is volunteer tourism, which combines tourism activities with volunteering experiences. Typically, this involves tourists from

developed[1] countries volunteering in developing countries, although this is changing as volunteer tourism offerings in developed countries are becoming more common, and increasing numbers of tourists from non-Western countries are also choosing to volunteer overseas (Bazirake & Sahilu Aderajew, 2015; Lee & Yen, 2015; Lo & Lee, 2011). While mass tourism was criticised as lacking authenticity and potentially negatively impacting host communities, volunteer tourism was promoted as a "moral" (Callanan & Thomas, 2005) or "ethical" (Butcher, 2011) alternative that would allow tourists to 'give back' to the host community while simultaneously accessing a more authentic or 'meaningful' travel experience "through intimate encounters with local people" (Mostafanezhad, 2014a, p. 2).

However, volunteer tourism has evolved since it first appeared in the tourism literature in the early 2000s (for example, Wearing, 2001, 2004; Wearing & Neil, 2000). As volunteer tourism has become increasingly popular and mainstreamed, it has simultaneously become commercialised (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). As Vrasti (2013, p. 1) writes, in the 1990s "for the first time… overseas charity work was packaged as an all-inclusive commodity and sold off to conscious consumers". In the mid-2010s, increasing numbers of tourists are choosing to volunteer as part of their overseas travels with recent statistics suggesting around 3.3 million people volunteer abroad annually (Mostafanezhad, 2014a). Some of the early volunteer tourism literature proposed volunteer tourism as a decommodified alternative to mass tourism (Wearing, McDonald, & Ponting, 2005). However, in this thesis I argue that the nature of volunteer tourism has changed since this time as volunteer tourism has moved away from its alternative 'off-the-beaten-track' origins. Based on the research findings presented in this thesis, I examine in what ways volunteer tourism has become commodified within neoliberal consumer culture, and explore the implications of this shift.

1.3   Personal interest in volunteer tourism

I have had a long interest in tourism studies. In 2009 I was working part-time for a backpacker tour company while completing a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in sociology at

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[1] While I acknowledge the controversy around the use of the terms 'developed' and 'developing' I have chosen to use these terms due to a lack of viable alternatives. As a New Zealander completing a PhD at an Australian university using a case study from Peru, I choose not to use the terms 'North' and 'South' as New Zealand, Australia and Peru are all in the Southern hemisphere. The terms 'Majority' (that is, 'developing' countries in the 'Global South' where the majority of the world's population lives) and 'Minority' (that is, 'developed countries' in the 'North') are not widely used outside of development studies and therefore have similarly not been used in this thesis (see Simpson's comments in Lonely Planet, 2013).

the University of Auckland. The backpacker company sold hop-on hop-off backpacker bus passes following set routes around New Zealand and the bus drivers also organised accommodation and activities for the backpackers at each overnight stop. I began to notice that many of the backpackers knew very little about the country and had very little idea of what they wanted to see and do while in New Zealand. I became curious about what was attracting them to the country (given they seemed to know so little about it before they arrived) and ultimately ended up completing a Master of Tourism degree at the University of Otago where I explored the motivations of backpackers travelling in New Zealand.

As I read more of the backpacking literature for my Master's research I became interested in the dissonance between the early backpacker literature which promoted backpacking as a non-commodified alternative to mass tourism, and my own experiences selling 'packaged' backpacking experiences. I also became aware of the number of large travel companies advertising packaged tours that included some form of volunteering that were becoming increasingly common at the time (what Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 11) refers to as "the volunteer tourism bandwagon"). By 2010 the concept of the 'flashpacker' was also starting to appear in the backpacking literature (Hannam & Diekmann, 2010; Jarvis & Peel, 2010) and I became interested in exploring whether volunteer tourism had undergone a similar transformation. It was these experiences that sparked my interest in exploring the commercialisation and changing nature of volunteer tourism as the topic of my PhD thesis.

1.4   Research study

The relevant volunteer tourism literature is reviewed in Chapter 2. However, a brief overview of the state of the current volunteer tourism literature is presented here in order to situate my PhD study within the wider literature. The research aim and research questions are presented and the delimitations of the study are outlined.

1.4.1   Introduction to the volunteer tourism literature

The volunteer tourism literature often relies on an assumed understanding of what volunteer tourism is, or at least what researchers mean when they use the term. However, as described in Chapters 4 and 5, what volunteer tourism 'looks like' in practice can vary greatly. For example:

> The concept does not differentiate between say, a 16-year-old participating on a 2-week project, with no specific skills and qualifications, who 'observes' the work of others and with no direct contribution to the local community/environment, compared to a 30-year-old qualified builder who engages in a 6-month project training the local community how to build local

> facilities, where there is a clear, direct and active contribution to the local community/environment. (Callanan & Thomas, 2005, pp. 195-196)

As well as the gender, ethnicity, motivations, language skills, and previous travel experiences of the volunteer tourists themselves, the volunteer tourism experience can also differ depending on various other factors, including:

- Length of volunteering: from several days to several months
- Project type: for example, conservation, childcare, teaching English, or medical
- Size of the host community: volunteering in a large city versus a small village
- Accommodation: staying with a local family versus at a hostel or hotel (Ritz-Carlton, 2015)
- Number of other volunteer tourists: for example, being the only foreigner in a small village versus being one of 100+ volunteer tourists
- Extent of local tourism infrastructure: popular tourism destination with well-established tourism infrastructure versus a destination that is 'off-the-beaten-track' with few foreign visitors
- Hours spent volunteering: for example, living at an orphanage and being on-call 24 hours per day seven days per week versus volunteering for only a few hours per day.

This thesis focuses specifically on a sub-set of volunteer tourism that has been commercialised and commodified. The term 'commodified volunteer tourism' is therefore used in this thesis to refer to a type of volunteer tourism that typically:

- Is sold as a packaged experience which includes the organisation of the volunteering component as well as accommodation and food
- Is pre-paid (usually via the internet) prior to arrival at the destination
- Involves a relatively large number of volunteer tourists (50+) volunteering at any one time
- Has few or no prerequisites (for example, language skills)
- Is often relatively short-term (a few weeks to a few months)
- Takes place at a destination with a relatively established tourism infrastructure.

Much of the early volunteer tourism research focused on the motivations of volunteer tourists (Benson & Seibert, 2009; Broad, 2003; Rehberg, 2005; Wearing, 2001) and explored the idea of volunteer tourism as a means of providing a decommodified tourism experience (Wearing et al., 2005) or a more ethical means of travel that had the benefit of helping others (Broad, 2003; Coghlan & Fennell, 2009; Söderman & Snead, 2008; Wearing,

2001). More recently, common themes of study within the volunteer tourism literature have included:

- Volunteer tourism as a means of personal development or transformation (Alexander, 2012; Coghlan & Weiler, 2015; Grabowski, 2014; Klaver, 2015; Knollenberg, McGehee, Boley & Clemmons, 2014; Pan, 2014)

- Analysis of volunteer tourism promotional materials (Calkin, 2014; Smith & Font, 2014, 2015; Easton & Wise, 2015)

- Monitoring and evaluating volunteer tourism programmes (Taplin, 2014; Taplin, Dredge, & Scherrer, 2014) and developing guidelines or standards to improve volunteer tourism (Hartman, Paris, & Blache-Cohen, 2014; The International Ecotourism Society, N.D.; Mostafanezhad & Kontogeorgopoulos, 2014; Rattan, 2015)

- Interactions between volunteer tourists and the host communities, both positive and negative (Burrai, 2012; Edles, 2015; Lupoli, Morse, Bailey & Schelhas, 2014, 2015; Stritch, 2011; Zahra & McGehee, 2013)

- How volunteer tourism fits within the wider discourses of volunteering, development aid, and humanitarianism (Mostafanezhad, 2014a, 2014b; Palacios, 2010).

Rather than simply examining volunteer tourism for its own sake, studies of volunteer tourism can also be used to explore social phenomena or theories more broadly.

> It is important to put forth fundamental questions about what volunteer tourism as a social and political phenomenon says about how we understand the world and our moral and ethical responsibilities in this world. (Sin, Oakes & Mostafanezhad, 2015, p. 121)

In this thesis, I examine commodified volunteer tourism through a consumer culture lens. A broad spectrum of other theoretical approaches have also been applied to volunteer tourism, including:

- Critical theory: the contradictions inherent within volunteer tourism, including "the interplay of oppression/emancipation, dependency/resistance and dominant hegemony/agency" can be deconstructed through a critical theory lens (McGehee, 2012, p. 84) that examines the power differentials between the volunteer tourists and the host community

- Neoliberalism: while the earlier literature tended to promote volunteer tourism as a means of challenging neoliberalist discourses, more recent literature suggests volunteer tourism perpetuates these discourses (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011; Conran, 2011; Lyons, Hanley, Wearing, & Neil, 2012; McGloin & Georgeou, 2015;

Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Simpson, 2005; Vrasti, 2013), for example, the acquisition of global citizenship (Butcher & Smith, 2015)

- Neo-colonialism: volunteer tourism typically involves those from developed (formerly colonising) countries travelling to developing (previously colonised) countries to help the local people who are framed as 'needy'; as a result, volunteer tourism has been heavily criticised for perpetuating neo-colonialist discourses (Espinoza, 2002; Guttentag, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Palacios, 2010; Simpson, 2005; Vrasti, 2013)

- Postmodernism: the emergence of alternative forms of tourism, including volunteer tourism, reflects aspects of postmodernity including the blurring of the boundaries between work (volunteering) and leisure (tourism) (Ingram, 2011; Mustonen, 2005)

- Social movement theory: has been used to explore possible changes in networks and consciousness-raising amongst volunteer tourists (McGehee, 2012; McGehee & Santos, 2005)

- Social exchange theory: has been used to examine host community's perceptions of, and attitudes towards, volunteer tourists (McGehee & Andereck, 2009; McGehee & Santos, 2005).

Other theories such as development theory (Guttentag, 2009; Palacios, 2010; Simpson, 2004), community capital theory (Zahra & McGehee, 2013), interactionist theory (Wearing & Neil, 2000), and equity theory (Pearce & Coghlan, 2008) have also been used to examine the volunteer tourism phenomenon.

Limited published research has focused specifically on commodified volunteer tourism (as defined earlier in this chapter) and the few studies that have been published have not explicitly explored the consequences of such commercialisation/commodification and the impact of consumer culture on volunteer tourism. Lyons, Hanley, Wearing and Neil (2012, p. 374) note that:

> There is a dearth of research on the fast-growing supply of commercial volunteer tourism products. There is virtually no empirical data that describes the practices of impacts of commercial volunteer tourism activities outside of the anecdotal and critical/theoretical work that posits NGO- [non-governmental organisation] based volunteer tourism as 'all good' and corporate and commercial interests as 'all bad'.

Rather than positing volunteer tourism as either 'all good' or 'all bad', in this thesis I examine the changing nature of commodified volunteer tourism within consumer culture and explore the practical and theoretical implications of this shift.

1.4.2   Research aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to explore the changing nature of the consumption of volunteer tourism using a consumer culture perspective and a case study of commodified volunteer tourism in Cusco, Peru. As illustrated in Figure 1, the research aim can be broken down into three main research questions, each of which has three to four sub-questions.

Chapter 4	Chapter 6	Chapter 7
1) What are the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism?	2) How do volunteer tourists perceive commodified volunteer tourism?	3) In what ways do volunteer tourists consume volunteer tourism?
1A) How is the case study organisation structured?	2A) How do volunteer tourists perceive the host community?	3A) In what ways is commodified volunteer tourism similar to other forms of tourism including packaged tours?
1B) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site with regards to volunteering?	2B) How do volunteer tourists interact with the host community?	3B) In what ways do the volunteer tourists benefit from their volunteer tourism experience?
1C) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site when not volunteering?	2C) How do volunteer tourists perceive they have contributed (or not) to the host community as a result of their volunteering?	3C) In what ways do volunteer tourists treat volunteer tourism as a commodity to be consumed?
1D) In what ways do volunteer tourists differ from each other?		

Chapter 5

Figure 1: Research questions and sub-questions

To address the research aim and objectives, I used a case study from Cusco, Peru. In late 2012, I spent 15 weeks conducting interviews and participant observation at a commercial volunteer tourism organisation in Cusco. The case study organisation is referred to in this thesis by the pseudonym 'Manos del Mundo' which is Spanish for 'Hands of the World'. As described further in Chapter 3, I completed entry and exit interviews with 33 volunteer tourists and interviewed three Cusco-based Manos del Mundo staff members. I lived and socialised with the volunteer tourists, while also volunteering myself teaching English to adults at a local community centre. Interviews were analysed using a grounded theory approach; rather than imposing pre-determined codes, I allowed the codes, and subsequent themes, to 'emerge' from the data as part of the analysis process. Further description of both the case study site and the research methods and methodology are provided in Chapter 3.

In this thesis I contribute to the existing theory by analysing volunteer tourism from the perspective of consumer culture exploring how volunteer tourism has changed as a result

of its increasing commodification. I describe in detail a form of highly-commodified volunteer tourism that has not been widely examined within the existing volunteer tourism literature, seeking to understand what this type of volunteer tourism looks like in practice. I explore how volunteer tourism has become a product to be 'consumed' within consumer culture, and examine the practical and theoretical implications of this changing nature.

1.4.3 Delimitations of the study

All research has both limitations, that is, possible shortcomings of the research, and delimitations, that is, boundaries set for the study. The limitations of the specific methodologies used for this study are discussed in Chapter 3. There are four main delimitations of this study, each of which is now addressed.

The volunteer tourism literature has been criticised for focusing on the viewpoint of the volunteer tourists and not including the perspectives of the host community (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). While I acknowledge a need for more research to be conducted from a host community's perspective, such research is outside the scope of this thesis. This thesis focuses on the changing nature of volunteer tourism within consumer culture; the main focus is on the experience of the volunteer tourists and their perceptions of the experience. Attempting to include the views of the host community would have resulted in greater breadth to the study; however, it would also have resulted in a critical loss in depth. While more research is undoubtedly needed to incorporate the viewpoints of the host community into discussions around volunteer tourism, I did not feel that this was the right study, or that I was the right person, to do so (see Graham, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

This thesis is based on a single case study. As with all case studies, these research findings cannot claim to represent all (commodified) volunteer tourism. Rather, this thesis specifically explores the experiences of volunteer tourists volunteering at Manos del Mundo in Cusco in late 2012 and draws conclusions based on what these experiences suggest about commodified volunteer tourism more broadly. While having multiple case studies (of varying levels of commodification) would have allowed for comparison across sites, the resourcing (that is, both time and money) required for multiple case studies were not available within the scope of a PhD study.

The volunteer tourism products offered by Manos del Mundo are not the most commodified volunteer tourism products available. There are volunteer tourism packages

that are even more 'all inclusive', for example, including international flights and the organisation of visas in addition to accommodation, food and volunteering. However, these 'all-inclusive' volunteer experiences are often extremely expensive (Lonely Planet, 2013) and therefore beyond the budget of a PhD student. Additionally, these types of programmes are often targeted towards an American audience (for example, inclusive flights depart from within the United States) and have set departure and return dates. Nonetheless, Manos del Mundo was chosen as an example of a commodified volunteer tourism programme and Cusco was specifically chosen as a sound example of a destination popular with both volunteer and mainstream tourists.

This thesis explores how commodified volunteer tourism has changed within consumer culture, therefore, the specific focus is on commodified volunteer tourism as defined earlier in this chapter. The form of commodified volunteer tourism as explored in this case study (that is, Manos del Mundo) differs from the volunteer tourism experiences offered by many small not-for-profit volunteer tourism opportunities (which may be more similar to earlier non-commodified forms of volunteer tourism); it is also different from the various international volunteering programmes available such as Médecins Sans Frontières or the Peace Corps. Therefore, the findings as discussed in this thesis may not be generalisable to these contexts. Similarly, I am not comparing commercial and non-commercial volunteer tourism although I agree with Benson's (2011) statement that more research needs to be done on this topic.

1.5   Chapter summary and thesis outline

In this chapter I have provided the relevant background to this study, introduced the research questions, and provided some context for the empirical investigation conducted in Cusco. In the following chapter (Chapter 2) I review the volunteer tourism literature including the history and development of volunteer tourism, the motivations of volunteer tourists, popular volunteer tourism destinations, and literature on the interactions between volunteer tourists and the host community. I then examine criticisms of volunteer tourism as highlighted within the literature, including criticisms of volunteering in orphanages, the risks associated with unskilled volunteer tourists and a lack of background checks, the potential risk of volunteer tourists taking jobs from local people, volunteer tourism as a form of neo-colonialism, and the specific risks associated with commercial volunteer tourism. In the final section of the literature review I outline the theory behind commodification and consumer culture and how these have previously been applied within the tourism literature.

In Chapter 3 I describe the methodology and methods used to address the research aim and questions as outlined in Chapter 1. I describe the research approach and the research framework including grounded theory and case study approaches. I describe the data collection process (interviews and participant observation) and provide some brief context to the case study site. I introduce the research participants and describe the data analysis method. Finally, I explore my own personal reflexivity with regards to the research study, most specifically around the data collection and analysis processes.

Chapter 4 is a findings chapter and provides context for the remainder of the thesis. I describe the structure of the case study organisation and the various volunteer tourism projects available in Cusco (including childcare, medical, teaching English, and construction projects) and outline what the volunteer tourists did at each project. Chapter 5 expands on Chapter 4 and presents and discusses what the volunteer tourists did in Cusco when they were not volunteering. I describe the hours the volunteer tourists volunteered and their thoughts on these hours (or lack thereof). I explore what the volunteer tourists did in their free time, including socialising and tourism activities, and describe the volunteer tourists' accommodation in Cusco.

The second discussion chapter (Chapter 6) addresses how the volunteer tourists perceived commodified volunteer tourism, including how they perceived and interacted with the host community, and how the volunteer tourists perceived they contributed (or not) to the host community as a result of their volunteering. In the final part of the chapter I discuss the possible negative impacts of volunteer tourism on the host community, including attachment issues, the risks associated with a lack of background checks and unskilled and unqualified volunteer tourists adopting professional roles, and volunteer tourism as a form of neo-colonialism.

In the third and final discussion chapter (Chapter 7) I address the final research question examining ways in which volunteer tourists consume volunteer tourism. I compare Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists with tourists who travel as part of packaged tours and explore the ways in which purchasing a commodified volunteer tourism product can be used as a means of reducing the risk associated with travelling to a (developing) country. I explore the ways in which the volunteer tourists benefited from the volunteer tourism experience, including personal growth, new friends, cross-cultural and tourism experiences, improved language skills, gaining professional experience in a developing country, course credit and relevant skills for university applications, and cultural capital and access to a morally superior identity.

In the final part of the chapter I discuss how volunteer tourists treat volunteer tourism as a commodity to be consumed, including discussion of the cost of volunteer tourism compared to the cost of mainstream tourism, the cost of volunteering with Manos del Mundo compared to the cost of other volunteer tourism products, and the cost of volunteering with a commercial volunteer tourism organisation compared to a not-for-profit organisation. I examine the volunteer tourists' ability to choose which project they volunteered at, and what tasks they performed at that project. The chapter closes with a discussion of why commercial volunteer tourism organisations often have few prerequisites or minimum requirements of their volunteer tourists.

In the final chapter (Chapter 8) I draw conclusions based on these research findings and address the overall research aim, that is, how the changing nature of commodified volunteer tourism within neoliberal consumer culture has affected the nature of commodified volunteer tourism itself, as well as the interactions between the volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation, and the host community. I highlight and discuss both the theoretical contributions of this study and the practical implications for the volunteer tourism industry, and make recommendations for future research. The thesis closes with some final comments on the morality associated with volunteer tourism and what this means within the increased commercialisation/commodification of volunteer tourism.

CHAPTER TWO: THE COMMODIFICATION OF VOLUNTEER TOURISM IN CONSUMER CULTURE – A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1   Introduction

Volunteer tourism has become increasingly commercialised and commodified in the last two decades (Tomazos & Butler, 2009, 2012). In this chapter I review the relevant literature and provide a theoretical context and background to the study. This chapter consists of three sections: first I define and describe volunteer tourism, second I review some of the common criticisms of volunteer tourism, and finally I examine the commodification of volunteer tourism within neoliberal consumer culture.

2.2   Volunteer tourism

In this section I explore the history and development of volunteer tourism and define the term as it is used in this thesis. I discuss the motivations of volunteer tourists and describe popular volunteer tourism destinations with specific reference to the similarities and differences between volunteer tourism and other forms of tourism (for example, backpacking). Finally, I examine the relationship between the volunteer tourists and the host community within the context of consumer culture and commodified volunteer tourism.

2.2.1   History and development of volunteer tourism

As illustrated in Figure 2, while volunteer tourism is a relatively new phenomenon, it developed from an established culture of youth travel combined with an extended history of international volunteering. Youth travel can be traced back to the Grand Tour of young European aristocrats in the 17th and 18th centuries (Adler, 1985; Riley, 1988; Vrasti, 2013; Wearing, Grabowski, & Small, 2015; Withey, 1997) and the European tramping system where craftsmen travelled from town to town to perfect their craft (Adler, 1985). World War I has also been cited as a turning point in the democratisation of international tourism by providing hundreds of thousands of young men from all social classes the opportunity to travel overseas (Barnes, 2014; Tonks, 2014; White, 1987). More recent developments of youth travel include drifters (Cohen, 1973), backpackers (Pearce, 1990), and gap years (Simpson, 2004).

Similarly, there is a long history of international volunteering, from colonial missionaries (Benson, 2011; Raymond & Hall, 2008; Vrasti, 2013) and volunteers who helped rebuild Europe following World War I (Stymeist, 1996) to the more recent Peace Corps and Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) volunteers, kibbutz volunteers in Israel (Mittelberg & Palgi, 2011), and Willing Workers on Organic Farms (WWOOFers) (Deville, Wearing & McDonald, 2016; Yamamoto & Engelsted, 2014).

History of youth travel

Grand Tour
Journeymen / Tramping
Drifters
Backpackers
Gap years

International volunteering

Missionaries
Post-WWI volunteers
VSO and the Peace Corps
Kibbutz volunteers
WWOOFers

Volunteer tourism

Figure 2: History and precursors of volunteer tourism

Vrasti (2013, p. 1) refers to VSO and the Peace Corps as "the first organisations to send private citizens to the Third World for 'unofficial' aid and development work", although Butcher and Smith (2015, p. 1) note that these early international volunteers would have "baulked at the suggestion that their efforts were in any respect leisure pursuits" (see also McGehee, 2014). While both VSO and the Peace Corps are international development organisations rather than volunteer tourism programmes, they have played a significant role in the increasing awareness (and relative normalisation) of international volunteering.

VSO was developed in 1958 when sixteen British volunteers were recruited to teach English overseas and has since placed 40,000 volunteers in over 90 countries (VSO International, 2012). In 1961, three years after the development of VSO, the Peace Corps was established. Since then more than 200,000 Americans have volunteered in 139 countries (see also Przeclawski, 1993). According to their website:

> The Peace Corps traces its roots and mission to 1960, when then-Sen. John F. Kennedy challenged students at the University of Michigan to serve their country in the cause of peace by living and working in developing countries.

> From that inspiration grew a federal government agency devoted to world peace and friendship. (Peace Corps, 2011)

However, the establishment of the Peace Corps, with its Cold War overtones (Tomazos & Butler, 2009), was not unproblematic and research has suggested that while early Peace Corp workers had "noble intentions", it was often these workers who benefitted more than the local communities they were charged with helping (Hindman, 2014, p. 52).

While VSO and the Peace Corps were sending young people overseas to volunteer, cheap airfares and overland travel in the 1960s and 1970s (Qantas, 2010) simultaneously encouraged tourism's growing popularity, particularly amongst young people. For example, the 'hippie trail' overland from Europe through Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan to India and South-East Asia became increasingly popular (Welk, 2008). Cohen (1973) referred to these young independent budget travellers as 'drifters', while Vogt (1976) used the somewhat less derogatory term 'wanderers'. Around this same time, volunteering at Israeli kibbutzim also became popular amongst young Western tourists (Mittelberg & Palgi, 2011). In 1971, the first institutionalised volunteer tourism organisation, Earthwatch, was established (Mostafanezhad, 2014a).

Alternative youth travel continued to evolve and nearly two decades after Cohen's (1973) reference to drifters, Pearce (1990) identified the growing backpacker market and defined backpackers as predominantly young travellers who are more likely to stay in budget accommodation, have an emphasis on meeting other travellers, are independent and have a flexible travel schedule, stay for a longer rather than a brief holiday, and focus on informal and participatory holiday activities. While not a direct extension of backpacking, volunteer tourists often backpack either before or after their volunteering experience (Laythorpe, 2010) and gap years often combine periods of backpacking, volunteering and/or working (Griffin, 2013; Simpson, 2004; Söderman & Snead, 2008).

Some previous research has also drawn comparisons between backpackers and volunteer tourists. For example, Ooi and Laing (2010) identify many similarities in the motivations of the two groups, although Mustonen (2007) argues that the altruistic motivators of volunteer tourists serve to differentiate them from backpackers. However, Tomazos and Butler (2012) point out that in many ways volunteer tourists behave like backpackers, for example partying, shirking responsibilities, 'hanging out' in big groups, and having sexual/romantic relationships with one another. Nonetheless, these types of behaviours are "perhaps not surprising amongst a group of young people on holiday, short of money

and presented with the opportunity of very cheap alcohol and fun and games" (Tomazos & Butler, 2012, p. 185). As Mustonen (2007, pp. 110-111) notes, volunteer tourists:

> ...often resemble backpackers, and often are backpackers. In the role of backpackers they try to get rid of the burden of mass tourists and in the role of volunteers they differentiate themselves from conventional backpackers.

As both volunteers and tourists, volunteer tourists must navigate a dual identity between the conflicting motivations and priorities of volunteering (altruistic) and tourism (hedonistic).

2.2.2 Defining volunteer tourism: What it is and what it is not

Volunteer tourism can be classified as both a form of alternative tourism (Wearing, 2001; Wearing & McGehee, 2013) or as an extension of ecotourism (Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Gray & Campbell, 2007). It has been linked with "moral tourism" (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Callanan & Thomas, 2005), charity tourism (Callanan & Thomas, 2005), responsible tourism (Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Wheeler & Wheeler, 2005), cultural tourism (Callanan & Thomas, 2005), "ethical tourism" (Butcher, 2011) and "pro-poor" tourism (Schilcher, 2007). As previously noted, volunteer tourism is also closely associated with backpacking (Laythorpe, 2010) and gap years (Griffin, 2013; Simpson, 2004; Söderman & Snead, 2008).

While the phrase 'volunteer tourism' is used in this thesis, a variety of other terms have also been used in the literature to refer to this concept, including:

- Voluntourism (Alexander & Bakir, 2011; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Clemmons, 2014; Dykhuis, 2010; Espinoza, 2002; The International Ecotourism Society, N.D.; Phelan, 2015)
- Volunteer vacation (Brown, 2005; Pearce, 1993)
- "Mini mission" or "mission-lite" (Loker-Murphy, 1997)
- "Altruistic tourism" (Mustonen, 2005; Neher, 1991)
- "International service learning" (Sin, 2009).

Wearing's 2001 definition of volunteer tourism remains the most often-cited within the literature (for example, Barbieri et al., 2012; Benson, 2011; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012). He defines volunteer tourists as:

> ...tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment. (Wearing, 2001, p. 2)

Most definitions of volunteer tourism do not specify a minimum amount of time spent volunteering, nor do they require volunteering to be the main purpose of the trip (Guttentag, 2009). For example, Brown (2005, p. 480) defines volunteer tourism as a:

> ...type of tourism experience where a tour operator offers travellers the opportunity to participate in an optional excursion that has a volunteer component, as well as a cultural exchange with local people.

In this case the mere possibility of a "volunteer component" is enough. Clemmons (2014) takes a somewhat idealistic perspective, defining what he terms "voluntourism" as:

> The *conscious*, seamlessly integrated combination of voluntary service to a destination and the best, traditional elements of travel — arts, culture, geography, history *and recreation* — in that destination [italics in original].

The length of volunteering can vary from hours or days (Lonely Planet, 2013) to several weeks (Raymond & Hall, 2008; Sin, 2009) or months (Broad, 2003) and the number of hours spent volunteering each day can also vary.

Others have proposed more prescribed definitions of volunteer tourism. For example, Daldeniz and Hampton (2011, p. 30) define volunteer tourists as:

> Students and early career professionals from developed countries [who] enter destination countries in the less developed world on a tourist visa to work as volunteers on volunteer placements with non-profit organisations that work on environmental or social projects.

However, this definition is arguably too restrictive – not all volunteer tourists are students or early career professionals (Leonard & Onyx, 2009), not all volunteer tourism involves those from developed countries volunteering in developing countries (Leonard & Onyx, 2009; McGehee & Anderek, 2008; McIntosh & Zahra, 2008; Raymond, 2008; Young, 2008), not all volunteer tourism organisations are non-profit, and "environmental or social" must be interpreted at its broadest meaning in order to include all the various volunteer tourism projects currently available – examples of which are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Examples from the literature of various types of volunteer tourism

Type of volunteer tourism	Examples from the literature
Community development	Sin, 2009; Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008
Construction work	Barbieri et al., 2012; Carter, 2008; Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004
Working with animals	Broad, 2003; Campbell & Smith, 2006; Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008
Scientific research	Chen & Chen, 2011; Gray & Campbell, 2007; Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008
Conservation and archaeology	Campbell & Smith, 2006; Cousins, Evans, & Sadler, 2009a, 2009b; Kaminski, Arnold, & Benson, 2011
Scientific research	Benson, 2016; Waitt, Figueroa, & Nagle, 2014
English teaching	Carter, 2008; Conran, 2011; Jakubiak, 2014
Working in orphanages	Dykhuis, 2010; Proyrungroj, 2013; Rogerson & Slater, 2014; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012
Health and medical work	Citrin, 2010, 2011, 2012; Holland & Holland, 2010; Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008; Vrasti, 2013; Wallace, 2012

While it is important to define what volunteer tourism is, it is also necessary to clarify what it is not (see also Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008). Guttentag (2009, p. 538) defined volunteer tourists as "any tourist who participates in volunteer work while travelling". However, he goes on to state that this definition excludes "volunteers performing work lasting longer than one year, such as Peace Corps workers". Peace Corps and similar organisations such as VSO involve volunteering overseas but the focus is on volunteering rather than travelling and most positions last longer than one year. These volunteers are therefore excluded from the United Nations definition of tourism:

> Tourism is more limited than travel, as it refers to specific types of trips: those that take a traveller outside his/her usual environment for less than a year and for a main purpose other than to be employed by a resident entity in the place visited. (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2008, p. 9)

As they are not tourists, Peace Corps volunteers therefore cannot be considered volunteer tourists (although they are not unconnected).

The same argument applies to Médecins Sans Frontières volunteers and other medical volunteers. While they may volunteer for less than a year, the emphasis is specifically on volunteering rather than a mix of volunteering and tourism and therefore they cannot be

considered volunteer tourists (cf. Lonely Planet, 2013). Short-term international medical volunteering (that is, medical students and qualified physicians volunteering overseas for relatively short periods of time) has been explored primarily within the medical literature (for example, Green, Green, Scandlyn, & Kestler, 2009; Hoang & Nguyen, 2011; Magarik, Kavolus, & Louis, 2012; Martiniuk, Manouchehrian, Negin, & Zwi, 2012). The term 'volunteer tourism' is specifically not used within these publications but instead phrases such as "short-term international immersion experiences" (Elliot, 2015, p. 121).

Daldeniz and Hampton (2011, p. 31) use the term "volunTOURISTS" to refer to "volunteers in the tourism industry itself", including "volunteer hotel managers in Nicaragua, [and] scuba diving professionals in Malaysia" for whom "it is assumed that the tourism activity itself is the main driver for them to accept a long-term volunteer work situation" (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011, p. 31). However, this is similar to a common system in place in many backpacker hostels where backpackers can work (for example, making beds, in the hostel bar, gardening) in return for free or subsidised accommodation and/or food. As these volunTOURISTS are not aiming to assist the host community in any way but instead essentially working to cover their board, they are not considered volunteer tourists for the purposes of this study. Similarly, Mittelberg and Palgi (2011, p. 103) refer to those volunteering at kibbutzim in Israel "in literal exchange for free board and lodging, some small pocket money and access to the collective facilities" and conclude that these kibbutz volunteers are "in fact... temporary working guests" (see also Duncan, 2004, 2007; Pizam, Uriely, & Reichel, 2000; Tomazos & Butler, 2009; Uriely, 2001). This same argument applies to WWOOFers who also provide labour in return for free accommodation and food (Lyons, 2015). This idea of working/volunteering in exchange for accommodation and/or food contrasts with volunteer tourists who generally pay to volunteer (Tomazos & Butler, 2009; Wearing 2001).

Volunteer tourists are not a homogeneous group and vary from "volunteer-minded tourists who really want to help" to the "vacation-minded tourists to whom volunteering activities bring some interesting and entertaining elements to their holidays" (Mustonen, 2007, p. 11; see also McGehee, 2014). Most volunteer tourists lie on a continuum between these two extremes (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004; Tomazos & Butler, 2008, 2009, 2012), being, by definition, both volunteers and tourists. As volunteer tourists they "do not necessarily shed all characteristics of mass tourists, and are constantly at the crossroads of negotiating and performing their identities as a volunteer and as a tourist" (Sin, 2009, p. 493).

There is a suggestion that volunteer tourists themselves also rank one another, with volunteer tourists volunteering for longer and in more remote locations being viewed as 'superior'. For example, MacKinnon (2009) writes that as the volunteer tourists he met in Malawi discussed their volunteer projects:

> … a ranking emerged. Living in a rural village (no pool) beat living in the city. A project in which you might see someone die was a few cuts above, say, computer-skills training. I held the trump card. I was in Malawi to set up a creative writing program. For orphans. In jail. Even to my own ears it sounded like I was trying to get laid.

This reflects a similar ranking system within backpacking where backpackers claim superiority the more removed they are from conventional mass tourists (Godfrey, 2011; Hannam & Diekmann, 2010; Jarvis & Peel, 2010).

Callanan and Thomas (2005) adapted the ecotourism literature which differentiates between shallow, intermediate and deep eco-tourists (Acott, La Trobe, & Howard, 1998) and applied this concept to volunteer tourists. As depicted in Table 2, volunteer tourists who make their decision based on the location of volunteering, volunteer for a shorter rather than a longer period of time, are more driven by self-serving motives such as self-development and career-enhancement, have minimal relevant skills, and make little contribution to the local area can be classified as "shallow" volunteer tourists. Alternatively, volunteer tourists who make their decision based on the volunteer project rather than the location, volunteer for a longer period of time, tend to be more altruistically motivated, may have skills or experiences relevant to their volunteer work, and make a high level of direct contribution to the local area can be classified as "deep" volunteer tourists (Callanan & Thomas, 2005). Commodified volunteer tourism (as defined in Chapter 1) can be classified as either shallow or intermediate (cf. Coghlan & Noakes, 2012). While this shallow/intermediate/deep classification is one way of categorising volunteer tourists, some have questioned the criteria used to differentiate between such types of volunteer tourists (Schott, 2011).

Table 2: Shallow, intermediate and deep volunteer tourism (Callanan & Thomas, 2005, p. 197)

Basis of volunteer tourism decision-making	Shallow Volunteer Tourism	Intermediate Volunteer Tourism	Deep Volunteer Tourism
Importance of the destination	Destination is important in the decision-making	Focuses on both the project and the destination	More attention is given to the project than the destination
Duration of participation	Short-term, typically less than 4 weeks in duration	Medium-term, typically less than 6 months in duration	Medium to long-term, 6 months or intensive shorter term projects
Focus of experience: altruistic versus self-interest	Self-interest motives are more important than altruistic ones	Self-interest motives are of similar importance to altruistic ones	Altruistic motives are more important than self-interest ones
Skills/ qualifications of participants	Offers minimal skill or qualifications	May offer generic skills	May offer some technical or professional skills and experience
Active/passive participation	Tends to be more passive in nature	Mixture of passive and active participation	Tends to be more active in nature
Level of contribution to locals	Minimal direct contribution to local area	Moderate direct contribution to local area	High level of direct contribution to local area

2.2.3 Motivations of volunteer tourists

As depicted in Table 3, there are numerous reasons volunteer tourists choose to volunteer. Altruism has been suggested as one of the defining factors which differentiates volunteer tourism from other forms of tourism (Mustonen, 2005). Numerous studies have identified altruistic or philanthropic factors as motivations for volunteer tourists (McIntosh & Zahra, 2008; Mustonen, 2005), including the desire to give back (Brown, 2005) or contribute something (Sin, 2009) to the host community. However, like volunteers more generally, volunteer tourists may not be as selfless as sometimes portrayed and their motivations may instead be more self-serving (Fennell, 2006a, as cited in Coghlan & Fennell, 2009; see also Gray & Campbell, 2007; Wearing, 2001).

Table 3: Motivations of volunteer tourists

Theme	Motivation	References
Altruism	Desire to help and/or contribute or make a difference in some way	Broad, 2003; Brown, 2005; Chen & Chen, 2011; Lo & Lee, 2011; Lough, McBride & Sherraden, 2009; McIntosh & Zahra, 2008; Mustonen, 2007; Sin, 2009
	"Achieving something positive for others"	Rehberg, 2005
Travel	Desire to travel	Alexander & Bakir, 2011; Broad, 2003; Chen & Chen, 2011; Lough, McBride & Sherraden, 2009; Sin, 2009; Wearing, 2004
	Get off the beaten track and/or experience something different/new/unique	Alexander & Bakir, 2011; Benson & Seibert, 2009; Broad, 2003; Chen & Chen, 2011; Cousins et al., 2009a; Matthews, 2008; Rehberg, 2005
	Learn more about local culture and/or interact with locals	Alexander & Bakir, 2011; Barbieri et al., 2012; Benson & Seibert, 2009; Broad, 2003; Brown, 2005; Chen & Chen, 2011; Lo & Lee, 2011; Lough, McBride & Sherraden, 2009; McIntosh & Zahra, 2008
	Have a more authentic experience and/or access the 'backstage'	Chen & Chen, 2011; Carter, 2008; Conran, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Sin, 2009
Development of the self (including career)	Personal interest	Broad, 2003
	Meet new people	Alexander & Bakir, 2011
	Personal development including challenging oneself and/or "broaden one's mind"	Alexander & Bakir, 2011; Barbieri et al., 2012; Benson & Seibert, 2009; Chen & Chen, 2011; Lough, McBride & Sherraden, 2009; Rehberg, 2005; Sin, 2009; Wearing, 2001
	Encouraged by others or to enhance relationships	Chen & Chen, 2011
	Gain experience relevant to studies and future career	Alexander & Bakir, 2011; Broad, 2003; Simpson, 2005; Sin, 2009
	Cultural capital including status enhancement	Ooi & Laing, 2010; Simpson, 2005

In a study of 118 young Swiss adults with an interest in international volunteering, Rehberg (2005) identified twelve motivations which could be categorized into three groups: "achieving something positive for others", the "quest for the new", and the "quest for oneself". Most of the student volunteers were found to have a mix of motives and only

11% claimed altruism and/or achieving something positive for others as their only motive. Rehberg (2005, p. 115) concluded that:

> Although helping to change or improve the world was an important motive for many informants, in general they showed a very pragmatic and low-key attitude towards helping others. Quite a few of the young adults seem to have the feeling that they have to justify their motive to improve the world with contorted language.

Volunteer tourists may be motivated by non-altruistic motives, but in some cases may emphasise altruistic motives as these are generally more socially acceptable (Burns et al., 2006; Coghlan & Fennell, 2009; Ooi & Laing, 2010; Piliavin & Charng, 1990; Tomazos & Butler, 2012).

Traditionally altruism has been viewed as a socially acceptable front for more selfish motivations (Coghlan, 2007; Lyons, 2015; Piliavin & Charng, 1990) although views around this have changed in recent years. Piliavin and Charng (1990, p. 28) write that in the past:

> Whether one spoke to a biologist, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, a sociologist, an economist, or a political scientist the answer was always the same: Anything that appears to be motivated by a concern for someone else's needs will, under closer scrutiny, prove to have ulterior selfish motives.

Authors from various disciplines have proposed what the ultimate advantages of seemingly altruistic behaviours might be. For example, Gintis (1983) suggests there is an emotional basis to altruism because people want to behave in a way that shows pro-social traits such as shame, empathy, and guilt. Behaving altruistically therefore leads to an immediate social benefit for the altruist.

> People save babies from fires, then, because they empathize with the plight of the infant and pity the distress of its parents, not because they believe that altruism has a long-run personal benefit. Moreover, people would feel ashamed if discovered in the cowardly act of ignoring the baby's plight. (Pearce & Caltabiano, 1983, p. 258)

Similarly, Andreoni (1989) refers to "impure altruism" and claims that by behaving in a way which appears to be altruistic, people receive the private goods benefit of a "warm glow" – the existence of which means that the behaviour that led to the warm glow can no longer be considered purely altruistic.

However, altruism and more self-centred motivations are not mutually exclusive. For example, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001, p. 162) refer to "altruistic individualism" which combines the seemingly contradictory motivations of ego-enhancement and altruism. Ooi and Laing (2010, p. 195) applied this concept to volunteer tourism using it to emphasise "the central importance of ego-enhancement motivations to volunteer tourism participation". Similarly, Coghlan and Fennell (2009, p. 393) stated that volunteer tourism

"represents a form of social egoism, engaging participants to help others through instrumental means but for the purpose of achieving the ultimate goal of benefiting oneself". They concluded that while volunteer tourists "may behave in an altruistic manner, personal benefits derived from the experience by and large dominate the experience" (Coghlan & Fennell, 2009, p. 377).

Volunteer tourists are likely motivated by both volunteering and tourism-based motivators. A 2007 survey of 8,500 young travellers conducted by the World Youth Student Educational Travel Confederation suggested that of the 8.5% who had taken part in some form of volunteering in the last 12 months, over one third said volunteering was the main purpose of their trip abroad, while one quarter said their main purpose was to explore other countries and/or cultures (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008). Similarly, Myers (2003, as cited in Coghlan & Fennell, 2009) noted that while travelling he seldom met volunteer tourists who did not have at least some desire for personal reward from their volunteering experience. Lonely Planet (2013, p. 9) suggests that to get the most from the experience volunteer tourists need to be motivated by a "well-balanced mix of altruistic and personal motivations".

An in-depth qualitative study conducted by Sin (2009) found only two of the eleven volunteer tourism participants cited volunteering and contributing to the host community as one of their main motivations. More self-centred motives typically fall into two categories: those relating to the travel experience, and those relating to personal or professional development and skill-acquirement. Factors relating to the travel experience component of volunteer tourism included: the desire to travel overseas (Sin, 2009), to learn more about the local culture (Barbieri et al., 2012; Broad, 2003), and to have a more authentic experience (Broad, 2003; Sin, 2009). Broad (2003, p. 70) states that by volunteering and "living and working in a local village, volunteers can experience in an authentic manner, the way of life and culture of the host community".

Volunteer tourism is also closely associated with ideas of personal development (Barbieri et al., 2012; Wearing, 2001), including the desire to challenge oneself (Sin, 2009), to have an adventure (Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Sin, 2009), to learn new skills for employment (Foster & Fernandes, 1996, as cited in Söderman & Snead, 2008, p. 119) or for study/education (Sin, 2009), and "the practical benefits of joining a volunteer tourism trip" (Sin, 2009, p. 490). Some volunteer tourists are motivated by the expectation that their volunteering experience will help them acquire cultural capital (Baillie Smith &

Laurie, 2011; Reas, 2013), that is, "status enhancement and improved social standings among family and peers" (Ooi & Laing, 2010, p. 194).

It is difficult to accurately determine volunteer tourists' motivations. As Wearing (2004, p. 217) notes:

> The internal push motives of discovery, enlightenment, and personal growth are important to volunteer tourists but features of a destination are more than simply pull motives to this group, for volunteer tourists see physical locations in developing countries as motivation in themselves while they are also attracted by many of the elements that make up a mainstream tourism experience.

While volunteer tourists may have specific motivations that differ from those of more mainstream tourists, their motivations for travelling overseas may still be similar (Broad, 2003). While many volunteer tourists book their volunteer experience prior to leaving home, "it is clear that some travellers simply stumble over a project during their travels and decide to stay for a while" (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008, p. 29). In this sense they are tourists who become volunteer tourists only when they are already at the destination.

2.2.4   Popular volunteer tourism destinations

Volunteer tourism takes place all over the world, although as shown in Table 4, the majority of volunteer tourism occurs in developing countries. Table 4 shows the top volunteer tourism destinations as listed by two recent reports (Go Overseas, 2014; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012). The Philippines and Haiti do not appear on Tomazos and Cooper's 2012 list but are likely on the Go Overseas 2014 list because of natural disasters in both countries during the intervening years. As volunteer tourism contains a large touristic component, and volunteer tourists are at least partly motivated by tourism-related factors, it is unsurprising that popular tourism destinations also appeal as the most popular volunteer tourism destinations (Sin, 2009; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012). While some volunteer tourists may choose their volunteer tourism programme based on the destination, studies have shown that for some volunteer tourists the destination itself is not as important. For example, Zahra (2011, p. 93) quotes one volunteer tourist who said that "the main thing was seeing another country. I think I would have gone no matter where the project was".

Table 4: Most popular volunteer tourism destinations

Tomazos & Cooper (2012)	Go Overseas (2014)
1. India	1. The Philippines
2. South Africa	2. India
3. Ecuador	3. Thailand
4. Ghana	4. Nepal
5. Costa Rica	5. Cambodia
6. Peru	6. South Africa
7. Kenya	7. Costa Rica
8. Thailand	8= Vietnam / Peru
9. Nepal	9. Australia
10. Brazil	10. Uganda
	11. Kenya
	12. Ireland
	13. Brazil
	14. Haiti
	15. Japan

There are also practical aspects affecting whether or not it is feasible for volunteer tourists to visit a destination. For example, there must be a reliable food source, access/transport to the destination, and a minimum level of political stability (for example, not an active war zone). Destinations may not lend themselves to volunteer tourism because they are politically unstable, closed off to foreigners, or both (Vrasti, 2013). As one volunteer tourism programme organiser in Guatemala said:

> Sure, there are places which are far worse... where people live in extreme poverty, but you can't go there. What would you do there? Where would you stay? What would you eat? And [you] can't do anything there, but go and stare at the poverty. (Vrasti, 2013, p. 65)

Volunteer tourism destinations therefore have to strike a "balance between economic need and political security" (Vrasti, 2013, p. 90).

Research shows almost 90% of the locations offered by volunteer tourism organisations are in Asia, Africa or Latin America (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008) and, as depicted in Table 5, the majority of academic research around volunteer tourism has similarly focused on these three regions.

Table 5: Examples of volunteer tourism in Africa, Asia and Latin America

Volunteer tourism location	Examples from the literature
Africa	Alexander, 2012; Barbieri et al., 2012; Bargeman, Richards & Govers, 2016; Cousins et al., 2009a; Jänis & Timonen, 2014; Laythorpe, 2010; Lepp, 2008; Phelan, 2015; Rogerson & Slater, 2014; Sin, 2009; Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004
Asia	Broad, 2003; Chen, 2015; Chen & Chen, 2011; Conran, 2011; Coren & Gray, 2012; Easton & Wise, 2015; Proyrungroj, 2013; Wakeford, 2013; Wickens, 2011
Latin America	Dykhuis, 2010; Gray & Campbell, 2007; Klaver, 2015; Lupoli, 2013; McGehee & Andereck, 2008, 2009; McKenna, 2014; Schott, 2011; Simpson, 2004, 2005; Söderman & Snead, 2008; Tomazos & Butler, 2012

Traditionally, volunteer tourism has involved tourists from developed countries volunteering in developing countries. The majority of volunteer tourists come from the United States of America, with substantial numbers also coming from the United Kingdom, Europe, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008). However, this trend is slowly changing. Not only are people from developing countries volunteering in other developing countries (Bazirake & Sahilu Aderajew, 2015; Yin, 2009) but it is also possible to volunteer in developed countries such as the United States, New Zealand, England and Ireland (Go Overseas, 2014; Leonard & Onyx, 2009; McGehee & Andereck, 2008; McIntosh & Zahra, 2008; Raymond, 2008; Young, 2008). Other more unusual destinations such as the Maldives (Koleth, 2014) and North Korea (Young Pioneer Tours, 2015) are also welcoming volunteer tourists. Domestic volunteer tourism is also becoming increasingly common where tourists travel to another part of their own country to volunteer (Chen, 2015; Rahman, 2013). However, there is still a strong-held assumption amongst tourists and researchers alike that volunteer tourism, by definition, "involves travel to a less developed country" (Alexander & Bakir, 2011, p. 18).

2.2.5 Volunteer tourists and the host community

In *"The Tourist Gaze"*, Urry (1990; 2002) proposed that rather than tourists viewing a destination objectively, the tourist experience is instead highly subjective and socially constructed. Urry and Larsen (2011, p.2) state that:

> People gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education… Gazing at particular sights is conditioned by personal experiences and memories and framed by rules and styles… Such 'frames'…

> enable tourists to see the physical forms and material spaces before their eyes
> as 'interesting, good or beautiful'. They are not the property of mere sight.

Urry (1990, p.13) argues that "the strolling flâneur", a precursor to contemporary tourists, travelled as a passive observer gazing upon the landscape (see also Corrigan, 1997). Wearing and Neil (2000, p. 392) extended this argument and proposed that through volunteering a volunteer tourist could potentially move beyond being a "gazer" and instead "become an 'interactive' contributor to the site and experience".

Volunteer tourism is often heralded as a means for tourists to access a more authentic experience and become more embedded within the host community than is possible within conventional mass tourism. For example, Mostafanezhad (2015, p. 94) quotes a 17-year-old South African volunteer tourist who stated that:

> Traveling you are just kind of watching it like window shopping in a way. But by volunteering... you get to, like I am doing, go to the schools, see the children, see the villages, see the rural life and also meet the people and get involved with the people... you actually get to participate in the children's lives.

Volunteering therefore supposedly provides opportunities for genuine exchange between volunteer tourists and the host community (Wearing & Darcy, 2011; Wearing et al., 2005), particularly for longer-term volunteer tourists who become "immersed in the local culture... The overall experience is much more intimate, with the volunteer becoming a member of the community" (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008, p. 18). However, some suggest that this level of interaction can in fact lead to volunteer tourists having even more of a negative impact on the host community than conventional mass tourists who are generally 'contained' within a certain area (Butler, 1990).

Alexander and Bakir (2011) conducted an online survey of 67 tourists volunteering in South Africa and concluded that engagement with the host community is one of the main factors which differentiates volunteer tourists from other tourists. Similarly, Fee and Mdee (2011, p. 229) argue that through volunteering, volunteer tourists gain an understanding of life in developing countries which can ultimately help "society to move beyond the neo-colonial myths" inherent in other forms of tourism[2]. Alexander and Bakir (2011, p. 14) focus on the cultural immersion volunteer tourists hope to get out of their experience and argue that "the 'need' of the voluntourist to be involved, to engage, characterizes the modern tourist's desire to experience a place and its culture rather than merely stand back

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[2] However, this argument is not accepted unanimously and one of the main criticisms of volunteer tourism is that it perpetuates neo-colonial discourses by framing the host community as the 'Other' (Benson, 2011; Wearing & Darcy, 2011; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). This and other criticisms of volunteer tourism are explored in the next section.

and gaze" (see also Wearing & Grabowski, 2011; Cousins & Evans, 2009; Mostafanezhad, 2014b). Through volunteering, volunteer tourists are assumed to be able to "escape the 'tourist bubble' through intimate encounters with local people" (Mostafanezhad, 2015, p. 2) and access a deeper relationship with the host community, essentially moving into what MacCannell terms the 'backstage' (Broad, 2003).

However, for various reasons, this level of interaction does not always occur. For example, research into volunteers at kibbutzim in Israel suggests in some cases there is little interaction between the kibbutz volunteers and the kibbutz families.

> The major problem is the actual generation of any guest-host encounter at all, which, we will see, is held in high esteem by the guests. This problem is an outcome of the relative imperability [sic] of the institutionalized environmental bubble in which the guests live. (Mittelberg & Palgi, 2011, p. 106)

Some of the kibbutz volunteers Mittelberg and Palgi (2011) spoke with said they expected to have more to do with the kibbutzniks, that is, people living on the kibbutzim. For example, one female guest who volunteered on a kibbutz in 1985, stated that:

> One of the things I found strange at first was the almost complete lack of interaction between volunteers and kibbutzim [sic]. I don't know what I had imagined, but it sure wasn't sitting around the volunteer quarters drinking beer with a bunch of drunken Finns and rowdy Aussies. I quickly got used to it, but I recall how surprised I was at how wary and disinterested they were in us. (Mittelberg & Palgi, 2011, p. 115)

This idea of a volunteer tourism 'subculture' or enclave (Vrasti, 2012) is discussed further in Chapter 6.

The volunteer tourist-host relationship is further complicated by the fact that unlike conventional mass tourism, volunteer tourism only exists because the host community are perceived and portrayed as 'needing' the volunteer tourists. While volunteer tourists volunteer at a destination ostensibly to improve the local environment and/or the lives of the local people, if the host community/environment becomes just as 'developed' as the volunteer tourists' home countries, the volunteer tourists' presence would no longer be justified (see also Gray & Campbell, 2007). While volunteer tourism:

> ...is supposed to act as a development strategy that would bring about an improved standard of living for the locals, the moment volunteer tourism does achieve this, a destination can very possibly become irrelevant. (Sin, 2010, p. 991)

If the volunteer tourists no longer feel needed, they will move on to newer, less developed destinations. Similarly, tourists often romanticise a destination and want it to remain 'untouched' by Western culture or in a state of "development freeze" (Gray & Campbell,

2007). Ideas around the romanticisation of poverty and the volunteer tourists' views of the host community as 'poor but happy' are explored further in Chapter 6.

2.3   Criticisms of volunteer tourism

From its earliest incarnation, mass tourism has been criticised (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Withey, 1997). While more recent criticisms of conventional mass tourism may touch on the carbon footprint of long-haul air travel, the majority of criticism emphasises the potential for tourists to negatively impact on the host community and/or the local ecosystem (Guttentag, 2009; Krippendorf, 2011; Simpson, 2004; Vrasti, 2013). Although volunteer tourism was developed as an alternative to conventional mass tourism, many of these same criticisms still apply. The nature of volunteer tourism raises specific criticisms, for example, issues of neo-colonialism and the assumption that young people from developed countries can and should be allowed to volunteer in developing countries largely unsupervised, and that this is an appropriate response to the current systemic differences in resource distribution between developed and developing countries. In particular, there is a growing backlash against volunteer tourists volunteering in orphanages because of questions about the legitimacy of some of these orphanages including suggestions of child trafficking (Tourism Concern, 2014).

A detailed examination of the ethics of volunteer tourism is outside the scope of this study. However, it is necessary to explore some of the criticisms directed towards volunteer tourists and volunteer tourism organisations in order to better understand the context in which this research is situated. Vrasti (2013, p. 4) states that criticising volunteer tourism, which is typically viewed as more "noble" or based on "spontaneous acts of kindness", can be viewed as "mean" since most volunteer tourists believe they are doing the right thing. However, it is because of this that volunteer tourism must be critiqued rather than accepted wholeheartedly. As Birrell (2010) states, "the desire to engage with the world is laudable, as is the desire to volunteer. But we need to tread more carefully".

The following sections examine in more detail the criticisms that are discussed with reference to Manos del Mundo in Chapters 6 and 7. These include the potential risks to children at orphanages, risks associated with unskilled volunteer tourists and a lack of background checks, criticism that volunteer tourists take jobs from local people, a discussion of volunteer tourism and how it may perpetuate neo-colonialist discourses, and specific criticisms directed towards commercial volunteer tourism.

2.3.1 Orphanages and vulnerable children

One of the most popular forms of volunteer tourism involves volunteering at orphanages, however, orphanage tourism has been heavily criticised in recent years both in the academic literature (Brown, 2015; Guiney, 2013; Guiney & Mostafanezhad, 2015; Reas, 2013) and in the popular media (Biddle, 2014; Fleischner, 2015; Stayton, 2015; Zakaria, 2014). For example, Clemmons, (2015, p. 9) writes that "presently, there is immense discomfort in any traveler-centered outreach involving children and childcare... Anti-orphanage campaigns exist all across the globe, driving a media and social media frenzy". Tourism Concern (2014, p. 20) are now "vigorously campaigning" against orphanage-based volunteer tourism.

One of the most common criticisms of volunteer tourism at orphanages is that the continual turnover of volunteers at the orphanage can create attachment and abandonment issues for the children as a result of short-term interactions with (mostly) Western tourists (Brown, 2015; Jänis & Timonen, 2014; Reas, 2015; Richter & Norman, 2010; Wilson, 2015). In his memoirs of various volunteer tourism experiences around the globe, Marshall repeatedly mentions young Indian orphans and Thai students telling him and his family how much they loved them. He spoke of a 16-year-old Indian girl named Beti:

> Beti started joining us, always sitting beside me with her head on my shoulder. In time she even started looking me in the eye, briefly at first, but long enough for me to take her face in my hands and tell her – as easily as I told my own daughter – that she was beautiful, that she was special, that she was loved. "I love you, Papa," Beti said to me one night. (Marshall, 2015, p. 201)

Marshall and his family were only volunteering in India for four weeks; just a few pages further on in the book they had moved on to another destination and Beti is not mentioned again. Similarly, Budd (2012, p. 83) writes of Carlos, an eight-year-old student he met while volunteering at a school in Costa Rica.

> Many of the poorer families are led by mothers, so Mauricio had warned that some kids may call me 'papa'. That never happens, though the grinning Carlos clings to me constantly... Maybe, as Mauricio hinted, Carlos attaches himself to me – literally – because his father abandoned his family. So is my being here confusing to a kid like this? Am I just another father figure who can't be trusted?

While some volunteer tourists (for example, Budd) are at least cognisant of the risks of developing such affectionate relationships over only a matter of weeks, others (for example, Marshall) appear to be oblivious to the effect their presence may have on these vulnerable children.

Volunteer tourists working with children at orphanages are often not subject to police checks and this potentially exposes the children to further harm (Brown, 2015; Budd, 2012; Jänis & Timonen, 2014). As Brown (2015, p. 22) states:

> Allowing unvetted volunteers to interact with children – let alone assume a "carer" role – inevitably exposes the children to the risks of emotional, physical, and sexual abuse from individuals exploiting lax (or nonexistent) child-protection policies. There are good reasons why childcare organisations in most volunteers' home countries do not allow unvetted strangers to interact with children in their care.

This criticism applies not just to volunteer tourists but also to other short-term volunteers volunteering overseas. For example, a recent high-profile case in Oklahoma found a young American man guilty of raping three girls aged 5, 9 and 15 years, and sexually molesting a 12-year-old boy while volunteering as a missionary at an orphanage in Kenya in 2014 (Ferrigno, 2016; The United States Attorney's Office, 2015; see also Reas, 2015; Wilson, 2015).

2.3.2 Unskilled volunteer tourists and a lack of background checks

Like volunteer tourists volunteering at orphanages, similar critiques have been directed towards volunteer tourists carrying out medical work they may not be skilled or qualified to undertake. In most developed countries there are legal restrictions regarding who can and cannot access children and medical patients, two of the most vulnerable groups in society, however the same rules tend not to be applied in developing countries where volunteer tourism is most popular. Because medical volunteer tourists are associated with high levels of resources, knowledge, skills, trust and compassion, they are often privileged in the host communities with a higher status than that they are accorded in their home countries. Permitting inexperienced volunteer tourists to perform tasks they would be legally prevented from performing at home also highlights the power differentials between high-income developed countries and low/middle-income developing countries (Wallace, 2012). Moreover, while medical professionals (and medical students) are expected to follow strict ethical guidelines in their home countries these are often ignored overseas (Holland & Holland, 2010; Quenville, 2015).

This issue is not specific to medical volunteers; a common criticism of volunteer tourists more generally is the inefficient and unsatisfactory work they perform (Guttentag, 2009; Vrasti, 2013), for example, unskilled volunteers being expected to build a house (Purvis & Kennedy, 2016). Similarly, simply by speaking English, volunteer tourists are assumed to be able to teach English, and manage a classroom of children, without any formal training

(Budd, 2012). In many cases there is little communication between incoming and outgoing volunteers. For example, Pycroft (2015) writes that:

> The 'training' advertised was merely a handover from the previous volunteers who were so desperately under-qualified that they remained blissfully unaware of the fact that the impact of their efforts was negligible. "You should try 'colours'!" they'd suggest, as I fretted about how it could be possible for students to make progress without any form of curriculum for volunteers to follow, "We did it with our class yesterday, and they were really good at it!" Should I have enlightened them that after 2 years of monthly volunteer teachers the reason for this success was surely that their students had been 'taught colours' at least 24 times?

This is reiterated by Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 121) who writes that:

> It is typical for volunteers to go to schools to teach English without knowing what the last group of volunteers taught. Thus, it becomes common for volunteers to repeat the similar names, colors and animal lessons.

A general lack of planning across volunteer tourists' lessons is not uncommon and has been highlighted in other studies (Vrasti, 2013) and by former volunteer tourists themselves (Budd, 2012; Pycroft, 2015). This lack of teaching experience and lack of consistency amongst volunteer tourists is likely to limit the students' English acquisition.

Simply by speaking English or having a basic knowledge of first aid and anatomy, volunteer tourists are expected, without necessarily knowing the language or understanding the local culture, to be able to behave as teachers or medical professionals. In Western society, these skills (teaching in a school, early childhood education, medicine) require professional qualifications and/or registration. This assumption that unskilled/unqualified volunteer tourists are able to perform these roles in developing countries, when they would not be legally allowed to behave in this way at home, highlights a neo-colonialist and paternalistic attitude (Vrasti, 2013) where simply by being from a developed country (and speaking English) these unqualified volunteer tourists are assumed to be able to perform high-status jobs.

2.3.3   Taking jobs from local people

Volunteer tourism is also criticised for taking jobs from local people (Guttentag, 2009; Tomazos & Butler, 2012). For example, Daldeniz and Hampton (2011, p. 38) report volunteers in Nicaragua experiencing "conflicts with the local population as they were considered intruders, heavily criticised for doing a job for free, which a local person could have been paid for instead". Similarly, Alexander and Bakir (2011, p. 24) quote a volunteer tourist from the United Kingdom who said that "I visited one school in Malawi where the head teacher said she took Western volunteers because they were cheaper than paying

local staff". This also creates ambiguity and tension between what volunteer tourists frame as a leisure activity (that is, volunteering) and what would otherwise be a form of paid work/labour (Hindman, 2014) which can reflect power discrepancies between the volunteer tourists and local staff (Jänis & Timonen, 2014).

This idea has led some to argue that it would be more beneficial economically for volunteer tourists to simply donate money to locals to do the work.

> This money, if donated to a local community directly, could potentially pay a greater amount of labour than the individual volunteer could ever hope to provide. This is especially so given the level of technical skill or professional experience required of volunteers is negligible. (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p. 42)

However, the volunteer tourism industry is structured in such a way that it encourages young people to donate their time and labour, rather than simply money.

2.3.4   Volunteer tourism as a form of neo-colonialism

Volunteer tourism has been heavily criticised for perpetuating neo-colonialist discourses (Espinoza, 2002; Guttentag, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Palacios, 2010; Simpson, 2005; Vrasti, 2013). Volunteer tourists have been referred to as the "new colonialists" (Barkham, 2006), continuing several centuries of history where rich, white, young, well-educated (Lyons, 2015; Quenville, 2015) people from developed countries travel to 'help' poor, usually non-white people in developing countries.

> Western humanitarian interventions have a long, sordid history in non-Western countries. The historical legacy of missionaries, colonialism, war and pillage are not easily forgotten, and today moral interventions are often met with scepticism by local people. (Mostafanezhad, 2014a, p. 74)

As one 23-year-old male volunteer tourist from Britain said, "historically, middle-class boys in khaki shorts have made their way in the Indian subcontinent. Now their grandsons are doing it with 'making a change' in mind" (Barkham, 2006; see also Biddle, 2014). This is not a new criticism; at its development Peace Corps volunteers were criticised for being "neo-colonial patsies" (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p. 29).

Volunteer tourism can foster a culture of dependency within host communities which can result in disempowerment (Guttentag, 2009; Lyons & Wearing, 2008; see also Simpson, 2005; Wearing, 2004). Likewise, volunteer tourism arguably reinforces power differences

between those from developed countries (the North) and those from developing countries (the South)[3].

> Well-meaning young volunteers from the North, most without language skills or project-related training, expect over the course of a few weeks to provide meaningful benefit to Southern populations. Such a strong presumption of Northern agency and Southern need prevails that the impediments of skill, knowledge, duration, familiarity, and language escape consideration. (Zavitz & Butz, 2011, p. 417)

Ingram (2011, p. 219) proposes that volunteer tourism reduces development to an act of 'doing' and objectifies host communities in developing countries as "the benefit-receiving other", thus perpetuating colonial attitudes. As Butcher and Smith (2015, p. 99) write, "the global South has become a stage for the working out of what it is to be an ethical person".

While volunteer tourist-host interactions are predicated on a 'caring relationship', there is ultimately an unequal power balance since these relationships are based on the assumption that those from the developed world are in some way "responsible for the wellbeing" of those in the developing world (Sin, 2010, p. 988). The way volunteer tourism is advertised also reflects these neo-colonial ideas (myths) of a homogeneous 'undeveloped' 'third world' that 'needs' Western volunteer tourists to come and help (Simpson, 2004, Fee and Mdee, 2011). The premise that host communities 'need' to learn English also has colonial overtones (Mostafanezhad, 2014a).

Marketing material from Leap (2009, as cited in Fee & Mdee, 2011, p. 225) invite would-be volunteer tourists to:

> …soak up jaw-dropping ancient culture, vibrant colours and the many flavours of Asia whilst contributing to vital community and conservation projects helping this beautiful country recover from a turbulent past.

As Simpson (2004, p. 688) argues, poverty becomes a "definer of difference" between the volunteer tourists and the host community; it "becomes an issue for 'out there', which can be passively gazed upon, rather than actively interacted with". This is often manifest in the volunteer tourists' perceptions of the host community as being 'poor but happy' where the volunteer tourists construct poverty as 'exotic', thereby emphasising the differences rather than the commonalities between the volunteer tourists and the host community (Crossley, 2012; Grabowski, 2014; Simpson, 2004).

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[3] Of course, tourism is not the only business to reinforce these power differentials between the developed and the developing world. For example, many factories are located in developing countries where products can be produced for developed countries at a lower cost and typically with lower health and safety requirements (International Labor Rights Forum, N.D.).

2.3.5   Specific criticisms associated with commercial volunteer tourism

While the criticisms of volunteer tourism discussed in this section thus far relate to volunteer tourism more generally, criticism is particularly directed at for-profit commercial volunteer tourism organisations. The most common criticism is the suggestion these commercial organisations are focused more on satisfying the needs of the volunteer tourists (that is, their customers) than the needs of the host communities (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011; Forsythe, 2011; Stein, 2012; Zavitz & Butz, 2011). Lyons, Hanley, Wearing and Neil (2012, p. 372) go further and argue that "commercial providers are developing volunteer tourism products and services that do little to serve the needs of either the volunteer tourists or the host communities". This contradicts many of the values traditionally associated with volunteer tourism and alternative tourism more broadly. As Raymond (2011, p. 77) notes, if volunteer tourism "exploits locals for tourists' own personal gain, then it can no longer be seen as an 'alternative' and mutually beneficial form of tourism" (see also Guttentag, 2009, 2011; Zavitz & Butz, 2011).

2.4   Commodification of volunteer tourism

Contemporary volunteer tourism has changed and evolved as it has become increasingly commercialised and commodified within neoliberal consumer culture. In this section I describe the increasing commercialisation of volunteer tourism and discuss the consequences of the increasing commodification of volunteer tourism within consumer culture.

2.4.1   Commercialisation of volunteer tourism

Volunteer tourism has become very popular in a relatively short period of time (Guttentag, 2009; Ooi & Laing, 2010; Wearing & McGehee, 2013) and now constitutes a growing proportion of the global tourism industry (Raymond & Hall, 2008) although it is difficult to estimate the full extent since the statistics on commercial volunteer tourism in developing countries vary to such an extent as to be unhelpful (Vrasti, 2013). The number of volunteer tourism organisations began to increase in the 1980s and exploded in the 2000s (Tomazos & Butler, 2012). For example, in 2007 the Volunteer Abroad database held information on 3441 projects from 150 different countries (Tomazos & Butler, 2009) and in 2015 listed 255 volunteer abroad programmes in Peru alone (GoAbroad.com, 2015). In 2008 the volunteer tourism market catered for 1.6 million volunteer tourists and contributed between US$1.7 and US$2.6 billion to the global economy (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008). It is likely these numbers have increased since then (Klaver, 2015).

Research by TripAdvisor found 24% of the 700 American travellers surveyed would consider going on a volunteer tourism trip, while 3% had already done so; only 16% of respondents were unfamiliar with the term (King & Horrocks, 2010).

Volunteer tourism was originally predominantly organised by NGOs and not-for-profit organisations that had direct relationships with the host communities in which they were operating (Lyons et al., 2012). However, as volunteer tourism became increasingly popular with tourists, the potential for profit increased and volunteer tourism became increasingly commercialised. This included both former not-for-profit organisations "turning to commercialization as a revenue-raising strategy that allows them to carry out their social mission" (Coghlan & Noakes, 2012, p. 129), and commercial tourism agencies/companies beginning to offer volunteer tourism trips as part of their established tourism offerings. While commercial volunteer tourism organisations have become more common, traditional NGO-provided volunteer tourism projects do still operate (Frilund, 2015).

In 2008 only half (56%) of volunteer tourism organisations were non-profit (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008) and anecdotal evidence suggests this percentage is now even lower. Tomazos and Butler (2008, p. 2) argue that:

> From being a relatively informal and low cost alternative to a conventional holiday, volunteer tourism now ranges from its original model, not even involving international travel, to highly expensive participation involving long haul flights to remote locations, with increasingly complex and often costly travel arrangements. A proportion of the organisations involved in offering projects and arranging participation are clearly involved in such activities on a profit making basis and view volunteer tourism as one more form of tourism to be commercially exploited.

However, that is not to say that not-for-profit volunteer tourism is 'all good' or that commercial volunteer tourism is 'all bad' (Lyons et al., 2012). For example, Scheyvens (2002, p. 113) refers to these highly commercial volunteer tourism organisations as "travel agencies with a conscience". As Lonely Planet (2013, p. 28) writes, "certain limited companies choose to operate like not-for-profit organisations, while some sending agencies are set up as limited companies to speed up decision-making".

As volunteers, volunteer tourists are not paid for their labour and, like other tourists, almost always "pay for the privilege of volunteering" (Tomazos & Butler, 2009, p. 331), although the amount they pay varies greatly (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008;

Wearing, 2001). For example, Cross-Cultural Solutions[4] (2016) charges US$3283 for a two week volunteer tourism programme in Peru while i-to-i Volunteering (N.D.a) offer a four week programme teaching English in Cusco for AU$1679. Both of these packages also include accommodation. Cheaper volunteer tourism options are also available. For example, Traveller Not Tourist (N.D.) in Arequipa charges a one-off fee of US$100 and volunteer tourists can stay in the associated guesthouse for US$6.70 per night. There are free volunteering placements available in Peru, however they generally involve much more organisation on the part of the volunteer tourist and often require specific skill-sets and/or a longer time commitment. For example, international volunteers are able to volunteer at the Asociación Beata Melchorita Saravia (BeMelSa, 2016) in Ica with accommodation and two meals per day provided at no cost; however, potential volunteer tourists must speak conversational Spanish, commit to a minimum of four months and be aged at least 21 years old.

This commercialisation (and commodification) of volunteer tourism reflects a shift in alternative tourism more generally. For example, both camping and backpacking which were traditionally rather basic and low-budget have evolved, resulting in the emergence of 'glamorous camping' or 'glamping' (Boscoboinik & Bourquard, 2012; Brooker & Joppe, 2013), and the backpacking equivalent, 'flashpacking' (Hannam & Diekmann, 2010; Jarvis & Peel, 2010). However, this increasing popularity of previously niche forms of alternative tourism can have negative consequences (Ingram, 2011) as it encourages increasing numbers of tourists to visit destinations that were previously 'off the beaten track' (Griffin & Boele, 1997). Backpacking has "developed into what can legitimately be referred to as 'mass' markets" (Ingram, 2011, p. 212) and arguably become "no more than a variant of mass tourism on a low budget level" (Spreitzhofer, 1998, p. 982). Cohen (1973) made similar observations with regards to drifting. While niche tourism provides an alternative to conventional mass tourism, once these alternative forms become commercialised and commodified "there is potential to impact negatively" (Ingram, 2011, p. 213) on the host community in the same ways as conventional mass tourism.

However, the increasing commercialisation of volunteer tourism (and other forms of alternative tourism) is not inherently negative.

> We know little about volunteer tourists' attitudes towards commercialization; it may be that some volunteer tourists are more comfortable with commercialized forms of civic engagement, and may not

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[4] None of the examples used in this thesis are connected with the case study organisation.

have a poor attitude towards the commercialized nature of volunteer
tourism. (Coghlan & Noakes, 2012, p. 129)

Nonetheless, the commercialisation and subsequent commodification of volunteer tourism reflects a shift in underlying values (Stein, 2012) which changes the relationship between the volunteer tourists, the host community, and the volunteer tourism organisation. As Tomazos and Butler (2008, p. 2) note, this commercialisation "is not necessarily improper or immoral, but certainly represents a significant shift from the initial model where costs were low and profits non-existent and not sought".

2.4.2   Commodities and commodification

In economics, the term 'commodity' is used to refer to any object produced for use or exchange and is often replaced by the generic term 'goods' (Posner, 2005). Within sociology and anthropology, however, the term has a more specific meaning. The concept of commodities and commodification stems from the first volume of Marx's seminal work *"Das Kapital"* published in 1867, in which he argues that goods have two values or powers: use value and exchange value. Use value relates to utility while exchange value relates to how much something is worth to exchange in a market setting. A good becomes commodified when the exchange value becomes more than the use value (Marx, 1952) and it is therefore able to be traded (Cloke & Perkins, 2002). A commodity can therefore be defined as:

> Any good or service produced in order to sell or otherwise exchange it for
> something else in the market system... nothing is inherently a commodity; a
> commodity exists only through its position in relation to markets and the
> process of exchange. (Johnson, 2000, p. 51)

Within capitalism, anything that can be priced can be bought and sold and thereby be treated as a commodity (Greenwood, 1989).

Commodification is closely associated with the Industrial Revolution when the working class began to sell their labour in order to buy products they would previously have produced themselves (Nussbaum, 2005). Labour, which had until that time been outside the market, thus became a commodity that could be bought or sold. While commercialisation refers to making something commercial, commodification:

> ...signals the conversion of use-values into exchange-values and heralds a
> change in production relations... goods and services which were formerly
> used for subsistence purposes are [instead] bought and sold in the market.
> (Marshall, 1994, p. 69)

Essentially, commodification involves assigning an economic or market value to something that would previously have been outside the market, that is, "the substitution of market for nonmarket services" (Posner, 2005, p. 129).

Common examples of commodification within contemporary culture include:

- Commodification of services that were previously outside the market, for example, professional dog walkers, professional child care, and care of the elderly in nursing and retirement homes (Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Posner, 2005)
- Commodification of parts of the body, including blood (Pearce & Lee, 2005; Titmuss, 2005) and organ donation (Frow, 1997); and of the use of the body, including prostitution (Nussbaum, 2005; Radin, 2005; van der Veen, 2001; Yin, 2012), and commercial surrogacy (Jeffreys, 2014; Mitchell, 2014; Posner, 2005)
- Commodification of children in the adoption process (Robinson & Novelli, 2005; Williams, 2005).

The term commoditisation is a newer term that emerged in the 1990s and remains relatively undocumented (Rushkoff, 2005). Like commercialisation, it is a business term rather than a sociological or theoretical term and therefore is not used in this thesis.

2.4.3 Commodification and tourism

Within the tourism literature, commodification is most commonly referred to in discussions relating to the commodification of culture (Root, 1996; Ryan, 1998), particularly the commodification of host culture as a result of tourism (Ryan & Aicken, 2005; Shepherd, 2002). Previous studies have included research on the commodification of Garifuna culture in Honduras (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004), Sámi culture in northern Finland (Kelly-Holmes & Pietkäinen, 2014), Fijian fire-walking (Pigliasco, 2010; Stymeist, 1996), Mayan culture in Mexico (Papanicolaou, 2012), and indigenous cultures in Mexico and Peru (Coronado, 2014).

A commonly cited example of the commodification of culture is the Alarde celebration in the Basque region of Spain. In 1969, the local council demanded that the Alarde in Spain's Basque country be performed not once but twice in the same day to allow tourists to see it. According to Greenwood (1989, p. 179):

> This decision directly violated the meaning of the ritual, definitively destroying its authenticity and its power for the people. They reacted with consternation and then with indifference. They can still perform the outward forms of the ritual for money, but they cannot subscribe to the meanings it once held because it is no longer being performed by them for themselves.

As in the example of the Alarde, commodification often results in a lack of authenticity (Cole, 2007; Halewood & Hannam, 2001) and instead is replaced with what Cohen (1988, as cited in Cloke & Perkins, 2002) refers to as "staged authenticity" (see also Carter, 2008; Corrigan, 1997). However, this is not always the case. For example, although Fijian fire-walking has become commercialised, it has not necessarily become fake or inauthentic. As Stymeist (1996, p. 13) states, although fire-walking is now performed for tourists' money rather than for the Fijians themselves, "the event is widely appreciated and highly regarded by many Fijians".

People can also be commodified. For example, several recent studies have explored the commodification of orphans at Cambodian orphanages (Guiney, 2013; Guiney & Mostafanezhad, 2015; Pattisson, 2014; Reas, 2013; 2015). Reas (2013, p. 124) states that "in the process of becoming a commodity for the volunteer tourist market, the orphan and orphanage has also become a sanitised experience to be 'enjoyed' by 'compassionate' western visitors". These impoverished Cambodian children have thus been objectified and reduced to commodities for Western volunteer tourists to 'gaze' upon:

> By reducing the multi-faceted Cambodian orphan child (and certainly the multi-faceted nature of their condition) into the simplistic component of 'needy and adorable', the tourist industry is able to (almost) complete the process of creating a marketable commodity for the western holidaymaker to purchase and enjoy. Now objectified as lovable innocents the vulnerability and charm of the children can be packaged and marketed to meet the demands of the customer. (Reas, 2013, p. 134)

Once children have been commodified, they are able to be packaged and 'sold' (albeit temporarily) to Western tourists.

Within ecotourism, the natural environment, including local animals, can be commodified (Cousins et al., 2009b; Greenwood, 1989; Kelly-Holmes & Pietkäinen, 2014; King & Stewart, 1996; Pigliasco, 2010; Waitt et al., 2014). Certain aspects of a country's history or culture can also be commodified and promoted as part of that country's marketing campaign. For example, Halewood and Hannam (2001) write about the commodification of Viking heritage that has been sanitised and commodified and is now 'sold' to tourists visiting Scandinavia through the use of museums and Viking markets, while Gencarella (2007) explores the commodification of the history of the Salem witch trials. Similarly, in a discussion of the emphasis placed on adventure in New Zealand tourism, Cloke and Perkins (2002, p. 532) conclude that "adventure, as a marketing strategy, is being used to make New Zealand stand out as offering unique opportunities". As depicted in these examples, commodification is not necessarily negative but rather a means of increasing

tourism revenue by packaging and marketing specific aspects of the host community and/or tourism experience.

2.4.4   Commodification and volunteer tourism

Volunteer tourism was originally promoted as a decommodified alternative to conventional mass tourism (Gray & Campbell, 2007; Miller & Mair, 2015; Wearing et al., 2005), an ideal form of tourism that contrasted with the "commodified, normalizing and marketized nature of globalized Western tourism" (Wearing & Ponting, 2009, p. 257). However, while this may have been true for earlier small-scale volunteer tourism organised by charitable organisations and other not-for-profits, it no longer necessarily applies to the type of large-scale highly commercialised volunteer tourism as explored in this thesis. Instead, volunteer tourism has shifted from its decommodified alternative roots, and has instead become commercialised and commodified.

There are a growing number of volunteer tourism opportunities offered by travel agents, tour operators and other commercial volunteer tourism organisations/companies (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008). Volunteer tourists can purchase online a volunteer tourism package which includes accommodation, meals, volunteer project, and often other additional services such as airport transfers, language lessons, and tourism activities. In this way, commodified volunteer tourism has adopted many aspects of packaged tourism and become yet another form of commodified tourism activity (Tomazos & Butler, 2008), although it is not so large-scale as to be part of the mass tourism industry (see Benson & Wearing, 2012). Zavitz and Butz (2011, p. 420) state that the volunteer tourism sector "is largely organised to treat volunteering as a set of amenities it provides to paying customers". This emphasis on 'paying customers' highlights the commodification of the industry and the transactional nature of the relationship between volunteer tourists and the volunteer tourism organisation.

The commercialisation and commodification of volunteer tourism also affects how volunteer tourism is marketed and consumed by volunteer tourists. For example, King and Stewart (1996, p. 295) argue that "in many ways, travel opportunities have come to be packaged experiences that are sold as commodities to a consuming culture". Volunteer tourists effectively pay for a particular type of experience (that is, what they were promised in the marketing materials) and this is therefore the experience they expect to receive (see also Raymond, 2008; Coghlan & Fennell, 2009).

A mismatch between volunteer tourists' expectations and their actual on-site experiences can lead to decreased levels of satisfaction and commitment from the volunteer tourists which in turn can negatively impact the effectiveness of their work and that of the volunteer tourism organisation as a whole (Coghlan, 2007; Coren & Gray, 2012). For example, Cousins, Evans and Sadler (2009a, p. 1074) researched volunteer tourists working in a conservation setting in South Africa and found that many of the volunteer tourists were not just disappointed but annoyed when they did not see animals they believed they had "paid to see". As outlined earlier in this chapter, volunteer tourists have different motivations and expectations and it is important for volunteer tourism operators to be aware of this when designing and promoting their programmes.

Coren and Gray (2012) researched the commodification of the volunteer tourism experience using ten volunteer tourists in South-East Asia. One group of volunteer tourists volunteered in Vietnam with a local Vietnamese-run programme, while the remaining volunteer tourists volunteered in Thailand with the international company i-to-i Volunteering. Unsurprisingly, members of the group volunteering in Thailand as part of a programme organised by the commercialised multinational company were found to have a more commodified experience than those volunteering as part of a locally organised project in Vietnam.

2.4.5   Volunteer tourism and neoliberal consumer culture

The end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries have seen the rise of neoliberalism and the intensification of global market economies (Plehwe, Walpen, & Neunhöffer, 2007; Wearing & Wearing, 2006). As Featherstone (2014, p. 35) writes, since the 1980s "we have seen the growing supremacy of neoliberalism throughout the world… the conventions and rules of global economic life have been increasingly written in neoliberal language". Neoliberalism refers to the re-assertion of classical liberalism that emphasises the rights of the individual against those of the state (Scott & Marshall, 2009) and promotes a free market with "as little governmental intervention in the economy as possible" (Greenwald, 1973, p. 397). Neoliberal discourses are thus closely linked to economic rationalization and individual autonomy (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011). Profit, rather than the welfare of people, becomes the ultimate goal and neoliberalism is therefore closely associated with commodification (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011; Lyons et al., 2012; Simpson, 2005).

Consumption is an inherent part of modern Western culture (McDonald & Wearing, 2013) and within neoliberalism people are regarded as consumers rather than producers (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001). As Ritzer (2007, p. 164) states:

> Consumption is not just about acquiring the basics that people need in order to survive. Rather, people collectively come to see consuming, as well as the goods and services obtained, as important and valuable in their own right.

In consumer culture, consumption itself becomes the focus rather than a means to an end (McDonald & Wearing, 2013).

> Consumption is an active form of relationship (not only to objects, but also to society and to the world), a mode of systematic activity and global response which founds our entire cultural system. (Baudrillard, 2005, p. 217)

This reflects Marxist thought where work is no longer:

> ...the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion, it is avoided like the plague. (Marx, 2003, p. 85)

People thus become estranged and ultimately alienated from both their work and from other people (Berger, 2010, p. 44) and instead turn to momentary escape from this alienation through purchasing (consuming) new things. Ultimately this cycle leads to a culture of consumption. While not explored explicitly within this thesis, these ideas also connect/reflect Marx's ideas of commodity fetishism (Appadurai, 1990; Johnson, 2000; Marx, 1952) and Bauman's (2000) ideas of liquid modernity.

Ritzer (2015, p. 1) developed the term 'McDonaldization' to refer to "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world". In this case, McDonalds is an example (or even metaphor) for the increasing standardisation and commodification of products worldwide. McDonaldization is closely connected with the development of mass-production (including Fordism) and an increased focus on efficiency and rationalisation. Richards and Wilson (2005, p. 1) also refer to the "'McDonaldised' system of conventional tourism". As Ritzer (2015, p. 30) states, "McDonaldization is an amplification and extension of Weber's theory of rationalization, especially into consumption settings". However, this excessive rationality leads to a level of bureaucracy that can become dehumanising as the focus is on efficiency rather than people – what Weber (2003) terms the "iron cage" of rationality.

Society has arguably become even more commodified and consumer-focused since Weber developed his ideas of bureaucracy and rationalisation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In contemporary consumer culture, even recreation activities, including tourism experiences, are 'rationalised' where efficiency is maximised to allow tourists to visit as many sites as possible.

> Take, for example, a seven-day Mediterranean cruise. The ship sails around at least a part of the Mediterranean, stopping briefly at major tourist

> attractions and towns... This route allows tourists to glimpse the maximum number of sites in the seven-day period. At particularly interesting or important sites, the ship docks for a few hours to allow individuals to disembark, have a quick local meal, and it is off to the next locale. The cruise goers sleep during the overnight trips to these locales and take most of their meals on board [the] ship. They awaken the next morning, they have a good breakfast, and there they are at the next site. It's all very efficient. (Ritzer, 2015, p. 33)

The same argument could be made for many other packaged tourism products. Within rationalisation, efficiency arguably becomes more important than quality.

Within consumer culture, identity has also become commodified and therefore consumable (Clary & Snyder, 1999; Ryan, 1998; Scott & Marshall, 2009; Unger, 1991). As Baptista (2012, p. 640) notes, "consumption of commodities is becoming the purpose of human existence and thus a major determinant of both identities and self-cultivation". In contemporary consumer culture, we are consumers rather than producers (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Miller, 2005), and identity has thus become associated with consumption rather than production.

> The things we purchase are no longer evaluated in terms of their use or functionality but rather in terms of what they signify about us – what they reveal about us, such as our taste, our style, our socioeconomic level, and our attitudes towards authority. (Berger, 2010, p. 50)

We therefore shape our identity through what we consume (Corrigan, 1997; Lury, 2011), for example, through fashion (Kellner, 2014) and the clothes we wear. As a result, identity has been "transformed into a commodity, where it is packaged, presented and sold" (McDonald & Wearing, 2013, p. 47).

Within consumer culture even leisure experiences (Stebbins, 2007) such as tourism can, and should, be performed in ways that positively shape identity. Travel experiences can provide new forms of personal and social identity (Desforges, 1998; Kane & Zink, 2004). Different tourism activities are associated with different identity traits. For example, backpackers are associated with adventure and risk-taking (Elsrud, 2001) while those on packaged tours are assumed to be more risk-averse (Alvarez & Asugman, 2006). While conventional mass tourism is criticised as lacking authenticity and potentially negatively impacting the host community, volunteer tourism has been promoted as a more "moral" or "ethical" (Butcher, 2011) alternative that allows tourists to 'give back' to the host community (Wearing, 2001). Volunteer tourists are assumed to be altruistic and therefore claim status as 'morally superior' tourists; volunteer tourism can therefore be framed as a form of "moral consumption" (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p. 1). Volunteer tourists shape their

identity through purchasing (consuming) specific volunteer tourism experiences (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Noy, 2004).

As explored by Butcher and Smith (2015), while contemporary volunteer tourism has roots in VSO and the Peace Corps, volunteer tourism as explored in this thesis is a long way removed from these early forms of international volunteering. Volunteer tourism fits with the current zeitgeist of neoliberalism, Fair Trade, and global citizenship (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011; Butcher & Smith, 2015; Lyons et al., 2012; Simpson, 2005), as well as being "anchored in the latest (post-Fordist) forms of education and production, such as study abroad initiatives, continuing education, mandatory services programmes and internships" (Vrasti, 2013, p. 1). This contrasts with the hippie-era 1960s and 70s when alternative youth travel was seen as subversive and counter-culture (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Cohen, 1973; O'Reilly, 2006; Wheeler & Wheeler, 2005).

Rather than being alternative, within neoliberal consumer culture, volunteer tourism has become mainstreamed and packaged as a commodity to be consumed (by those with adequate time and money) like any other product. Gap years, which often include a period of volunteer tourism, are traditionally associated with the middle and upper classes, particularly in the United Kingdom (Simpson, 2005). Volunteer tourism has been criticised by some as being restricted to those who can afford both to pay for the experience and take (extended) time away from paid work (see also McGehee, 2012).

> Engaging in social action through consumption may be social action only for those who can afford to pay. This is certainly the case with many volunteer tourism placements which given their cost are generally the prerogative of the middle class. (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p. 83)

As Vrasti (2013, p. 82) states, "volunteering is far more valuable than other jobs available to students, even though the work requires neither skill nor results, only discretionary funds".

2.5   Chapter summary

While a relatively new phenomenon, volunteer tourism can be situated within a larger framework of alternative youth travel and developed from an established culture of youth travel and international volunteering. While there are many definitions of volunteer tourism, essentially it is a tourism experience that involves at least some period of volunteering although the extent to which either tourism activities or volunteering experiences are prioritised can vary. The length of volunteer tourism can also vary, as does the type of volunteering, for example, teaching English, volunteering in an orphanage,

or helping with construction work. While volunteer tourism in developed countries is becoming more common, most volunteer tourism takes place in developing countries in Africa, Asia or Latin America. Volunteer tourists are assumed to be motivated by altruism although the literature suggests there are many other motivating factors driving tourists to volunteer, including personal development, and volunteering as a means of accessing a more 'authentic' tourism experience. While volunteer tourism is often portrayed as an alternative to mass tourism and involving close interactions between the volunteer tourists and the host community, this level of cross-cultural interaction does not always occur and may be less common within larger commercial volunteer tourism.

Volunteer tourism was developed as an alternative to conventional mass tourism, however, like mass tourism, volunteer tourism has also been criticised for negatively impacting on the host community it reports to benefit. These criticisms include the potential risks to children at orphanages who interact with the volunteer tourists, risks associated with a lack of background checks and allowing unskilled volunteer tourists to perform jobs they would not be allowed to perform in their home countries (for example, teacher, medical professional), and criticism that volunteer tourists take jobs from local people. Volunteer tourism generally involves volunteer tourists from developed countries volunteering in developing countries and therefore has been framed as a form of neo-colonialism. There are also specific criticisms targeted towards commercial volunteer tourism organisations, namely that they focus more on satisfying the wants of the volunteer tourists rather than the needs of the host community.

The nature of volunteer tourism has changed as it has become increasingly commercialised and commodified within neoliberal consumer culture. While early volunteer tourism was often provided on a small-scale for not-for-profit organisations, it is now a multi-million-dollar industry as not-for-profit organisations started providing commercial products, and commercial companies began providing volunteer tourism experiences in addition to their existing offerings. Volunteer tourism was originally promoted as a decommodified alternative to conventional mass tourism but this is arguably no longer the case within neoliberal consumer culture. While I do not argue that the commercialisation (and subsequent commodification) of volunteer tourism is inherently negative, it has changed the nature of volunteer tourism and affected the dynamic between the volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation, and the host community. It is this changing nature of commodified volunteer tourism that this thesis examines, based on the research methods as described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter I describe the research methodology and research methods used to address the research questions. I outline my research approach including my own relevant epistemological and ontological viewpoints and describe the research framework used. The data collection methods including interviews and participant observation are described and the case study organisation and research participants are introduced. Finally, I describe how the data were analysed and explore my own personal reflexivity with regards to both the data collection and data analysis process.

3.2   Research approach: Constructionism and interpretivism

Before describing the research methods used, it is first necessary to clarify my own epistemological and ontological viewpoints. As Cresswell (2007, p. 178) writes:

> Qualitative researchers today are much more self-disclosing about their qualitative writings than they were a few years ago. No longer is it acceptable to be the omniscient, distanced qualitative writer.

It is important for researchers to reflect on their own methodological and philosophical assumptions during the research design phase as these assumptions underpin the choice of research methods and the way data are analysed and interpreted (Przeclawski, 1993). As Carter and Little (2007, p. 1319) note, "it is impossible to engage in knowledge creation without at least tacit assumptions about what knowledge is and how it is constructed".

In this study I employed a qualitative framework and adopted a constructionist epistemology and an interpretivist ontology. Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge or what it is we are able to know (King & Horrocks, 2010). Constructionists believe there is no objective truth simply waiting to be discovered (Crotty, 1998) but instead multiple possible truths. Within constructionism, objects have no inherent meaning; rather, meaning is constructed through people's interpretations and representations of the world (Crotty, 1998; King & Horrocks, 2010). Knowledge is therefore both "historically and culturally located" (King & Horrocks, 2010, p. 22) and evolves as "the outcome of people having to make sense of their encounters with the physical world and with other people" (Blaikie, 2007, p. 22).

Ontology is closely associated with epistemology and refers to the nature of reality or what really exists (Blaikie, 2007). In this study I employed an interpretivist ontological

viewpoint. Interpretivism "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67) and stipulates that the social world can be understood only by those who live and operate within it. This makes interviews and participant observation a logical choice of data collection methods for this type of study since while the natural sciences have to be studied from the outside, social phenomena require studying from within (Blaikie, 2007). Acknowledging one's position as a researcher in this process and the assumptions one holds prior to beginning such a study is a vital part of conducting grounded theory research (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2014).

3.3   Research framework

In this study, I used a grounded theory approach to a qualitative case study (although, as discussed later in this section, it was not a grounded theory study per se). In this section I describe grounded theory and case study research, and explore how the two methodologies can be used together.

3.3.1   Grounded theory

Grounded theory seeks to uncover what is 'going on' (Birks & Mills, 2011) and attempts to "move beyond description and to generate or discover a theory" (Cresswell, 2007, pp. 62-63). In contrast to traditional theory-testing data analysis, the theory developed is grounded in the data collected and is an attempt to explain the practice being studied (Cresswell, 2007). Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s following their research into the experience of dying and was first explored as a systematic research method in their 1967 book *"The Discovery of Grounded Theory"*. They felt that established research methods were often inappropriate, particularly when little theory had previously been developed to describe a process.

> We would all agree that in social research generating theory goes hand in hand with verifying it; but many sociologists have been diverted from this truism in their zeal to test either existing theories or a theory that they have barely started to generate. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2)

Grounded theory was therefore developed as a means of generating theory grounded in the data, rather than attempting to impose existing theory onto a dataset.

While Glaser and Strauss focused on the methods of conducting grounded theory, "many second-generation grounded theorists developed methodological frameworks" (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 5). In this study I adopt Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory

perspective (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2014). Originally trained by both Glaser and Strauss, Charmaz (2014, pp. 12-13) argues that:

> Constructivist grounded theory adopts the inductive, comparative, emergent, and open-ended approach of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original statement. It includes the iterative logic that Strauss emphasized in his early teaching, as well as the dual emphasis on action and meaning inherent in the pragmatist tradition. The constructivist turn answers numerous criticisms raised about earlier versions of grounded theory. Constructivist grounded theory highlights the flexibility of the method and resists mechanical applications.

Essentially, Charmaz promotes a somewhat compromised version of grounded theory, one which emphasises the iterative and flexible nature of grounded theory from a constructionist viewpoint, rather than the more prescriptive and restrictive model initially described by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s.

While traditional grounded theory has been criticised for being overly positivistic, Charmaz (2014, p. 14) acknowledges that the "researcher's involvement in the construction and interpretation of data" is critical.

> In the original grounded theory texts, Glaser and Strauss talk about discovering theory as emerging from data separate from the scientific observer. Unlike their position, I assume that neither data nor theories are discovered either as given in the data or the analysis. Rather, we are part of the world we study, the data we collect, the analyses we produce. We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people perspectives and research practices. (Charmaz, 2014, p. 17)

My own ontological and epistemological viewpoints were discussed at the beginning of this chapter, while researcher reflections and my experiences collecting data for this research project are explored at the end of the chapter.

In general, grounded theory is considered a suitable approach when there is no appropriate theory available to adequately explain the process being analysed (Cresswell, 2007). It is therefore most useful when:

> ...little is known about the area of study. The generation of theory with explanatory power is a desired outcome. An inherent process is imbedded in the research situation that is likely to be explicated by grounded theory methods. (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 16)

A grounded theory approach was selected for this study because while much has been published on volunteer tourism in the last twenty years (see Chapter 1), little of this research has focused specifically on exploring commodified volunteer tourism within consumer culture and/or how the increasing commercialisation and commodification of volunteer tourism had changed the nature of volunteer tourism.

Grounded theory is a commonly accepted research method within tourism studies and previous research utilising this method includes Matteucci's work exploring tourists' experiences of flamenco dancing (Matteucci, 2012, 2014; Matteucci & Filep, 2015), Ponting's work on surf tourism (Ponting, 2008, 2009; Ponting & McDonald, 2013), and Sink's (2011) research on the volunteer tourist gaze using a grounded theory analysis of Facebook photos. Examples of volunteer tourism studies using grounded theory are provided later in this chapter.

Traditional grounded theorists argue that much of what is purported to be grounded theory is in fact qualitative descriptive analysis (Birks & Mills, 2011). Essential grounded theory methods include lack of prior literature review, memo writing, simultaneous data collection and analysis, theoretical sampling, constant comparative analysis, theoretical sensitivity, and selection of a core category (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Table 6 demonstrates how I employed each of these methods in this study.

Table 6: Essential characteristics of grounded theory methodology (adapted from Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967)

Characteristic	Description	This study
Not reading the literature prior to data collection/ analysis	Traditional grounded theory advocates that the researcher not read the literature before collecting and analysing data. Glaser suggests researchers read widely around the subject rather than texts related to the area of enquiry specifically. However, as Birks and Mills (2011, p. 61) concede it "is not terribly clear about where to draw the line between texts that might force your thinking and texts that might develop it". Strauss and Corbin (1990) were more liberal and recommended reading the relevant literature in order to raise one's theoretical sensitivity.	While I had a background in sociology and read the generic volunteer tourism literature prior to beginning my data collection and analysis, I did not conduct an in-depth literature review prior to beginning the study. Rather, I collected data, analysed it, and then began to read around neoliberalism and consumer culture to explore how my newly-developed thoughts on volunteer tourism and consumer culture (based on my case study data) fit with the existing literature.
Memo writing	Memos are written records of the researcher's thinking process during the research process.	In this study memos were recorded in several places including my research diary while in Cusco and in emails to my supervisors recording my feelings and thoughts during both data collection and data analysis.

Simultaneous data generation/ collection and analysis	Data collection and analysis occur simultaneously. That is, data are collected and analysed, more data are collected and analysed, and so forth. This is connected with another aspect of grounded theory, constant comparative analysis, which Cresswell (2007, p. 64) describes as a "zigzag" process, that is, "out to the field to gather information, into the office to analyze the study, back to the field to gather more information, into the office, and so forth".	After each interview I listened to the recording of the interview and made notes. For example, listening for similarities (themes) and differences (conflicting viewpoints) across interviews. As I became more immersed in the data I also began to see links between ideas that could be explored and probed further in later interviews. This 'zigzag' process also fits with the two-stage interview process (that is, entry and exit interviews).
Theoretical sampling	As Birks and Mills (2011, p. 10) state, "researchers use theoretical sampling to focus and feed their constant comparative analysis of the data". The researcher makes a strategic decision about sampling based on who they believe will provide the most relevant data to the theory being developed.	As a result of conducting initial coding concurrently with data collection, I became increasingly interested in volunteer tourists who were less altruistically motivated and more interested in tourism experiences; this then influenced who I subsequently interviewed.
Theoretical sensitivity	A grounded theorist's theoretical sensitivity is based on both their own personal insight as well as their intellectual background and the type of theory they are familiar with.	My undergraduate degree is in sociology and marketing and I also have a Master of Tourism degree. As a result I began this study with a good grasp of basic theories in all three disciplines/fields.
Selection of a core category	Grounded theory involves the selection of a core category which forms the basis of the emergent theory.	A core category of 'volunteer tourists as consumers' was developed during advanced coding and this became the basis of theory generation.

While the thesis is presented in a linear manner due to reasons of length and clarity, the research process itself was much more iterative. In keeping with a grounded theory approach, I read only the general volunteer tourism literature prior to data collection and analysis. While I was aware that volunteer tourism had become commercialised, it was only during the data analysis process that I began to look at theories of commodification and consumer culture, that is, I did not start data collection with the assumption that volunteer tourism has been commodified but came to this conclusion as a result of the data analysis. The research aim and research questions therefore evolved from the data analysis process and as a result I began to explore the commodification and consumer culture literature, which in turn influenced the development of the research questions and data analysis.

3.3.2 Case study

Yin (2009, p. 18) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". Case studies involve in-depth research into one or more cases (Cresswell, 2007; Stake, 1995; Veal, 2006) and "we study a case when it itself is of very special interest" (Stake, 1995, p. xi).

> The basic idea is that one case... will be studied in detail, using whatever methods and data seem appropriate. While there will be specific purposes and research questions, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of this case as possible. (Punch, 2014, p. 120)

Case studies are therefore a choice of what is to be studied rather than a methodology per se (Cresswell, 2007; Punch, 2014; Stake, 1995).

Case studies are particularly useful when studying complex social phenomena, such as when researching descriptive or explanatory questions, that is, the how and why questions (Yin, 2009, 2012). Case studies are also appropriate when studying the real-world context of something, that is, the natural setting rather than derived data (Yin, 2012). For these reasons, case studies often employ multiple methods (Cresswell, 2007; Yin, 2012). This research study used in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation (described in more detail later in this chapter). This use of multiple methods is also a form of methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1989; Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, & Alexander, 1990; Silverman, 2010).

However, case studies have also been criticised, primarily because it is claimed that it is impossible to generalise from only one case (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Johnson, 2000). Unlike quantitative research, statistical sampling is not feasible nor necessarily desirable in qualitative case study research. As Stake (1995, p. 4) writes:

> Case study research is not sampling research. We do not study a case primarily to understand other cases. Our first obligation is to understand this one case... The first criterion should be to maximise what we can learn.

While only one case was researched for this study, this case was investigated at length and in depth (Stake, 1995). This study does not attempt to provide a categorical truth about *all* volunteer tourism, but instead raises questions about the commercialisation (and commodification) of volunteer tourism by studying one case in detail (Silverman, 2010). A qualitative case study method was chosen because of the exploratory nature of the research and the desire for an in-depth understanding of the commodified volunteer tourism experience.

3.3.3   A grounded theory approach to case study research

According to Charmaz (2014, p. 16), "grounded theory methods can complement other approaches to qualitative data analysis, rather than stand in opposition to them". While there are some contradictory aspects of grounded theory and case study approaches, previous researchers have combined them successfully (Conran, 2011; Gray & Campbell, 2007). The main conflict between grounded theory and case study methodologies is the importance and timing of the literature study and theory development. Yin (2009, p. 35) states that "for case studies, theory development as part of the design phase is essential, whether the ensuing case study's purpose is to develop or to test theory". Conversely, as noted previously in this chapter, traditional grounded theory advocates reading around the literature prior to data collection/analysis but only doing a complete literature review as part of the theory building process following data analysis (Fernández, 2005). However, second-generation grounded theorists (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2014) take a more moderate approach.

While grounded theory generally relies on interviews as a means of data collection, case study research draws on a manner of data sources including observations, documents and artefacts as well as interviews. In 2012, I spent fifteen weeks in Cusco, Peru. During this time I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with three members of Manos del Mundo staff and 33 volunteer tourists in addition to participant observation. Previous studies have also explored volunteer tourism using this combination of data collection methods (that is, interviews and participant observation) as well as some version of grounded theory methods for analysis. Examples of these are provided in Table 7. The number of interviews I conducted and the length of time I spent in Cusco both fall within the ranges used in previous studies of this type.

Table 7: Examples of volunteer tourism research using interviews, participant observation and grounded theory

Research topic	Number of volunteer tourists interviewed	Length of participant observation	References
Volunteer tourism in the hill tribes of Thailand	40	17 months	Conran, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Mostafanezhad & Kontogeorgopoulos, 2014
Volunteer ecotourism in Costa Rica	36	3 months	Gray & Campbell, 2007
Volunteer tourists at a children's orphanage in Mexico	44	3 weeks	Tomazos & Butler, 2012
Volunteer tourism in Kenya	7	2.5 weeks	Lepp, 2008

3.4   Data collection

In this section I describe the strengths and weaknesses of interviews and participant observation as data collection techniques. Furthermore, I outline how these research methods were used in this study including sampling methods and ethical considerations.

3.4.1   Interviews

Interviews have traditionally been viewed as "a pipeline for transmitting knowledge" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 3) where the interviewer attempts to access the information from the interviewee in an uncontaminated form. Within constructionism, however, interviews are viewed as more than simply the mere transmission of knowledge or information; they are an active process and "the site of social interaction from which meaningful accounts of social life are assembled and conveyed" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008, p. 388). As Kvale (1996, p. 1) asks, "if you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them?" In-depth interviews are particularly appropriate when adopting an interpretivist ontology (Minichiello et al., 1990).

Minichiello et al. (1990, p. 104) define semi-structured interviews as those in which "there are no fixed wordings of questions or ordering of questions. Rather the content of the interview is focused on the issues that are central to the research question". The interviews conducted for this study were considered semi-structured in that I used a checklist of topics to cover during the interview but the conversation was relatively free-

flowing and I allowed the interview participant to talk while I asked follow-up questions to probe some ideas further.

Advantages and limitations of semi-structured interviews

Like all research methods, semi-structured in-depth interviews have advantages and limitations, some of which are listed below in Table 8.

Table 8: Advantages and limitations of semi-structured in-depth interviews (adapted from Jordan & Gibson, 2004)

Advantages	Limitations
Flexible and allow questions to be adapted to each interview	Lower rate of reliability as semi-structured interviews can be difficult to replicate
Allow for the development of empathy and rapport with the participants	Interviewing can be an awkward or uncomfortable experience for both interviewer and interview participant
Face-to-face interviews allow for the observation of body language as well as verbal communication	Value of data depends on how honest the interview participants choose to be
Little equipment required making the interview location flexible	Can be difficult to find a suitable location and/or time
Provide rich data with examples and personal histories	Can generate large amounts of data making comparing by theme difficult
Possible to compare responses across interviews	Interviewer may react to interview participant rather than control interview
Provide some structure to the interview while also allowing freedom to develop interview approach	Possible for researcher to inadvertently steer/guide interview
High levels of validity since interviewer can explain question or ask follow-up questions	Possible for interview participant to misinterpret question or for interviewer to misinterpret response
Audio and/or video recording allows laughter, pauses, tone and so forth to be captured.	Recording can be problematic if interview participant does not want to be recorded or is self-conscious about being recorded.
Transcription and analysis ensures close relationship with data	Interviewing, transcribing and analysing can be time intensive

Interviews are useful when highly personalised data are required (Gray, 2009) as they allow people to share their stories which provides rich data containing much description and many examples (Jordan & Gibson, 2004). According to Gray (2009, p. 370), "the interview is a powerful tool for eliciting rich data on people's views, attitudes and the meanings that underpin their lives and behaviours". Interviews are useful for exploring

participants' stories as well as allowing for nuances to be captured. Questions and answers can also be clarified and expanded or adapted which helps to avoid misunderstanding on both the part of the interviewer and the interview participant (Gray, 2009; Jordan & Gibson, 2004). This was useful in this study as I could ask follow-up questions and query certain aspects that were unclear.

However, there are things to be wary of when carrying out semi-structured interviews. For example, it is important not to ask leading questions where the researcher may inadvertently guide the participant's response (King & Horrocks, 2010; Veal, 2006). While Gray (2009) argues that interviews are the best approach when research participants are not fluent in the language of the research, it is important not to ask overly complicated questions or to ask multiple questions in one sentence (King & Horrocks, 2010). All interviews were conducted in English and all those who took part in the study were either native English speakers or were living/studying in an English-speaking country at the time. One of the main limitations of interviews is the necessarily small sample size. Interviews can be expensive and time consuming to organise, transcribe and analyse (Gray, 2009) and this often makes larger sample sizes impractical.

Sampling

According to Cresswell (2007), grounded theory generally involves interviews with between 20 and 60 individuals. While this is a relatively broad range, the 33 volunteer tourists and three Manos del Mundo staff members interviewed for this study fall within this range. Each volunteer tourist was interviewed twice. The first interview took place shortly after the volunteer tourist arrived in Cusco and focused on his/her motivations, previous travel experience, and reasons for choosing to volunteer overseas (as well as general introductions and rapport building). The second interview took place towards the end of the volunteer tourist's time in Cusco and focused on his/her volunteer experience and how his/her expectations had or had not been met.

Three American Manos del Mundo staff members based in Cusco were also interviewed; these staff interviews were used to learn more about how the organisation operated and to explore how the staff perceived the volunteer tourists and volunteer tourism more generally. These were semi-structured in-depth interviews and, like the interviews with the volunteer tourists, a checklist of interview topics was used rather than a set interview schedule (see also Minichiello et al., 1990).

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Purposeful sampling was used to identify volunteer tourist interview participants that presented "information-rich cases" (Patton, 2015). Manos del Mundo staff members invited me to attend the weekly orientation session for incoming volunteer tourists. The Manos del Mundo staff member leading the orientation session introduced me and told the newly arrived volunteer tourists about my research. I then advised them that I would be in the communal canteen area downstairs and if they were interested in being interviewed to come and see me after the orientation. In this way I maintained an arms-length approach to participant recruitment (as required by the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee). Snowball sampling was also used as some of the volunteer tourists I had interviewed told newly arrived volunteer tourists about my research and encouraged them to approach me to arrange an interview. Posters recruiting interview participants for my research were also placed in the international office at Manos del Mundo and in the volunteer tourist guesthouse where I was living.

Consent and ethical considerations

Informed consent means ensuring interview participants have sufficient information about a research project to make an informed decision about whether or not to be involved (Fontana & Frey, 2005). If they do choose to be involved, they do so voluntarily (Christians, 2008). All volunteer tourist interview participants were provided with an information sheet and were asked to sign a consent form prior to being interviewed. These forms also confirmed that they consented to the interview being digitally audio-recorded. Interview participants were able to stop the interview or the recording at any time if they felt uncomfortable. Volunteer tourists' interviews took place at a location convenient for the interview participant: at the volunteer tourist guesthouse, at a local café, or at the Manos del Mundo offices. According to Veal (2006), in-depth interviews normally take at least half an hour and sometimes as long as several hours. Entry interviews ranged from 12 to 55 minutes with an average length of just over 25 minutes. Exit interviews were generally longer, ranging from 15 to 80 minutes with an average length of just over 40 minutes. I also spoke informally with most of the volunteer tourist interview participants in the weeks between the entry and exit interviews.

Travellers generally enjoy talking about their own travel experiences (Jordan & Gibson, 2004) and Seidman (1998, pp. 59-60) argues that remunerating interview participants by giving them "anything more than a token payment" would seriously threaten to bias the potential participants' motivation for taking part in the study. For these reasons, no payment was given to any of the interview participants. For those interviews that took

place in a café, I paid for their drink. Apart from this, the volunteer tourists received no monetary benefit from taking part. The main benefit the volunteer tourists appeared to receive was having someone to talk to who was interested in their trip. At the entry interviews the volunteer tourists had only just arrived in Cusco (some only a matter of hours beforehand) and therefore did not know many people. I was able to give them directions for where to find things in Cusco (for example, the supermarket), make recommendations (for example, travel agencies popular with other volunteer tourists) and often invited them to come out with a group of volunteer tourists later that evening.

Interview participants' identities have been kept confidential (Smith, 1995; Veal, 2006) through the use of pseudonyms. Rather than numbering participants, pseudonyms have been assigned to each volunteer tourist to allow for the personalities of the volunteer tourists to be reflected in the research. Volunteer tourists were given the option to choose their own pseudonym, otherwise I assigned one to them.

Building rapport and strengthening validity

While interviews may have different aims and structure from a normal conversation, it is still important to build rapport and trust with interview participants and to ensure the situation feels comfortable rather than forced or stilted (see Jordan & Gibson, 2004). Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002, p. 89) emphasise the importance of "social interaction" between interviewers and interview participants. They suggest one way for researchers to build trust is to share their own experiences rather than simply ask questions (see also Seidman, 1998). As I had been in Cusco longer than my interview participants, many used the interview as an opportunity to ask about my own experiences and for recommendations about where to go and what to do in Cusco.

There is some debate regarding how useful interviews are in research. Hartmann (1988, pp. 89-90), for example, argues that "serious doubts must be raised if randomly selected and essentially superficial contacts between a researcher and an interview participant are considered the opportune way of exploring phenomena in depth". I was living and socialising with many of the volunteer tourists interviewed and therefore believe I developed more than "superficial contacts" with my interview participants. However, I also acknowledge that interviews cannot tell the full story and for this reason I combined the data from the interviews with participant observation. As outlined earlier in this chapter, this combination of data collection methods are often used in this type of research.

Arksey and Knight (1999) suggest several ways of strengthening the validity of interview-based research, one of which is to ensure the interview itself is sufficiently long to allow for in-depth discussion of the pertinent topics. I spent prolonged periods of time with many of the volunteer tourists interviewed and lived and socialised with many of them during my time in Cusco. As a result, I believe I gained a good level of rapport with the interview participants. Similarly, I ensured the interviews themselves were sufficiently long to allow for in-depth discussion of the pertinent topics. As noted earlier, the average length of the volunteer tourist interviews was 25 minutes for entry interviews and 40 minutes for exit interviews. Taken together, these averages suggest I spoke with each interview participant for around an hour in total and this was found to be sufficient time to allow for in-depth discussion. Jordan and Gibson (2004) also highlight the benefit of semi-structured in-depth interviews as it is possible to re-word questions and to ask follow-up questions during the interview if it appears the interview participant has not understood.

However, this level of rapport can also lead to bias; while it is necessary for interviewers to gain rapport with their interview participants, it is important that this does not undermine neutrality when analysing the interview transcripts. Patton (2015) terms this "empathic neutrality". While somewhat idealistic, Patton (2015, p. 457) states that:

> As an interviewer I want to establish rapport with the person I am questioning, but that rapport must be established in such a way that it does not undermine my neutrality concerning what the person tells me. I must be nonjudgmental. Neutrality means that the person being interviewed can tell me anything without engendering either my favor or disfavor. I cannot be shocked; I cannot be angered; I cannot be embarrassed; I cannot be saddened. Nothing the person tells me will make me think more or less of him or her... At the same time that I am neutral with regard to the content of what is being said to me, I care very much that that person is willing to share with me what he or she is saying.

While I socialised and lived with many of the interview participants, I was careful to emphasise that during the interviews I wanted to hear what they thought and believed and would not judge them for anything they might say, nor repeat anything to any other volunteer tourists. While some volunteer tourists asked questions about my research and initial findings I tried to keep my answers as general as possible to avoid influencing their responses.

3.4.2   Participant observation

For the purposes of this study, participant observation is defined as conducting observation while simultaneously participating in the activity (in this case, volunteer

tourism). As Flick (2009, p. 226) states, the main features of participant observation are that "you as the researcher dive headlong into the field. You will observe from a member's perspective, but also influence what you observe due to your participation" (see also Patton, 2015). Methods of participant observation are traditionally linked with ethnography and anthropology (Flick, 2009; Patton, 2015) although such methods are now used more widely, particularly within the social sciences.

Participant observation has many benefits. For example, Becker and Geer (1970, as cited in Patton, 2015, p. 334) state that:

> Because he [sic] sees and hears the people he studies in many situations… he builds an ever-growing fund of impressions, many of them at the subliminal level, which give him an extensive base for the interpretation and analytic use of any particular datum. This wealth of information and impression sensitizes him to subtleties which might pass unnoticed in an interview and forces him to raise continually new and different questions, which he brings to and tries to answer in succeeding observations.

Other potential benefits of observation include: gaining a better understanding of the case through personal knowledge and first-hand experience, seeing things interview participants may be unaware of, and noticing things interview participants may be unwilling to discuss in interviews (Patton, 2015). Longer periods of observation are useful in order to comprehend the context of the case (Simons, 2009).

Periods of participant observation vary widely in length. I spent fifteen weeks or just under four months in Cusco. As described earlier in Table 7, previous researchers have spent varying lengths of time conducting participant observation when researching volunteer tourists. For example, Conran (2011) spent a total of 17 months in Thailand researching volunteer tourism in hill tribes, while Lepp (2008) spent only two and a half weeks as a volunteer tourist in Kenya. By observing how the volunteer tourists behaved during their time in Cusco I was able to see how this corroborated (or contradicted) what the volunteer tourists said during interviews. There is no substitute for direct experience through participant observation (Patton, 2015) and it would have been impossible to truly comprehend the experience of volunteer tourists without having volunteered myself. None of the volunteer tourists I interviewed, and very few of the volunteer tourists I met in Cusco, were volunteering for longer than 14 weeks; 15 weeks was therefore deemed an appropriate length of time for participant observation.

I took an overt and open approach to the research and the other volunteer tourists and Manos del Mundo staff members were made aware of my research study from when I first arrived in Cusco. I had also received written permission from Manos del Mundo

management prior to arrival in Cusco and this was also a requirement of the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee. It is possible the volunteer tourists modified their behaviour as a result of knowing they were being observed, although I did not observe any behaviour changes. In many cases, while the volunteer tourists were aware I was conducting research, they appeared to forget about it for much of the time. Occasionally some of the volunteer tourists asked if I would write about them in my thesis, particularly with regards to sexual behaviours, drinking and drug taking. However, they were "generally pretty ok when I tell them I write about it in a general sense but nothing about any one person in particular" (Research diary, 4 October 2012).

The observations were not structured. As explored later in this chapter, my research became my life and it was not practical or possible to be actively observing 24 hours per day seven days per week for 15 weeks. Instead, I recorded impressions, relevant conversations, and my thoughts and initial analysis of what I was observing. Initially I intended to record how many volunteer tourists went to their project each day and what hours they volunteered. However, this was impossible to know from simple observation (because of the large number of volunteer tourists). I felt uncomfortable asking if people had been to their volunteer placement each day as it removed me from being a 'peer' and instead framed me as a supervisor 'checking up' on the volunteer tourists. Therefore, I chose not to continue this level of individual observation, and instead observed how the volunteer tourists behaved as a group. There are limitations to such an unstructured approach, for example, it may be considered more subjective. However, overall I believe it provided the best method to observe what was truly happening, rather than what I may have expected to happen (for example, as per a checklist used in more structured observational methods). This approach also fits with a grounded theory methodology of beginning the data collection process (that is, 'going into the field') with as few preconceived notions as possible of what I would find/observe.

During my time in Peru I kept a research diary/journal and recorded my observations as well as my own reflections on my experience as a volunteer tourist and memos relating to the data analysis. As per the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee requirements, posters advising I was conducting participant observation were placed in both the volunteer tourist guesthouse and at the Manos del Mundo offices asking people to contact me if they did not want to be included in the observation notes. Nobody did approach me for this purpose although several volunteer tourists did ask me about my research and I found the posters provided legitimacy to both the research project and to myself as a

researcher. For example, when newly arrived volunteer tourists were told about my research they often mentioned that they had seen the poster.

3.5   Case study site

Data collection took place at the commercial volunteer tourism organisation Manos del Mundo in Cusco, Peru in late 2012. In this section I provide some context for the following chapters by introducing and briefly describing both the case study location of Cusco in Peru, and the case study organisation of Manos del Mundo. A brief history of Cusco is also provided in Appendix 1.

3.5.1   Cusco, Peru

Peru is located in the north-west of South America and bordered by Ecuador and Colombia to the north, Brazil to the east, Bolivia to the south-east, Chile to the south, and the Pacific Ocean to the west (Figure 3). At 1,285,220km^2 Peru is five times larger than the United Kingdom (McCarthy et al., 2013) and can be divided into three geographical regions (McCarthy et al., 2013; Peru Export and Tourism Promotion Board, N.D.) including the Andean highlands which run through the middle of the country where 36% of the population live. Cusco is located in the Andean highlands in southern Peru. The city is located at an extremely high altitude and as a result many tourists struggle with the lack of oxygen (National Health Service, 2015; Rachowiecki, 2009). Cusco covers an area of 617km^2 and has a population of around 350,000 (McCarthy et al., 2013).

In 2014 Peru had a population of just over 30 million inhabitants (The World Bank, 2015) and was the fourth most populous country in South America (Rachowiecki, 2009). In 2011, the population was 77.3% urban (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014) and statistics from the 2007 census suggested a life expectancy of 70.4 years for males and 75.8 years for females (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). Quechua was the indigenous language spoken in the central and northern Andes at the time of the Spanish conquest and is currently spoken by 13.2% of Peruvians (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014) and is common in the rural areas around Cusco (Rachowiecki, 2009). As a result of Spanish colonialism the country is Roman Catholic.

Figure 3: Map of Peru (Maps Open Source, N.D.)

Indigenous peoples account for nearly half the population of Peru (Rachowiecki, 2009; World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014) with another 37% 'mestizo' ('mixed' European-indigenous), and 15% of European ancestry (Rachowiecki, 2009). For political reasons, indigenous Peruvians are often referred to as 'campesinos' (literally 'peasants') which is perceived to be a less offensive term than the more historically-laden term 'indígena' (see Burrai, 2012). However, when discussing racial and ethnic background in this thesis the

term 'indígena' or indigenous has been adopted in order to make clear that the emphasis is on ethnic background rather than urban/rural status.

Tourism, one of the largest industries in Peru, grew sharply towards the end of the 20th century (Rachowiecki, 2009). Machu Picchu was 'rediscovered' by Yale professor Hiram Bingham in 1911 and "since then, embarking on a pilgrimage to the ancient mountaintop city has become de rigueur for anyone making a grand tour of South America" (Rachowiecki, 2009, p. 20). In 2001 there were less than one million recorded tourists in Peru. This had nearly doubled by 2007 and more than tripled to 3.16 million tourists by 2013 (The World Bank, 2016). As the gateway to Machu Picchu, "tourist-thronged" (McCarthy et al., 2013, p. 10) Cusco is one of the most popular tourist destinations in South America. Cusco is not the small undeveloped township foreign tourists often expect, for example, there are many Western-style shops and businesses including Radio Shack, KFC, Starbucks, and McDonalds. Cusco was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1983 (Discover Peru, N.D.a).

While Cusco is popular with tourists, "petty crime is rampant" in Peru and "street crimes such as pickpocketing, bag-snatching and muggings are still common" (McCarthy et al., 2013, p. 537). The Australian government travel website cautions that "armed robbery, muggings and car-jacking, occurs frequently in Peru" (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2015). Cusco is still a relatively traditional city and this is reflected in the local dress and customs. In the highland towns such as Cusco, "dress is generally fairly conservative and women rarely wear shorts, opting instead for long skirts" (McCarthy et al., 2013, p. 541). 'Machismo', essentially a form of Latin-American male chauvinism, is a common issue for female travellers to Peru and "staring, whistling, hissing and catcalls in the streets are run-of-the-mill" (McCarthy et al., 2013, p. 541). Sexual assault "occurs frequently" in Peru (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2015; see also McCarthy et al., 2013). The implications of this on the volunteer tourist-host relationship are discussed further in Chapter 6.

3.5.2 Case study organisation: Manos del Mundo

There are many volunteer tourism organisations operating in Cusco (Burrai, 2012). The commercial volunteer tourism organisation chosen for this study was one of the largest and well-known in Cusco. Manos del Mundo was established in 2003 in central Cusco by an American man and his Peruvian wife. It began as a small English language school but has since expanded to include both English and Spanish lessons, courses in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), and, since 2005, volunteer tourism programmes.

Since its inception Manos del Mundo has developed an international presence and now has programmes in two other Latin American countries as well as an office in the United States. Although I booked directly with Manos del Mundo, the company also works with two sending organisations, both of which were (and still are) based in a developed English-speaking country. Regardless of which organisation the volunteer tourists booked with originally, upon arrival in Cusco all volunteer tourists received identical service.

At the time of data collection Manos del Mundo had approximately 75 to 250 volunteer tourists in Cusco in any given week and an annual total of approximately 800 to 1000 volunteer tourists. Volunteer tourists stayed in one of two volunteer tourist guesthouses or a homestay with a local family. Volunteer tourism programmes commenced every Monday with a one week minimum stay and no minimum Spanish language requirement. At the time of data collection Manos del Mundo was working with approximately 45 volunteer projects in and around Cusco, including teaching English, construction, childcare and medical projects. The organisational structure and volunteer tourism projects available are described further in Chapter 4.

Manos del Mundo was chosen as the case study organisation because it was a highly commercial, profit-making organisation, and therefore ideal for studying the effects of commodification on volunteer tourism. The (relatively) large numbers of volunteer tourists coming through each week also made interview participant recruitment more feasible than at smaller programmes which may only host one or two volunteer tourists at a time. I initially learned of Manos del Mundo from an academic contact who had previously worked at the Manos del Mundo office in Cusco. At her recommendation I emailed Manos del Mundo head office and they agreed to be involved in the research on the condition that the organisation remain anonymous and that I prepare a report for them based on my research findings[5]. I paid the same rate as other volunteer tourists for the 15 weeks of participant observation.

3.6   Research participants

In total, 33 volunteer tourists and three Manos del Mundo staff members were interviewed. Through participant observation I also interacted with around 150 other volunteer tourists during the 15 weeks in Cusco. In this section I introduce the interview

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[5] As required by the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee, following the submission of this thesis I will prepare an industry report which will be disseminated to Manos del Mundo and the two sending organisations as well as any other interested parties.

participants including both the volunteer tourists and the Manos del Mundo staff members interviewed.

3.6.1   Volunteer tourists

In total, 12 male and 21 female volunteer tourists were interviewed, ranging in age from 18 to 64 with an average age of just over 29 years (Table 9). More detailed information about the interview participants is provided in Table 14 in Appendix 2.

Table 9: Demographic data of the volunteer tourist interview participants

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Nationality
Adriana	32	Female	American
Amy	35	Female	American
Anita	55	Female	American
Bill	43	Male	American
Clare	36	Female	Australian
Daisy	21	Female	American
Daniel	19	Male	English
David	21	Male	Canadian
Dawson	22	Male	Australian
Emily	27	Female	American
Emma	24	Female	Canadian
Fiona	22	Female	Australian
Frances	22	Female	English
Georgia	42	Female	American
Heather	23	Female	American
Helen	26	Female	Canadian
James	23	Male	Lebanese
John	37	Male	American
Joseph	22	Male	American
Katie	18	Female	American
Kim	22	Female	Australian
Margaret	64	Female	American
Matt	34	Male	Australian
Melissa	34	Female	New Zealander
Michael	25	Male	New Zealander
Natalie	24	Female	Canadian
Paula	23	Female	Australian
Sarah	20	Female	American
Sonan	20	Female	Bhutanese

Susan	58	Female	Australian
Terry	26	Male	Canadian
Thomas	18	Male	American
Vinod	27	Male	American

Of the 33 volunteer tourists interviewed, 13 volunteered in a medical capacity, 11 at childcare projects, seven taught English, five worked at construction projects, one visited the jungle project and one took part in the cultural immersion project. These numbers total more than 33 as several volunteer tourists took part in more than one project during their time in Cusco. The volunteer tourists' Spanish language skills ranged from non-existent to fluent, with the majority speaking basic to pre-intermediate Spanish upon arrival. The length of stay also varied widely from the Manos del Mundo-imposed minimum of one week to two volunteer tourists staying 14 weeks (Table 10).

Table 10: Length of volunteering of the volunteer tourist interview participants

Volunteer tourist participants' length of volunteering	Number of volunteer tourists interviewed
1-2 weeks	14
3-4 weeks	7
5-8 weeks	7
10 weeks	2
11 weeks	1
14 weeks	2

Interviews were conducted in English. All the volunteer tourists interviewed were either from, or currently residing in, an English-speaking country. In fitting with the age of the volunteer tourists interviewed, eleven were either university students or recent graduates and two had just graduated from high school. The majority of the remaining volunteer tourists were professionals.

3.6.2   Manos del Mundo staff

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with three Manos del Mundo staff members: two American staff members based at the Cusco office who worked closely with the volunteer tourists and often socialised with them, and the American founder of Manos del Mundo. Like the volunteer tourist interview participants, Manos del Mundo staff interview participants were told about my research and asked to approach me if they

were interested in being involved. A poster advertising the research was placed in the Manos del Mundo office. Staff interview participants were provided with an information sheet and were asked to sign a consent form prior to being interviewed. This stated that they agreed to the interview being recorded and that they understood taking part in the interview would not affect their job in any way. The Manos del Mundo staff interviews took place either at the Manos del Mundo offices (away from other staff members) or at a nearby café, and lasted an average of around an hour.

The Manos del Mundo staff interviews served two main purposes: to learn more about how Manos del Mundo operated as an organisation, and to explore how Manos del Mundo viewed the volunteer tourists and the commercialisation of volunteer tourism. In addition to these interviews I also had many informal conversations with local staff members and the two other American Manos del Mundo staff members who worked closely with the volunteer tourists. Both these staff members had agreed to be interviewed as part of my research project, however, one left Cusco before I was able to interview her and the other cancelled our scheduled interview due to a family emergency and we were unable to reschedule a time before I left Cusco. The three Manos del Mundo staff members I did interview were open about being interviewed and told other staff members they had taken part in the study. Due to the small number of staff interviews conducted, and the need to protect the interview participants' anonymity (including from their employer), quotes used in this thesis are identified merely as being from a Manos del Mundo staff interview rather than being attributed to a specific person.

3.7   Data analysis

The data collected in Cusco were transcribed, coded and analysed. In this section I provide detail on these processes and describe how I controlled for research subjectivity within the data analysis process.

3.7.1   Transcription

All interviews (both volunteer tourists and Manos del Mundo staff) were digitally audio-recorded and upon return to Australia/New Zealand, I transcribed all interviews using AltoEdge transcription software. This resulted in over 300,000 words of interview transcripts. Additionally, fieldnotes were transferred from two notebooks to a Microsoft Word file. As Patton (2015, p. 524) notes:

> The data generated by qualitative methods are voluminous. I have found no way of preparing students for the sheer mass of information they will find themselves confronted with when data collection has ended. Sitting down to

> make sense out of pages of interviews and whole files of field notes can be
> overwhelming.

The fieldnotes and interview transcripts were then loaded into the qualitative data analysis programme NVivo for coding.

3.7.2   Coding

The data were coded within NVivo using a grounded theory approach. In fitting with grounded theory research, inductive analysis was used, that is, themes and categories of analysis were based on the data itself rather than predetermined prior to data collection (Patton, 2015). Grounded theory research is an iterative process which means that coding, sampling and theory development feed back into each other. This is depicted in Figure 4, taken from Birks and Mills (2011, p. 37). Due to the emergent and cyclical nature of grounded theory and the associated constant comparative analysis and simultaneous data collection and analysis, the process of data analysis was relatively 'messy' with periods of analysis, theory and literature, more analysis, more data, more theory and literature and so forth. However, the process is described here in a linear fashion to aid comprehension.
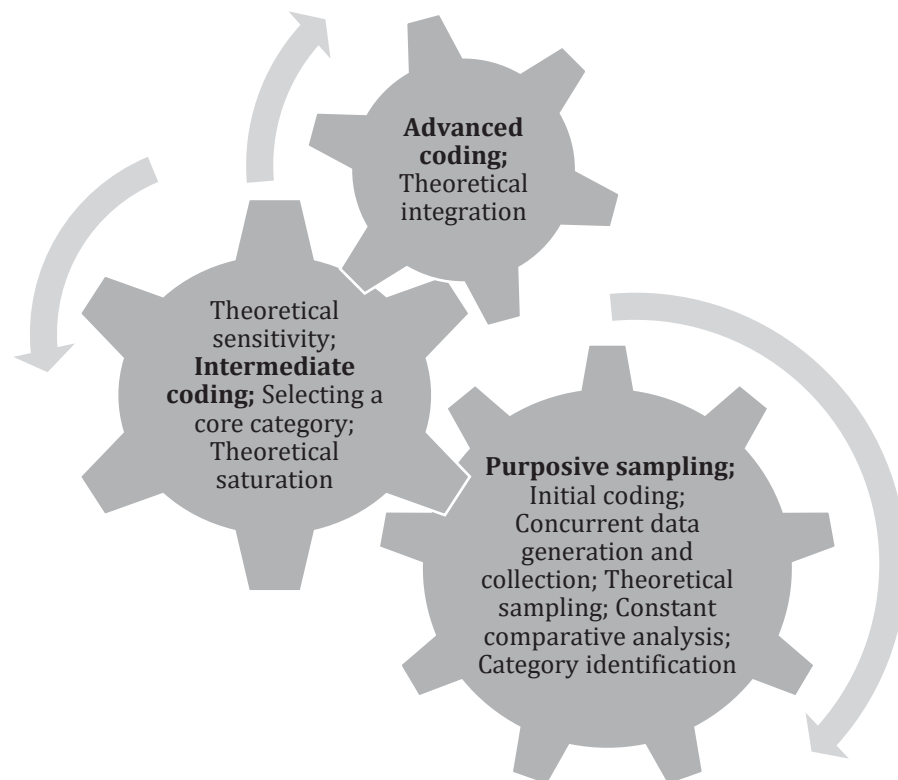
Figure 4: Essential grounded theory methods (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 37)

In grounded theory research the new theory 'emerges' from the data as a result of robust data analysis. While Strauss and Corbin (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) refer to these three stages as open, axial and selective coding, Birks and Mills (2011) use the terms initial, intermediate and advanced coding. These three stages are described in Table 11.

Table 11: The coding process in grounded theory analysis (based on Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2014; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

Coding process	Description
Initial coding and categorization of data (open coding)	Initial coding involves identifying important words in the data and labelling them accordingly. These codes are then grouped into categories. "Categories are referred to as theoretically saturated when new data analysis returns codes that only fit in existing categories, and these categories are sufficiently explained in terms of their properties and the dimensions" (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 10).
Intermediate coding (axial coding)	Intermediate coding follows on from initial coding, although due to the concurrent data collection/analysis aspect of grounded theory, and constant comparison, the grounded theorist moves back and forth between initial and intermediate coding.
Advanced coding and theoretical integration (selective coding)	As a result of intermediate coding, the researcher selects a core category that "encapsulates and explains the grounded theory as a whole. Further theoretical sampling and selective coding focus on actualizing the core category in a highly abstract conceptual manner" (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 12).

I commenced analysis by open-coding ten of the volunteer tourist interview transcripts. This led to nearly 400 codes or 'nodes' in NVivo. Examples of some of these initial codes are provided in the screenshot in Figure 5.

Nodes		
Name	Sources	References
Daily routine	2	3
Day structured to promote Spanish lessons	1	1
Depressed about lack of contribution	1	2
Desire to come back	1	1
Desire to do something bigger following VT experience	1	2
Desire to go directly though Manos not sending org	1	1
Desire to show the orphans love	1	2
Desire to stay longer	3	3
Desire to volunteer but also see the country	1	2
Disbled children project	1	1
Dislikes paying to change projects	1	1
Don't know if commercial is better becasue no other VT experience	2	2
Enjoying social aspect	1	1
Evaluation of organisation	2	2
Expectations of accommodation	1	1
Expectations of medical placement	1	1
Exploitation	1	1
Feeling dumb	1	1
Feelings upon seeing Cusco	1	1
First independent travel	2	2
for-profit versus charity	1	1
Free time	1	1
'Get my feet wet'	2	3
Get out what you put in	1	1

Figure 5: NVivo screenshot showing examples of initial coding

The second stage of grounded theory is intermediate coding or axial coding. The initial open codes were grouped into categories based on the interview themes, that is, motivations, expectations, experience, and so forth. Codes that were deemed similar were merged together. During this process, I coded additional interviews, and alternated between initial and intermediate coding, adding and subtracting nodes to best reflect the data. Examples of intermediate coding are provided in the screenshot in Figure 6.

Nodes		
Name	Sources	References
1) Reasons for choosing VT	0	0
2) Reasons for choosing Cusco, Peru	4	5
3) Reasons for choosing Manos del Mundo	0	0
4) Reasons for choosing specific project	2	2
5) Expectations	1	1
6) Experiences in Cusco	0	0
7) Benefits to VTs	0	0
8) Evaluation of experience	4	8
9) Commercialisation of VT	6	12

Figure 6: NVivo screenshot showing examples of phase I intermediate coding

While the intermediate codes I started with reflected the interview structure, after coding approximately twenty interviews I found this was no longer the most appropriate way of grouping the data. Instead of coding the entry and exit interviews separately, I began to view them as one longer interview that described the volunteer tourists' expectations and experiences across time. This fits with Birks and Mills (2011, p. 12) view that while initial

coding fractures the data, intermediate coding "reconnects the data in ways that are conceptually much more abstract than would be produced by thematic analysis". Examples of this higher-level coding are provided in the screenshot in Figure 7.

Nodes

Name	Sources	References
ACCOMMODATION	10	13
ALTRUISM-RELATED MOTIVATIONS	0	0
'AUTHENTIC'	3	4
'BEST OF BOTH WORLDS'	18	23
CAREER AND SKILL DEVELOPMENT	0	0
CASE STUDY CONTEXT	3	18
CHOOSING MANOS DEL MUNDO	0	0
COMMERCIAL VT	9	21
COST OF VT	3	3
CUSCO AND CUSQUENIANS	4	5
DAILY ROUTINE	0	0
DESIRE TO DO MORE	2	4
ETHICS OF COMMERCIAL VT	0	0
EVALUATION OF EXPERIENCE	4	8
EXPECTATIONS OF EXPERIENCE	6	11
FUTURE	1	1
GET OUT OF IT WHAT YOU PUT IN	5	6
GREATER PERSPECTIVE AND APPRECIATION OF HOME	7	10
IMPACT ON HOST COMMUNITY	0	0
IMPORTANCE OF TIMING	0	0
INTRODUCTION TO VT	0	0
LACK OF ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE	0	0
LENGTH OF TIME	2	3
MACHISMO	4	7

Figure 7: NVivo screenshot showing examples of phase II intermediate coding

Traditional grounded theory research emphasized the identification of a "core category" (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As a result of intermediate coding, the researcher selects the core category that "encapsulates and explains the grounded theory as a whole" (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 12). However, second-generation grounded theorists such as Charmaz (2014) and Clarke (2005) have tended to focus more on how categories and sub-categories inter-relate rather than a specific core category (Birks & Mills, 2011). In this study, I identified the concept of 'volunteers as consumers' as the core category and higher levels of analysis were built around this idea.

While the interview transcripts were coded in NVivo, much of the analysis was conducted manually alongside the writing process. As I began to write this thesis (and other publications also based on this data), different connections between the codes emerged and therefore how the themes fit together changed over time. As fitting with a grounded theory approach, I was also reading the literature at this point and this also influenced the refinement of these themes and connections.

3.8   Ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research

Quantitative research is traditionally assessed depending on its internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity (Decrop, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The validity and reliability of qualitative research is often questioned or critiqued because, unlike quantitative research, qualitative results cannot be measured in numbers and statistically analysed (Decrop, 2004). Lincoln and Guba (1985), however, argue that qualitative research is inherently different from quantitative research and therefore should not be judged by the same criteria. Instead, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed that qualitative research should be judged according to its credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. While these criteria have been widely criticised, they remain highly cited (King & Horrocks, 2010).

Like validity, credibility refers to how accurate or truthful the research findings are. This is often questioned in qualitative research because of high levels of subjectivity (Decrop, 2004). However, as when increasing validity, using longer interviews which allow time to explore a topic in-depth and create rapport between the interviewer and the interview participant can increase the 'truthfulness' or credibility of research findings (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Transferability relates to how applicable the findings are to populations other than the sample group (Decrop, 2004). Generalisability is often not possible in qualitative research because of the lack of random sampling and the often small sample size. However, if findings reflect other research and current theories they can be thought to be applicable to a wider range than merely the sample (Decrop, 2004). While the findings may not be generalisable, they can be extrapolated to the broader population (Alasuutari, 1995).

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995, p. 146), "qualitative research does not pretend to be replicable". Reality is not single and distinct within the interpretive paradigm but is instead relative and contextual, influenced by time, context, culture and values (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Instead of reliability or replicability, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose dependability which focuses on how consistent and reproducible the results are (Decrop, 2004). While I do not suggest this research study is directly replicable and a repeated study would produce identical results, I do believe that a similar study would produce similar results. Likewise, the findings from this research project reflect and reinforce previous findings in the volunteer tourism literature.

Lincoln and Guba's (1985) fourth criteria for assessing qualitative research is confirmability. While quantitative research claims to be objective, qualitative research accepts that this is not possible, nor necessarily desirable. Instead, steps are taken in order to mitigate the researcher's influence, for example, by providing access to the empirical data so others can see how it was interpreted (Decrop, 2004). During data collection and analysis I attempted to temporarily 'bracket' or suspend my prior knowledge in order to improve the confirmability of the research.

Another technique useful for increasing validity is triangulation. This occurs when "information coming from different angles or perspectives is used to corroborate, elaborate or illuminate the research problem", thereby limiting bias (Decrop, 2004, p. 162). The use of multiple methods or methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1989; Patton, 2015), in this case interviews and participant observation, was used to enhance the credibility of the research findings (Veal, 2006). Methodological triangulation is not used to compensate for weakness in the other data method, but rather to facilitate a deeper understanding of the phenomenon by approaching it from multiple perspectives (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). As Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 5) state, triangulation "is best understood… as a strategy that adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry".

There are multiple interpretations of research, depending on the personal biographies of both the researcher and the research subjects and this can partly explain why the findings of one researcher will not necessarily match the findings of another researcher who repeats the study (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). In this thesis I have followed a similar system as described by Alexander and Bakir (2011, pp. 24-25):

> The first author played a major role in arriving at this explanation as the concepts were her own, emerged as a result of her systematic searching for themes within the data. We feel that this subjectivity limitation was addressed by the extensive data collected and the visibility and audit ability of the detailed process in arriving at the emerged theoretical explanation. Many quotations were used in the chapter, giving the readers the opportunity to interpret the data themselves following our trail, and hopefully arrive at a similar explanation, and by doing so confirming the trustworthiness of the findings.

Similarly, I have been open about the analysis process used in this study and provide many quotes in this thesis to allow readers to follow the analysis and process of interpretation.

While some qualitative researchers promote member checking (that is, returning to interview participants to allow them to check and comment on the analysis with the aim of verifying findings), Birks and Mills (2011, p. 99) argue that "the process of concurrent data

generation or collection and analysis subsumes the strategy of member checking in grounded theory analysis". In this study, preliminary data analysis was conducted simultaneously with data collection and member checking was not used. Member checking was also deemed inappropriate as part of the research was exploring the volunteer tourists' expectations and initial feelings upon arrival in Cusco; allowing the volunteer tourists to change or correct their interview transcripts would therefore risk losing some of these initial impressions. This reflects Fielding and Fielding's (1986, p. 43) statement that while interview participants may have useful additional knowledge "there is no reason to assume that members have privileged status as commentators on their actions" (see also Silverman, 2001).

Nonetheless, I believe those involved in the research study support my research findings. During the preparation of this thesis I published multiple conference papers, a journal article and a book chapter (as listed in the preface to this thesis). All of the feedback I have received from Manos del Mundo staff members and former Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists has been supportive of my findings and interpretations. For example, a journal article based on this data (Godfrey, Wearing, & Schulenkorf, 2015) was made available online on 16 September 2014 and I publicised its release on my Facebook wall. A former Manos del Mundo staff member who was working at Manos del Mundo at the time of data collection sent me a message on Facebook to say that she had "loved reading your article, found it super interesting and accurate" (personal communication, 24 September 2014). Another former volunteer tourist said of the same article that "it is so interesting" and that she "loved it" (personal communication, 25 October 2014). Taken together with other positive feedback from both volunteer tourists and Manos del Mundo staff, this adds to the reliability of the research findings and supports my analysis of the data and my interpretations of the findings.

3.9   Personal reflexivity

Personal reflexivity involves researchers looking at how their own beliefs, interests, experiences and identity may have influenced the research stages (Willig, 2001). Constructionist paradigms assume that knowledge is constructed rather than simply a truth existing 'out there' waiting to be 'discovered' and therefore, by extension, researchers themselves play a role in knowledge construction. As a result, researcher reflexivity is particularly important in constructionist research "as it requires researchers to consider their contribution to the construction of meaning" (King & Horrocks, 2010, p. 22).

One of the most commonly cited examples of reflexivity was provided by William Whyte who was a Harvard researcher who moved to a Boston slum largely inhabited by Italian immigrants in the 1930s. In 1943, he published *"Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum"*. In it, Whyte (1981, p. 279) reflects on his own role as researcher, emphasising the need for a personal telling of his experiences in order to fully describe the context of the data collected.

> The researcher, like his informants, is a social animal. He has a role to play, and he has his own personality needs that must be met in some degree if he is to function successfully. Where the researcher operates out of a university, just going into the field for a few hours at a time, he can keep his personal social life separate from field activity. His problem of role is not quite so complicated. If, on the other hand, the researcher is living for an extended period in the community he is studying, his personal life is inextricably mixed with his research. A real explanation, then, of how the research was done necessarily involves a rather personal account of how the researcher lived during the period of study.

For the collection of primary data for my thesis, I spent a total of fifteen weeks in Cusco. Like Whyte, my research became my life and my personal life became "inextricably mixed" (Whyte, 1981, p. 279) with my research; my case study site became my workplace and my home, and my interview participants became my friends.

When I first arrived in Cusco I was collected at the airport by a Manos del Mundo employee and spent the first week in a homestay with a Peruvian man, his Spanish wife, and five volunteer tourists. As I wanted to meet more volunteer tourists I requested to move accommodation and spent the remaining fourteen weeks living with sixteen other volunteer tourists in a Manos del Mundo-operated volunteer tourist guesthouse approximately 15 minutes' walk from central Cusco (described further in Chapter 5).

As part of my participant observation I also took Spanish lessons and volunteered teaching English to adults at a local community centre. I am a qualified TEFL teacher and previously worked for 18 months teaching Business English in Germany. In addition to conducting participant observation and in-depth interviews, the staff at Manos del Mundo allowed me to accompany them on their weekly visits to the other volunteer tourism projects. During the data collection period in Cusco I visited three teaching projects, four childcare projects, two construction projects, two medical clinics, the zoo, and the cultural immersion homestay family who lived in a nearby rural village. I also visited many of the tourist attractions in and around Cusco with other volunteer tourists.

Conducting research in a developing country has inherent risks. Prior to departing Australia I had the vaccines recommended by my Sydney-based travel doctor and I also

took tablets to counter-act altitude sickness. While the World Health Organisation lists Peru as a malaria-risk country this is only a risk in the jungle areas and therefore does not include Cusco. As part of the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee requirements I registered my travel plans with the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and as a New Zealand citizen travelling on a New Zealand passport I also registered my plans with the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

I was often ill in Cusco: stomach upsets associated with lower levels of food hygiene, respiratory infections which I attributed to the lack of oxygen at the high altitude and the high levels of dust in Cusco, and general colds and other viruses as a result of living with sixteen other people (particularly as the water was turned off at night and therefore hygiene was somewhat erratic). As I recorded in my research diary, interviewing the volunteer tourists and Manos del Mundo staff members was difficult because the volunteer tourists, myself included, were often ill.

> Exit interviews with the 2 med [medical] volunteers I was recovering from a 3 day stomach bug & the exit interviews with [two other volunteer tourists] last Friday I had a head cold… Does seem like everyone is constantly sick here but does make research difficult because I'm fighting the fog in my head to ask decent questions & not getting much reflection/thought in the interviewees' answers as I would like because they don't feel 100% either. (Research diary, 6 September 2012)

In some cases I felt pressure to 'rush' the interview because the volunteer tourist I was interviewing was feeling unwell (or hungover).

As previously noted, petty crime is common in Peru (McCarthy et al., 2013) and I had my handbag stolen twice, the first time they used a knife although the bag contained nothing of value, the second time they took my passport, credit card, and cellphone amongst other things (although not my research diary or interview recordings). Cusco is a relatively male chauvinistic culture and female volunteers, myself includedm were often subjected to various levels of sexual harassment from local men. This is explored further in Chapter 6 although it is important to note here that my own experiences in Cusco were as a white female and these experiences may have differed for another researcher/tourist (see also Vrasti, 2013).

Regardless of these negative experiences, I had an amazing time in Cusco and have fond memories of the months I spent there. It is now over three years since the data collection period and I still count some of the volunteer tourists I met there as my closest friends and have met up with several of them since our time in Peru. I am friends on Facebook with over 50 of the volunteer tourists I met in Cusco, as well as Manos del Mundo staff

members and my Peruvian students (see Sin (2015) for a discussion about befriending research participants on Facebook). This reflects the high level of rapport I developed with my interview participants. I believe this level of rapport led to a depth and honesty/frankness to the research findings that would not have been possible without these close friendships. As Hammersley (2014, p. 861) writes of her roles as both volunteer tourist and researcher:

> These roles have been complementary rather than clashing and have permitted greater insights into the data based on a sense of mutual understanding and shared confidence between the researcher and the research participants.

This applies particularly to disclosures from the volunteer tourists in their interviews of behaviours they may not have otherwise been comfortable discussing (for example, drug-taking and sexual liaisons).

On the other hand, this level of rapport can make it difficult or uncomfortable to switch from casual conversation (particularly exit interviews at which point we may have lived together for several weeks) to an interview situation; this applied to both interview participants who I was very good friends with, but also the few interview participants who I knew well but did not necessarily get along with personally. It is also possible that as a result of our friendships, some of my interview participants told me what they thought I wanted to hear.

> It's hard to swap from several weeks of casual conversation to a more formal interview (Daniel's interview was far more stilted than I've ever spoken to him & he totally changed his way of speaking. Kim & Fiona told me tonnes of stuff when we went to Wild Rovers [a local backpacker hostel] for breakfast but then only gave one sentence answers in the interview[6]... Michael started his interview by sitting down & saying "so, what do you want me to say?") They all mean well & want to help me with my research but it's hard to get them to just be themselves in interviews & tell me what they really think. (Research diary, 21 September 2012)

However, I took care to explain that what I 'wanted to hear' was their own thoughts and experiences. I was also able to question things they said in the interview that conflicted with things I had heard them say (or seen them do) elsewhere, that is, triangulate the data collected in the interviews with data collected via participant observation.

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[6] They told me later this was because I had told them I would have to transcribe these interviews and they wanted to make this as easy for me as possible.

3.10   Chapter summary

In this chapter I have described the methods and methodology used to address the research aim and research questions as outlined in Chapter 1. I approached this research study from a constructionist and interpretivist viewpoint; there is no one 'truth' waiting to be discovered through research, but rather meaning is constructed through people's interpretations and representations of the world. To examine this concept of commodified volunteer tourism within consumer culture I used a Charmazian grounded theory approach to a qualitative case study, although the study itself was not a traditional grounded theory study. Grounded theory was chosen as an appropriate research method because, although much has been published on volunteer tourism in the last twenty years, little of this research has focused specifically on the changing nature of commodified volunteer tourism. Similar approaches (that is, a grounded theory case study) have been used in previous tourism studies.

A case study was chosen of a large commercial volunteer tourism organisation in Cusco, Peru, referred to in this thesis by the pseudonym Manos del Mundo. The case study findings presented and discussed in the following chapters are based on 15 weeks participant observation and in-depth semi-structured interviews with 33 volunteer tourists and three Manos del Mundo staff members. Similar studies of volunteer tourism have also made use of this multiple methods approach (that is, a combination of participant observation and interviews). Data collection was carried out in Cusco in late 2012. Interviews were transcribed and both interview transcripts and research diary notes were analysed in NVivo using a grounded theory approach, that is, initial, intermediate and advanced coding.

The case study organisation is situated in Cusco in the Andean region of Peru. Cusco is a relatively poor city although, as the gateway city to Machu Picchu, it is also an extremely popular tourism destination with well-established tourism infrastructure. Nonetheless, petty crime is popular and Latin American 'machismo' can be an issue for female tourists to the city. There are many volunteer tourism organisations operating in Cusco although Manos del Mundo is one of the largest with around 800 to 1000 volunteer tourists annually.

I interviewed 12 male and 21 female volunteer tourists, ranging in age from 18 to 64 years. All the volunteer tourists were either from an English-speaking country or currently living in an English-speaking country, and were spending between one week and 14 weeks

volunteering in Cusco. The volunteer tourists were interviewed twice: at the first interview shortly after they arrived in Cusco I focused on their motivations and reasons for choosing to volunteer, while at the second interview shortly before they left Cusco I focused on their experiences in Cusco and whether or not their expectations of the experience had been met. Around one-third of the volunteer tourists I interviewed were volunteering in a medical capacity, one-third at childcare projects, and the remaining third split between construction projects and teaching English at either local primary schools or a community drop-in centre. I also interviewed three Manos del Mundo staff members to learn more about the company structure and operations and how the company viewed the volunteer tourists and volunteer tourism.

The trustworthiness of the research findings was strengthened through the use of longer interviews which allowed time to explore a topic in-depth, as well as providing an opportunity for me to develop rapport with the interview participants to increase the 'truthfulness' of research findings. Using both interviews and participant observation also allowed for methodological triangulation. The results of this research project reflect and reinforce previous findings in the volunteer tourism literature and while I did not use member checking (returning interview transcripts to the interview participants), volunteer tourists who I met in Cusco who have read my publications based on these research findings have supported my interpretations.

The previous two chapters (Chapters 1 and 2) provided background and context to the commercialisation and commodification of volunteer tourism within consumer culture while this chapter described how I approached the research project. In the following chapters (Chapters 4-7) I describe and discuss the research findings before drawing conclusions in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CASE STUDY ORGANISATION AND VOLUNTEER TOURISM PROJECTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first research question (including the first two sub-questions) by describing the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism (Figure 8). I present the research findings to describe how the case study organisation was structured and what the volunteer tourists did in Cusco with regards to volunteering (that is, the volunteer tourism projects). I also give a brief outline of what the volunteer tourists' daily routines looked like in Cusco. This chapter is largely a descriptive presentation of findings to provide context for the following chapters (Chapters 5-7) which include more in-depth discussion.

Chapter 4

1) What are the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism?	**2) How do volunteer tourists perceive commodified volunteer tourism?**	**3) In what ways do volunteer tourists consume volunteer tourism?**
1A) How is the case study organisation structured?	**2A) How do volunteer tourists perceive the host community?**	**3A) In what ways is commodified volunteer tourism similar to other forms of tourism including packaged tours?**
1B) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site with regards to volunteering?	**2B) How do volunteer tourists interact with the host community?**	**3B) In what ways do the volunteer tourists benefit from their volunteer tourism experience?**
1C) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site when not volunteering?	**2C) How do volunteer tourists perceive they have contributed (or not) to the host community as a result of their volunteering?**	**3C) In what ways do volunteer tourists treat volunteer tourism as a commodity to be consumed?**
1D) In what ways do volunteer tourists differ from each other?		

Figure 8: Research questions and sub-questions addressed in Chapter 4

4.2 Manos del Mundo's volunteer tourism programme

This section is based on interviews with the volunteer tourists and Manos del Mundo staff members. Rather than an opportunistic business move, Manos del Mundo staff described the company's expansion from language school to commercial volunteer tourism organisation as a relatively organic process. In the mid-2000s Manos del Mundo already had English speakers coming to Cusco to complete TEFL courses when the director was approached by a police officer who worked with street children in the area. Manos del

Mundo's director said it seemed a natural extension to have the TEFL students volunteer their time teaching English to local street children.

> We started working with them because a police officer friend of ours was in charge of it. And we installed a little English learning room there [at the police station]... It's essentially a community centre for street children or just for kids coming out of school, a way to kind of keep them off the street. (Staff member)

Soon after this programme started, Manos del Mundo was contacted by a large overseas-based volunteer tourism organisation that was already working with another Peru-based organisation.

> They were looking for somebody to help lead their programmes in Peru because they weren't happy with whomever their partner was at the time... we felt that that was a very logical expansion of what we were doing. (Staff member)

As a result, Manos del Mundo began to offer specific volunteer tourism opportunities.

At the time of data collection Manos del Mundo was receiving volunteer tourists from two large overseas-based volunteer tourism organisations: one of which was a charity while the other was a large (expanding) commercial volunteer tourism organisation. Volunteering through the charitable organisation was nearly three times the price of volunteering through the commercial organisation. About three-quarters of the volunteer tourists volunteering with Manos del Mundo at the time of data collection had registered to volunteer through the overseas-based commercial volunteer tourism organisation although this was commercially sensitive information and I was therefore unable to verify these statistics. While some of the volunteer tourists (particularly those who had registered with the charitable organisation) were surprised to learn that Manos del Mundo is a for-profit company, overall there seemed to be little to differentiate the volunteer tourists who came through the charitable organisation, those who came through the commercial organisation, and those who registered directly with Manos del Mundo.

Manos del Mundo staff said the organisation chose specific volunteer projects based on whether they believed the volunteer tourists could have a positive impact on the project (that is, that there was something for the volunteer tourists to do) and that there were local staff available to oversee the work.

> One of the biggest things is, is there a real job that a volunteer can do? Is there a need?... And then, I guess, the other big thing is... are there staff members that will, you know, actually pay attention to the volunteers and make sure they're actually doing something and getting something out of it. (Staff member)

Manos del Mundo operated very few of its own projects (exceptions included the medical outreach programme, the teaching English to adults programme, and the construction projects) and instead operated as intermediaries by recruiting volunteer tourists and liaising with coordinators/managers at existing locally-operated projects, for example, schools, orphanages and medical clinics (see Figure 9). Unlike some other volunteer tourism organisations operating in Cusco, Manos del Mundo did not pay its volunteer tourism projects for 'hosting' the volunteer tourists. The only exception to this was the medical projects where Manos del Mundo paid the local clinics the same rate as local medical students (US$5 per week). Manos del Mundo may therefore be arguably less commodified than other volunteer tourism programmes that do pay their volunteer tourism projects.
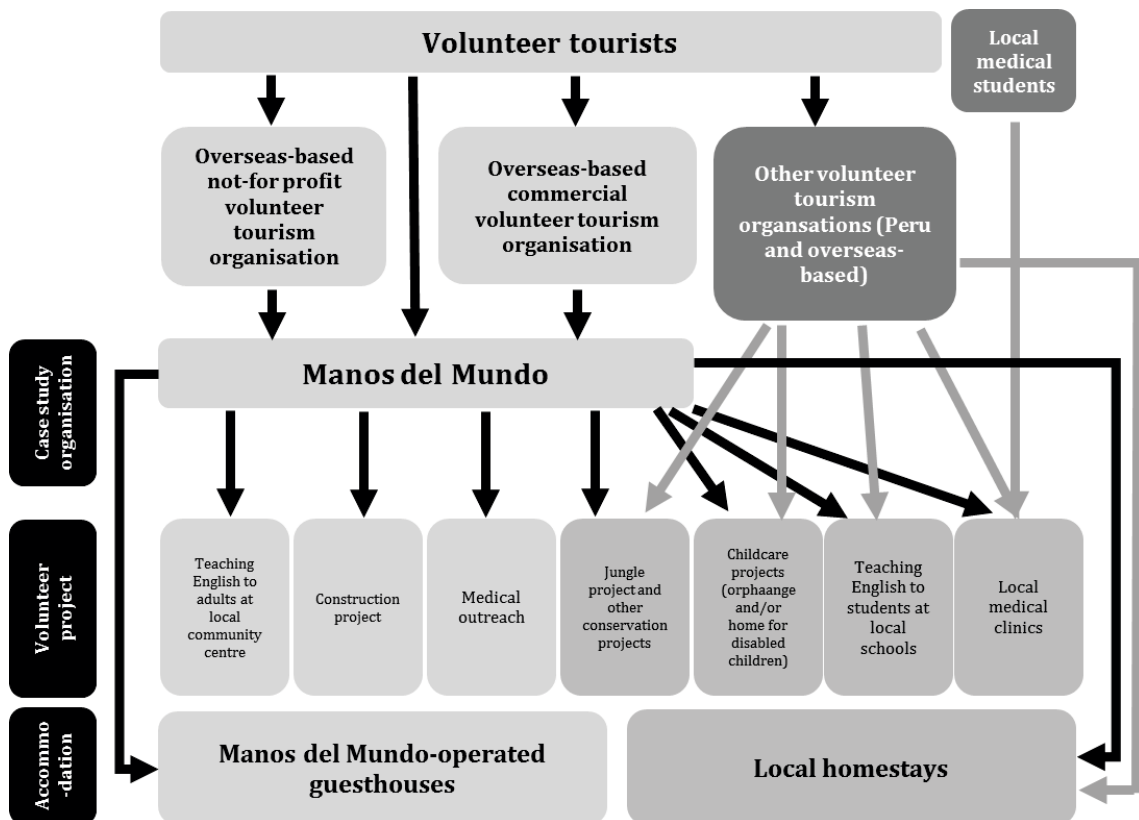
Figure 9: Case study organisational structure

While initial volunteering opportunities at Manos del Mundo may have been somewhat ad-hoc, at the time of data collection the process had become much more formalised. Manos del Mundo had contracts or memoranda of understanding with many of the various projects it sent volunteer tourists to. Cusco was (and is) an extremely popular volunteer tourism destination (Burrai, 2012) and Manos del Mundo staff suggested many orphanages in the city had more volunteer tourists wanting to volunteer than places

available. As a result, Manos del Mundo had developed contracts with the local orphanages guaranteeing Manos del Mundo a certain number of volunteer 'places' each week.

> Those three orphanages are probably our number one childcare projects. And people really enjoy it and we have exclusivity so if there's too many Manos del Mundo volunteers they won't accept volunteers from other organisations… So that's why you have to have contracts because if you don't… you can show up one day with three volunteers and there are like six volunteers from [another organisation]. (Staff member)

Essentially, these contracts ensured Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists took precedence over volunteer tourists coming from other organisations.

One of the reasons Manos del Mundo could negotiate such relationships was due to the consistently high number of volunteer tourists. According to Manos del Mundo staff members, the number of volunteer tourists in Cusco at any given time varied week to week from around 75 during off-peak season to up to 250 during peak season.

> So we have pre-busy season January through April, we have busy season May through August, and then we have post-busy season which is September through December… The biggest months by far are May, June, July and August. Biggest, biggest months. (Staff member)

This seasonality reflects the fact that many of the volunteer tourists are university students who are presumably more likely to volunteer during the Northern hemisphere summer break (that is, mid-year). Data collection took place between August and November 2012. These dates were chosen because Manos del Mundo were still receiving high numbers of volunteer tourists each week, but it was not peak season and therefore Manos del Mundo staff members had time to take part in the research.

Due to the varying number of volunteer tourists, Manos del Mundo ranked their projects from A to C based on what was referred to as the 'closeness' of the working relationship between Manos del Mundo and the volunteer project (with 'A' projects being the ones Manos del Mundo was most closely associated with).

> Essentially we concentrate most of our time and volunteering on the A and B level projects. So as the number of volunteers go down, the A-level projects will probably still have plenty of hands, plenty of folks coming through. C-level projects and even some B-level projects though, could feel ignored. (Staff member)

During peak season volunteer tourists may be sent to A, B and C-ranked projects. During off-peak season when there are fewer volunteer tourists in Cusco, most are placed at A-ranked projects, with the remainder at B-ranked projects. Sending volunteer tourists to A and B-ranked projects took priority and during off-peak season there may not be enough volunteer tourists to go to C-ranked projects.

4.3   Manos del Mundo's volunteer tourism projects

At the time of data collection, Manos del Mundo offered a variety of volunteer tourism projects in and around Cusco. According to Manos del Mundo staff members, approximately two-thirds of Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists were volunteering at childcare projects, 10-15% were volunteering at medical clinics, 5-10% were teaching English while the same proportion were volunteering at construction projects, and less than 5% of volunteer tourists were at conservation/jungle projects or taking part in the cultural immersion project (Table 12). These are estimated percentages provided by staff at the organisation and therefore do not total 100%.

Table 12: Manos del Mundo's volunteer projects

Type of volunteering	Examples of volunteer tourism projects	% of volunteer tourists	Interview participants
Childcare	- Boys' and girls' orphanages - Orphanage for sexually abused girls - Homework centre	60-70%	12
Medical	- Rural clinics outside of Cusco - Local public hospitals in central Cusco - Dental clinics - Home for disabled children	10-15%	13
Teaching English	- Private primary schools (children) - Community centre (adults)	5-10%	7
Construction	Building a new kindergarten and community centre	5-10%	5
Conservation	- Jungle project (outside Cusco) - Local zoo	<5%	1
Immersion project	Living with a family in a small village outside Cusco	<5%	1

The jungle conservation project was discontinued during the data collection period because Manos del Mundo deemed the project to be inappropriately organised and that the volunteer tourists at the project were not contributing to the preservation of local conservation as intended but instead performing general garden maintenance for a private residence. Similarly, the cultural immersion project was not, strictly speaking, volunteer tourism but involved living with a local family in a rural village and helping

them with daily chores. However, it was treated by both Manos del Mundo and volunteer tourists as a volunteer tourism project and is therefore included in Table 12.

The following descriptions of each of these types of project are based mainly on interviews with the volunteer tourists and therefore reflect how the volunteer tourists understood the projects which may differ from how the host community and/or Manos del Mundo viewed the various projects. Descriptions of the projects are also supported by interviews with the Manos del Mundo staff members and my own observations from visiting the various projects (particularly the community centre where I volunteered during the data collection period).

4.3.1   Childcare and orphanage projects

Volunteering with children was by far the most popular Manos del Mundo volunteer tourism project in Cusco. Volunteer tourists volunteered at several different orphanages and childcare centres in and around the city. The most common childcare projects were:

- Boys' orphanage in the central city
- Centre for sexually abused girls (female volunteer tourists only)
- Girls' orphanage on the outskirts of Cusco
- Homework centre in a nearby rural village.

During the data collection period I visited all four projects, although the majority of this description of the volunteer tourism projects is based on the interviews with the volunteer tourists themselves.

Many of the volunteer tourists, even at their exit interviews, said they were unsure how the orphanages were organised, where the funding came from, and the children's family background.

> Some of them [the children] are orphans but a lot of them have parents who have just dumped them…. So sometimes the parents come and they drop something off for them. It's a bizarre system… Some of the kids are orphans, some of the girls have one parent, some of the girls were just dropped off because the family can't afford it or it's inconvenient, or because of abuse, whether sexual or physical abuse. So there are a lot of reasons. (Margaret)

Many of the volunteer tourists said they were often unsure what they were supposed to be doing at the childcare projects, and in many cases the language barrier prevented them from asking the local staff for guidance.

The volunteer tourists suggested there was very little structure to the childcare projects and while most had assumed prior to arrival that they would be helping local staff at the

orphanage, the volunteer tourists said that in many cases the orphanage staff used the time to catch up on administration and organisational tasks and left the volunteer tourists alone to supervise the children. Typically, the volunteer tourists played soccer or did arts and crafts activities with the children, or simply supervised while the children played with each other. These findings are supported by those of other studies including Davis (2011) and Tomazos and Butler (2012).

Melissa volunteered at the girls' orphanage and said what they did with the girls each day depended on the day of the week.

> We do homework sort of Monday through to Thursday with them…
> sometimes they need you to sit there and help keep them on task… and just
> play with them… they like volleyball… They love hopscotch… We did like an
> arts and crafts thing last week and that went really well.

At the initial orientation Manos del Mundo staff emphasised that the volunteer tourists needed to be proactive and organise activities for the children to do.

> I always tell volunteers… "look, you need to bring stuff, you need to think of
> things to do because when you bring stuff you get to lead activities with the
> kids, you're going to have a much better time than if you just kind of sit there
> and don't do anything". (Staff member)

Manos del Mundo had a cupboard of activities (for example, arts and crafts materials, games and balls) to assist with this, however, very few volunteer tourists appeared to actively organise daily activities for the children. This observation was supported by interviews with Manos del Mundo staff.

This was also possibly related to the volunteer tourists' personality and experience with children. As Sarah said, at the orphanage "you have to put yourself out there and you have to really engage to really feel like you're doing something" (see also Jänis & Timonen, 2014). However, this was difficult for those volunteer tourists who were by nature somewhat shy and reserved, who spoke little Spanish, or who had little experience with children of this age. Some of the female volunteer tourists also suggested that there were gender differences, for example, they believed it was easier for the male volunteer tourists at the boys' orphanage as they could play soccer and engage in other forms of physical play with the boys that did not require verbal communication (that is, Spanish language skills).

4.3.2 Medical projects

Around 10-15% of volunteer tourists in Cusco volunteered in a medical capacity. However, Manos del Mundo said they viewed this as a growth area and were working to increase the number of volunteer tourists in this space:

> That's definitely an area of growth and we're getting a lot more interest in medicine. And we have a doctor on staff now so we're really looking to do that. We're in 25 of 65 hospitals [clinics] in the Cusco area... We just signed a contract to go and send volunteers to every facility. We're looking at... getting free medical supplies sent down. It's definitely an area we're really looking to expand in all directions. (Staff member)

Manos del Mundo employed a full-time doctor who oversaw the medical volunteer tourists who (based on the volunteer tourists I met and interviewed) tended to be largely pre-medical students[7], medical students, nurses, or recently graduated doctors. Unlike some other organisations, Manos del Mundo accepted volunteer tourists with no medical qualifications or experience.

Medical volunteer tourists volunteered at local medical clinics in and around Cusco. The medical volunteer tourists would often compare what they did at the various clinics. What tasks medical volunteer tourists were permitted to do on a day-to-day basis appeared to depend on their Spanish skills and medical experience but was also influenced by which clinic they had been assigned to and the judgement of the doctors they were working under. For example, some unskilled volunteer tourists said they were allowed to do more at the local clinic (for example, give injections, do stitches) than other volunteer tourists with the same experience and skill set (or lack thereof) volunteering at a different clinic.

The majority of medical volunteer tourists I interviewed said they had helped with general examinations and paperwork as well as performing more menial tasks. For example, Daniel said that his "placement was basically just being an assistant, filling out paperwork, carrying out general examinations". Volunteer tourists who were qualified medical professionals in their home countries performed similar tasks to unqualified volunteers. For example, Amy, a medical practitioner[8] in the United States, was assigned to assist a local staff member at a clinic. Amy said the local staff member:

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[7] In some countries students enrol at medical school as undergraduates, for example, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. In the United States, medicine is a graduate programme. Students who are 'on-track' to go to medical school once they complete their undergraduate degrees are referred to as "pre-medical" students, often shortened to "pre-med" (Vrasti, 2013).

[8] Similar to a nurse practitioner in other countries, medical practitioner is a specific role in the United States which sits between a nurse and a doctor.

> ...had a pile of charts and then we would go through each chart. I'd go out and call the person, come back with her, grab their vaccination, office-visit chart and then just go over it with them... Because I didn't know any Spanish I was just doing really simple stuff like weighing the kids, checking their height, weighing the moms who come in... vital signs... organising their charts.

Emily, a nurse in the United States, volunteered at an emergency unit at a local clinic where she helped with "wound care", including cleaning and bandaging. Terry was a newly qualified doctor in Canada. At the clinic in Cusco he was doing "well-baby checks":

> ...noting their [the child's] growth and they're all still on their proper growth-curves and if they're not, we talk about nutrition or whatnot. And then just doing like a physical exam and giving any vaccines... Basically... making sure everyone's growing and they're healthy and they don't have any infections.

Terry said these were relatively basic tasks compared to the level of responsibility he was given in Canada. This idea is explored further in Chapter 6.

Several of the medical volunteer tourists, particularly those who already worked in a medical setting at home, commented on the lack of resources at the clinics in Cusco. When she reflected on her placement Emily said "it was shocking the first couple of days... there's no hot water, there's no paper towels". Both Vinod and Terry stated they were surprised that no-one else at their clinics had stethoscopes, items they considered commonplace at home. Many of the volunteer tourists commented on having to fold gauze, something that comes pre-packaged in most Western countries but in Cusco has to be cut and folded to size before use. Emily spoke about how in Cusco gauze "comes in a big roll" and has to be cut and folded "into two-by-twos or four-by-fours". As Emily said, gauze is "something we use on a daily basis in the States but they're pre-packaged, you rip them open, you throw a bunch of them away".

Week-long 'medical campaigns' were held every month during the peak volunteer tourism season and involved medical volunteer tourists visiting rural villages in the nearby Sacred Valley. Three of the volunteer tourists I interviewed took part in these campaigns: Daniel, David and Daisy who were all pre-medical students.

> Throughout the week we saw 500 patients. So it starts with the kids we go through whatever station we're working at, so check their thorax, listen to their heart and lungs, checking their head for lice, check their eyes for infections and stuff. So you work your station. And yeah, each day we went to a different kindergarten. (David)

Daniel expected to be "shadowing a doctor, going from one clinic to another" but found it a "pleasant surprise to be going out and helping" as part of the medical campaign. He described it as "a lot better than I thought it'd be" since he was able to do more hands-on medical work than he had expected. David and Daisy only volunteered for one week and

therefore spent their entire volunteering time at the medical campaign. Daniel spent his first week helping on the medical campaign and then another three weeks volunteering at a local medical clinic in Cusco.

Although classified as a medical volunteer tourist, Heather, a trainee medical interpreter in the United States, was volunteering at local clinics helping to translate for non-Spanish speaking volunteer tourists. She said that normally medical interpreters interpret between patients and doctors. However, in this case the patients and doctors were Peruvian and therefore communicated in Spanish. Rather than translating to allow the non-Spanish speaking volunteer tourists to communicate with Spanish-speaking patients, Heather ended up listening to conversations in Spanish between patients and doctors, and translating into English for the non-Spanish speaking volunteer tourists to understand. She was able to practise her English/Spanish medical translation skills but ultimately said she spent her time assisting other volunteer tourists rather than the host community as initially intended.

Unlike the other volunteer tourism projects which were perhaps less structured (that is, childcare, teaching, construction), the medical volunteer tourists emphasised in their interviews the importance of taking their volunteering seriously. As Amy said:

> I like how they emphasise, at least to my orientation, is "treat this like a job". You know? So I like that they say that during the orientation and give us badges and say "you need to wear this"... So in that sense they're placing a certain level of importance to the volunteering... all the ones [volunteer tourists] that I've met take it seriously.

Both David and Daisy acknowledged that "it's very serious" at the medical clinics. They said that the doctor employed by Manos del Mundo to coordinate the medical volunteer tourists "really sets that tone and she's always putting the emphasis on 'these are people's lives and be respectful and responsible'".

4.3.3   Teaching projects

Cusco is an extremely popular tourism destination and many jobs (for example, tour guide) and money-making opportunities (for example, selling souvenirs at the market) rely on being able to communicate with tourists (see also Mostafanezhad, 2014a). As a result, learning English is seen as important and there are many language schools and private tutors offering English classes. English lessons are also offered at primary schools, secondary schools, and tertiary institutes. Manos del Mundo offered two types of teaching English projects: teaching children at local primary schools, and teaching adults at a local community centre.

Teaching children

Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists taught English to children at private primary schools in Cusco. Most students had English classes only one hour per week so volunteer tourists said they did not necessarily develop a close relationship with many of their students because they saw them so infrequently. The students were generally aged from six to twelve years and their English levels varied widely although few spoke more than very basic English. This caused some problems particularly around classroom management for the volunteer tourists who did not speak Spanish. Volunteer tourists said the impression they got from Manos del Mundo prior to starting their teaching project was that the classroom teacher would teach the lesson and the volunteer tourists were merely to assist (particularly with pronunciation). However, volunteer tourists said the majority of the time the teachers left the classroom as soon as the volunteer tourists arrived and the volunteer tourists were therefore left by themselves with up to twenty children. Sonan said "I thought I was supposed to be a teacher's assistant, but it turns out we have to design the programme and everything".

Some volunteer tourists were surprised they were volunteering at a private rather than a public school, although Manos del Mundo staff said private schools in Cusco were still severely under-resourced and over-crowded compared to schools in the volunteer tourists' home countries.

> I was a bit sceptical when they said [she would be teaching at] a private school but when I visited… [they] really have very few resources – even whiteboard markers are hard to find. Apparently public schools have 40-60 students per class and private schools only around 20 [students] which seems to be the main difference. (Research diary, 18 October 2012)

Although the volunteer tourists believed the schools did employ a local English teacher, none of the volunteer tourists ever met such a teacher. At one school the students told the volunteer tourists that their English teacher also worked as a full-time tour guide and that was why he was rarely at school. Vrasti (2013) also reports a similar scenario in Ghana.

Teaching adults

Only one volunteer tourism project in Cusco involved teaching English to adults and this was also the only project scheduled in the evening. This was the project I volunteered at for 15 weeks as part of the participant observation component of data collection. The project took place at a local community centre on what was considered a rather unsafe street several blocks away from the main tourist area and was supervised/coordinated by a young Peruvian man employed by Manos del Mundo. The coordinator spoke

intermediate-level English and when there were no volunteer tourists available he also taught the English lessons.

Three one-hour classes were scheduled each weeknight: 6-7pm, 7-8pm, and 8-9pm. The lessons were run on a drop-in basis and as a consequence the number of students each evening varied widely. For example, on the night of a major international soccer match (Peru versus Chile) only two students showed up over the three hours; at other times there would be thirty students in the room at the same time. On arrival, students were split into three groups based on English ability. Each group had one or two volunteer tourists with a table and a whiteboard. Although classes were due to continue until 9pm, often the 8pm class was cancelled; any students who did arrive for the 8pm class were simply informed that there was no class that night and to come to the 7pm class the following night. Sometimes the 8pm class was cancelled due to a lack of students but more often it was because the local coordinator and/or volunteer tourists had plans for the evening and wanted to leave earlier.

Volunteer tourists were responsible for planning classes. At our teaching orientation Manos del Mundo staff told us there were journals recording what previous volunteer tourists had taught but I saw these only after I had been teaching at the community centre for over a month. The journals did not seem to have been updated for several months at that point and were not updated at all during the 15 weeks I spent at the community centre. As a result of not keeping track of the subjects covered in each class, there was a lack of consistency to the lessons with some topics (for example, food-related vocabulary and colours) repeated multiple times while other topics (particularly the more complicated grammar points) were ignored altogether (see Chapter 2). As with the volunteer tourists teaching children, there was some disagreement about the purpose of lessons. For example, some of my students would ask me to do their university English homework and would become irritated when I said that I would help them with their homework but declined to complete it for them.

There did not appear to be a pattern to students' attendance: some students would come several evenings in a row and then not come again for several weeks, other students would only ever come occasionally. With varying numbers of volunteer tourists from week to week and often day to day and even hour to hour, it was almost impossible to plan lessons with any sort of structure, even for mundane tasks such as knowing how many photocopies of a worksheet or activity would be required. A lack of continuity across lessons made it difficult for students to progress and develop their English language skills;

lessons that built on subjects of the previous day's lesson were difficult as only half today's class may have attended yesterday's class. This lack of structure and continuity in volunteer teaching projects is not uncommon and is also reported in other studies (Budd, 2012; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Pycroft, 2015).

Many of the volunteer tourists assigned to the community centre were unaware when they arrived that they would be teaching adults and some asked to change projects even before starting. Typical reasons given for this were that they did not want to volunteer in the evenings and/or that they did not feel comfortable teaching adults. Many weeks I was the only volunteer tourist at the project and it was very hard to explain to the Peruvian students why so many volunteers requested to change projects, and to reassure the students that this was not because of anything they themselves had (or had not) done. Unlike at other projects where the volunteers interacted mostly with children (for example, childcare projects) or each other (for example, at construction projects), volunteer tourists at the teaching English to adults project often formed friendships with their adult students after seeing them on an almost daily basis for several weeks.. Several of my students worked in local museums and offered me a private tour of the museum and on my last day of volunteering my students threw a party: one of the female students made a cake and "they went around & collected money for a beer fund … everyone kept wanting to toast with us & were topping up our glasses" (Research diary, 7 November 2012). Some also gave me leaving gifts they had made.

4.3.4   Construction projects

Manos del Mundo operated one construction project at a time – typically this involved building a kindergarten or other community centre. During the data collection period volunteer tourists were helping to build a kindergarten in one of Cusco's outer suburbs. Like the majority of buildings in Cusco, the kindergarten was made of adobe bricks. Joseph, a construction volunteer, was unsure exactly where the adobe bricks came from but believed locals who would benefit from the new kindergarten "all have to make like three bricks or something themselves" which the site foreman (a local man employed by Manos del Mundo) then collected. The volunteer tourists then made the mud for mortar, and laid the bricks as per the foreman's instructions.

> It's very basic, locals show up with dirt to be broken down with a pick & then mixed with water using a spade in a hole in the corner & then put into buckets & passed up to whoever if on top of the wall putting the adobe [bricks] in place. (Research diary, 25 September 2012)

Joseph described the process as being "like an assembly line type of thing, you make the mud and then someone takes the bucket, passes it up to somebody, who passes it to the person who is laying the brick ". Later in the process the volunteer tourists also cut wood and laid it to fit windows and the second storey floor. Work sites were basic with no electricity, no running water, no shade and no toilet. Local community members filled the water barrels each evening to provide water for the mud to use as mortar for the adobe bricks.

Unlike some of the other projects which involved volunteer tourists working on their own or with only a few other volunteers at any one time, all the construction volunteers worked together on one project. This meant that typically there was between five and ten volunteers working on the project together at any one time and the volunteer tourists said they enjoyed the social aspects of this.

> For the first like week or two I didn't really enjoy going to placement… but then when… more people started showing up and it started going a lot faster… it's exciting that everyone's here now, it's a lot of fun, with everyone there, we get a lot done but there's a lot of joking around, goofing around. (Joseph)

The construction projects were generally on the outskirts of Cusco and most volunteer tourists took a combi (local public bus) to get to the site.

4.4   Volunteer tourists' daily routine

As explored in the following chapter, all Manos del Mundo volunteer tourism projects ran from Monday to Friday only and the majority of volunteer tourists volunteered for three to four hours per day. This was relatively fewer hours than most other volunteer tourism projects as described in the literature and various guidebooks. For example, Lonely Planet (2013, p. 35) states that:

> On most volunteer programmes you are expected to work full-time five days a week, with weekends off. Sometimes though, you may work a six-day week. At times, the hours might be longer.

Most of the rest of the day was taken up with Spanish lessons, sightseeing, meals, and language exchange with their tandem partner (that is, a free language-exchange programme offered by Manos del Mundo which matched tourists learning Spanish with locals studying English). As a result, the volunteer tourists' daily routines varied widely. Three meals per day were provided at the volunteer tourist guesthouse: breakfast was available 7-9am, lunch served at 1pm, and dinner served at 6pm.

Volunteer tourists who registered directly through Manos del Mundo automatically had Spanish lessons included for the entire length of their volunteering. Volunteer tourists who signed up through the commercial sending organisation had Spanish lessons included for the first week only, and those who signed up through the charitable sending organisation had no lessons included. Volunteer tourists without lessons included could pay for lessons separately through Manos del Mundo although these were relatively expensive compared to other language classes on offer in the city. Manos del Mundo Spanish lessons were either one hour for private lessons or two hours for group classes. Many volunteer tourists did not take Spanish classes (or even attend classes they had paid for as part of their volunteer tourism package); this was often the case for volunteer tourists who were only in Cusco for one to two weeks and therefore wanted as much time as possible to explore Cusco, and longer-term volunteer tourists for whom the additional cost of Spanish lessons added up quickly. Most volunteer tourists who took Spanish lessons also spent around an hour each day doing homework for these classes.

My own daily routine involved focusing on data collection in the morning, Spanish lessons 3-5pm and volunteering 6-9pm. Other volunteer tourists' routines depended on the timing of their volunteer placement. The length of travel time to get to the volunteer tourism project also varied widely. Some volunteer tourists had only a short commute (for example, the community centre I volunteered at was only a five minute walk from the volunteer tourist guesthouse I was staying at), while other volunteer tourists had a longer commute, at times up to an hour each way, depending on the location of their placement and accommodation. Some projects required no preparation time (for example, construction) whereas other projects involved more than an hour of planning time each day (for example, teaching). The volunteer tourists' daily routines are outlined further in Table 15 in Appendix 2.

4.5   Chapter summary

As outlined in Chapter 1, the first research question explores the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism. In this chapter I have presented the research findings describing the case study organisation and the projects the volunteer tourists volunteered at in Cusco. This chapter does not include an in-depth discussion around these findings, but rather provides background description of the case study site to provide context for the following three chapters.

The case study organisation, Manos del Mundo, was a large commercial company in central Cusco which operated as a language school providing English and Spanish lessons and teacher training courses in addition to organising volunteer tourism projects. At the time of data collection Manos del Mundo were receiving volunteer tourists directly, as well as from one large overseas-based not-for-profit volunteer tourism organisation, and one large overseas-based commercial volunteer tourism organisation.

Manos del Mundo operated few volunteer tourism projects (exceptions included the medical outreach programme, the teaching English to adults programme, and the construction projects) but instead 'matched' the volunteer tourists to local projects requiring volunteers, including local orphanages, primary schools, and medical clinics. Volunteering with children was the most popular volunteer tourism project with around two-thirds of volunteer tourists volunteering at local orphanages. Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists volunteered for between three and four hours per day five days per week.

Volunteer tourists are, by definition, both volunteers and tourists. In this chapter I have framed the volunteer tourists as volunteers, and presented the research findings exploring the volunteering components of commodified volunteer tourism. In the following chapter I approach the volunteer tourists from a tourism perspective, presenting and discussing the research findings exploring the tourism components of commodified volunteer tourism.

CHAPTER FIVE: HOW THE VOLUNTEER TOURISTS SPENT THEIR TIME

5.1 Introduction

Volunteer tourism involves more than just volunteering (Tomazos & Butler, 2012). In the previous chapter I addressed the first two research sub-questions by describing how the case study organisation is structured and what the volunteer tourists do at the various volunteer tourism projects. As depicted in Figure 10, in this chapter I address the third and fourth sub-questions by discussing what the volunteer tourists do when not volunteering, and highlighting the differences between volunteering with Manos del Mundo (that is, a large commercial packaged volunteer tourism programme) and volunteering as described in the traditional volunteer tourism literature (for example, Wearing, 2001).

1) What are the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism?	2) How do volunteer tourists perceive commodified volunteer tourism?	3) In what ways do volunteer tourists consume volunteer tourism?
1A) How is the case study organisation structured?	2A) How do volunteer tourists perceive the host community?	3A) In what ways is commodified volunteer tourism similar to other forms of tourism including packaged tours?
1B) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site with regards to volunteering?	2B) How do volunteer tourists interact with the host community?	3B) In what ways do the volunteer tourists benefit from their volunteer tourism experience?
1C) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site when not volunteering?	2C) How do volunteer tourists perceive they have contributed (or not) to the host community as a result of their volunteering?	3C) In what ways do volunteer tourists treat volunteer tourism as a commodity to be consumed?
1D) In what ways do volunteer tourists differ from each other?		
Chapter 5		

Figure 10: Research questions and sub-questions addressed in Chapter 5

5.2 Time spent volunteering (or not)

As described in the previous chapter, Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists in Cusco generally volunteered for three to four hours per day, five days per week. In this section I explore how this compared to their expectations and discuss the volunteer tourists' thoughts about their volunteering hours and 'missing placement' and how this may have changed over time.

5.2.1   Volunteering fewer hours than expected

The number of hours the volunteer tourists ultimately spent at their volunteer tourism project was often fewer than specified by Manos del Mundo. In my research diary I described two new teaching English volunteer tourists as "pretty motivated as far as planning their lessons & showing up on time & things" (Research diary, 6 September 2012). The fact it was noteworthy that they showed up at their volunteer placement on time highlights how uncommon this behaviour was. As described in Chapter 6, Peruvians have a relatively relaxed attitude to time and this could go some way to explaining why it became normalised for the volunteer tourists to start their volunteer placement well after the scheduled time. However, this would only explain the start time being delayed, not the reduction in the total number of hours spent volunteering.

At our teaching placement we were supposed to volunteer from 6pm to 9pm, yet we very rarely stayed past 8:45pm and often left at 8pm at the encouragement of the local Manos del Mundo coordinator. As I observed at the time:

> I was surprised at how few hours we volunteer. I expected to volunteer a full day but it's really only half a day including travel time & in our case it's even less. Although officially we're supposed to volunteer 6-9pm we've left at 8pm the past 6+ nights. (Research diary, 21 August 2012)

Similarly, volunteer tourists at the construction site stated that although Manos del Mundo told them to be on site at 8am, the local coordinator was "never there at eight… and so it just kind of turned into a get there before nine… we usually get there at nine, sometimes a little later". In my research diary I observed two volunteer tourists at breakfast one morning: they were "supposed to be at construction at 9am but at 9:10am they were still sitting round eating breakfast" (Research diary, 18 October 2012). The construction project was around a 45 minute commute from our accommodation which means at this point they were an hour late to a three to four hour volunteer placement.

At the orphanage projects the volunteer tourists also often finished early. Thomas stated that although they were supposed to volunteer at the boys' orphanage from 3pm to 6pm:

> Realistically [it's] like 3:30pm to 5:30pm. Just because by 6pm the kids kind of go in, it's kind of getting dark, so you end up going home. And there's pretty much nothing to do at 3pm, they're just finishing their homework and there's not much you can do to help because they're pretty much done, but they haven't quite finished. By 3:30pm there's a couple of kids out, but before that there's not much you can do.

In many cases, leaving the orphanage before it became dark, or when other volunteer tourists were leaving, was also a matter of safety as volunteer tourists were warned against walking in Cusco alone after dark. Safety in Cusco is discussed further in Chapter 7.

It is unclear if this flexibility in scheduling was because the volunteer tourists did not have assigned roles at the projects, or if the projects did not assign roles because they did not feel they could rely on the volunteer tourists to be there at specific times. This relaxed attitude to required volunteering hours is also reflected by Jänis and Timonen (2014, p. 99) who said that at the Zambian children's home "local members of staff were often unaware about the whereabouts of the volunteers who did not have a structured schedule or specific duties". The implications of this are explored in the following chapter.

5.2.2   Reflections on volunteering hours

All the volunteer tourists agreed they would not want to volunteer for fewer hours. However, opinions about whether they were satisfied with the number of volunteering hours or whether they would have preferred to volunteer for more hours varied. While the volunteer tourists were surprised to initially learn they were only volunteering for three to four hours per day, they were generally pleased as it gave them more free time to explore Cusco. For example, Margaret said that she:

> …was so surprised when I got here and I was like really?! Only three hours a day?! But it's kind of nice because it means I get to wander around in the morning and kind of do touristy things. Do whatever. So that's good.

Similarly, Thomas said "I thought… we'd work weekends but… [I have] no qualms about not working on the weekends". Some of the volunteer tourists who were initially concerned they would not have enough to do during the day conceded that ultimately this was not an issue. For example, at her exit interview Frances stated that "I managed to fill in the time, I was worried I'd have too much time on my hands but it's been fine".

Sonan was the only volunteer tourist interviewed who said she had less free time than expected. However, her project was also longer than most with up to eight hours each day dedicated to teaching, planning lessons, and travelling to and from the school. At her project the volunteer tourists:

> …have to teach one hour for the primary class, then you have a half an hour break, then there's like a block period for the seniors. And then we get back to the office, prep [for the following day's lesson], and then go to Spanish class. And then have my tandem, come back, dinner, and then whatever, like sleep or go out… I thought I'd have more free time during the day… between the teaching and like Spanish class, but I didn't really 'cause it takes like twenty minutes to get to Manos del Mundo and then another twenty minutes to the school.

At her entry interview Sonan had mentioned she intended to speak to Manos del Mundo about doing more volunteering in addition to her volunteer tourism project teaching at a local primary school. Ultimately, she chose not to do this because after starting

volunteering she found her day was taken up by Spanish class, 'tandem' language-exchange programme, volunteering, and commuting to her volunteer tourism project. She conceded that the Manos del Mundo "programme was designed well because they knew that volunteers wouldn't be able to handle more hours than they got".

Many of the volunteer tourists underestimated how tired they would feel both as a result of operating in a foreign culture/language and also as a result of the high altitude which affected some of the volunteer tourists more than others. For example, Vinod admitted that three to four hours at the clinic was enough because of the language barrier.

> I didn't know what the doctor was saying to me half the time... even though it was only three or four hours, it felt very long... I think that was more than enough, three or four hours was fine. (Vinod)

Similarly, Clare said "they were huge days. I found that when I got to the weekend I felt the same way I did when I was working". Michael and Natalie also said they were forced to 'nap' a lot during the day as they struggled with the decreased oxygen levels at such high altitude (National Health Service, 2015). Although I had previously worked as a full-time TEFL teacher, I found three hours of back-to-back lessons mentally draining, particularly in addition to a two-hour Spanish lesson, an hour of Spanish homework and data collection (scheduling and conducting interviews, transcription, initial analysis and so forth).

The volunteer tourists working at the construction projects generally agreed that working three to four hours under the hot sun at high altitude was enough. Joseph said that the construction volunteer tourists:

> ...spent a week putting up some walls... And that was all inside work so you didn't have the heat... we'd get there at about nine and I remember a couple of days we went to like three, four, but you weren't nearly as tired, so it was fine... With what we're doing now, the sun's just so intense... you get worn out really easily.

John stated that "I think it was about right. I mean the sun started getting up there and it started getting a little warm. You know, you're doing a lot of manual labour, four hours is fine". Georgia agreed that "for that type of labour it was probably fine". This was the only project that was also weather-dependent and was cancelled if it was raining. However, other projects were also constrained by practical aspects, for example, the childcare projects were limited because the majority of children were at school during the day; similarly, most medical clinics closed at midday and therefore medical volunteer tourists could only volunteer in the morning.

Some of the volunteer tourists acknowledged that while they would or could not volunteer for more hours at their specific placement – either because the project was only open for certain hours each day or because they did not feel they would benefit from spending more hours there – they would have liked to have volunteered at an additional project during this time. For example, Amy would have "preferred to work more but in a different setting... do what I did in the morning and then go to a different session in the evening, afterwards". Both Michelle and Sarah volunteered at a second project on a semi-regular basis and several other volunteer tourists also did so on an informal/casual basis, for example, tagging along with other volunteer tourists to help at the construction site one morning, or going to the orphanage one afternoon to meet the children.

> I've done construction just twice this week but it feels really good, like you get the morning with something to do, and then you know you have a chunk of time to relax and then you have another thing to do. (Sarah)

The construction project finished around midday, Sarah came home for lunch and then left for the boys' orphanage around 2:30pm, returning in time for dinner.

However, volunteering at two projects at once was strongly discouraged by Manos del Mundo who required volunteer tourists to pay an additional fee to volunteer at a second project. Many volunteer tourists got around this by simply not telling Manos del Mundo (although this has other implications including safety of both the volunteer tourists and those they were volunteering with, for example the children at the orphanages). Some of the Manos del Mundo staff were aware that some volunteer tourists were volunteering at more than one project but chose to turn a blind eye. One Manos del Mundo staff member told me that if/when she found out a volunteer tourist was volunteering at more than one project she did not insist they paid the additional fee because "it doesn't actually cost Manos del Mundo any more for you to do a second project" (Research diary, 21 September 2012).

Four of the volunteer tourists specifically expressed regret that they had not been able to spend more hours volunteering during their time in Cusco.

> The main thing was I was expecting to be working like all day and it was just like, well it was initially eight 'til twelve we heard and then I heard nine 'til one but it ended up being nine 'til twelve so three hours a day. Which to be honest was kind of disappointing. (Paula)

When asked if she would have preferred to volunteer for more hours each day, Paula replied "yeah, definitely". Similarly, Daniel stated that:

> I wasn't working as much as I thought I would be... I was only working from about eight-thirty 'til about one-thirty. So yeah, that would be a good morning, a morning's work, but we completely neglected the afternoons.

Sarah wanted to volunteer "a full day not just like three or four hours a day 'cause that was very disappointing". She "wanted to be busy from like 8am to like 5pm and like have a lunch break. Like that, that's what I had expected".

Bill expressed disappointment at what he felt was the lack of emphasis on volunteering by Manos del Mundo and the volunteer tourists themselves:

> Honestly I was expecting eight to five... I was here to work so it would not have bothered me if I had worked more. I thought the days were actually a little bit short. Like on the days I didn't start 'til nine-forty-five and I was out at like one-fifteen, it was like three and a half hours. You come all this way to work three and a half hours?! If anything, I probably would've preferred, I can't believe I'm saying this, but I would've preferred to work more.

Not coincidentally, Bill and Paula were the two volunteer tourists who felt like their volunteer tourism experience was perhaps not worth the money they had paid given how much they felt they ultimately contributed to the host community.

5.2.3   Reflections on 'missing placement'

While not encouraged, 'missing' or 'skipping' a day at the volunteer project was generally accepted by the volunteer tourists and by Manos del Mundo.

> I expected there to be more of an emphasis on volunteering but the focus is definitely on tourism & the volunteering just seems to fit around that. For example, it is mentioned at orientation that it is okay to take days off for treks/sightseeing as long as you let them know in advance. (Research diary, 21 August 2012)

While Manos del Mundo did not condone this behaviour, they did little to discourage it. Some staff members said they found this behaviour frustrating because there was little they could do. For example, one Manos del Mundo staff member spoke of two volunteer tourists who went to their childcare placement approximately twice in four weeks.

> ...and then they left for Bolivia. It was only supposed to be five days but they were gone for like three weeks. And then when they came back we placed them in construction and they went, probably like four or five times.

This normalisation of missing volunteer placement in order to travel, and the acceptance of this behaviour amongst the volunteer tourists, suggests some of the volunteer tourists were in Cusco primarily to travel rather than to volunteer.

Medical volunteer tourists were more likely to be warned that 'missing placement' at the clinics was unacceptable, however it still occurred regularly. Overall, medical volunteer tourists missed placement about once per week. Like non-medical volunteer tourists this was typically because they were hungover, or had made plans to go sightseeing/travelling. Conversely, other medical volunteer tourists were much more volunteering-focused, for

example, Daniel and Terry were both somewhat offended when I asked how often they had gone to their volunteering placement and said that over the four weeks they had been in Cusco they had only missed a couple of days each when they were ill.

While medical volunteer tourists were warned at orientation that not going to placement would be frowned upon, non-medical volunteer tourists were simply advised to contact Manos del Mundo if they were unable to go on any given day, although few volunteer tourists bothered since many did not believe Manos del Mundo would pass on the message to local staff at the project itself. Similarly, the construction and teaching-English-to-adults programmes both had local coordinators who would be aware if the volunteer tourists did not show up one day, although to my knowledge they did not report this to Manos del Mundo. However, these projects differed in that if volunteer tourists knew they would be the only volunteer tourist at the construction project that day they generally did not go as most of the activities required a minimum of two people (one making mud for mortar while the other placed the adobe bricks). Conversely, if a volunteer tourist knew they would be the only volunteer tourist at the teaching English project that evening they were more likely to go because if they did not the students would not have a teacher. Generally the schools and some medical clinics would telephone Manos del Mundo if the volunteer tourists did not show up on days they were expected.

At the orphanages there were more volunteer tourists (typically at least five at any given time) and a relatively high level of volunteer turnover. As a result, the volunteer tourists appeared to feel little obligation to volunteer every day. Thomas' experience was fairly typical. He volunteered at the boys' orphanage in Cusco for four weeks and stated that he missed three days of the second week to do a trek to Machu Picchu. Additionally, he:

> ...missed the Thursday of the first week 'cause I was sick. I went the Friday... I think we came back from [a weekend trip to] Huacachina last week so I missed Monday and Tuesday although I think Monday was a holiday so I don't think anybody went anyway. Tuesday I missed because of the bus. Um, and I went for the rest of the week last week... Yeah, I've been every day this week, I'm pretty sure... So the first week I went four days, the second week I went two, the third week I went three and this week I've gone all five I think... No, I think I missed one day this week, I was sick.

In total, Thomas said he went to his volunteer tourism project thirteen of the twenty days he was scheduled to go.

The volunteer tourists had little contact with local staff at the orphanage and many volunteer tourists believed the orphanage staff would not notice whether they were at their project or not. Margaret volunteered at the home for sexually abused girls and said that local staff at the placement:

> ...don't care when you come in, they don't care when you leave. What was interesting was that some of the volunteers came one day, didn't come two days, would come another day. Sometimes they would come early, leave early, you know.

Even if the orphanage staff did notice that a volunteer tourist was missing one day, most doubted the orphanage staff knew the names of the volunteer tourists or would report this to Manos del Mundo.

> I'm sure they notice, but there's no consequence or anything, there's no like register or whatever to say that you've been there every day. So I think it's very easy just to not go every once in a while because as far as you know nothing ever comes of it so you're just kind of like yeah, whatever. (Thomas)

For this reason orphanage volunteer tourists were more likely to 'skip placement' due to a lack of perceived consequence (both to themselves and to the project).

However, interviews with Manos del Mundo staff members suggested volunteer tourists not showing up to their placement caused difficulties for some of the projects. For example, staff at the homework centre:

> ...plan their days based around the volunteers, expecting the volunteers to want to do stuff, you know, like to go outside and do chalk with the kids or play soccer or whatever. And so when they don't show up it throws a huge wrench in everything. (Manos del Mundo staff member)

Because the volunteer tourists did not feel needed (see also Vrasti, 2013), they were less likely to go to their projects and subsequently less likely to feel they had positively contributed. However, on the other hand, if the projects could not rely on the volunteer tourists coming each day, they were perhaps less likely to allocate necessary roles to the volunteer tourists since there was the risk that the volunteer tourists would not show up and therefore these tasks would not get done. As a result, on the days the volunteer tourists did show up, there may not necessarily have been much for them to do.

Rather than a leisure activity, volunteering became, in many cases, a chore to be endured and therefore falls within what Stebbins terms "serious leisure" (Stebbins, 2007; Tomazos & Butler, 2008). For example, on a public holiday the school and clinic-based projects were cancelled for the day but the orphanage projects were still running; however, I was not aware of any volunteer tourists who went to the orphanages that day: "the general thought [consensus] seemed to be that 'if the others didn't have to go then why should I?'"(Research diary, 6 September 2012). Similarly, while some childcare volunteer tourists were told they were welcome to volunteer at the orphanage on the weekends (when the children had more time as they were not at school) as well as their scheduled weekday shifts, I never saw or heard of any volunteer tourists doing this.

While most volunteer tourists in Cusco seemed to be accepting of this 'not-volunteering' volunteer tourism sub-culture, others were more critical. For example, Emma emphasised that volunteer tourists "still have obligations, you came here to volunteer". Similarly, Frances believed that "you've come to volunteer, you should've just come to backpack if you just wanted to do that". Joseph stated that some of the volunteer tourists in Cusco:

> ...just have no problem admitting that, like the reason they didn't come was that they were so hung-over, or still drinking or something. And I mean, that's kind of funny and ridiculous and kind of like a dick-thing. But this happens all the time... You're paying a lot [to volunteer]... if you're going to do that it's just ridiculous.

Rather than making a moral judgement, Joseph just saw it as a waste of money as it would generally be cheaper to simply backpack rather than pay to volunteer. While not as widely promoted, it was possible to come to Manos del Mundo, stay in a Manos del Mundo volunteer tourist guesthouse and take Spanish lessons without volunteering (that is, an intensive Spanish programme rather than a volunteer tourism programme). Upon learning about this some volunteer tourists said if they had known they would have done this programme instead. While the motivations of the volunteer tourists is not the focus of this thesis, this finding does suggest that volunteering and 'giving back' were not necessarily the volunteer tourists' main motivations.

Volunteer tourists taking time away from volunteering in order to travel is prevalent throughout the literature (Budd, 2012; Jänis & Timonen, 2014; Tomazos & Butler, 2012; Vrasti, 2013). For example, Vrasti (2013, p. 91) stated that in Ghana, the longer the volunteer tourists stayed "the more we travelled and the less we volunteered". She describes these trips as "a well-deserved reward for our otherwise tedious work". That she refers to the volunteering as "work" also reflects the terminology used by the volunteer tourists in Cusco. Tomazos and Butler (2012, p. 184) made similar observations of volunteer tourists in Mexico, with Tomazos asking:

> Could it be that the volunteers refrain from working on the weekend? Could it be that on the weekends they take off their 'volunteer cap' and put on their 'tourist' one?

However, if volunteer tourists are not volunteering, they are no longer volunteer tourists and instead essentially become backpackers/tourists (Mustonen, 2005). As explored later in this chapter, for the volunteer tourists in Cusco this 'tourist cap' was not necessarily restricted to weekends.

5.2.4   Emphasis on volunteering versus tourism activities

It may be expected that longer-term volunteer tourists would be more altruistic and therefore more likely to put more effort into volunteering; however, in some ways the opposite appeared to be the case. For example, at the childcare and teaching projects volunteer tourists who were volunteering for a shorter period of time (for example, one to two weeks) were more likely to spend time and effort planning daily activities/lessons. As one Manos del Mundo staff member said, "the benefit of having people come for only a week is they are super motivated and they really do… leave a good lasting impression". This is possibly because they were able to keep up a high level of energy and excitement for a shorter period of time days. As I observed:

> It's easy to be energetic & idealistic for a week or 2 but it's also very easy to become complacent (and, dare I say it, lazy) when you're here long-term. It's the same however with any job – you're excited at the beginning but like anything it becomes mundane & therefore boring fairly quickly. (Research diary, 6 September 2012)

Volunteer tourists who were volunteering for longer (for example, two to three months) were much less likely to organise activities/lessons each day, as they became socialised into a group (the volunteer tourists) which emphasised tourism activities and socialising (leisure) rather than volunteering (work). This idea is discussed further in the following chapter.

Similarly, how often a volunteer tourist went to placement did not appear to be related to how long they were volunteering for. Shorter-term volunteer tourists were more likely to miss placement to go sightseeing or travel, while longer-term volunteer tourists often became bored or "get jaded & lose energy for the project" (Research diary, 18 October, 2012). At his exit interview Thomas listed several long-term volunteer tourists who had not been at the orphanage all week, but "the new volunteers will come 'cause they're brand-new so they come every day". Vrasti (2012, p. 64) made similar observations of volunteer tourists in Guatemala, writing that new volunteer tourists were often "easily plagued by guilt whenever they did not complete the tasks" they had been set. However, they were "quickly put at ease by more veteran volunteers, who normalized idleness with their stories of travel and after-work fun". As Tomazos and Butler (2012, p. 185) note, volunteer tourists "have to strike the right balance between commitment to the project and giving in to the attractions of the destination visited". This is not a problem faced by other types of tourists.

Volunteer tourists' focus also changed over time. One Manos del Mundo staff member stated that while people came to Cusco with their main intention being to volunteer, when they arrive and:

> ...see the reality and see what the volunteer lifestyle is about I think the amount of volunteering can go down... it can turn into more tourism than volunteering but I think, I think the majority of people come down here to volunteer. That's their main motivation and that's the main thing that they do. But, you know, the weekends and afternoons off they can, they can experience Peru and the culture.

However, the staff member believed that these tourism experiences were "an equally important part of the experience". Another Manos del Mundo staff member described it as "a lot of gap year kids... who come and maybe with the best intentions originally and then they just kind of let loose and go nuts". It is at this point that volunteer tourists tend to focus less on volunteering and instead focus more on enjoying themselves as much as possible. Cusco is a popular tourism destination and rather than focusing on volunteering, the volunteer tourists instead emphasised the touristic experiences available.

5.3   Time spent on activities other than volunteering

Volunteer tourism includes both volunteering and tourism activities. As Tomazos and Butler (2012, p. 177) found when researching volunteer tourists in Mexico, "the volunteering experience consisted of much more than just the work duties carried out". In this section I discuss the activities the volunteer tourists in Cusco engaged in when not volunteering, including: alcohol and drug use, romantic and sexual liaisons, 'hanging out', and sightseeing.

5.3.1   Alcohol and drug use

Perhaps not surprisingly given its popularity amongst young students, volunteer tourism, like backpacking (Negro & Oostenrijk, 2013), is often associated with drinking to excess (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011; Tomazos & Butler, 2012). Many of the volunteer tourists said at their exit interviews that they had not expected to drink so much alcohol (or so often) during their time volunteering. For example, Paula said "people partied more than I was expecting". The vast majority of the volunteer tourists (particularly those aged 18-35 years) went out drinking several nights each week and at the volunteer tourist guesthouse where I was living it was unusual to have an evening when no-one from the guesthouse was organising a group of people to go to one of the local backpacker bars. Matt admitted that as a volunteer tourist he had "partied quite a bit" and when asked what she did during her spare time in Cusco, Melissa replied "a lot of drinking, like everyone else, lots of

drinking". Daniel was very hungover during his exit interview and would not admit how often he had gone out drinking during his time in Cusco but conceded that it was "a lot". This heavy-drinking behaviour amongst volunteer tourists has also been highlighted by Daldeniz and Hampton (2011) in their studies of volunteer tourists in Nicaragua and Malaysia, and by Tomazos and Butler (2012, p. 185) in their study of volunteer tourists in Mexico where "alcohol in quantity was a mainstay during nights out" (see also Quenville, 2015).

For the American volunteer tourists under the age of 21, being legally allowed to drink in Cusco was somewhat of a novelty. Alcohol (and food and drink more generally) in Cusco was extremely cheap by Western standards and many of the backpacker bars enticed patrons with vouchers for free drinks. A typical night out including dinner at a local restaurant, several drinks and a taxi home could cost around AU$15. As Tomazos and Butler (2012, p. 185) concede, these behaviours are "perhaps not surprising among a group of young people on holiday, short of money, and presented with the opportunity of very cheap alcohol". Similarly, while heavily discouraged by Manos del Mundo staff, drugs such as cocaine and marijuana were widely accessible in Cusco and much cheaper to purchase than in the volunteer tourists' home countries. Use of these substances was not uncommon amongst the volunteer tourists (see also Shapiro, 2009).

Daniel and Sarah both admitted that if they had been expected to volunteer for eight or nine hours per day they would not have gone out drinking as much (or as late) as they did. In some ways the volunteer tourists were therefore searching for something to fill in their unexpected free time. However, these behaviours did negatively impact on the volunteering projects when the volunteer tourists were still drunk or hungover when they went to their volunteer project.

> Think most people were late to placement that day & Tom showed up drunk (think he may have been this morning as well) but as he sees it, at least he showed up. (Research diary, 20 September 2012)

Similarly, it was not unheard of for some volunteer tourists to go to their volunteer project under the influence of drugs.

> Two of the volunteers were going to smoke a joint the other afternoon – one had finished his placement for the day but the other was going to work at the orphanage afterwards – she seemed to think it was okay as long as she didn't take "too many hits". (Research diary, 8 October 2012)

It was extremely common (and generally accepted) that many of the volunteer tourists went to their volunteer project hungover or simply extremely tired (for example, the morning after taking a night-bus back from a weekend away). All volunteer tourists

received an orientation before they started volunteering and "at our orientation the Manos del Mundo staff said not to come [to placement] if you were hungover so obviously they know it happens a lot" (Research diary, 10 August 2012). Chapter 7 discusses further the conflicting priorities between the volunteer tourists' wants and desires (for example, to go out drinking) versus the needs of the host community (for example, sober volunteers to go to their volunteer project as scheduled).

For the most part this level of drinking/partying/going out was not perceived as a problem by the volunteer tourists or by Manos del Mundo staff. While discouraged by Manos del Mundo management, and forbidden by official Manos del Mundo policies, Manos del Mundo staff (both local and expatriate) often came out drinking with the volunteer tourists.

> While the [volunteer tourist] houses have rules these seem to be broken fairly consistently & without consequence. People smoke, use drugs... have people stay the night, have friends visit in their bedrooms (which is apparently forbidden), & have friends visit in the common areas after the 10pm curfew [which was also forbidden according to the volunteer tourist guesthouse rules]. (Research diary, 10 August 2012).

Sarah said one thing she would have changed if she repeated the experience was she "would've drank less! [sic]... would've had self-discipline with going out and stuff like that". However, she justified her behaviour by saying that "I think I haven't been the worst, there's been people who have been more partiers [sic] than I have". Like missing placement, this behaviour became normalised amongst the volunteer tourists.

However, that is not to say this behaviour was universal. For example, Margaret said that she "hadn't gone out at night 'cause I'm not really a bar person, that doesn't really appeal to me". While she was 64 years old and therefore much older than the majority of the volunteer tourists, there were many other volunteer tourists in their forties and older who often went out clubbing as part of large groups of volunteer tourists. The group culture that emerged amongst the volunteer tourists is explored further in Chapter 6.

5.3.2 Romantic and sexual liaisons

Romantic and sexual liaisons between the volunteer tourists (and between volunteer tourists and local Cusqueños, and between volunteer tourists and Manos del Mundo staff) were relatively common, although they were officially discouraged by Manos del Mundo management. Peru is a Catholic country and Cusco is a relatively conservative city where promiscuity is heavily frowned upon (McCarthy et al., 2013). In deference to local cultural norms and expectations (see also Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011), Manos del Mundo

volunteer tourist guesthouse rules stated that volunteer tourists were not allowed members of the opposite sex in their bedroom. However, this rule was regularly and openly broken and many volunteer tourists engaged in sexual relationships with other Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists, other backpackers or tourists, and/or (much less commonly) local Cusqueños (see also Bauer, 2007; Thomas, 2005). As volunteer tourists staying in Manos del Mundo volunteer tourist guesthouses were not allowed overnight guests (and most were sharing a dorm room with other volunteer tourists), they would often rent a room at a nearby hostel if they wanted to spend the night with someone. The hostel had a 24-hour reception and volunteer tourists would often go there directly with a partner they had met at one of the bars/clubs.

There is of course the possibility that this behaviour was specific to the group of volunteer tourists who were in Cusco during the data collection period, rather than a reflection of volunteer tourists as a whole. One volunteer tourist I became good friends with in Cusco returned to our volunteer tourist guesthouse several months after the data collection period ended. She was surprised that there was very little drinking/partying and that none of the volunteer tourists she met at the guesthouse during her second stay had heard of the backpacker bars/clubs we frequented during the data collection period. Cusco is a popular tourism destination year-round and this is therefore unlikely to be because of seasonality. Nonetheless, other studies (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011; Tomazos & Butler, 2012) have reported similar findings to those described in this thesis which suggests the behaviour of the volunteer tourists in Cusco (alcohol/drugs/sexual liaisons) is not unique. For example, in both Nicaragua and Malaysia, Daldeniz & Hampton (2011, p. 37) observed volunteer tourists taking part in "typical tourist behaviours" such as "excessive alcohol consumption, partying and sexual liberty".

5.3.3 'Hanging out'

Other activities the volunteer tourists in Cusco engaged in during their spare time included attending a pub quiz at one of the local backpacker bars, 'hanging out' at the volunteer tourist house, and catching up with friends and family at home via Facebook or Skype. Matt spoke about his time in Cusco saying:

> ...today my Spanish lesson's on and then I have this thing [interview] with you and I'll do internet in between, maybe get in touch with family or friends. Or if I have any photos I'll put them on Facebook... But time's gone fast. I've done some walks up to the Jesus figure [Cristo Blanco, a local lookout point]. I go to the gym three or four times a week... tried new restaurants. And if we're feeling really lazy or lethargic we'll watch TV at home as a group... I

> don't lie in bed, I don't have my own laptop or anything… I just try to interact
> with people and chat to them, goof around.

Sarah said during her time in Cusco she had "watched movies. I've read maybe six books since I've been here… Skyping a lot, emailing". Emma said she had spent a lot of time 'hanging out' at a local backpacker bar as well as "lots of hanging out at the house, shopping… walking around and like eating street food and going to markets and restaurants".

As depicted in these quotes, the volunteer tourists spent a lot of time socialising and 'hanging out' with other volunteer tourists. In many ways this lifestyle differed little from their lives in their home countries, for example, watching movies, reading books, going to the gym, going out drinking, or going shopping. This focus on time spent 'doing nothing' or 'hanging out' has also been reported within the backpacker experience (Richards & Wilson, 2005). While work and leisure can be viewed as opposing forces at home, the same dichotomy can be applied within volunteer tourism, where the volunteering becomes 'work', and the socialising and tourism activities become 'leisure'. Similarly, Shapiro (2009) suggests that active touring such as sightseeing can be framed as the 'weekday' while relaxing at the backpacker hostel (or volunteer tourism guesthouse in this case) can be framed as 'the weekend'. Within this framework the volunteer tourists were no longer necessarily volunteers or tourists at this time but simply young people 'hanging out' at their (temporary) home.

5.3.4   Travel and sightseeing activities

Cusco is a popular tourist destination and as such there were many nearby tourist sites for the volunteer tourists to explore. Melissa stated that:

> Quite often on Saturdays… if we're not away doing something… we always
> end up doing something around Cusco and that's always a lot of fun…. Like
> the free walking tour… Walking up to Jesus [Cristo Blanco]… We went
> horseback riding.

Amy would "just kind of pick a street and walk and you know, shop for souvenirs or something". Typical tourist activities the volunteer tourists took part in in Cusco included:

- Visiting Incan archaeological sites such as Machu Picchu
- Visiting local tourist attractions (for example, the cathedral, local museums)
- Walking around the city
- Shopping for souvenirs at the local markets
- Adventure tourism activities (including horse-riding and bungy jumping)
- Trying local food (including cooking classes).

In addition to volunteering, the volunteer tourists were also interested in sightseeing in Cusco and Peru more widely. All the Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists travelled before, during and after their volunteering (see Table 16 in Appendix 2). All the volunteer tourists I interviewed visited (or had previously visited) Machu Picchu, while approximately half also visited Huacachina and/or Nasca on the Pacific coast, and the same proportion visited Puno and Lake Titicaca near the Bolivian border. While some volunteer tourists travelled during their volunteering period, others purposely scheduled travel time before or after their volunteering.

The volunteer tourists (particularly those living in volunteer tourist guesthouses) created close friendships and groups of five to 15 volunteer tourists would often book trips together over the weekend. It was possible to get an overnight bus on Friday night, spend Saturday and Sunday exploring the destination, and take an overnight bus to arrive back in Cusco on Monday morning in time to go to the volunteering project. Thomas stated that "everyone in the house is travelling" and when they invited him to come he said yes every time "'cause it's fun… to travel with people that you're staying with". During my fifteen weeks in Cusco I went on several weekend trips with other volunteer tourists, both day trips to sites in the Sacred Valley, and overnight trips to Arequipa, Puno, Huacachina, Manu jungle and Machu Picchu. Following the data collection period, I travelled for two weeks throughout Peru and Bolivia with one of the volunteer tourists I met in Cusco.

Volunteer tourists booked these trips either through a local travel agency or organised the trip themselves based on recommendations from online sites such as TripAdvisor and HostelWorld or from other volunteer tourists or Manos del Mundo staff. Manos del Mundo also had a travel agency within the same building and in this sense offered a full 'wraparound service' of volunteering, accommodation, food, Spanish lessons, and tourism packages. Although the travel agency was a separate entity and not part of the Manos del Mundo company, the two worked very closely together, for example, the travel agency provided the airport pick-ups for all volunteer tourists arriving at Cusco airport. While many of the volunteer tourists did book tourism activities through this on-site travel agency, they were relatively expensive compared to other travel agencies in Cusco and many of the volunteer tourists instead chose to use other (cheaper) travel agencies including those based at local backpacker hostels.

5.4   Volunteer tourists' accommodation

Volunteer tourists in Cusco stayed either in homestays or in one of Manos del Mundo's guesthouses. Homestays were more common during peak season when there were more volunteer tourists requiring accommodation. However, many of the 'homestays' (as termed by Manos del Mundo) were essentially private guesthouses which hosted up to sixteen volunteer tourists at any one time (cf. Carnaffan, 2010).

> Originally when we were told it's a homestay… I was expecting to be living with like a family, like a Peruvian family. I would just be sharing a room with my friend… I didn't realise that we're going to be living with other volunteers. It's kind of like a hostel situation. (Vinod)

For my first few days in Cusco I stayed in such a homestay situation. I described the volunteer tourist guesthouse in my fieldnotes as "really more like a private guesthouse since there's room for around 14 volunteers", with two 4-bed dorms, one 3-bed dorm, two double rooms and a single room (Research diary, 4 August 2012). This differs somewhat from the traditional homestays as described in the volunteer tourism literature where volunteer tourists stay in small homestays with local families and only one or two other tourists and became immersed in the life of the host family (Vrasti, 2013).

After my first week in Cusco I moved to one of two Manos del Mundo-run guesthouses. These guesthouses accommodated up to seventeen volunteer tourists at a time and had local Manos del Mundo staff on-site 24 hours per day. The staff at the guesthouses were all Peruvian and spoke varying levels of English. While the volunteer tourists mostly spoke Spanish with the local staff, the volunteer tourists communicated with each other almost exclusively in English. Volunteer tourists at the guesthouses slept in what were essentially dormitory-style rooms with two to six volunteer tourists in bunk beds in each room.

> It feels like living in a dorm… I thought I might have a bed, I might even have a roommate I just didn't expect bunk beds and like a really tiny space. (Adriana)

This type of accommodation appears to be quite common for volunteer tourists. For example, Budd (2012, p. 52) writes that while volunteering in Costa Rica his room was "the size of a walk-in closet, with just enough space for the bunk bed, a few shelves, and a floor fan".

There were multiple local staff who worked at the volunteer tourist guesthouses, including a chef who prepared lunch and dinner, several women who came to clean the house every morning, and a night manager who also prepared breakfast.

> I assumed there would be someone to cook & clean but I didn't realise there would be multiple staff at the house 24/7. At night the front door is locked

and you can only enter by knocking on the door and waiting for the night manager to let you in. (Research diary, 21 August 2012)

For some volunteer tourists, particularly those in their late twenties and older, this level of support was somewhat excessive (for example, having a night chaperone); other volunteer tourists however appreciated the high level of support. As well as cleaning the bathroom and the kitchen and mopping the floors, the cleaning staff would also make our beds and tidy our clothes. I generally tried to tidy my room each morning before they arrived "but if I don't she'll put my shoes in the wardrobe & hang up my handbag & my pyjamas are always folded nicely by my pillow" (Research diary, 21 September 2012).

All the volunteer tourists I spoke with said once they saw their accommodation and settled in they were pleasantly surprised although this appeared to be primarily because they had extremely low expectations before arrival. For example, Matt "thought it was going to be more rural… I just imagined tiny little villages, chickens running around, no running water. So I was ready to rough it". Thomas had not been sure if the volunteer tourist guesthouse would have electricity or hot water and was pleasantly surprised to find the guesthouse had both. The electricity often cut out and he conceded that "the shower has to trickle and everything, but you get hot water, that's a plus!" Similarly, John "didn't expect it [the house] to be so nice". The guesthouses also had Wi-Fi.

The guesthouses were also more social than the volunteer tourists necessarily expected. Thomas said he did not expect to be living with so many English speakers but rather "expected to be a little bit more immersed" in the local culture. Likewise, Natalie "expected it to be more of a culture thing but it was more of a social thing with all the other volunteers instead". However, the volunteer tourists generally saw living with other volunteer tourists as a positive aspect as they developed close friendships with other volunteer tourists after living in close quarters and spending large amounts of time together over extended periods. For example, Sarah spoke about the volunteer tourists she had met at the guesthouse:

> Not everyone I feel super close to, but some of you guys feel like my family…
> I expected to be living with a Peruvian family, maybe like one other person. I
> had no idea this was going to be… such a social experience.

Similarly, Joseph said "I knew I'd make some good friends probably, but I didn't know it would be like this" while Emily "made friends that I know I'm going to keep in contact with for a really long time".

The volunteer tourists staying in a more traditional homestay with a local family had a very different experience from the volunteer tourists staying at either of the two

guesthouses. Most interaction between volunteer tourists took place either at their projects or at the guesthouse/homestay. For this reason, some volunteer tourists staying in a family-based homestay said they found it harder to meet people and felt somewhat excluded from the volunteer tourists' social circle which largely centred around the two volunteer tourist guesthouses (see also Lonely Planet, 2013).

For example, Clare (who was one of the few Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists living with a family), said that staying in a homestay:

> …made it harder to meet people. Like I noticed that the people who were in like the volunteer houses all knew each other, they all went out for drinks together at night… They all went in groups and they arranged activities. And being in a homestay I've sort of missed out on that a bit.

However, she also acknowledged there were "pros and cons" to both accommodation scenarios. For example, her host mother prepared traditional Peruvian food and taught her about Peruvian culture (see also Burrai & de las Cuevas, 2015). In this sense Clare arguably became more immersed in the Cusqueño way of life than the volunteer tourists who stayed in a guesthouse and interacted mainly with other English-speaking volunteer tourists. Clare said her host family were "really protective and really concerned about our well-being as well and that's been kind of nice. It has been like staying with a family".

Commercial volunteer tourism organisations are often criticised for not paying their homestay families enough, particularly compared to the high cost of some of these commercial volunteer tourism programmes (Vrasti, 2013). While some of the volunteer tourists in Cusco said they suspected this may also be the case with Manos del Mundo I was unable to access information from Manos del Mundo staff or the host families to corroborate this.

5.5   Chapter summary

In Chapters 4 and 5 I have addressed the first research question exploring the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism. While Chapter 4 explored the first two sub-questions, in this chapter I have addressed the third and fourth sub-questions, that is, how the volunteer tourists occupied their time at the case study site when not volunteering, and explored the ways the volunteer tourists differed from each other.

Most of the volunteer tourists were expected to volunteer for around 15 to 20 hours per week; some believed this was enough, while others were disappointed that they had not volunteered as much as they had expected. While some volunteer tourists said they would have liked to have volunteered for more hours (perhaps at a different project), Manos del

Mundo's business model and the timetable of the volunteering projects (for example, children at the orphanage were at school during the day and the medical clinics were closed in the afternoons) largely prohibited this. Additionally, there was a culture amongst the volunteer tourists that it was acceptable to 'miss placement' which further reduced the number of volunteering hours. This was particularly prevalent amongst volunteer tourists who were only in Cusco for a very short period (who were likely to 'skip placement' to travel) and those who had been volunteering for an extended period of time who may have developed a laissez-faire attitude towards their volunteering.

Instead of volunteering, the volunteer tourists found other activities to occupy their time, including 'hanging out' and sight-seeing. Cusco is a popular tourism destination and there are many tourism attractions both within the city and the surrounding area (for example, the Sacred Valley); and volunteer tourists would also travel to other parts of the country during the weekends (for example, Machu Picchu or the jungle). Often the volunteer tourists would take time away from volunteering in order to go on these weekend trips.

Perhaps not surprisingly amongst a group of mostly young people with disposable income and few responsibilities, going out and drinking was a common activity amongst the volunteer tourists. Cusco is a popular backpacker destination and there are many backpacker bars and clubs in the city which the volunteer tourists made use of. However, this heavy drinking culture also arguably reduced the volunteer tourists' focus on volunteering, as it was not uncommon for volunteer tourists to 'skip placement' because they had been drinking the night before. Connected with this, romantic and sexual liaisons between the volunteer tourists (and with other tourists, local Cusqueños or Manos del Mundo staff) were common although frowned upon by Manos del Mundo staff.

The volunteer tourists stayed in one of two Manos del Mundo-operated guesthouses, or in a local homestay. Notably, these homestays were not the traditional concept of one volunteer tourist living with a local family and taking part in their daily life, but usually run as a private guesthouse with perhaps 10-14 other volunteer tourists staying in dorm rooms. The guesthouses had Wi-Fi, electricity and hot water, cleaners who came every day, and a chef who provided three meals each day.

While Chapter 4 framed the volunteer tourists as volunteers, in Chapter 5 I have examined the tourism aspects of the volunteer tourism experience. These chapters provide an understanding of the day-to-day experiences of the Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists in Cusco. This provides context for Chapters 6 and 7 which focus on how the Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists perceived and consumed commodified volunteer tourism.

CHAPTER SIX: VOLUNTEER TOURISTS AND THE HOST COMMUNITY

6.1   Introduction

While the previous two chapters explored what the volunteer tourists did in Cusco, Chapter 6 addresses the second research question, that is, how the volunteer tourists perceived the commodified volunteer tourism experience, including the relationship between the volunteer tourists and the host community (Figure 11). In this chapter I examine the volunteer tourists' perceptions of, and interactions with, the host community, and explore both the positive and negative impacts the volunteer tourists believed they had made (or not made) to the host community. While this chapter discusses the interactions between the volunteer tourists and the host community, this is done from the volunteer tourists' perspective only.

Chapter 6

1) What are the characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism?	2) How do volunteer tourists perceive commodified volunteer tourism?	3) In what ways do volunteer tourists consume volunteer tourism?
1A) How is the case study organisation structured?	2A) How do volunteer tourists perceive the host community?	3A) In what ways is commodified volunteer tourism similar to other forms of tourism including packaged tours?
1B) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site with regards to volunteering?	2B) How do volunteer tourists interact with the host community?	3B) In what ways do the volunteer tourists benefit from their volunteer tourism experience?
1C) What do the volunteer tourists do at the case study site when not volunteering?	2C) How do volunteer tourists perceive they have contributed (or not) to the host community as a result of their volunteering?	3C) In what ways do volunteer tourists treat volunteer tourism as a commodity to be consumed?
1D) In what ways do volunteer tourists differ from each other?		

Figure 11: Research questions and sub-questions addressed in Chapter 6

6.2   Volunteer tourists' perceptions of, and interactions with, the host community

Like all tourists, volunteer tourists in Cusco do not simply 'see' Cusco and Cusqueños, but rather they 'gaze upon' them and what they perceive is subjective and culturally constructed. For example, how the volunteer tourists perceive the host community depends on the volunteer tourist's own "ideas, skills, desires and expectations... personal

experiences and memories" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 2). In this section I explore how the volunteer tourists perceived the city and people of Cusco and their somewhat romanticised perceptions of poverty in Cusco. I describe the volunteer tourists' interactions with the host community and the factors affecting these interactions. Finally, I discuss the idea of the volunteer tourist 'enclave' that existed in Cusco where the volunteer tourists largely operated within a 'bubble' separate from the host community.

6.2.1   Perceptions of Cusco and Cusqueños

Entry interviews suggested many of the volunteer tourists knew little about Cusco prior to arriving in Peru. Many of the volunteer tourists said they had expected a small village but were surprised to find Cusco is in fact a large town with several Western-style shops and eateries including a Starbucks and McDonalds. As described in Chapter 5, our Manos del Mundo guesthouse had electricity, running water, and Wi-Fi internet. However, arriving in Cusco was somewhat of a shock for some of the volunteer tourists, particularly those who had not travelled to a developing country before. For example, Thomas described Cusco as "bare bones" and much less developed than he had expected for a city of its size.

> Walking around Cusco especially, you get a perspective of what a city in the third-world is actually like, because it really isn't anything like Western cities… There's areas where there's no running water, no electricity… I knew it was going to be different but I didn't know exactly what to expect.

Joseph said that his initial impression when he arrived in Cusco was that it looked like "an earthquake had just gone… through". However, overall the volunteer tourists had positive feelings towards Cusco. For example, Adriana and Margaret both described the city as "beautiful" while Amy saw it as "just a pleasant place to be".

Many of the volunteer tourists mentioned the frequent power and water outages in Cusco[9]. As throughout much of South America, in Cusco used toilet paper is placed in a rubbish bin beside the toilet instead of being flushed because it may block the plumbing system. Many of the volunteer tourists cited this as evidence of Peru's lack of development.

> And having to put your toilet paper in a bin, stuff like that, you know? You just don't do it at home, it just gets flushed down… Those sorts of things they're obviously still running behind. (Susan)

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[9] According to local Manos del Mundo staff, the water outages were because the data collection period also coincided with what was supposed to be the beginning of the wet season but the rains were late and so the council was rotating water shut-offs in order to conserve water until the end of the (longer than usual) dry season.

Some of the volunteer tourists suggested that Peruvians were accepting of their situation and were not actively trying to 'better themselves' but were instead relying on outside help (for example, volunteer tourists). Margaret described the people of Cusco as:

> ...very passive. There's a small minority that is really trying to get out of their situation but the vast majority just accept that that's the situation... And I don't know if colonisation was the root of it, or if the Spanish were able to colonise so easily because the people were passive.

Terry spoke of going to visit patients at their homes where "people would have a half-finished front of their house and like they'd be living in the back".

Latin Americans, including Peruvians, have a comparatively relaxed attitude to time (Keating, 2013; Lewis, 2005; Westcott, 2007) and things in Peru rarely run to schedule. Subsequently, volunteer tourism schedules were often extremely flexible, perhaps more so than would be considered acceptable in the volunteer tourists' home countries. As Bill commented, "time is a very fluid concept here" (see also Grabowski, Wearing & Small, 2016). Some volunteer tourists attributed this to 'laziness' on the Peruvians part. This perception of Peruvians as "passive" and "lazy" contrasts sharply with the Cusqueños own perception of themselves as the proud descendants of the Incans (see Appendix 1).

Urry's concept of the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002; Urry & Larsen, 2011) was introduced in Chapter 2. In many ways, the volunteer tourists 'gazed' upon the host community, and in particular, at the children at the orphanages (see also Mostafanezhad, 2014b). As I recorded in my research diary, one day one of the volunteer tourists:

> ...was showing me a photo of her holding one of the little girls at the orphanage. The little girl was new and [one of the volunteer tourists] and one of the other girls helped give her a shower, then wrapped her in a towel & just ended up sitting there holding her... [She said that] that was why she had come to Cusco, that was the kind of experience she wanted. (Research diary, 21 November 2012)

Mostafanezhad (2014b) also describes similar behaviour amongst volunteer tourists in Thailand.

As Sarah said at her exit interview in Cusco:

> Some people have been there for two weeks and they're like "oh come here, come take a photo" and they [the children] love to take photos because they love to see themselves afterwards but it's like, it makes me, not nauseated, but it makes me kind of "eargh", it's almost kind of poverty tourism, kind of thing, you know? And that's kind of grotesque. It's like "oh, I'll put these on Facebook" and that's what they're thinking, like "can't wait to make this my profile picture!"

These "narratives and images of the pale skinned volunteer encompassed by darker skinned children" (Mostafanezhad, 2014a, p. 7) have become ubiquitous within volunteer tourism (Biddle, 2014; Mostafanezhad, 2014b). Volunteering overseas can provide the volunteer tourist with access to cultural capital and an identity based on moral consumption. Facebook profile pictures can be one way of portraying this identity to one's wider social circle (Sink, 2011), although this behaviour itself has been mocked and criticised (Chenciner, 2014; Stayton, 2015; The Onion, 2014; Vita, 2014).

6.2.2   Perceptions of poverty in Cusco

As in slum tourism, poverty functions as an attraction within volunteer tourism (Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink & Rogerson, 2015). Margaret said while she was aware of poverty in developing countries "until you actually come face to face it does not register". The volunteer tourists in Cusco tended to speak about "the poor" and "the other half", thus differentiating themselves from the local Peruvians. There was very little mention or acknowledgement of poverty in the volunteer tourists' home countries and instead a strong emphasis on the poor "other half" that live in developing countries. Although some volunteer tourists mentioned poverty at home, they all emphasised that this was not on the "same scale" as poverty in Peru. For example, John stated that during his time in Cusco he had learned "that even the worst parts of the United States are still not that bad" compared to poverty in Peru.

Many of the volunteer tourists attributed their lack of poverty to "luck". For example, Fiona commented that "you know you're lucky but I guess until you actually see or experience it first-hand you don't realise". Similarly, Margaret stated that "I know I'm lucky and I'm very grateful that I was born in America… And it all has to do with the luck of the draw, where you get born". However, this emphasis on luck ignores many of the systemic and post-colonial causes of poverty in the developing world (Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Simpson, 2005) and reflects neoliberal ideas that social problems including poverty, unemployment and inequality can be viewed as the fault of an individual's (or, in this case, an individual country's) behaviour rather than the result of (global) structural issues (Passas, 2000).

Some of the volunteer tourists believed Peru was under-developed because Peruvians were not aware of how other countries operate.

> Unless their own government can sort of bring in other people, or whether
> the government goes and visits other countries to see how other countries do
> it, it's [development] going to be a slow process. (Susan)

Some of the volunteer tourists were more aware of the systemic issues (see also Boluk & Ranjbar, 2014). For example, Sarah was studying international development and had previously worked in development and micro-loans for women in Latin America.

> I have some experience kind of understanding… that poverty… literally it's something that is man-made… If you grow up in a family that makes a dollar a day and is living in these conditions, I feel like people have a misconception of like "oh well, it's their fault" or you know "they could do this and they could be living in… a better environment" but it's more complicated than that.

She came to Peru because she wanted "to learn about the poverty here, what are the roots of the poverty, what are the solutions?" Somewhat unsurprisingly, the volunteer tourists who were university students, particularly those studying international development or medicine, tended to have a more nuanced understanding of poverty and the roots of developmental differences between countries than those who were not students.

The volunteer tourists said their own perceptions of poverty and what it means to be 'poor' had also changed as a result of their experiences volunteering in Cusco. For example, after several weeks volunteering at the orphanage, Margaret said that "you realise it could be a lot worse… and you kind of get used to it. You kind of say 'you know what… it's really not too bad'". The orphanage has a large play area including a donated playground set, three dormitory rooms, a dressing room, and showers.

> They just installed hot water heaters a few months ago, before that they had to bathe in cold water… And that's how you realise, well probably most of the world, if they get to bathe at all, they bathe in cold water. (Margaret)

As Margaret said, "it puts your value system in a different perspective" (see also Zahra & McIntosh, 2007). She had brought art supplies for the girls, although in retrospect she said what they really needed at the orphanage were medical supplies such as vitamins, and shampoo to treat head lice.

As Bell (2005, p. 424) writes, "it is a fundamental irony that tourists are people wealthy enough to go to remote places and look at poor people". In some cases, the volunteer tourists did not perceive the host community as being 'poor enough' to require the assistance of volunteer tourists. For example, Melissa originally volunteered at a private orphanage outside of Cusco that was run by an American couple, however, she felt that:

> …it was such a self-sufficient orphanage [that] you didn't overly feel like you were doing much, if that makes any sense?… It's a nice orphanage but you just sort of feel like, you didn't feel like you were helping a lot.

Although newly arrived in Peru and with no previous experience working at an orphanage, Melissa felt qualified to assess whether or not the orphanage was 'needy enough' to justify the presence of volunteer tourists.

This idea of the host community not being 'needy' enough is also explored in the literature, along with the potential consequences. For example, Vrasti (2013, p. 26) states that the volunteer tourists she met in Guatemala:

> ...did not perceive the local community as poor or appreciative enough to justify the need for foreign assistance. As a result, they quickly lost interest in 'giving back' and 'making a difference'... They began sightseeing, getting to know the locals and learning about the indigenous culture.

As examined further in Chapter 7, if the volunteer tourists do not feel they are actively contributing then they may be more likely to stop volunteering and instead focus on the hedonistic pleasures of travelling.

6.2.3 'Poor but happy' discourse

The volunteer tourists tended to romanticise poverty in Cusco somewhat (Hampton, 1998; Hariharan, 2016; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Muzaini, 2006), particularly with regards to emphasising the idea of local people being 'poor but happy'. For example, Joseph stated that "I'm always surprised by like how happy they [locals] are, or how happy they seem with like so little" while Georgia said "you see the houses and everything, the adobe houses, and it's just unbelievable. And yet they're happy! You don't need much". Sonan spoke of Peru as being "a really hopeful place, like despite not having a lot" while Katie said that "it's good to learn from those sorts of people, even if you have things in your past you can still be happy".

Children in particular were viewed as being happy because they did not know any different. Before starting volunteering at the orphanage, Fiona stated at her entry interview:

> There are so many people who are less fortunate. But they don't consider themselves to be less fortunate. Like they're probably going to be the happiest kids in the world because they don't know any different.

Similarly, Matt said he had:

> ...heard people say when they come to these places, the kids here are so much different to kids in the Western world... They have a more positive attitude some of them, but they have very little... You travel through small villages and see the kids, they're just always happy and I want to see that and be part of it.

At his exit interview Matt spoke about seeing "how these kids are so happy when they have so little. And I guess maybe that's the key to life!" Similarly, Fiona spoke about how the children at the orphanages in Cusco "probably feel happy to have... the volunteers there, someone to play soccer with them or finger-painting and that". She concluded by saying "you've just got to learn to be happy with nothing and then you feel so much freer. Like they probably don't have any cares, like just happy".

This reflects the romanticisation of the developing world as 'poor but happy' where people are viewed as being happy *because* of their lack of material wealth, rather than in spite of it (Crossley, 2012; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Vrasti, 2013). For example, Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 40) argues that volunteer tourists are motivated by "a widespread romanticisation of peoples and places perceived to be beyond the realm of capitalist modernity and therefore living more authentic and community oriented lives" (see also Schott, 2011). In this sense volunteer tourists explore different attitudes to happiness (and materialism) in an attempt to understand what makes people happy, and by extension, how they too can become less materialistic, that is, happier with less. Butcher and Smith (2015, p. 117) contend that volunteer tourists in fact perceive the host community as more advanced:

> Most accounts from volunteer tourists suggest something of a reversal of this assumption [that tourists feel culturally superior], portraying instead a strongly flawed western society with much to learn from communities in the developing world.

Because of this romanticisation, volunteer tourists are often concerned that 'development' is synonymous with 'Westernisation' (Mostafanezhad, 2014a). By extension, a lack of development is therefore perceived as being more 'authentic' (Gray & Campbell, 2007; Mostafanezhad, 2013).

6.2.4   Volunteer tourists' interactions with the host community

While some of the volunteer tourists were perhaps naïve or ignorant about Peru and the developing world, all the volunteer tourists interviewed appeared to respect the local culture and be genuinely interested in learning more about the Cusqueño way of life. The extent of interaction the volunteer tourists had with the host community varied widely. For example, one young English volunteer tourist lived in a homestay, had a local Peruvian boyfriend, and volunteered at a small orphanage with only one or two other volunteer tourists in a rural village approximately 40 minutes' drive outside of Cusco. She spent three months in Cusco and spoke almost fluent Spanish by the time she left. Conversely, an American volunteer tourist lived in a volunteer tourist guesthouse and volunteered at a local construction site with approximately a dozen other volunteer tourists and one local coordinator. He had very little interaction with local Cusqueños and spoke almost no Spanish even after three weeks in Cusco. While one cannot learn a foreign language in three weeks, it is possible to learn some key phrases and basic vocabulary (for example, greetings, numbers and common food items).

Volunteer tourists do not belong to a homogeneous group and have very different experiences, and thus very different perceptions, of Cusco and Cusqueños. Most of the volunteer tourists did interact with locals as part of their volunteering projects, although the extent of this interaction depended somewhat on what type of volunteer project the volunteer tourists were engaging in. For example, Sarah felt that she "maintained a relationship" with the adults she taught English to at the local community centre. Terry was volunteering at a local medical clinic and spoke of visiting some patients in their homes. He said it was "interesting to see how people actually lived". Volunteer tourists at the orphanages and those teaching English to school children interacted with the children on a daily basis.

Construction volunteers typically had less interaction with local people as the only people working at the construction site were other volunteer tourists. Joseph stated that the most interaction he had with local Cusqueños was one day at the construction site when:

> I was the only one that showed up for some reason… the fathers were, they usually work on weekends [rather than during the week], but they were there that day, so I was hanging out with all of them and they thought it was hilarious that I didn't… know Spanish… They were teaching me like all the words, like what the tools were, and, it was a really fun time.

One construction volunteer told me he was somewhat envious that I was teaching English to adults and therefore interacted with local adults and learned more about the local culture, while he was at the construction site and rarely interacted with local Cusqueños outside of a service transaction (for example, buying something in a shop, tour guides). He was also staying in one of Manos del Mundo's volunteer tourist guesthouses and therefore potentially had less interaction with local people than if he stayed in a homestay with a local family.

Some volunteer tourists also took advantage of the tandem programme offered by Manos del Mundo whereby volunteer tourists (and Spanish language students) were matched with local Manos del Mundo students. The tandem partners were expected to meet on a regular basis and practise each other's' language, generally speaking English for half the time and Spanish for the other half. This was one way for the volunteer tourists to develop a relationship (or even friendship) with a member of the host community, and thus move beyond the tourist space and instead be invited to enter the locals' 'backstage' by visiting parts of Cusco tourists did not generally visit such as local (non-touristy) cafés and family homes. However, very few of the volunteer tourists took part in these types of arrangements. This suggests that even when these types of experiences were offered, the

volunteer tourists did not necessarily want to move beyond the volunteer tourism enclave. This idea is discussed further later in this chapter.

6.2.5   Tensions between the host community and volunteer tourists

A language barrier between the Spanish-speaking locals and the (mostly) English-speaking volunteer tourists somewhat limited the volunteer tourist-host interaction. Many of the volunteer tourists interviewed said they would have preferred to have had more interaction with local people, although they acknowledged this lack of deeper contact was often due to their own lack of Spanish skills. For example, Sonan stated that "it's really hard when you don't speak Spanish… no-one really accepts you". Terry described trying to speak Spanish at placement as "challenging" while Frances thought being able to speak at least some Spanish was "necessary, definitely" and Matt described it as a "fundamental" requirement when volunteering. One of the Manos del Mundo staff members estimated only 5-10% of volunteer tourists spoke "passable Spanish". However, the staff member also described speaking at least "a little bit" of Spanish as "an extremely crucial part of volunteering here" and stated that volunteer tourists who did not speak Spanish did not "have nearly as good of an experience". Reasons for why Manos del Mundo did not develop minimum Spanish language requirements are discussed in Chapter 7.

The volunteer tourist-host relationship was also influenced by wider socio-economic factors. While travel has become more common internationally, not everyone is equally mobile (Gogia, 2006). While some people such as volunteer tourists have become more mobile, this can reinforce the immobility of others, for example, the host community (Gale, 2008; see also Koleth, 2014). Gringos (foreigners) in Cusco are often assumed to be wealthy (Luxford, 2010) and therefore presumed to be willing, or at least able, to pay more than locals. Many volunteer tourists resented this fact as many of them were students or unemployed and therefore perceived themselves as poor (although acknowledged they were relatively wealthy compared to local incomes). By having the resources and freedom to travel, the volunteer tourists held a position of power within the host community. While not explicitly explored within this thesis, within post-colonial Peru, the skin colour of the (predominantly white) volunteer tourists also plays a part in this power differential (see Appendix 1).

The volunteer tourists in Cusco perceived themselves as different to mass tourists and became annoyed or offended when locals attempted to over-charge them the same way they would other tourists. Thomas stated that:

> There's a lot of gringo-ing [sic]… I just imagine that if you leave a store and a Peruvian comes in, he's going to get whatever you just got for two to three soles cheaper than what you just paid… It's the principle of the thing, it's like you want to get a fair deal, you don't want to get scammed. It feels crap to be scammed, regardless of the fact that you're getting scammed over fifty cents.

For example, taxis in Cusco have set fares although taxi drivers will often quote a higher price, sometimes three or four times the standard price, for tourists. One English volunteer tourist I often took taxis with would "get annoyed when taxi drivers rip us off because 'we're volunteers and are here helping their country'" (Research diary, 8 September 2011). In this sense how the volunteer tourists perceived themselves conflicted with how they were perceived by the host community.

Some of the volunteer tourists believed locals did not in fact like the tourists and in some cases there was a lot of resentment or animosity between the two groups. For example, Sarah said that:

> Obviously the tourists help their economy and buys [sic] their things but some of them [Cusqueños] seem very bitter about the tourists here. And I can totally understand that. Like if I was Peruvian… like all these white people coming up and like maybe not being respectful and getting drunk and like doing stupid shit.

Valentine (1992, as cited in Wearing & Grabowski, 2011) suggests that local people may begin to resent tourists who are more affluent than they are. This may partly explain the high levels of petty theft and common 'scams' against tourists in Cusco (for example, overcharging in shops and taxis).

Similarly, Thomas believed volunteer tourists in Cusco were more willing than the locals to "integrate" but believed that locals were "not willing to, in a lot of cases, especially when you go to the tourist areas". He believed there was a:

> …faction, like some large minority, or maybe the majority… of Peruvians that aren't particularly fond of tourists… I don't know if they really enjoy the… Westernisation of Plaza de Armas, like the McDonalds or the KFC. I went in there and there were no Peruvians in there, it was all tourists.

This was also likely because Western places such as KFC, Starbucks and McDonalds were much more expensive than local equivalents.

Although living in Canada, Sonan was Bhutanese and acknowledged that Cusco was the Cusqueños' home and they may not necessarily want to interact with the volunteer tourists and give them the 'authentic' experience the volunteer tourists were perhaps looking for. Sonan said that she appreciated that while she wanted to interact with local people that did not necessarily mean they wanted to interact with her: "people are really

not very accepting of you and I don't blame them 'cause I think I'd be the same at home" (Allon & Anderson, 2010).

6.2.6   'Machismo' and sexism in Latin America

Dynamics between men and women in Peru differ somewhat from the volunteer tourists' home countries (Alyse, 2009) and this is particularly evident in Cusco and elsewhere in the more-traditional Andean region (McCarthy et al., 2013). Female volunteer tourists were warned at the volunteer tourism orientation to avoid exposing their legs and upper arms and to never walk alone at night. 'Gringas' (female gringos) were often perceived by local men as being sexually liberated and therefore available. I was careful to dress modestly (covering arms, chest and legs) as much as possible and, like most of the other female volunteer tourists, I wore jeans and t-shirts most days. Nonetheless, many female volunteer tourists were groped in the street and often had obscenities shouted at them by local men, particularly in the evenings. Because the volunteer tourists tended to go to areas of Cusco outside the main tourist areas (for example, construction sites in the outer suburbs, orphanages in nearby towns) it is likely this happened more to volunteer tourists than to other tourists who tended to stay in the main tourist areas of Cusco.

The harassment the female volunteers experienced ranged from "cat calls, wolf whistles & guys yelling 'hola' right in your face" (Research diary, 6 September 2011) to more serious incidents. For example:

> Around 7 of us girls were walking along the footpath in a very narrow one-way street. One guy walked past & grabbed my bum, putting his fingers right in between [my legs] – I was too surprised to really do anything. Then 30 seconds later [another female volunteer tourist] suddenly screamed and started hitting a guy with her bag in the middle of the street. She burst into tears and said he had touched her in her 'private place'. (Research diary, 7 August 2011)

This type of behaviour was common and reported by several of the volunteer tourists in their exit interviews (see also New Zealand Herald, 2016). For example, Clare spoke of being assaulted by a taxi driver when going home one night alone:

> He offered to open the door and I was still fumbling around for money and so I didn't really, like I didn't say no or yes or anything 'cause it was dark and you know how hard it is to tell the difference between coins in the dark… And so I was fumbling around and next thing I know he's groping my boob and he's got my hands down his pants.

For these reasons, female volunteer tourists tended to avoid walking alone, especially after dark.

While I do not attempt to excuse any form of sexual harassment, female volunteer tourists in Cusco often behaved in ways that could be deemed inappropriate by local standards as they conflicted with the traditional Catholic value system. For example, many female volunteer tourists appeared in public heavily intoxicated and engaged in sexualised activities in public, for example kissing their partners. Both these types of behaviours were considered inappropriate by local standards. Volunteer tourists of both genders also regularly engaged in casual sex with multiple partners (mostly with other tourists but also with local Cusqueños). These behaviours reinforce the locally held view that Western women are promiscuous and 'available'.

The majority of volunteer tourism takes place in developing countries and such countries often have more traditional attitudes towards gender roles and sexuality (often influenced by religion) compared to the volunteer tourists' home countries which tend to be Western, secular, and more aware of issues of gender equality (that is, post-sexual revolution). These experiences of sexual harassment against volunteer tourists are not unique to Cusco. Vrasti (2013, p. iix), for example, spoke of travelling in Morocco and said that she was "repeatedly hassled, mocked, scammed, stared and shouted at. I resented being treated like a walking dollar sign or a sex object".

Experiences such as these had a negative impact on (female) volunteer tourist-host interactions, although all the volunteer tourists interviewed expressed positive overall feelings towards Cusco and Cusqueños. Unlike the early volunteer tourism literature which emphasised that volunteer tourism allowed for more 'authentic' tourist-host interactions than available within conventional mass tourism, these findings suggest that this is not always the case. Within commodified volunteer tourism, volunteer tourists may behave more like other (non-volunteering) tourists, for example, backpackers, and may therefore be perceived as such by the host community. When this results in negative interactions between the two groups (for example, petty crime and sexual harassment), this may lead to resentment and may cause the volunteer tourists to be less inclined to volunteer and subsequently become more tourism-focused.

6.3   Volunteer tourists' expectations and contribution to the host community

As explored in Chapter 2, much of the literature criticising volunteer tourism focuses on a perceived lack of contribution made by the volunteer tourists to the host community and/or the risk of the volunteer tourists negatively impacting the host community. It is

important to note that as this study did not include interviews with the host community, this section is based on the (perceived) contribution the volunteer tourists themselves believed they had made to the host community rather than the views of the host community or the volunteer tourism organisation.

6.3.1   Expected contribution to the host community

While the volunteer tourists acknowledged their contribution as a result of volunteering may ultimately be small, they did expect to benefit the host community to some degree. For example, Vinod wanted "to make some sort of an impact… that's why I'm here". Most of the volunteer tourists in Cusco had what could be considered appropriate expectations of how much (or how little) they would contribute given their limited Spanish skills, lack of previous relevant experience, and short period of time in the country. For example, Natalie stated that she did not expect to "change the community or anything" but rather hoped that "at least it will help somebody, make their time a little bit easier while I'm here". She believed that any benefit "would be enough" as she did not "have huge expectations", saying at her entry interview, "I know that I'm not going to change the world or anything". Dawson believed it was "very important to manage someone's expectations when they're volunteering" and believed that Manos del Mundo had done this well. Margaret did not "have any illusions that I'm going to be doing anything that's going to have long-standing effects" but rather "it's going to be a drop in the bucket".

However, some of the volunteer tourists did have somewhat inflated expectations of the impact they would make on the host community as a result of volunteering (see also Hammersley, 2014; Jänis & Timonen, 2014; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Vrasti, 2013). For example, Bill volunteered teaching English at a local primary school in Cusco. On arrival he said that he just wanted to "give more than I get out" of the experience, although he did not foresee this being an issue since he believed he would "teach them skills… give them resources that are going to drastically improve their lives". This use of the word "drastically" emphasises how much of an impact Bill believed he would be making as a direct result of his presence in Cusco. Melissa believed that "some people who were here for a couple of weeks… were expecting a lot more from the situation… Some people have had really unrealistic expectations" which could cause them to be negative about the experience when these expectations were not met.

While the volunteer tourists were careful not to overstate their expectations at the entry interviews, some did admit at the exit interviews that they had had relatively high expectations on arrival that ultimately had not been met. For example, at his exit

interview Daniel said that "I had a rosy image of volunteering changing a lot... when I came here at first. Then I realised that it takes time, you need experience to do it better". Margaret commented that "initially when you get there you think 'I'm going to do all this and I'm going to do this'" but when she had been there for a while she realised "it's a system that's in place and it works. However it works, it works". These inflated expectations were partly based on the volunteer tourists' lack of experience, but also the result of how volunteer tourism is often marketed (Vrasti, 2013). This suggests the volunteer tourism sending organisations need to better manage the volunteer tourists' expectations prior to arriving at the volunteer tourism destination.

6.3.2   Perceived contribution to the host community

In general, most of the volunteer tourists believed they had made some form of positive contribution to the host community as a result of their volunteering, although the extent of this perceived contribution varied greatly and was often not as much of a contribution as the volunteer tourists had expected to make. Some of the volunteer tourists emphasised that the difference they made may have been small but was still useful. For example, Frances said she had "not changed their [the children's] life... but I think I've taught them little things which hopefully they'll remember". Susan said that while there was an English teacher at the school the volunteer tourists did not see him and therefore she believed any English the students learned was as a result of their lessons with the volunteer tourists. Therefore "the input that the volunteers have, regardless of how big or little, it's all a help... any input that you have has got to be a positive". The same could be said for the adults who attended English classes at the community centre – although their English did not necessarily improve noticeably, most students' confidence speaking English increased.

In many ways, the volunteer tourists' main contribution was to allow the local staff time to catch up on other tasks. For example, at the orphanages the volunteer tourists entertained and supervised the children, thereby allowing the paid staff time to hold meetings and catch up on paperwork. Similarly, by having volunteer tourists teach English classes, schools were able to focus local teachers' time elsewhere. At the medical clinics, the volunteer tourists were often given mundane repetitive tasks such as cutting and folding gauze and while the volunteer tourists often complained about this, by having volunteer tourists perform such tasks, locally-qualified Spanish-speaking medical professionals presumably had more time to perform other tasks they were arguably more qualified than the volunteer tourists to perform (for example, treating patients).

Perceived contribution at childcare and orphanage projects

Volunteer tourists believed their presence was appreciated by the children at the orphanages. Frances believed the girls at the orphanage appreciated her being there based on "the response when you come in the gate and stuff like they love seeing you". Similarly, Melissa believed "the kids definitely appreciate us being there". Children at the orphanages did not necessarily have a lot of adults in their lives with spare time available to play with them and the volunteer tourists filled this role. Most of the staff at the orphanages were middle-aged women and the children particularly appreciated the young male volunteer tourists who were willing to play more physical games (for example, soccer, throwing the children in the air). Clare volunteered at the centre for sexually abused girls and said that the girls seemed to:

> ...enjoy having the company and the distraction but I do feel like that in a lot of cases mainly what we've done is just distract them from the fact that they're kind of locked in a cage and they don't get out.

Unlike at the other orphanages, these girls did not leave the complex to attend school.

Perceived contribution at medical projects

Whether or not the medical volunteer tourists believed they had contributed to the host community varied widely with some volunteer tourists saying they believed they had helped and others saying they did not feel they had helped at all. For the most part this depended less on the volunteer tourist's medical and Spanish skills and more on what the volunteer tourist had been allowed to do at a particular clinic (for example, hands-on work with patients versus listening to local doctors). For example, Emily said she had been useful at her clinic:

> The wound-care patients... they came in every other day so I already knew what they needed so I could just take care of it and they could get out of there instead of them waiting for the one nurse.

She was a qualified nurse in the United States and in Peru was allowed to treat patients (within her scope) without direct supervision, thereby allowing the one local nurse at the clinic time to treat other (more complicated) cases. Similarly, Terry was the only doctor at his clinic and thought he had "had a decent impact... [for] specific patients".

The medical campaign project was perceived as being particularly valuable. Rather than volunteering as part of an ongoing local clinic, the medical campaigns involved going to villages that did not have permanent health facilities and therefore any impact the volunteer tourists made was perhaps more visible.

> Five hundred people now know [as a result of the medical campaign] there's nothing wrong with them, or if they do know what is wrong with them and they're going to get help. (David)

> We were going out and doing examinations of people who would not actually have had examinations if we weren't there. Yeah, so I definitely feel that that made a difference. (Daniel)

The volunteer tourists were unclear about the longer-term outcomes of these medical campaigns. The volunteer tourists said if they identified an issue with a patient (for example, an irregular heartbeat) then they referred the patient to the doctor in charge. However, the volunteer tourists were not sure what happened after this point, for example, whether patients were able to visit specialists for further testing/treatment. Medical campaigns required a lot of resources and only took place once per month during the peak season when there were high numbers of medical volunteer tourists (typically university students during their summer holidays).

Perceived contribution at teaching English projects

Volunteer tourists who taught English were somewhat undecided about the contribution they had made. Dawson believed he had contributed at the construction site but was uncertain if he had made much difference teaching at the local primary school. Susan believed the teachers were "very grateful" although admitted she was unsure whether her presence at the schools had in fact been "valuable" for the students. Sarah felt that she had "definitely" helped since the adult students at the community centre had made some progress, and without the volunteer tourists there would be no classes for these groups. However, if there were not volunteer tourists providing free English lessons, I suspect many of the students would have instead paid to attend English classes elsewhere. Many of the students who attended the classes taught by the volunteer tourists were university students or held office jobs. Some also paid for lessons at Manos del Mundo and attended the free lessons with the volunteer tourists as a form of extra practice.

There was very little structure to the English lessons given by the volunteer tourists. As described in Chapter 4, volunteer tourists were responsible for planning lessons although they received very little guidance on how to do this. Because it was part of the children's school lessons, Sonan and Dawson thought there should have been more focus on learning.

> Most of the classes they only wanted to play games…I think people should be teaching them more useful things… rather than trying to make the lessons fun all the time… It is school. (Sonan)

This reflects the views of one of Jakubiak's (2014, p. 101) research subjects in Costa Rica who said that while she believed the children had enjoyed her English lessons, she was not necessarily teaching them what they needed to learn.

> It's fun for them… sort of like summer vacation… But then they go back and have English class with a teacher who doesn't speak English and have to take national exams for which I haven't prepared them.

Both Jakubiak's research subject and Sonan believed that classes taught by volunteer tourists should still be treated as 'school' and therefore be taken seriously. Conversely, Susan was also teaching in Cusco at the same time as Sonan and felt that Sonan and Dawson spent too much time writing on the blackboard and did not allow the students to "have fun with the language". This reflects the differing views held by the volunteer tourists about what their role was and what they were supposed to be contributing to the host community.

Perceived contribution at construction projects

Almost all construction volunteer tourists believed they had made a positive contribution as a result of their volunteering. For example, Joseph said he "totally didn't expect to see the progress that I've seen…. it's been amazing". He believed the locals appreciated the volunteer tourists being in the village:

> They seem really happy about it. Every time like the buses go by the site, everyone's like waving and like yelling at us… I think they [pause] appreciate what we're doing.

John and Georgia "definitely" thought the host community appreciated their efforts and would "get some good use out of it". Dawson believed he had made a "tangible" contribution to the host community and it is possible that this 'tangibility' of the construction projects was one of the reasons construction volunteer tourists were more likely to perceive their volunteering to have had a positive impact – particularly shorter-term volunteer tourists who may have only been there for a matter of weeks.

6.3.3   Lack of perceived contribution

Ultimately, some of the volunteer tourists said they thought they had made little active contribution in Cusco as a result of their volunteering. For example, I asked Michael how much he believed the locals had benefited from his volunteering, to which he replied "zero or close to". Likewise, Vinod did not believe the host community had benefitted from his volunteering saying "I'll be honest, no, I don't think so… I don't think I really made any difference at all". Heather was unconvinced her volunteering was beneficial to the host community since "interpreters interpret between people who don't understand each other. And almost this entire time I've been interpreting… for a third person" (see Chapter 4). In this case she had perhaps been useful to the other volunteer tourists (who could

now follow the conversation) but this had not benefitted the host community in any perceivable way.

When asked whether he believed he had contributed positively to the host community as a result of his volunteering, Bill said he "would love to give… an enthusiastic yes because that justifies my spending my money and getting donations to come down here" but ultimately he did not believe that to be the case. Matt became particularly cynical and commented at his exit interview that there were times when he wondered if volunteer tourism was simply "a clever idea to get people to stay and spend money… and make you feel like you're doing something even though you're not".

Several of the medical volunteer tourists were concerned they were not contributing as much as they had expected or hoped to. For example, Terry said he did not feel he had contributed as much as he could have:

> I have much more responsibility [in Canada]. Instead of just doing well-baby checks [like he was in Peru] I'd be doing like full exams, differential diagnosis, plan treatment, write prescriptions, and then just quickly run it by the doctor and they'd be like "okay, good, sounds good to me" and then send them off.

He said that even as a medical student in Canada "I had more responsibility… than I do here" in Cusco. Emma changed volunteer project twice because she did not feel like she was contributing enough.

> The first [project] was at a clinic, the second was at a hospital, and the third was at a school for disabled children… I really liked the first two places but I didn't really think I was helping them… it was interesting for me to see how they do healthcare and how everything works here so it was awesome, but I was just kind of standing there and not helping them. And so that's not really what I wanted to do here.

Later in the interview she clarified this by saying "I think I stayed as long as I did at them [the first two placements] because it was interesting for me", however, she did not feel useful at these projects (see also Barkham, 2006).

One Manos del Mundo staff member said that some volunteer tourists "underestimate how difficult" volunteering overseas can be. This was a particular issue for medical volunteer tourists who may "underestimate how little they actually get to do". The skilled medical volunteer tourists were least likely to be satisfied with their contribution (compared to unskilled volunteer tourists), although this is perhaps because they had higher expectations of what they would be able to do at their projects, and potentially under-estimated the limiting effect of the language barrier. While the volunteer tourists may have inflated expectations, it is also the role of the volunteer tourism organisation to moderate these expectations (both within marketing materials and when the volunteer

tourists arrive in-country) and to ensure that the volunteer tourism projects are chosen and subsequently organised in such a way that the volunteer tourists can contribute. As Jänis and Timonen (2014, p. 106) suggest, "host organisations should be more explicit about their expectations towards overseas volunteers and provide adequate familiarisation and guidance" (see also Vrasti, 2013).

However, Manos del Mundo staff members did not necessarily see this lack of impact as a negative factor and believed the benefits the volunteer tourists received (as explored in Chapter 7) meant volunteer tourism was still justifiable as long as it was not negatively impacting the host community.

> Worst-case scenario, you as a volunteer never bring any level of impact to that project, alright? Well at the very least you personally have become a richer individual. … you're a richer person, you're more global, your eyes are a little more open... I see only positive things coming from that. (Manos del Mundo staff member)

However, if it is the volunteer tourists themselves who are benefitting from the experience then volunteer tourism no longer differs from other types of tourism where the host community becomes the backdrop to the tourists' own experiences. What's more, volunteer tourism may not have a neutral effect on the host community but, as explored later in this chapter, may in fact negatively impact the host community.

6.3.4   A continuous cycle of volunteer tourists

When asked about the contribution they thought they had made to the host community, many of the volunteer tourists emphasised that while they themselves may have made only a small contribution, it was the continuous flow of volunteers that was really benefitting the host community. Margaret stated that "what we do is we just do a small part, a small drop" while Susan believed that "every little bit… helps". Thomas acknowledged that although the host community would benefit little from him "as one person personally" volunteering in Cusco, there would be more of a contribution as a result of "a collective" of "volunteers volunteering consistently".

When asked how much English he expected to teach the children in two weeks, Bill replied:

> It's an interesting question… And I'll tell you what Manos del Mundo told me. It's not so much how much they learn in two weeks, it's about how much they learn across the course of the programme.

However, this only applies if there is continuity to the programme; as described in Chapters 4 and 5, this was not necessarily the case. For example, at the teaching English to

adults project we were told there were journals to document what we had taught students but these were never used during my 15 weeks at the project. There was no workbook or structure to the classes and no suggestion of what topics students should be learning at each level. This issue has also been highlighted at other volunteer tourism sites (for example, Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Pycroft, 2015).

While in some cases there may not be continuity of teaching curriculum, in other cases there is no continuity of teaching at all. For example, if there were no English-teaching volunteer tourists at the community centre that week there were simply no English classes. Similarly, Jakubiak (2014, p. 99) interviewed a volunteer tourist who taught English at an Ecuadorian school for eight weeks. However, once the volunteer left, "the village doesn't really have any means to continue English language learning" (see also Mostafanezhad, 2014a). However, in Cusco this lack of continuity of classes was also the fault of the local students themselves. The adults' English classes were run on a drop-in basis and there was no way of knowing in advance which students would show up each evening; students would often come for several days in a row and then not come for several days or even weeks and this affected their progress. As Jukubiak (2014, p. 98) concludes, all these factors taken together mean that "claims that these [volunteer tourism] programmes reliably deliver English language skills to people in the global South are tenuous" (see also Hariharan, 2016).

The importance of a continuous flow of volunteer tourists arguably varies across volunteer tourism projects. For example, in Cusco it may have been more necessary at the teaching English, childcare, and medical projects to have a continuous flow of volunteer tourists to perform various roles. However, it may have perhaps been less of an issue at the construction projects where the buildings simply sat untouched until there were volunteer tourists available again.

6.3.5   Role of local staff in maximising volunteer tourists' contribution

The extent to which the volunteer tourists were able to contribute to the project was not solely their responsibility; staff at some projects were better than others at conducting orientations and ensuring they made the most of the volunteer tourists' skills (see also Hammersley, 2014). Most childcare volunteers volunteered at one of two main orphanages in central Cusco where there was little structure to the volunteering. In contrast, the homework club held at a community centre was one project that seemed to be particularly well organised. I visited this project with two volunteer tourists on their first day:

> It seemed a really well-organised project, when they first got there the [local project] director sat them [two new volunteer tourists] down & went over what skills (soccer, art etc.) the 2 guys had & what sort of activities they wanted to do with the kids. She also went over the programme's expectations… It's a lot more structured than the other childcare programmes though & the volunteers have a lot more responsibility. (Research diary, 12 October 2012)

The local staff had a schedule of activities each day and expected the volunteer tourists to conform to this schedule. Volunteer tourists were encouraged to suggest activities for the children and the project director would then source the appropriate supplies, for example, clay for the children to sculpt.

Many of the volunteer tourists with medical skills and qualifications said their skills had been under-utilised and they could have contributed far more at the medical clinics if they had been given the opportunity. For example, Michael had only weeks left at medical school and Terry and Vinod were recently graduated doctors; all three felt they had valuable medical knowledge and experience to contribute but that their skills had not been maximised by the local staff. Vinod said he felt he:

> …was qualified to do a little more. What I was doing, I was kind of like, we were working with med students also and I felt like I was kind of being treated as a med student… I mean I just graduated so I don't have too much experience. But… I felt like I could have done a little more than what I was.

Both Vinod and Michael mentioned that although they had the medical knowledge they did not necessarily have the Spanish skills and thus needed a translator to be able to really contribute. For example, Michael (who spoke very little Spanish) said that at the clinic he "still couldn't understand what was going on". When examining a patient, he said "the most important part of it is knowing the history… I'd just be told to examine someone's abdomen without knowing what I was actually looking for".

This idea is also reflected in other studies of medical volunteer tourists, for example Vrasti (2013, p. 98) writes that most of the volunteer tourists working at medical projects in Ghana "found their placements 'boring as hell' and 'got no sense of achievement out of it at all'". She quotes an American volunteer tourist in Ghana who was a certified paramedic in his home country who "complained that 'the bureaucracy [in Ghana] didn't allow [him] to work to his full potential'". Although he had the necessary training and skills, he was unable to maximise his (perceived) contribution because of policies which restricted the tasks he was allowed to perform in Ghana. While Michael, Terry and Vinod were disappointed that they had not necessarily been able to fully utilise their medical skills at the clinics in Cusco, a generalist volunteer tourism organisation such as Manos del Mundo

may be less suitable for qualified doctors than a more professionally-focused medical volunteering programme such as Médecins Sans Frontières.

In some cases, the time the medical volunteer tourists spent at the clinic became an educational experience rather than a volunteering one. At times the medical volunteer tourists felt they were not helping but hindering the local doctors by taking up their time. For example, Daniel said that at the clinic:

> …the doctor would do everything and then after a general examination would sometimes say 'now you listen, now you test' and that was kind of one hundred per cent hindering.

Michael said of his third volunteer tourism placement:

> It would just be him [the doctor] talking… about like interesting cases… Which was really interesting but we still didn't see any patients so he was just talking to us for like two hours every day and then we'd go home… we were actually taking up his time rather than helping.

Natalie made a similar observation saying:

> I don't know if I was all that helpful to them [staff at the clinic], I think it was more helpful to me because I kind of, like I can't, I don't talk Spanish… I definitely think if I did it again I would maybe do like an orphanage… work in a facility with disabled children or something, just feel a little more useful.

In this sense Natalie did not think the lack of contribution was a result of volunteer tourism but rather as a result of being at the wrong project.

Similarly, some of the teaching volunteer tourists thought they could have contributed more if the local teachers had treated them differently. For example, Bill said that at the school where he was volunteering:

> I don't think she [the teacher] utilised any of the volunteers really to their fullest extent. I mean, when you have an English speaker in the classroom, if I was the native [Spanish] speaker, I would let the English speaker do as much of the presentation and the repeat-after-me and that sort of thing as I possibly could. A lot of times I felt like I was just window dressing.

In a lot of cases the teachers used the volunteers to help with classroom management and keeping students on task, rather than actively teaching English. Conversely, those volunteer tourists who were asked to teach a class themselves without a teacher were more likely to say they had actively contributed to the host community.

Some of the volunteer tourists were satisfied with the amount of information they received regarding their volunteer tourism project, however, several expressed concern at a perceived lack of information on arrival (see also Alleyne, 2006; Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008; Vrasti, 2013). On her first day Amy said that "even now, after the orientation this morning, all I got was the name of the place and the doctor that I'll be

talking to and that's it". Michael was somewhat cynical and believed that Manos del Mundo "were quite vague about what you're doing until the moment it's happening" and as a result "if they don't tell you what you're going to be doing then you can't argue to do something else". While this may have been partly true, it was more likely that Manos del Mundo staff did not have any more detailed information. This may also reflect Peruvian attitudes towards organisation and time-keeping which tend to be more relaxed than that of Anglo-American cultures.

Frances said that even after six weeks at the centre for sexually abused girls she still felt like she did not know "anything" about the project, giving the example that she had only just discovered that one of the girls was pregnant. She believed that Manos del Mundo did not provide much information about the projects and "should probably do that, like sit you down and maybe tell you a bit more about them". However, this is perhaps beyond the scope of what Manos del Mundo can provide with only three full-time staff looking after up to 250 volunteer tourists at any one time as well as liaising with the various volunteer tourism projects.

There was also some confusion around Manos del Mundo's role. For example, one Manos del Mundo staff member said that:

> ...some people who were here for a couple of weeks, I think they were expecting a lot more from the situation and kind of got quite negative about it... I think they expected a lot more from Manos del Mundo... Like Manos del Mundo should be organising the orphanages more. I was trying to explain that no, Manos del Mundo doesn't do that, they help find the orphanages... I've felt some people have had really unrealistic expectations and it's sort of frustrating.

At their exit interviews some volunteer tourists suggested Manos del Mundo needed to be more 'hands-on' (especially at the orphanages and medical clinics). However, as Manos del Mundo staff members pointed out, this was not their role; Manos del Mundo does not organise volunteer tourism projects but instead matches volunteer tourists with existing locally-organised projects.

6.3.6   Increasing cross-cultural knowledge and understanding

Cross-cultural understanding is the result of two cultures sharing and learning from one another. While the volunteer tourists learned about Peruvian culture, the local Cusqueños also learned more about the volunteer tourists' home countries and cultures. In this sense, what the volunteer tourists contributed to the host community was not necessarily the actual volunteer labour but rather cross-cultural understanding and knowledge of other

cultures. For example, my students and I developed a friendship which allowed me to learn more about Peruvian culture and for me to share some knowledge about New Zealand and other countries outside of the Americas. Somewhat unexpectedly, one of my students had spent time in New Zealand on a working holiday visa. As Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 80) notes, members of the community where the volunteer tourists volunteer have generally never left their home area, let alone travelled internationally. However, "they take pleasure from the cultural differences of the international volunteers".

Some volunteer tourists felt that their main contribution had been reassuring local staff about their work. Emma worked as a paediatric oncology nurse in Canada and said the local Peruvian nurses (who were unlikely to have worked outside of Peru) used her to learn more about nursing outside of Peru and to compare their nursing experience and treatments with those available in other countries.

> [They] were asking a lot about like treatments at home and cancer at home and things, how you would do things at home and how I would do things differently... so [I was] just kind of explaining to them.

She said that in some ways she felt she was reassuring the local nurses that the medical care they were providing in Peru was similar to the medical care provided in other (developed) countries (see also Budd, 2012). In this sense it is not the actual labour the volunteer tourists are performing that is having the most impact, but rather the cross-cultural interaction and learning that is occurring between the volunteer tourists and the host community (see also McIntosh & Zahra, 2009).

Jänis and Timonen (2014, p. 99) suggest that it is longer-term volunteer tourists who are more likely to consider "cultural awareness and giving new ideas through different culture as their main responsibility, instead of specific work related tasks". However, as Raymond and Hall (2008) point out, this level of cross-cultural interaction may be better framed as a goal of volunteer tourism, rather than assumed to be an automatic occurrence. Cross-cultural learning may also be limited within highly commodified volunteer tourism projects where there are limited interactions between the volunteer tourists and the host community. This idea is discussed further with regards to the volunteer tourist 'bubble' or 'enclave' in the final part of this chapter. Additionally, some would argue that this cross-cultural exchange is not necessarily beneficial to the host community but is instead the imposition of Western neoliberal thinking and values reminiscent of neo-colonialism. For example, in Costa Rica there are conflicting values placed on sea turtles by Western volunteer tourists who view the animals as a species in need of protecting, and the host

community who see them as a food source (Campbell & Smith, 2006; Gray & Campbell, 2007; Matthews, 2008).

6.4 Possible negative impacts of volunteer tourism on the host community

In the last five years the potential negative consequences of volunteer tourism have begun to be discussed more widely within both academia and the mass media. While these negative consequences are possible with all types of volunteer tourism, they are perhaps more apparent within large-scale pre-paid commodified volunteer tourism organisations where there may be fewer barriers to volunteering and less direct supervision due to the high number of volunteer tourists at any one time. In this section I discuss the potential risks to children at local orphanages as a result of involvement with volunteer tourists and risks associated with the lack of background checks and allowing unskilled volunteer tourists to perform roles they are not necessarily qualified to perform. Finally, I explore volunteer tourism as a form of neo-colonialism. These findings reflect criticisms of volunteer tourism in the literature as described in Chapter 2.

6.4.1 Orphanages and attachment issues

Some of the volunteer tourists admitted they were concerned at the potential for the children they volunteered with to feel abandoned after the volunteer tourists left. For example, Frances volunteered at the orphanage for sexually abused girls in Cusco. She was unsure how volunteer tourists could volunteer at the orphanages for only a week but "I guess you can just detach yourself totally and go and play sport with them [the children] and stuff". She was adamant she did not like volunteer tourists coming for such a short period of time as she believed it impacted negatively on the girls. She spoke about the girls at the centre "always asking where people are, they're constantly asking… They get attached… They clearly love having people there for a long time because they can get to know them". Frances said she made sure to make it clear to the girls she was leaving at the end of the week so "that I'm not just not there one day, that must be horrible". She said the girls "want stability because they don't live at home, they live at a little orphanage in the middle of Cusco… they need people to rely on". Due to a lack of other options, the adults these girls interact with are often short-term volunteer tourists who speak a different language and have different cultural values and expectations.

One Manos del Mundo staff member highlighted the benefits the children at the orphanages receive as a result of interaction with the volunteer tourists. She believed that the children at the orphanage:

> …love the volunteers. Like, they absolutely love having the volunteers and then when they don't show up they ask "where are the volunteers?"… They look forward to the volunteers and they look forward to doing stuff with the volunteers.

While she was emphasising how much the children enjoy the volunteer tourists' presence, the quote also serves to highlight how emotionally invested the children become when each new cohort of volunteer tourists arrives (which can be as often as every week). The same Manos del Mundo staff member later acknowledged that there are risks or negative consequences to having multiple volunteer tourists interacting with the children and that "volunteers who are kind of wishy-washy, just kind of come and go" are "really, really hard on the kids". However, she also said that Manos del Mundo was aware of this and therefore made an effort to ensure that the volunteer tourists were "not doing more damage than help" and said that generally they tended not to place volunteer tourists who were staying less than two weeks at the orphanages in order to limit these issues.

The volunteer tourists emphasised the sentimental experience of volunteering and this was particularly evident for volunteer tourists volunteering with children. On arrival in Cusco, Katie described how, at the orphanage, she would be "helping with homework and like being there to like love them, you know, just being there for them". Similarly, Susan, also focused on the sentimental aspects of her experiences teaching English to children, describing how her students "were all giving me cuddles and kisses and they gave me lovely drawings". As Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 90) states, "sentimentality – specifically intimacy, love and compassion – are dominant themes in participants' accounts" of their volunteer tourism experience. For example, volunteer tourists talk about getting cuddles from local children and being disappointed when they did not receive any (Mostafanezhad, 2014a). This emphasis on sentimentality is also reflected in the popularity amongst the volunteer tourists of using photos with a sleeping baby or smiling children as their Facebook profile pictures (Sink, 2011; Stayton, 2015).

While the volunteer tourists see volunteering in Peru as a 'once in a lifetime' opportunity, the children at the orphanages (as well as students at the teaching English programmes) see a constant stream of volunteer tourists, or what Brown (2015, p. 22) refers to as an "endless conveyer belt". In their interviews, some volunteer tourists suggested that some of the volunteers 'forgot' that they are only one of many volunteer tourists the children may meet that month.

> That's their lives, we just come and go…. Those volunteers they might talk about "oh my god, like that little boy, I had such a connection with him and I miss them so much"… but it's like you can't expect to have such an impact. Like I feel like volunteers leave and they forget that those little boys are still going to be in that orphanage, still doing their things. (Sarah)

This also reflects the idea discussed in Chapter 5 that within commodified volunteer tourism the host community risk becoming the 'backdrop' of the commodified volunteer tourism experience, rather than an active participant in a reciprocal exchange between tourist and host.

Many of the volunteer tourists in Cusco emphasised the sentimentality of the relationships they had developed with the children at the orphanages (Mostafanezhad, 2014a). Arguably, the more of a connection the volunteer tourist makes with a child, the more distress the child may experience when the volunteer tourist eventually leaves. Jänis and Timonen (2014, p. 102) write that at a children's home in Zambia, volunteers were encouraged by local staff to have a "favourite child" and "some children seemed to be able to quickly form a close bond with a volunteer". This emphasis on a "favourite child" can also lead to competition between the children. For example, volunteer tourists in Cusco spoke of children pulling at volunteer tourists' arms in order to get attention. This can have a negative impact on individual children as well as the group dynamics amongst the children at the orphanage.

However, as Brown (2015) points out, the volunteer tourists are only there for a short period of time and therefore are poorly placed to assess whether this high turnover of volunteer tourists has a negative influence or not. I questioned Manos del Mundo staff members about the risk to the children at the orphanage of being exposed to a constantly changing volunteer tourists. One senior staff member questioned the logic of such an argument, arguing that the orphanage staff care about the children and are unlikely to risk their emotional and psychological health.

> We've been working with [these] orphanages for years… I don't bring a pocket-full of money to the director of that orphanage… Even here in Peru, one of the poorest countries, they typically have psychologists… at least visiting the orphanages. If there was major negative impact happening, those directors would stop this, right? For example, one of the orphanages we work at, we bring in a birthday party for the kids every month. The director is not going to change out [sic] the welfare of her children for a birthday party once a month… Surely there could be negative aspects, but I would leave it to the orphanage director to determine.

Ultimately he did not believe the orphanage directors would endanger the children by allowing shorter-term volunteer tourists to come to the orphanage if the orphanage staff believed it was a risk to their emotional and psychological health.

This same Manos del Mundo staff member also suggested that if the children were going to be upset when the volunteer tourist left, they would be more likely to be upset after knowing a volunteer tourist for two months than after two weeks.

> I've never had a director come and say "no, no, my kids are all upset by this, my children are so sad after your volunteers leave". I think the orphanages are more like "oh, who's coming next week? This'll be interesting" you know? "Oh, I learned how to kick a field goal last week, I wonder what the next person will teach me".

Manos del Mundo paid for a monthly combined birthday party at one of the largest orphanages and the volunteer tourists often brought toys or provided other resources (for example, stationery) that the orphanage would not otherwise have. However, this financial contribution was minimal. Unlike some other volunteer tourism organisations in Cusco, Manos del Mundo did not pay the childcare projects to host volunteer tourists.

6.4.2   Risks associated with a lack of background checks

Volunteer tourists at Manos del Mundo did not require police checks or any other background checks or professional qualifications to volunteer (cf. Comhlámh, N.D.). Some of the volunteer tourists expressed surprise at this during their interviews (especially those volunteering with children) but none seemed concerned. However, brief conversations with other volunteer tourists in Cusco (not those specifically interviewed as part of this research study) as part of participant observation suggested that a few volunteer tourists were concerned by this – particularly volunteer tourists who worked as teachers or medical professionals in their home countries and were therefore perhaps more aware of the requirements in other countries when dealing with vulnerable populations including children and medical patients.

While not common, the volunteer tourists in Cusco did sometimes take children on trips out of the orphanage complex, highlighting the ease with which volunteer tourists can access these vulnerable children (Budd, 2012; Quenville, 2015). While any inappropriate behaviour is (hopefully) uncommon, there is evidence that some volunteer tourists have behaved inappropriately with children they have met while volunteering (Passoth, 2014; The United States Attorney's Office, 2015). As volunteer tourism has become increasingly commercialised/commodified, the number of volunteer tourists has increased, and therefore they may not be supervised or watched to the same extent. Additionally, by

making such volunteer tourism experiences 'easier' to access (see Chapter 7), this may make such experiences more appealing to those with more sinister motives.

One of the senior Manos del Mundo staff members said that this issue was "a biggie". While Manos del Mundo were not aware of any incidents to date, he did say that there had been two volunteer tourists about whom the orphanage staff had raised concerns and these volunteer tourists had immediately been moved to construction projects rather than volunteering at the orphanages.

> We've not had an event, [but] we've had two accusations... of sort of strange behaviour or we're not comfortable with that person here... If and when anybody expresses concern there's got to be immediate "okay, look, come over here, sit down". And I've had to have this conversation twice. "They're just not comfortable with you, and you can't work at this project, I've got a nice construction project for you to work at".

However, this presupposes that the orphanage staff (and school staff for those volunteer tourists teaching English to children) watch the volunteer tourists interact with the children and would therefore notice if anything was amiss. When I visited the orphanages in Cusco I saw very few staff members although they may have been watching discreetly (for example, through the windows from inside).

While the Manos del Mundo staff member did not necessarily perceive the lack of background checks as a problem (arguing that not all "child molesters" have a police file and that every offender had a first offence) ultimately the staff member conceded that more could be done to mitigate this risk:

> I think there probably does need to be an additional step that probably needs to go into place with us, really within the whole sector in general, to weed this out. Because again I think it would be naïve to say "great, we haven't had any events that we know of" but you're healthy until you get sick, too. Uh, I think there probably is another step that ultimately needs to happen. Yeah.

While the staff member acknowledged this risk, a large factor in the decision to not require background checks was because it would likely deter some potential volunteer tourists because of the associated paperwork and cost. As explored in Chapters 7 and 8, this reflects the tendency within commodified volunteer tourism to prioritise the recruitment of volunteer tourists, rather than operating in a way to maximise the benefit to the host community (or minimise the negative impact).

Some volunteer tourism organisations do require background checks prior to volunteering with children (G Adventures, N.D.; i-to-i Volunteering, N.D.b). However, these tend to be larger overseas-based sending volunteer tourism organisations rather than on-the-ground organisations such as Manos del Mundo.

6.4.3   Risks associated with unskilled volunteer tourists adopting professional roles

There are also risks associated with using unskilled volunteer tourists. As Smith (2015) asks, "if you're not skilled, qualified or legally allowed to do something at home, what makes you think communities abroad should accept you doing it there?" Many of the issues highlighted here relate to orphanages and medical projects although this is likely because these were more obvious to the volunteer tourists as potential risks. For example, volunteer tourists who had little experience teaching English were unlikely to know how much progress students should be making. Similarly, unskilled construction volunteers were unlikely to be able to ascertain the quality of the construction work.

Medical volunteer tourists

Skilled and unskilled medical volunteer tourists at Manos del Mundo tended to perform very similar tasks to one another. In some cases, this resulted in pre-medical students and those with no medical experience performing tasks for which they did not have the appropriate medical knowledge or training. Some of the medical volunteer tourists raised concerns about this. For example, David and Daisy had previously completed a more structured medical volunteer tourism programme which involved much more training and supervision. They expressed concern that if they had not had this training on the previous programme they would have felt unprepared to perform some of the medical procedures they were expected to perform in Cusco. David stated that:

> ...it takes a while until you actually know what you're doing, right? But then with patients it's like you don't want to take a while to know what you're doing because that's five or six lives that just went past you.

While there was a local doctor supervising them at all times, the doctor did not necessarily check everything the volunteer tourists did.

Emily, a qualified nurse, thought Daniel and another pre-medical student were "over-extending their qualifications" by:

> ...doing full-on assessments and writing in the chart... I know they got a lot of experiences [sic] doing it, but I don't know... how accurate they would have been... [and] that worries me a little bit.

They told her that one day at the clinic they had been trying to measure the age of a foetus by attempting to feel the uterus. However, no-one had taught them how to do this and Emily said "they were just kind of measuring and feeling and not really sure what they were measuring for. It could have an impact". Emily said that she felt the pre-medical students "were maybe doing more things than they should have been". Whether the local

clinic staff members allowed the medical volunteer tourists to perform these tasks because they themselves were too busy or whether they over-estimated the medical volunteer tourists' medical skills was unclear (see Wallace, 2012).

While some of the medical students wanted to do as much as possible, some of the other medical volunteer tourists declined to perform certain tasks they did not feel they were qualified to perform.

> Some of the medical volunteers… were talking & one was saying how jealous she was that the other gets to watch surgeries. There was also some debate over the ethics of doing procedures you're not allowed to do in the States (in this case I think it was an injection). One of the volunteers had been asked & said no because it wouldn't be ethical & his med school and/or future employers in the States would think badly of him for doing it. Others argued that 'when in Rome' & that he should have done it and not told his school back home. (Research diary, 10 August 2012)

As highlighted in the quote above, the volunteer tourists chose not to perform these tasks not because of moral objections, but because they thought their university and/or future employers would not approve.

Those who were practising medical professionals in their home countries were more likely to decline to perform procedures than pre-medical students (see also Quenville, 2015). For example, Emily declined to perform procedures in Peru that she would not have been considered qualified to do at home.

> By the end of it I was doing everything except for suturing. And pulling out toenails. Things are not in my scope of practice in the States so I chose not to do them.

There are multiple possible explanations for this. Those who were practicing medical professionals may have been more aware of the relevant professional ethics while pre-medical students were more excited about being allowed to try new procedures. Pre-medical students also had less medical knowledge and may therefore have been more likely to trust the local doctors to know which procedures the volunteer tourists could perform safely.

Many of the medical volunteer tourists acknowledged they would not have been able to access such medical experience in their home countries due to legal restrictions. Daisy, a pre-medical student in the United States stated that at home:

> They don't let you do really hands on stuff, it's just like watching, and so coming down here allows us to actually like interact with the patients and like do vitals and take physicals.

Similarly, David stated that:

> In England the work experience is rather restricted and you need to go through loads of forms and if you don't have friends and aren't well connected then it's very hard to get [medical] work experience.

The volunteer tourists tended to emphasise the legal restrictions banning unskilled volunteer tourists from volunteering at hospitals in developed countries (that is, legal liability and the possibility of the hospital being sued), rather than acknowledging the potential risks to patients from allowing unskilled volunteers to carry out medical work.

Many American medical volunteer tourists referred to the HIPAA laws, that is, the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996, which protects patient confidentiality (amongst other things). Heather was training to be a medical translator and believed practising her skills in the United States was difficult:

> …because of, like, HIPAA laws…. I could, I suppose, train myself [at home] but I don't know. I'd be concerned that I wasn't quite good enough and if you forget something in a medical setting, like, what if it changes someone's life? Like if you forget a symptom or whatever, so, I'd rather just like do it in an environment where it's acceptable to, like, make mistakes and not be a professional.

While legally this may be the case, she appeared somewhat unconcerned with the possible consequences of essentially 'practising' her skills on real patients.

Mistranslation within a medical setting can have serious consequences and there is acknowledgement of this within both the medical and medical interpreter professions (Regenstein, Andres, & Wynia, 2013). One of the most widely-cited examples of medical mis-interpretation involved a 22-year-old man who was awarded a US$71 million settlement after doctors in South Florida misdiagnosed a brain clot after a misunderstanding between the Spanish 'intoxicado' (poisoned) and the English word intoxicated/drunk (Foden-Vencil, 2014). While this is an extreme example, it highlights some of the potential risks of having patients (members of the host community) and medical staff (volunteer tourists) who do not share a common language (Fadiman, 2012).

Non-medical volunteer tourists

In addition to medical volunteer tourists, other volunteer tourists are also asked to adopt professional identities and test these on real people (Simpson, 2004). Very few of the volunteer tourists teaching English in Cusco had any teaching experience.

> At the risk of sounding horrible they [two other volunteers] really don't know what they're doing teaching wise (although this isn't surprising considering as far as I know neither has ever done it before). (Research diary, 13 August 2012)

Simply by being native/fluent English speakers, volunteer tourists are assumed to be able to impart this knowledge without any additional training (Jakubiak, 2014). This can be seen as a form of neo-colonialism where those who speak English are automatically privileged and allowed to perform roles (such as teacher) that they would not be permitted to perform in their home countries without additional training and qualifications.

As Butcher and Smith (2015, p. 124) state, "working in school is a common activity for volunteers, yet there is normally no expectation that volunteers will be trained or have expertise in this". The teaching English volunteer tourists in Cusco received a short (two to three hour) 'crash course' in teaching English before their first day of volunteering.

> I don't think they realise that just because they speak English [doesn't mean] that they can teach it. I think that's a huge... misconception when they're signing up for their placements... So I think that people underestimate how difficult that is (Manos del Mundo staff member)

As Budd (2012, p. 53) states, expecting him and his wife (who both spoke very limited Spanish and had no teaching experience) to teach English to a classroom of Spanish-speaking children was "like some schmuck who can make toast suddenly running a restaurant".

None of the volunteer tourists volunteering at a centre for sexually abused girls had experience with dealing with victims of sexual abuse. Two of the volunteer tourists volunteering at this centre were an American university student and her mother; neither of whom had any experience working with victims of sexual abuse:

> 2 of the girls had just come from the psychiatrist & apparently burst into tears so the daughter went to talk to them. Neither [of the two volunteer tourists] has any experience in this area. Apparently they are the only volunteers at the moment & when they are not there the girls just sit around in a courtyard doing nothing. (Research diary, 7 August 2012)

Stories from other volunteer tourists suggest volunteering with children who have been sexually abused is not uncommon amongst volunteer tourism projects (Budd, 2012; McKeon, 2015). However, like the Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists in Cusco, volunteer tourists often receive no training (Budd, 2012) and may not know how to respond to children who have been traumatised as the result of such abuse (McKeon, 2015).

Similarly, few of the volunteer tourists in Cusco volunteering at orphanages or in other childcare settings had experience working with young children. Qualified teachers learn and practise classroom management and learn how to control 20 to 30 children in a classroom. Volunteer tourists on the other hand do not have this experience and some of

the volunteer tourists found the experience overwhelming – particularly if they spoke only limited Spanish and therefore could not easily communicate with the children (it is very difficult to claim authority in the classroom when unable to speak the language fluently). As many volunteer tourists only volunteered for a matter of weeks, they were not necessarily able to establish rapport with (or respect from) the children. As Budd (2012, p. 78) writes of his volunteering experience teaching English in Costa Rica: "even the first graders know I'm a short-timer, the equivalent of an international substitute teacher… really, is there anybody with less authority in the world than a substitute teacher?"

As well as the risk of negatively impacting the host community, there are also risks to the volunteer tourists themselves. For example, few of the volunteer tourists had any construction experience and some of them expressed concern over a perceived lack of safety at the construction sites (see also Sherratt, Crapper, Foster-Smith & Walsh, 2015). For example Paula said that the volunteer tourists at the construction site did not have any safety gear. The volunteer tourists themselves went to buy gloves, while Paula who was a qualified engineer believed the volunteer tourists should also have had safety goggles when chipping wood and hard hats when lifting planks overhead.

6.4.4 Volunteer tourism as a form of neo-colonialism

As explored in Chapter 2, volunteer tourism has been widely criticised for perpetuating neo-colonialist discourses (Espinoza, 2002; Guttentag, 2011; Zavitz & Butz, 2011). While volunteer tourists (and tourists in general) may have good intentions, their behaviour takes place within a specific post-colonial context, and may unintentionally reinforce neo-colonial overtones (Tucker, 2014). As Wearing and Grabowski (2011, p. 201) state, "there is a need also to examine if volunteer tourism only serves to perpetuate, or even exacerbate, racial and ethnic stereotypes".

In post-colonial Peru this 'us' and 'them' dichotomy is exacerbated and reinforced by ethnicity. Peru gained independence from Spain in 1821 (McCarthy et al., 2013 – see Appendix 1). However, like other developing post-colonial countries, racial inequalities and tensions remain entrenched (Ñopo, Chong & Moro, 2010) and are particularly prevalent in Cusco where "poverty is highly correlated with ethnicity" (Toledo, 2010, p. xx). Lightness of skin colour, wealth and education level are positively correlated in Peru; white skin (that is, the majority of volunteer tourists) is therefore assumed to reflect a higher level of education. This adds another layer of complexity to the relationship between the mostly white (European heritage) volunteer tourists and the predominantly mestizo ('mixed' Spanish-indigenous heritage) Cusqueños. This issue is not unique to Peru

and also occurs in other former European colonies. For example, Vrasti (2013, p. 100) quotes an American pre-medical student volunteering in Ghana who said that "patients think you know what you're doing because you're white".

Volunteer tourism generally involves those from developed countries volunteering in developing countries. Because of the higher education levels in volunteer tourists' home countries (compared to the host communities) medical volunteer tourists are often granted a higher status than they are accorded at home. Issues can therefore arise as medical volunteer tourists are often perceived as doctors by the host community, even if they may in fact be pre-medical students with no formal medical training. While local patients were likely informed they were being treated by students/volunteers, they often referred to the volunteer tourists as doctors. For example, David said that:

> They definitely perceive us as doctors and you get called 'doctor' a lot. I'm sure, I think they get told that we're still students and learning but they definitely perceive us as the actual doctors.

However, he did not necessarily view this as an issue because:

> ...at the end of the day a real doctor does make sure everything is good... So even though we are just students like it's not [pause] fully our responsibility to catch everything, right? If we think there's something wrong with a patient we call a doctor over and she, she's the one who actually says yes or no.

This perception of volunteer tourists as doctors or experts was reinforced by Manos del Mundo's policy that all volunteer tourists wear scrubs while at the medical clinic and medical outreach projects.

The volunteer tourists in Cusco tended to simply assume that their mere presence would benefit the host community and this reflects similar findings in other studies (Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Zavitz & Butz, 2011). Factors limiting this potential contribution such as a lack of language skills, lack of experience, short length of stay and lack of cultural awareness were largely ignored. Instead, there was an assumption amongst the volunteer tourists that because they were there to help, they would be able to help. With the volunteer tourists framed as the ones providing help, the host community was similarly framed as being in need of help (Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Zavitz & Butz, 2011). The host community was therefore expected to be grateful for this assistance, and volunteer tourists could become frustrated or angry when they felt these roles were not being met.

6.5   The development of a volunteer tourism enclave

As explored in Chapter 5, the volunteer tourist guesthouses were essentially spaces of Anglo-American culture within Cusco. For example, Sonan commented that within the

volunteer tourism house, she did not "feel like I'm in Peru though. Except for maybe during mealtimes" when the volunteer tourists ate Peruvian-style food. As well as speaking English, the volunteer tourists were more likely to dress to their own cultural norms within the privacy of the volunteer tourist guesthouse, for example, wearing a bikini to sunbathe in the back garden, and watched American television and pirated Hollywood DVDs purchased from the local markets. Previous research has highlighted a similar phenomenon within backpacking, for example, Negro and Oostenrijk (2013, p. 40) quote a backpacker in Guatemala as saying "I don't think San Pedro [hostel] has much to do with Guatemala anymore" (see also Cohen, 2004).

As well as cultural distinctions, there were also imposed separations between tourists and local people in Cusco. For example, (white, English-speaking) Westerners could enter bars attached to backpacker hostels by writing their name on the guest list at the door. However, local people wanting to enter these same bars were required to provide their national identity card which was held behind the bar until they left the premise (see also Shapiro, 2009). Few locals came to the backpacker bars and those who did were generally assumed to either be selling drugs, pick-pockets, or 'bricheros', that is, local men trying to 'pick up' Western women (Revilla, 2003).

As a result of these cultural and physical separations, a volunteer tourism enclave existed which operated separate from, but parallel to, the host community. The development of such an enclave contradicts one of the assumptions of volunteer tourism: that by volunteering volunteer tourists are able to "escape the 'tourist bubble'" (Mostafanezhad, 2014a, p. 2). For example, Dawson said he chose to volunteer because he wanted to "stay in one place for a long time and… get to know the culture" and thought "volunteering seemed like… a good chance to get to know a place".

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, how much interaction the volunteer tourists had with the host community depended on their type of accommodation and what project they were volunteering at. The majority of Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists, particularly those living in a volunteer tourist guesthouse, acknowledged they had little real interaction with local Cusqueños during their volunteer tourism experience. For example, Helen said she did not interact with locals "outside of my orphanage. Like mostly just the people that I've been working with. I haven't like made any like Peruvian friends". Similarly, Thomas said that he had not "really had much contact with locals… being in a volunteer house, like you have a group of people [to talk to]".

Instead of developing relationships with the host community, the volunteer tourists in Cusco largely socialised with other volunteer tourists (although there was arguably some overlap between the volunteer tourism enclave and the backpacker enclave). This finding is reflected in other studies of volunteer tourists. For example, Grabowski (2014, p. 128) quotes a volunteer tourist in Vanuatu who claimed it was easier to spend time with the other volunteer tourists because "being with people of your own culture is always easier than, you know, putting yourself out there in a new [culture]". Staying within this volunteer tourism 'bubble' is also a means of reducing risk (see Chapter 7) and increasing safety (see Pearce's (1980, 2005) work on "familiar strangers"). Like volunteer tourists, backpackers also tend to develop relationships with other tourists rather than with members of the host community (Godfrey, 2011; Wilson & Richards, 2008). This idea is not new; for example, Guttentag (2015, p 114) describes tourists on the Grand Tour being criticised for interacting more with their fellow nationals than with those from the host community.

The volunteer tourists 'gazed' at the host community from within this enclave or 'bubble' (see Jaakson, 2004). While they were physically separated from the host community through the use of guesthouses and backpacker bars, the cultural and language barriers also demarcated them from the host community. While the volunteer tourists interviewed in this research believed they gained a 'deeper' understanding of local culture than mass tourists, this depth of understanding and level of cross-cultural interaction was perhaps less than the early volunteer tourism literature might suggest (Wearing, 2011). Some of the volunteer tourists thought that they would have had more interaction with the host community if they had stayed in a homestay rather than in a volunteer guesthouse. For example, Thomas believed that "if you're in a homestay you probably interact more with the locals, just because you're living with local people".

Within the volunteer tourist enclave, the volunteer tourists' behaviour was relatively uninhibited – perhaps even more so than in their home countries (Carr, 2002; Thomas, 2005). While physically in Peru, the norms of the volunteer tourism enclave more closely reflected those of middle-class Anglo-American culture. For example, the volunteer tourists took illegal drugs, wore revealing clothing (by local standards), drank heavily, and engaged in sexual behaviours that conflicted with behaviour acceptable within the host community. This reflects Jafari's (1996, p. 44) idea of the "emancipating and uninhibiting tourist culture" which "often stand[s] in contrast to the host cultural norms of the host destination".

By allowing the volunteer tourists to live and socialise together, Manos del Mundo essentially condoned the development of a volunteer tourist enclave or 'bubble'. The volunteer tourism enclave may be more evident in popular tourism destinations such as Cusco where there exists a well-established backpacker infrastructure (for example, backpacker bars) for the volunteer tourists to 'tap into'. Other volunteer tourism programmes described in the literature have specifically discouraged the development of such enclaves. For example, Vrasti (2013, p. 70) quoted one volunteer tourism organiser in Guatemala who said that in the early days of their project the volunteers:

> ...used to live out in the park, ten at a time and just talk in English about their travels [and] their favourite beers. I said, that's it, you [have] got to stay with a family, you have to interact with locals at least once a day. You can't just come here to make friends... I realized this is not what I want, this subculture.

Unlike volunteer tourists at Manos del Mundo, volunteer tourists at the case study organisation Vrasti describes were all required to stay in a homestay – based on the assumption that they will therefore develop relationships with members of the host community, rather than with other volunteer tourists.

6.6   Chapter summary

In this chapter I have addressed the second research question, that is, how the volunteer tourists perceived commodified volunteer tourism, including the interactions between the volunteer tourists and the host community. Like all tourists, the volunteer tourists in Cusco 'gaze upon' the host community and what they perceived was therefore subjective and culturally constructed. Many of the volunteer tourists knew little about Cusco before arriving in Peru, although they all appeared to be interested in learning more about the city and the Cusqueño way of life. Volunteer tourism is built on the premise that the volunteer tourists 'help' the host community and therefore the host community must be framed as being 'needful' of this help. However, the volunteer tourists often romanticised this poverty and viewed the local Cusqueños as 'poor but happy'.

While the volunteer tourism marketing materials often promote volunteer tourism as a way of interacting with members of the host community and thus accessing a more 'authentic' tourism experience, in many ways the volunteer tourists were largely separate from the host community, that is, they existed in an enclave that operated in parallel to, but separate from, the host community. However, the specific level of interaction did vary from volunteer tourist to volunteer tourist, depending on, for example, what type of project they were volunteering at and what type of accommodation they were staying in. This lack of interaction was also limited by the language barrier since few of the volunteer

tourists spoke fluent Spanish. The Latin American concept of 'machismo' (essentially a form of male chauvinism) also affected the interactions between local Cusqueño men and female volunteer tourists.

In general, most of the volunteer tourists believed they had made some contribution to the host community although the perceived extent of this contribution varied. Many of the volunteer tourists said they had not made as much of a contribution as they had expected, although this was likely linked to the fact that they also volunteered fewer hours each week than expected. Several of the volunteer tourists emphasised that although they themselves had not necessarily made a large contribution to the host community, they were only one of a continuous cycle of volunteer tourists and it was this continuity that would lead to a bigger overall contribution. Many of the volunteer tourists believed they could have contributed more at their volunteer tourism project if they had had more (or better) support from local staff at the projects, for example, more explicit expectations and instructions about what they should be doing.

As described in Chapter 2, the concept of volunteer tourism is being increasingly criticised in the academic literature and the mass media as negatively impacting the host community. The volunteer tourists raised concerns about the risk of children at the orphanages developing attachment issues after the volunteer tourists left, although the Manos del Mundo staff members did not believe this was happening, arguing that if the children were experiencing negative emotions after the volunteer tourists left, then the director of the orphanage would stop accepting volunteer tourists. Similarly, there are risks associated with allowing volunteer tourists to volunteer with children without undergoing background checks, and allowing volunteer tourists to adopt professional roles (for example, teacher, medical professional) without the relevant qualifications and experience. This is associated with another critique of volunteer tourism as discussed in Chapter 2, that is, that is perpetuates neo-colonialist discourses.

Chapter 4 framed the volunteer tourists as volunteers while Chapter 5 framed them as tourists. In this chapter I have explored how volunteer tourists perceive volunteer tourism, and have suggested that within commodified volunteer tourism, rather than living and interacting with the host community, the volunteer tourists may instead be 'gazers' who 'gaze upon' the host community from the volunteer tourism enclave. In the following chapter I examine the volunteer tourists as consumers and explore how volunteer tourism has been commodified and the ways volunteer tourists consume their volunteer tourism experiences.

CHAPTER SEVEN: VOLUNTEER TOURISTS' CONSUMPTION OF COMMODIFIED VOLUNTEER TOURISM

7.1   Introduction

In this chapter I address the third research question and discuss the ways volunteer tourists consume volunteer tourism. The three sub-questions (Figure 12) are each addressed in turn. First, I explore ways in which commodified volunteer tourism is similar to other forms of packaged tourism, and thus how it can be framed as an 'introduction' to volunteer tourism or a means of mitigating some of the risks associated with volunteer tourism in a developing country. Second I discuss the personal and professional benefits the volunteer tourists believed they gained from their volunteer tourism experiences. Finally, I discus the ways in which volunteer tourists treat commodified volunteer tourism as a commodity to be consumed, and what this means to the volunteer tourism experience.
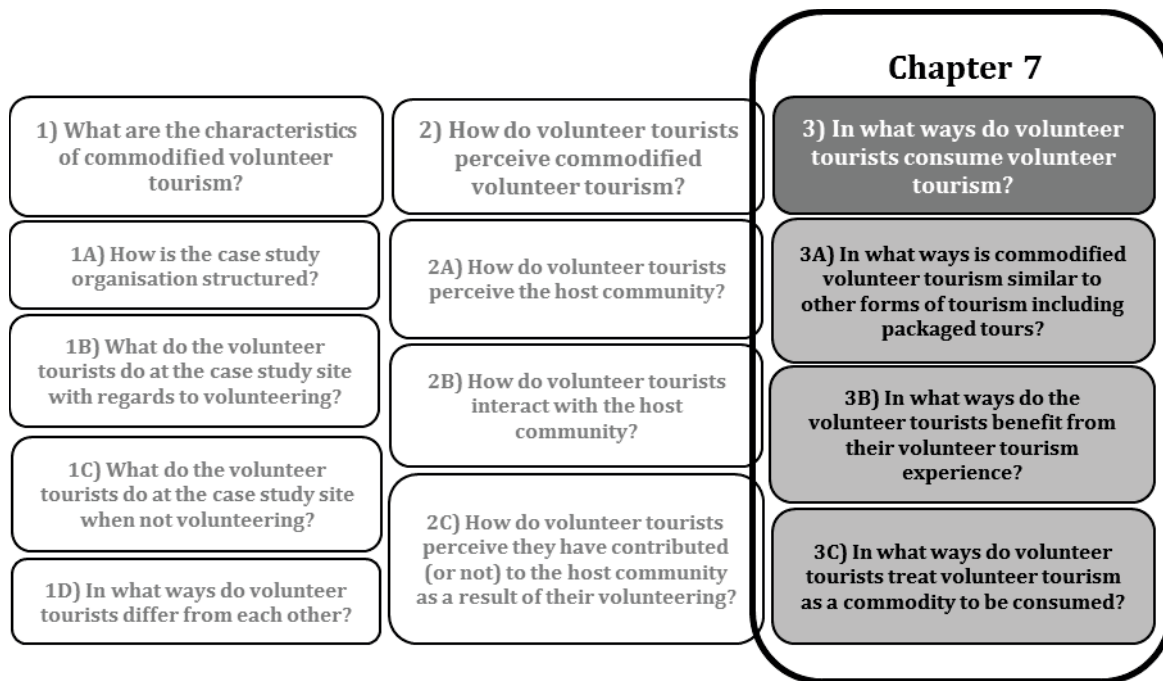
Figure 12: Research questions and sub-questions addressed in Chapter 7

7.2   Commodified volunteer tourism as a means of mitigating the risks associated with international travel

This section explores how pre-packaged volunteer tourism experiences may offer a safer, more secure and more stable alternative to more independent modes of travel. Volunteer tourism is examined in this way not to discredit the experiences of volunteer tourists, nor

the potential contributions they make to the host community, but rather to highlight some of the potential similarities between commercial volunteer tourism and more traditional packaged tours that are popular with risk-averse tourists (Alvarez & Asugman, 2006; Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1974, 2001).

7.2.1 Packaged tours and risk

Packaged tours go back to Thomas Cook's excursions to the English seaside in the mid-1800s (Withey, 1997). Risk-averse tourists tend to favour package tours (Alvarez & Asugman, 2006; Chang, 2007; Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1974, 2001) and there is a suggestion that tourists exchange some of the freedom associated with individual travel for the safety and security associated with package tours. Previous research has highlighted some of the benefits of travelling as part of a packaged tour, including: convenience, economies of resources, safety and security (Anderson, Juaneda, & Sastre, 2009). Packaged tours are also another way of insulating the tourists further from the host community, since "tour coordinators, hosts and hostesses, and tour guides act as buffers between tourists and the social environment, arranging transport, interpreting, and handling problems which might arise" (Schmidt, 1979, p. 443).

While packaged tours are traditionally associated with conventional mass tourism, safety concerns have also been shown to be important to alternative tourists, including mountaineering tourists (Pomfret, 2011), adventure tourists (Kane & Zink, 2004), backpackers (Adam, 2015), and volunteer tourists (Lo & Lee, 2011). For example, Pomfret (2011, p. 508-509) states that tourists on a packaged mountaineering holiday:

> ...alluded to a preference for a carefully managed package holiday for which they were well prepared and during which they are safeguarded from potential perils due to the constant presence of professional, experienced guides.

While a level of risk is inherent to mountaineering experiences, "various elements of the package mountaineering holiday interplay to reduce the real and perceived risks and make safe the experience" (Pomfret, 2011, p. 506).

Volunteer tourism typically involves volunteer tourists from developed countries travelling to less-developed countries (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008). There is some evidence to suggest traditional risk factors associated with volunteer tourism can be mitigated by taking part in pre-paid commercially packaged volunteer tourism (Lo & Lee, 2011). However, even volunteering as part of such organised tours is not risk-free, as

evidenced by the deaths of two British volunteer tourists in South Africa in 2014 (Walker, Purvis & Kennedy, 2015).

The volunteer tourists in Cusco had more freedom than some more structured volunteer tourism programmes that involve a group of volunteer tourists arriving together on a set date, being chaperoned during their time in the country, and leaving together on a set date (Grabowski, 2014). For example, Daisy and David had previously volunteered with such a volunteer tourism programme in Costa Rica:

> We were stuck in the house [in Costa Rica] and if we wanted to go somewhere we had to ask our team leader and the bus driver had to drive us so most of the time you don't really do that 'cause the whole group would have to go to make it worthwhile.

They were surprised at the level of freedom they had in Cusco, for example, that they could leave the house to explore the city on their own without a chaperone or guide. While the volunteer tourism offerings provided by Manos del Mundo were packaged and pre-paid, they are not the most commodified volunteer tourism products available in the market.

7.2.2   Support from the case study organisation

Volunteer tourists volunteering with Manos del Mundo were guaranteed food and accommodation, as well as airport pick up, and access to English-speaking on-the-ground support 24 hours per day seven days per week. Support provided by Manos del Mundo staff members included:

- Letting volunteer tourists use the Manos del Mundo telephone to call their bank in their home countries to report lost or stolen credit cards
- Accompanying volunteer tourists to the relevant embassy (and Peruvian immigration department) to replace a lost or stolen passport
- Accompanying volunteer tourists to the police station to register thefts and complete the relevant paperwork to make an insurance claim
- Telephoning a doctor or taking a volunteer tourist to hospital (many volunteer tourists were hospitalised during their stay in Cusco as a result of altitude sickness, allergic reactions, and parasites).

Manos del Mundo also provided day-to-day help to the volunteer tourists, for example:

> They sell phone cards & will also exchange money [from US$ to soles]. Very helpfully they also swap large notes for small notes or coins (since no-one here ever has change). They will also call a doctor for you & help you with insurance & police reports if anything gets stolen (which happens a lot here). (Research diary, 21 August 2012)

During the data collection period, the three Manos del Mundo staff members responsible for the wellbeing of volunteer tourists were all American women in their early twenties who had lived in Cusco for between four months and two years and spoke fluent Spanish. They negotiated between volunteer tourists and host families, and provided assistance to volunteer tourists who wanted to change accommodation or volunteer project. They were also often called upon for more mundane assistance such as restaurant and travel recommendations. In their interviews the volunteer tourists all spoke positively about the support they had received from these Manos del Mundo staff.

This level of support is not uncommon for volunteer tourists volunteering with large-scale commercial volunteer tourism programmes. For example, Vrasti (2013, p. 89) describes a staff member named Charles at a volunteer tourism programme in Ghana:

> Charles is available around the clock to help volunteers obtain a cell phone, do their banking, organize weekend trips, handle food allergies and attend to their medical issues. His job is not to coordinate or supervise our work (although this did occasionally happen), but attend to volunteers' leisurely, culinary and emotional needs.

This level of support and resourcing is one of the reasons such highly-organised volunteer tourism programmes are typically more expensive.

7.2.3   Volunteer tourism as an introduction to independent travel and to volunteering overseas

Like backpacking and other forms of youth travel, challenging oneself is an often-cited motivation of volunteer tourists (Sin, 2009). However, travelling alone to a foreign country can be daunting. Booking a packaged volunteer tourism trip, such as that provided by Manos del Mundo, provides a compromise between a guided tour, and travelling alone. Many of the younger volunteer tourists interviewed stated that coming to Cusco through Manos del Mundo (with pre-paid meals and accommodation and guaranteed support available 24 hours per day seven days per week) was a way of reassuring both themselves and their parents that they would be safe while travelling in Peru.

Although Daniel had previously travelled to Peru with his family (his mother was Peruvian), he had never travelled overseas alone. He stated that Manos del Mundo was good "because it was structured, it was easy to do, there were lots of people coming". Similarly, Emma stated that "'cause it's my first time travelling on my own, for me personally I kind of needed that… they're kind of helping you, easing you into it". Although somewhat tongue-in-cheek, Joseph stated he was worried he would "end up dead somehow" travelling alone and chose to volunteer with Manos del Mundo because he was

"nervous" and Manos del Mundo "just seemed a little bit more secure". In addition to the support offered by Manos del Mundo, Cusco has a well-developed tourism infrastructure and is therefore arguably an easier city to explore for those with limited independent travel experience compared to other destinations which may be considered more 'off the beaten track'. For example, many restaurants have menus in English and there is easy access to English-speaking doctors in an emergency.

Many of the volunteer tourists spoke about choosing a packaged volunteer tourism programme like Manos del Mundo as an introduction to volunteering overseas. They purposefully chose a more secure and all-inclusive package for their first trip and were willing to pay more for this. Georgia and Susan both spoke of their one week Manos del Mundo experience as providing a "taste" of volunteer tourism, while Matt said now "you've done your first one and you know how organised it can be". John wanted to take his children on a volunteer tourism trip in the future (see also Germann Molz, 2015) and therefore came to Cusco to:

> ...get my feet wet, so I can turn around and bring my kids with me [next time]... And now we know that our accommodations are going to be okay so that if I did bring my kids I'm not going to be sleeping in an alley or something!

Emma described Manos del Mundo as a way of "easing" the volunteer tourists into volunteering. While Daniel believed it "was a very nice place to come for the first time... It feels like an easier-going volunteering experience... I feel like this was a good place to start". Several of the volunteer tourists said they intended to volunteer overseas in the future, either as volunteer tourists, or with an organisation such as Médecins Sans Frontières, and/or work within international development. This idea is explored in more detail later in this chapter.

7.2.4   Peer support from other volunteer tourists

As well as the support provided by Manos del Mundo staff members, the volunteer tourists also benefitted from joining an established (English-speaking) peer network in Cusco. Many of the volunteer tourists, particularly those travelling alone, mentioned that one of the major benefits of booking with a large volunteer tourism organisation such as Manos del Mundo was that there would be many other volunteer tourists volunteering at the same time. This provided an extra level of support where volunteer tourists (and parents of younger volunteer tourists) could be assured of a ready-made peer group to provide emotional and social support during the volunteer tourists' time in Cusco. Dawson stated that "the biggest attraction" of Manos del Mundo was that "they had a lot of volunteers which means like a lot of people speak English so I then I had the language to fall back on if

everything fell apart". Melissa commented that "I'm here by myself [so] I'm hoping to meet other people to travel and do some trips and stuff 'cause although I like travelling on my own, sometimes it can be quite lonely". These findings highlight an emphasis on tourism activities rather than volunteering.

These research findings suggest support from both peers and staff was valued by the volunteer tourists and that both contribute towards providing a well-rounded volunteer tourism experience. Bochner, McLeod and Lin's (1977) research, conducted with international students in Hawai'i, found that friendships with co-nationals (that is, other students from the same country) were more important to students than their friendships with host-nationals (students from the host country) and other-nationals (students from a third country of origin). This functional model for the development of overseas students' friendship patterns has since been replicated by Furnham and Alibhai (1985) with a larger sample of international students which showed similar results. Support networks of like-minded individuals and knowledgeable staff can assist in familiarising the volunteer tourist to the organisation, the volunteering work, the community, and the culture in a less-obtrusive way. When combined with the discussion of the volunteer tourism enclave in Chapter 6, these findings suggest that while Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists claimed to want to learn more about Peruvian culture, they did not necessarily want to be fully immersed in the local culture.

7.2.5 Structure and stability

For volunteer tourists who were travelling before or after their volunteering experience, volunteer tourism was a means of providing structure and stability to a longer trip. Frances travelled for four weeks, volunteered for six weeks, and travelled for another four weeks. She chose to volunteer in the middle of the trip to provide "stability". Paula thought it was "nice staying in one place… being able to unpack!" She spoke of her time volunteering as "having a break from the travelling… and it's just been so nice to stop and… not have to meet new people at breakfast". Similarly, Frances "liked the fact that you can settle in a place, get to know the other people you're volunteering with". At her exit interview Frances said now she had finished her period of volunteer tourism she was "going to go off and be a backpacker", that is, she would be "travelling around" rather than staying in one place as she had done while volunteering.

While this would arguably apply to all forms of volunteer tourism, this is particularly relevant to commodified volunteer tourism since the majority of the volunteer tourists booked their time at Manos del Mundo before they left home. South America has a well-

developed tourism industry and it is often not necessary to book accommodation and transport more than a couple of days in advance. In contrast, while at Manos del Mundo, the volunteer tourists had food and accommodation provided for the entire period of their stay.

7.3   Perceived benefits to volunteer tourists

Volunteer tourism originally developed as a means for tourists to 'give back' to the host community. Chapter 6 explored the contribution the volunteer tourists perceived they had made to the host community in Cusco. However, repeated research has highlighted the various personal benefits volunteer tourists also gain as a result of the experience and suggested that volunteer tourists assume "the experience will have an impact on the self, the voluntourist" (Alexander & Bakir, 2011, p. 18). For example, Lonely Planet's (2013, back cover) guide to volunteer tourism asks:

> Do you want to give back to the communities you visit, make a genuine connection with locals, meet like-minded travellers and build your skills? International volunteering opens up all these opportunities.

While using the terms "volunteer tourism" and "international volunteering" interchangeably is problematic (McGloin & Georgeou, 2015), this quote highlights the multiple perceived benefits of volunteer tourism. In some ways, it is these benefits that the volunteer tourists are essentially 'purchasing' when they 'consume' a volunteer tourism experience such as that provided by Manos del Mundo.

7.3.1   Personal growth and increased perspective

Like other forms of alternative youth tourism such as backpacking, volunteer tourism is closely associated with personal development and growth (Benson & Seibert, 2009; Cochrane, 2005; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Noy, 2004; O'Reilly, 2005; Schott, 2011; Simpson, 2005). According to Loker-Murphy (1997, p. 24), "the use of travel as an educational finishing school is as old as the history and use of the word tourist itself". By travelling to a foreign country for a (relatively) extended period of time, the volunteer tourists enter a liminal space (Mustonen, 2005; Turner, 1987) where they are able to explore various aspects of themselves including identity.

This concept of tourism as a liminal space is connected with the idea of youth travel (for example, backpacking) as a rite of passage (Elsrud, 2001; Godfrey, 2011). For example, Helen believed that in order to reflect on her life she needed to "step away" from her "regular life" at home, that is, enter a liminal space, "to kind of figure out a little bit more

about myself, who I am, and what drives me". Similarly, Joseph had just finished his undergraduate studies and was "really scared and lost and had no idea what I wanted to do with myself". He came to Cusco hoping that "just being here" would help him decide what he wanted to do as a career. Volunteer tourism therefore provides a socially acceptable period for such self-reflection.

Many of the volunteer tourists in Cusco volunteered as a means of challenging themselves and stepping outside of their comfort zones. However, as discussed in the first half of this chapter, purchasing a pre-paid volunteer tourism package through a large volunteer tourism organisation may reduce or mitigate some of these risks. Younger volunteer tourists (under 25 years) with little travel experience in the developing world were more likely to mention gaining greater perspective on their own lives as a result of volunteering. Terry wanted "a greater understanding of how people live, and what challenges they face in a developing country". Frances thought volunteer tourism "just opens your mind a bit more". Natalie believed that she had had a somewhat "sheltered" upbringing and therefore wanted to learn about the lives of others. These findings reflect similar findings reported in the literature, for example, one of Wickens' (2011, p. 50) volunteer tourist respondents in Nepal stated that "being a long way from home and friends while experiencing a different culture has definitely taught me more about myself" (see also Boluk & Ranjbar, 2014; Chen & Chen, 2011; Schott, 2011; Sin, 2009).

Many of the volunteer tourists in Cusco felt they had matured during their volunteer tourism experience (Coghlan & Weiler, 2015). For example, Clare said she felt "a lot stronger now than when I first arrived in Cusco" while Sarah said when her mother came to visit her in Cusco she:

> ...seemed really impressed by me. She was like 'you seem like you're becoming such a mature young lady'... I'm a bit stupid when I'm drunk but... maybe she's right, maybe I have matured a little bit.

Dawson stated at his exit interview that he had learned "more about like who I am and like what sort of people I like to be around". This reflects findings in other studies, for example Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 124) quotes a 24-year-old volunteer tourist who said that before volunteering she "had doubts that I wouldn't be able to handle this. I had a lot of anxiety before I came" but that after volunteering she believed more in herself.

Some volunteer tourists in Cusco said they had gained a greater appreciation for their lives at home as a result of volunteering. Emma believed her time volunteering in Cusco had given her "a lot of perspective on how lucky we are at home". Joseph said that the community he was volunteering with in Cusco was "extremely poor so seeing that and

talking to those... people, it really just like puts a damper on all the stupid, pointless things that have been going on" at home in the United States. This reflects comments from other volunteer tourists reported in the literature, for example Johntine, a Cross Cultural Solutions volunteer who travelled to Costa Rica, said that "I think that trips like this one really help to put life in perspective. My 'problems' just didn't really seem like problems anymore" (Cross Cultural Solutions, 2008, as cited in Mostafanezhad, 2014a, p. 114). By travelling, the volunteer tourists gained a new perspective or lens on their lives at home, and, as a result, came to a better understanding of themselves including their values and goals in life.

The volunteer tourists felt a sense of accomplishment as a result of the contribution they believed they had made to the host community. For example, Bill said that after volunteering he felt:

> ...a feeling of having accomplished something, or at least having attempted to accomplish something. Seriously, having come down here to do good works makes you feel good... I think there's a feeling of satisfaction.

This reflects Schott's (2011) findings that "self-contentment" or the confidence that comes from achieving something was important to the volunteer tourists. Achieving something, or 'making a difference' ultimately provided the volunteer tourists with a sense of achievement and satisfaction that they had done something worthwhile (Wearing, 2001).

For some volunteer tourists the volunteering experience was particularly emotional. Joseph was adopted from Honduras as an infant by an American family. This was one of the reasons he wanted to come to Peru and "just kind of get a feel for, I don't know, what life is like out of [the United States of] America. In this... part of the world". This was also one of the reasons he requested to volunteer at an orphanage because he "wanted to see what that was like" (see also Schott, 2011). Similarly, an Italian-Australian volunteer tourist in her sixties said that volunteering in the orphanages in Cusco had brought back both good and bad memories of her own childhood spent at an orphanage in post-war Italy. She said she "didn't realise before coming here how many memories/feelings it would raise about her own childhood in an orphanage" (Research diary, 21 August 2012). While outside the scope of this thesis, there is a gap in the current volunteer tourism literature exploring these sub-groups of volunteer tourists who use volunteering as a means of connecting with their own past.

7.3.2   Social experiences and new friends

As explored in Chapter 5, the volunteer tourists in Cusco formed strong friendships with each other and this social support was highlighted as one of the benefits of volunteering with a larger commercial volunteer tourism organisation. As Frances said, "it's been pretty cool meeting so many different people from other different countries… people who you wouldn't normally be friends with, here they're your best friends". This reflects previous research findings, for example, Mittelberg and Pagli's (2011) study of kibbutz volunteers where continued friendships with other volunteers were emphasised. Similar findings have also been reported amongst backpackers who, like the volunteer tourists in Cusco, tend to form close friendships with other backpackers rather than with local people (Godfrey, 2011; Wilson & Richards, 2008).

7.3.3   Cross-cultural and tourism experiences

Some of the volunteer tourists acknowledged that although they wanted to 'give back' by volunteering, they had specifically chosen to do this in an exotic location rather than volunteering in their own home country. Helen stated that she wanted to "give back a bit to people who are in need. Although I know you can do that anywhere, so yeah, I'm kind of choosing to do it here, be selfish!" Kim argued that had she only wanted to volunteer, she could have volunteered at home in Australia, but admitted that if she was in Australia she would have looked for paid employment rather than volunteering. She was happy to pay to volunteer in Peru however because it was "culturally different" compared to Australia. In this sense the volunteer tourists acknowledged that they were essentially paying to access a specific type of international volunteering/tourism experience they could not access at home.

As described in Chapter 5, the volunteer tourists in Cusco travelled widely during their time volunteering. They acknowledged that while they were volunteers, they were also tourists[10] and very keen to take part in the more typical tourism experiences offered in Cusco such as visiting Machu Picchu. Terry stated that volunteer tourism "offers like an insight into a country that you otherwise wouldn't get just as a pure tourist". However, he also believed that having these tourism experiences was an important part of learning

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[10] Previous research has also highlighted that the role of 'tourist' is not mutually exclusive from other roles including researcher (Kervran, 2015), soldier (Barnes, 2014; Tonks, 2014; White, 1987), or English teacher (Doering, 2008). Similarly, research around working holiday makers and the New Zealand 'OE' (overseas experience) have also explored the overlap between tourism and work (Duncan, 2007; Uriely, 2001; Wilson, 2006).

about another country and culture. He stated that "if you came here and didn't go to Machu Picchu... you're not really getting the experience of the country". Similarly, one of the staff members believed that the majority of volunteer tourists came to Cusco to volunteer, but that an "equally important part of the experience" was that they had the chance to "experience Peru and the culture". Margaret stated that she chose to combine volunteering and tourism because she didn't want a "superficial" tourist experience. By volunteering in Peru, the volunteer tourists were able to access the benefits associated with volunteering while simultaneously accessing the benefits typically associated with tourism.

Many of the volunteer tourists specifically mentioned the appeal of being able to combine both volunteering and travelling and several referred to volunteer tourism as a means of killing "two birds with one stone". James stated that "there are people, communities with needs all over the world, and I like travelling, so why not combine it?" Similarly, Emma had "always wanted to travel and nurse and so I was just kind of Googling [sic] and looking up organisations where I could kind of combine the two." Helen believed that travel is "all just for yourself, and it's a lot of money to spend all on yourself". In contrast, volunteer tourism allows you to "kind of travel and give back to the community". Likewise, the volunteer tourists liked the idea of combining tourism with volunteering. Frances believed that only volunteering would "be a bit boring" while Sonan liked that she could "have the best of both" worlds.

> With travelling I can only get that one experience and I thought volunteering would be more like one-dimensional as well, just doing work all the time. But you can do both, which is really great.

David commented that "it's not like we're just volunteering, like next weekend we're going down to Machu Picchu so it's kind of best of both worlds". This idea of combining tourism experiences with volunteering also reflects neoliberal ideals of maximising the use of one's time (Vrasti, 2013; see also Koleth, 2014).

Lonely Planet (2013, p. 32) states that "it is widely acknowledged that cultural exchange is one of the great benefits of international volunteering". The volunteer tourists in Cusco emphasised the advantages of gaining cross-cultural experience. For example, Anita said:

> I enjoy culture, that's why I love to travel... I just love learning about them [local people] and to be just saturated and be able to live with them and be part of their lives to me is just exciting.

This reflects previous studies which found volunteer tourists reported increased appreciation and knowledge of other cultures as a result of volunteering (Lough, McBride & Sherraden, 2009; Mostafanezhad, 2014a). For example, Wickens (2011, p. 48)

interviewed volunteer tourists in Nepal who reported that through volunteering "you learn so much more about Nepal and its people by actually immersing yourself in their lives" However, other studies have questioned the extent of this deeper value-change as a result of volunteer tourism (Klaver, 2015).

There is an assumption, both amongst the volunteer tourists in Cusco and also within the volunteer tourism industry and literature more generally, that by volunteering volunteer tourists automatically gain a more authentic experience than other tourists (Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Wearing, 2001). Many of the volunteer tourists in Cusco believed that by choosing to volunteer they would have a more "authentic" experience in Cusco, essentially accessing what MacCannell (1973; 2001) termed the 'backstage'. Thomas stated that "you get more of an idea of what's going on with the people in a community if you're working with the community rather than just seeing the tourist things". Similarly, Terry believed that tourists "get a very superficial view of a country", while volunteer tourism offered "an insight into a country that you... wouldn't get just as a pure tourist" (see also Frilund, 2015). However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the volunteer tourists in Cusco largely stayed within the volunteer tourism enclave and had relatively little interaction with the host community. Commodified volunteer tourists may therefore experience less cross-cultural exchange than expected.

7.3.4   Improved language skills

All the volunteer tourists interviewed mentioned improved Spanish skills as a result of their time in Cusco. Manos del Mundo staff members believed that "Spanish is a language of opportunity internationally now. They [volunteer tourists] want to learn Spanish, they want to experience the culture of Peru". This is supported by Schott's (2011) research with volunteer tourists in Guatemala which also highlighted the Spanish skills gained as a result of volunteering in Latin America. With a large Spanish-speaking population (Burgen, 2015), volunteer tourists from North America were more likely to talk about being able to use their new Spanish skills after they returned home and emphasised how these new skills would help their employability (particularly those working in the medical field). Conversely, volunteer tourists from New Zealand and Australia (where there are much smaller Spanish-speaking populations) were more likely to be studying the language for interest or to facilitate travelling in Latin America.

The amount of Spanish the volunteer tourists learned during their time in Cusco varied widely and depended on a variety of factors: how long the volunteer tourist was in Cusco, how much Spanish they spoke on arrival, whether or not they took formal lessons, how

much effort they put in, and how willing they were to practise. However, a considerable number of volunteer tourists I met in Cusco spoke no more than a few words of Spanish, even after several weeks in Latin America. This is similar to what Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 59) found in Thailand where the majority of volunteer tourists spoke only a few words of Thai and therefore "the extent of verbal communication between the host community members and volunteers depended, to a large extent, on the English language abilities of the host community members" (Mostafanezhad, 2014a, p. 59).

7.3.5   Professional experience in a developing country

Some of the Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists, particularly those who were either students or recent graduates, spoke about the experiences they had gained from volunteering and how these would benefit their career prospects by 'boosting' their CVs (curriculum vitae), both with regards to experiences gained and what it would suggest about them as a person (Butcher, 2003). As Daniel said:

> If you go volunteering in a third-world country then that's going to look good on any application. If you've taken time out to go help others, who doesn't want that in their workplace?!

This reflects a statement by a Polish volunteer tourist whom Vrasti (2013, pp. 82-83) met in Guatemala. This volunteer tourist had "invested all her savings in pursuing a geography degree in Britain and then some to volunteer in Guatemala for extracurricular credit". She believed that "at a job interview, it matters more [to the interviewers] if you have volunteered... than if you have been serving tables at a restaurant at home". This reflects the cultural capital associated with volunteer tourism. Like backpacking, volunteering (typically in a developing country) provides cultural capital that volunteer tourists can turn into economic capital. Upon return, volunteer tourists are able to use their increased status or cultural capital to gain monetary benefits such as a better job (Gogia, 2006; Koleth, 2014; Simpson, 2005).

One of the volunteer tourists in Cusco was volunteering because she wanted to work in international development after graduation. The association between volunteer tourism and future work in international development is repeated throughout the literature (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Vrasti, 2013). Sara, a first year political science student from Australia whom Vrasti (2013, p. 86) met while volunteering in Ghana, said volunteering was good because it "looks great on my CV". She wanted to work within international relations in the future and believed that while volunteer tourism "is a far cry" from working for an NGO, "anything helps" (see also Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011).

Many of the medical volunteer tourists in Cusco talked about volunteering overseas in a medical capacity in the future. Some intended to do similar work to what they were doing in Cusco, whereas others were aiming for more professional experience and three mentioned a specific desire to volunteer with Médecins Sans Frontières. Terry was a qualified doctor in the United States and wanted to volunteer with Médecins Sans Frontières in the future. He felt that Manos del Mundo was a good "introduction" to volunteering overseas:

> I didn't know what to expect in medicine in like a third-world country, I've never really practised medicine outside of Canada and I didn't really know… what to really expect… So I feel like this experience was a good introduction.

Emily was a qualified nurse in the United States and had applied for an overseas position with Médecins Sans Frontières. They had advised her to get nursing experience in a developing country before reapplying. She found this feedback frustrating because "you can't just *get* professional experience in a developing country!" However, by paying to volunteer with Manos del Mundo, she was able to access the required experience.

That is not to say that volunteering in Cusco motivated the volunteer tourists to volunteer more in the future, but rather that many of the volunteer tourists perceived volunteering short-term in Cusco as an introduction to what they could expect from organisations such as Médecins Sans Frontières. For example, Vinod said upon arrival in Cusco "if I have a good experience [here] I'm going to try and go to Africa or somewhere and try to do more". Terry intended to do more medical volunteering overseas in the future, but wanted "something a bit more professionally sort of organised, as opposed to something like this". David stated that "my dream's Doctors Without Borders [Médecins Sans Frontières] so this is as close as I can get right now" as a pre-medical student. In this sense volunteering in a medical capacity with Manos del Mundo in Cusco can be viewed as a first step to future medical volunteering as a qualified medical professional.

Many of the volunteer tourists who were qualified nurses or doctors were keen to learn more about medical care in developing countries – not only because they wanted to volunteer with Médecins Sans Frontières in the future but because they were interested in medicine around the world and they perceived this added knowledge and experience would help them learn how to perform their jobs at home. Adriana, a nurse in the United States, believed medical care in Cusco would be "probably quite different from what I'm used to… it'll be interesting to see what the clinics are like, just the system in general, see how it works". Similarly, Amy wanted to:

> …get an idea of how healthcare is different in other countries… and exposure
> to different kinds of medical conditions… see illnesses that are probably not
> prevalent any more in first world countries.

By volunteering, Terry was able to "experience healthcare in a developing country" while Vinod wanted to "compare the healthcare systems… how healthcare is given here [in Cusco] compared to how healthcare is given back at home". Emily wanted nursing experience at an under-resourced clinic because "if there is like some kind of catastrophic event, I want to be able to proficiently use my nursing skills without the technology… I'm used to using". Michael chose to volunteer in Peru for his final medical school placement because he wanted to learn "how things are done in different countries".

However, some volunteer tourists in Cusco were somewhat cynical about gaining professional experience through volunteer tourism. For example, Daniel believed that some volunteer tourists only volunteered:

> …to put something down on paper… To improve your CV. There is a general
> air of that around… I find that they don't help as much because they're just
> here to put something down on paper… Just to add to their CV. To look good,
> as opposed to coming here to help… it is definitely a widespread problem.

This reflects Hindman's (2014, p. 49) statement that volunteer tourists in Nepal often viewed their volunteering as "internships, resume lines and productive 'time-on' when law school applications fail[ed]". As Daniel suggested, this emphasis on CVs may be exacerbated amongst Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists "because this was such a nice place to start, that may encourage the problem… Too nice and too easy and too little work". As explored earlier in this chapter, Manos del Mundo provided a lot of support to their volunteer tourists, which may make it an 'easier' alternative to other volunteer tourism programmes.

7.3.6   Boost university applications and earn course credit

Volunteer tourism experiences were also viewed as being beneficial to university applications, for example, Thomas said that:

> It's one of the reasons I did this before I did my uni application stuff, is then I
> can put, like, "I went to Peru and volunteered for a month"… Volunteering
> looks better on an application for college, that's one of the reasons.

Many of the pre-medical students volunteered to gain experience in a clinical setting in order to boost their medical school applications. This was particularly common for those applying for medical school in the United States where it is a graduate programme (see Vrasti, 2013). Daniel wanted to "learn how to act in a clinical environment" while David thought that his experience in Cusco would "definitely" strengthen his medical school

applications because "it just looks better to say that we've already done hands-on work with patients, direct patient interaction and using medical instruments".

This idea of using volunteer tourism experiences to improve one's university application is not unique to Manos del Mundo. For example, Vrasti (2013, pp. 96-97) spoke with a volunteer tourist in Ghana who said that:

> ...jobs and [graduate] schools are crazy competitive and you have to have something that makes you stand out... doing something like volunteer in a third world country in conditions that most people... would not want to put up with.

This reflects the idea of volunteer tourism "as an educational strategy designed to enhance the employability and economic vitality of young adults" (Vrasti, 2013, p. 87; see also McGloin & Georgeou, 2015) and a means of acquiring global citizenship within the increasingly competitive neoliberal global market (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Jones, 2011; Koleth, 2014; Simpson, 2005). While volunteer tourism is based within consumer culture, this idea of youth tourism as a means of acquiring global citizenship connects to earlier versions of youth travel going back to the Grand Tour.

Two of the volunteer tourists, Sarah and Michael, were earning course credit as a result of their volunteering. Heather was also gaining work experience she hoped would help with her future interpreting career. As a PhD student collecting data for my thesis, I was also volunteering as part of my university studies. Manos del Mundo has an internship programme and can negotiate with the volunteer tourist's university to allow the accrual of course credit. None of the volunteer tourists I met in Cusco took part in this programme. Instead, those who were earning course credit while in Cusco had signed up for the general volunteer tourism programme and negotiated course credit with their home universities themselves. Other studies of volunteer tourists have also uncovered volunteer tourists volunteering in order to gain course credit (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011).

Those volunteer tourists earning course credit as a result of their volunteering in Cusco could not have chosen to travel rather than volunteer; instead the decision was whether to volunteer/work at home or whether to volunteer overseas. Sarah was on "work experience" as part of her development studies degree. She stated that:

> I could've either gotten a job in Boston with a non-profit organisation... [but] I wanted to go abroad so this is like my work experience for my... degree... I wouldn't be able to take this time off during school... so I wouldn't have been able to travel the same unless I'd taken a leave of absence from my school. So this way I'm able to get my work-study qualifications and... travel.

Similarly, Michael was in his final semester of medical school in New Zealand; two of his classmates were also volunteering with Manos del Mundo in Cusco during the data collection period. If he had not travelled overseas, he would have completed his final medical school placement at a hospital or clinic in New Zealand.

7.3.7 Accessing a morally superior identity

While mass tourism is criticised as lacking authenticity and potentially negatively impacting the host community, volunteer tourism has been promoted as a more "moral", "responsible" (Callanan & Thomas, 2005) or "ethical" (Butcher, 2011) form of tourism that allows tourists to 'give back' to the host community while simultaneously accessing a more authentic or meaningful travel experience (Wearing, 2001). Volunteer tourists are assumed to be altruistic and therefore claim status as 'morally superior' or more ethical tourists (Boluk & Ranjbar, 2014). There was an underlying assertion amongst the volunteer tourists that they were different from, or even 'better' than, other tourists in Cusco. For example, the volunteer tourists differentiated themselves from non-volunteering tourists such as backpackers by referring to themselves as 'volunteers' rather than 'tourists' (Mostafanezhad, 2014a), thereby defining themselves and their identity in contrast to other tourists. Sarah stated that by volunteering "I feel you can kind of differentiate yourself from the other tourists. Like when I see other tourists, I don't connect with them".

Through participant observation in Cusco, I met and spoke with backpackers who were not volunteering. One Irish backpacker felt the need to justify why he and a friend were backpacking rather than volunteering: "we feel really shallow because we keep meeting people doing all these altruistic things but to be honest I couldn't be bothered, I just wanted to travel" (Research diary, 25 November 2012). This idea of backpacking as being 'shallow' simultaneously reinforces the idea of volunteer tourism as being a deeper or more authentic form of tourism, thereby allowing volunteer tourists to claim 'moral superiority' compared to backpackers and other tourists.

However, Sarah questioned whether or not the 'moral superiority' associated with volunteer tourism was justified:

> I don't know how many out… if you take a pool of volunteers… how many of them really care about what they're doing and how many of them are kind of just doing it for the show of doing it… They can go home and be like "oh, well you know, I did this so that makes me a good person".

However, Butcher (2003, p. 140) questions the assumption that tourism should be a moral action at all, stating that most tourists are "ordinary people seeking out good weather, good food, fun and perhaps a little taste of a different way of life". Tourism is a leisure activity and "probably something they [the tourists] have worked and saved hard for" (Butcher, 2003, p. 140; see also Vrasti, 2013). Butcher (2003) suggests that is only with the emergence of volunteer tourism that the consumption of tourism has also become a moral statement (see also Butcher & Smith, 2015; Tomazos & Butler, 2012). However, consumption of other products has also been associated with morality. This idea is discussed further in the following chapter.

The idea of volunteer tourism as a more 'moral' form of tourism stems from its perceived association with altruism and 'giving back' to the host community. While the volunteer tourists in Cusco contributed to the host community, albeit to a varying degree, there is evidence of what Andreoni (1989) terms the "warm glow" that people receive from helping others. Bill stated that "as a volunteer you do things for selfless reasons in theory, but nobody's going to tell you they don't like the feeling they get" as a result of volunteering. Similarly, Adriana said that volunteering is "not selfless because obviously I'm getting the gain of feeling good" while Daisy said she volunteers (both in Cusco and at home in the United States) because although "you're not really being paid or whatever, but it kind of like lifts up your heart!" Other volunteer tourists in Cusco used words and phrases such as "fulfilling" and "satisfaction from… helping people". This reflects the economic view of giving, that is, "the idea that it makes the altruist feel good" (Monroe, 1996, p. 145). The volunteer tourists in Cusco are arguably 'buying' an international volunteering experience which provides them with the "warm glow" (Andreoni, 1989) associated with performing morally commendable acts (see Chapter 2). In this sense altruism itself has become commodified within volunteer tourism (Godfrey & Wearing, 2012).

7.4   'Getting what I paid for': Consuming commodified volunteer tourism

Within commodified volunteer tourism, volunteer tourists become customers who expect to receive a specific experience they have paid for (Cousins et al., 2009a; Klaver, 2015). In this section I explore the volunteer tourists' thoughts on paying to volunteer, compare the cost of volunteer tourism with other forms of tourism, the cost of Manos del Mundo with other volunteer tourism products, and the differences (as perceived by the volunteer tourists and the Manos del Mundo staff) between commercial and not-for-profit volunteer

tourism organisations. As volunteers (leisure) rather than staff (work) the volunteer tourists could pick and choose which projects they volunteered at and which tasks they performed at these volunteer tourism projects. For the most part what they chose related more to what they themselves wanted from the experience rather than maximising their potential contribution to the host community. Finally, I discuss why commercial volunteer tourism organisations often have few minimum requirements such as language skills or minimum length of stay.

7.4.1   Reflections on paying to volunteer

As explored in Chapter 6, volunteer tourists, particularly short-term volunteers with limited language skills, do not necessarily contribute to the host community as much as they expect to. In some cases, the host community may therefore be unwilling to receive volunteer tourists. Hindman (2014, pp. 48-49) writes about the development of volunteer tourism in Nepal in the late 1990s:

> There were more volunteers than charities interested in their labour…
> Finally, Ilana [the founder]… found a way to entice local NGOs to work with
> tourists – to have the visitors pay for their voluntourism experience. It was
> only when agencies were incentivized with foreign currency that they were
> willing to cope with foreign tourists' labour.

Volunteer tourism has thus become essentially another form of tourism experience where the host community is being paid to provide a specific experience (product) to the volunteer tourists who may or may not still expect to be positively contributing as a result of their (volunteer) labour.

As emphasised by Manos del Mundo staff members, there are costs associated with hosting volunteer tourists including accommodation, food and staff wages. It is these things the volunteer tourists are paying for, not the volunteering itself.

> Are you paying to volunteer? Not really. You're paying for everything that
> helps you volunteer… You're paying to have it all set up for you… You're
> paying for the project [to have] been sussed out, you're paying for all the
> advice upfront, you're paying for the airport pick-up, you're paying that the
> family was looked at and managed and that there's a chef who goes in and
> helps them figure out menus. (Manos del Mundo staff member)

As Horoszowski (2015, p. 54) states, "we all want unique and story-worthy international experiences. We want them so badly we've created an industry where it's OK to pay for these 'voluntourism experiences'" (see also Smith, 2014).

The development of commercial volunteer tourism reflects wider societal shifts associated with consumerism and consumer culture. Within consumer cultures, the focus is on

consumption rather than production (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; McDonald & Wearing, 2013; Ritzer, 2007). In the case of volunteer tourism, the emphasis is therefore on the volunteer tourists' consumption of tourism experiences, rather than their contribution to the host community (that is, their role in production). Tourism and other leisure activities can be framed as consumption, while labour (including volunteer labour) can be framed as production.

Some volunteer tourists were surprised or shocked to learn they had to pay to volunteer. For example, Margaret said that her first reaction was:

> "I'm volunteering and you're charging me?!"… And a lot of people were asking me "what do you mean you're paying for this trip? Why are you paying for this trip when you're volunteering?"

However, she conceded that "they have expenses, I understand they have to pay the families". Similarly, James said that:

> I find it quite weird that you have to pay so much money to volunteer. I kind of thought that you just come here and kind of offer your time and that would be enough. But apparently that's not the case.

One volunteer tourist, Matt, wondered if volunteer tourism was not just a "clever marketing ploy" to entice would-be volunteers to come to Peru and pay to volunteer (see also Butcher & Smith, 2015).

7.4.2 Cost of volunteer tourism compared to other forms of tourism

Price and perceived value for money are important to tourists' decision-making processes (Gallarza & Saura, 2006; Stevens, 1992; Williams, 2009). Wearing (2001) suggests that volunteer tourism is generally more expensive than other forms of travel, while the Tourism Research and Marketing report (2008, p. 54) states that:

> The average total expenditure for volunteer tourists was around $3100 per trip. Volunteers tended to have a slightly lower spend per day than other young travellers, but because of their long duration of stay their total spend was on average almost 20% higher.

Compared to the cost of the Peru-based volunteer tourism packages listed in Chapter 2, Lonely Planet (McCarthy et al., 2013) recommends a budget of around S/.130 or US$40 per day to backpack in Peru. However, most volunteer tourism programmes become cheaper the longer one stays. For example, volunteering with Manos del Mundo for four weeks works out to around US$40 per day, that is, the same as Lonely Planet's suggested daily budget for Peru. The weekly rate decreases further for subsequent weeks, at which point volunteering with Manos del Mundo becomes cheaper than backpacking. Conversely,

volunteering with Manos del Mundo in Cusco for only one week works out to around US$85 per day – more than double Lonely Planet's suggested daily budget for Peru.

There was a relatively even split between volunteer tourists who thought travelling was more expensive than volunteer tourism and those who believed it to be the other way around. Whether or not the volunteer tourists perceived volunteer tourism as more expensive than other forms of tourism depended on what they were comparing the cost of volunteer tourism to: that is, the cost of budget backpacking or more conventional mass tourism (see Table 17 in Appendix 2). Neither age nor length of volunteering appeared to be connected to whether volunteer tourism was perceived as more or less expensive than other forms of travel. For example, of those aged 22 years and below and staying for four weeks or longer, three believed volunteer tourism to be more expensive than travelling, while three believed the opposite.

The volunteer tourists were willing to pay to volunteer because they believed that they were actively contributing to the host community. James stated that:

> If I were to be travelling alone for three more weeks by myself, I think that whatever utility or happiness that I would have got out of seeing these things by myself wouldn't have been as much as the happiness or utility that I get out of being here, helping.

Therefore, he viewed his volunteer tourism experience as being worthwhile and as providing value for money. As Fiona stated, "I'd rather be doing something helpful and have a better experience... than just walking around by myself" (see also Phelan, 2015).

Heather and Sarah believed that this debate over the cost of volunteer tourism was irrelevant as they were in Cusco specifically to volunteer. Bill believed volunteer tourism was more expensive than just travelling. However, he claimed this was irrelevant as his decision to volunteer was not based on economic factors.

> If all I wanted to do was get out of the house for cheap I could go bowling and I wouldn't care if I was helping anybody or not. I could set a set of pins up in the backyard and I wouldn't even have to *go* bowling... I think you could certainly make the argument that it's [volunteer tourism] more expensive, but... I think on balance the world benefits more.

Similarly, Clare did not consider whether volunteer tourism was more or less expensive than backpacking when she decided to book her trip:

> It wasn't a weigh-up between is it cheaper or more expensive to just travel a country on my own because I'm not really volunteering to see Cusco... I'm volunteering for different reasons and being here and having the opportunity to see places is just a bonus.

All of the volunteer tourists interviewed stated that whether or not volunteer tourism was cheaper than other forms of travel was irrelevant as they were not looking for the cheapest form of travel, but rather a programme that allowed them to volunteer overseas. Matt said the price of volunteering did not factor in his decision because he was "going to volunteer regardless… it wasn't just about the cost. If I could afford it I was going to do it".

7.4.3 Cost of Manos del Mundo compared to other volunteer tourism products

While comparing costs across different types of travel (for example, backpacking versus volunteer tourism) was not important to the volunteer tourists, comparing costs and value for money across different volunteer tourism programmes and organisations was extremely important for many of the volunteer tourists interviewed. In general, the more all-inclusive a volunteer tourism package is, the more it costs (see Chapter 2). Many of the Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists in Cusco said they were willing to pay a higher price to volunteer with Manos del Mundo because of the added security and convenience of having everything organised for them. Frances stated that "you pay more for the security… you could definitely do it [volunteer tourism] a lot cheaper on your own". Helen stated that "it would be cheaper if I could just find my own place… and kind of sort out my own volunteering, but it's nice to have it all planned for you" while Kim said that "you could probably do it cheaper but it's a convenience thing". Similarly, Vinod said that:

> I guess you could go volunteer for free but you're out there by yourself… with really not much guidance…. You might just be screwed for two weeks and not be able to speak to anyone, not be able to do anything… I'd rather pay the extra five hundred bucks, or whatever it is, have everything set up.

Terry chose to volunteer with Manos del Mundo because it offered "a guaranteed experience, or at least a more consistent experience across the board" compared to organising a volunteer project himself.

Sonan acknowledged that volunteering with Manos del Mundo was not the cheapest option but "figured it's better to splurge a little more and… be safe". This use of the word "splurge" reflects other terms used in the literature, such as Vrasti's (2013, p. 89) reference to the "hefty price" of volunteering with Projects Abroad:

> With its corporate service and trustworthy appearance Projects Abroad does an excellent job in appeasing the anxieties surrounding travel to Africa. Both travellers and their parents can rest assured that, in exchange for a hefty price, volunteers will enjoy a safe and useful experience.

Like Vrasti (2013), the volunteer tourists acknowledged the relatively high cost of volunteering. However, while often more expensive than independent travel, the higher

price of packaged volunteer tourism can be justified because of the increased level of organisation that is done on the behalf of the tourist.

The for-profit sending organisation that sent most of the volunteer tourists to Manos del Mundo is one of the cheapest volunteer tourism organisations world-wide and many of the volunteer tourists said they specifically chose this organisation because of its low-cost and good online reputation. This focus on price is unsurprising since the majority of Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists were either students or long-term travellers, both groups likely to be travelling on a strict budget. For example, Kim said that even if Manos del Mundo was not necessarily the cheapest volunteer tourism option:

> ...I think it's pretty much on par, a little less maybe but you know, it works out. Like some places you wouldn't get food, some places you'd get a translator, you know. It's much of a muchness. But I still think it's a pretty good price for what it is.

Overall, the volunteer tourists interviewed perceived the price paid as providing value for money. Matt said that "from what I've paid and what I've received I think it's good". One staff member suggested that "just staying in a home-stay and taking Spanish classes" in Cusco would cost around the same price as volunteering with Manos del Mundo.

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, volunteer tourists consider safety, support and stability as key factors in their volunteer tourism experience and this has important implications for commercial volunteer tourism. These factors have a positive influence on how volunteer tourists evaluate value for money with regards to their chosen volunteer tourism package and therefore need to be taken into consideration in the development and delivery of commercial volunteer tourism programmes. The volunteer tourists were willing to pay more for a first-time volunteer tourism trip, although several mentioned that now they had volunteer tourism experience they would feel more comfortable volunteering in the future with a less-structured organisation that provided less support (most likely at a lower cost). Thus, the volunteer tourists' perceived value shifted depending on their volunteer tourism experience, expectations and requirements.

7.4.4 Cost of commercial volunteer tourism organisations compared to not-for-profit organisations

As described in Chapter 4, volunteer tourists at Manos del Mundo could register directly with Manos del Mundo or through one of two sending organisations: one a charity and one a commercial organisation. Somewhat surprisingly, while the commercial volunteer tourism organisation offered some of the cheapest volunteer tourism programmes

available, volunteering with the registered charity cost nearly three times the price because it also included a donation towards the organisation's charitable works. Some of the volunteer tourists who had registered with the charity and paid a higher price were disappointed and even angry when they realised (from talking to other volunteer tourists in Cusco) how much less they could have paid had they come with the commercial organisation.

Somewhat unsurprisingly given they were volunteering with a for-profit organisation, the vast majority of volunteer tourists interviewed were not concerned about volunteering with a commercial volunteer tourism organisation rather than a not-for-profit or charity. Helen said that "I haven't really thought about it... I wasn't too concerned... It [Manos del Mundo] seems like it's run really well so I'm not too bothered by it".

> We knew it was commercial. I don't see any problem with that, I mean, in the end they're doing the same work as a not-for-profit, right? They're still helping people in the same way. They make some money off it, I don't think that affects us. (David)

Similarly, Melissa believed that "the fact that they make money and they're a business shouldn't be a bad thing... they're still helping people out".

Some of the volunteer tourists, particularly those who had registered through the not-for-profit organisation, did not realise that Manos del Mundo was a for-profit company. Emma stated that:

> The fact they were commercial didn't really pop into my brain, to be honest... They still need money to run and to pay their people and do promotion and everything, but it didn't really occur to me.

However, when they found out, most volunteer tourists were not concerned. For example, Matt said that he "was disappointed to find out that this was a profit organisation... However... people are still getting helped, it didn't seem like a money-grabbing situation".

Many of the volunteer tourists argued that as long as nobody was making "super-profits" then they had no objections to volunteering with a commercial organisation. Sarah did not have a problem with Manos del Mundo being a for-profit organisation but said "I think it would make a difference if someone was making a *lot* of money". This reflects comments by Manos del Mundo staff members who emphasised that most volunteer tourism organisations are relatively small and do not necessarily have large profit margins.

> Our organisation revenue is about $3.5 million a year. That's tiny!... It's very easy to count up volunteers and go "oh my god, 40 people, $1000 apiece, that's $40,000, and another 40 are coming through next month". But nobody adds up the cost side of the organisation, right?... So I don't think there are super-profits being made by any stretch of the imagination.

The majority of the volunteer tourists interviewed did not have an issue with commercial volunteer tourism per se, but would have objected if they felt that the company was over-charging.

However, some volunteer tourists were adamant that it was immoral or unethical for Manos del Mundo to make a profit from others' altruism (that is, volunteering). One volunteer tourist said that:

> …Manos del Mundo is a rip-off because they shouldn't be making money (i.e. profit) off the volunteers. She doesn't have an issue with the language school turning a profit but doesn't think Manos del Mundo should be making a profit off people volunteering. (Research diary, 8 September 2012)

Another volunteer tourist, James, argued that there was an inherent contradiction between the altruism of volunteer tourism and the ethics of a profit-seeking company since altruism focuses on 'giving' while profit-making focuses on 'taking'. This reflects what Fee and Mdee (2011, pp. 230-231) referred to as "exploitative volunteer tourism", that is, volunteer tourism programmes "generally run by private companies on a profit-making basis". They suggested these types of commercial volunteer tourism were "exploitative because they use the promise of 'making a difference' and under-developed communities to extract profits". This reflects volunteer tourist James' stance that volunteer tourists were giving their own time and money to help those in need, and it was unethical for a company to exploit these altruistic attempts in order to make money.

Some of the volunteer tourists who were unconcerned about profit-making commercial volunteer tourism organisations did however believe that there was a difference between for-profit and not-for-profit volunteer tourism organisations, namely, that Manos del Mundo (and other for-profit volunteer tourism organisations) emphasised tourism activities more than not-for-profit organisations.

> I think it does make a difference. If you're an NGO… your focus is more on helping the community, I just feel that if they're focused on profit it's more likely that the company would be more focused on the tourism aspect than the volunteering aspect. (Dawson)

He continued, saying that Manos del Mundo "want to attract people to come which means they want to give you a lot of free time" (this idea is also reflected upon in the following chapter). Some of the volunteer tourists also thought a commercial for-profit volunteer tourism organisation would be more supportive and/or reliable than a not-for-profit. This reflects the idea that consumers often assume that a higher price means a higher quality product (Deval, Mantel, Kardes, & Posavac, 2013).

While not-for-profit organisations often receive funds from elsewhere, such as donations, commercial organisations such as Manos del Mundo receive funding solely from their customers, that is, the volunteer tourists. Manos del Mundo staff suggested this was a benefit as the company was therefore arguably more accountable and staff were able to focus on developing a high-quality product that would attract paying volunteer tourists rather than spending time and effort raising funds. One of the Manos del Mundo staff members stated that "a lot of NGOs are spending 80% of their effort collecting funds".

Commercial volunteer tourism organisations have to consider their volunteer tourists' wants because, if not, they may lose customers and, by extension, their associated revenue stream. As Wilson (2015, p. 202) notes:

> In a business model where most voluntourism programmes are in some way financially dependent on payments from their volunteers, far too often it is "volunteer need" which is the driving force behind "project output".

This reflects neoliberal ideas where the focus is on profit rather than the welfare of the people (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011; Lyons et al., 2012; Simpson, 2005); in this case the profit of the volunteer tourism organisation rather than the welfare of the host community. Commercial volunteer tourism organisations are, by definition, required to produce a profit in order to continue to operate. In the case of commodified volunteer tourism, this neoliberal focus on profit may result in a prioritisation on meeting the wants of the paying customers, that is, the volunteer tourists, in order to maximise profits.

However, Manos del Mundo staff suggested that the implication that commercial volunteer tourism organisations focus on the wants of the volunteer tourists rather than the needs of the host community was false logic since one of the wants of the volunteer tourists is to feel that they have actively contributed to the host community. Therefore, the Manos del Mundo staff argued, it is in the best interests of volunteer tourism organisations like Manos del Mundo to ensure that their volunteer tourists do in fact contribute to the host community. Nonetheless, there may be a discrepancy between how the volunteer tourists and the host community perceive this contribution. This argument reflects neoliberal positions that the market will self-regulate.

7.4.5   Ability to choose tasks at the volunteer project

Tesfahuney (1998, p. 501) states that "differential mobility empowerments reflect structures and hierarchies of power and position by race, gender, age and class, ranging from the local to the global". Power is associated with money (Foucault, 1980) and by paying to volunteer, volunteer tourists assume a position of relative power at the

volunteer projects. Volunteer tourists in Cusco had the freedom to come and go as they pleased and to choose which tasks they performed at the volunteer projects. Sometimes volunteer tourists would be asked to complete tasks that they felt did not fit within their 'job description' (Cousins et al., 2009a). For example, some volunteer tourists complained to Manos del Mundo that at their childcare placement the local staff wanted them to help with the cooking or laundry. Manos del Mundo staff visited the project to explain to the local staff that the volunteer tourists were there to interact with the children rather than to help with manual labour. Similar issues were highlighted at medical projects where volunteer tourists were often assigned to cutting and folding gauze – a necessary task at the medical clinics but not what the volunteer tourists believed they had 'signed up for'.

However, these jobs (doing laundry, preparing food, folding gauze) are daily tasks that must be done by someone. If the volunteer tourists decline to complete such manual tasks, this implies that a local staff member must instead take time to do these things. It may therefore be more beneficial overall for the volunteer tourists to perform these mundane tasks since this would also arguably reduce their possibility to negatively impact on the host community as they would have less direct contact with vulnerable people (for example, children and medical patients). However, the volunteer tourists in Cusco declined to perform these tasks because they did not match with the experience they believed they had paid for.

These findings reflect Jänis and Timonen's (2014, p. 98-100) research in Zambia where volunteer tourists "had the power to choose specific tasks instead of others" and could "opt-out" out of "some tasks considered 'dirtier' or more difficult to perform". Tomazos and Butler (2012, p. 183) made similar observations in Mexico and found that while there were numerous chores to be done at the orphanage each day:

> ...the volunteers were not under any obligation or pressure to carry out these tasks. If a volunteer wanted to spend the day sitting and chatting with other volunteers outside while watching the children, there was nothing forcing them to go inside and help in the kitchen or in the dormitory.

In all three studies (Manos del Mundo in Peru, Tomazos and Butler's (2012) study in Mexico, and Jänis and Timonen's (2014) study in Zambia) there were few negative consequences for the volunteer tourists if they chose not to carry out the tasks requested of them.

In some cases, this conflict was the result of confusion amongst the volunteer tourists around what was expected from them at the volunteer projects, that is, ambiguity about their role as volunteer tourists (Palacios, 2010). Melissa said that "there's no sort of

direction... we don't really know if we're doing what they want us to do". Similarly, Matt said he was not sure what the local staff wanted him to do at the homework centre:

> Am I supposed to encourage them [the children] to do their work or do I let them day-dream out the window?... You said brush their teeth when they get there. The teachers aren't encouraging that so am I supposed to be encouraging the kids 'cause the teachers aren't doing it?

This reflects Jänis and Timonen's (2014, p. 100) findings around nappy-changing. The local staff at the orphanage "would have appreciated if the volunteers would have [sic] got their 'hands dirty', and participated in also more unpleasant tasks", interpreting the volunteer tourists' unwillingness to change the children's nappies "as a sign of prejudice". However, Jänis and Timonen's (2014) suggest this may also have been because the volunteer tourists did not know how to change a nappy, and/or were unsure if it was appropriate for them to do so; the volunteer tourists interpreted the local staff's silence to mean that they were not needed.

As mentioned earlier, the power differentials between the privileged volunteer tourists and the local staff also influenced interactions. While the local staff are 'at work', the volunteer tourists are 'at leisure'. As Melissa suggests, this may limit the local staff from directly instructing the volunteer tourists.

> Sometimes I feel like when we're not doing something right they don't want to have a go or say anything to us because they don't want to upset us but you know, if they said "look, we need you to be doing this", it would be fine, because that's what we're sort of here for.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the volunteer tourists were often unsure of what they were expected to do at the volunteer tourism projects and this confusion is unlikely to be resolved if local staff feel uncomfortable issuing instructions to the volunteer tourists. Taken together, this may explain why the volunteer tourists felt the local staff did not always make the most of the volunteer tourists' experiences and skillsets.

However, in some cases the local staff did ask the volunteer tourists for things that were outside the scope of Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists (and their budgets). For example, one Manos del Mundo staff member said that "the teachers and directors start asking the volunteers for money... Or to buy things... just like totally ridiculous stuff which is totally inappropriate". Examples she gave included asking volunteer tourists to supply paint to re-paint the buildings, or to buy a photocopy machine. Manos del Mundo staff members said the company has contracts with their volunteer projects which say "they're not allowed to ask our volunteers for anything!" If the projects want something, they are supposed to approach Manos del Mundo who will consider these requests on a case by case basis.

7.4.6   Ability to change volunteer project

It was common for volunteer tourists to change volunteer project during their time in Cusco. Sometimes this was because Manos del Mundo moved them, while other times the volunteer tourists themselves specifically requested to change projects. Manos del Mundo would sometimes move volunteer tourists to another project for operational reasons, for example, if there were too many volunteer tourists at one project, if they had a new volunteer tourism project starting that needed volunteer tourists, or if they were trying to send more volunteer tourists to a specific project to strengthen the relationship with that project. However, these reasons were not always made clear to the volunteer tourists themselves, for example, Michael said that Manos del Mundo "just randomly changed us" from one medical clinic to another.

Some volunteer tourists specifically asked to change volunteer projects if they were not enjoying their project or if they believed they could contribute more at another project. Emily was originally in a maternity unit but changed to an emergency unit at the clinic since "you just have to count on in a four-hour period having a delivery [birth] otherwise there's nothing to do". Emma spoke of her three volunteer projects in Cusco, saying "I really liked the first two places but I didn't really think I was helping them". Similarly, Helen also requested to change projects as she did not feel she was really needed at the first orphanage. Instead, she said she "just asked if there were places that needed more volunteers". Matt also requested to change projects as he felt his lack of Spanish limited his ability to significantly contribute at his first project helping at a homework centre. He wished he "was more use" at his first project but after switching to the boys' orphanage believed it was better since he could "interact with the sport they're playing, be it soccer or the monkey bars or even just sitting around in a circle playing cards".

Some volunteer tourists mentioned that Manos del Mundo charged US$150 for volunteer tourists to switch volunteering project across 'types' of volunteering, for example, from childcare to construction or teaching. This policy was not always applied. In some cases this was because the Manos del Mundo staff member processing the change decided to waive the fee, while in other cases it was because Manos del Mundo were not necessarily aware that a volunteer tourist had changed their volunteering project (for example, if the volunteer tourist stopped going to their assigned project and started going to a friend's project instead). While not confirmed by Manos del Mundo, this charge may have been to discourage volunteer tourists from changing projects (which was difficult for Manos del

Mundo to manage from an operations perspective) rather than to cover any direct costs incurred by Manos del Mundo.

Because of the sheer number of volunteer tourists arriving in Cusco each week, the volunteer positions were not necessarily tailored to the specific volunteer tourist's skills and interests (Lonely Planet, 2013). In many ways this was a risk management approach from Manos del Mundo. Rather than placing volunteer tourists at these 'harder' projects and then having to move them, from an operations perspective it was simpler to place the volunteer tourists at projects the Manos del Mundo staff knew volunteer tourists generally enjoyed. Manos del Mundo tended to send the majority of volunteer tourists to the 'easier' projects until they specifically requested to be moved to one of the 'harder' projects (except perhaps during peak season when there were more volunteer tourists). These 'easier' projects were typically close to town, while the 'harder' projects were further out from town and/or involved more emotionally and physically challenging work, for example, volunteering with severely disabled children (see also MacKinnon (2009) for a discussion on the ranking of volunteer tourism projects, and Frazer and Waitt (2016) for a discussion on pain in volunteer tourism).

Both Emma and Helen specifically asked to be moved to volunteer at a group home for disabled children. While Manos del Mundo had agreements with this project, staff tended not to place volunteer tourists there. Instead, Emma and Helen learned about the project from another volunteer tourist who was volunteering there, who had herself learned about the project from a previous volunteer tourist. Helen said this project was good because they really needed volunteer tourists since "you could have one volunteer for each child... Every child there is dependent completely on you for feeding, showering, toileting, getting out of their chair, walking, playing". According to Emma and Helen, many of the children were kept tied to their beds because there were not enough staff to supervise them adequately. However, according to Emma, Manos del Mundo did not often send volunteer tourists to this project because "they don't last there because they don't like it, it's too hard" although Emma believed that "having been there I think that's more of a reflection on the volunteers than the placement". This suggests Manos del Mundo focused on sending volunteer tourists to projects they would enjoy rather than maximising the volunteer tourists' potential contribution to the host community.

As described in Chapter 2, Ritzer's (2015) theory of McDonaldization is closely linked to the idea of commodification. While commodification refers to commercialising something that was previously outside the market (Posner, 2005), McDonaldization focuses on

efficiency (Ritzer, 2015). For volunteer tourism, this results in a focus on getting people 'in and out'. With increased numbers of volunteer tourists coming to Manos del Mundo, there is little time to focus on developing a tailored volunteer tourism experience that would maximise the skills and qualities of the individual volunteer tourist. Instead, volunteer tourists are largely viewed as interchangeable and are 'slotted' into a volunteer tourism project where there is space, not because that is where they may be able to contribute the most. At the end of the week the volunteer tourists leave and are replaced by new incoming volunteer tourists.

The travel time to a project was a particular issue for many of the volunteer tourists. As Cusco has become increasingly developed and 'touristy', many of the communities who would benefit most from having volunteer tourists are outside of the city centre and therefore this is where the majority of volunteer tourists were placed. However, the volunteer tourists themselves often did not want to travel every day (cf. Benson & Wearing, 2012).

> We have a couple of really, really awesome projects that are far away… But the problem is that you have to ride on a bus for 45 minutes to an hour to get there and back every day. (Manos del Mundo staff member)

As one Manos del Mundo staff member stated, much of what Manos del Mundo did was to avoid "pissing off the… clients" and therefore it was easier to allow the volunteer tourists to volunteer at the project they wanted to volunteer at.

> We can't just be like "no, you can't just move because it's too far and you don't like going that far"… It's the whole client service aspect, you have to kind of just [pause] be very, very flexible when it comes to stuff like that.

It was difficult to find volunteer tourists who were willing to travel when they knew there were other volunteer tourism projects available in central Cusco.

One of the other Manos del Mundo staff members said that when speaking to newly arrived volunteer tourists:

> …it's like "look guys, you know, I can put you at [project] where there are literally fifteen other organisations sending volunteers, and you can walk there, and by the way the bar's right on your way home. Or I can stick you in a combi [local public bus] which by the way is a really interesting local experience to have, and you're going to be on there for 45 minutes but your project is really going to need you".

As described in Chapter 4, the volunteer tourists generally volunteered for around three to four hours each day. Including one hour travel time each way, this was still only the equivalent of five hours each weekday which is less than the full-time hours many of the volunteer tourists expected to be volunteering.

> I'm always confused by the fact that volunteers don't want to travel out of town when they know that's where the real need is. I'm doubly confused by the fact that the volunteers [when they first arrive] generally expect to work all day but then they don't want to travel 1hr each way for a 4hr project when door-to-door it's still less than the 8hrs they expected to be working in the first place. (Research diary, 12 October 2012)

Similarly, Manos del Mundo staff members said they became frustrated, saying that the volunteer tourists were in Cusco to "do this as like a job, it shouldn't really matter if you're going five minutes or two hours each way".

One senior Manos del Mundo staff member suggested this focus on not wanting to travel to volunteer projects was a recent issue, saying that when Manos del Mundo first started offering volunteer tourism projects many of the volunteer tourists had travelled over an hour each way. The staff member suggested that the volunteer tourists discussed their projects with each other and those volunteering at projects outside Cusco thought it was unfair they had to travel each day when other volunteer tourists did not. This reflects the idea of 'purchasing' an experience and therefore wanting to get 'value for money'. This may also reflect a trend in volunteer tourism becoming more focused on the tourism component of the volunteer tourism experience rather than the volunteering aspect.

7.4.7 Why commercial volunteer tourism organisations often have few minimum requirements

Within commercial volunteer tourism the volunteer tourists are reframed as 'clients' or 'customers' and this changes the nature of the relationship between the volunteer tourists and the volunteer tourism organisation. Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists could arrive in Cusco at any point throughout the year, with orientation held every Sunday and new volunteer tourists starting every Monday (although even this was flexible and occasionally volunteer tourists would start mid-week). This flexibility particularly appealed to volunteer tourists who had limited dates they could come to Peru. For example, James said Manos del Mundo appealed because he "could start any week basically whereas the other programmes you had to specify a certain part of the month". Similarly, Kate said that Manos del Mundo programmes "start every Monday... whereas the other programmes were like once a month or twice a month. So this was just easier". In addition to the one-week minimum stay and no Spanish language requirements, several of the pre-medical students noted that other programmes would only accept medical students for their medical programmes. For example, David said he:

> ...looked at other ones too and actually a lot of them don't even accept pre-meds into their programmes, only med students and that's why, it was kind of limited, the ones that accept pre-medical students.

Similarly, Natalie found that "a lot of the places that I looked into, the medical placements didn't have a pre-med option... So that kind of narrowed it down a little bit".

However, Manos del Mundo staff suggested that this level of flexibility and lack of prerequisites may have some negative implications. For example, one staff member stated that "I've never enjoyed having one-weekers through... it's notoriously difficult to make sure they're happy, and it's notoriously difficult to bring anything to the project" in one week. Instead, the staff member suggested a two to four week minimum would be better. However, this staff member also said this would not happen because if Manos del Mundo instigated a two-week minimum stay, the sending organisations who provided the majority of Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists would send their volunteers elsewhere.

> My partners would say "well... we're going to take our one-weekers somewhere else. You can have our three-weekers maybe but you know, if the place I take the one-weekers to does a really good job, I'm going to send them all my three and four weekers too" and I'll be like "alright guys, I'll take your one-weekers". (Manos del Mundo staff member)

In this case the commercial nature of Manos del Mundo (and the sending organisation) results in an emphasis on the wants of the volunteer tourists rather than the needs of the host community (see also Tomazos & Butler, 2012). While Manos del Mundo staff said it would be better for volunteer tourists to stay a minimum of two weeks because the "one-weekers" are able to contribute little to the host community, the company continues to have a one-week minimum. It is important to note that Manos del Mundo staff members said only around 2-3% of volunteer tourists came to Cusco to volunteer for only one week.

Similarly, Manos del Mundo staff members acknowledged that it would perhaps be better if there was a minimum Spanish language requirement. Several of the volunteer tourists who did not speak Spanish also said they believed they would have had a better experience if they had been able to communicate better (Lonely Planet, 2013). However, Manos del Mundo does not implement such a requirement because, as in the case of a longer minimum stay, the volunteer tourists (and sending organisations) would go elsewhere and Manos del Mundo would lose business.

> The partner organisations that we work with... can't really put... "You have to have a basis of Spanish in order to volunteer"... because it would really turn away a lot of people... I don't think it would be a good business move but I think it would be more enjoyable for the volunteers. (Manos del Mundo staff member)

The two sending organisations, Manos del Mundo, and the volunteer tourism projects themselves may also have slightly different minimum requirements. For example, certain projects in Cusco have specific requirements such as intermediate Spanish, experience working with deaf children, or a minimum stay of several months. However, Manos del Mundo staff said the company very rarely receives volunteer tourists who meet these criteria.

7.5   Chapter summary

This chapter has addressed the final research question focusing on how volunteer tourists consume commodified volunteer tourism. In this chapter I have explored how commodified volunteer tourism can be viewed as a packaged tourism product that reduces risk to the volunteer tourists through the provision of 24/7 support from Manos del Mundo staff members, as well as an in-built peer network due to the number of volunteer tourists arriving in Cusco each week. Several of the volunteer tourists also emphasised packaged volunteer tourism such as that offered by Manos del Mundo as a good introduction to independent travel and future international volunteering (for example, volunteering with Médecins sans Frontières). For those who were travelling for an extended period of time, volunteer tourism was also a means of providing a period of structure or stability to their trip.

The volunteer tourists believed they had received many benefits as a result of their volunteer tourism experiences. These included personal growth and self-development, social experiences and making new friends, tourism experiences and cross-cultural experience, improved Spanish language skills, and being able to access a more 'moral' tourist identity. In addition to these personal benefits, many of the volunteer tourists also highlighted the professional experience they had gained in a developing country (particularly important for those wanting to work in health or international development) and the benefits of being able to use their volunteering experiences to 'boost' their CVs and university applications (for example, applying to medical school). Some of the volunteer tourists were also receiving course credit at their home universities.

In this chapter, volunteer tourists are framed as consumers, purchasing a specific type of commodified tourism experience. Many of the volunteer tourists were surprised to learn that they were required to pay to volunteer, although most acknowledged that rather than paying to volunteer, they were paying for the support and services in place to facilitate their volunteering (for example, the guesthouses, the Manos del Mundo staff salaries). The

volunteer tourists were divided on whether or not volunteer tourism is more expensive than other types of tourism, with around half believing it was more expensive and half believing it was less expensive. Largely this depended on what type of tourism they were comparing the price with, for example, backpacking (which was seen as cheaper than volunteer tourism) or conventional mass tourism (which was seen as more expensive than mass tourism). Regardless, none of the volunteer tourists said that the cost of volunteer tourism had factored in their decision to volunteer rather than just travel.

However, price was an important factor when choosing which volunteer tourism organisation to volunteer with, although this finding may be biased in this group because the commercial sending organisation that many of the volunteer tourists booked with is one of the cheapest volunteer tourism companies in the world (and therefore volunteer tourists who are more price sensitive may be more likely to book through this company). Perhaps unsurprisingly given they were volunteering with a commercial volunteer tourism organisation, the volunteer tourists perceived little difference between volunteering with a not-for-profit volunteer tourism organisation and volunteering with a commercial volunteer tourism company, provided no-one was making 'super profits'.

However, the commercial nature of Manos del Mundo does impact the interactions and power dynamics between the host community, the volunteer tourism organisations, and the volunteer tourists themselves who can now be framed as 'consumers' of volunteer tourism. Because the volunteer tourists are now paying for a product, Manos del Mundo is under pressure to focus on meeting the wants of the volunteer tourists rather than focusing on the needs of the host community. Subsequently, the volunteer tourists had relatively high levels of flexibility around choosing which projects they wanted to volunteer at and what they did at these projects. Additionally, while Manos del Mundo staff members acknowledged that perhaps the volunteer tourists could have contributed more to the host community if there was a minimum Spanish language requirement or a longer minimum stay, these were not feasible options because they would likely lead to a drop in volunteer tourist numbers and therefore a drop in revenue.

Chapter 7 is the last of the four findings and discussion chapters. Volunteer tourists have been examined as both volunteers (Chapter 4) and tourists (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 framed volunteer tourists as 'gazers' gazing upon the host community, while Chapter 7 framed them as 'consumers' consuming a specific type of commodified volunteer tourism product. In the following and final chapter I move away from the specific case study site of Manos del Mundo to examine the theoretical and practical implications of the research findings.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1   Introduction

This thesis has explored the phenomenon of volunteer tourism and how it has evolved from an alternative, small-scale travel option offered mainly by NGOs, to a highly profitable niche market within mainstream tourism. A case study was presented that demonstrated how volunteer tourism has been commodified within consumer culture and how this has changed many of the fundamental elements of the experience, including the relationship between the volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation, and the host community. The findings presented in this thesis demonstrate that there are inherent contradictions for volunteer tourists in being simultaneously both volunteers (work, altruistic) and tourists (leisure, hedonistic). This thesis has explored the alternate identities volunteer tourists adopt, including volunteers, tourists, 'gazers' and consumers.

In this final chapter, I reflect on how this thesis has addressed the research aim and research questions, highlight the theoretical contributions made, suggest practical implications of the research findings, and make recommendations for future research. Finally, the chapter concludes with observations on the juxtaposition between the morality often associated with volunteer tourism, and the framing within this thesis of commodified volunteer tourism as 'just another tourism product'.

8.2   Characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism

Chapter 2 framed volunteer tourism as the logical progression of an increasingly popular form of alternative tourism. This is situated within a perspective that centralises neoliberal consumer culture which prioritises certain key characteristics such as evidence of global citizenship, for example, time spent volunteering overseas. The characteristics of commodified volunteer tourism were described in Chapters 4 and 5. The findings presented in these chapters indicate that the commodification of volunteer tourism changes its very nature; rather than focusing on the aid or development of the host community, the focus becomes one of profit and meeting the needs, wants and desires of the 'consumer' (that is, the volunteer tourist). This change highlights the fundamental ideas of consumer sovereignty where the paying customer is centralised within the experience. The implications of this for volunteer tourism and its practices are outlined in this final chapter.

8.2.1 The changing nature of commodified volunteer tourism: From volunteer tourists to consumers

As volunteer tourism has grown in popularity, an increasing number of commercial volunteer tourism organisations have moved into the market. At the same time, established businesses such as language schools and tourism companies have also added volunteering opportunities to complement their traditional offerings. As commercial organisations, their income derives from the volunteer tourists and therefore the organisations need to ensure they are offering a volunteer tourism product that appeals to these paying customers or consumers (Smith & Font, 2014; Wilson, 2005). While the commodification of volunteer tourism is not inherently negative, the findings in this thesis suggest it can change the nature of the volunteer tourism experience by reframing the volunteer tourist as a 'consumer' purchasing a specific volunteer tourism product within the mainstream tourism marketplace. As discussed in Chapter 5, this reframing of volunteer tourists has various implications which are summarised in Table 13.

Table 13: The changing nature of commodified volunteer tourism

Traditional construct of volunteer tourism	Commodified construct of volunteer tourism
Volunteer tourists	Consumers
Focus on maximising contribution to the host community	Focus on attracting new volunteer tourists to ensure income stream, for example, fewer prerequisites
Focus on meeting the needs of the host community	Focus on meeting the wants of the volunteer tourists, for example, volunteer tourists can choose what they want to do at the project and/or more comfortable accommodation
Focus on volunteering	Focus on tourism and 'fun', for example, fewer hours spent volunteering and/or few negative consequences for volunteer tourists who choose to 'skip placement'

Rather than focusing on maximising the volunteer tourists' contribution to the host community, which can be considered one of the original goals of volunteer tourism, the focus of commercial volunteer tourism is on ensuring the development of a profit-making business. Therefore, to continue to attract paying volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation needs to provide a 'product' (that is, a volunteer tourism experience) that meets the volunteer tourists' wants/needs. This may result in behaviours that reflect standard business practice within neoliberal consumer society but suggest a shift away from earlier NGO-operated volunteer tourism models. As discussed in Chapter 7,

commercial volunteer tourism organisations may be less discriminating in recruiting volunteer tourists (for example, having fewer prerequisites and/or a shorter minimum stay) in order to maximise their potential customer base (Tomazos & Butler, 2009). This can be seen to conflict with the original idea of volunteer tourism as an alternative to mass large-scale tourism.

In exploring the impacts of commodification on the operations of sending organisations, it seems that commercial volunteer tourism organisations may focus on promotion and activities that will attract potential customers, rather than on the outcomes for other stakeholders such as the host community (Tomazos & Butler, 2009). The research findings from this case study suggest that volunteer tourists were allocated to specific volunteer projects not because these were the projects where the volunteer tourists could potentially contribute the most, but because they were the projects that appealed the most to the volunteer tourists. Similarly, the volunteer tourists were permitted the freedom to come and go from the volunteer projects and to choose to take part in non-volunteering activities if the allocated volunteering tasks did not appeal.

As Horoszowki (2014, p. 54) notes, when people are willing to pay for specific experiences, "organizations are financially rewarded for doing what you want, not what is needed". Within commodified volunteer tourism, volunteer tourists are essentially paying for a specific type of experience and if they do not receive the experience they want/expect then the organisation will likely attract fewer volunteer tourists in the future. If the focus is on maximising the contribution to the host community, a potential decline in volunteer tourist numbers would not be a concern since those who are still coming are (presumably) actively contributing to the host community. However, when the focus is shifted towards commodified volunteer tourism as a business model, it becomes necessary to ensure the company continues to attract high numbers of volunteer tourists in order to remain profitable (irrespective of how much or how little the host community is benefitting from the volunteer tourists' presence).

As a result of this shift towards focusing on the sovereignty of the volunteer tourists' wants rather than the host community's needs, volunteer tourism organisations may choose to focus on a more mainstream approach to tourism rather than volunteering outcomes at the destination. Rather than tourism being treated as an 'added bonus' to volunteering, it instead becomes a focus in its own right. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, an outcome of this shift may be that volunteer tourists volunteer fewer hours each day in order to allow more time for tourism activities. The volunteer tourists may also be more

likely to 'skip' volunteering in order to take part in tourism activities. As they are now paying customers, the volunteer tourism organisation is placed in a position where it may be difficult to discipline volunteer tourists who choose not to perform the tasks requested of them (see also Tomazos & Butler, 2012).

The findings from this study suggest it is becoming more difficult to differentiate the behaviours of volunteer tourists from mainstream tourists. For example, the volunteer tourists at the case study site took part in a variety of non-volunteering activities in Cusco, including visiting backpacker bars and clubs, socialising (predominantly with other volunteer tourists), 'hanging out', and engaging in mainstream tourism activities such as sightseeing and visiting Machu Picchu. While these findings conflict with the volunteer tourism experiences as suggested in the early literature (Wearing, 2001), similar behaviours, for example, excessive drinking, have also been reported amongst other groups of volunteer tourists (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011; Tomazos & Butler, 2012).

8.2.2   A proposed matrix depicting the variation of volunteer tourists

As was previously noted, volunteer tourists are not homogeneous (Wearing et al., 2015) and the experiences they seek will vary depending on various factors including gender, age, nationality, previous travel experiences, language skills, skillset relevant to volunteering, personality type, length of stay, motivations for travel, and knowledge of the host community. Taken together, these factors influence the volunteer tourists' in-country experiences and the approach to the activities undertaken, which in turn influences both the potential positive and negative impact the volunteer tourists may have on the host community.

Volunteer tourists can be framed as sitting along a continuum from being predominantly motivated by altruistic motivators to being predominantly motivated by touristic motivators. Tomazos and Butler (2012, p. 180) suggest that:

> Researchers have tended to divide volunteer tourists into volunteer-minded and vacation-minded participants... but it can be argued that the true volunteer tourist probably exists in a continuum dimension somewhere between these two extremes.

Lyons (2015, p. 107) similarly argues that "altruism and hedonism do not form two ends of a spectrum, but rather a point of connection in an egoistic loop". Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that in addition to an emphasis on tourism or volunteering activities, one of the other main ways volunteer tourists differ from each other is based on their length of stay.

Figure 13 builds on Callanan and Thomas's (2005) idea of shallow/intermediate/deep volunteer tourism as presented in Chapter 2 (see also McGehee, 2014; Mustonen, 2007; Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004; Tomazos & Butler, 2008, 2009, 2012) and displays a matrix of volunteer tourists who are: (1) long-term tourism-focused, (2) long-term volunteering-focused, (3) short-term tourism-focused, and (4) short-term volunteering-focused. Rather than suggesting that volunteer tourists can be categorised into one of these four groups, I suggest that volunteer tourists can be framed as falling somewhere along these two continuums: long to short-term, and tourism-focused to volunteering-focused. This fits with both Tomazos and Butler's (2012) and Lyons' (2015) suggestions that volunteer tourists can be plotted along a continuum rather than into discrete groups. The commodification lens can see movement along this continuum reflecting changes to the underlying functions of this type of tourism.

Longer-term

- Stay for a longer period of time
- Focus on tourism activities rather than volunteering
- May 'skip placement' in order to take part in tourism activities (particularly if they become discouraged with their volunteering project)

- Stay for a longer period of time
- Focus on volunteering rather than tourism activities

More likely to be international volunteering rather than volunteer tourism

Tourism-focused   **Volunteering-focused**

Shorter-term

- Stay for a shorter period of time
- Focus on tourism (fun) rather than volunteering (work)
- May 'skip placement' in order to take part in tourism activities (because they have limited time)

- Stay for a shorter period of time (perhaps because of practical considerations such as university holidays and/or leave from work)
- Focus on volunteering rather than tourism activities - may go 'all out' because of the limited time available to 'make a difference'
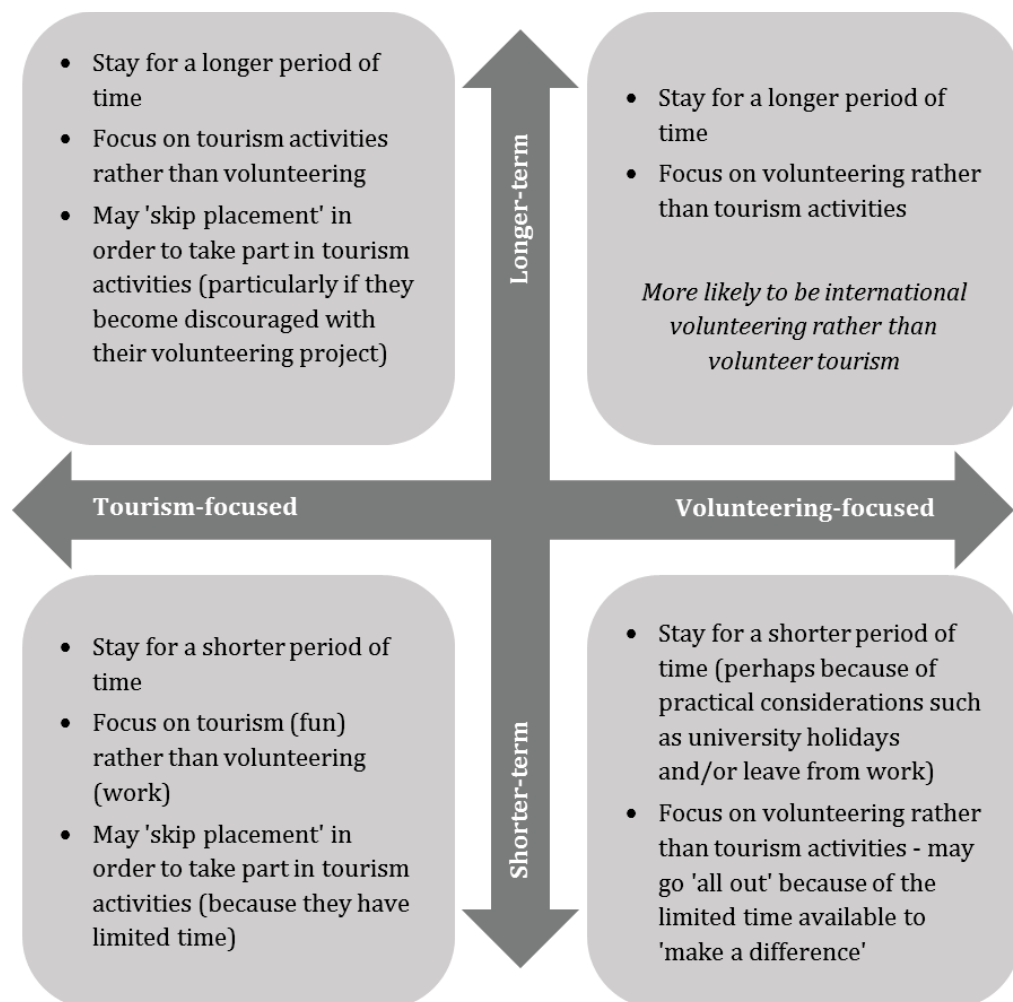
Figure 13: Matrix of volunteer tourists by length of volunteering and focus on tourism versus volunteering activities

The majority of Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists tended to be shorter-term and focused more on tourism activities (that is, the bottom-left quadrant). In contrast,

international volunteers such as the Peace Corps and Médecins Sans Frontières are generally longer-term and focused on volunteering (that is, the top-right quadrant).

As described in Chapter 5, volunteer tourists who are more tourism-focused tend to be more likely to 'skip placement' to take part in tourism activities. Short-term volunteer tourists may do this because they have limited time at the destination and want to fit in as much as possible. Conversely, longer-term volunteer tourists may become disengaged from their volunteer tourism project (particularly if they feel they are not needed) and therefore be more likely to stop volunteering to take part in tourism/social activities. Volunteer tourists who are volunteering-focused but staying for a shorter period of time may be motivated to make more of an effort at the volunteer tourism project (for example, planning activities and organising additional events) because of the limited time available.

Volunteer tourists may move along these continuums over time. For example, a volunteer tourist who initially focuses on volunteering may become bored or frustrated at their lack of perceived contribution to the host community. They may become socialised into the volunteer tourists' group culture which emphasises tourism and other non-volunteering activities. Likewise, a volunteer tourist who is initially more tourism-focused may become passionate about their volunteer project and therefore become more focused on volunteering and less focused on tourism activities. Similarly, a volunteer tourist may be more focused on volunteering activities during the volunteer tourism period if they have specific time allocated for tourism activities either before or after the volunteer tourism period.

8.3 Volunteer tourists' perceptions of commodified volunteer tourism and the host community

It appears that the commodification of volunteer tourism has changed the nature of the relationship between the volunteer tourists and the host community. Volunteer tourism was originally framed as an alternative to conventional mass tourism and the motivations and activities centred around providing a more authentic opportunity for tourists to interact with the host community (Mostafanezhad, 2014a). However, this is no longer necessarily the case and in many ways volunteer tourists may remain within a volunteer tourism enclave that operates parallel to, but separate from, the host community.

8.3.1 The relationship between commodified volunteer tourists and the host community

As depicted in Figure 14, the research findings explored in this study suggest the commodification of volunteer tourism changes the relationship between the volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation, and the host community.

Figure 14: The changing relationship between volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation and the host community as a result of commodification

The commercialisation or commodification of volunteer tourism 'erodes' the volunteer tourism experience because it shifts the nature of volunteer tourism into a "customer-client relationship" with the host community rather than a partnership (Horoszowki, 2014, p. 54). Within commodified volunteer tourism, the focus is no longer on the volunteer tourists' contribution to the host community, but rather the volunteer tourists' experiences in-country (for example, sightseeing and socialising) and what the volunteer tourists can gain from the experience (for example, professional experience and cultural capital). While somewhat extreme, the extension of this argument is that the host community risks becoming a 'stage' or the 'backdrop' to the volunteer tourism experience rather than an active participant whom the volunteer tourists meaningfully engage with.

Within commodified volunteer tourism the high number of volunteer tourists and their focus on tourism activities rather than volunteering can result in volunteer tourists becoming more similar to conventional tourists – both in how they behave, and how they are perceived by the host community. The volunteer tourists in Cusco tended to resent being treated as 'just another tourist' when they were in public spaces. However, in these spaces they tended to behave like tourists rather than locals (for example, speaking English, sightseeing, visiting bars/clubs/shops catering to tourists). This commodified relationship is very different from that described in the early volunteer tourism literature which promoted volunteer tourism as a means of developing reciprocal relationships between the tourists and the host community (Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008; Wearing, 2001; Wearing & Darcy, 2011; Wearing et al., 2005).

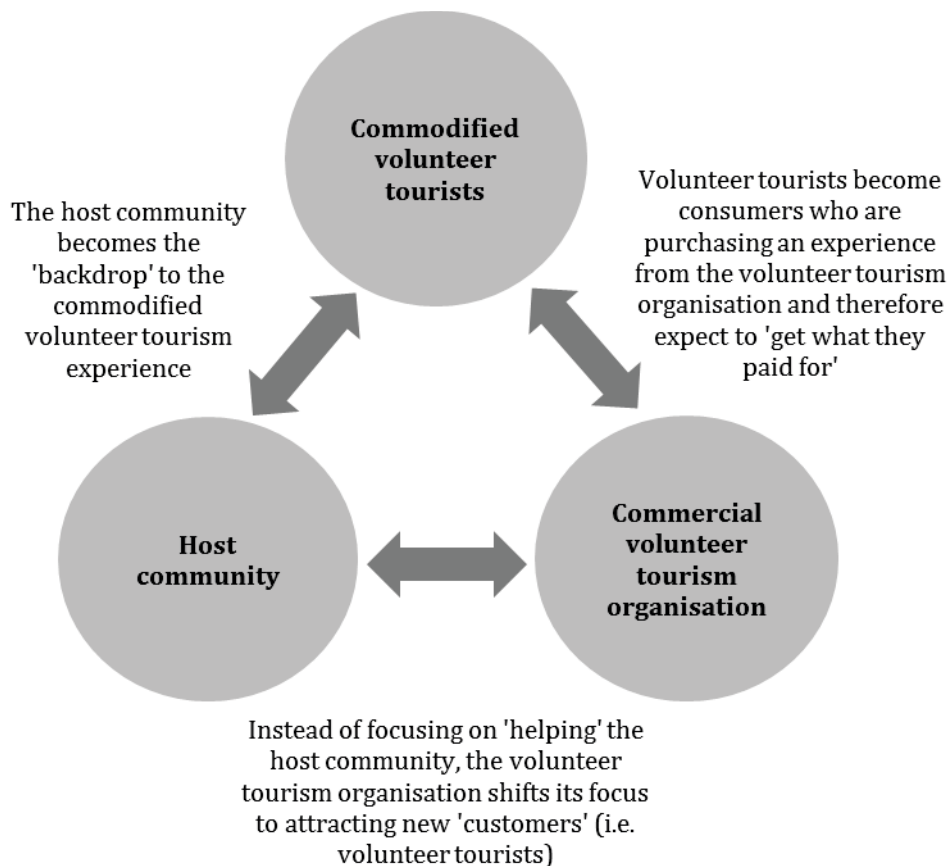The commodification of volunteer tourism also changes the relationship between the volunteer tourists and the volunteer tourism organisation. The volunteer tourists are now consumers 'purchasing' a certain type of tourism experience; they have become paying customers and are the source of income for the volunteer tourism organisation. As a result of this shift, the volunteer tourism organisation must now focus on meeting the wants of the volunteer tourists (in order to remain profitable), rather than maximising the contribution the volunteer tourists make to the host community. However, the volunteer tourism organisation has the responsibility of negotiating between the volunteer tourists and the host community and therefore has some control over shaping this relationship and the power dynamics between the two groups (McGehee, 2012).

8.3.2 The volunteer tourism enclave: A 'safe space' neither 'here' nor 'there'

One of the tensions within volunteer tourism is that the host community must be simultaneously viewed as 'poor' and 'needy' enough to justify requiring volunteers (that is, the volunteer tourists feel needed) while also being developed enough to have sufficient infrastructure to appeal as a tourism destination. Destinations popular with volunteer tourists are also often popular with mainstream tourists (Tomazos & Cooper, 2012) and this means there is likely to be a well-established tourism infrastructure already in place. For example, Western-style accommodation including reliable electricity and sewerage systems, access to tourism activities, and the availability of Western-style food. On a more pragmatic note, volunteer tourism is often impractical at locations where the 'need' may be higher, but where there is no transport for the volunteer tourists to get to the destination (such as extremely rural areas), where safety may be an issue (for example, war zones and refugee camps), and/or there may not be reliable sources of food and water

(Vrasti, 2013). Volunteer tourists may be volunteers, but they are also tourists as opposed to aid workers.

The commodification of volunteer tourism within neoliberal consumer society appears to have shifted the motivations and expectations of volunteer tourists. This influences how volunteer tourists choose their volunteer tourism destination, and potentially affects which destinations they choose. When volunteer tourists are primarily volunteering-focused (that is, altruistic), their decision of where to volunteer may be based on where they believe they can contribute the most and/or where the perceived need is greatest. However, volunteer tourists are not international volunteers, but are motivated by both volunteering *and* tourism factors. This emphasis on tourism rather than volunteering (development) is also reflected in the increasing popularity of volunteering in developed countries (Leonard & Onyx, 2009; McGehee & Andereck, 2008; McIntosh & Zahra, 2008; Raymond, 2008; Young, 2008). However, by building on already-established tourism destinations with well-established (backpacker) infrastructure such as backpacker bars and sightseeing activities, this also makes the development of a volunteer tourism enclave more possible than at destinations where there are few other foreigners and/or little established tourism infrastructure.

Commodified volunteer tourists may choose a commodified volunteer tourism product to counter-act some of the risks associated with travelling, particularly those associated with travelling to a developing country. The volunteer tourism enclave allows the volunteer tourists to experience another culture, while simultaneously providing a space where the volunteer tourists can take refuge if/when the tension of navigating a foreign culture becomes overwhelming.

> The suspended experiences in traveller enclaves are neither here nor there – not here because the real experience is outside the enclave, and not there because of the familiar surroundings of the enclave. (Wilson & Richards, 2008, p. 187)

The volunteer tourism enclave operates as a 'safe space' that is neither 'at home' nor 'in Peru'. While volunteer tourists may seek to access some degree of cultural immersion, they also want to have fun, for example, engaging in tourism activities and socialising with other volunteer tourists. While the volunteer tourists want to feel they have contributed to the host community, they do not want this experience to be 'too hard' since this is a tourism activity and therefore their leisure time. The volunteer tourism experience must therefore be sufficiently 'authentic' without being 'uncomfortable'. This has significant implications for volunteer tourism providers which are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

This idea of the tourism enclave or bubble is traditionally associated with mainstream tourism, for example, cruise ships (Jaakson, 2004), and emphasises the separation between the tourists and the host community. This contrasts with volunteer tourism which is conceptually constructed as an alternative form of tourism (Wearing, 2001) that allows tourists to have a more 'authentic' cross-cultural experience by volunteering alongside the host community (Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Wearing, 2001). However, while cross-cultural exchange or learning is not an automatic result of cross-cultural interactions, it does require some form of interaction or relationship between tourist and host (Grabowski, 2014). In contrast, within commodified volunteer tourism, volunteer tourists tend not to volunteer alongside members of the host community, but instead alongside other volunteer tourists at specifically-designated volunteer tourism projects. Additionally, the volunteer tourists may be living with other volunteer tourists and socialising almost exclusively with other volunteer tourists and/or other foreign tourists such as backpackers. Staying within this volunteer tourism enclave therefore appears to limit the interaction between the volunteer tourists and the host community.

8.4 Volunteer tourists' consumption of commodified volunteer tourism

In some cases, volunteer tourism appears to have become a business transaction focused on an exchange of money for a specific experience (as occurs within traditional tourism). In this chapter I explore the implications of this transactional relationship. Commodified volunteer tourism (as defined in this thesis) is situated within contemporary neoliberal consumer culture. Part of the discussion therefore reflects on the ways in which these wider societal factors have contributed and shaped this form of volunteer tourism.

8.4.1 The transactional nature of commodified volunteer tourism: Volunteer tourism as a business model

In the past, the host community was framed as being 'in need' and volunteer tourists were framed as the ones who could meet this need. Nowadays, in a sense this market has reversed: volunteer tourism experiences/products are being developed to meet the demand coming from potential volunteer tourists, rather than volunteer tourists being recruited to meet demand from the host community. For example, commercial volunteer tourism organisations may have contracts and memoranda of understanding with volunteer tourism projects and possibly even pay these projects to host volunteer tourists. In many ways, therefore, the volunteer tourists themselves have become commodified.

Rather than being perceived as individuals with specific skillsets and motivations to volunteer and participate in a meaningful exchange, the volunteer tourists become largely interchangeable within the realm of commodified volunteer tourism. Rather than ascertaining their strengths and skills and then matching them to the volunteer project where they are most suited, the focus becomes one of efficiency. For example, as discussed in Chapter 7, volunteer tourists may be assigned to an 'easier' or 'softer' project so they are less likely to ask to change volunteer project.

Other examples of the 'business nature' of commodified volunteer tourism discussed throughout this thesis include:

- Charging volunteer tourists an additional fee to volunteer at an additional project, for example, volunteering at a construction site in the morning and at an orphanage in the afternoon
- Charging volunteer tourists to change type of volunteer tourism project, for example, from a construction to a childcare project
- Shifting fixed costs to flexible costs by placing volunteer tourists in local homestays which are paid only for the volunteer tourists they host and therefore do not need to be paid during off-peak season when there are few volunteer tourists
- Ranking volunteer tourism projects based on the 'closeness' of the working relationship, including the establishment of memoranda of understanding to ensure there are always volunteering 'places' available regardless of the fluctuation in numbers of volunteer tourists in any given week
- Few prerequisites (for example, minimum stay and/or language requirements) in order to maximise the potential customer pool.

At its core, commodification refers to a transactional process; by commodifying something, it can be bought and sold as part of a business transaction. The commodified volunteer tourism experience therefore becomes transactional in nature; the volunteer tourists are purchasing a product, and the volunteer tourism organisation is therefore expected to provide this product. This reflects the shift discussed earlier in this chapter where the commodified volunteer tourism organisation is no longer focused on 'helping' the host community but on providing a specific volunteer tourism product at a competitive price point. This reflects the core idea of the consumer culture literature that in consumer societies, everything, including altruism (Godfrey & Wearing, 2012), can be bought and sold.

In many ways, the volunteer tourists themselves also referred to commodified volunteer tourism as a transaction or commodity they had purchased. As described in Chapter 7, the volunteer tourists emphasised the idea of 'getting what they paid for' including value for money. In this case, the emphasis is no longer on contributing as much as possible to the host community, but rather, gaining the 'best' volunteer tourism experience (although what this looks like depends on the individual). This economic focus, and the personal benefits the volunteer tourists received from volunteering, contrast sharply with earlier perceptions of volunteer tourism as being altruistic and focused on 'giving back'.

However, it is important to note that while I have framed this commodified volunteer tourism as simply another tourism experience able to be purchased within consumer society, it is unlikely the volunteer tourists I spoke to in Cusco would agree. As highlighted in other studies (for example, Gray & Campbell, 2007), volunteer tourists, commodified or otherwise, want to feel useful and that they are having a positive impact on the host community as a result of volunteering.

8.4.2   Commodified volunteer tourism and neoliberal consumer culture

The increasing popularity of volunteer tourism (and its subsequent commercialisation) is reflective of wider societal factors. In contemporary consumer culture, the traditional identity-markers of class, political position and religion no longer apply. Instead, Generation Y, that is those born in the 1980s and 1990s (Jennings et al., 2010), look to other elements to shape their identity, for example, consumption (Corrigan, 1997; Lury, 2011; McDonald & Wearing, 2013) including leisure activities such as tourism (Desforges, 1998; Kane & Zink, 2004; Stebbins, 2007). People are no longer identified based on their role within production but instead self-identity is based on consumption and what we consume communicates our status within the social world (Corrigan, 1997).

As described in Chapter 2, tourism potentially provides new forms of personal and social identity based on travel experiences (Desforges, 1998; Kane & Zink, 2004) and is closely associated with self-development (Obenour, 2004). Volunteer tourists are therefore able to base their identity on their consumption of volunteer tourism experiences (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Noy, 2004) which are framed as more 'moral' than conventional mass tourism. By engaging with volunteer tourism, neoliberal subjects can gain cultural capital, and claim identity as 'moral tourists', and, by extension, moral global citizens. For example, the volunteer tourists in Cusco were able to use their new skills and experience gained as volunteer tourists to 'boost' their CVs, thus transferring cultural capital into economic capital.

Consumption as a moral statement has become normalised within consumer culture. As Butcher (2003, p. 103) states, "the notion that people try to make a difference to the world... through what they buy... has become a common-place part of contemporary political culture". An example of this is paying a premium price for Fair Trade coffee which symbolises that one is a 'more moral' consumer than those buying (cheaper) non-Fair Trade coffee.

> It seems then, that those who purchase coffee branded or certified as 'the right choice' purchase a certain image of a producer, a perceived connection to that person, and moral consumer subjectivity. (Cole, 2014, p. 319)

Similarly, choosing to volunteer overseas rather than simply travelling makes a statement about one's own morality and values (Butcher, 2003, 2011; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Vrasti, 2013).

Within neoliberal consumer culture there is an assumption that even leisure experiences (see Stebbins, 2007) can, and should, be performed in ways that positively shape identity. Travel is no longer enough, the focus is now on 'travel with a purpose' (Simpson, 2005). As Vrasti (2013, p. 124) states:

> The exigencies of neoliberal capital are such that individuals need to treat all areas of life, even leisure time, like work or an investment in one's future ability to work.

In some ways, volunteer tourists can be seen as 'investing' in themselves as a means of gaining cultural capital to 'boost' their CVs. As Koleth (2014, p. 125) writes, within neoliberal society the self "becomes something that can be invested in and improved economically". Generation Y are required to consider how their leisure experiences can be utilised to improve their future employability in an increasingly competitive workplace. This reflects a wider shift in society towards a neoliberal hegemonic discourse (see Simpson, 2005) and the postmodernist blurring between work and leisure (Ingram, 2011).

Volunteer tourism is a means of embedding young people within neoliberal, globalised, postmodern society. Volunteer tourism has arguably tapped into the current zeitgeist by reflecting the priorities and values associated with global citizenship and neoliberalism[11], for example, the gaining of international experience. Similarly, Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 10) refers to "cosmopolitan empathy – or empathy for 'humanity at large'". Butcher and Smith (2015, p. 97) propose a shift in attitudes towards one's own role as a global citizen:

> To buy the right holiday, to help build a school, to hug a distressed child – to *do* something – replaces the more distant, seemingly untenable and for some undesirable collective and political project of shaping transformative

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[11] In contrast, Wearing, Grabowski and Small (2015) suggest volunteer tourism may be used as a form of rebellion against neoliberalism.

> development and promoting economic growth… Volunteer tourism appeals
> to the impulse to act in pursuit of a better world.

This is reflected in the popularity of both music and Hollywood stars visiting developing (usually African) countries. The most obvious example (although somewhat dated now) is Bob Geldof and Band Aid in 1984. More recent examples include Madonna and Angelina Jolie (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Mostafanezhad, 2014a). As Mostafanezhad (2014a, p. 5) states, "celebrity humanitarianism and volunteer tourism embody a different, yet related cultural politics that merge as mutual forms of popular humanitarianism" (see also Mostafanezhad, 2014b).

8.5   Research contributions

This research study has made a number of theoretical and conceptual contributions to understandings of volunteer tourism. Chapters 4 and 5 describe and discuss what commodified volunteer tourism may look like in practice ('on-the-ground'). Earlier in this chapter I depicted these ideas in a matrix emphasising how volunteer tourists may differ from long-term to short-term and tourism-focused to volunteering-focused, highlighting the heterogeneity of commodified volunteer tourism and volunteer tourism more broadly. There are increasing numbers of studies being published exploring volunteer tourism. For example, a Google Scholar search on 28 March 2016 indicated over 700 publications on "volunteer tourism" or "voluntourism" published in 2015 alone. However, it is important to note that not all volunteer tourists are the same, and therefore not all findings are generalisable (or applicable) to all volunteer tourists at all destinations.

Chapter 6 explored the idea of the volunteer tourism enclave and this was discussed further in this final chapter. The early volunteer tourism literature proposed volunteer tourism as a means to a more reciprocal sharing relationship between the volunteer tourists and the host community. However, the volunteer tourism enclave put forward in this thesis suggests this is no longer necessarily the case within commodified volunteer tourism. This enclave affects, and reflects, the changing dynamics between volunteer tourists and both the host community and the volunteer tourism organisation. The host community is re-framed as the 'Other' and essentially becomes the backdrop to the volunteer tourism experience rather than an active participant within this experience.

Also in Chapter 6 I explored the idea of the 'volunteer tourist gaze' (see Urry, 2002; Urry & Larsen, 2011) which is closely connected to the idea of the volunteer tourist enclave. Unlike early volunteer tourism research which suggested volunteer tourism provides an alternative gaze, I suggest that the gaze created by contemporary commercial large-scale

volunteer tourism reflects neo-colonial perspectives that tend to reinforce differences rather than similarities between volunteer tourists and the host community.

The volunteer tourism sector has been increasingly criticised in both academia and the mass media for creating a commercial product which potentially attracts more tourism-focussed volunteers who may be more likely to negatively impact the host community. Nonetheless, volunteer tourism is still widely associated with authenticity and altruism and arguably carries connotations of moral superiority compared to mainstream tourism. In Chapter 7 I explored how members of Generation Y are able to access new forms of personal identity (for example, altruistic, professional experience) and social identity (for example, a 'moral' tourist, global citizen) through the 'moral consumption' of volunteer tourism.

While Vrasti (2013) explored volunteer tourism with regards to neo-colonialism, Mostafanezhad (2014a) to neoliberalism, and Butcher and Smith (2015) to global citizenship, in this thesis theories of consumer culture are applied to explore how volunteer tourism has been commodified. Within consumer culture, commodified volunteer tourism becomes just another product to be consumed. This idea is explored throughout the thesis but most specifically in Chapters 7 and 8. As a result of this increasing commodification, commodified volunteer tourism becomes a transactional exchange where the volunteer tourists are essentially 'purchasing' a specific tourism experience. The focus therefore shifts to how to maximise the benefits to the volunteer tourists rather than how to aid the host community. The thesis makes a theoretical contribution by employing a consumer culture perspective to re-examine and contextualise the idea of volunteer tourism exploring how commodification has changed its essential nature.

In addition to the theoretical contributions outlined above, this thesis also makes the following contributions to the literature:

- A literature review situating commodified volunteer tourism as the latest step in a progression of alternative youth travel and international volunteering
- Highlighting some of the potential risks to the host community associated with (commodified) volunteer tourism, particularly with regards to medical volunteer tourists
- Discussion of commodified pre-packaged volunteer tourism as a form of packaged tourism associated with reduced risk to the volunteer tourist.

8.6 Implications of these findings for the volunteer tourism industry

Vrasti (2012, p. 6) criticises the tourism studies-based volunteer tourism literature, claiming that "the commitment behind this research is to fine-tune the tourism industry" and improve the practices of volunteer tourism organisations. Similarly, Butcher and Smith (2015) highlight that although writers such as Vrasti (2012), Mostafanezhad (2014a), and Wearing, McDonald and Ponting (2005) criticise the commercialisation and commodification of volunteer tourism, they simultaneously promote more politically aware forms of the same volunteer tourism as a means of counteracting this.

Determining whether volunteer tourism is 'good' or 'bad' (or whether it should even exist at all) is beyond the scope of this thesis. In many ways it is also irrelevant since the reality is that while such commercial products remain profitable, they will continue to be offered. For that reason alone it is worthwhile highlighting the implications from this study that may be relevant to the volunteer tourism industry. As McGehee (2014, p. 852) writes, "ultimately, research in volunteer tourism should aim to improve the phenomenon, making it more sustainable for all parties".

Volunteer tourism organisations are required to navigate a fine line: the volunteer tourism product must be appealing to the volunteer tourists (that is, customers), while being 'difficult enough' so that once the volunteer tourists are in-country they feel they are needed and that the experience was worthwhile (that is, providing value for money). Volunteer tourism organisations therefore need to establish or develop a culture amongst volunteer tourists which focuses on volunteering rather than tourism activities. The volunteer tourism organisation could, for example, consider keeping a sign-in sheet to ensure volunteer tourists feel accountable. Many of the Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists suggested they 'skipped placement' not because they disliked their volunteer tourism project, but because they did not think anyone would notice whether they were there or not.

In line with the previous argument, there was some suggestion from the volunteer tourists that if expectations from Manos del Mundo had been higher (for example, penalties for not showing up to their volunteering project) then the volunteer tourists would have made more of an effort to go to their volunteer project, and more of an effort once they were at the project. Volunteer tourists may interpret low expectations as being because they are not truly needed by the volunteer tourism projects; as a result they may 'slack off' and subsequently not feel they have contributed as much to the host community as expected.

One way to counter-act this would be for the volunteer tourism organisations to set higher expectations for their volunteer tourists, or, at the very least, have clear and explicit expectations. Some of these might include stipulating the hours volunteer tourists are expected to be at their project, what specific tasks they are expected to perform, and who to ask for help if required. These expectations could be communicated to the volunteer tourists through a comprehensive orientation programme (Stritch, 2011).

As explored throughout this thesis, commercial volunteer tourism organisations are often criticised for focusing on the wants of the volunteer tourists rather than the needs of the host community. To some extent this is unavoidable as the volunteer tourists are the source of cash-flow for commercial volunteer tourism organisations. If the organisation stops attracting new volunteer tourists then it will no longer be a viable business. However, as highlighted in Chapter 6, one of the main reasons volunteer tourists choose volunteer tourism rather than other forms of tourism is that they want to feel they have contributed something. As a result, it is in the volunteer tourism organisation's best interests to ensure that the volunteer tourists are (or at least perceive they are) contributing to the host community. A large component of this is managing the volunteer tourists' expectations, for example, ensuring that volunteer tourists understand how many hours they will be volunteering and what kind of volunteer work they can expect to be performing.

Finally, while perhaps somewhat unfeasible for commercial volunteer tourism organisations, organisations should consider implementing minimum language requirements and/or including the cost of regular (daily) language lessons as part of the volunteer tourism programme. Both Manos del Mundo staff and the volunteer tourists themselves suggested increased language skills would help the volunteer tourists have a 'better' volunteer tourism experience. Being able to communicate in the local language would increase what the volunteer tourists were able to do at the volunteer project, for example, interacting with patients and communicating with the children and this would likely increase their perceived contribution to the host community. Improved language skills, or compulsory language lessons while at the destination, would also allow volunteer tourists to communicate and interact more with the host community, potentially allowing the volunteer tourists to move beyond the confines of the volunteer tourist 'bubble' which may lead to more cross-cultural exchange between the volunteer tourists and the host community.

While this section on implications has mainly focused on how the volunteer tourism organisations could improve the volunteer tourism experience, the volunteer tourists themselves are also partly responsible for improving the industry from a demand perspective. Potential volunteer tourists should reflect on their motivations for volunteering prior to departure. If, upon reflection, they still choose to volunteer, they need to ensure they do the appropriate due diligence on the volunteer tourism organisation before 'signing up' (see also Stritch, 2011).

8.7   Recommendations for future research

While volunteer tourism has become increasingly popular as a field of research (both within tourism studies and in other fields such as development studies), there is still room for further investigation. This thesis has explored the consequences of the increasing commodification of volunteer tourism within consumer culture, using a qualitative case study. Further studies, both qualitative and/or quantitative, are required to determine to what extent these findings reflect the commodification of volunteer tourism more generally. In particular, further research (perhaps a larger quantitative study) is required to explore how volunteer tourists volunteering with a charitable organisation (that is, not-for-profit) and those volunteering with a commercial organisation (for example, Manos del Mundo) may differ, particularly with regards to motivations (for example, altruism). While it may be difficult to negotiate access due to the commercially sensitive nature of the data, further research exploring the operations and organisational structure of a large commercial volunteer tourism organisation (that is, the organisation's business model) would also contribute towards the volunteer tourism literature.

While the majority of volunteer tourism research to date has focused on volunteer tourists themselves, there are characteristics of volunteer tourists that remain under-researched, for example, how volunteer tourists' race/ethnicity (Biddle, 2014; Muzaini, 2006) and gender (Vrasti, 2013) may affect their volunteer tourism experiences. As a post-colonial country, issues around race are still widespread in Peru. For female volunteers from secular Western societies, dealing with the male chauvinist behaviour common in South America ('machismo') could be confronting and negatively affect their perceptions of the host community. It would be interesting to find out in more detail how interpersonal tensions and intergroup conflict may be negotiated between local and international players.

There is also a need for further research exploring volunteer tourists who volunteer because of their own personal histories or connection either with the destination or the specific volunteer project, for example, orphanages (see Schott, 2011). While volunteer tourists may experience a period of self-development as a result of volunteer tourism (Wearing, 2001), this development of self and identity may be particularly poignant for those who have personal experience of being in an orphanage as a child. For example, one of the interview participants, Joseph, was adopted as a child from an orphanage in Honduras. Similarly, second-generation immigrants may view volunteer tourism as a means of learning more about their own personal/family history. For example, Daniel was born in England to a Peruvian mother and chose to volunteer in Cusco to learn more about Peruvian culture. Findings from such research would have significant relevance and result in important implications for both volunteer tourists and volunteer tourism providers.

Volunteer tourism is often heralded as a life-changing experience (McGehee, 2001; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Zahra, 2011; Zahra & McIntosh, 2007), although little research has explored the long-term consequences of volunteer tourism (cf. Mittelberg & Pagli, 2011). More than three years after the data collection period I am still in contact with many of the volunteer tourists I met in Cusco and am therefore aware of how their volunteer tourism experiences may have affected their lives (for example, changing majors/specialisations at university, further experiences volunteering overseas). Further research to develop understanding of the long-term impact of the volunteer tourism experience on the volunteer tourists would therefore be useful (see also Coghlan, 2015; Guttentag, 2015).

As well as examining the impact of volunteer tourism on the volunteer tourists, it is widely acknowledged within the literature that there remains a need for more research examining the impact of volunteer tourism on the host community (Benson, 2015; Gray & Campbell, 2007; Sin, 2010). In 2011, Ingram (p. 215) wrote that "almost no evidence exists of studies examining, from any perspective, the effect volunteer tourism has had on host communities". While some studies have been published since then (for example, Bargeman, Richards & Govers, 2016; Burrai, 2012; Burrai & de las Cuevas, 2015; Burrai, Font, & Cochrane, 2014; Edles, 2015; Jänis & Timonen, 2014; Lupoli, 2013; Lupoli et al., 2014, 2015; Proyrungroj, 2013; Stritch, 2011; Zahra & McGehee, 2013), there is still a heavy bias towards volunteer tourism research focusing on the volunteer tourists rather than exploring the concept of volunteer tourism from the host community's perspective. While some work has been published examining how Cusqueños perceive volunteer tourists (Burrai, 2012; Burrai & de las Cuevas, 2015; Burrai, Font & Cochrane, 2014),

further research is required. Ideally such research would be conducted by researchers from the host community although I acknowledge this is not always feasible.

8.8　　The morality of commodified volunteer tourism

One of the tensions within commercial volunteer tourism is the perceived conflict between altruism and commercialisation; businesses are assumed to be focused on profits, while volunteering is associated with altruism. However, (volunteer) tourism is a leisure activity and therefore needs "only be about enjoyment, and requires no other justification. As for the moralising about tourist behaviour, how people choose to enjoy themselves is a matter for them" (Butcher, 2003, p. 142). If this layer of morality is removed, volunteer tourism can instead be framed as simply another form of alternative tourism, that is, a particular type of tourism experience that tourists pay to receive. As Guttentag (2015, p. 117) suggests, perhaps the greatest potential for volunteer tourism to aid host communities "lies in its ability to bring money-spending tourists (who just happen to be volunteers) to communities that would not typically receive such visitors" (see also McGehee & McCormack, 2016).

In this case, whether the volunteer tourists' labour is benefiting the host community or not becomes irrelevant since the focus is now on a monetary transaction rather than the volunteer tourists 'helping' the host community through their volunteer labour. The volunteer tourists are instead 'purchasing' a specific type of alternative tourism activity that (supposedly) still allows them to access the benefits associated with volunteer tourism, for example, accessing a more authentic cultural experience through increased interaction with the host community. Taking the focus away from the contribution to the host community, and instead focusing on tourism-related motivations, may explain why popular volunteer tourism destinations (for example, Cusco) are also often popular tourism destinations more generally (Sin, 2009; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012). This shift from focusing on the volunteering contribution to focusing on the tourism opportunities also potentially opens up new destinations, particularly in developed countries which can be presumed to be less 'needy' of volunteer assistance than developing countries.

When talking to non-academics about this research topic, invariably one of the first things they ask is whether the commercialisation (commodification) of volunteer tourism is good or bad. While it may seem a somewhat unsatisfactory response, I suggest commodified volunteer tourism is neither inherently good nor bad, but rather has the potential to be both. The complexity of volunteer tourism as explored in this thesis moves the argument

beyond a good/bad dichotomy and instead enables a more nuanced understanding from which to launch future research (Lyons et al., 2012). The findings in this thesis have suggested that commodified volunteer tourists perhaps have less interaction with the host community than more traditional volunteer tourists and perhaps do not contribute as much to the host community. However, is anything better than nothing? If a volunteer tourism product can be developed where the volunteer tourists are not negatively impacting the host community, does it matter if the volunteer tourists are not necessarily positively contributing to the host community?

It should be acknowledged here, however, that this argument only applies if the host community has the ability (power) to decline involvement in such tourism products (see Wilson, 2015). In some cases, the host community may choose to become involved in volunteer tourism, but it becomes problematic in cases where they do not have this choice (Frilund, 2015). Similarly, in many cases it is the most vulnerable members of society, such as children at orphanages and patients at medical clinics, who are at the centre of volunteer tourism activity and therefore the ones who are potentially most at-risk from volunteer tourists.

However, it is somewhat paternalistic and Western-centric to assume that volunteer tourism is always 'inflicted' on the host community. For example, Frilund (2015, p. 10) writes about locally-run NGOs in Tibet which offer volunteer tourism projects:

> It would… be paternalistic to question their ability to decide what constitutes an appropriate volunteer, even though they hire unskilled volunteers from the West, as they know local needs… the criticism that the placements of the volunteer tourism projects would be poorly selected and based on perceptions of the foreign actors rather than local needs… cannot be generalized when there are projects founded and run by the locals in their own community.

This argument is further complicated as the host community is not a homogeneous group but instead made up of many individuals who may have their own desires and motivations for becoming involved in the local tourism industry. For example, studies of community-based tourism in and around Cusco suggest that the benefits tourism brings to a host community are not necessarily evenly distributed and that some members of the community may benefit more than others (Knight & Cottrell, 2016).

It has been suggested that the main benefit of volunteer tourism is in helping volunteer tourists become more ethical global citizens (Lyons & Wearing, 2008). However, Butcher and Smith (2015, p. 134) argue that "justifying humanitarian acts with reference to their impact on the individual's ethical identity is simply not good enough – it amounts to a

development discourse without any actual, material development". If the assumption of humanitarianism is removed and instead volunteer tourism is re-framed as simply another form of alternative tourism experience (whether or not the volunteer tourists are in fact benefitting the host community) then as long as volunteer tourists are not negatively impacting the host community and they themselves are benefitting from their experiences, this is arguably no different from other forms of tourism. In this case, whether or not the volunteer tourists are truly altruistic, and how much they contribute to the host community, is no longer relevant. However, this idea is contingent on the assumption that volunteer tourism does not negatively impact the host community – something that is becoming increasingly difficult to assume (Alexander & Bakir, 2011; Barkham, 2006; Biddle, 2014; Brown, 2015; Daldeniz & Hampton, 2011; Espinoza, 2002; Guiney, 2013; Guiney & Mostafanezhad, 2015; Guttentag, 2009, 2011; Jänis & Timonen, 2014; Krippendorf, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Reas, 2013; Richter & Norman, 2010; Simpson, 2004, 2005; Tomazos & Butler, 2012; Vrasti, 2013; Wilson, 2015; Zavitz & Butz, 2011).

As a final note, it is important to emphasise that while this thesis untangles some of the complexities resulting from the changing nature of the volunteer tourist-host relationship, all the volunteer tourists interviewed expressed overall positive feelings towards both Cusco and Cusqueños. Similarly, the Manos del Mundo staff members I spoke with were all passionate about their jobs and the possible benefits of volunteer tourism for both the host community and the volunteer tourists. While this thesis has critiqued commercial/commodified volunteer tourism, it should be highlighted that I am criticising the *system* of commodified volunteer tourism, rather than the individual volunteer tourists or the volunteer tourism organisations. This study did not set out to criticise individuals who take part in (commercial) volunteer tourism, but rather to increase understanding of commodified volunteer tourism within neoliberal consumer culture.

8.9   Chapter summary

In this thesis, I have explored the phenomenon of commodified volunteer tourism and examined how the commercialisation and subsequent commodification of volunteer tourism has changed its very nature, as well as the relationships between the volunteer tourists, the volunteer tourism organisation, and the host community. While the commodification of volunteer tourism is not inherently negative, this reframing of the volunteer tourists as consumers purchasing a specific type of tourism experience potentially prioritises the volunteer tourists rather than the host community. Rather than

attempting to maximise the volunteer tourists' contribution to the host community, the application of a profit-making business model to volunteer tourism can result in an emphasis on meeting the wants of the volunteer tourists rather than the needs of the host community, oftentimes resulting in the prioritisation of tourism activities over volunteering.

Volunteer tourists are not a homogeneous group. While some may be predominantly motivated by altruistic factors, others may be more motivated by tourism-related motivators. Reflecting other researchers (for example, Lyons, 2015; Tomazos & Butler, 2012), I propose that volunteer tourists can be framed as sitting along a continuum from tourism-focused to volunteering-focused. They also differ based on length of stay. I depicted these ideas in a matrix with a scale of tourism to volunteering on the x-axis and length of stay on the y-axis. People who are volunteering-focused and volunteer for a longer period of time may be considered international volunteers rather than volunteer tourists.

This shifting nature of volunteer tourism has also impacted the relationship between volunteer tourists and the host community. Volunteer tourism was originally developed as an alternative to conventional mass tourism by providing an opportunity for the volunteer tourists to access more 'authentic' interactions with the host community. However, within commodified volunteer tourism this is no longer necessarily the case and instead the volunteer tourists may instead remain within a volunteer tourism enclave or bubble separate from the host community. The development of this enclave may be more likely at destinations with large numbers of volunteer tourists and a well-established tourism infrastructure that the volunteer tourists can 'link in to'. Rather than promoting cross-cultural interactions, instead the host community largely becomes part of the backdrop to the volunteer tourist experience.

When volunteer tourists pay to volunteer, they may subsequently have higher expectations about their experience, for example, the accommodation provided. One of the tensions within volunteer tourism is that a destination must be simultaneously 'needy' enough to justify hosting volunteer tourists, yet still comfortable or 'developed' enough to operate as a (volunteer) tourism destination. Similarly, while the volunteer tourists want to feel they contributed to the host community, they do not want their volunteering to be too 'hard' since this is also their leisure time. Commercialised volunteer tourism tends to follow a typical business model where the volunteer tourists pay to receive a service/experience that the volunteer tourism organisation is then obligated to provide.

This transactional nature of commercial volunteer tourism is reflected in the volunteer tourists' use of the phrase 'getting what I paid for'.

Volunteer tourism has arguably tapped into the current zeitgeist by reflecting the priorities and values associated with global citizenship and neoliberalism. For example, within neoliberal consumer culture there is an assumption that everything, including leisure activities such as volunteer tourism, should be used to positively shape one's identity, for example, through the acquisition of international experience or taking part in a form of travel that is viewed as more 'moral' than conventional mass tourism.

This thesis has made a number of theoretical and conceptual contributions to understandings of volunteer tourism, including: the development of a matrix emphasising the heterogeneity of volunteer tourists and exploring ways in which they differ from one another; the suggestion of the 'volunteer tourism enclave' within commodified volunteer which highlights the differences between commodified volunteer tourism and early volunteer tourism that developed as a means of moving beyond the tourist 'bubble'; and the application of a consumer culture lens to the commodified volunteer tourism phenomenon. In addition, this thesis also contributes a literature review situating commodified volunteer tourism as the most recent iteration of alternative youth travel and international volunteering, and discussion of some of the risks to the host community and the idea of commodified pre-packaged volunteer tourism as a means of reducing risk associated with travelling to a developing country.

The research findings presented in this thesis have several implications for the volunteer tourism industry. The case study organisation had very low expectations of their volunteer tourists and created a culture where the volunteer tourists did not necessarily feel needed at their volunteer project. As a result, some said they were dissatisfied or disappointed with their lack of contribution to the host community. Suggestions to counter-act this include volunteer tourism organisations implementing check-in sheets at their volunteer projects (to encourage the volunteer tourists to go to their project) and setting clear expectations of the volunteer tourists, including what hours they are expected to volunteer and what tasks they are expected to perform. To redirect the focus to maximising the contribution to the host community, commercial volunteer tourism organisations could reconsider their policies around minimum language requirements and minimum stay.

Further research is required to better understand the business model of commercial volunteer tourism organisations, and to examine any differences between volunteer

tourists who volunteer with a charitable organisation and those who volunteer with a commercial organisation. While this thesis has addressed a gap in the theoretical understanding of volunteer tourism, it has also raised questions worthy of future research, including: the influence of race/ethnicity and gender on the volunteer tourism experience particularly in post-colonial societies; the experiences of volunteer tourists who choose to volunteer as a way of (re)connecting with their past, for example, those who spent time in an orphanage as a child and/or have a personal connection to the host destination; and the long-term effect of volunteer tourism on the volunteer tourist including their university studies, career path and/or any future volunteering. As noted throughout the volunteer tourism literature, more research is required to examine volunteer tourism from the perspective of the host community.

While there is often discussion about the morality of (commercial) volunteer tourism, in this thesis I suggest that commodified volunteer tourism is neither inherently good nor bad, but rather has the potential to be either depending on how it is enacted. By moving away from development discourses and instead framing volunteer tourism as simply another form of alternative tourism, whether the volunteer tourists are altruistic or contributing to the host community becomes largely irrelevant. However, this argument only applies if the volunteer tourists are not negatively impacting the host community and there is increasing evidence that this is often not the case.

APPENDIX 1: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CUSCO, PERU

Peru has a long history with suggestions humans have occupied the area since 14,000BC. There have been multiple early civilisations in what is present-day Peru; however, the most well-known pre-Columbian civilisation is the Incan empire which was established in Cusco, referred to by the Incans as the 'navel' of the world, in the 12th century (McCarthy et al., 2013). At one point the Incan empire covered an area including most of modern-day Peru as well as parts of Ecuador, Bolivia and Chile, and governed approximately 10 million people (McCarthy et al., 2013). In September 1532, the Spanish conquistadors arrived in northern Peru and, after failed negotiations, attacked leaving thousands of indigenous people dead. The Spanish moved the capital of the country from Cusco to the new city of Lima on the coast. A violent period of colonisation followed with several rebellions before the Spanish eventually decapitated the last Incan leader, Túpac Amaru, in Cusco's main square in 1572 (McCarthy et al., 2013).

Colonial Peru was ruled by Spanish-born viceroys appointed by the Spanish crown. A strict racial hierarchy prevailed with white Spanish-born immigrants at the top followed by 'criollos' or Peru-born Spaniards, 'mestizos' or those of mixed Spanish-indigenous heritage, and finally 'indígenas' or indigenous Amerindian Peruvians at the bottom. The indígenas essentially belonged to the Spanish colonialists as part of the land title in a system similar to European feudal systems (McCarthy et al., 2013). While no longer overt, in many ways this racial hierarchy still exists (Ñopo, Chong, & Moro, 2010) and is particularly prevalent in Cusco and elsewhere in the Andean region where (as in many other post-colonial countries) "poverty is highly correlated with ethnicity" (Toledo, 2010, p. xx). This adds a racial overtone to the relationship between the mostly white tourists and mestizo/indígena host community in Cusco (see also Vrasti, 2013).

Peru gained independence on 28th July 1821 (McCarthy et al., 2013) although the 19th century saw numerous regime changes and ongoing border wars with both Bolivia and Chile which left Peru bankrupt and dependent on "foreign markets, foreign entrepreneurship, and foreign loans" (Palmer, 1994, p. 7). In 1895, Peru moved to civilian rule (Palmer, 1994) and the remainder of the 20th century involved multiple military dictatorships punctuated by periods of democracy (McCarthy et al., 2013). In 1980, Peru returned to civilian rule with the election of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry. However, around this time, the radical Maoist group 'Sendero Luminoso' or Shining Path began its rise to power with the aim of overthrowing the traditional social order through violent

armed struggle (McCarthy et al., 2013; Palmer, 1994). The late 1980s and early 1990s were a period of extreme violence in Peru including "torture, rape, disappearances and massacres" (McCarthy et al., 2013, p. 501) and approximately 69,000 people were killed (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). The threat of Shining Path was eventually thwarted on 12 September 1992 by the capture of the group's leader Abimael Guzmán Reynoso (Palmer, 1994) and it was at this point that the tourism industry in Peru began to flourish.

In 1990 Alberto Fujimori was elected President. He implemented a strict economic plan known as 'Fujishock' which significantly increased prices but eventually worked to reduce inflation and stabilise the economy (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014); in the meantime, however, some 60-70% of the population were pushed below the poverty line (Palmer, 1994). In April 1992, President Fujimori enacted an autoglope (that is, a coup against himself) which drew:

> ...almost universal international condemnation. Fujimori, with armed forces support, dissolved congress, the judiciary, and the general accounting office, and began to rule by decree. The United States immediately suspended all assistance save humanitarian and counter-drug aid. (Palmer, 1994, p. 17)

Fujimori was eventually forced to flee the country and in 2005 was arrested in Chile, extradited to Peru, and jailed for 20 years for ordering extrajudicial killings, channelling state funds, wiretapping and bribery, amongst other charges (McCarthy et al., 2013). Following Fujimori's discredited administration, new elections in 2001 led to President Alejandro Toledo taking office (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). Toledo was the first person of Quechua descent to be elected President (McCarthy et al., 2013) and this was seen as an important step forward in the country's development and evolution. Ollanta Humala Tasso was elected in 2011 (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014) and the next presidential elections will take place in April 2016 (Schipani, 2016).

Peru is one of the poorer countries in South America. However, following a recession between 1997 and 2001 under Fujimori, the Peruvian economy grew at its most sustained pace since the 1950s and per capita income almost tripled between 2001 and 2011 (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). Statistics vary somewhat but most agree between roughly 25% and 30% of Peruvians are currently living in poverty (Starn, Degregori, & Kirk, 2005; The World Bank, 2015; World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014) although this is decreasing (The World Bank, 2015). In rural areas, including Cusco, the poverty rate is closer to 50% (Discover Peru, N.D.b; World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014).

> Lower-class Peruvians often live in poor rural villages or poverty-stricken shanties on the outskirts of big cities; they walk or ride public transport, work

in fields or factories, and their children don't get much of an education. They may be able to afford a simple television or radio, but computers are out of the question. (Rachowiecki, 2009, pp. 18-19)

While the urban middle class has increased in recent years, "the impoverished rural highlands [including Cusco] have benefited little and remain without proper access to basic infrastructure and running water" (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014, p. 985).

Figure 15: Cusco's main square Plaza de Armas (author's own photograph)

Figure 16: Cusco streets (author's own photograph)

APPENDIX 2: ANALYSIS TABLES

Table 14: Detailed description of the volunteer tourist interview participants

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Nationality	Profession	Weeks in Cusco	Type of volunteer tourism organisation	Level of Spanish	Type of placement	Type of accommodation	Length of entry interview (minutes)	Length of exit interview (minutes)
Adriana	32	F	American (born in Bosnia)	Nurse	3	Not-for-profit	Intermediate	Medical	Guesthouse	27	-
Amy	35	F	American (born in Thailand)	Physician assistant	1	For-profit	Basic	Medical	Homestay	20	35
Anita	55	F	American	Real estate agent	4	For-profit	Basic	Teaching	Homestay	16	-
Bill	43	M	American	Insurance salesperson	2	For-profit	Pre-intermediate	Teaching	Homestay	30	24
Clare	36	F	Australian	Management consultant	2	Not-for-profit	Basic	Childcare	Homestay	26	48
Daisy	21	F	American (born in Taiwan)	Pre-medical student	1	For-profit	Intermediate	Medical	Homestay	24	32
Daniel	19	M	England (mother Peruvian)	Pre-medical student	4	Not-for-profit	Advanced	Medical	Homestay / Guesthouse	18	32
David	21	M	Canadian	Pre-medical student	1	For-profit	Basic	Medical	Homestay	24	32
Dawson	22	M	Australian (born in Hong Kong)	Recent graduate	8	For-profit	None	Teaching / Construction	Guesthouse	21	19
Emily	27	F	American	Nurse	4	For-profit	Basic	Medical / Jungle	Guesthouse	25	64
Emma	24	F	Canadian	Nurse	8	For-profit	Basic	Medical	Guesthouse	18	33
Fiona	22	F	Australian	Recent graduate	2	For-profit	None	Childcare	Homestay	27	-
Frances	22	F	English	Recent graduate	6	For-profit	None	Childcare	Homestay	16	52
Georgia	42	F	American	Real estate agent	1	For-profit	None	Construction	Homestay	26	15
Heather	23	F	American	Trainee medical translator	11	Directly with Manos del Mundo	Fluent	Medical	Guesthouse	12	17
Helen	26	F	Canadian (living in New Zealand)	Nurse	10	For-profit	None	Childcare / Medical	Guesthouse	21	24
James	23	M	Lebanese (living in England)	Recent graduate	2	For-profit	Pre-intermediate	Teaching	Homestay	19	-
John	37	M	American	Air traffic controller	1	For-profit	None	Construction	Homestay	26	15
Joseph	22	M	American (adopted from Honduras)	Painter / recent graduate	10	For-profit	Basic	Construction / Childcare	Guesthouse	37	34
Katie	18	F	American (parents Malaysian)	Just finished high school	5	For-profit	None	Childcare	Volunteer tourist guesthouse	24	-
Kim	22	F	Australian	Florist	8	Directly with Manos del Mundo	None	Childcare	Homestay	27	-
Margaret	64	F	American (living in Turkey)	University lecturer	2	For-profit	Pre-intermediate	Childcare	Volunteer tourist guesthouse	46	48
Matt	34	M	Australian (was living in USA)	Youth worker	4	For-profit	None	Childcare	Guesthouse	20	46

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Nationality	Profession	Weeks in Cusco	Type of volunteer tourism organisation	Level of Spanish	Type of placement	Type of accommodation	Length of entry interview (minutes)	Length of exit interview (minutes)
Melissa	34	F	New Zealander (was living in Australia)	Chef	14	For-profit	None	Childcare	Guesthouse	24	51
Michael	25	M	New Zealander	Medical student	8	Directly with Manos del Mundo	Basic	Medical	Guesthouse	12	34
Natalie	24	F	Canadian	Laboratory technician	8	For-profit	Basic	Medical	Homestay	17	32
Paula	23	F	Australian (mother English)	Recent graduate	2	Directly with Manos del Mundo	Pre-intermediate	Construction	Guesthouse	26	63
Sarah	20	F	American (parents Czech and English)	Student	14	For-profit	Intermediate	Teaching Childcare Cultural immersion	Homestay / Guesthouse	25	54
Sonan	20	F	Bhutanese (living in Canada)	Student	2	Not-for-profit	None	Teaching	Guesthouse	31	49
Susan	58	F	Australian	Unemployed	1	?	None	Teaching	Homestay	25	51
Terry	26	M	Canadian	Doctor	4	For-profit	Pre-intermediate	Medical	Guesthouse	38	80
Thomas	18	M	American (was living in England)	Just finished high school	4	Directly with Manos del Mundo	Basic	Childcare	Guesthouse	55	47
Vinod	27	M	American (parents Indian)	Doctor	2	For-profit	Intermediate	Medical	Homestay	27	26

Notes:

Daisy and David (friends) were travelling together and were interviewed together at their request; the same applies to Kim and Fiona (friends) and John and Georgia (brother and sister).

Due to technical issues, Adriana and James' exit interviews did not record and therefore were not able to be included in the analysis. Anita, Kim, Fiona and Katie did not respond to requests for an exit interview and were therefore interviewed once only upon arrival. John and Georgia's exit interview was also cut short because John was ill.

Table 15: Day-to-day routine of Manos del Mundo volunteer tourists in Cusco

Pseudonym	Volunteer project type	Volunteer project	Spanish lessons	Tandem
Clare	Childcare	3:30-6:30pm	9-11am	11-12pm
Frances	Childcare	3-6pm	9-11am	2-3pm
Matt	Childcare	3:30pm-6pm	-	-
Katie	Childcare	2 hours	2 hours	-
Helen	Childcare	1-5pm	9-11am	-
Sarah	Childcare	2:30-5:30pm	-	-
Thomas	Childcare	3:30-5:30pm	-	-
Bill	Teaching	9am-1:30pm	-	-
Sonan	Teaching	9am-1pm	2 hours	1 hour
Susan	Teaching	4 hours	-	-
Dawson	Teaching	9am-1pm	3-5pm	5-6:30pm
John and Georgia	Construction	9am-12pm	2-4pm	-
Joseph	Construction	8:30-12pm	2-4pm	-
Paula	Construction	9am-12pm	-	-
Amy	Medical	8:30-12pm	2-4pm	-
Emma	Medical	8:30am-12:30pm	-	-
Natalie	Medical	9am-12:30pm	2 hours	-
Daisy and David	Medical	4 hours	1 hour	-
Heather	Medical	9am-12:30pm	-	-
Terry	Medical	8:30am-12pm	1 hour	-
Emily	Medical	4 hours	-	-
Michael	Medical	9am-12pm	-	-
Vinod	Medical	8:30-12:30pm	-	-

Table 16: Volunteer tourists' travel experiences (destinations are listed as before (B), during (D) or after (A) the volunteer tourism period in Cusco)

Pseudonym	Machu Picchu	Puno & Lake Titicaca	Huacachina & Nasca	Sacred Valley	Lima	Peruvian jungle	Arequipa & Colca Canyon	Elsewhere in Peru	Bolivia	Argentina	Chile (incl. Easter Island)	Elsewhere South America	Central America & Mexico	United States
Amy	B				B									
Bill	P			P	A									
Clare	D											A	A	A
Daisy	A													
Daniel	P	D	D		B									
David	A													
Dawson	D	D	D							B				
Emily	D	D	D			D								
Emma	D	D	D											
Frances	D		A	D	A	D	D		A	B	B			
Georgia	D			D										
Heather	D									A	A			
Helen	D	D	D		A			A						
John	D			D										
Joseph	D	D				D								
Margaret	A			A								A		
Matt	D	D	B		B				A			A	A	B
Melissa	D	D					B		A					
Michael	D	D	D							B				
Natalie	D		D			D		A						
Paula	D	A	B	D	B	D	A		A	A	A	B		B
Sarah	D	D		D										
Sonan	D			D										
Susan	B	B			B		B							
Terry	D	A	A			D	A		A			A		
Thomas	D		D											
Vinod	D	A		D								B	B	
Myself	D	A	D	D		D	D		A				A	

Notes:

Volunteer tourists listed as visiting the United States were all from Australia or New Zealand (that is, not living in the United States).

Table 17: Volunteer tourist interview participants' overall perceptions

Pseudonym	Is volunteer tourism or backpacking more expensive?	Was the experience worthwhile?	Would you recommend the experience to others?
Adriana	Unsure	-	-
Amy	Volunteering cheaper but not as cheap as you think.	Yes.	Definitely.
Anita	Travelling more expensive	-	-
Bill	Thinks volunteer tourism probably more expensive	No.	Yes (but hesitantly)
Clare	Volunteer tourism more expensive but worthwhile since different motivations	Yes. Definitely. Without a doubt.	Yes.
Daisy	-	Yes.	Yes
Daniel	-	Definitely	Yes (for those new to volunteer tourism at least)
David	-	Yes.	Yes
Dawson	Travelling more expensive	Definitely!	Yes
Emily	-	Definitely. Absolutely.	Would recommend volunteer tourism but not sure about Manos del Mundo specifically
Emma	Volunteer tourism more expensive	Yes.	Yes
Fiona	-	-	-
Frances	Travelling more expensive	Yeah, definitely.	Yes
Georgia	Volunteer tourism cheaper	Yes.	Yes
Heather	Irrelevant because was in Cusco specifically to practice translating and therefore had to volunteer.	Definitely.	Yes (although would caution it's disorganised).
Helen	Volunteer tourism cheaper	Definitely	Yes
James	Volunteer tourism more expensive monetarily	Yes.	-
John	Volunteer tourism cheaper	Absolutely	Yes
Joseph	Volunteer tourism more expensive than backpacking.	Yes	Yes (very much)

Pseudonym	Is volunteer tourism or backpacking more expensive?	Was the experience worthwhile?	Would you recommend the experience to others?
Katie	Depends on accommodation options. Volunteer tourism more expensive than backpacking but cheaper than staying in hotels with mom.	-	-
Kim	-	-	-
Margaret	Backpacking cheaper	Totally, definitely.	Absolutely.
Matt	Thinks backpacking is more expensive	Yes	Yes
Melissa	Volunteer tourism cheaper	For sure	Yes
Michael	-	Maybe. Not really.	Yes to volunteer tourists yes, no to medical students.
Natalie	Unsure.	Yes	Yes
Paula	-	Definitely! Although not socially economically worthwhile - would have been more efficient to give money to hire locals.	Yes
Sarah	Cheaper than living at home.	Thinks so	Definitely
Sonan	Cheaper than staying at a resort, not sure compared to hostels.	Definitely	Definitely
Susan	Volunteer tourism probably more expensive.	Yes	Yes
Terry	Backpacking more since would be doing more tours	Definitely	Yes but depends on what they're looking to get out of it.
Thomas	Volunteer tourism more expensive	Definitely.	Yes.
Vinod	Volunteering "absolutely" more expensive	Definitely	Absolutely

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