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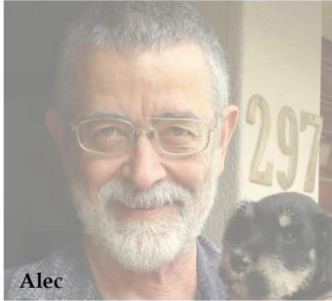
Eureka



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VOICES OF THE OTHER

**The host organisation's perspective
on voluntourism**



Paula



Kim



Thandi



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Numosa



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And also:

Victoria

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Voices of the Other

The host organisation's perspective on voluntourism

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Abstract

Volunteer tourism is an upcoming form of sustainable tourism; it attracts mostly young Western women who will go to the global south for a short period of time. Recently volunteer tourism receives critiques from the media. Within the media there is no attention for the receiving side; volunteers are mostly discussed and interviewed. Within the academic debate this is somewhat different. Academics pay more attention to the receiving end of volunteer tourism since 2009. In the same year, the first geographers were focussing on the topic of volunteer tourism. However, even within the academic debates, studies about the receiving side are still outnumbered by studies focussing on the volunteer. Even though the receiving side slowly gets more attention, the perspective of staff-members of receiving organisations have never been researched. Staff-members of volunteer receiving organisations are an interesting actor within the volunteer tourism field; they have a special position because they can observe volunteers in their day to day work.

The aim of this research is to discover the perspective on volunteer tourism of staff-members of receiving organisations in the eThekweni municipality in South Africa. This research is giving an inside in this perspective of staff-members by interviewing twenty people at six different organisations. There are five themes that have been drawn from the most relevant literature focussing on the receiving side of volunteer tourism. These five themes are: (i) cross-cultural influence between host and guest, (ii) work effectiveness, (iii) feelings of responsibility and care, (iv) bridging and bonding, (v) economic matters. Because the focus lies on the perspectives of the respondents on volunteer tourism, a social constructivist approach is used.

The five themes are very comprehensive; all the themes also cover important sub-themes. Cultural influences between host and guest is divided into: (i) cultural differences and stereotypes, (ii) the demonstration effect and (iii) cultural education. Work effectiveness is divided into (i) skills and appropriate work, (ii) effort and (iii) evaluation and monitoring. Feelings of responsibility and care are just divided into (i) responsibility and (ii) care. Bridging and bonding is divided into (i) building relationships and (ii) local voices. Finally, economic matters is divided into (i) job taking volunteers, (ii) the cycle of dependency and (iii) national and/or regional economic benefits. These sub-themes also give an inside in what the subjects of the interviews were.



The main question of this research is: *What is the perspective of the staff-members of volunteer tourists receiving organisations in eThekweni, South Africa, on this phenomenon and what contribution can be made to the literature on voluntourism by taking into account this local perspective?* It can be concluded that respondents have a more positive attitude towards volunteer tourism than the literature has; they perceive volunteers in a different way. Even though the literature and respondents have an different attitude towards volunteer tourism, researching the perspective of employees at volunteer tourism receiving organisations can still help to support most the existing theories that were used to shape the five different themes. The interviews show information that can be added to the theories of Massey (2004), Luh Sin (2009) and Mostafanezhad (2012), Guttentag's (2009), Hammersley (2013) and Zahra and McGehee (2013). There were only two points all respondents were agreeing on, but these points were contradicting the literature. The respondents did not agree with the literature when it comes to the accusation that volunteers take jobs from the local unemployed. Also, all respondents were convinced that their project was benefitting the community.

Some answers given by the respondents, were not mentioned by the literature. First, cultural differences within a country can blur the cultural differences between the volunteers and the host. Second, respondents often mentioned in their interviews that volunteers can bring in new perspectives. Third, volunteers can help to relieve some stress of the staff-members, by taking over tasks when staff-members are overworked. Last, respondents mentioned the love that volunteers have for what they do. Some respondents stated that the love of volunteers is more important than their skills. As a whole, respondents were more optimistic about voluntourism than the literature; it can be stated that- under a layer of neoliberalism and egoism- volunteer tourism has some advantages according to the staff-members that have been interviewed.



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1. Introduction

For some years volunteer tourism, or voluntourism, was perceived as a new and sustainable form of tourism. This type of tourism is growing in popularity and it attracts mostly young Western tourists who take a trip to a developing country and offer to help that society by working at development projects. They stay at the project location for a few weeks up to a year. In some cases the volunteers pursue their vacation after they have volunteered, in other cases the volunteers stay at one place, taking the weekends off to see more of the tourist attractions which the area has to offer, or only stay at one location just for volunteering.

However, recently voluntourism has become the subject of a new discussion. This discussion is held by academics with different backgrounds, but also within the media. In this discussion, the impact of volunteers and their reasoning behind volunteering in developing countries is mainly questioned. The discussion is roughly divided between two different points of view. The first group, let's call them the optimists, are positive about voluntourism. They are convinced that volunteers are contributing to the development of the society which they volunteer in. Also besides the work done by volunteers, they see the positive sides of the cultural interaction and finance. People learn from each other and both groups will benefit from it. Also the volunteers bring a lot of money with them, which they spend in the country they stay in. The other group, let's call them the pessimists, mostly have negative associations with voluntourism. They state that volunteering can hurt the receiving society. The volunteers coming in and out would damage children emotionally, stereotypes are reinforced and people would get dependent from the help that is offered. Also volunteers would have egocentric motives. It is this pessimistic group that is seeking attention in the media for the pitfalls of volunteer tourism. Of course there is a grey area of opinions, which is the case in every discussion.

Many different Western media are involved in the voluntourism discussion. These Western media are criticizing the Western volunteers (who often get sarcastic names as 'the white saviours'). They call them naive and egocentric because the volunteers are supposedly participating to make their own lives better, have no idea of the host societies' cultural norms and values, have no skills to use, think that they can save the world by volunteering for a few weeks, and so on. Most of the media base their arguments on a research done by UNICEF (<http://unicefcambodia.blogspot.nl/2014/12/children-not-toys.html>). This UNICEF research is focussing on the impact of voluntourism on the attachment problems of children, taken after by volunteer tourists and the effect of the rise of the voluntourism



industry on these orphanages. Working at orphanages is just one specific kind of voluntourism project, not every project offers work with children. True, these kinds of projects are popular but there are other kinds of projects which do not work with vulnerable children.

It is remarkable that in the media in these 'critical articles', the western volunteers are being interviewed and the volunteer sending organisations are being questioned. Seldom someone asks the local organisations and receivers of the volunteers why they work with them, if they think the volunteers are doing more harm than good and if the volunteers are naïve and egocentric. All the actors in the volunteer tourism industry perceive the situation in their own unique way. By ignoring the local aspect and their perspective on volunteers, the media is promoting the idea that the perspective of the receiving societies has less value. Many of the articles written about voluntourism are written from the point of view of the sending side. In this research the focus is on the receiving end of voluntourism and their perspective on volunteer tourists. This research is conducted to discover the perspective and voices of staff-members of host organisation.

The first thing that will be established in this thesis is what voluntourism exactly is. This will be done by two small historical overviews of tourism and volunteering and how those two different things come together in voluntourism. Also the research framework and the relevance of this research will be discussed in this introductory chapter. In the second chapter about the theoretical framework, the status quaestionis, the relevant themes and the geographical distribution are explained. In the following chapter regarding methodology, research strategy and location are discussed. Next is the chapter that presents the research results and after that there will be a concluding chapter.

1.1 Volunteer Tourism, What is it?

Voluntourism is a combination between volunteering and tourism, but how did this odd combination of traveling for your own pleasure and doing something for someone else for free, come to exist? What is it exactly? In this chapter the history of tourism and of volunteering will be briefly explained. Next, voluntourism in a postmodern and neoliberal time will be analysed and last, general information about voluntourism will be given.

1.1.1 A Short History of Tourism

Tourism is traveling for pleasure, and it is essentially a Western phenomenon (Wearing 2001: 22). It evolved from Western historical forms of travelling which will be explained in this paragraph. In the last few years, sustainable tourism has become more popular. People are more and more aware of the impact of their travels on nature and the receiving societies. Sustainable tourism is a very broad concept. The forms of tourism that are included in sustainable tourism are eco based, educational based and cultural based tourism. However, these are just the latest trends. Tourism is existing for centuries.

In the classical era's, travelling was done for educational and leisure purposes, and only the elite were able to travel for these reasons. In the Roman era roads were paved, the infrastructure improved so more people were able to travel. The elite made use of the roads in the summer for travelling from the cities to their houses on the countryside. They would go there to relax, to escape the heat of the summer months in the cities and enjoy the fresh air on the countryside. Travelling for these reasons was an expression of luxury in the Roman Empire and it would stay that way for the next centuries to come (Blois and van der Spek, 2010: 241-246).

In Medieval times roads through Europe were declining and travelling became more dangerous. Traveling for relaxation was still done by the elite, but traveling for religious purposes was new and upcoming. Especially Rome was a destination that was often visited by pilgrims. In general, the pilgrims used the same routes to Rome and met each other in hostels near the road. This was around the same time the big universities came up in Paris, Montpellier, Oxford and Bologna. Scholars were travelling for educational reasons and had to cross through Europe to visit other universities (Bennett and Hollister, 2006: 246-250).

Between the 16th and the 18th century, the Grand Tour was popular under young nobles. This was a journey that was taken by young men to mature, they would go to the prestige places of Europe to get educated, develop and amuse themselves (Gyr, 2010: 3). The



Grand Tour was planned well, routes, companions, destinations were all known before departure and often the tour lasted for a few years. Most tours would go from Dover to Rome via Berlin and Vienna. All the important cultural places would be visited and the young man would be meeting other young elite men.

After the Enlightenment, it became more common for the middle class to travel for educational purposes. Gyr concludes that 'two characteristics stand out: on the one hand, the search for pleasure increasingly supplanted the educational aspects; on the other, wealthy members of the middle classes sought to imitate the travelling behaviour of the nobles and the upper middle classes.' (Gyr, 2010: 5). In this century, tourism became more and more common. Besides educational tours, tours for sightseeing became more popular. People wanted to experience other parts of the country or Europe by going to visit landmarks and cities.

With the industrialisation and the invention of the train and steamships people were able to travel bigger distances. It became easier to visit places for shorter periods of time. In this century, Thomas Cook started to offer group tours. By offering group tours, costs were less high than the solo tours and therefore, more people were able to afford travelling (Gyr, 2010: 7). With the ideas of mass travelling by Thomas Cook, the tourism industry began to flourish. Big groups were travelling for all-inclusive prices, using vouchers and tourism brochures. Around this time, travelling for relaxation became more popular than traveling for educational purposes. Travelling became an industry in itself and more travelling agencies established themselves in Europe. Most travelling was done within Europe and Northern Africa.

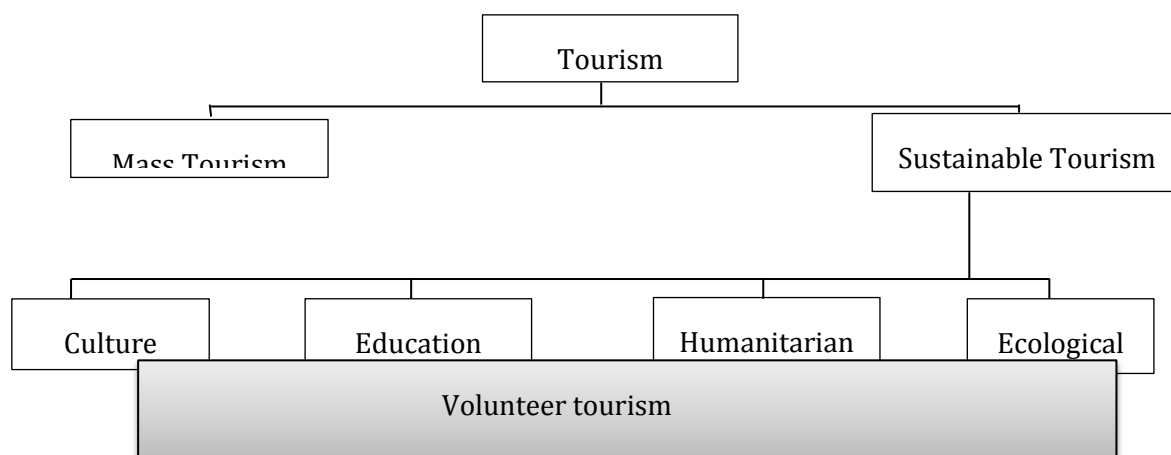
This came to a stop during the War years in the first half of the 20th century. During war-time, borders were closed and people did not have the money to travel. After the 1950's the tourism industry recovered. Infrastructure has always been an important aspect of travelling, as the paving of roads was important in the Roman Empire and the invention of the steam engine was important in the 19th century. In the 1950's, flight routes became of bigger importance. In 1952, the first jet aeroplane was using commerce routes. After that a commercial flying Boeing 707, was introduced in the USA a few years later. It would take twenty years before this kind of travelling became more popular and more airports and aeroplanes were built, having a huge impact on globalisation (Cowen, 2010: 187). Travelling was made easier because of the great speed of the jet planes. People were now able to leave Europe for a short period of time to visit another part of the world. Only the reasons behind travelling did not really change, until the 21st century tourism was about egocentric reasons



as luxury, relaxation, sightseeing and education. It would be in the 21th century that the reasons for traveling changed.

It is only since a few years that people have become more aware of the impact which their travelling has on their surroundings. Even today, people mostly want to go travelling for one and the same reason: pleasure. The difference is that tourists now are more aware of the impacts. Tourism is still growing; in 2014 there were 1.133 billion international tourist arrivals worldwide, this is a growth of 4,3% in comparison to 2013, with generated export earnings of \$1.5 trillion (UNWTO, 2015). Obviously tourism has become a huge industry. The sustainable tourism industry is also growing, as an alternative to mass tourism. Sustainable tourism is about giving back to the receiving society or giving back to nature. With this new form of tourism, people want to make sure the local society benefits from the travellers being there. Tourists interact more with the local society. Sustainable tourism is relying on small and locally owned facilities and activities (Mowfort 2003: 625). There are different forms of sustainable tourism, those forms are focussing on culture, education, science, adventure and agritourism according to Wearing (Wearing 2001: 30). In my opinion, those five different forms of sustainable tourism have too much overlap and overlook one very important factor: humanitarian tourism. The forms of sustainable tourism can be better divided into four forms: Cultural tourism, educational tourism, humanitarian tourism and ecological tourism. Volunteer tourism is overlapping these characters of sustainable tourism as is shown in figure 1. Examples of these forms of volunteer tourism are: volunteering to conserve cultural heritage, helping out as a class assistant or work at wildlife projects.

Fig. 1: Overview of the tourism sector.



Modification of Wearing's overview of the tourism sector in: Sustainable tourism (Wearing 2001: 30).

1.1.2 A Short History of Volunteering

While the history of tourism is quite straight forward, the history of volunteering is more complex. Ideas of where volunteering comes from are diverse. Devereux claims that the big international volunteer organisations came into existence in the early years of the 20th century (Devereux 2008: 259). Devereux explains that after the First World War, in the 1920's work camps were organised to reconstruct Europe. Later in the 1930's/1940's developed countries organised emergency assistance to India and other development countries. A few years later with the beginning of the American Peace Corps in 1961, international volunteering was booming. Devereux does not write about the origins of volunteering, something which seems quite important for the beginning of the volunteering organisations. International volunteering did not start at the beginning of the 20th century, probably the more commercial volunteering started out that way, but internationally focused volunteering itself started a long time before that.

Volunteering is an act of philanthropy; the purpose is to help better the life quality of other, less fortunate, people (Dekker 1999: 59; Bremner 1996: 9). The origin of the word philanthropy lies in ancient Greece. The old Greek word *philanthropia* has more than one translation; it could be love for mankind, loving kindness, human charity or something close to these examples (Bremner 1996: 4). What philanthropy exactly is, varies through the ages, but it was always about the attempt to better the life of less fortunate people. Since the middle ages, it is closely related to religion. Monks and nuns devoted their lives to help the poor (Bremner 1996: 25; Dekker 1999: 58). This form of religious philanthropy was growing in Europe but was bound to monastic orders. After the Enlightenment, volunteering to help other people grew in popularity. Enlightened philanthropists were focussing mainly on development of the people as a whole, to enlighten them too. This entails that the philanthropists in Europe were focussing on the poor and disabled. They were given shelter in special alms houses or workhouses. An almshouse was a place where people -who could not take care of themselves- (mostly elderly, orphans and physically disabled people) were given shelter. In workhouses, the poor who could work, were given accommodation and employment, mostly under extreme heavy circumstances. While this form of philanthropy focusses on goals within its own society, the religious part of philanthropy began to focus on the new colonies and the pastorate of their citizens (Wearing, McGehee 2013: 120). Within the colonies the nuns, priests and sisters were working in education, healthcare, orphan- and elder care. By caring for the weak groups in the society and spreading Christian religion,



Western values were forced upon the colonies. The missionaries started the trend to go to the global south to 'do good'.

Back in Europe, the care for the poor in the society changed, it became more professionalised and philanthropy no longer only focus on the poor (Bremner, 1996: 147). People who had social problems in general, were helped. Volunteers were necessary for assisting professionals in their job. In the 1950's, volunteering organisations came to exist and volunteers were guided in their work in a professional way. Also in the 1950's, people got more free time to manage, volunteering became more common to the middle class. With the independence of the colonies in the 20th century the missionaries disappeared, but the need for help with the weaker groups remained. When the colonies got their independence and the missionaries left the global south, there was a gap to fill after the 1980's. At this point tourism and volunteering started to merge, people had more money and free time to spend. The urge to see the world and 'give back to the community' started to grow in popularity, which opened up a new market. This is when the big commercial international volunteering companies really started to grow.

Obviously the volunteering market is still growing and changing. The United Nations saw the need to clarify the exact nature of volunteering. In 2001 the UN introduced three criteria for volunteering:

- actions are carried out freely and without coercion;
- financial gain is not the main motivating principle; and
- there is a beneficiary other than the volunteer. (Devereux, 2008: 259).

1.1.3 Voluntourism, Postmodernism and Neoliberalism

How does this strange combination of tourism, which is based on egocentric motivations, and volunteering, which is based on altruistic motivations, form a pair in volunteer tourism? As Coghlan states: 'It would appear that volunteer tourism represents a form of social egoism' (Coghlan, 2009: 382). Volunteer tourism is based on the postmodern trends of the need to be 'green' and the need for new forms of tourism (Coghlan, 2009: 383), and the effects of globalisation caused by neoliberal ideals. Postmodern and neoliberalist philosophy changed the thinking of academics in the late 20th century. Postmodernism is known for the end of the big narratives. These big narratives refer to religious, scientific and political explanations of the world (Mustonen, 2006: 166). In the case of tourism, it means that old ways of tourism are beginning to decline, and other ways are coming up. The number of people who go on mass tourism trips is slowly declining, the numbers of alternative tourism



are rising. The need to be green is in that way one, small narrative in a postmodern world. Alternative tourism is a turn from the mainstream mass tourism. That does not mean that all the aspects of mass tourism disappear, some elements live on in the new forms of tourism (Mustonen, 2006: 166.). This is obvious within volunteer tourism; the old requirements for a destination are still the same, this will be further explained in paragraph 2.4 concerning geographical distribution of volunteer tourism. The postmodern way of being a tourist is a combination of old ways and new thinking.

Neoliberalism started out mostly as a political and economic philosophy, which focussed on the opening up of national economic markets. Demand and supply is central for the economic health. The opening up of markets leads to an increase of globalisation. Markets are getting linked to each other through trade. Neoliberalism has now become all-pervasive and, has infiltrated all aspects of life. An important ideal of neoliberalism is the thought that the individual is responsible for its own development. It is because of this idea that neoliberalism is often seen as an anti-social philosophy. It is creating egocentric individuals (Barnett and Land, 2007: 1070). Private and non-governmental organisations are expected to take care of the vulnerable; this represents a neoliberal approach (Hannant, 2014: 17). Governments in a neoliberal world are interfering less in the lives of their citizens. This means that vulnerable groups in society are often depending on charity. The individual is free to make its own life choices but is also responsible for its own happiness and well-being. As is stated by Hannant (2014): 'we as autonomous individuals can shape our identities through modes of consumption and engagement in the neoliberal free market.' (Hannant, 2014: 61). Because neoliberalism represents freedom it also focusses on the responsibilities of the individual for its own life.

If a tourist asks for an alternative, 'green' or sustainable trip, in the neoliberal philosophy, the market should provide for the demand of the tourist. Some would even go so far to state that volunteer tourism is 'one link in a broader chain of the expansion of neoliberal moral economies.' (Mostafanezhad, 2012: 319). This means that with volunteer tourism, the neoliberal thought is being spread. Because individuals can shape their own identity and are responsible for their own development, it seems that most volunteer tourists have the motivation to help others to help themselves. As it is said by Smith and Laurie (2011): '... international volunteering seems to both exemplify neoliberal ideas of individual autonomy, improvement and responsibility and at the same time allies itself to notions of collective global citizenship, solidarity, development and activism.' (Smith and Laurie, 2011: 551). Volunteers want to contribute to a better life for other people but in the same time they

want to see something of the world, build their c.v. and meet new people. It seems that in many cases the altruistic motives to help someone else is being overshadowed by the neoliberal thinking to first provide for your own needs.

Within this neoliberal market of voluntourism, where volunteers are asking for exotic places to work, capitalist organisations are providing for this demand. Many volunteer sending organisations work as businesses and are making a profit from the volunteer tourism industry (Hannant, 2014: 122). Hannant states something very important, she says the market has the power over the volunteer tourism industry. She states: 'Not only does the market have power over the sending organisations, controlling the flow of demand and supply, but also manipulate the volunteers themselves, by controlling and exerting authority over certain political and social pressures, influencing how they perceive and think about themselves and their volunteer placement.' (Hannant, 2014: 126).

Postmodern and neoliberal thinking can help to explain the changes in the tourism industry. Postmodernism can explain why the number of mass tourism decline and why people want to have an alternative form of tourism. Neoliberal thinking can also explain the developments within the tourism industry but also, as a political and economic strategy caused these developments in some ways. Neoliberalism made volunteer tourism, which is part of the alternative tourism industry, into a capitalist business where demand and need have to be addressed and the needs of the individual come first.

1.1.4 What is voluntourism?

Now that we have established where voluntourism comes from, we have to make clear who a volunteer tourist is and what the volunteer tourism industry looks like. There is a wide range of people who are volunteering abroad; some are young, others are old, some stay short term, others stay long term, some volunteers are unexperienced, others are more experienced.

One of the most prominent researchers is Wearing, who has been publishing various researches since 2001. Volunteer tourism has been a research topic for twenty years now, but since 2000 voluntourism research is growing exponentially. In paragraph 2.1, the developments within the research field of voluntourism will be further discussed. Wearing (2001) has the following description of a voluntourist: 'Volunteer tourists are tourists who go on vacation that include an element of volunteering in it.' This description of volunteer tourism is not inaccurate only, just fully complete. Obviously this definition is already 16



years old and, new more accurate definitions have been mentioned. Brown (2005) sees voluntourism as a 'type of tourism experience where a tour operator offer travellers an opportunity to participate in an optional excursion that has a volunteer component, as well as a cultural exchange with local people' (Brown, 2005: 480). In that same year McGehee and Santos (2005) came with the definition that: 'Voluntourism refers to the use of 'discretionary time and income to travel out of the sphere of regular activity to assist others in need.' (McGehee and Santos, 2005: 760).

Volunteer tourists can go and work for a week up to a year, but most common is to stay between one and four weeks (Keese, 2011: 259). The work mostly focusses on environmental and humanitarian projects (Wearing and McGehee, 2013: 212). The average volunteer tourist is a western girl between 18 and 25 years old, but obviously age and sex can differ (Keese, 2011: 259). Often young people go volunteering before they start their higher education or after they graduate, which is why most volunteers are between 18 and 25 years old. The reason why voluntourism is especially popular among girls can be explained by the moral development theory of Gilligan (1982). Gilligan stated in her theory that men and women view morality in different ways. Following this theory, women see themselves as linked to others and thus care more about others than men. Gilligan's theory states that the moral development of girls tends to come from compassion in comparison to boys whose moral development is justice based (Gilligan, 1982). Gilligan states that women are more focussed on interpersonal relationships and they take more responsibility for the well-being of others than men do. Because of that, men and woman have a different moral development. The moral development theory of Gilligan (1982) shows that women care more about others, thus can explain why voluntourism is more popular among women than among men.

Within the voluntourism industry four actors are important: the sending organisation, the volunteer, the receiver of help and the local receiving organisation. Most common is that the sending organisation has some kind of cooperation with the receiving organisation; the sending organisation operates as a mediator. Sometimes the sending organisation and the receiving organisation are independent from each other, in other cases the sending side and the receiving side are parts of one organisation. Also the preparation of a volunteer can differ; some volunteers get an intensive training before they are sent out, other volunteers only receive an information package or nothing at all. The same applies to requirements for volunteers, some volunteers need to have experience, a certain age and/or a behavioural clearance. Other volunteers just need to pay a fee to be able to go volunteering.



This fee can vary from €200,- for a week up to €3000,- for four weeks. It differs what is included in this fee. A volunteer tourist usually pays more to go on a volunteer holiday, than go on a regular holiday to the same area (Wearing, 2001: 2). Often accommodation and transport on location are included. Sometimes food, drinks and training are included too. All most never included are flight tickets, vaccinations and additional trips. Wearing and McGehee state that since 1990, an estimated 1.6 million people worldwide participate in volunteer tourism projects per year and volunteer tourists spend around 1.6 billion euro's per year (Wearing and McGehee, 2013: 120).



1.2 Research Framework

1.2.1 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this research is to discover the perspective on voluntourism of staff-members of receiving organisations. This perspective can contribute to the discussion that is held between academics and in the media. This is important because the perspective of the receiving end of volunteer tourism is often forgotten. Also, it can discover if the themes of importance, mentioned in the subparagraph about scientific relevance and will be explained in the status quaestionis in chapter 2, are experienced in the field as equally important as stated in the literature. Most of these themes have never researched in the field. This research was conducted in eThekweni, South Africa and thus will test themes in the field. The choice for this research location will be further explained in paragraph 3.2.2. The aim of this research is to discover the perspective of the staff working at voluntourist receiving organisations, and with this broaden the debate about voluntourism by giving another perspective. There are three specific research objectives:

- To map out the perspectives of the host organisation and their staff on voluntourism.
- To find the relation between the five themes drawn from the literature, and the perspective of the staff of volunteer receiving organisations.¹
- To contribute to the critical, geographical studies within the voluntourism research field.

1.2.2 Research Questions

The research aim and objectives lead to a number of research questions. Because the perspective of the host organisations and their employees are in the centre of this research the main research question will be:

What is the perspective of the staff-members of volunteer tourists receiving organisations in eThekweni, South Africa, on this phenomenon and what contribution can be made to the literature on voluntourism by taking into account this local perspective?

To be able to answer the main research question more accurately, sub-questions are designed to focus on different aspects of the main question. These sub-questions are:

¹ These five themes will be explained in detail in chapter 2. In short the themes are: Cross-cultural influence between host and guest, work effectiveness, feelings of responsibility and care, bridging and bonding, economic matters.



- How do the staff-members of the voluntourist receiving organisations perceive cultural differences between them and the volunteers?
- How do the staff-members of the volunteer tourist receiving organisations experience the work that is done by volunteer tourists?
- How do the staff-members of receiving organisations perceive the feelings of responsibility and care of the volunteer tourists?
- How do the staff-members of voluntourist receiving organisations perceive their relationships with volunteers?
- How do the staff-members of receiving organisations see that they and the receiving society are being influenced economically by volunteer tourists?



1.3 Relevance

1.3.1 Scientific Relevance

The position of this research within the scientific discussion is going to be explained in detail in chapter 2. The scientific relevance of this research is drawn from the most prominent literature that has researched the receiving side of voluntourism. In chapter 2 the theoretical framework will be established and therefore it is more suitable to clarify the position of this research within the existing literature. In chapter 2 the status quaestionis will be presented, from that paragraph it will become clear that there are five key themes that need to be researched in this thesis:

- Cross-cultural influence between host and guest. (Hammersley, 2013; Guttentag, 2009; Zahra and McGehee, 2013).
- Work effectiveness (Hammersley, 2013; Taplin, 2014; Guttentag, 2009; Wearing 2001).
- Feelings of responsibility and care (Luh Sin, 2009; Guttentag, 2009).
- Bridging and bonding (Lupoli and Morse, 2014; Guttentag, 2009; Zahra and McGehee, 2013; Hammersley, 2013).
- Economic matters (Luh Sin, 2009; Guttentag, 2009).

These five key themes are mentioned in the literature researching voluntourism with a focus on the host perspective. All five points are mentioned by prominent researchers but were almost never tested in the field. The scientific relevance of this research is that it will test the themes mentioned in the most prominent literature, in the field. Also it will give a clearer view of the perspectives of staff-members of volunteer receiving organisations. This is something that has never been researched. The staff-members can give a new perspective on volunteer tourism because they work with volunteers. By using the theories of established researchers and test their theories in the field, it can be proven that these themes matter to the receiving side of volunteer tourists and not only to scientists. In chapter 2 the scientific debate will be presented and the five themes will be discussed in detail.

This research will also contribute to the small number of studies researching the receiving side with from a geographical point of view. As will be shown in detail in paragraph 2.1, most volunteer tourism research is done by tourism academics. Since 2009, there are more geographers focusing on this subject. This research tries to contribute to a more diverse research field and shed some light on the perspective of the receiving side because they are underrepresented in the research done about volunteer tourism.



1.3.2 Social relevance

In the discussion about voluntourism held in the media, the receiving side is under-represented. Because I am involved with the Volunteer Correct Foundation, I have a platform to share my research on. Volunteer Correct is a licensed non-profit organisation and was formed from a common interest in global themes that leave their mark on society close to home. Volunteer Correct has taken the opportunity to promote transparent and accountable international volunteer work by productively using its media skills and qualifications. The foundation aims to contribute to the development of a fair volunteering industry. During my fieldwork I was writing articles for Volunteer Correct about my experiences as a researcher. When I returned home I was part of the transparency index research group of Volunteer Correct and since five months I am a board member. It is fair to say that with the combination of this research and my new function as board member of the Volunteer Correct Foundation, I have a great opportunity to promote the results of my thesis and change the public opinion.

Not only the public opinion can be changed, also the Dutch sending organisations can be made aware about the dangers of volunteer tourism. Because this research gives a perspective from the receiving side, the sending side can anticipate on that. Because of my function at the Volunteer Correct Foundation, I am in the position to open up a dialogue between the different sending organisations, offer them my research results and try to get more awareness for the voices of the receiving organisation.



2. Local voices within the literature - A theoretical framework

In this chapter academic research concerning voluntourism will be discussed. First it will be explained how voluntourism, as a topic for academic research, has developed. Then the contemporary academic debate about voluntourism and the role of the receiving organisations will be explained. Only literature which is most relevant for this research will be discussed in the status quaestiones. Important in this paragraph is that the literature, which focusses on the receiving side of volunteer tourism, is explained. From this literature study, themes that are relevant for the fieldwork of this study, are drawn. Further on these relevant themes will be examined in more detail with the help of other literature. However, this is not always literature that discusses the role of the receiving side in volunteer tourism but will help to clarify the points of interest, which makes it irrelevant for the status quaestiones. This being said, the literature discussed in this chapter will also be used in the analysing chapters to clarify the research results. In this chapter the academic debate shall be presented and the position of this research in the debate shall be made clear.

2.1 Voluntourism as a topic for academic research

It was already shortly noted in the introduction that volunteer tourism is a topic for discussion between academics within different academic fields. Research about volunteer tourism started in the field of tourism and leisure studies. Stephen Wearing was one of the first to research volunteer tourism as a stand-alone research topic. He researched the topic between 1991 and 1994 and published his book 'Volunteer tourism: Experiences that Make a Difference' in 2001. His book focused on a new upcoming alternative tourism market, with attention on the volunteer.

Until 2009 voluntourism was not a multi-disciplinary research topic. It was in that year that the first geographers paid attention to volunteer tourism. In 2009 Guttentag and Luh Sin both published an article. In their work the overlap of multiple academic disciplines becomes noticeable. Guttentag wrote his article 'The possible Negative Impacts of Volunteer Tourism' (2009), when he was studying for his PHD at the department of geography and environmental management of the University of Waterloo in Canada. He is schooled in tourism and leisure studies and his article does not have a geographical approach, even though he was situated at the department of geography and environment. Luh Sin is a



geographer who teaches in tourism geographies, an interdisciplinary subject.

Since the articles of Guttentag (2009) and Luh Sin (2009), more geographers got interested in the subject of volunteer tourism. Even though most studies about volunteer tourism are still from tourism and leisure researchers, the number of geographical studies is expanding. The spatial aspect of volunteer tourism is very important in the phenomenon volunteer tourism. Especially the geography of care and responsibility is prominent within volunteer tourism research and is interesting to many geographers. Besides geographers and tourism and leisure researchers, voluntourism became a subject for more academic disciplines; sociologists, developmentalists, economists and philosophers are focusing more on the subject.

There was not only a shift in the academic disciplines that research voluntourism in 2009, there was also a shift of focus. Since the articles of Luh Sin and Guttentag, there are more academics who focus their research on the host communities with a critical attitude. Before 2009 the academics focussed on the volunteer itself and not specifically on the host or the impacts. It is stated by Clemmons that Guttentag was the first to focus on the possible negative effects of voluntourism and that Guttentag changed the way of approaching the research topic of voluntourism (<http://www.voluntourism.org/news-feature293.htm>). Guttentag was one of the first critics of volunteer tourism.

Luh Sin et al (2015) point out that academic work has been concentrating on four key subjects: (1) Pre-trip motivations of volunteer tourists and how these are considered to differ from mainstream tourists. (2) The consideration whether volunteer tourism is motivated by self-interest or altruism. (3) Impacts and outcomes of voluntourism at host destinations. (4) Impacts and outcomes of voluntourism on volunteer tourists (Luh Sin et al, 2015: 120-121). Within this division of subjects, Luh Sin et al did not pay attention to an interdisciplinary approach or whether the approach of the research is optimistic or pessimistic.

Wearing and McGehee (2013) also reviewed literature about volunteer tourism. They divide the literature into four categories as well: (1) Pre-trip motivation. (2) The role of volunteer tourism organisations in the journey. (3) Community the centred approach. (4) Reflections and transformations: the return home (Wearing and McGehee, 2013: 122-126). The difference between the two reviews is obvious, Wearing and McGehee are tourism researchers and this is reflected in the way they categorised the literature they reviewed. Luh Sin et al are geographers and do not have room in their review for the role of the host organisation, pay less attention to the volunteer itself and pay more attention to the host community.



The field of volunteer tourism research changed in the short period that volunteer tourism is a stand-alone research topic. Even though academics from the tourism and leisure field are the biggest group of researchers, geographers are getting more interested in the subject since 2009. Also, since 2009 studies are more critical on the effects of volunteer tourism and are focussing more on the receiving side. This research will be interdisciplinary because it will use literature from tourism, development and geography researchers. This research is going along with the trend of being critical on volunteer tourism and paying more attention to the receiving side. In fact, this thesis includes the direct perspective of the staff-members of receiving organisations.



2.2 Status Quaestionis

As explained previously the discussion in the media is very one-sided, and it is only since a few years that the academics field is researching and discussing multiple sides of volunteer tourism. The article written by Guttentag (2009) focusses on the negative impacts of volunteer tourism on the receiving community. Some negative impacts he mentions are: the neglect of locals' desires, caused by a lack of involvement; hindering of work progress and the completion of unsatisfactory work, caused by volunteers lack of skills; a decrease in employment opportunities and a promotion of dependency, caused by the presence of volunteer labour; a reinforcement of conceptualisations of the 'other' and rationalisations of poverty (the poor-but-happy remark often mentioned by volunteers), caused by the intercultural experience; and an instigation of cultural changes, caused by the demonstration effect and the actions of short term missionaries (Guttentag 2009:537). The instigation of cultural changes is not always seen as a negative impact, but Guttentag does interpret it as something negative. Guttentag mentioned the demonstration effect, he states that: 'the demonstration effect is a term denoting the process by which a host culture is impacted when tourists draw attention to their lifestyles and items of wealth' (Guttentag, 2009: 547). This is a negative effect because 'locals may respond to the presence of wealthy tourists by trying to imitate the tourists' consumption patterns, and discontent can emerge when these items of wealth are beyond the reach of a host community' (Guttentag, 2009: 547). He sees that the existing literature about voluntourism, is predominantly positive about the effects volunteer tourism is producing (Guttentag, 2009: 593). This obviously changed in the past couple of years, because the literature now is mostly critical and negative about the effects of volunteer tourism. He does state that these negative effects are preventable. Furthermore he states that research is mostly focussing on behaviour, identities and motives of the tourists themselves. Interesting is that Guttentag offers a valid point with his possible negative effects of voluntourism, only he does frame these effects from a theoretical basis. He did not perform research in the field to prove his point.

Wearing researched volunteer tourism as one of the first. Although in his book 'Volunteer Tourism: Experiences That Make a Difference' (2001) mostly volunteer tourism in general is discussed, he also mentions the relation between the host and the guest. He argues that the work done by the volunteers has to be relevant to the receiving community. This is not always the case within the voluntourism market: often the wishes of the volunteers to do certain work are granted, without consulting with the receiving host.

Luh Sin has a different approach in her article 'Who are we responsible to? Locals' tales of voluntourism' (2009). She is focusing her article on geographies of care and responsibility by interviewing volunteer receiving organisations in Cambodia. With geography of responsibility she understands the 'responsibility that the privileged developed world should have for the less-privileged developing world' (Luh Sin, 2009: 984). With the geography of care she mentioned the concept of 'caring at distance'. She states that: 'People ought to recognize sameness or close similarity between their 'selves' and 'others' as human beings and see that traditional differences as unimportant when compared with similarities with respect to pain and humiliation and the ability to think of people wildly different from ourselves as included in the range of 'us' (Luh Sin, 2009: 985). She also noticed that the communities which people feel responsible for, are left out of the discussion. With her research she tries to answer the question if volunteer tourism is good for the host-community. The conclusion is that the unequal position between host and volunteer is standing in the way of a fully positive experience.

Also McGehee and Andereck (2009) are focussing their research on how the receiving community perceive volunteers. They state that voluntourists and community members do not see the volunteers as tourists (McGehee and Andereck, 2009: 47). In their research the social exchange theory is used to research the degree of personal benefit. They conclude among other things, that the communities should be given the opportunity to have a bigger influence on the policies of volunteer sending organisations (McGehee and Andereck, 2009: 49). In the article is also stated that there is a need for more research that focusses on the attitude of the local society (McGehee and Andereck, 2009: 40).

The more recent articles are all agreeing with the fact that the host communities are mostly ignored in research. The recent studies are therefore concentrating on the perception of the host-community on voluntourism, but they all take a different approach. Zahra and McGehee (2013) are researching the impacts of voluntourism from the perspective of the host community using the community capital model as a framework. With this frame the authors want to explore the space of social capital, in specific bridging and bonding (Zahra and McGehee, 2013: 22). They state that it is important that the voice of the host community is heard. In the research of Lupoli and Morse (2014), they make use of indicators to assess the community impacts of volunteer tourism to compare the contrast between the perspectives of the sending organisations of voluntourists and the host-communities. They research 'the engagement of host community members in a participatory indicator development process' (Lupoli and Morse, 2014: 579).

Whereas Zahra and McGehee (2013) researched the vision on bridging and bonding from the host society perspective, Hammersley (2013) focusses her research on the building of relationships between tourist and host-society. The subjects seem close but Hammersley has a different approach. The framing of being an insider or an outsider and the distinction between them and us is important in that relationship (Hammersley, 2013: 855-857). Volunteers make distinction between 'us' and 'them', and within this they make use of cultural stereotypes which often is negative for the local society (Hammersley, 2013: 856). She states that voluntourism is often starting with good intentions, but this can lead to an uneven distribution of power. She also does not go into the field, but distract her data from emailed interviews. From analysing these interviews she recommend to educate volunteers more to avoid an inequality between the host and the tourist. This can be done by giving them an introduction in important development issues and when they return, discuss what they have seen. This latter one can help avoid false stereotyping (Hammersley, 2013: 862). Although this research is creating a better understanding for the host-community, still the focus of the research is on the volunteers.

Hammersley's (2013) suggestion to educate tourists before sending them to a developing community relates to the conclusions in the research from Taplin et. al. (2014). They state that 'the monitoring and evaluation of volunteer tourism programmes are identified as essential for sustainable tourism management' (Taplin et. al. 2014: 891). Furthermore evaluation and monitoring should promote dialogue between different stakeholders in the field. With the dialogue, the voluntourism projects are able to improve themselves. Evaluation and monitoring helps to learn what went wrong and educate people how to better manage relations and projects.

It is noticeable that in the literature mentioned above the same kind of subjects concerning the receiving side of volunteer tourism, is mentioned:

- Cross-cultural influences between host and guest. (Hammersley, 2013; Guttentag, 2009; Zahra and McGehee, 2013).
- Work effectiveness (Hammersley, 2013; Taplin, 2014; Guttentag, 2009; Wearing 2001).
- Feelings of care and responsibility (Luh Sin, 2009; Guttentag, 2009).
- Bridging and bonding (Lupoli and Morse, 2014; Guttentag, 2009; Zahra and McGehee, 2013; Hammersley, 2013; McGehee and Andereck, 2009).
- Economic matters around voluntourism (Luh Sin, 2009; Guttentag, 2009).

These relevant themes can be used to give guidance to this research, it can be used to shape the interviews and research how the respondents view these topics. Instead of



researching these aspects at the level of the volunteers, or only using them as theoretical framework, this research tries to discover how the local partner sees these relevant themes drawn from the literature. It is not the aim of this research to research the impacts of voluntourism. It solely shall focus on the perspective of the local partner organisation and its staff-members on the phenomenon of voluntourism. By taking the existing literature as a reference point and work forward from this, there will be a stronger foundation to build this research on. Also by using the existing literature a stronger position in the scientific discussion is created. The themes of importance made by other researchers are taken serious and it can be tested in the field.



2.3 Relevant Themes

Within the status quaestionis, five relevant themes came to the attention: cross cultural influences, work effectiveness, bridging and bonding, feelings of care and responsibility and economic matters. These themes are the guidelines during the fieldwork research and during the analyses. The interview questions are structured in a way that at least these subjects will be discussed with the respondents to find out their perspective on the subjects. During the analyses it will become clear to what extent the themes will be as relevant for the respondents, as it is relevant for the academics. Also the themes will help to answer the sub-questions and of course to answer the research question.

Within the status quaestionis it only became clear that the five themes are important, they are not discussed in detail. To have a better understanding of these subjects, they will be discussed more in-depth. To do this, not only the literature from the status quaestionis will be used, but also literature that is less focused on the receiving side of volunteer tourism, or less focussed on volunteer tourism in general but can help to give a better understanding of the theme.

2.3.1 Cross-cultural influences between host and guest

Because the volunteers are working closely with the local community members, there is a lot of interaction. The locals and the volunteers will see each other's habits, norms and values. Because of the close contact, the cultural differences have a certain impact. Culture is a very broad term and can be defined in many different ways. In this research and in the interviews that are conducted the following definition will be used: 'Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour.' (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 3).

In the literature about voluntourism and its impact on the receiving side, different subjects are mentioned when talking about intercultural influence. As mentioned before, Guttentag focuses the cultural influence on the reinforcement of the concept of the 'other' and the instigation of cultural changes (Guttentag 2009). He explains that with the intensive contact between the host and the guest, culture is bound to have an influence on the social capital of both groups. It can break down stereotypes, but it can also reinforce them. Because of the close interaction between host and volunteer, there is bound to be some cultural

transfer. The demonstration effect is an example of cultural transfer between different groups. Because volunteers often come from more developed area's they will seem wealthier. This can lead to jealousy or copying the lifestyle of the volunteers (Guttentag, 2009: 547). Especially the copying behaviour can be problematic, because often younger people are sensitive for money and fashion but do not have the resources to live the same lifestyle as the volunteers. They will try to live the lifestyle of the volunteers but will get into trouble while they try to get hold of the money or items they will need to maintain the lifestyle.

The demonstration effect is not the only intercultural influence that will occur according to the literature. Because of the close contact, both volunteers and receiving societies will change their ideas of 'the other'. The local people and the volunteers, have a certain image of the other before working with that particular other. The time spent together can lead to 'greater understanding and compassion for others' (Guttentag, 2009: 545). The locals' mental images of foreigners can change, or be confirmed. The same thing can occur with volunteers; their mental images of the local society can be changed or confirmed. Either way, both groups will grow in their understanding of each other.

The whole voluntourism industry is focused on making the receiving society more 'other', more different, than the origin countries of the volunteers. This is a marketing strategy, more volunteers want to join to help the 'needing other'. The marketing of many sending organisations gives the impression that the receiving society is weak and poor and is in desperate need of the volunteers help. Simpson (2004) devotes a whole research on the sending side and the way they make use of the 'other'. She states that the sending organisations form a 'public face' of development and are lacking to inform people about why development differences occur in the world (Simpson, 2004: 690). Also Hammersley confirms the reinforcement of the other by volunteer tourism, but in her opinion the volunteers themselves are more to blame for the unequal relationship between host and guest. Because of their lack of knowledge they will reinforce old colonial thoughts about 'us' and 'them' (Hammersley, 2013: 856). She states that this can all be avoided by better education. The prevention of unequal relations through education will be further discussed in subparagraph 2.2.2. These concepts of us and them are often stereotypes. These stereotypes exist for different reasons, but both the host and the volunteer hold on to certain stereotypes.

When volunteers have strong stereotypical ideas, it can affect their attitude towards the 'other'. It can happen that the volunteer will feel superior to the receiving society and

will act that way. This unequal relationships will lead, according to some, to neo-colonialism (Pastran, 2014: 45). The theme of neo-colonialism in voluntourism is a whole research in itself and will not be researched in this thesis because it will be too comprehensive. The vision of the host on the attitude of the volunteer shall indeed be researched in this thesis but will be discussed in the subparagraph 2.3.2 concerning work effectiveness. Raymond and Hall show that longer term volunteer projects mostly can break down stereotypes, but this is not always the case with short term volunteering projects (Raymond and Hall, 2008). The long term volunteers obviously have more time to learn about the host society and their culture. They state that volunteer projects need to be carefully managed from the receiving side as well as from the sending organisations to make sure that stereotypes are not reinforced (Raymond and Hall, 2008: 541). Only then can cross-cultural understanding be reached. The value of the project for the local society is here one of the most important things.

Furthermore Zahra and McGehee (2013) discuss bridging and bonding to help with cultural understanding. They say that the interest of volunteers in the culture of the host can help with the appreciation of the host for its own culture, it creates a sense of pride for their identity and culture (Zahra and McGehee, 2013: 37). Also in another article of Zahra, written with McIntosh (2009), the value of intercultural experience is enhanced. For both the host and the guest, the volunteer experience can be a cultural lesson. To learn more about the culture of the other and to learn about their own culture (Zahra and McIntosh, 2009).

Noticeable is that most literature perceive cultural influences as something negative. The demonstration effect is perceived as a bad thing, but it can also have positive outcomes. Both groups can be influenced by the other and stimulated to do positive things. Also it is mentioned that the differences between host and guest can lead to inequality. The cultural influences can also be positive. If host and guest take parts of each other's culture as their own, cultural understanding will be reached sooner because of those 'borrowed' pieces of each other's culture.

2.3.2 Work effectiveness

Work effectiveness can be influenced by different things. In the literature many different causes are mentioned. Education, period of stay, skills, motivation and usefulness of the work are all factors that can influence work effectiveness. These aspects are diverse but all have an effect on the work.

To work on certain volunteer projects, skills are not always required. Volunteers without skills will help at projects which they are not licenced to work. With this lack of

knowledge the risk that they will hurt the people they want to help, will become higher (Guttentag, 2009: 543). Volunteers are often young girls who just finished high school; they often do not have the required skills. Volunteer tourists are often not well educated about the projects they are going to work on. They do not take into account that they need certain skills, time to set up something useful and knowledge about the hosts' norms and values. Voluntourists often stay at a place for a short period of time. Without the skills and a short period of stay, the volunteers may even delay the progress of the projects (Guttentag, 2009: 543). Because of a lack of training and guidance, these problems can occur.

Guidance at the projects and training as preparation is key for a good running project. Taplin et al (2014), claim that with evaluation and monitoring the work effectiveness will improve, which is beneficial for the host. Taplin et al (2014) are convinced that monitoring and evaluation are essential for a sustainable tourism industry. By having an evaluation all the important stakeholders are in dialogue and are working together (Taplin et al. 2014: 891). If all the stakeholders are in a dialogue they can make sure that the work that is done will be as effective as it can be. So not only evaluation and monitoring are important, but also the relation between the different stakeholders is as equally important.

The last thing that can influence the work effectiveness is the motivation of the volunteers. What is the reason that they want to go volunteering? Brown (2008) concludes in her research that there are a few reasons why people choose to go on a volunteer holiday. These reasons are: personal fulfilment, identity enhancement, self-expression, promoting peace, cultural exchange, valuing education, seeking camaraderie and the desire to have adventure, novelty and exploration (Brown, 2008: 493). If a volunteer has the wrong reasons to go to another country to help vulnerable people, it can have its effect on the host project.

Pre-traveling and local guidance and education, the usefulness of the work that is done, the skills that volunteers possess, education about the local situation, motivation, period of stay, the monitoring and evaluation of the local projects can all be of influence of the effectiveness of the work that is done by volunteers.

2.3.3 Feelings of care and responsibility

Care and responsibility are also terms which are not clear-cut and need more explanation. In this chapter feelings of care and responsibility for the world or the 'other' are discussed. Motivations are already discussed in relation to work effectiveness, in this paragraph the feelings of care and responsibility as a motivation to go volunteering, stand on their own.



Guttentag (2009) mentions that some of the volunteers feel responsible for the development of third world countries. This is also something that is said by Massey (2004). In her article, Massey has made a connection between responsibility and spatial identity. She states that: '... in certain locations within the unequal power geometries of capitalist globalisation, resubjection must include also a recognition to the responsibilities which attach to those relations and aspects of our identity- including those of our places- through which we, and our places, have been constructed' (Massey, 2004: 14). With this she explains why people should feel the responsibility for the 'less fortunate' in different areas. Place and identity are connected to each other. 'We are responsible to areas beyond the bounds of place not because of what we have done, but because of what we are' (Massey, 2004: 16).

The spatial aspect and the feelings of responsibility are also discussed by Luh Sin. She links geography of responsibility to the image of the 'other'. 'From the developed world's perspective, the developing world is often portrayed as a 'distant other' that one ought to care or be responsible for, even though most at the consumer-end will possibly never personally encounter those that they are supposedly socially responsible for.' (Luh Sin, 2009: 984). With the feelings of responsibility, the relationship between the volunteer and host will be an unequal one.

Responsibility and care are closely related. When people feel responsible, they care. Barnett and Land (2007) reflect on the debate about 'caring on distance' and 'geographies of responsibilities' in their article. They state that people are less able to care about the distant other than they are able to care about their close friends and family (Barnett and Land, 2007: 1065). They also introduce the term geographies of generosity; people are often actively giving to the 'other'. Certainly in modern times where institutions help to be more generous, it is easier for people to care about the distant other (Barnett and Land, 2007: 1072). Globalisation is making the world smaller, it is easier for people around the world to get and stay in touch with each other. The 'distant other' is not that distant anymore.

While Barnett and Land (2007) and Massey (2004) discuss their theories in general, Mostafanazhad (2007) uses the geography of compassion on volunteer tourism. With her research she pays attention to why people want to go volunteering in certain places. She states that due to the neoliberal values and the heritage of colonialism and uneven development, volunteer tourism has become popular and young people feel the urge to 'see and save the world' (Mostafanazhad, 2007: 332). This urge is something that volunteers feel, it is not something that the receiving society of the volunteers is actively asking for.

Now that it is clear what is meant with 'feelings of care and responsibility', this

information can be used within the fieldwork. The literature points out that the volunteers can feel responsible or care about what is happening to the 'other'. This image of the other is very important. This image can be shaped and reshaped when the volunteer and the host are in close contact with each other.

2.3.4 Bridging and bonding

In the previous paragraph the feelings of care and responsibility that the volunteers can have were discussed. By caring for the other, relationships are built and with these relationships there will be bonding. Also in relationships between people, the image of the other is important. Volunteers differentiate 'us' and 'them'; they make use of cultural stereotypes which often have a negative outcome for the local society (Hammersley, 2013: 856). Again, the relationship between host and guest can be unequal and will damage the project. Education can help to prevent an unequal balance of power and an unequal relationship between host and guest.

Even though volunteer tourists often go volunteering to 'better the world', they can make the local situation worse than it already was before receiving volunteers. Such a situation is mentioned in Guttentags' (2009) article. He mentions an environmental project which took some local turtle business away to protect the turtles (Guttentag, 2009: 542). The local community was depending on the business to survive, after the wildlife project made sure the locals could not hurt the turtles again, the locals got in financial trouble. The local people do not always benefit from the projects that are done by volunteers. Volunteers can see themselves as experts, they think they know things better than the locals, and will make some decisions which are not always in the best interest of the local society. Guttentag (2009) states that the wishes of the local society are often ignored. Lupoli and Morse (2014) state a similar thing, the quality of the projects will improve if the local partners will be given the chance to express their point of view (Lupoli and Morse, 2014: 578).

Bridging and bonding between volunteer and host is discussed by Zahra and McGehee (2013). In their research they explore the space of social capital. They state, among other things, that volunteers can help with bonding within the community. They state that because volunteer tourists are foreign, they are often interesting and the local community members put in more effort to listen to them (Zahra and McGehee, 2013: 34). In the research of Zahra and McGehee, some communities in the Philippines became closer and more caring about each other than before the volunteer program started. Even though this last example is



very positive, Zahra and McGehee (2013) also notice that the presence of voluntourists in the community can also have negative effects. When the volunteers and the community members lose contact after the volunteer returns home, it can lead to disappointment because of broken bridges (Zahra and McGehee, 2013: 34). Also, if the volunteers do not listen to the opinions of the local society, it can lead to mistrust. Hammersley (2013) focusses her research on relationships building between tourist and host-society. The subjects of this research and that of Zahra and McGehee seem alike but Hammersley has a different approach. The framing of being an insider or an outsider and the distinction between them and us is important in that relationship (Hammersley, 2013: 855-857). When volunteers make distinctions between 'us' and 'them', they will make use of cultural stereotypes which often is a negative image of the local society (Hammersley, 2013: 856). Education is, according to Hammersley, the solution to the problems that can occur between host and guest.

2.3.5 Economic matters

In contrast with the other relevant themes the term economic matters is quite clear. There are different aspects that can be involved with the economics in and around volunteer projects. One of the biggest critiques on volunteer tourism is that the volunteers supposedly do work for free. This work could also been done by local people as a paid job. Volunteers are taking the jobs of the local people, is what many pessimists say. Local labourers will suffer from the presence of volunteers. This is also what Guttentag mentioned in his article about the possible negative impacts of volunteers tourism (Guttentag, 2009: 544). He states that not only a decrease of employment opportunities will take place, but that there will also be a cycle of dependency on the volunteers (Guttentag, 2009: 544). Volunteers bring a lot of money with them and often, they donate money or supplies to the project. The project and the society will get dependent from that money and will get an inferior position. The volunteers will be seen as givers, while the host will be pushed into the role of receiver. On the other hand, volunteers will spend money in the stores, restaurants and shops. The economy can benefit from the volunteers. This last point is comparable with the vision Binns and Nel (2002) have on the contribution of tourism to the development of a region. They show that tourism can really help to develop a region. It can be a huge source of income (Binns and Nel, 2002: 235). A downside of the attraction of tourism is that it can lead to the destruction of resources, pollution and loss of cultural identity (Binns and Nel, 2002: 237).

Also Luh Sin (2010) agrees with the statement of Guttentag (2009). She states that '... locals will begin to expect that the infrastructural development would be provided by

external agencies for free' (Luh Sin, 2010: 990). According to Luh Sin, locals will expect volunteer tourists to hand out gifts or money which can be damaging for the development of the region. Also some groups in the community will always get more from the volunteers than other groups. Children and employees at the projects are always first in line to receive something. Other, less visible groups, will be overlooked. Then there is the issue that most volunteer projects are not in the poorest areas. This is because of the tourism aspect of voluntourism, the volunteers also want to enjoy the surroundings, thus be in a more tourist attractive area, the tourist areas are always more developed. Never the less, Luh Sin also states: 'It [volunteer tourism] does provide some aid and I suppose that it is better than nothing at all.' (Luh Sin, 2010: 990).



2.4 Geographical distribution of voluntourism

Geography is important for voluntourism. Volunteer projects are not evenly divided over developing countries or even within countries. The volunteers want to go to a place where need and touristic sightseeing are both present. The volunteer sending organisations are picking up on this wish and try to find projects in places that meet these wishes. Volunteer sending organisations have to incorporate the needs of the receiving area and the wishes of the volunteers into one trip, to both meet the requirements of the volunteers and the receiving organisations.

The motivations to go to a specific place to volunteer are the same as the motivations for mass tourism. There are certain push and the pull factors (Keese, 2001: 261). There are four location settings that tourists prefer to go to (Keese, 2001: 261):

- A Beach location which will have sun, sand and sea.
- A nature location, which means that unspoiled pieces of nature and wildlife are in the area. Adventure and conservation are important in these kind of locations,
- A cultural location, where traditional cultures are the main attraction.
- A urban location, which implies going out to enjoy the nightlife and the city centres.

For a volunteer to choose a certain location, one or a mixture of the above mentioned locations needs to be present. Before a volunteer chooses a destination, volunteer sending organisations make a selection of different places to go. Safety, need, attractiveness of the place, presence of local partner organisations, previous staff experience or personal contact and accessibility are the six actors that are important to sending organisations (Keese, 2001: 265, 267).

Almost all voluntourism trips are going to destinations in the global south. There are a number of trips that go to the former Soviet-Union, but this is a very small group (Keese, 2001: 263). Destinations in Asia are most popular, the second most popular continent is Africa. The global south is perceived as the producer of need and the West as the consumer in this compassion economy (Mostafonezhad, 2013: 329). Mostafonezhad proves in her research that volunteers perceive Africa as 'the real deal'. She discovers that first time volunteers often go to Asia because the volunteers believe that Asia is more developed than Africa. Also the transition between the home environment of the volunteer and the volunteering destination will not be too harsh (Mostafonezhad, 2013: 328). This is because most Asian countries have a growing economy and are therefore easier to travel through.

After the volunteers used their experience in Asia as a 'jumping off' point, they were thinking about having a more 'radical' and 'risky' experience in Africa (Mostafonezhad, 2013: 328). Within Africa the same rule can be applied, volunteers are more comfortable to go to 'more developed' third world countries such as South Africa then go to countries such as Congo or Malawi.

Within Africa, Ghana is the most popular country for volunteers. This is because it is political stable, peaceful, democratic, English speaking and perceived as 'typical African' (Keese, 2001: 265). That English speaking countries are more popular has to do with the fact that more Western youths speak English quite well. It is easier to communicate with the local population if both, host and guest, speak the same language. What is often overlooked is that even though in many African countries English is an official language, it is often not the first language of the local population. Most of the time people have an African language as their first language and only use English in school or use it for governmental affairs. If that is the case, volunteers still have trouble to communicate with the local community members.

Within South Africa, Cape Town is the most popular destination because it is known as safe, has a nice climate and a beautiful environment (Keese, 2001: 265). Other big cities, especially those who are located at the ocean such as Port Elizabeth and Durban, are popular. Unfortunately there is no more information known about the popularity of different areas for volunteers within South Africa. Because South Africa is one of the most popular destinations for voluntourism, a responsible tourism plan was needed. In 2002, 280 representatives from 20 countries signed a declaration at the Cape Town Conference on Responsible Tourism in Destinations (Van Zyl et al. 2015: 336, 337). Six directives were concluded during this conference, in which was determined that responsible tourism industry should:

- generate greater economic benefits for local people and enhance the well-being of host communities;
- improve working conditions and access to the industry;
- involve local people in decisions that affect their lives and life changes;
- make positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage;
- provide more enjoyable experiences for tourists through meaningful connections with local people; and
- promote a greater understanding of diversity, local culture, social and environmental issues (Van Zyl et al. 2015: 337). These six directives are guidelines for the responsible tourism industry; volunteer tourism is part of this industry and should be held to these directives.



However, if the different volunteer tourism actors actually follow these guidelines, is another discussion.



3. Methodology

3.2 Research strategy

In this paragraph the research approach, research methods and the details of the manner in which the interviews were conducted, will be discussed. This will give an inside look into the strategy of this research and the way the information was collected during the fieldwork research.

3.1.1 Research approach

This research is based on qualitative data, which means that it is concerned with the meanings and the ways people understand things, including patterns of behaviour (Denscombe, 2003: 267). Denscombe describes qualitative research as the product of a process of interpretation while Kothari describes it as: '[...] subjective assessment of attitudes, opinion and behaviour (Kothari, 2011: 5). Because the focus of this research is on the perspective of the staff-members of volunteer receiving organisations, qualitative research is most fit to collect the research data. The chosen methodology is serving as a guideline throughout this research. The thesis is based on a literature study and fieldwork research. The fieldwork research is central, but the literature study is important to give a solid foundation to the fieldwork.

The social constructivist approach is used to give guidance to the research methods. As is stated by Dillivan (2013): 'Social constructivism emphasizes the importance of social relationships in the formation of knowledge, and it explains how these relationships function to construct knowledge' (Dillivan, 2013: 3). Social constructivism is chosen as the methodology to give guidance through this research because it focusses on the social relations, and in this research the relation between volunteer and host is important. Knowledge plays a big part in social constructivism; knowledge is shaped through our everyday interactions. Reality is constructed in people's minds with the use of knowledge and is formed through interaction between different people (Van Oss, 2003: 1). This corresponds with my research because it is based on a perspective; perspectives are shaped through knowledge. A perspective can be different for everyone, not everyone has the same reality. People have different opinions based on the knowledge he or she has about the subject, this knowledge is based on experiences. In this research, there will not be given an answer to the question if voluntourism works, or what the effects of voluntourism are. The



aim is to reflect on the perspective and voices of the receiving organisations and its staff-members. The methodology of social constructivism is also noticeable in the motivation that started this research. The lack of local voices in the discussion about voluntourism is striking. If not every side of the coin is discussed, opinions are shaped on the knowledge that is available. With this research more information will be given and opinions about voluntourism can be reshaped because people will have more knowledge at hand.

3.1.2 Research methods

Different methods are used to collect the research data. The most important method is the semi-structured interview, meaning that the interviews will be structured beforehand but will be used as an interview guide. The semi-structured interviews can give guidance, but there is also room to diverge and respond to the answers given by the interviewee. This way, the interviewee has room to add something he or she think is important to discuss, but was overlooked in preparing the interviews (Bryman, 2012: 213; Denscombe, 2003: 186).

Multiple case studies are used as a method. 'The case study approach allows the use of a variety of research methods.' (Denscombe, 2003: 38). 'Case studies can cover multiple cases and then draw a single set of "cross-case" conclusions.' (Yin, 2009: 20). The case study method is mostly used to research a contemporary phenomenon, 'it's unique ability is to deal with a full variety of evidence' (Yin, 2009: 11). Twenty interviews are conducted at six different organisations that reflect the different case studies. Later on, the different case studies will be analysed and conclusions will be drawn out of the data collection. The research can be defined as a case study, because the view on voluntourism will be made clear in a limited geographical space, the eThekweni municipality. This is done to offer a bigger understanding and a more detailed view on a specific area but can, in later researches, be expanded to bigger areas, in research done by others.

Furthermore the snowball effect was used to find more respondents. Volunteer sending organisations were looked up on the internet, when I was still in the Netherlands. Attempts were made to come in contact with the receiving volunteer organisations, listed on the websites of the sending organisations. These organisations were contacted through e-mail, but just two out of eight responded. After arrival in South Africa appointments were made with these two organisations as soon as possible. After the first four interviews at the first organisation they called their colleagues at another organisation to make an appointment for me. Also other interviewees gave e-mail addresses of previous employers of whom they knew were also receiving volunteers. Because of the snowball effect, more



respondents were found.

To analyse the data that is collected, several steps have been taken. The first step was to structure the transcript, the second step was to label the information that had been given and the last step was to find the links within the given information of the respondents and the relevant themes of the literature. The structuring and labelling of the information from the interviews has been done on the hand of the relevant themes drawn from the literature. So during the structuring of the interviews, the information will be put in categories of cross-cultural influences between host and guest, work effectiveness, feelings of responsibility and care, bridging and bonding or economic matters. Thus the categories to put the labelled information in, were already provided by the literature. Some of the information fitted in multiple categories. Within the categories, information could get a certain label so different links were easier to make within the specific category. The information was labelled and coded because in most cases, it was contradicting to, or agreeing with the literature. In some other cases information was shared which was not mentioned in the literature. If that information was mentioned by more than one respondent and had meaning, it was put aside and later incorporated in separate paragraphs about newly discovered trends. The combination of the different themes will give a perspective of the respondents on the voluntourism literature, and voluntourism in general. No theme is more important than the other, but some themes are more comprehensive than others.

3.1.3 Interviews

To collect the information needed for this research, semi-structured interviews were used. The questions were structured beforehand but could be changed during the interview, depending on the answers given by in the interviewee. During the interviews different questions were asked about the experiences with and ideas of staff at volunteer tourist receiving organisations.

There have been twenty interviews conducted at six different organisations. These six different organisations were Horizon Farm Trust, Bobbi Bear, C.R.O.W., Mother of Peace, I Care and Hillcrest Aids Centre. The next figure shows some basic information about these organisations and the volunteers they receive.



Fig. 2: Basic information volunteer receiving organisation

	Name organisation	Description organisation	Number of volunteers per year	Tasks of the volunteers	Number of interviews	Respondents name and position
1.	Horizon Farm Trust	Home for mentally impaired grownups.	8-12	Different chores, depending on what skills they have.	4	-Alec: Chairman -Justin: Volunteer Coordinator - Thandi: Care giver -Gugu: Care giver
2.	Bobbi Bear	Human rights organisation who provides emergency shelter and legal counselling for abused children.	48	Different chores, depending on what skills they have. Mostly taking care of the children at night, are present at trails and provide sex education.	2	-Eureka: Director -Ladyfair: Child safety officer
3.	C.R.O.W.	Rehabilitation centre for animals.	20	Different chores, depending on what skills they have. Mostly assisting with rescuing endangered animals, make sure they get the right treatment and try to release them back into the wild.	2	-Paul: Educator -Kim: Volunteer coordinator/ clinic assistant
4.	Mother of Peace	Home for aids orphans.	30	Different chores, depending on what skills they have. Mostly volunteers help out with daily tasks and play with the children.	3	-Iris: General manager -Victoria: Care giver - Nomusa: Care giver

5.	I Care	Helps street children making a future by arranging a stable place to live, schooling and work.	15	Volunteers help with small chores, the purpose of the volunteers is because of the cross-cultural experience.	4	-Trevor: Volunteer coordinator -Carol: All round employee - Kayla: Care giver - Gail: Care giver
6.	Hillcrest Aids Centre	Providing support for communities affected by HIV/aids in many different ways.	40	Volunteers have very different jobs within this organisation because it is a very multifaceted organisation. Examples: Helping out in the craft shop, administrative tasks, going into the community to provide sex education.	5	-Bekky: Volunteer coordinator -Olivia: General manager - Shpe: Manager Respite unit -Verna: Craft shop employee -Paula: Manager craft shop

The respondents were people who were all paid staff at a volunteer receiving organisation. Six of the respondents were working in the organisation as part of the management, the fifteen other respondents were working in different functions 'on the floor'. Before the interviews started, the plan was only to speak with the people 'on the floor' and not with the management. The choice was made not to speak to the management because they could be biased because they make the decision to work with international volunteers. During the interviews it became clear that some things were overlooked. First, management knows more about the relationship with the sending organisation, also if there are complaints, the management will handle those. Furthermore the management will know more about the finances that are linked to the volunteers. After this became clear, the management of volunteer receiving organisations were included in this research.

Second, it became clear that some people who worked 'on the floor' were uneducated, which meant that there could be a huge language barrier because for most of them Zulu was their first language. Because I do not speak Zulu and I did not have an

interpreter, I needed to do the interviews in English. English is not my first language and often also not the respondents' first language and this sometimes made it hard to conduct the interview the way it was planned. This is why I tried to speak slowly and as clear as I could. Another inconvenience was that respondents sometimes did not understand the questions and intentions of the research because of their lack of education, which made them shy to answer certain questions. If the respondent needed more information about why the interview took place or certain questions were asked, the information was provided to them. The respondents could pick the location of the interview to make them more comfortable, for the same reason the interview started with talking about other subjects.

This being said, there have to be taken into account how I, as the interviewer, affect the answers of the interviewee. The answers can be affected by my personal identity (Denscombe, 2003: 169). Volunteer tourists are mostly white western women, as am I. To safeguard the quality of the research pro-western or 'political correct' answers had to be prevented. If the respondent gave answers he or she thought I wanted to hear, the whole research could be in danger because of false answers. Some obvious appearances cannot be changed, for instance sex, ethnic origin and accent. This being a small-scale research, the solution to this problem is limited. Still there are some efforts that can make the respondent more comfortable to answer the interview-question fairly (Denscombe, 2003: 170). The influence of the researchers' identity on the respondent can be avoided by not naming the interviewee in the research. If they stay anonymous, the respondents will be less tempted to give 'political correct' answers. Before each interview the respondent was asked if they objected if the interview was recorded. By trying to establish a feeling of confidence with the respondent, the goal was to make the respondent feel safe to honestly answer the questions. This is why most organisations were visited more than once. This did not always happen because people were often very busy. Also to make sure that the respondent feels comfortable the interview could take place on a spot the respondent feels free to talk, for instance in a restaurant or at their own home. This is why the interviewee always had the choice on which location the interviews were held. Although these places can give the respondent the comfort to speak freely, the interviewer must stay neutral and non-committal on the statements made during the interview (Denscombe, 2003: 171). Also, establishing a relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer takes time. People are less willing to speak their mind to a total stranger.

During the interviews people were often referring to the Zulus, the Indians or the Afrikaners as different cultures. Respondents never spoke about South African culture. This



made interviewing about cultural differences extra challenging, it gave an extra dimension because often the English or the Afrikaner people did not see any cultural differences between themselves and the volunteers; they referred to their Zulu co-workers when cultural differences were discussed. South Africa is a complicated country, especially to conduct social research. South Africa has a very troubled history with as a low point the Apartheid regime (1948-1990). Different races were forced to live separated from each other. The white population was privileged and black and coloured population were discriminated. Since the discharge of the Apartheid regime and the rise of democracy, South Africa is calling itself 'the rainbow nation'. South Africa knows inhabitants with a huge variety in background. In 2014 80,2% of South African's population was African, 8,8% was coloured, 2,5% was Indian and 8,4% was white (<http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022014.pdf>). All these racial groups have their own history and culture that was strengthened by the years of separated living.



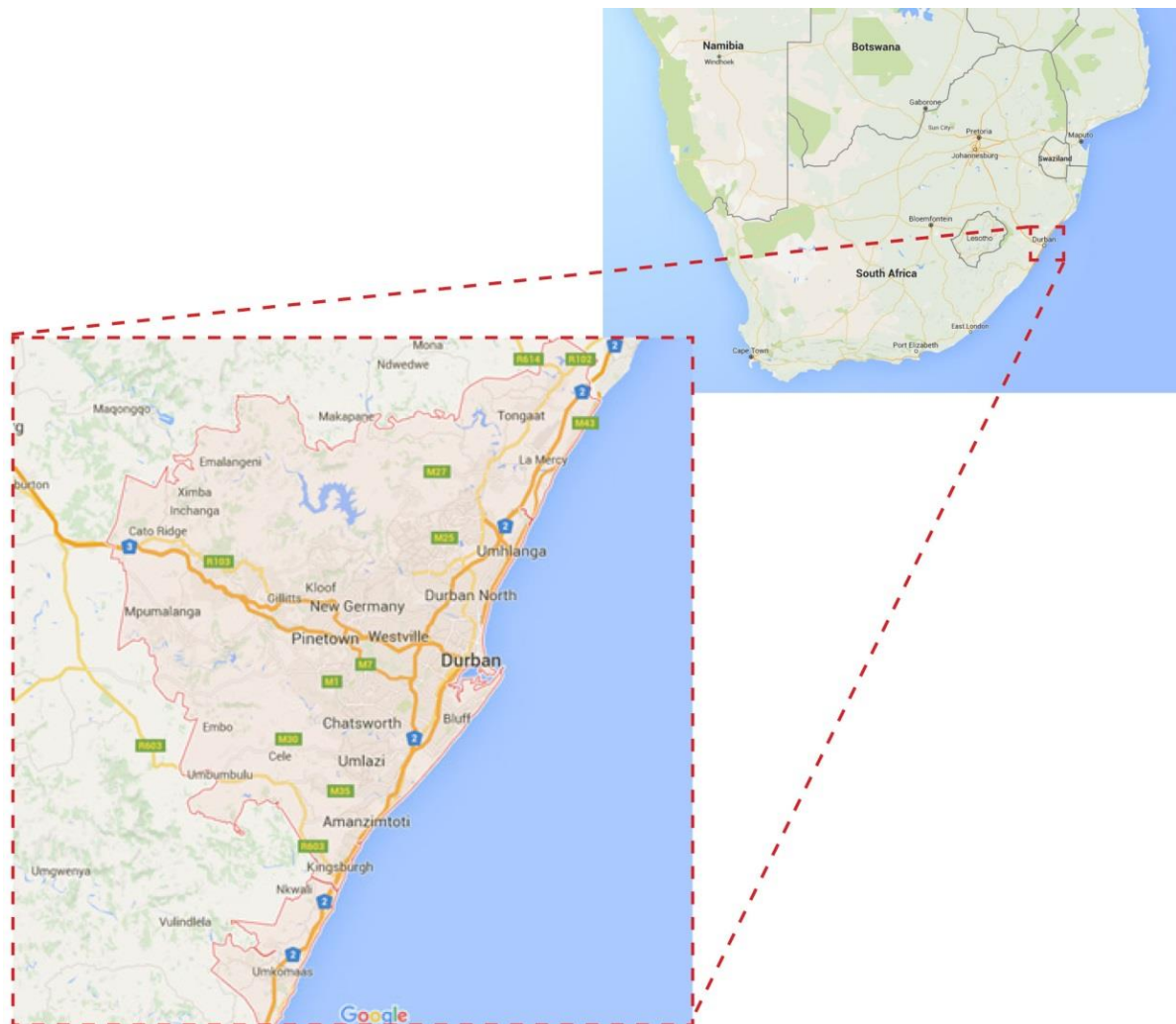
3.2 Choice of research location

The research is conducted in the eThekweni municipality in South Africa. An African country is chosen to conduct this research because the literature often mentioned that Africa is 'the real deal' for voluntourists (Mostafonezhad, 2013: 327). Asia is often spoken about as a 'first step outside Europe or the US, it is perceived as more approachable than other third world places' (Mostafonezhad, 2013: 318). Africa is perceived as the most in need for aid but also more unsafe and risky than other continents. Also, much of the research already done about the receiving side of voluntourism is done in Asia.

It was because of practical reasons that this research took place in South Africa. I have already been to South Africa and I know the country. I already experienced that it would be safe to travel alone as a young woman to visit my respondents, I was unsure Ghana would provide me with the same safety as well. The fact that South Africa is the second most popular destination in Africa was also very important for the decision to go there. There are enough volunteer projects to visit and respondents to interview.

As was said, before departure some e-mails were sent to returned volunteers and volunteer receiving organisations. Most responses came from people who had done volunteering in eThekweni or from volunteer organisations that are operating in the Durban area. This made the choice for conducting this research in eThekweni easy. eThekweni is a municipality situated at the east coast of South Africa, Durban is its biggest city. eThekweni is a municipality in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal. The municipality of eThekweni has an estimated population of 3,4 million people, this is 33% of the population of Kwa-Zulu Natal and 7% of the population of South Africa. IsiZulu is the most spoken language in the municipality and Zulu the most common culture. The unemployment rate in eThekweni was, in 2011, around the 20,4%, the poverty rate was higher with 31%. Even though 31% of the population is living in poverty, it is lower than the average of Kwa-Zulu Natal, which is 49%.

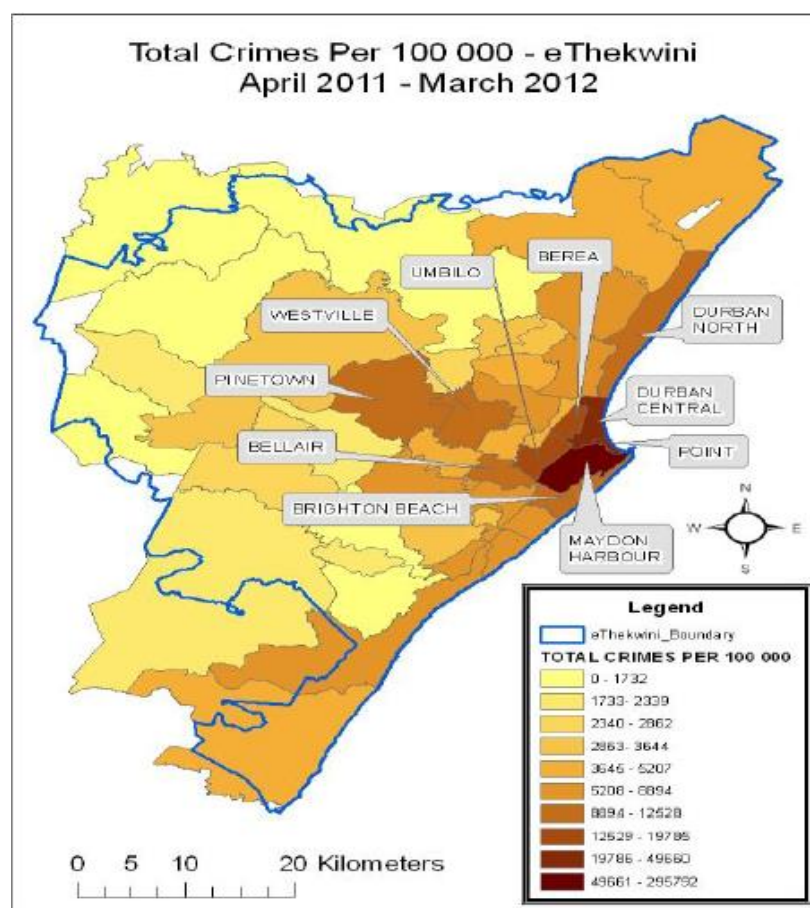
Fig. 3: Map of South Africa and the eThekweni municipality.



eThekweni has almost all the location settings that Keese (2001) describes. It is a beach location, it is situated at the Indian Ocean, has hot humid summers and warm and sunny winters. Furthermore, Durban is the capital of Zulu culture. King Shaka, who lived from approximately 1787-1828, is a famous character in Durban and Kwa-Zulu Natal. Also other Zulu heritage is easy to find in eThekweni. Durban, which is the most important city of the municipality, has a very urban surrounding. It has a historical city centre, and restaurants and bars are not hard to find. The only local setting mentioned by Keese that is missing is the nature location, because eThekweni has an urban surrounding and it is not in the middle of unspoiled nature. However, nature is also not hard to find. Within a three hours' drive, the Drakensberg Mountains or the nature park Hluhluwe can be reached.

Because all the location settings are there, eThekweni is attractive for volunteers to visit, but the criteria of the sending organisations (Keese, 2001) are also important for volunteers to actually book their trip to eThekweni. Safety is a very important criterion. Unfortunately eThekweni and Durban are known as unsafe. Especially the city centre of Durban is known for its lack of safety. People are often robbed, junks are lying around in the streets and violence is very common. In eThekweni the numbers of crime grew in 2007 (157.479) to 2012 (173.686), therefore with an increase of 16.207 crimes per year (eThekweni Municipality plan 2012/13 – 2016/17, p. 32). It becomes clear in figure 4 that the most crimes are committed in the Maydon harbour area which is an area in Durban.

Fig 4: Crime rate in eThekweni 2011-2012.



Source: eThekweni Municipality plan 2012/13 – 2016/17.

Volunteer receiving and sending organisations want to keep their volunteers safe. This is one of the most important reasons why Durban is not as popular as Cape Town. In other aspects (need, attractiveness of the place, presence of local partner organisations, previous staff experience or personal contact and accessibility) these two cities are very similar. Even

though eThekwinini is not the safest area in South Africa, there are multiple international volunteering programs running in the municipality. Unfortunately, there are no numbers on how many volunteer tourist programs are running in the eThekwinini municipality. In figure 5 is shown where the six volunteer organisations were situated in the eThekwinini municipality.

Fig 5: Location of researched organisations.



4. Research Results

Within this chapter, the research results will be discussed. The relevant themes mentioned in chapter 2 will be the guidance for the upcoming paragraphs. As was stated before, the interview results were structured into different themes that were drawn from the literature. These themes are: (i) cross-cultural influences between host and guest, (ii) work effectiveness, (iii) feelings of responsibility and care, (iv) bridging and bonding and (v) economic matters. In chapter 2, it became clear that the individual themes are plural. This is the reason that the themes have sub-themes, it will keep the collected information structured and uncluttered. In these sub-themes the different aspects of the themes will be taken apart and analysed on their own. During the analyses of the research results, respondents will be quoted. Some respondents are quoted more often than others. This will not necessarily mean that these frequently quoted respondents are more important than others or have divergent answers, the only reason they are quoted more often is because they knew how to express themselves in the interviews. If a respondent had a very divergent answer in comparison to the other respondents, this will be clearly mentioned.

4.1 Cross-Cultural influences between host and guest

In chapter 2, subparagraph 2.3.1, the theory around the cross-cultural influences between host and guest have been discussed in detail. Hammersley (2013), Guttentag (2009), Zahra and McGehee (2013) and Raymond and Hall (2008) are the most prominent researchers in this theme. Cross-cultural influences between host and guest are very dynamic. In the next four subparagraphs, the cross-cultural influences between host and guest will be discussed in relation to the fieldwork results. In this paragraph there will be given an answer on the next sub-question:

How does the staff of the voluntourist receiving organisations perceive cultural differences between them and the volunteers?

To make the chapter more accessible, this theme is divided into sub-themes about (i) stereotypes and cultural differences, (ii) the demonstration effect, (iii) cultural education and (iv) new trends that have been discovered. In these different sub-themes the literature and the interviews with the respondents will be analysed.



4.1.1 Cultural differences and stereotypes

When volunteers from different parts of the world come to work for several weeks or months in South Africa, there are bound to be some cultural differences. In total seventeen respondents mentioned some form of cultural differences. These cultural differences were not a negative experience for most of the respondents.

There are small cultural misunderstandings that some respondents have noticed. One respondent had a few examples that occurred: *'Men tell women that they love her, because in Zulu there is only one word for love and that is the same word for like or find attractive. So people will see you and they will tell you I love you. The girls will say: What? You don't even know me! And the guy will say no but I love you. That often causes a problem. Another classic that will happen to every foreign volunteer in South Africa is that at some point you will be told that you are fat. That is the highest compliment, because fat is good and beautiful here, and thin is horrible, sick and poor. So people will say: wow you are looking so fat! And the girls will not like it, but it is the highest compliment. When you will figure that out, you will laugh about it.'* (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). Seventeen respondents had examples of small cultural misunderstandings that did not really lead to any problems. With some explanation, the volunteer or the staff-member would understand the situation according to the respondents.

Cultural habits can also be misunderstood and can lead to friction between host and guest. A respondent had a problem with a volunteer who misunderstood a cultural situation. *'We had what we call the Imbizo, it means sitting around the table and sharing ideas. It is like what the kings used to do with a problem, and we sat and I was just explaining how it was important to bring in your particular git. So, I said, if we could sit together and draw up a four-week program and let the volunteers help with a life skills program, I would really appreciate it. So let's think about it, you have been travelling. Then he [the volunteer] said, I believe that is your job. We did not come and leave Holland to do your job. So it was a complete misunderstanding of what expectations are and even of the culture. We sit around and discuss that is the culture of South Africa. Not that one person will sit and is autocratic, so he completely missed it, I think.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). The volunteer in this example did not understand the cultural aspect of the Imbizo. The same respondent explained that she often has some trouble in the morning with waking up the volunteers: *'In Holland people wake up much later than here, so if we say that you have to be in my office at half past 7 the reaction will be like aaah half past 7! I think a lot of the times these things get related to a problem with miscommunication with regards to culture.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). Iris states that with explaining the cultural differences, volunteers will understand why certain things happen and their image of the host culture will be corrected.



Stereotyping is very important when we speak about cultural differences, but not only the volunteers have some stereotype thoughts about 'the other', the host can also have stereotype thoughts. In total six respondents talked about some form of stereotyping. The next example shows how stereotypes are reinforced. *'They [the volunteers] reinstate this mind set in the communities that the rich white westerners come in and give, and we receive and then they leave. It reinstates the kind of hand out mentality and power dynamic in a sense that Africans can't do anything for themselves.'* (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). There were four respondents that mentioned this kind of stereotyping. This example shows that four respondents noticed that volunteers could be seen as money bringers. This kind of stereotyping will be further discussed in paragraph 4.5 about economic matter, because the behaviour of some volunteers does not only reinstates stereotypes, it makes people dependent on the volunteers.

One respondent talked about some stereotyping within her organisation. She noticed that some cultural differences have led to problems. She states: *'The Dutch are very, very straight forward'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). Her concept of the other, in this case the Dutch, is that they are very straightforward. She takes this image of the Dutch and uses it in her training. She said: *'Dutch volunteers are structured people, we know that. When they arrive we tell them, Bobbi Bear is very structured too, but South Africa is not structured.'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). The respondent does not only have a stereotype of the Dutch being straight forward and structured people, she also has a stereotyping thought about South Africans as being unstructured people.

The same respondent mentioned other forms of stereotyping; stereotyping done by volunteers. She mentioned a volunteer who posted a story and a picture online after the volunteer visited a staff-member's house. *'One staff-member, a poor woman, she has about seven children to whom she looks after. The volunteers love to go home with her and stay for the weekend and eat with them and going to their church. One of her panties was hanging on the line and there were two big holes in it and they [the volunteers] took a photo of it and put it on the weblog and said: this is how the poor people of South Africa live. The staff member felt very offended, we called her [the volunteer] in and we said, I know you didn't mean to do bad with is, you tried to show the world that they live in privilege.'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). The volunteer in this case enforced the stereotype of poor people in South Africa for the people at home who read her blog. The volunteer did not have the right information and did not understand the context of the panties hanging on the line. Because she did not spent enough time in South Africa or did not receive the right information, the volunteer offended the staff member and reinforced a



stereotype. There were more respondents who saw that volunteers use the internet as a stage to show everyone their volunteering experience, not always aware that they are confirming certain stereotypes. *'She [the volunteer] was so proud of what she had done, when she came back home and she showed the pictures with the African children on it. Some people call it volunteer porn. They are saying look what I did, with those pictures. In fact they can be detrimental because they reinstate this mind set in the communities that the rich white westerners come in and give, and we receive and then the volunteers leave. It reinstates the kind of hand out mentality and power dynamic in a sense that Africans can't do anything for themselves. They do assume that all Africans are poor and dumb, and that they as Westerns have all wisdom to their part. They think that they could solve all the problems here just by implementing their ideas.'* (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015).

The interviews make clear that cultural differences do not always have to lead to problems, but sometimes do. It also becomes clear that stereotyping works both ways. Seventeen respondents talked about cultural misunderstandings, most of them saw these misunderstandings as something harmless. Respondents believed that some education would have an influence on the reduction of cultural misunderstandings. This is in line with what Guttentag (2009) and Raymond and Hall stated. Six respondents talked about stereotypes. Not only do the volunteers have some stereotype images in their head about the host, it is also the other way around. Both groups have the power to break down or reinforce these stereotypes. Breaking down cultural stereotypes cannot always be done by close interaction, as becomes clear from Eureka's example of the volunteer posting pictures on the internet. In this case the close interaction and lack of knowledge caused the stereotyping, but with giving the missing information the stereotype could quickly break down. Three respondents noticed that with close interaction some stereotypes were reinforced. This is confirming what Guttentag (2009) mentioned. He stated that stereotypes could be reinforced or broken down when there is interaction between host and guest. The interaction between the volunteer and the local society did not break down the stereotypes in the eyes of the three respondents, but even reinforced it. The respondents did not mention the period of stay as an influence on the breakdown of stereotypes as Raymond and Hall (2008) stated. The role of education in reinforcing or breaking down stereotypes as is stated by Hammersley (2013) and Simpson (2004) will be discussed in paragraph 4.1.3.



4.1.2 The demonstration effect

The demonstration effect is described as jealousy or copying the lifestyle that is demonstrated by volunteer tourists (Guttentag 2009). Respondents were asked in what way cultural exchange was occurring between them and the volunteers. Seven of the respondents saw that either themselves, or the people they took care of, try to take some cultural habits from the volunteers. Two of the respondents saw the cultural copying as a positive development. Two were very negative about the copying behaviour of, in this case the children they take care of. One respondent said: *'I would say the older ones get very fascinated by this lifestyle, and sometimes they can't go back to reality, they are in dreamland sometimes. It must be difficult to see some of the volunteers. One girl she was 15, she came with her family. Can you imagine this 15 year old travelling all over the world and you yourself..... It also goes right back to us. We need to make sure that the child here, inside, is strong enough to focus on their dreams. That instead of seeing it as, 'look at that person's life!', seeing it as an inspiration. But it all boils back to us, building that child inside. Generally the volunteers don't flash what they have you know. But yes children get used to new technology mostly when the volunteers come, they see these things and they see those phones and then they tend to want, want, want. Especially the little ones they say, oh I saw this phone, I saw this gadget. One of the little ones came up to me and said: auntie please buy me an I-pad! But as I was saying, it would be the same if they were living outside the project.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). She describes the demonstration effect very clearly. She also recognizes that it is the responsibility of the organisation to guide the children in the right direction and keep them out of trouble. Another respondent also saw that the street children within her organisation, want to live the lifestyle of the volunteers, but she saw it as an generation problem. *'Well I think it is the generation of today, black and white equal, they think they got entitlement and they want those things.'* (Carol, I Care, 18-09-2015).

The copying behaviour was not always seen as a negative development. One respondent mentioned that she is taking some small lifestyle aspects from the volunteers. *'Just silly things, like there is a certain hair style in a different country and like they come here and they teach us or the way they dress.'* (Kim, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015). Kim was not getting into trouble because she had the financial support to change her hair and fashion sense. She also said that the volunteers leave things behind when they go back home and that the staff uses these things to copy the volunteer. Someone else said that: *'We are being fed the latest developments that are happening in Europe. We know that we are 2 or 3 years behind the new trends. So these young girls bring a whole new way of looking at the world with them. I mean we don't even have a degree on things that they do. These young girls are doing degrees, we don't even have them!'*

They don't even exist!' (Paula, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). Paula is mentioning the educational programs of the volunteers that are coming to the Hillcrest Aids Centre. These examples are not material things, but are still part of the lifestyles that volunteers have. The volunteers Paula mentioned have done a education that she would like to have done too. She also acknowledges that she takes some cultural aspects from the volunteers, but it is hard to describe exactly what it is. *'I think it is very subtle, I think it is hard for us to pin point.'* (Paula, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015).

The demonstration effect is not always seen as something negative by the respondents, even though Guttentag (2009) does describe it as a negative development. Two of the respondents saw it as something positive. It brings some respondents to new ideas on how the life their lives, such as following an education or to improve their sense of fashion. Striking is that the respondents were positive about the cultural transfer when they were the ones who were taking over things from the volunteers. They were negative when they saw that their clients, take over things from the volunteers. Two respondents were very negative about the demonstration effect. These respondents worried that their clients, will get into trouble or take things for granted. This is corresponding with Guttentag (2009), who said that the demonstration effect can lead to social economic problems. Jealousy was never mentioned by the respondents, but it was mentioned by Guttentag (2009) as a possible effect.

4.1.3 Cultural education

Cultural education should help preventing cultural misunderstanding and stereotyping. In some cases volunteers receive a training before departure where they are educated about the culture of the receiving country. It can also occur that they receive this training from the receiving organisation. Or in other cases cultural education will occur by accident, because host and guest interact with each other.

Fifteen different respondents talked about learning from different cultures or educate volunteers about their own culture. The host learned more from the world by learning about the cultures of the volunteers. One respondent said: *'I do not have the money to travel myself, but with the volunteers I still have the opportunity to learn about other cultures.'* (Paul, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015). Another respondent had a comparable answer: *'We find them interesting, she [the volunteer] is an well-travelled girl, so what she did is, instead of doing some activity, she would actually tell everybody about the places she has been to. Drew a little map and pointed were it is in relation to where we are, you know, stuff like that.'* (Justin, Horizon Farm Trust, 21-07-2015). At

the same organisation a respondent was glad to have the volunteers around because she never travelled and had the opportunity to learn a lot from the volunteers: *'Most [volunteers] are telling everything about their culture overseas. Oh I wish I was gone there. I have never gone to Cape Town, I was born here!'* (Thandi, Horizon Farm Trust, 23-07-2015). Thandi and Justin were not the only people who saw the usefulness of the volunteers and their different cultures. There were two more respondents who saw the benefits. Iris from Mother of Peace stated that: *'I think that a cultural evening does help, we also encourage the volunteers to teach the kids like songs and dance'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). Iris saw that the children in her home, were interested in the cultures of the volunteers, she encouraged the volunteers to teach the children some basic cultural habits. The volunteer coordinator from I Care told that the volunteer program was built upon the cultural interaction between the volunteers and the street children. He said: *'Because the difference that it makes.. Having that contact with another nation, another culture, it is the best education you can have. I see that for the boys, they get to experience a different culture. The relationships that the volunteers develop with the boys is useful for both parties. I see the interaction, and interaction is education.'* (Trevor, I Care, 18-09-2015). Five respondents in total mentioned that they, or their clients, learned more about the world because of the volunteers. The employees and the clients learned from having the volunteers around. Another motivation was to learn different parenting skills from each other: *'I think there is a good integration and understanding for the opportunity to both share our skills.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015).

Some respondents learned from the volunteer's culture without having a reason, they mostly just 'liked it'. *'I enjoy spending time with them and I am learning German now and.. I just really like it.'* (Kayla, I Care, 18-09-2015). *'I just want to know, just the knowledge. And tell my sister at home: do you know what? There is a volunteer here, she came from Holland, that told me this and that. We do this, and that it's an education to us.'* (Thandi, 23-07-2015).

The volunteers often get a training from the sending organisation to prepare them for their departure. Discussing the culture of the receiving country is generally part of that. A good preparation is not always mandatory, cultural problems can be a result of not being prepared enough. *'Some come here and they have no idea. Some take it as it comes and they just adjust and adapt and they enjoy learning about the Afrikaans culture and the Zulu culture.'* (Kim, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015). Next to the training offered by the sending organisation, the volunteers often get a training from the receiving organisation as well. Eureka from Bobbi Bear said: *'We run a professional organisation. We know where to watch out for, so we bring it all into our training: how people in your country live, and how we live here. We say, if you are not sure*

why certain things are happening, just ask one of us. Before you put it all on the blog, before you make pictures of little children with snotnoses and put it on the blog, talk to us. So we've learned how to handle it, in the eight years we have worked with volunteers, we have learned how to cope with it, and to guide them and 99% of the time we are quite open.' (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). What becomes clear from Eureka's story is that they experienced some bad situations because of bad prepared and bad educated volunteers. To avoid insulting situations for the volunteers or the staff, many receiving organisations try to prepare their volunteers in one way or another. At the Hillcrest Aids Centre and I Care they hand out manuals for volunteers. These manuals discuss culture among other things. I Care provides a list of Zulu words to the volunteers, the be better able to communicate with the staff and the street children. The Hillcrest Aids Centre's manual goes deeper into cultural habits in their manual. They also discuss dress code, greetings and different cultural nuances on interaction.

Not only the volunteers are getting training to prevent unwanted situations, but also the staff of the receiving projects are sometimes getting a training about cultural differences. At Bobbi Bear, the staff gets a training on how to handle cultural differences. *'In the beginning it was very difficult because our black staff didn't understand the Dutch. The Dutch are very direct, very straight forward, very open, very honest. We also had to go through a whole learning thing with our staff and say, don't be offended when they are down the line. Training is taken those problems away. We say to the volunteers, if you are not sure, just ask one of the ladies. Still you will have the strange ones, you will get a question that you never had before. You cannot sort all the thousands of cultural things out in eight years.'* (Eureka Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). She also stated that the volunteers are partly there to learn more about South Africa. South Africa cannot be understood if you do not understand the cultural situation in the country. *'These girls [the volunteers] are coming here, not only to work at our project, but to learn about South Africa, to learn about our culture, to learn about our people and what is happening in this country. So part of the cultural differences is part of their journey. They love hearing it, they love asking questions.'* (Eureka Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015).

The staff-members also notice that the volunteers learn a lot of things from their culture. Volunteers are, in most cases, not afraid to ask the employees about their cultural habits. The people who were interviewed also liked the volunteers asking them questions. Thandi told that: *'I remember there was a volunteer from Germany, we called her teacher because she was a teacher from Germany. She was always on my back, she wanted to know what everything was. What is that Lebola thing, you know, if you got married. What do you do? What we don't do and what we are not allowed. This is my real hair, my culture says I mustn't buy fake hair to put in my*

real hair, but some of people they do it, but not me. She was interested in all that!' (Thandi, Horizon Farm Trust, 23-07-2015). Every respondent was asked about their best and worst experience with a volunteer or a group of volunteers. Thandi said that the thing she likes the most about the volunteers is just to tell about her culture to someone, that someone is interested in her and her culture. There was one other respondent who mentioned the pride that people have when they can educate volunteers about their culture: *'I think they want to show their culture and be proud of their culture in front of the volunteers because they know the volunteers want to see it and appreciate it and say thank you and that is amazing that you do this and tell me about this.'* (Paula, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015).

Cultural education is mentioned in the literature as something that can help with cultural understanding. Education is used here in the broadest sense of the word, education does not have to be giving in a school or on purpose. Education can also be given or received via interaction, or as Zahra and McGehee (2013) would call it: bridging and bonding. The exchange of culture can help break down stereotypes, it will shape the ideas of the other. Both groups can learn from cultural exchange and education about different cultures. It becomes clear from the interviews that there is a lot of educational cultural exchange between the host and guest. Both, the volunteer and the staff-members learn from the cultural differences. Fifteen respondents mentioned the importance of the educational cultural experience. Zahra and McIntosh (2009) state that both the host and the guest, the volunteer experience can be a cultural lesson. For five of these respondents the cultural experience was important because they were immobile. Because those five respondents, or their clients, were not able to travel, they could learn from the volunteers who did travel. The other ten respondents just thought the cultural experience could benefit themselves or the people they take care of.

To prepare volunteers and staff-members, both can receive a training on how to interact with people from different countries. Not all the volunteers or staff members receive these trainings, so not all of them are prepared to handle a cultural misunderstanding. Simpson (2004) stated that the sending organisations are lacking to inform their volunteers about cultural differences, this is not mentioned by the respondents. Also the respondents did not agree with Hammersley (2013), most respondents thought that volunteers were prepared enough about the South African cultures. At one point respondents were agreeing with Hammersley (2013). Respondents thought that informing or education volunteers, can help to prevent troubles. There were two respondents who mentioned the feelings of pride that people can have when they educate volunteers about their culture. This is

corresponding with what Zahra and McGehee stated (2013). This form of bridging and bonding helps with cultural understanding according to Zahra and McGehee (2013) and two of the respondents.

4.1.4 Newly discovered trends

The literature discussed stereotypes and cultural differences, cultural exchange and cultural education. In the interviews with the respondents, more themes came up. The respondents also talked about national cultural differences.

The complicated cultural situation in South Africa is already shortly explained in paragraph 3.1.3. These national cultural differences were also very noticeable in the interviews. When the question about cultural differences was asked four out of ten respondents of European descent answered that they did not see any differences because they were European too: *'My ancestors are English, German and Dutch. So no, I do not see much cultural differences.'* (Justin, Horizon Farm Trust, 21-07-2015). Noticeable is that the four who said that they not see much cultural differences between the European volunteers and themselves, were all older than 45. Although the data did not provide a clear-cut explanations, it is possible that maybe because some respondents lived a long time during Apartheid, they did not see themselves as African, but kept on identifying themselves with Europeans.

The examples of cultural differences between South Africans did stop with the identification of four respondents with their European ancestors. Six respondents talked about the variety of different cultures and its troubles in South Africa in relation to the volunteers. *'A volunteer fell in love with a black guy. So I think they were together somewhere in the restaurant. The whites, the way they were looking at them, they really didn't like it because it was black and white. So she even start to notice: why are the white people looking? She loved him and they kissed in front of them.'* (Ladyfair, Bobbi Bear, 19-08-2015). *'Look there are cultural differences between us and South African African, the Indian and the different white groups here. We all got cultural differences, so to us that is not a new thing. We don't see you as any different.'* (Carol, I Care, 18-09-2015). There were also three respondents who talked about the cultural differences between their own population group and another population group. They explained that their group was very different from the other cultural group. Those three also misunderstood the question about cultural differences, they immediately began to speak about cultural differences within South Africa. This does show that, for these respondents, the cultural differences between the different groups within South Africa are prominent.



These examples make it clear how many cultural groups there are in South Africa, and how complicated or easy it can be. On one side, the cultural difference cannot be a big problem because there are already many different cultures in South Africa. On the other hand, the old Apartheid dynamics did not die out completely, which can make it hard for different racial groups to interact together.



4.2 Work Effectiveness

In chapter 2, the relevant themes were discussed. The literature showed that there were different elements that could affect the work done by volunteers. Education, period of stay, skills, effort, motivation, preparation, attitude and usefulness of the work are all factors that can influence the work effectiveness. In the next four sub-paragraphs these multiple elements will be discussed in relation to the fieldwork results. In this paragraph there will be given an answer on the next sub-question:

How does the staff of the volunteer tourist receiving organisations experience the work that is done by volunteer tourists?

To make the theme more accessible it is divided into sub-themes about (i) skills and appropriate work, (ii) effort, (iii) evaluation and monitoring and (iv) new trends that have been discovered. In these different subparagraphs the literature and the interviews with the respondents are being analysed.

4.2.1 Skills and appropriate work

Volunteers do not always poses the needed skills to do certain jobs. This can have multiple reasons: the volunteers did not have learned the skills that are needed, it is not clear what kind of skills the volunteers need or the volunteer is not placed properly and cannot make use of the skills he or she possess.

The respondents were asked if they thought the volunteers were skilled enough. Seven respondents said that the volunteers they receive, have enough skills. A respondent said: *'I must be quite honest. The volunteers that we all had, have helped us in some way or another.'* (Justin, Horizon Farm Trust, 21-07-2015). Even though there were seven respondents optimistic about the skillset of the volunteers, there were also four respondents who were negative. One respondent was not content with the language skills of the volunteers: *'We have a problems with the language. Because some do not know how to speak English but we don't know Dutch.'* (Nomusa, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). This is a big problem, if the volunteer and the staff member cannot communicate, they cannot discuss what work needs to be done and thus the work cannot be as effective as it could be.

There were six respondents who said that the skills of the volunteers and the work, need to be assessed. *'If they can identify what their skills are and we know what our needs are, we can put those two together.'* (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). In most cases the



sending organisation already informed the receiving organisation about the volunteers. The management of the receiving organisation can then see where they can put the volunteer to work.

One respondent was trying to reshape the volunteer program. The person who was previously in charge of the volunteer program was not focussing on the skills of the volunteers, instead he or she was focussing on the money that volunteers brought in. *'I want to focus on the skills. Because then we will move forward instead of back. Because a lot of the time people were taking gap years last year but if you have somebody who is extremely young, who supposed to do a sort of guiding... I mean how do you help this kid to do that? We need someone with a skill not someone who partially takes a holiday.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). Iris noticed that her organisation is more in need of skilled volunteers than volunteers who bring in money. She noticed that there were a lot of volunteers who were taking a holiday instead of wanted to work. She wanted to change the policy of her organisation.

There was one respondent who wanted her volunteers to leave everything they knew from home, at home, unless the volunteers had a very relevant education. *'I'm not being disrespectful to their education, not at all. I said to them: you come into the doors of Bobbi Bear, no matter what you do, forget it. Leave it in Holland. Your country is a beautiful country. I have been there, everything works: the police work, the social workers work, the hospitals work. You say to your volunteer: you might not be a teacher or a psychologist but just love that child, let it trust you and she will tell you what is wrong.'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). Eureka was convinced that the skills the volunteers had, unless it was really relevant, did not matter in her organisation or in South Africa because they were learned in a completely different country. The skills became irrelevant, she would teach the volunteers new skills when they arrived at Bobbi Bear.

What is important to mention is that only ten of the respondents were properly educated to do the work they did at the organisations. Especially most care givers did not follow an education, in many cases the respondents or the other staff-members only had a few days of training. This is why many of the respondents think the volunteers have the required skills, because the volunteers have had an higher education than themselves or other staff-members. *'We have a serious shortage of well skilled people. Normally there is two of us who have a high education, all the staff is been brought up from training. So if we have someone who has a different set of skills, it is so important. It adds a whole different dimension to the centre. So we don't care what kind of skills they have, we will use them.'* (Paula, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015)

Now that the perspective of the receiving organisations on the skills of the volunteers are discussed, the usefulness of the work has to be reviewed. All the researched organisation tried to match the volunteers with the work they needed to get done at that moment. They would not have a certain standard job for the volunteers to do. They would look at the profile of the volunteer and see what kind work still needs to be done. There was not one respondent who did not find the work done by volunteers useful. Respondent did not have any remarks on the usefulness of the work done by volunteers that their organisation received.

The skills of the volunteers and the work that they do are very important to the receiving organisations. Seven respondents thought that volunteers were skilled enough to do the work they do. Four respondents thought volunteers were not skilled enough and could not really contribute to the goals of the organisation. There was one respondent who found that volunteers did not need skills, she wanted them to leave everything they know behind. This partly fits the statements of Guttentag (2009), he mentioned that volunteers who do not have the right skills, can have a negative effect on the project. Four respondents agreed with him. Six respondents said that the existing skills of the volunteers and the work that needs to be done need to be assessed so that the work and skills can fit together, this means that there are no standard volunteering jobs at the organisation. This was the case for all six organisation, none of them had a certain standard job for volunteers, it depended on the skills of the volunteers. Very important to note is that there were only ten respondents who had an education themselves. The rest of the eleven respondents were not trained at all or only had a short training. Because most of the respondents were not educated themselves, they would not see the lack of skills of the volunteers as a problem. All respondents agreed on Wearing (2001) that the work done by volunteers need to be useful, they all thought the work done by volunteers at their project was useful.

4.2.2 Effort

The effort that volunteers put into their volunteering trip is of influence on the effectiveness of the work that they do. First the volunteers have to be prepared. They have to get informed about the country and area which they are going to visit. They also need to know the basics of the organisation they going to work at and they need to know about the work that they are going to do. Furthermore period of stay and motivation can affect the work effectiveness.

Two respondents had a negative experience with a volunteer who came with the wrong reasons. Both volunteers were sent by their parents to 'find themselves'. The

volunteer did not choose to come to the project and did not have any motivation to do anything. *'We had a young man here, he didn't come out of its own. Along the line he was never checked up, he had been to prison in Holland, for assault or something. He arrived with, this big tattoo on his neck saying "atheist". His family wanted him to find himself and realize where he has gone wrong in his life. He stepped out of the plane and said: 'I don't believe in God, so fuck God.'* 'Then we said: well Bobbi Bear is a Christian organisation. We teach kids about Jesus and we sing and we pray with them.' It was just a very unpleasant situation. We just didn't want him in our project. He was doing nothing, he is stayed in bed all day, he smoked marihuana. He actually did nothing to help us.'

(Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). Eureka described a situation where multiple things went wrong. The organisation did not do a background check on this volunteer. Also, his family wanted him to do the volunteering work. He did not go because he was motivated to do something. This caused troubles in the organisation and he did not do any work, he was a burden on the organisation. Earlier on, Iris (Mother of Peace) was quoted in sub-paragraph 4.1.1, she talked about a cultural misunderstanding with a volunteer who did not understand what an Imbizo was. This was not the only problem that Mother of Peace had with this volunteer: *'He said: 'I don't want anything to do with kids.'* And then later on it came out that he was completely depressed and there was nothing that I could do beyond sitting and try to talk to him. Then he said it was not his idea to come here and he slept for the rest of his time. Which was very bad because it is also a bad influence whether you would wake up later on the day and sit out with the children and then show then pictures in your phone that are vulgar. So it was just a very, very, very bad and dangerous experience.'

(Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). The situation that Iris described is comparable with the situation that Eureka described. Both volunteers were sent by their family, both did not have the motivation to do any work and both were a burden on the organisation. There was one other respondent who experienced a bad situation because a volunteer was send by her family to do some volunteering. Because these volunteers did not have the right motivation to come to the project, they did have an attitude and their work was not effective.

The volunteers of the above examples had a bad attitude, the source of that attitude was that they did not have any motivation to go volunteering. The upcoming examples show respondents who talk about volunteers with fine motivations to go volunteering but bad attitudes. There is an example that shows how the attitude of a volunteer can influence the project. *'Out of all the volunteers, you now and then get a negative one. That has nothing to do with being in South Africa or on Bobbi Bear's project, that is just who they are. We had one recently, she arrived with a negative attitude. Eventually her negativity was robbing of on her colleagues, on my*



staff and I called her in and I said okay, let's talk. Why are you so negative? She comes from a very rich family in Holland, she is spoiled rotten, here she has to make her own bed. She said, her parents spent a lot of money to send me here. I think it was towards the last week of her stay that she changed her attitude a bit, then she wanted to cry because her time was up. She wasted five weeks of her time being negative, with her colleagues, with the staff, with everybody. Why? Because she came from a rich family.' (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). Because of the negative attitude of the volunteer, the whole organisation was starting to get a negative vibe. Four other respondents mentioned that some volunteers have a negative attitude towards the employees of the organisation they worked at. A respondent had a very positive answer for a the negative attitude of a volunteer: *'We had one not long ago, a very arrogant young boy, knew it all. Studied what we do, knew better than everybody else. We can deal with it. It doesn't interfere with my work, I will take what I can from him, he goes home in two months or six weeks or eight weeks or whatever and I am left with his knowledge and not with his attitude. So that part really doesn't bother me. As I said, it was very mild, he didn't bother anybody on the farm, it that was his nature. I have no doubt that he is the same in Holland. In fact he is exactly the same. Because I have kept in touch with him afterwards.'* (Justin, Horizon Farm Trust, 21-07-2015). Justin took the knowledge that he wanted from the volunteer and did not let the attitude of the volunteer bother him or the organisation. Obviously there are also positive stories about volunteers and their motivation. Every respondent said that there are more volunteers with positive attitudes and positive motivations, than there are negative volunteers. The motivations to do volunteering work is varying wildly according to the respondents: Some want to 'do good', save the world, see the world, work on their c.v., have an cultural experience and travel or experience the new South Africa.

Putting effort into making volunteering work successful does not only exist out of motivation and attitude, the preparation of volunteers is also very important and of big influence of the effectiveness of the work. If the attitude and motivations are right, but the volunteer was not prepared enough, the work done by volunteers can be ineffective. Of course, if a volunteer has the right motivation and a good attitude, the chances are that the volunteer prepared well. Four respondents were doubtful if the volunteers were prepared well enough. *'Some volunteers think they can hug the animals here at C.R.O.W. If they see that this is not that kind of centre, they are not happy. We had a few volunteers that choose to go to other projects where they could touch the animals, but it is not in the interest of the animal to be touched by humans. Those kind of organisations only want to make some money, at expense of the animals' welfare.'* (Paul, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015). These volunteers who thought they could hug and

touch the animals were not prepared on what to expect from their work at C.R.O.W. In this case, it did not matter for the project itself because some of them left, but it is very hurtful for the animals that live at the other projects. As Paul said, touching the animals is not in their best interest. Cases are known where animals are raised by volunteers, they could closely interact with them, but these animals were raised for hunting. These animals were so used to human contact that they do not hide from hunters, they will be an easy target (Merkenich, 2015).

In other cases volunteers were not prepared to live in the South African society. *'We see a lot of our volunteers get robbed and I think some expect to see wild animals in our streets.'* (Gail, I Care, 18-09-2015). Another respondent also thought volunteers were not prepared to live in South Africa: *'No, the volunteers are often not prepared enough, they come in and fall in love, and they really put themselves in risk of HIV because maybe in their home country it is not something to think about. That makes me very nervous. These young people, they are having relationships and I just want to put them in a box and lock the door. No they are often not prepared enough. They are a bit blasé about crime and walk around at night, not realizing that it is not safe to do that.'* (Oliva, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015).

Also the period of stay can have an influence of the effectiveness of the work done by volunteers. Ten respondents mentioned the effect of the period of stay of the volunteers. Every one of these ten respondents agreed on the point that they prefer long term volunteers. They all stated that volunteers who stay longer than four, five or six weeks are more useful for the organisation. There are multiple reasons, according to the respondents, why longer term volunteers are more useful. First when a volunteer stays long term, a staff-member has more time to get to know the qualities of a volunteer. *'It is nicer when we got volunteers for a longer time, so looking at everything from a month or two months and any time after that. You will get to know their personalities, their strengths and their weaknesses and work on that.'* (Kim, C.R.O.W. 20-08-2015). Second reason is that staff-members do not have to explain the work assignments every time new volunteers arrive. *'When they go back we need to teach the next group. Let's say they are only here for 2 weeks or 6 weeks, and the first week they are getting a training, and then the next week they still don't know what to do. So the week after that, that is the time when they fit somewhere and that is when it is time runs out to go back.'* (Ladyfair, Bobbi Bear, 19-08-2015). *'The only downside with the volunteers from Holland is it is usually short term, so by the time they are useful to us, the trip is over.'* (Trevor, I Care, 18-09-2015). A third reasons mentioned by respondents is that the volunteers who stay short term can have a bad effect on the development of children. *'You are getting new faces every four weeks, so it tended to have a*

disruptive influence on the behaviour of the kids, that was my finding.' (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). The last reason why long term volunteers are more useful, according to the respondents, was that it is easier for the organisation to give volunteers a certain job if they stay longer term. *'The only time we fixed a job was really is when the volunteers are from Germany. They are with us for a year and then we can form them in a more practical way because we got that length of time. I mean two months is not a long time to train someone.'* (Trevor, I Care, 18-09-2015).

All the receiving organisations who were involved in this research provided a training for their volunteers. One organisation recently changed their training because two volunteers were in a dangerous situation and their training did not cover how to deal with it. *'The volunteer went out into the community with our feeding scheme. She was just out there with a driver and a 16 year old German volunteer. A lot of our procedures we developed was because of what happened here. The volunteers were flagged down by a bunch of ladies on the side of the road because a lady was giving birth. She was lying there for two hours and the baby, it was miscarried but it was 8 months old and in the sack. The volunteers hadn't had first aid training, the driver sort of panicked. Hillcrest aids centre is seen as the guardian angel of HIV so people assume you are a medic. I think the baby just passed away but they weren't be able to save it anyway. We managed to get the mother to the clinic so we did what we could but she had a drug resistant form of TB and she had HIV. The mother past away 3 weeks later. The volunteers got exposed to the TB and HIV, it was very minimal but they had to go on the HIV drugs and that itself was awful because one of them had dreadful side effects from that. They had no gloves with them, even though there was a first aid kit in the car, at the time they hadn't been told that. Now the volunteers get this information before they start off. I also always tell volunteers to carry gloves and so on, just in case.'* (Bekky, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). The fact that the volunteer needed to take the HIV drugs could have been prevented with better training, the Hillcrest Aids Centre changed their training for volunteers after this incident, now the volunteers are better prepared before they go into the community.

Overall, the attitude and motivation of the volunteers can influence the organisation in a negative, but also in a positive way. Motivation and attitude are very closely related, if it was not the choice of the volunteer itself to go volunteering, the chances are that their attitude will not be positive. Even if their attitude and motivation is positive, the preparation of the volunteers can interfere with the effectiveness of the work they do. In total, the effort the volunteer puts into the volunteering trip can be of great influence to the work effectiveness. There were five respondents who had experiences with a bad attitude of volunteers which affected the work they did. As Brown (2008) already noted before, there are eight reasons to go on a volunteer holiday. These motivations are: personal fulfilment,

identity enhancement, self-expression, promoting peace, cultural exchange, valuing education, seeking camaraderie and the desire to have adventure, novelty and exploration (Brown, 2008: 493). The wrong motivation to go, can have an effect on the project. Guttentag (2009) stated that, if the volunteers come for a period of time that is too short, it can even delay the progress of the project. Ten respondents agreed on the statement of Guttentag (2009) that they prefer longer term volunteers because they are more useful for the organisation. The respondents had four reasons for that: It was easier for the organisation to get to know the skills when volunteers stay long term, staff-members spent less time explaining the work assignment, having volunteers leaving quickly is bad for the development of the child and it is easier for the organisation to give the volunteer a fixed job when they stay long term. There were four respondents who agreed on Guttentag (2009) and thought volunteers were not prepared enough and because of this harmed the goals of the project or were a danger to themselves. On the other hand, all the organisations that have been researched claimed that they trained their volunteers before they were put to work. This is contradictory, if the volunteers are trained by the receiving organisation, than the volunteers should be prepared for their work and their stay. Sometimes the organisations think they prepare their volunteers well, until these volunteers encounter a situation where things go wrong, as happened with the volunteers at the Hillcrest aids centre.

4.2.3 Evaluation and monitoring.

The role of the sending organisation is also important, by monitoring and evaluation of the volunteers and the project, mistakes can be prevented. This means that the sending and the receiving organisations have to work together. All the researched organisations were working together with one or more organisations that are sending volunteers from western countries. Eight different sending organisations were involved, two of them had local people employed who come and check the project and where there for complains and problems. There were four receiving organisations who worked with the same sending organisation, Bobbi Bear, Horizon Farm Trust, Mother of Peace and I Care.

Two of the respondents worked in a management team, one in Mother of Peace and the other at Bobbi Bear. They both encountered some problems with the monitoring and evaluation of the project by the sending organisation. At Bobbi Bear, the sending organisation came to the conclusion that the project needed an extra house mother for the children, so that those responsibilities would not fall on to the volunteers. They put pressure on the organisation to hire a house mother. *'We have basically been giving an option. By the end*



of this year, if we don't employ our own house mother to work here permanently, they won't be sending us any more volunteers. Well we are pushed into a corner, we got no communication. We basically either got to employ a housemother at the end of the year, or lose our volunteer program. We are pushed into it.' (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). The respondent viewed the situation as a monologue. She thought that because the sending organisation did an evaluation, and came to the conclusion that the project needed a new employee, they put some pressure on the project. At the same time there was no dialogue, the receiving organisation was not consulted in this and felt pressured.

A respondent at Mother of Peace saw that there was a monitoring problem. Mother of Peace had a complaint about a volunteer, and they had contacted the sending organisation but they did not listen to the complaints. *'So first I felt that they were a bit defensive because they said that we didn't have enough structure to actually guide him, to say this is what you must do. We work with children, we got the structure in place. So then afterwards I think maybe the volunteers had also complained about that it was unacceptable. Which made them jump a little and they would be more careful. The great reaction came when the volunteers complained, at the end of the day that is their client.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). The sending organisation did not take the complains from Mother of Peace serious. Again, there was not really a dialogue. It was until the other volunteers started to complain too, that the sending organisation took the complains serious. Iris explained that in the past, the project was not completely in charge of the volunteer project. There was no clear policy about how many volunteers could come in. *'They [the sending organisation] need input from us as a project, because I have felt that we haven't have much of a say. They just presented this project. It is important to have that vision and fit this program into your vision and how will you ensure that your vision will be protected. So I think that as long as the ball is in the projects court, and they don't do anything against the principles and their own constitution, then it will work out pretty well. But you have to stay in the driver's seat, you can't give the controls to someone else.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). Iris showed that there was not always a dialogue between her project and the sending organisation. She sees the purpose of having control over the project and not giving the control away. This indicated that there is a more fair dialogue and the project and the sending organisation have become equal partners. When she was asked if she was in the driver's seat she answered: *'I think that I am there now, but I was not always there.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015).

The Hillcrest Aids Centre had a different experience with their sending organisation. Olivia mentioned in her interview that they had a bad experience with a volunteer and filed a complaint. *'They were very apologetic after we complained, they really reviewed their own*

screening process, because she had passed the screening process with flagging colours so they reviewed their screening process and put in some more measures.' (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). The sending organisation took the complaints seriously and showed that they were working on an equal basis with the Hillcrest Aids Centre. The Hillcrest Aids Centre also had a good experience with the monitoring of the volunteers by the sending organisation: *'They normally send someone before they send us the volunteers, to check their accommodation, and to check their safety. They tend to check in with you and the volunteers, maybe every 6 months.'* (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). Another respondent explained that in her opinion, the monitoring of volunteers and the project goes quite fair. *'They also look at the majority. So if there are seventeen of the twenty volunteers who come in who love our staff and there are three who complain because they had a bad experience... It is not that we overlook it, but we will try to change the situation so we don't have other volunteers come in who have a negative experience. It is quite a fair process.'* (Kim, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015).

Overall, there were two organisations who were not content with the way the project is been monitored and evaluated by the sending organisation. The main reason for this was because there was no dialogue, the sending and receiving organisations were not equal partners which caused friction. The other organisations were content with the way their project was monitored and evaluated and had the opinion that it helped with the work effectiveness because problems can be discussed and solved. This is complementary to the statements made by Taplin et al (2014), they state that with evaluation and monitoring the work effectiveness will improve, which is beneficial for the host, guest and sending organisation. They stated that when there is a dialogue, evaluation and monitoring can only improve projects. If all the stakeholders are in a dialogue they can make sure that the work that is done will be as effective as it can be from all different perspectives. So not only the evaluation and monitoring themselves are important, also the relation between the different stakeholders is as equally important.

4.2.4 Newly discovered trends

During the interviews respondents came with some answers that were not mentioned in the literature but were relevant to the research. There were four respondents who talked about new things they had learned from the volunteers and new insights that the volunteers gave them. Also ten respondents mentioned that the volunteers gave them some relief from their work pressure.

A few respondents mentioned in the interview that the volunteers bring in a new



point of view. There were four respondents which mentioned that they learned new things from the volunteers that helped them do their job. *'We learned a lot of kids exercises from Holland. Things we did not know before and use them now very often.'* (Gugu, Horizon Farm Trust, 23-07-2015). It helped Gugu to learn new exercises to help provide better care for the people she takes care of. Another respondent could phrase it well, she said: *'They also bring a different perspective in. You know for the staff it is what we do every day, it becomes.. a job. The volunteers view it from a completely different angle. So they have a lot more to offer.'* (Gail, I Care, 18-09-2015).

The volunteers also often help the staff-members with their work and thus the staff-members find the work done by volunteers useful. There were ten respondents that said that the volunteers relieved them from their work pressure. *'Sometimes I am not feeling well. The other caregivers are off, and then you see there is a volunteer here. You can ask a favour. So they make my job easier.'* (Thandi, Horizon Farm Trust, 23-07-2015). Thandi can count on the volunteers to help her with her job when she is not feeling well. There are also bigger problems, in the case of two different organisations. *'I work here for fifteen years, I am exhausted and so is our staff. When we did not have the volunteers we would be dragging children home. So our children and families would always have kids in our homes. You have a fresh set of people coming in, they say don't worry. For the first time ever in the last couple of months, I can walk out of her at five o'clock, because we have volunteers living in this house who say you look exhausted, we will answer the phone for you. Or if someone is at the gate, we will open the gate, or if the police brings a child, we will phone you. I am a minute away. I am doing this as a non-profit. Because I have people here that care, I can let go of my organisation, I can lock the door and go home to my family that never sees me. That's the difference of having a volunteer.'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). *'Sometimes we are short of staff and we have twenty-four beds and we have four home-based Zulus employees looking out for them. Sometimes they are all bedridden, they are very sick. Usually we have four or three volunteers coming in. So that means that they will help us and we don't have a lot of work because they will be here supporting and helping us.'* (Shpe, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). In the case of Eureka and Shpe, the staff is leaning a lot on the volunteers. They say the work is too hard when there are no volunteers around to support them.

It can be valuable for any organisation to see things from a new perspective and learn new things. In these organisations the volunteers provide this new angle. It was also mentioned by ten respondents that the volunteers provide relief for overworked staff-members. These two things also improve the work effectiveness, giving a new perspective can bring in new insights and a well-rested staff can do their jobs better.

4.3 Feelings of Responsibility and Care

In subparagraph 2.3.3 the details of the theme feelings of responsibility and care, were discussed. From the literature research it became clear that volunteers can have feelings of responsibility and care, which can be a drive to go volunteering. In the next two subparagraphs the theme will be discussed in relation to the fieldwork results. In this paragraph there will be given an answer on the next sub-question:

How does the staff of receiving organisations, perceive the feelings of responsibility and care of the volunteer tourists?

To make this paragraph more accessible this theme is divided into sub-themes about (i) responsibility, and (ii) care. In these different sub-themes the literature and the interviews with the respondents, are being analysed.

4.3.1 Responsibility

During the interviews the respondents were asked if they had the idea that the volunteers felt responsible to help the developing world. Respondents were asked if they talk with volunteers about that subject and if they felt that the volunteers were volunteering out of a feeling of responsibility. Seven respondents mentioned that the volunteers could be feeling responsible to provide development. Six out of those seven thought that the most volunteers they received were feeling responsible for providing aid. *'I think some people play it on their minds, that their forefathers were also invaders. There are people who do that you know. And this is the way that you can restore your soul and I think maybe in that way they do feel responsible.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). This example shows that Iris thinks that some volunteers do feel guilty about their colonial past and have the feeling that they need to restore that by giving aid. Another respondent saw something different, she said: *'I think they want to help these children. Because I think that they heard the story about them.'* (Nomusa, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). Nomusa thought that volunteers heard stories about the HIV/aids orphans and felt the responsibility to come and help. This is a good example of the distant other. Eureka from Bobbi Bear also saw that a lot of volunteers come to South Africa because they had the feeling that they needed to do something for the world. During the training that she provides for the incoming volunteers, she tries to get the volunteers back into reality: *'I say to the volunteers, if you come here to save Africa, forget it, it is not going to happen. If you leave here and you get in the airplane and your saved one child, don't think you wasted your time coming to our*

country. *You made a difference to one child, you kept one child alive.*' (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). There was one out of seven respondents who said that most volunteers come to South Africa to have a cultural experience, not out of feelings of responsibility.

It becomes clear from the interviews that the host believes that volunteers can feel responsible, but why the volunteers feel responsible and the responsibility for what varies. Guttentag (2009) stated that volunteers feel responsible for the developing world, seven respondents agreed with him. They thought the volunteers felt some kind of responsibility towards South Africa. What the volunteers felt responsible for, according to the respondents, varied. Six respondents thought volunteers felt responsible for providing aid. Volunteers come from the developed world, because of this they often have a better social-economic position than people from developing countries. These six respondents agreed with Massey (2004), the feelings of responsibility of the volunteers were linked to their identification with a place, the developed world. Only one thought that the volunteers came because they feel responsible for the distant other as is discussed by Luh Sin (2009). She is linking geography of responsibility to the image of the 'other', the one respondent thought that volunteers came because they heard stories about HIV/aids orphans. Two people mentioned the colonial past in relation to the feelings of responsibility of the volunteers as was stated by Mostafanazhad (2007).

4.3.2 Care

Responsibility and care are very closely related. Respondents were asked if they thought the volunteers cared about development. Not everyone had an answer for that question, but many mentioned the love volunteers have for the work, the children or animals, this is also a way of caring.

There were nine respondents who mentioned that the volunteers cared. Most of the time love was mentioned, the respondents talked about a deeper feeling than care. Most of the nine respondents admired the way the volunteers have love for the work that they do. In their opinion many volunteers came to help their organisation because of love. *'They do things for love. So they show us how to have love for the children. We live as a team, because they leave home for two months. We should love everyone, it is not about this culture or that culture, they give us love and support.'* (Victoria, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). There were more comparable statements from other respondents: *'I think the international people are doing it out of their hearts.'* (Verna, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). *'You smiled at one child, you gave one child love. That child will never forget your face.'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). *'It is love that makes the world go round!'*



(Carol, I Care, 18-09-2015). It does not really fit the kind of care that is talked about in the literature, but the respondents do think the volunteers go volunteering out of love.

The difference between the locals showing love to the people they take care of, and the volunteers showing love for those people is mentioned three times. *'I see the volunteers with their arm around them [the street children]. We are working and we don't really have the time to sit and talk to them because we are actually working. But the volunteers have the time to sit and talk to them, they can tell them their troubles. I think it is tremendous because we don't have that time to spent each individually. The volunteers got the time and I think it is tremendous for their [the street children] emotional needs. The volunteers are showing them their love.'* (Carol, I Care, 18-09-2015). This respondent mentioned that because the staff does not have the time to give the street children love, it is extra appreciated that the volunteers do have the time. When the respondents were asked if children could get attachment problems from volunteers coming and going, two respondents answered that the volunteers could not hurt the children in that way. *'No, don't come to me and say to me that volunteers can damage the children in South Africa. The children in South Africa are damaged already. How can you damage them anymore? A volunteer can only help. They can help that child to come back up again and make something of themselves. So if that child grows up, the difference of high jacking a car, or murdering a woman on a farm. To say, I am something. Years ago they taught me something, I am special. I want to do something, I want to get an education, I want to become a lawyer, I want to help other children who are like me. The majority of the kids in this country are going through a hard time. There is rape, there is abuse, abandonment, parents are dying from HIV and AIDS, they don't know love. They don't know what it is like for any white volunteer or white person, to sit down and put their arms around that child and make them believe their special or somebody.'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). This respondent does not think that the volunteers can hurt the children in South Africa, she is convinced that the volunteers can only contribute to the development of the children because the children in South Africa are already damaged. Another respondent also does not recognize the problems mentioned in the UNICEF report. His case is somewhat different because at Horizon Farm Trust volunteers take care of mentally impaired grownups, but most of the residents have the mental ability of a child. The respondent said: *'We probably put our own aspect on that. We have a much longer memory skill. A lot of these guys here, they will have a fight with each other, and you will then call them in for a discipline hearing and they walk in holding hands, they forgot they had a fight. Five, six hours and they forgot about it. Our guys here, a lot of them will remember the volunteers and very fondly. But it doesn't leave any emotional scarring.'* (Alec, Horizon Farm Trust, 23-07-2015).

Even though these respondents talked a lot about the love volunteers have for the work they do, they also mentioned that some volunteers do not care at all. The incidents that happened with the volunteers who did not want to work were already discussed in the paragraph about work effectiveness. Three respondents also talked about the dangers of volunteers who do not really care about the situation in South Africa or about helping out. *'It is almost like a holiday.. it is more than a holiday, it is a vacation with a purpose. For the majority it is a social thing more than a charitable act.'* (Trevor, I Care, 18-09-2015). Trevor mentioned that some volunteers want to have a holiday, he noticed that these volunteers do not really care about helping the street children. Also another respondent was worrying about volunteers not caring: *'There is a very thin line at times between volunteering and voluntourism you know. We got to be careful about that. As you come in you see that big sign which says no photographs, but I am not always here and I don't know how much of the children's pictures are taken and put on Facebook. Which makes them even more vulnerable than they already are. How can they come to an enclosed environment like this and be even more vulnerable. It is important to have some guidelines at a project like this. Someone told me the other day that a lot of people do it for their CV's. I don't know if it is true.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015).

A remarkable comment came from three respondents, in their opinion volunteers came to contribute to Mandela's thought. *'They heard about the history of Nelson Mandela, the first president, who fought for freedom. I think some of them they also want to experience it. When you ask why they come here of course they want to help, because they love South Africa because of the history, so now they want to go and help us. So I think they want to move with Nelson Mandela and give a hand.'* (Ladyfair, Bobbi Bear, 19-08-2015). There was another respondent how mentioned a comparable thing in her interview: *'I think, after Mandela's release, with that first democratic government there was so much hope painted and he extended his hand and asked people to help him. His vision gives me goose bumps. The world had compassion for South Africa and wanted to bring this nation together. Because there is that man that sacrificed those years. Especially the ones who come in July, because it is Mandela month, when we start talking, you can see the chills and their eyes how they get focused. I would say that it is with this vision and understanding, it is a total different vibe you know. I think that is the draw, it is an interesting country and see what you can do because there is a lot that people can do in shaping the country.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). These respondents believe that volunteers care for the new South African nation and want to contribute to that.

The respondents do not speak about feelings of care the way the literature speaks about care, but the respondents see that volunteers care in many different ways. Even

though the answers of the respondents did not fit the literature, does not mean that they did not talk about care. The love that volunteers have for what they do is mentioned nine times. Three respondents mentioned the love that volunteers have for the children. Two of the respondents were really strong in their ideas; volunteers could not damage the children emotionally when they leave. Remarkable is that there were three respondents that mentioned that the volunteers cared about Nelson Mandela's legacy. This is something that really does not fit what is said in the literature. Barnett and Land (2007) discussed the theory of caring on distance, they state that people are less able to care about people who live at a great distant from yourself, it is more difficult to care for the distant other than for your neighbour. The answer about Nelson Mandela's legacy shows a contradiction, these respondents believed that volunteers cared for the distant other. Furthermore, three respondents mentioned that not all volunteers care, those volunteers are often not contributing to the goals of the organisation.



4.4 Bridging and Bonding

In the previous paragraph the feelings care and responsibility were discussed. By caring for the other and being in close contact with the other, relationships can be build. When relationships are build, it is important to know who is an in- and an outsider; who belongs to 'us' and who belongs with 'them' (Hammersley, 2013: 856). In the next two sub-paragraphs the theme of bridging and bonding will be discussed in relation to the fieldwork results. In this paragraph there will be given an answer on the next sub-question:

How does the staff of voluntourist receiving organisations perceive the relationships that volunteers built?

To make the chapter more accessible, this theme is divided into sub-themes about (i) building relationships and (ii) local voices. In these different sub-themes the literature and the interviews with the respondents are being analysed.

4.4.1 Building Relationships

When the volunteers and the staff members share more than their work, they are building on a relationship. Also the volunteers and the local community can build a certain relationship, but the volunteers can also instigate a better relationship between different groups in the community.

In the interviews respondents were first asked about their own relationships with volunteers. Thirteen respondents mentioned having built a friendship with one or more volunteers. One respondent in particular talked a lot about the good relationships she had with the volunteers that come to her project: *'They go with me, down across the river, going to my house, sleeping in my house and cook for us. Even Sundays, I go to my church with them as well. [...] There were two other volunteers and I worked with them. We went to the football at the Mabida stadium, they wanted to go there because Holland was doing the practice in the stadium. So they went with us, my team was Holland that night. We ate together, it was so nice, it was so nice!'* (Ladyfair, Bobbi Bear, 19-08-2015). This respondent did not only talked about doing fun things with the volunteers outside her work but she also told about what the relationships with volunteers mean to her: *'There are volunteers that I share a lot of stories with. They can see if I am having a bad day and then they come with a cup of tea: 'If you want to talk, just come and talk.'* Really from my side I need someone, I don't even have friends. For me, they play a really big role to understand my feelings. They are open and they can be trusted as well. If they leave.... you can see the tears in my

eyes, so I think oh my gosh, who is going to listen to me now? They mean a lot to me, so if they go back, it is like a family, so it is like someone that is dead, you are not able to see them anymore.' (Ladyfair, Bobbi Bear, 19-08-2015). This respondent explained that she feels she has a strong connection with the volunteers, she bonds with them, she calls them friends or family.

Every respondent was asked if she stayed in contact with these volunteers which they felt close to. One respondent answered: *'There are some volunteers which I still speak to on Whatsapp, it is so expensive to call but we are still talking on Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp. It is so hard for volunteers to come and just say bye like that.'* (Ladyfair, Bobbi Bear, 19-08-2015). Ladyfair stays in contact and does not feel disappointed about broken bridges because they are not broken. In fact none of the respondents fell out of contact with volunteers which they had a strong connection with. All the respondents, who said that they had built a friendship with a volunteer, were still in contact with those volunteers. There were three respondents who went to visit the volunteers in their own country. The friendships were still intact. Of course they did not stay in contact with every volunteer, but only with the ones which they felt connected to. It seems that social media is very important to keep in contact, sixteen of the respondents mentioned Facebook, Whatsapp or Twitter as a way to stay in contact. One respondent explained it well in her interview: *'I keep up with most of my volunteers on Facebook. Obviously the ones who here for a short period, they seem to come and go, we don't really made an impact on them. But the ones who have been here longer periods, they stay in touch the whole time. I have been in London recently, so I visited all my volunteers from London and I spend a day with each of them. We form a bond and they become very special people in your life.'* (Kim, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015). Another respondent had a bad experience when she tried to bond with a volunteer: *'The Canadian girl ended up living with us. She just became part of the family. But then she ended up stealing a whole lot of stuff, so... that was really great.'* (Paula, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). The trust that the respondent had in that particular volunteer was broken, but it did not lead to mistrust of volunteers in general. The respondent spoke of other volunteers which she has a strong connect with and she is still in touch with them.

The volunteers do not only interact with the staff members, they also interact with the locals outside the projects. Nine respondents mentioned that good relationships have been built between the volunteers and the outside community. *'Some of our volunteers live in the community, so they are able to build strong relationships with the community members'* (Bekky, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). Also Eureka mentioned the good relationships some volunteers have with people from the community: *'They love the Dutch volunteers. We had people who came and they see the Dutch volunteers and they ask if we mind inviting them to a South*

African braai or if they can pick up your girls and take them to a certain competition, they love it. Obviously we are also sceptical, they are pretty girls, so if it is somebody we know or families we can trust, I say yeah you can ask them if they want to go.' (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015). Eureka sees enough volunteers interacting with the local community. Other respondents had similar answers. The bond with people from the community is seen by the respondents as less strong than the bond the volunteers have with the staff-members. The volunteers do not always keep in touch with the locals and the locals replace the volunteers that have left by other volunteers.

There were six respondents who mentioned that volunteers help to bring the different racial groups in South Africa closer together. One respondent had a clear example of different racial groups coming closer together because of the volunteers: *'I think it also comes from the apartheid when white people could not go in the rural areas, a white person could not be a party in the funeral of the black, those things. So you know when people see us, we go everywhere with these volunteers, they see them and the people, they really love that. [...] After the volunteers started to go to my church, other white people started to come because they were told that we have white people from Holland. So they think, oh if they can come, why not us?'* (Ladyfair, Bobbi Bear, 19-08-2015). This respondent saw that more white South Africans came into her community because they saw the white volunteers coming to the church. In this case two groups came closer together because the volunteers made an example. It became more comfortable for two racial groups, who were used to living separate, to interact.

The respondents vision on the relationships they have with the volunteers, and relationship that the volunteers have with the community, shows that the research of Zahra and McGehee (2013) also fits this research. Thirteen respondents mentioned that they build a relationship with one or more volunteers. The respondents answers were divergent in comparison to the literature when they talked about broken bridges. Every respondent who said had a friendship with a volunteer, staid in contact with that volunteer, there were no broken bridges and no disappointments of falling out of contact. The respondents mentioned using social media to stay in contact with the volunteers. This easy way of communication prevents disappointments of broken bridges such is discussed in the literature. Also the volunteers are seen as an opportunity to show the South Africans that races can be mixed. Six respondents mentioned that volunteers could provide bridges for the different social groups, to come closer together. Hammersley's stereotyping and the need of categorising people in us and them and in- and outsider was also visible in some answers of respondents. Because the volunteers hang out with black South Africans, but did not belong to this social

group, the white South Africans saw that the racial groups could mix. Outsiders could become insiders, the distinction between us and them became less obvious. Only, Hammersley stated that the distinction between us and them made by the volunteers often leads to cultural stereotypes, this was not the case according to the respondents. The volunteers wanted to join the black South Africans to their church because they were an outsiders group, it was an opportunity to see something new.

4.4.2 Local Voices

Volunteers are not always aware of the needs of the local society. By listening to what the local society wants and needs, projects can be more effective. All the respondents were sure that the project they work at is benefitting the local community. There were only two organisations which would go into the community on a regular basis and talk about their impacts. *‘They are working on specific projects that the community has identified as needed, and even if they can work alongside the community.’* (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). At the Hillcrest Aids Centre, most projects that are done in the community are done in cooperation with community leaders. These community leaders will share their needs and the Hillcrest Aids Centre will assess if they and their volunteers can assist them with achieving the goal. Also Mother of Peace would go into the community to assess what needs the people have and in what way Mother of Peace can assist them with those needs. In the other organisations it was less clear if they were really discussing the need of the community with the community. The relationship between the receiving and the sending organisation is already discussed in sub-paragraph 4.3.2. There were examples of two organisations which were not content with the relationship between their organisation and the sending organisation. When they complained, the sending organisation did not take them seriously. In these two cases, the local organisations felt that they were not taken seriously by the sending organisation.

The organisations that were visited for this research were all established by South Africans who saw a problem in the society that needed a solution: Children and adults who need shelter, wounded animals that need rescuing, HIV/aids prevention and street children that need a new start in life. The projects are not set up by the volunteers or because of the volunteers, these organisations established themselves first and later down the road the international volunteers came in to help. This is a different case than is spoken about in the literature, they often researched projects that were set up by or because of international volunteers. In that case, it is necessary that the local voice needs to be heard, but because the



organisations in this research already are locals themselves, it is a different story. Because these organisations were different from the organisations that were researched in the literature, it is harder to compare them. It is probably safe to say that the organisations did listen to the needs of the local community because the organisations were built by community members.

The voices from the community were heard because the projects were all set up by local people. Also two organisations would actively go into the community on a regular basis to listen to the needs of the community. Two organisations were not contempt about the cooperation with the sending organisation. This is different than what Guttentag (2009) and Lupoli and Morse (2014) stated. They stated that volunteer organisations often ignore the needs of the community. This would mean that the relationship between host and guest will be unequal. Lupoli and Morse (2014) state a that the quality of the projects will improve if the local partners will be given the chance to express their point of view (Lupoli and Morse, 2014: 578), this is happening in at least two of the six organisations. These two organisations also made clear that they agreed with McGehee and Andereck (2009) on the point that communities should be given the opportunity to have an influence on the projects.



4.5 Economic matters

In chapter 2, subparagraph 2.3.5, the theories of economic matters in relation to the volunteers in the host organisation have been discussed in detail. Three subjects were mentioned: unemployment in relation to volunteers, the cycle of dependency and economic benefits from receiving volunteers. In the next three subparagraphs this theme will be discussed in relation to the fieldwork results. There will be given an answer on the next sub-question:

How does the staff of receiving organisations see that they, and the receiving society, are being influenced economically by volunteer tourists?

To make chapter more accessible this theme is divided into sub-themes about (i) job taking volunteers, (ii) the cycle of dependency and (iii) national and/or regional economic benefits. In these different subparagraphs the literature and the interviews with the respondents are being analysed.

4.5.1 Job taking volunteers

Because volunteer tourists work for free, it is easy for organisations to use volunteers instead of paid workers. Local workers would suffer from unemployment because their job is taken by someone who is volunteering. All the respondents were asked what they thought about this theory, none of them believed it was the case in their organisation. *'No ways. No, no, no. I think the local people are just lazy. They think that someone took their job, but they were not set for the job. If I tell people what I'm doing, they say no ways, I can do that! I don't think it is interfering with the volunteers. The volunteers do nothing wrong by coming here.'* (Thandi, Horizon Farm Trust, 23-07-2015). Four respondents thought that volunteers could take jobs in other organisations and could see why and how it could happen. *'Some organisations would rather have a volunteer because, you know, they can get away with a lot of it. So they don't need to pay them as much, there are no laws that guaranty that they get payed a certain amount. So it is kind of cheap labour in a way. That is how I saw it in the other organisation. It also benefits the volunteers because they get a lot me experience that they could not get back home.'* (Kim, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015). Kim mentioned that she saw that volunteers were taking the jobs of locals, at her previous employment.

The way that volunteers are needed within an organisation are very different too. At I Care one respondent said: *'The volunteers are extra, because they are guests and we would never ever use them as staff members. So if we do not have volunteers, we carry on as normal.'* (Carol, I

Care, 18-09-2015). Another respondent had a completely other answer. He stated that the organisation he worked for would not exist if they would not have the volunteers. Not because of the work they did, but because of the money they brought with them. *'If it wasn't for the volunteers, C.R.O.W. would not be existing anymore. In that case we would all be out of jobs, so actually the volunteers create jobs for us.'* (Paul, C.R.O.W., 20-08-2015). This respondent mentioned in his interview that C.R.O.W. was depending on the finances that the volunteers brought in.

It became clear from the interviews that none of the respondents were agreeing with Guttentag (2009). None of the respondents thought that the volunteers could be replaced by local employees. One even went so far to say that his job is depending on the volunteers, so in this case volunteers are not causing unemployment but creating jobs, a contradiction to Guttentag's (2009) statement. Four of the respondents could understand why other volunteer projects would choose to use volunteers instead of paid staff, it is cheap labour. But these four respondents also think that the organisation has a certain responsibility towards the society to employ the staff they need and not replace them with volunteers.

4.5.2 The cycle of dependency

In the cycle of dependency, the host society is dependent on the volunteers and the resources they bring with them. Often volunteers bring extra funding's, toys or other supplies with them to distribute within the community. Community members may get dependent on these supplies. The organisations who receive volunteer tourists can get dependent on the donations that volunteers offer.

Two respondents talked about the unfair relationship between the volunteer and the host community when the volunteer is distributing supplies. The next example is already been used in the sub-paragraph about stereotypes, but it is also an example of dependency. *'They reinstate this mind set in the communities that the rich white westerners come in and give, and we receive and then they leave. It reinstates the kind of hand out mentality and power dynamic in a sense that Africans can't do anything for themselves.'* (Olivia, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). This respondent describes a classic example of 'the white saviour'. The volunteers will be seen as people who come and bring stuff, it is not motivating people to accomplish more. This situation was also mentioned by one other respondent.

Not only the community, but also the organisation that receives the volunteers can get dependent on the volunteers and the money they bring in. Only one of the researched organisations was depending on the money that volunteers bring in, this example was

shown in the previous sub-paragraph. Paul explained that he and his co-workers would not have a job if they would lose the volunteering project. One respondent mentioned that the gifts that volunteers give at the organisation can be problematic. *'When a child doesn't have underwear and they have this expensive helicopter... I remind them [the housemothers], you are responsible for that household, you won't allow another person from the outside to buy gifts without focussing on the basics.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015).

Not only the children within organisations receive gifts from the volunteers, also staff-members will receive gifts. Four respondents were mentioning that volunteers leave some stuff behind for the staff to divide. *'At the end of their stay, some volunteers leave their suitcase with clothes, but it is not something that is encouraged, it has to go via the office, that it is clear and declared. It is managed.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). Mother of Peace has a policy to equally divide the stuff left behind by volunteers. They want to prevent that the staff will ask for things from every volunteer and that some staff-members will end up having more than others. Another respondent also refers to the stuff the volunteers leave behind, it can lead to inequality between staff members: *'It's been a complete generous thing of volunteers, when they leave the project, and they can't fit all their clothes in their bags, or they want to leave the cell phone that they bought. We ask to them, don't give it to a specific staff-member, leave it in the office and we know who needs what. We know our staff, we know that one hasn't got a warm jersey, so leave that.'* (Eureka, Bobbi Bear, 06-08-2015).

The cycle of dependency which is discussed by Luh Sin (2010) and Guttentag (2009) is also mentioned by the respondents. Only two respondents mentioned the dependency of the local community as Luh Sin (2010) describes it. The community will make themselves dependent from the hand out mentality of the volunteers. The society and the project will get dependent on the money of the volunteers and will get an inferior position. The volunteers will be seen as givers, while the host will be pushed into the role of receiver. Also within two organisations the respondents saw that volunteers often hand out gifts. This is, according to the two respondents who mentioned it, causing inequality within the organisation when it is not managed carefully, as is also described by Guttentag (2009).

4.5.3 National and/or regional economic benefits

Tourism is a major source of income for a receiving area. This is also the case with volunteer tourism. The volunteers spend money on shops, restaurants and other luxury goods, this could give an economic boost to the local society.

Five respondents mentioned economic contribution to the development in the area or

in South Africa. One of these five respondents was talking about tourism and its economic benefits in general *'If you can encourage two people to come to South Africa, see the country as a holiday as a tourist. The tourist industry employs thousands, hundreds thousands of people. It is one of the biggest industries we got and it is probably the one who has the least growth in it. We could triple the growth of the industry here, and not have an issue with that. We have the country, the animals, the culture, the history.. man we have just so much to offer to tourism. Fascinating man!'* (Alec, Horizon Farm Trust, 23-07-2015). This respondent talked about the importance of a flourishing tourism industry for the economy of South Africa but does not talk about volunteer tourism specifically. Another respondent does speak specifically about the benefits of receiving volunteers for the economic growth. *'They need accommodation so they pay for local accommodation, they are adding to the economy by buying.'* (Paula, Hillcrest Aids Centre, 28-09-2015). The respondent sees a more explicit use of the volunteers in the local economics. The other three respondents also saw that the volunteers create work in the area. *'Subprojects like the gardening and the farming projects are run here too. We are giving people who would otherwise not have a job, we are giving the breadwinner, the opportunity. They also learn sustainability skills, how to start your own chicken project, how to grow your food in the garden. We also have the ability to take other children too, who come from the surrounding areas. Their mothers don't have jobs or are also struggling, they will come for the day and at least get an education. That really has a long term effect. What we want to do is grow and educate more people, so the mothers themselves have better parenting skills.'* (Iris, Mother of Peace, 02-09-2015). The respondent sees the use of the volunteers, so that other people get an opportunity to follow an education or learn how to be self-supporting.

The use of the voluntourists for the South African economy is mentioned clearly by five respondents. There are different ways the volunteers contribute according to the respondents, it can be through creating more jobs or spend money at local shops, hotels and restaurants. These five respondents mentioned the economic benefits of having the volunteer tourists in South Africa as Binns and Nel (2002) discuss it, they state that tourism can contribute to the economic development of the region. The other respondents did not have an explicit opinion on the question if volunteers are contributing to the South African economy. None of the respondents thought that receiving volunteers could cause a destruction of resources, pollution and loss cultural identity as Binns and Nel (2002) stated.



5. Meaningful voices - A conclusion

This research had a clear aim: to discover the perspective of the staff-members at voluntourist receiving organisations, and clarify the debate about voluntourism by giving another perspective. Twenty respondents at six different organisations were interviewed to conduct this research in three months' time. The respondents all worked at volunteer receiving organisations, but in different functions. The functions that the respondents had were chairman, volunteer coordination, care giver, director, child safety officer, educator or manager. These twenty respondents formed the case study to research the host organisation's perspective and voices about volunteer tourism in the eThekweni municipality in South Africa. Because social constructivism was used as the methodology for this research, the focus lies on the knowledge of the respondents about their social relationships with the volunteers. The respondents were interviewed about five critical themes that were drawn from the most prominent literature about voluntourism. These themes were: Cross-cultural influences between host and guest, work effectiveness, feelings of responsibility and care, bridging and bonding and economic matters. In the analyses the answers of the respondents were compared with the literature. This was done to answer the research question and to discover two of the objectives: find the relation between the five themes drawn from the literature and the perspective of the staff of volunteer receiving organisations.

The research field changed since 2009, more geographers are focusing on the subject of volunteer tourism. The research of geographers is less focussed on the volunteer and more on the receiving side, also researchers are more critical on the results of volunteer tourism. This research contributes to the geographical research in the volunteer tourism research field, a field which is dominated by tourism studies. It also reflects the critical, and less critical opinions of staff-members of volunteer receiving organisations. Because of that, this research meets up to the last research objective: contribute to the critical, geographical studies within the voluntourism research field. With the perspective of the respondents this research reflects the visions of the receiving side of volunteer tourism, a side that is researched more often since the last few years but did not yet reflect the voices of the local receiving organisations so explicitly. The interviews were structured in such a way, that the themes that were drawn from the literature, were discussed.



5.1 Answering sub-questions

To be better able to answer the main research question, the sub-questions need to be answered. These sub-questions will help to clarify the collected information and will help to build the answer on the main research question. The sub-questions are already been answered in the analyses of the research results but will be shortly mentioned in this conclusion.

In the theme cross-cultural influences the sub-question, *'How does the staff of the voluntourist receiving organisations perceive cultural differences between them and the volunteers?'*, needed to be answered. Volunteers and staff-members both make use of stereotypes, this can lead to small problems but respondents showed that, with communication, these small problems can be solved. The respondents saw that close interaction between the volunteers and the locals, and lack of education shaped the stereotypes. Also the respondents talked about the demonstration effect, both in a positive and a negative way. Noticeable was that when the respondents themselves were the taking over things from the volunteers, they were positive. Respondents mentioned that they often talk about their own culture with the volunteers and that they learn from other cultures because volunteers share their culture with them. Respondents either felt proud about their culture when sharing it, or happy to learn more about other cultures.

In the theme work effectiveness the sub-question that needed to be answered was: *How does the staff of the volunteer tourist receiving organisations experience the work that is done by volunteer tourists?* Many elements can affect the work that is done by volunteers. The opinion of most respondents was that volunteers had enough skills and that the work and skills of the volunteers need to be a good match. There were a small number of respondents who had bad experiences with volunteers, which affected the work effectiveness. Most of these problems were caused by volunteers with the wrong motivations to go volunteering. Also the majority of the respondents thought the volunteers were prepared enough to go on a volunteering trip. So the opinion of most respondents was that the work that was done by volunteers is effective and contribute to the organisation.

In the theme feelings of care and responsibility the sub-question that needed to be answered was: *'How does the staff of receiving organisations perceive the feelings of responsibility and care of the volunteer tourists?'*. From the answers of the respondents it is clear that the host believed that volunteers can feel responsible. There were three different reasons mentioned

by the respondents: the volunteers want to contribute to the development of South Africa, provide aid or felt responsible for the colonial past. Also the feelings of care were discussed. A big part of the respondents mentioned the love that volunteers have for the work that they do, or cared about the legacy of Nelson Mandela. Respondents also mentioned that not every volunteer cared, they saw that some of the volunteers did not care at all.

In the theme bridging and bonding the sub-question that needed to be answered was: *How does the staff of voluntourist receiving organisations perceive their relationships with volunteers?* More than half of the respondents mentioned that they have built friendships with different volunteers. They stayed in contact with the befriended volunteers via social media. Because of the internet and social media, it is easier for volunteers and staff members to stay in contact. A very small part of the respondents even visited their befriended volunteers in their home countries. Also volunteers interacted with the locals outside the projects, but these bonds were less strong according to the respondents.

Within the fifth theme, about economic matters the sub-question that is answered is: *How does the staff of receiving organisations see that they and the receiving society are being influenced economically by volunteer tourists?* One respondent explained in his interview that the organisations he worked on, would not survive without volunteers. He stated that the volunteers created jobs for him and his colleagues. Furthermore, the volunteers would hand out gifts to staff-members and to people in the community. This would lead to dependency on volunteers according to a small number of respondents. A somewhat bigger group of respondents mentioned the positive economic influence of volunteers when they consume at local businesses.



5.2 Answering the main research question

The main research question is: *What is the perspective of the staff-members of volunteer tourists receiving organisations in eThekweni, South Africa, on this phenomenon and what contribution can be made to the literature on voluntourism by taking into account this local perspective?* In the above chapter, the vision of the respondents on certain issues are already described. In summery it is safe to say that respondents did not overwhelmingly agree with the literature. Only on two points all respondents agreed with each other, but these points were contradicting the literature. All respondents disagreed with the literature when it comes to volunteers taking jobs from local unemployed and all respondents were convinced that their project was benefitting the community.

Some answers given by the respondents were not mentioned in the literature at all. First, cultural differences within a country can blur the vision on cultural differences with the volunteers. Such as the visions of the respondents were blurred because of the big diversity between South African population groups and cultural back grounds. Second, the literature did not mention the new perspectives that volunteers can bring into an organisation. Third, volunteers can help to relieve some stress of the staff-members. Volunteers help staff-members to do their job better if staff-members have the opportunity to recharge. Last, respondents mentioned the love that volunteers have for what they do. Some respondents thought that the love that volunteers give, is more important than their skills. As a whole, respondents were more optimistic about the voluntourists than the literature. To elaborate on this sort summery, the main research question will be answered in detail and per theme.

Within the theme cross-cultural influences respondents talked about stereotyping in relation to the volunteers. Slightly more than one-third of the respondents agreed with the literature. Guttentag (2009) talked about the reinforcement of the concept of the other, he state that volunteers can reinforce or breakdown stereotypes. In this case half of the respondents saw that volunteers reinforced stereotypes. Close interaction and lack of education shape the stereotypes, according to the respondents. Raymond and Hall (2008) state that long term volunteers are better able to breakdown stereotypes; only the respondents did not have an opinion on that. Hammersley (2013) state that knowledge will breakdown stereotypes. Even though some respondents agreed on that statement - both volunteers and staff-members, in times receive training- stereotypes were not always broken down by education. Respondents also showed that in some cases, volunteers had the same stereotypical thoughts even after being informed.

Respondents talked about events that would fit into the demonstration effect of Guttentag (2009). Only, respondents were not always negative about the effect. Noticeable is that the respondents were positive about the lifestyle transfer when they were taking over lifestyle aspects from the volunteers. They are negative when they see that their clients take over lifestyle aspects of the volunteers. The respondents mentioned both jealousy and copying behaviour such as Guttentag (2009) also mentions.

A huge part of the respondents mentioned harmless cultural misunderstandings in their interviews. Only in a few cases cultural misunderstandings led to bigger problems. Also a big part of the respondents talked about sharing their culture with the volunteers and vice versa. Some of the respondents explained that they learn about the world via the volunteers because they cannot travel themselves. This is corresponding with the article of Zahra and McIntosh (2009) in which they state that sharing could lead to cultural lessons. By sharing cultural experiences, cultural education is given while bonding (Zahra and McGehee 2013), this is also mentioned by the respondents as important to them. They stated that bridging and bonding leads to bigger understanding. Another point of Zahra and McGehee (2013) was mentioned by the respondents, they stated that volunteers who show interest in the culture of the host, can help with the appreciation of the hosts culture; it creates a sense of pride for their identity.

Work effectiveness is a very multi-faced theme. Attitude, motivation, preparation, effort and training all fall into the theme. Some respondents had bad experiences with a volunteer who had a bad attitude. These respondents mentioned that bad attitudes of volunteers, are often caused by the wrong motivation to go volunteering. Brown (2008) showed ten motivations to go volunteering. Every respondent named at least one of Browns (2008) reasons when they were asked about the volunteers' motivation.

Taplin et al (2014) stated that volunteers and the receiving projects need evaluation and monitoring to make the work more effective. There were two organisations who were agreeing on this theory and were not happy with the current monitoring and evaluation of the sending organisation. The main reason is a lack of dialogue; the sending and receiving organisations were not equal partners which caused friction. The other four organisations were contempt with their cooperation with the sending organisations.

Guttentag (2009) stated that volunteers who are not educated or skilled, can be a danger to the project. A small number of respondents recognized that volunteers were not skilled enough, but did not mentioned that these volunteers could harm the project as

Guttentag (2009) states it. Ironically only ten of the respondents had an higher education. This could explain why so little respondents had a problem with uneducated or unskilled volunteers. In comparison to themselves, the volunteers were often higher educated and possessed more skills. To make sure that volunteers did not start working without a good preparation, all organisations prepared their own volunteers. Still, some respondents did not find these trainings comprehensive enough. The respondents and Guttentag (2009) both find long term volunteers more useful.

The literature showed that volunteers could have feelings of responsibility and care because of different reasons. Guttentag (2009) stated that volunteers feel responsible for the developing world, Massey (2004) stated that the feelings of responsibility were linked to their identification with a place, Luh Sin (2009) stated that people can feel responsible for the distant other, and Mostafanazhad (2007) mentioned the colonial past in relation to the feelings of responsibility. The interviews make clear that the host believes that volunteers can feel responsible; why the volunteers feel responsible and the responsibility for what varies. Almost half of the respondents agreed with Guttentag, they thought volunteers wanted to contribute to the development of South Africa. A slightly smaller number of respondents were agreeing with Massey (2004); they thought volunteers felt responsible for providing aid because they came from the developed world. These volunteers were, according to the respondents, feeling responsible because they linked their identity to a place. There was one respondent who was agreeing with Luh Sin (2009); she thought volunteers felt responsible for the distant other. Finally, a small number of respondents mentioned the colonial past in relation to the feelings of responsibility of the volunteers.

The literature and the respondents both have a different understanding about what feelings of care entails. Barnett and Land (2007) discuss caring on distance and geographies of responsibilities. The respondents talked mainly about love. A small number of respondents talked about the love that the volunteers have for their clients. Remarkable is that there were also respondents that mentioned that the volunteers cared about Nelson Mandela's legacy, this is contradictory to what Barnett and Land (2007) state; the respondents thought volunteers were able to care at distance. Only, there were three respondents who had bad experiences with volunteers who did not care and did not contribute anything to the project.

Within the interviews, a big number of the respondents mentioned friendships with volunteers. Zahra and McGehee (2013) talked about broken bridges when the volunteers and



the locals fall out of contact. The respondents did not recognize that. They staid into contact with befriended volunteers via social media. The internet and social media are making it easy for volunteers and staff-members to stay in contact; broken bridges can be avoided because of it. Some respondents even went to visit the volunteers at their home country.

The answers of respondents and the literature were alike in case of building bridges between different social groups. Respondents mentioned that the volunteers create opportunities for different social groups in South Africa to come closer together. Hammersley (2013) argued that framing of insiders and outsiders is important for relationships (Hammersley, 2013: 855-857). The respondents showed that because white volunteers build relationships with black locals and became insiders in that social group, white South Africans wanted to be part of that insiders group. It also corresponds with the statements of Zahra and McGehee (2013); they stated the volunteers could help with the bonding between different groups within a community.

In this research all the organisations were set up by South Africans who act on a need from the community. So all twenty respondents were positive about the benefits of the project for the community. This is not corresponding with Guttentag (2009) and Lupoli and Morse (2014) because their statements were based on projects which were not set up by locals. Even though all the organisations were set up by locals, there were only two organisations that went into the local community. They discussed the needs of the community to improve aid provided by the project; McGehee and Andereck (2009) state a similar thing is necessary.

During the interviews it became clear that two organisations were not happy with the cooperation between them and the sending organisation; they agreed on the statements of Guttentag (2009) and Lupoli and Morse (2014). The respondents had the feeling that they did not have a voice. There was no dialogue between these receiving and the sending organisations.

In the last theme, economic matters, none of the respondents was agreeing with Guttentag (2009); he stated that many voluntourists take jobs that could have been done by locals. It was even claimed that volunteers were creating jobs; without the volunteers, staff-members would be out of a job. Even though none of the respondents agreed with Guttentags point on job taking volunteers, some of the respondents could believe that would happen in other organisations.

A form of the cycle of dependency was mentioned by multiple respondents. Only two

respondent mentioned is exactly as Luh Sin (2010) and Guttentag (2009) discussed it. The children and the people in the community would expect handouts from volunteers. It was mentioned that staff members would expect that the volunteers leave stuff behind or would buy stuff for them.

Last, respondents saw that volunteers contribute to the economy. Some saw that volunteers created jobs, spend money on local merchandising, or go to hotels and restaurants. These respondents mentioned the economic benefits of having the volunteer tourists in South Africa as Binns and Nel (2002) discuss it. None of the respondents were agreeing on the point of Binns and Nel (2002) referring the destruction of resources, pollution and loss of cultural identity by tourism (Binns and Nel, 2002: 237).

What does all this information tell us? Obviously the existing literature is covering a huge amount of important issues. Issues that the host organisations staff-members mostly recognize in their day to day work. These staff-members experience volunteer tourism from up-close, because of that, they are an interesting actor to research. This research shows that - until now - the critical human geography is not researching voluntourism from all available viewpoints. This research adds the perspective of the receiving organisations to the research field. This research proves that there is another approach to the subject of volunteer tourism that has been overlooked in previous research. Critical human geographers should research the different actors in the voluntourism field, which will give them different points of view and a complete perspective. Especially the staff-members of volunteer receiving organisations bring in new information, they perceive the volunteers in a different way. The fact that respondents in this research were more optimistic about the presence of volunteers than the literature is, shows that the approach of the literature is often too pessimistic.

Researching the perspective of employees at volunteertourists receiving organisations also helps to support existing theories. The respondents who talked about the love that volunteers have, can help to better understand the theories that were used to shape the chapter about care and responsibility. The respondents showed that volunteers care for distant others not because of what they have done but, because of what they are; this is supporting Massey's theory. The volunteers loved, cared and felt responsible for what happened in South Africa, and because if it, decided to go volunteering. The interviews with the respondents showed that the staff-members saw volunteers as people who care for the distant other. The interviews can add to the theories of Massey (2004), Luh Sin (2009) and Mostafanezhad (2012).

Also this research shows that Guttentag's (2009) reinforcement of the other and Hammersley's (2013) framing of insiders and outsiders, are not always negative. In this research respondents mentioned that black and white South Africans are bonding more because of the volunteers who are white and 'other'. They were still interacting with the black South Africans even though they were different. It showed the white South Africans that they could interact with their black fellow country-men. It would be interesting for the critical geography to research volunteer tourism and the rising of postmodern thinking. The slowly disappearing focus on skin colour and cultural background with the rise of voluntourism visits, is an interesting development. This development definitely adds to the theory of Zahra and McGehee (2013) about bridging and bonding between different social groups.

Furthermore, this research points out that under a layer of neoliberalism and egoism, voluntourism has its advantages for the local community. All respondents said that volunteers did not take the jobs of locals at their organisations and even created jobs for some. Even if the volunteers would be motivated to go volunteering by neoliberal and egocentric ideas, the people of the eThekweni municipality would benefit from them. This would not always be the kind of benefits that are mentioned by the literature, but the extra financial and physical support is seen as huge benefits for the respondents. Postmodern thinking of researchers and media sometimes stands in the way of noticing the local benefits of volunteer tourism. The locally managed projects, as in this research, see development in their community because of the presence of volunteers. Of course, these benefits also have their pitfalls which are also seen by the respondents. The biggest concern mentioned by respondents is dependency on the visiting volunteer tourists.

The declaration which was signed at the Conference on Responsible Tourism in Destinations, in Cape Town (Van Zyl et al. 2015: 336, 337), was mentioned in chapter 2. In that declaration six directives for a responsible tourism industry were shaped. If these directives are compared to the answers of the respondents of this research, we can conclude that the respondents agree on all the six points and thus -according to the respondents and the declaration- the voluntourism that the respondents experienced, is a responsible one.

5.3 Limitations and recommendations

This research contributes to the geographical research on voluntourism and adds to the small number of researches done after the receiving side. This research only focussed on the staff-members working at the volunteer receiving organisations. The respondents were working at volunteer receiving organisations, in most cases they are benefitting from the presence of the volunteers. There were also organisations that would not want to work with me; this means that, possibly, the staff-members at those organisations had a more negative vision on the volunteer tourism. All respondents and the six organisations that were researched, were quite positive about the volunteers they receive; it could be that, because they were positive, that they were more open to let me in as a researcher. Also, it would have been better to have a translator when talking to a respondent with a different first language than English. Especially the Zulu, lower educated respondents often did not understand my questions. This was also the case the other way around, I had a hard time to understand some Zulu speaking respondents too. A limitation of this research, and a recommendation for future research, is that this research does not go into detail about the specific theories that are mentioned. It only explains what is mentioned in the literature, and that tries to see if this is relevant to the staff-members of receiving organisations. It does not investigate how these theories are rooted into these organisations or effect the organisations and the people working there. This research only pointed out if the theories matter to the respondents. Future research should go more into detail, which means future research should be more comprehensive.

There are more recommendations that could be made for future research. First, to get a broader view on how the receiving side perceives volunteer tourists, different kind of respondents need to be included into the research. The locals outside the projects and the people helped by the organisations, need to be involved in the research. This would mean that the research needs to be more comprehensive, it would need more respondents and a longer fieldwork research period. Second, comparable research should be done in other areas, in that way the results of this research in eThekwinini could be compared with the research results from a different part of the world. Third, South Africa is a complex country to conduct social research. It is hard to leave the Apartheid past out of the social research. A recommendation is that there is a need to research the role of voluntourism in a post-Apartheid South Africa on a bigger scale. There is already a research done by Bleker (2015) about how the volunteers from abroad bring in more racial diversity within a post-Apartheid



rural area. It is interesting to see which role the volunteers play in the bonding process of different population groups.

It should be noted that at the beginning of this research, there was no desire to discuss the Apartheid past of South Africa, but it showed up in the interviews without intention. Definitely when talking about cultural differences, people would mention the heritage of the Apartheid years. Within South Africa the Apartheid is still a contemporary issue. It has shaped the society the way it is now. Whoever is doing, or has done social research in South Africa, cannot leave Apartheid out of it. It is something that is deeply rooted into the ways of thinking, living and interacting in this country and because of this, it will affect the social research that you are doing.



6. Literature

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7. Appendix

7.1 Interview guide

Opening questions:

1. How long do you work here?
2. What is your function at the project?
3. Can you tell me more about the work you do?
4. How are the volunteers involved in your work?
5. How often do you work with volunteers?
6. What are your general feelings of the volunteers? Positive/negative?

(Opening questions for managers also involved the next questions:

1. Can you tell me more about the organisation?
2. Who are in your staff?
3. Which of the staff members are directly working with the volunteers?
4. How many volunteers do you receive in a year?
5. How does your organisation recruit volunteers?
6. What kind of work do the volunteers do?)

Work Effectiveness:

1. Which role do volunteers play at this project?
2. Do you think the volunteers are doing work that fits them, or can they put to work in another way?
3. Are the volunteers doing work that is fitting your work?
4. What do you think about the motivation of the volunteers?
5. Do you think the volunteers are skilled enough for the work they do here?
6. Do volunteers get guidance from local supervisor? Do you think they need this?
7. (If there is local guidance) How does this local supervision look like?
8. How is the attitude of the volunteers towards the South-African society?
9. Do volunteers have, in your opinion, a superior attitude? In which way does this occur?
10. Do you got the feeling the volunteers make any difference with the work they do?
11. Are the volunteers well prepared before they come to South Africa? (Do they know the culture, important social problems of the country, norms and values)
12. Have you been in a situation where the lack of knowledge of the volunteers led to problems?



(Interview with managers also involved the next question in the section work effectiveness:

1. Which requirements do volunteers have to have to come and work at this project?)

Cultural influence:

1. Can you tell me about your culture?
2. What is important to you in your culture?
3. What do you notice about the culture of the volunteers?
4. What do you like, or don't like about the culture of the volunteers?
5. Can you tell me something about the cultural differences between the volunteers and you?
6. In which way do the volunteers and their cultural differences influence the project?
7. In which way are the volunteers being influenced by your culture? Is this important to you?
8. Can you tell me in which way the volunteers learn from your culture?
9. Do you copy some cultural habits or lifestyle of the volunteers?
10. Is your image of western people changed since you work with western volunteers?
11. Are the volunteers different than yourself? In which way?
12. What do you think about the knowledge of the volunteers about the receiving society?
13. Do you keep in contact with former volunteers? How?
14. Why do you think volunteers choose to go to South Africa?
15. Do you think that the volunteers are aware of the cultural differences within South Africa?
16. Do you think the volunteers have enough respect for you, your work, knowledge and culture?

Economic influences

1. Is your project economically dependent of the volunteers?
2. Could the work that is done by volunteers, been done by local unemployed?
3. In which way are volunteers benefitting from being here?
4. In which way do you benefit from the volunteers being here?
5. Does the project benefit financially from the volunteers being there?
6. How do volunteers influence the society economically?
7. Should more people offer to volunteer in less developed societies?

(Interview with managers also involved the next question in this section:

1. Why does your organisation choose work with volunteers if they instead could hire the



local unemployed?

2. Do you get more funding because you receive volunteers?)

Bridging and bonding:

1. Why do you think, this project is important to the local society?

2. How does the society benefit from this project?

3. How involved are the volunteers in the local society?

4. Does the organisation that sends the volunteers, review the project? How does it look like?

5. What do you think about this sending organisation?

6. In which way do you personally benefit from the volunteers being at your project?

7. Why is this project important to the local society?

8. How do the society benefit from this project?

9. In which way is the community involved in the project?

(Interview with managers also involved the next questions in the section local involvement:

1. In which way is your organisation dependant on volunteers?

2. Is the organisation also dependant of another organisation who sends the volunteers?

3. How does the cooperation between the sending organisation and your organisation look like?

4. In which way is the sending organisation involved in the local project?

5. In which way is this project dependent from the sending organisation?

6. How is the project reviewed by the sending organisation? Do they monitor/ evaluate the work done by the volunteers?

7. How does the sending organisation react on complains by you about the volunteers, or complains from the volunteers about you?)

General

1. What is the best experience that you had with a volunteer/ group of volunteers?

2. What is the worst experience that you had with a volunteer/ group of volunteers?

3. Why do you think volunteers want to come to South Africa?

4. Do you want to add something that you want to tell about the volunteers, that I forgot to ask you?

