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Organisations manoeuvring within a criticized sector

A study of the framing of activities and goals within the volunteering and travelling sector

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A study of the framing of activities and goals within the volunteering and travelling sector

Master's thesis

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Preface

I would like to thank my supervisor for their patience when my thesis writing slowed down due to personal circumstances, and I would like to thank all organisations and travellers that participated in my research. Especially the organisation at which I conducted my internship, Global Exploration, for their support when my research changed course due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Finally, I would like to thank my little sister, Eva, for reading my entire thesis and my parents and my partner for their endless support whilst I wrote my thesis.

Contents

Chapter 1 - Introduction

In 2013, fifteen-year-old Loes de Graaf travelled to Thailand and Cambodia to experience a different culture, see the world and, maybe most importantly, help others by volunteering. I planted trees and mushrooms, painted walls and even built a wall or at least tried to do all these things. Although after this trip I felt that I had not been able to help people as much as I wanted to do by volunteering, it did spark a great interest in other cultures and the interactions between cultures, which led me to getting a bachelor's degree in cultural anthropology and development studies. During my bachelor's degree my fascination grew further when in my courses and in articles I read privately, I heard more about how often the Global North thinks it is superior to the Global South. This came forward in courses I followed on colonialism, post-colonialism, dependency theory and many others and I learned that the influence of the Global North in the Global South is still great (Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 2008). This eventually inspired me to research voluntourism, travelling and volunteering combined in my human geography master's thesis and study the conception that the Global North is developed, and the Global South should develop in the same way and cannot do this without the help of the Global North.

Since my own trip happened almost ten years ago, it might seem like studying this subject has lost some of its relevance. On the contrary, voluntourism is very much present in everyday news and in recent years several organisations and groups have risen, that are trying to raise awareness for the negative effects of voluntourism. Quote wrote an article on why "rich man's daughters" (rijkeluisdochters), should stop doing voluntourism (Schimmelpenninck, 2019), One World writes on how Better Care Network launched a campaign to inform young people about orphanage tourism (weeshuistoerisme) and the bad effects these orphanages have on children (Kowsoleea, 2017) and De Groene Amsterdammer recounts a need for feeling good by travellers, who no longer want to be called tourists (Welten, 2018). Not only traditional media brings attention to voluntourism. Radboud University also brought attention to the campaign of Better Care Network in 2021 (Radboud Universiteit, 2021). Finally, even the Dutch government issued research to find out how many volunteering trips are undertaken from the Netherlands, who should be held responsible for the negative effects and what role the government should play in regulating (Slot, et al., 2020). The critiques surrounding their sector have not gone unnoticed by the organisations that were interviewed for this thesis, but this research will take a different approach and will not be critiquing the activities of these organisations. This thesis will look at their way of framing their activities and the way they shape their activities considering the critiques that do exist.

1.1 Problem statement, objective & questions

This thesis will focus on travelling and volunteering organisations that facilitate travels to the Global South and organisations that receive volunteers in the Global South. Contrary to a lot of research on

voluntourism, this thesis will not focus on the impact the visits of volunteers and travellers have on the local community. The focus of this research will be on how these organisations frame their activities and how their travellers describe their activities. The goal of this master's thesis is to contribute to the debate on societal values related to voluntourism by researching the activities of the organisations that are in some way related to voluntourism and the way they frame these practices. Understanding the reasoning behind what these travel organisations do and the way they present themselves to the outside world and their travellers will give a clearer view on how these organisations function, why they function this way and what their origin and motivations are. The main question that will be answered to help achieve this goal is the following:

How do travelling and volunteering organisations, like Global Exploration, frame what they do?

This main question has been broken up into sub questions, the concepts in these research questions will be elaborated on in the theoretical framework.

- *To what extent is the framing of the activities of these organisations related to cosmopolitanism & global citizenship?*

The concepts of cosmopolitanism and mostly global citizenship are embedded in the main goals of many of the organisations interviewed. In some cases, the concepts themselves are not mentioned by the organisation, but cultural exchange is part of their goals, which can be related to global citizenship and cosmopolitanism. It is relevant to study these concepts in relation to these organisations because the link between travelling & volunteering and cosmopolitanism & global citizenship is not immediately clear, as it would seem that the main goal of these organisations would be concerned with volunteering. This makes these subjects relevant to study related to the framing of the activities of these organisations. The experiences of the travellers on their personal development will also be considered.

- *To what does the framing of activities reflect neo-colonial relations and dependencies?*

Within this sub question the way the activities of these organisations are framed will be considered, but also the way the partnerships with the communities in the Global South are framed. It is said that voluntourism creates a form of neocolonial development, which is the idea that developing countries need the help of developed countries to be able to develop (Haynes, 2008; Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 2008; Williams, Meth, & Willis, 2014), which in turn breathes new life into the dependency theory debate. It is relevant to see how the activities and partnerships of these organisations relate to these subjects, as most of the organisations try to distance themselves from voluntourism.

In addition to this, when relating the way the activities of these organisations are framed to the white saviour complex, it becomes apparent that there are still, mostly unconscious, relations to the white saviour complex. The white saviour complex is the "idea that it is the role of the white outsider to 'lift' the poor and oppressed in developing countries" (Straubhaar, 2015, p. 384). The fact that people from

the Global North are travelling to the Global South to lend their assistance, is inherently related to the white saviour complex, when the idea is that this assistance is needed to develop these regions.

- *What is the perspective of the travellers on the activities of these organisations?*

The perspective the travellers give on the travels of these organisations is interesting, since the travellers are often unaware of the debates that these organisations are embedded in and their perspective on the travels and their own goals when travelling can also be related to the debates and concepts that were mentioned in the other sub questions.

1.2 Societal relevance

As mentioned before, the subject of voluntourism is mentioned extensively in the media and in research (Kowsoleea, 2017; Schimmelpenninck, 2019; Welten, 2018). The societal relevance of this thesis is that it will try to understand and critically analyse the perspective of the organisations and relate this perspective to the debate. It is also beneficial to the organisations, as their statements will be compared to other organisations within their sector and their statements will be placed within the geography and development studies debate, which can add valuable knowledge to their organisations.

Since in traditional media, the emphasis has been on the negative effects of voluntourism and the perspective of the organisations has largely been ignored, this thesis will add the perspective of the organisations onto the debate and especially how the organisations place themselves within the voluntourism debate. It will become clear that the organisations are aware of the critiques there are on their sector and most actively try to counteract these negative effects. This thesis will provide advise on how these counteracts can be improved and what still needs to change for long-term negative effects to be eliminated.

Finally, this thesis will add the perspective of the travellers to the debate and the goals of the travellers will be compared to the goals of the organisations. Do travellers have the same perspective on voluntourism that the organisations have and what is their stance on the white saviour complex and dependency. Although travellers have been part of the stories in traditional media, the combination of the organisations with the travellers has not been made very often.

1.3 Scientific relevance

This master's thesis connects to several debates within development studies and geography. These debates are the dependency debate, neocolonialism, neoliberalism, the white saviour complex, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. The scientific relevance of this thesis is twofold. On the one hand, the perspectives of the travelling and volunteering organisations are integrated into the debate on voluntourism that is very much focussed on the impact on the local community and the travellers (Nelson & Child, 2016). On the other hand, this thesis shows that the voluntourism debate is related to

two opposite ends of the globalisation debate: cosmopolitanism and global citizenship on the one hand and dependency theory and neocolonialism on the other hand. These perspectives and contradictions will become clear by looking at the way organisations frame their activities. It becomes clear in what way the organisations manoeuvre the critiques that have been given by society and scientific research and in what way it has influenced the framing of their activities. This will help with critically analysing the field and understanding the motivations of these organisations.

Research on voluntourism mostly focuses on the people that are travelling and only in recent years a new dimension has been added onto the voluntourism field, as the voluntourism sector moved from state-led projects to market-led projects (Georgeou & Haas, 2019; Malkki, 2015). This transition added a group of organisations onto the research field (Hartman, Paris, & Blache-Cohen, 2014; Miller & Washington, 2018). This master's thesis puts these travelling and volunteering organisations at the centre of the research, which will give new insights into the voluntourism debate. Therefore, the conceptual approach of this thesis will be to look at voluntourism through a multivocal perspective. This means that the viewpoints from several different travel organisations will be considered, but also the voices of volunteers that have travelled with these organisations. By considering both viewpoints, a holistic view on these travelling and volunteering organisations will be created.

This thesis shows that the framing that these organisations use for their activities is related to the positive side of the globalisation debate, namely to cosmopolitanism and global citizenship, which are part of the main goals and incorporated into the framing of the activities of these organisations. On the other end of the spectrum is negative globalisation, which can also be connected to these travelling and volunteering organisations in the form of neocolonialism and dependency, since these organisations in continuously travelling to these countries and offering assistance in different ways, assume that this assistance in needed in order for these countries do develop and in this way creating a form of neocolonialism.

1.4 Structure

This thesis is structured as follows. The second chapter is dedicated to the theoretical framework and will explain the debates within which this thesis is embedded and how these debates relate to each other. The third chapter explains what methods were used to collect and analyse the data of this research, who the respondents are and how they were found. The fourth chapter will give a general description of the structure of the organisations, who their partners and employees are, why they were founded and what their financial situation is. The fifth chapter will dive into how these organisations feel about voluntourism and volunteering in general and what activities related to volunteering the organisations undertake. The sixth chapter will look at how the activities and goals of the organisations relate to cosmopolitanism and global citizenship and the seventh chapter will go into how the goals and

activities of these organisations relate to the white saviour complex and dependency theory. The eight chapter will discuss what the conclusions of this thesis are.

Chapter 2 – Theorizing voluntourism

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework and explain the key concepts and key terms that will be dealt with in this thesis. These concepts are part of the research questions that have been formulated as the starting point of this thesis. To study the topics in these research questions it is important to first understand the key concepts to connect this research to the existing concepts and through this research link these different concepts to each other. Voluntourism is intricately linked to globalisation, tourism, dependency theory, the white saviour complex and global citizenship, each of these concepts will be explained in this theoretical framework.

2.1 The origins of tourism and voluntourism

To discuss the different concepts related to voluntourism it is important to first understand the broader debates in which voluntourism is embedded. Voluntourism is closely related to globalisation as it is part of the global tourism industry. The global tourism industry is part of globalisation because tourism describes the flow of people, goods, and ideas around the globe (Dlaske, 2016) and tourism itself creates these flows of people. Globalisation and tourism strengthen each other, because, as Dlaske emphasizes, the increasing popularity of voluntourism is a clear example of the growth and diversification of tourism (Dlaske, 2016; Guiney, 2012). For this reason, it is important to go into the debate on tourism, its origin, and the developments in recent years.

Franklin (2003) explains that formal definitions of the term tourism reduce tourism to "acts of leisure and recreation at the end of acts of travel" (Franklin, 2003, p. 6). It is important to continuously re-evaluate the definition of tourism and what is seen as tourism, since the industry of tourism is constantly changing to accommodate to the wants and needs of the tourists. The characteristics of tourism that relate to this research are the ones given by John Urry and Jonas Larsen. They set out several characteristics of "the social practices which are conventionally described as 'tourism'" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 3). According to them, tourism is a leisure activity that involves movement through space. These movements through space take people outside their regular places of residence. It is important that this time spent outside of their regular place of residence is temporary. The places tourists visit should not be connected to their paid work. Because a substantial portion of modern society engages in these kinds of activities, there is a need for coping with the mass character of tourism. Tourists want to be taken out of the ordinary (Urry & Larsen, 2011). These characteristics can be connected to voluntourism. As voluntourism combines volunteering with touristic activities. The concept of volunteering, which is also part of voluntourism, is missing from this definition.

Tourism has historically developed and transformed over time. As mentioned before, there is an increasing growth and diversification within the tourism industry (Dlaske, 2016; Urry & Larsen, 2011). In

pre-modern society tourism was organised travel, which was only accessible for the elite, and it has developed to an industry in which there is no country in the world that does not receive a significant number of tourists each year (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Not only the amount of people engaging in tourist activities has changed over the course of the centuries. The activities that are taken up while travelling and the reasons behind the travels have changed and become more varied. In pre-modern society travel was taken up for pleasure and culture and in the 18th and 19th century The Grand Tour was an educational journey taken on by the elite (Wokler & Brooke, 2012; Brodsky-Porges, 1981; Towner, 1985). The types of travel that were undertaken the most were organised tours and travelling as a learning experience during this time in history. Also in the eighteenth century, another kind of tourism was added in the shape of a form of relaxation for the rural elite who could travel to spas in the city. There have also been periods where travel and work were more intertwined, in contrast with the definition that is now given to tourism by Urry and Larsen which is focussed on leisure. Right before the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, the upper class shifted the purpose of travel to seeing other places and travelling became a status symbol. In modern life, travel and holidays are increasingly seen as necessary by people, which is reflected in the growing number of tourists travelling around the world and the increasing diversification in the kind of travel tourists undertake (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

A recent turn in tourism studies according to Urry and Larsen is a change from tourism involving only the visual experiences of tourists in the shape of sightseeing to a bodily experience. Tourists want to engage with the places they visit. This turn is called The Tourist Gaze 3.0 and originated when critique on merely sightseeing became louder as authors suggested that sight should not be the only sense used when experiencing a tourist destination (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Voluntourism connects well with this Tourist Gaze 3.0, as there is an increase in the engagement of tourists with the places they visit compared to traditional tourism activities. Tourists no longer only look at the places they visit when doing voluntourism but interact with those places by volunteering. Although the Tourist Gaze 3.0 has changed the way tourists interact with the places they visit. There are certain aspects of the Tourist Gaze that are still present in the Tourist Gaze 3.0. This is problematic because the Tourist Gaze has many assumptions and preconceptions about countries baked into it, which influences the way tourists interact with the places they visit, but also influences the view the people in the places visited have of themselves. These assumptions and preconceptions are still present in the Tourist Gaze 3.0. When going on voluntourism trips and taking the White Saviour Complex into account, these tourists might think that development can only come from the outside (Cowden, 2020), which is damaging to the local population.

2.2 Tourism as a motor for mobility and globalisation

The increase in tourists moving around the world has also been noticed by migration scholars, who state that global migration and mobility are ever increasing, as people are crossing national borders

frequently. This increase in tourist movement is happening because of developments in transportation and technology, which enables people to cross borders more than ever before. But, more importantly for this thesis, it happens because of a change in culture. It has been normalised by society to frequently cross borders. Mobility for tourism is becoming increasingly significant and is even affecting ideas on migration (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014; Urry & Larsen, 2011).

The growing importance of tourism to the migration debate shows the link between tourism and globalisation. Tourism is closely related to globalisation, because of accelerating globalisation in recent years, but also before that, the mingling of cultures has created some of the most important cultural traditions. These cultural traditions are defined by a cultural turn in which cultural and biological diversity is being decreased rapidly, partly due to tourism. The world has become disenchanted because of the disappearance of cultural diversity (Nederveen Pieterse, 2000). The disappearance of cultural diversity is problematic to tourism as we know it as people want to be taken out of the ordinary (Urry & Larsen, 2011), which is increasingly difficult. The decrease in cultural diversity globally because of globalisation has had an interesting effect on diversity locally. "From a world of more internally homogeneous localities, where diversity was found by travelling between places with significantly different material cultures to a world where one travels between more similar places but finds increasing variety within them" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2000, p. 52). Tourists thus find increasingly similar places when travelling, which could explain the diversification of kinds of travel.

In addition to the cultural turn being relevant to globalisation studies, this cultural turn has also been described as significant to tourism geographies, as the growing interest in tourism by geographers can be explained by the 'cultural turn' itself (Hall, 2013). This cultural turn has been described as a turn to the theories and methodologies within social sciences where the focus in research shifted from the social to the cultural (Aitchison, 2006), which happened in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This cultural turn had many more implications to the field of research concerned with tourism geographies and cultural geography (Barnett, 1998). This cultural turn will become apparent in this thesis.

The most interesting part of tourism geographies for this research is that tourism geographers state that tourism can never be studied without looking at the impact it has on the host community and destination of touristic travels (Hall & Page, 2014). Much research concerning voluntourism has been focussed on the receiving communities and on the tourists or volunteers themselves (Nelson & Child, 2016), which are both important to tourism geography (Hall, 2013; Hall & Page, 2014).

2.3 Voluntourism

Voluntourism entails "all activities and services provided on the basis of volunteering" that are being combined with tourism activities (Gallarza, 2000, p. 622). These volunteering jobs can include aiding or alleviating poverty or helping the environment (Occhipinti, 2016). These activities are usually provided

and arranged by a non-profit organisation. Non-profit organisations can be found in many areas in the tourism industry. These organisations are often not centrally coordinated which makes them a difficult subject to study (Gallarza, 2000; Nelson & Child, 2016). The origins of voluntary work for development can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century with a foundation in Christian morals, which state we have a social duty to want others to be happy (Mortimer, 2013). Only in recent years a transition has been made to market and state led projects, which has added a new dimension onto the voluntourism field (Georgeou & Haas, 2019; Malkki, 2015). This transition added a group of organisations onto the research field including non-governmental organisations, community development organisations and many others (Hartman, Paris, & Blache-Cohen, 2014; Miller & Washington, 2018). Voluntourism originated in the 1990s during a cultural shift that emphasized volunteering as a magic formula for both social challenges and individual and professional development (Occhipinti, 2016). Nowadays, voluntourism, is the fastest growing tourism niche in sub-Saharan Africa (Hartman, Paris, & Blache-Cohen, 2014). For this reason, in recent years, there has been an increasing amount of research on the topic of voluntourism. Research that has already been done on voluntourism can be divided into various categories. These categories are orienting, critiques, defending, motivations of volunteers and the impact of voluntourism on volunteers and host communities (Nelson & Child, 2016).

The critiques on voluntourism have centred around the impact that volunteers have on the host community and the sometimes even negative consequences of voluntourism (Occhipinti, 2016; McLennan, 2019; Guttentag, 2009). These trips are often only beneficial to the volunteers' personal development. "Voluntourism can actually be regressive and damaging for these countries if the tourism industry is doing nothing but commodifying their poverty in an exotic location as an opportunity for a holiday combined with a career boost" (Cowden, 2020, p. 3). Local community members have spoken about not wanting volunteers visiting at all (Hasanova, 2017). Voluntourism is said to contain "a neglect of locals' desires, (…), a hindering of work progress and the completion of unsatisfactory work, (…), a decrease in employment opportunities and a promotion of dependency, (…), a reinforcement of conceptualisations of the 'other' and rationalisations of poverty, (…), and an instigation of cultural changes" (Guttentag, 2009, p. 537), congruous with the disappearance of cultural diversity (Nederveen Pieterse, 2000).

While programs are often structured in a poor manner and are unaccountable, volunteers nearly always describe their experience as meaningful and life-changing (Occhipinti, 2016), because at the root, every volunteer wants the help others (Hasanova, 2017; McLennan, 2019). Evidence of the positive impact of voluntourism nearly always surrounds the experience and personal development of the volunteers (Occhipinti, 2016). Articles defending voluntourism state that voluntourism benefits the host community and the volunteers by "strengthening trust, solidarity and reciprocity among citizens" (McLennan, 2019, p. 339), focussing on personal development instead of community development.

Despite the amount of criticism surrounding voluntourism, there is research that argues that it can lead to a greater understanding of "the other" and an enhanced intercultural interaction. Voluntourism can help break down stereotypes and both tourists and locals gain a clearer image of the other (Guttentag, 2009).

Other research focussed their attention on the motivations of the volunteers for doing these voluntourism trips. Some compared the voluntourism activities to earlier and current day missionary work (Occhipinti, 2016), which is in line the origins of voluntourism in Christian morals (Georgeou & Haas, 2019; Mortimer, 2013). The root of the motivation for most volunteers is the desire to do something good for another (Occhipinti, 2016; Hasanova, 2017). Especially the embeddedness of voluntourism in broader society is helpful in establishing why these voluntourism activities exist, because it differs between cultures what it means to be a good citizen (Georgeou & Haas, 2019) and thus why these voluntourism trips are undertaken by many.

Many articles on voluntourism strive to create a framework for voluntourism activities to limit the negative effects of voluntourism and enhance the positive effects (Hartman, Paris, & Blache-Cohen, 2014). Literature on voluntourism thus shows us why voluntourism exists, what its effects are and what can be done to improve the sector of tourism to prevent negative effects from happening in the future. This thesis will consider past research on voluntourism when listening to the stories of organisations that actively participate in voluntourism and organisations that actively try to distance themselves from voluntourism.

2.3.1 Voluntourism and white saviours

The white saviour complex is one of the concepts that is intricately linked to voluntourism. The white saviour complex is the "idea that it is the role of the white outsider to 'lift' the poor and oppressed in developing countries" (Straubhaar, 2015, p. 384). The white saviour complex is related closely to voluntourism, as voluntourism is also an activity in which people from the Global North help the poor in the Global South and thus the white outsider lifting the poor.

Another problematic aspect of the white saviour complex is that there is a lack of recognition when it comes to social privilege (Straubhaar, 2015; Bone & Bone, 2018). This means that people from the Global North do not see the privilege they have and the advantage they have over people from the Global South. According to several authors it is safe to assume that being white and travelling to a developing country will always be a privilege (Malkki, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018). As this social privilege is not always recognized, the voluntourists will not be aware of the unequal position between themselves and the host community, which will influence the work they are doing for the host community. It is often stated that voluntourists feel that they have the unique power to develop the host community and consequently dehumanize the local population, which will reinforce power structures

(Straubhaar, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018), in which the white person has more power than "the other". This is also reinforced in popular media, where the white man or woman steps into problematic situations and resolves all problems (Cowden, 2020). This kind of framing reinforces the feeling of people that white people are needed to develop the Global South. This focus on "power imbalances, colonial legacies and structural white privilege" (Banki & Schonell, 2018, p. 1477) is part of the main critiques on voluntourism and is thus linked to the white saviour complex.

The white saviour complex thus also shows the link between voluntourism and colonialism. Voluntourism organisations, according to Cowden (2020), state that the countries they visit are often infrastructurally and economically falling behind because of colonialism, but that it is also necessary for volunteers, and thus the former colonizers, to return, in order for these countries to be able to resolve their problems, once again giving the idea that the white people are needed to develop the Global South (Straubhaar, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018). The continued interference of the Global North in the Global South can also lead to dependency and a form of neocolonialism.

2.4 Voluntourism within development studies

"Development and global citizenship are key discourses within voluntourism" (McLennan, 2019, p. 347). All studies related to voluntourism like tourism, globalisation and development have been studied extensively for a longer period. Voluntourism is new to these debates and adds a new dimension to them and in some cases even breathes new life into them, as is the case with dependency theory, which is part of the development studies field of research and will be discussed first.

Development can be defined in an array of ways, the one that will be used in this master's thesis is the one suggested by Potter et al (2008). They see development as change, either with a positive outcome or with a negative one. "Progressive and effective development represents change that is intended to lead to the betterment of people and places around the globe" (Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 2008, p. 6). The connection of voluntourism to the development debate is that it is the goal of voluntourism organisations to contribute positively to the development of the Global South. Voluntourism is therefore promoted as "community sustainable development experiences" (Melles, 2018), to encourage potential travellers to participate.

By connecting voluntourism to development studies, this thesis follows the shift in studies on voluntourism from just a tourism perspective on the activity to a development perspective. Even though voluntourism has been heavily commercialized, it is intricately linked to the development studies debate (McLennan, 2019). The kind of development that voluntourism originated from, is what Hart calls, 'big D Development'. This kind of development originated in "a post-second world war project of intervention in the 'third' world (Global South red.) that emerged in the context of decolonization and the cold war" (Hart, 2001). Voluntourism built on this strive for intervention in the Global South after the Second world

war. This type of development work has received criticism in recent years, which states that the work being done is not creating any structural change for the local communities in the Global South. Banki & Schonell (2018) state that this criticism only increases when the development work is being done by volunteers without formal training, who conduct very short-term visits.

An increasingly important movement is the neoliberal development model, in which voluntourism has become a new strategy for development in the Global South. Within this model, profit-driven private institutions have replaced state-based actors as the main drivers behind development. Voluntourism fits perfectly within this model, as it is run by private organisations (Banki & Schonell, 2018). The continued intervention of the Global North in the Global South in a strive for development, does not only lead to progressive development, but can also create a dependant relationship.

2.4.1 Dependency theory & neocolonialism

The foundation for dependency theory was laid by Hans Singer (1950), who was the first to point out the inequity between the Global North and the Global South because of institutional differences in wage-setting mechanisms. As a result of this difference, the Global North was able to increase their standard of living, while the Global South was not (Singer, 1950; Toye, 2006). Singer revisited his thesis in 1975 and added the scenario of dependent development. He pointed out the problematic aspects of the Global South depending on foreign investment for their development (Singer, 1975). This is the origin of dependency theory. According to Samir Amin, dependency originates in the dependence that was created during colonial times. He illustrates how Africa went through four distinct stages, which came with an ever-increasing dependency of the countries in Africa on the colonizers (Amin, 1964). These historical frames are the basis for dependency theory as we know it today.

A different perspective is given by Andre Gunder Frank. His thesis states that "the condition of developing countries is not the outcome of inertia, misfortune, chance, climate conditions or whatever, but rather, a reflection of the manner of their incorporation into the global capitalist system" (Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 2008, p. 110). Frank, and all other dependency theory followers that came after him, stated that the blame for the underdevelopment of the Global South could not be placed on these countries themselves but on the Global North and former colonial powers (Chew & Lauderdale, 2010; Frank, 1966). This colonial legacy is also mentioned in critiques on voluntourism, which has been called a form of neocolonialism.

In 1979 Uchendu stated that dependency theory was no longer relevant to present day society (Uchendu, 1979). This doubt in dependency theory was supported by post-structuralist critiques that stated that the desirability of development should be reconsidered and thus the dependency theory, which is grounded in development thinking (Escobar, 2000).

Articles on voluntourism mention how in international media there is a way of framing the donors and recipients of voluntourism in a way that portrays the underprivileged recipients as helpless and without agency. This is used to bring attention to the organisations that aid these people (Banki & Schonell, 2018). This shows us that the way voluntourism is framed, still uses the frame of the donor and recipient in a dependant relationship where the Global South depends on the Global North for their development, thus breathing new life into the dependency theory debate.

This way voluntourism keeps up the dependant relationship the Global South has with the Global North, which can be counterproductive for their development (Cowden, 2020). There is even an active effort being made by local organisations to increase the agency of local residents and decrease their dependency on outside resources (Guttentag, 2009). Because it can be counterproductive "much of the criticism has focused on the potential of volunteer tourism to lead to new forms of colonialism and dependency" (Hartman, Paris, & Blache-Cohen, 2014, p. 109). Voluntourism has caused dependency theory to become relevant again in the development studies debate and, according to some, even created "new postmodern form of colonialism, known as neocolonialism" (Cowden, 2020, p. 3; Guttentag, 2009). The interference of volunteers keeps up the cycle of dependency that many developing countries have come stuck in (Guttentag, 2009), and keeps up the notion that Global South, is dependent on the Global North for its development, because the concept of modernization was established by the Global North, is a highly neocolonial notion (Caton & Santos, 2009).

The final problematic aspect of voluntourism according to the development studies debate, is the framing of "us" and "them" made by many volunteers. The colonialist division being made and the creation and framing of "the other" can reinforce cultural stereotypes (Hammersley, 2014). This is diametrically opposed to the notion of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism that the voluntourism sector tries to align itself with, according to many organisations (Gallarza, 2000; Nelson & Child, 2016).

2.4.2 Global citizenship & cosmopolitanism

Two other concepts that are connected to voluntourism and therefore to this master's thesis are global citizenship and cosmopolitanism. Global citizenship is defined as "the idea that human beings are 'citizens of the world'" (Dower & Williams, 2002, p. 1). An important part of global citizenship is a move away from development cooperation towards global citizenship. This will support a move away from the North-South dichotomy that is present in traditional development thinking and create a more equal relationship with shared responsibility for each other. This responsibility is not only considered between various parts of the world but also towards future generations (Carabain, Keulemans, van Gent, & Spitz, 2012; Dower & Williams, 2002). The definition of global citizenship has changed since its origin in the ancient world of the Greeks and Romans. It originated as a relationship to the cosmos and adapted in response to certain issues in the world (Dower & Williams, 2002).

One of the most influential writers on both global citizenship and cosmopolitanism is Kwame Anthony Appiah. He states that "we must care for the fate of all human beings inside and outside our own societies, and (…) we have much to gain from conversation with one another across our differences" (Appiah, 2007, p. 2376). Within this claim it is already visible that there is a close connection between global citizenship and cosmopolitanism. The importance of global citizenship is stressed clearly by Caton and Santos. Who state that "we live in an increasingly interdependent world, in which opportunities for cross-cultural understanding must be promoted to ensure the prevalence of global citizenship ethic" (Caton & Santos, 2009, p. 195), which would ensure greater equality between parts of the world.

The origin of the term cosmopolitanism is the same as global citizenship and dates to the fourth century B.C. During this time, it was believed that a person was a citizen of the universe. Over time this view changed, and every person now belongs to a specific civilization or community (Appiah, 2006). Appiah states that cosmopolitanism is an ideal in which people "regard all the peoples of the earth as so many branches of a single family, and the universe as a state" (Appiah, 2006, p. xiii). This idea created the foundation for the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which shows the importance of cosmopolitanism.

Finally, the Voltairean idea that we have an obligation to understand those with whom we share the planet can be connected to cosmopolitanism. This idea of understanding others is taken up in modern literature and is also taken up by the organisations studied in this thesis, as they often have the achievement of global citizenship or cosmopolitanism as one of their main goals. An addition that is made in more recent articles on cosmopolitanism is that we also have the obligation to not only understand others, but also to value them (Ostby, 2018; Guttentag, 2009). This links back to global citizenship and the strive for equality between various parts of the world.

2.5 Framing

Finally, voluntourism is related to the concept of framing, both in the way voluntourism itself is framed and how voluntourism steers the framing of "the other". Through the concept of framing, this master's thesis will be able to look at how organisations position themselves within the voluntourism field, frame the work they do and frame their host community in the Global South. The concept of framing was first brought up by Erving Goffman in 1974. He defined it as "the culturally determined definitions of reality that allow people to make sense of objects and events" (Shaw, 2007, p. 321; Goffman, 1974). Since the writings of Goffman, the definition given to framing has changed. Currently, framing is defined as the act in which individuals intentionally create frameworks to transform the reality. Framing is thus no longer about defining, but more so about shaping reality. Framing can in that way be used to move the audience in a certain direction of thinking by showing certain aspects of reality more clearly and hide others (Shaw, 2007). This can cause framing effects, which happen when "small changes in the

presentation of an issue or event produce (…) changes of opinion" (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104). Framing is relevant to this master's thesis because it shows us that there can be different perspectives on the phenomenon of voluntourism and that it is important to consider that the way voluntourism is presented could change the opinions of people on the topic and could also create a discrepancy between the reality of the organisations and the way they present themselves. Diverse ways of portraying voluntourism will be shown through the different perspectives on voluntourism of volunteering organisations, travelling organisations and travellers.

A frame can be adjusted in four separate ways. These are frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation (Shaw, 2007). The common goal of making these adjustments to the framing of the organisation is to spark the interest of more different people. Frame bridging happens when two frames are combined that would normally be unconnected. On an organisational level, this combination could happen between two organisations, which would then share their networks and information (Snow, Rochford Jr., Worden, & Benford, 1986). Frame amplification happens when an interpretive frame about a particular issue, problem or set of events is clarified or strengthened (Snow, Rochford Jr., Worden, & Benford, 1986). Frame extension is used by organisations to expand their potentially interested pool of people by portraying their activities in such a way that they adhere to the interests of the potentially interested group. Finally, frame transformation is the most radical change to a frame. In the case of frame transformation an organisation will completely change its frame by describing their activities in a different way than before (Snow, Rochford Jr., Worden, & Benford, 1986). This master's thesis will investigate how various kinds of framing are used by organisations and how these frames reflect the different debates of global citizenship, dependency, cosmopolitanism, and the white saviour complex that have been discussed before.

The way organisations frame the world influences the way people understand certain processes and the way they view the world. If the Global South is framed in a wrongful way people might get a wrong idea of what the world looks like. This could for example play into the white saviour complex that some might have. Within cosmopolitanism, travellers that engage with a different culture from their own, can see their lives through a broader comparative frame (Snee, 2013), thus enlarging their frame. Cosmopolitanism is not only a tool to look at the world (Appiah, 2006), but also creates a frame through which people see the world (Snee, 2013). The white saviour complex that was discussed before can also be seen as a way of looking at the world, where stereotypes frame white people as moral and innocent to remove their guilt (Murphy, 2018) and the Global South as helpless (Banki & Schonell, 2018). This shows us that the white saviour complex, cosmopolitanism, and global citizenship are all frames themselves, through which we look at the world.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

This chapter will go into the different methods that were used while collecting and analysing the data for this master's thesis. This master's thesis intended to use two different methods of data collection. These methods were participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The methods that were used in this thesis will be explained below and an explanation will be given on why these methods were chosen and their benefits for this research.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, some changes had to be made to the initial methods of data-collection that would be used in this master's thesis research. The research proposal states that, in this master's thesis research, participant observation at Global Exploration will be one of the data collection methods. Due to the intelligent lockdown in the Netherlands in 2020, which is when the internship was taking place this could no longer happen. The lockdown forced everyone in the country to work from home, which is why the internship at Global Exploration was cut short. For this reason, the participant observation at Global Exploration has been replaced by semi-structured interviews with all employees and the director of the foundation.

3.1 Semi-structured interviews

"A semi-structured interview is a verbal exchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions" (Longhurst, 2016, p. 143). It is important to note that during a semi-structured interview, the interviewer does prepare a list of questions, but the interview can unfold in a conversation, with new questions being added when a topic is touched upon that is found important by the interviewee (Longhurst, 2016). Semi-structured interviews are thus partly steered by the person being interviewed and the answers being given to a certain question can vary from one interview to the next (Boeije, 2009). This happens because the participants are given the opportunity to give an open response in their own words (Longhurst, 2016). In the case of this research, semi-structured interviews gave the possibility to interview a group of employees and directors of organisations, instead of being limited to the participant observation at one organisation, it also allowed for more in-depth answers and for including the opinions of the people being interviewed. The method of interviewing also allowed for a diverse group of respondents from different countries, as interviews were conducted through several video conferencing programmes.

Semi-structured interviews also have negatives, as is the case with most research techniques. When conducting interviews there is always a risk of receiving socially desirable answers from participants (Gobo & Molle, 2017). Within this thesis, which could mean that employees or directors of organisations will give answers that contribute to a positive image of their organisation. It was thus important to make

clear what the goal of this thesis is beforehand and give the participants the ability to talk freely about their organisation. Finally, it was important to explain to all participants that the data collected during these interviews would only be used for this master's thesis research and that any information they did not want to have included in the transcription or in the thesis would be taken out (Longhurst, 2016). Each organisation was asked for permission to mention the name of the organisation in the research, for which all of them gave permission. All personal information and names of people have been anonymized.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with three separate groups of respondents. The first group of respondents consists of directors and employees of several different organisations that facilitate travels to countries all over the world. All these organisations can be linked to voluntourism because they either align with it, or actively try to steer away from it. The second group of respondents consists of people that travelled with Global Exploration, their experience with this organisation and their motivations to embark on a trip with this organisation. The third and final group of respondents is made up of all staff members and the director of Global Exploration.

To conduct the semi-structured interviews three different interview guides were written beforehand (see appendix 1). These interview guides included specific questions that were asked to each participant and cover several different topics, which will be elaborated on further for each different kind of interview later in the paragraph.

The ideal situation would be to choose a neutral location to conduct these interviews, but this was not possible due to the Covid-19 pandemic. All interviews were conducted through either the video conferencing platform Zoom or through video calls with the WhatsApp application, as it was not allowed to meet up in person with the interviewees due to the Covid-19 pandemic or because the organisations were located abroad.

Not being able to meet up with the participants and conducting the interviews through online platforms, did create a possibility to use the built-in recording option in video conferencing platforms. The recording of the interview was thus done easily through these platforms.

3.1.1 Semi-structured interviews with travelling organisations

The first set of semi-structured interviews was conducted with travelling organisations. Most of these organisations facilitate volunteering jobs, but some steer away from these volunteering jobs. The semi-structured interviews with these organisations set out to find out what their goals, activities and motivations are for doing the work that they do.

Several methods were used to find organisations to interview. Several organisations were already known to the researcher and contacted this way. In addition to these contacts, the organisations were found through Google searching for volunteering organisations and the hashtag voluntourism on Instagram. A standard e-mail was sent out and throughout the months of April, May, and June of 2020 a total of ten interviews with several organisations were conducted.

The interview guide that was used during these interviews covers several topics including general information about the structure and activities of the organisation, the goals of the organisation and the communication about these goals. Finally, each interview ended with questions on voluntourism and whether an organisation thinks it offers voluntourism.

3.1.2 Semi-structured interviews with travellers

The second group that was interviewed were people that travelled with Global Exploration. Global Exploration is the foundation that was intended as the location of the participant observation location of this thesis. Through Global Exploration, the e-mail addresses of a group of travellers were obtained. In the month of June in 2020, five interviews were conducted with travellers of Global Exploration. This group varied in age, the countries they travelled to and the number of times they travelled with the organisation. Each participant gave a unique view of the organisation and their goals when deciding to travel with Global Exploration.

This second group that was interviewed required a different interview guide from the first group. This interview guide covered four different topics, including the experience these travellers had before, during and after their trip with Global Exploration, their own goals and the goals of the organisation, the way the organisation communicated about its goals and, once again, voluntourism and whether the travellers thought the organisation offered voluntourism.

A very clear problem with semi-structured interviews became apparent during these interviews, which is that some people have never been interviewed before (Gobo & Molle, 2017), which can cause them to give concise answers and requires the interviewer to ask several questions to obtain a complete answer.

3.1.3 Semi-structured interviews instead of participant observation

Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, participant observation was removed as a data-collection method. For that reason, another set of semi-structured interviews was added to the research. The participants of these semi-structured interviews included all four employees and the director of Global Exploration. The switch from participant observation to semi-structured interviews meant that the option to see an

unobstructed image of the organisation was no longer there, but the semi-structured interviews added the possibility to ask more in debt questions about the organisation.

There were two groups of respondents that were interviewed as a replacement for the participant observation. The first group consisted of all employees of the organisation. The interview covered topics on their specific job description and the different areas of the organisation that they are working in, the partnerships required to execute their jobs, the goals of the organisation, their contribution to achieving these goals and the way they communicate about the goals of the organisation. Finally, the employees were all asked about voluntourism and whether the organisation falls into this category. The second group of respondents consisted of the director of the foundation. This interview covered both questions about the organisation in general and about the tasks of the director themself.

Although participant observation, which includes actively participating in activities of the organisation (Laurier, 2016; Boeije, 2009), was not possible due to the Covid-19 pandemic, some parts of the internship still continued during this period, but working from the office, was no longer possible and thus active participation was not possible. Another important aspect of the method of participant observation is interaction between the researcher and the participants (Boeije, 2009). Although this interaction could not happen face-to-face, the interaction was replaced by regular videocalls, WhatsApp messages, e-mails, and the semi-structured interviews.

Since the participant observation could not continue, the negative aspects of observing and the ethical issues connected to it, are no longer relevant. Some of these ethical issues are connected to the extent to which the researcher explains what the intentions of the research are. In this research, the participants knew exactly what the research entailed before participating, thus eliminating this issue. A main issue of ethnographic research, which includes both participant observation and semi-structured interviews is that the research is not easily verified or replicated. With participant observation, the field notes are an interpretation of the situation that the researcher describes. The semi-structured interviews can provide an insider perspective though questions. The verification issue is solved by the recordings that were made of the interviews and can be listened to or read in the verbatim transcriptions of the interviews.

3.1.4 Analysis of semi-structured interviews

To analyse the semi-structured interviews, the interviews were recorded. This gave the interviewer the possibility to be fully engaged in the interview and not having to focus on writing down the words of the participant (Longhurst, 2016). During the interview, only the answers that stood out were written down and were used to formulate follow-up questions. The interviews were transcribed after the interviews were conducted, except for names that were mentioned by the informants and a few instances of the informant asking for a certain part to be removed from the interview.

Once the interviews were all transcribed, the data was analysed. The most-used technique in general and the technique used in this thesis of analysing qualitative data is the process of coding (Cope & Kurtz, 2016; Boeije, 2009). The interview questions were immediately linked to the research questions, so the interviews provide almost exclusively the information that the researcher was asking for.

The process of coding for this research was done through the ATLAS.ti programme for qualitative data analysis and research. This coding process was not a linear process and required initial codes that were later re-evaluated and combined, as is supposed to happen during coding (Cope & Kurtz, 2016; Gobo & Molle, 2017). There were distinct kinds of codes included in these different steps of coding. The first codes that were applied to the interviews were descriptive codes that referred to simple patterns. Once these codes were applied to the interviews, the descriptive codes were then combined into analytical codes, which could in turn be connected to the literature from the theoretical framework (Cope & Kurtz, 2016). Once the process of coding progressed, there were themes starting to be visible, that were then used as the main topics for the analytical chapter of this thesis (Cope & Kurtz, 2016).

3.2 Respondents

Finally, this methodological chapter will provide an overview of the respondents that were part of this research with an explanation of who they were, why they participated and some characteristics.

Global Exploration - Respondent A	Employee of Global Exploration, responsible for travels to four countries, adult travel programme, projects abroad and a travel log that is compiled in a book
Global Exploration - Respondent B	Employee of Global Exploration, responsible for travels to three countries and trainings for travellers.
Global Exploration - Respondent C	Employee of Global Exploration, responsible for travels to one country, social media, newsletter, and a subsidy project.
Global Exploration - Respondent D	Director of Global Exploration, organisation facilitates travels to twelve countries for high school students and others in the Netherlands for a world citizenship internship.
Global Exploration - Respondent E	Employee of Global Exploration, responsible for travels to four countries, finances, exchange project
ActLocal	Small organisation from the Netherlands that facilitates travels to eleven countries to volunteer and exchange cultures.

AIESEC Nijmegen	Worldwide organisation that facilitates internships and volunteering trips for students to almost every country in the world for cultural exchange and personal development for travellers, local branch of Nijmegen
Casa Lan	Local organisation from Mexico, focussed on climate change prevention that offers spots for volunteers to come and work with them and cultural exchange.
Domino Volunteers	Local organisation from Colombia, functions as a funnel for volunteers to contact and send through to projects around Cartagena. Focussed on empowering local projects and providing the volunteers with an experience.
Fairaway (part of Cross Your Borders)	Organisation from the Netherlands facilitates travels for high school students to four countries for a cultural exchange and an experience for the travellers.
GVI	Worldwide organisation that facilitates internships and volunteering trips to over ten countries worldwide to help the local community, but also personal development of the travellers
Mattlawie Ecological	Local organisation from Ghana, focussed on community development and climate change that offers spots for volunteers to come and work with them.
Ontmoet Afrika	Organisation from the Netherlands that facilitates volunteering trips to several countries in Africa for the personal development of the travellers and cultural exchange.
Operation Groundswell	Organisation based in Canada that organises travels with volunteering for students to create cultural exchange and understanding.
TEC Uganda	Credits given for participating, but unfortunately the internet connection whilst conducting the interview was too bad to be able to use this interview.
Young & Fair Weg (Part of Young & Fair)	Organisation from the Netherlands that organises travels to Nepal and Gambia to educate travellers and others on fairtrade by travelling and communicating the stories afterwards.

Traveller I	Travelled to Togo with Global Exploration in 2019.

Traveller II	Travelled to Indonesia in 2017 and Bhutan in 2019 with Global Exploration.
Traveller III	Travelled to Mongolia, Papua (Indonesia) and Bhutan with Global Exploration.
Traveller IV	Travelled to Togo with Global Exploration in 2019.
Traveller V	Travelled to Togo with Global Exploration in 2019.

Chapter 4 – Describing the research field

This chapter will set out to introduce the different organisations included in this thesis. First, the kind of organisations will be introduced, then the way these organisations frame themselves will be discussed. An important note to make is mentioned below, as the data collection for this research was done at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. Most organisations mentioned that they had to change their activities in June 2020, but mostly they discussed what their organisations did under normal circumstances, without taking the pandemic into account. This is important to keep in mind when reading about the way these organisations describe themselves, their goals, and their activities, as these activities differ from what they were able to do during the pandemic.

The Covid-19 pandemic added an extra dimension to the activities of organisations. They each spoke of the activities of their organisations in regular times. Some mentioned what changed for them during the pandemic, because travelling was not allowed or possible for a long period of time.

The pandemic has changed the contact organisations have with their partners in the Global South. Before the pandemic they had contact about travel planning. That has now changed to communication about cancelations and plans for the future. Future plans are important, because some partners are struggling because of the lack of tourism activities in the Global South at the moment, as one of the employees of Global Exploration mentioned "of course some companies just go pretty bad and difficult". In addition to concerns about their partners, there are also concerns about the countries in general, since the pandemic has a great impact on the economies of these countries, as mentioned by the director of Ontmoet Afrika, who says it "is very uncertain what is going to happen in Africa".

Organisations that are in the countries that receive the volunteers were struggling with the lack of tourism and even spoke of not being able to survive this pandemic, like Casa Lan, where the respondent says: "I hope we can survive this".

As other organisations mention the new activities they have implemented because it is no longer possible to travel. Some organisations are providing online experiences to their travellers, like GVI, who mention that they "now recently [are] being sort of a […] provider of online experiences for ethical volunteering as well".

Smaller organisations, like Ontmoet Afrika, mention not being impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic that much, because their partners are not depending on the income that is provided by the organisation. They normally receive a fee for the support they offer to the volunteers, but do not depend on Ontmoet Afrika. But even in their case, uncertainty is present: "My perspective on the future is very special right now. I don't know how this is going to evolve".

All organisations that are involved with travelling have their own struggles during this pandemic, but the interviews made clear that the impact is very different for each organisation.

As discussed in the theoretical framework voluntourism trips are usually provided by non-profit organisations. These organisations are the research topic of this master's thesis. Because of that, it is important to start the analysis by describing the organisations that were interviewed. To be able to dive deeper into the way these organisations frame themselves and their activities, this chapter will give a general description of the structure of these organisations. The subjects that will be discussed are the way the organisations were founded, the finances, the employees, and the partners.

4.1 Foundation of the organisations

One of the questions asked in the interviews concerned the foundation of the organisations. When and how was the organisation founded? This question gave a lot of information on what moves the organisations to do what they do.

The first reason for founding is given by AIESEC, an organisation that wants to establish cultural exchange and cultural awareness. AIESEC is "an organisation that once was founded after the Second World War with the idea to never have something like a Second World War happen again and the idea behind it is that we could prevent that by bringing different cultures together". Different from AIESEC was the case of Global Exploration, whose current goal is also focussed on cultural exchange, but whose goal during the founding in 2006 was to be a more help-focussed organisation.

Ontmoet Afrika and GVI have the same motivation behind the founding of the organisation. The founder and director of the organisations travelled with a different volunteering organisation themselves and decided they wanted to do things differently. In both cases the founder or director of the organisation spent a lot of time researching a way to make sure the volunteering is done ethnically. Operation Groundswell also saw there were problems with the model of voluntourism and approached the solution in a different way, by trying to learn from the people who are facing the challenges themselves, and by taking up a more project-oriented approach and moving away from voluntourism to a more experiential learning approach.

Several organisations, like ActLocal and Casa Lan, were founded from a desire to do some good in the world or wanting to save the environment by starting an organisation that combines travelling and cultural exchange.

A unique reason for founding an organisation was mentioned by Domino Volunteers, who noticed there was a need for a connection between local projects and volunteers and for that reason started the organisation as communicator between the projects and the volunteers. Fairaway is another organisation

that started organising their travels because they noticed that there was an ask from students in projects of their parent company. They started their travel programme when the students they educated in a different department of their organisation asked whether they could also travel to the countries they were being taught about within educational projects.

4.2 Finances

An important aspect of every organisation are their finances. In the case of the travelling organisations that are part of this research there are three subjects that came forward in the interviews, the finances of the organisation themselves, the finances of their partners in the visited countries and the fee the travellers need to pay to travel.

The income of the organisations in many cases comes from other organisations or institutions that provide them with money to keep their organisation running. For example, Wilde Ganzen, who support the projects of Global Exploration and Frame, Voice, Report! which is a subsidy project run by the European Union. Global Exploration mentioned that it is necessary to attract new schools and thus travellers to their organisations and keep the connections with the existing schools tight. This is important as Global Exploration is almost fully dependant on the cooperation of schools in their projects. The fee the travellers pay is the main source of income for most of these organisations, which makes acquiring travellers crucial for their existence.

The biggest expense for the organisations is most often supporting the projects they visit abroad. The way this money is collected differs per organisation. Global Exploration for example has their travellers collect sponsored money to support the projects abroad and Casa Lan mentioned applying for funds. Several organisations mentioned supporting the projects they visit financially, but most organisations also mentioned that their project partners are not depending on the funds they received from their organisation and that this is also not the intention of the organisation. This was mentioned by, among others, Global Exploration, Fairaway and Ontmoet Afrika. Since, according to Ontmoet Afrika this would “imbalance the relationship”.

Most organisations did not mention being in trouble with their finances. Some organisations did mention doubting whether they wanted to continue running their organisation or would be able to continue into the next year. No names will be mentioned, but mainly the smaller organisations seemed to struggle with their finances.

As the income that comes from the travellers is the main source of income for many of the organisations, the subject that was mentioned by several organisations is the cost of the travels. One of the organisations, Fairaway, is working on a new project that will allow for more people in the Netherlands to be able to travel with their organisation. This project will allow for the students to collectively save up money for a longer period so that they do not have to pay for the travels by

themselves. As mentioned before, the travellers of Global Exploration are required to collect a certain amount of sponsored money to be allowed to travel with Global Exploration. This money is partly spent on the travels of the travellers and partly given to project partners, who spend the money on their projects. These organisations thus also focus on the inability of potential travellers to travel with their organisation due to financial limits, both by creating possibilities to collect the money in a different way than from their own income.

4.3 Employees

The most important part of the structure of the organisations is the employees, the people running the organisation. Each organisation was asked about the employees they have and how they run their organisation. Almost all organisations, apart from AEISEC and GVI, have a small number of employees ranging from one employee to six employees. Only AIESEC and GVI mentioned that they have a bigger pool of employees and a more hierarchical structure. They both have offices and employees all over the world and facilitate a great amount of travels each year. From AEISEC the regional team of Nijmegen was interviewed, and they explained how the entire organisation is structured with offices in cities all over the world who jointly create a network to facilitate travels between these places. GVI mentioned being the largest international volunteering organisation in the world and having employees in several different offices around the world and people working for them at each travelling destination.

Most organisations have paid employees while still functioning as a non-profit organisation, but there are also some organisations, like Young & Fair Weg, who are completely run by volunteers. This did not influence the amount of time spent working for the organisation, as some volunteers spent just as much time working on the activities of the organisation as the paid employees were. As one of the volunteers of Young & Fair Weg mentioned, "work needs to be done and that means that you work just as hard on the tasks that need to be done". A more detailed view could be established of the pool of employees and people working at Global Exploration, because an internship was conducted at the organisation. This organisation has a structure with so called "chairmen" in each country their organisation travels to. These chairmen coordinate the projects and travels in this country, and as they said, "they are responsible for the entire internship on location". They also have doctors who travel with the groups to safeguard the health of the travellers, teachers from the schools they partner with who coordinate the groups travelling and a board that overlooks their activities since they are a foundation.

The interview guide did not include a question about the number of FTEs at each organisation. Through stories about what each employee does and what the structure of the organisation is, it became clear that some organisations have the ambition to expand and attract more employees. Casa Lan for example said "[they] are a small organisation right now […], [they] are trying […] to fly", Domino Volunteers who mentioned "potentially expanding to other places in Colombia" and Fairaway who said

they "actually want to expand". On the other hand, there are organisations, like ActLocal and Ontmoet Afrika, who are happy with the size their organisation currently has and are planning to continue running their organisations with the two and one person teams they currently have. Ontmoet Afrika said it would take them "being busy with strategy, social media, and acquisition, but [they] do not really do that" and for ActLocal there are personal reasons for not wanting to expand. Although these organisations mentioned not wanting to expand, the consensus is that the ambition to expand is there for the organisations.

The final topic that will be discussed concerning the employees of the organisations is the location they work from. There are three different locations that can be distinguished. The first option is that the employees work from their home country in the Global North. Which is this thesis, mostly concerns the Netherlands. The employees coordinate the travels from the Netherlands to the Global South from their home country. The organisations that chose this work location are Global Exploration, Fairaway, Young & Fair Weg, Ontmoet Afrika and Operation Groundswell. The second option for work location was described by Domino Volunteers. With this organisation, one of the employees moved to the location of the organisation to establish an organisation in this country, while coming from a different country. In this way, they can arrange volunteering work for people from all over the world at projects in Colombia, they "are in one place and all live and work [t]here". The third option that can be distinguished is an organisation run by local people who established an organisation to develop a certain area or achieve a certain goal in their country of origin in the Global South. To support the projects, they started attracting volunteers to help at their projects. This was the case with Casa Lan and Mattlawie Ecological. Casa Lan described that they "ran a pilot last summer (2019) with actual volunteers" and Mattlawie Ecological also describes that "from time to time we use volunteers". These organisations are thus focussing on their own goals and using visiting volunteers to support them.

4.4 Partnerships

In addition to the employees, most organisations collaborate with external partners. Four categories of partners could be identified within this thesis. The first category consists of partners that support the activities of the organisation. The second category consists of project partners that facilitate the projects, cultural exchange and volunteering activities within the countries that are visited. The third category is made up of partners that provide the organisations with travellers. The fourth and final category is made up of other organisations that either financially or with knowledge support the organisations. Most organisations also mentioned having partners connected to the general running of the organisation like website design and accounting companies. Since these are not specific to travelling organisations, these were left out of the analysis.

The first category of partners is concerned with the preparations of the travels and assisting with the activities of the organisations. Ontmoet Afrika uses the services of an external company to facilitate their trainings, "they are just customers of mine, that I take my trainings from". Global Exploration also used the services of one of these companies to ensure their travellers are well prepared, but "the trainings that they give, do not align 100% with what we want" and because of that they started to provide the trainings themselves. Not only the trainings were sometimes outsourced to an external partner. Global Exploration also approaches a travel agency to book flights for them, "that for example goes through [a travel agency] for all countries".

The second category of partners that the organisations have, is made up of partners that reside within the countries the organisations travel to. These partnerships can sometimes be one-off, as is the case with Young & Fair Weg, since they travel to a new destination with each trip they make as "it will stay authentic then". Most partnerships with the other organisations have existed for years. In most cases, these partners are local individuals, organisations or civil societies that already had running projects before the travel organisations came along. These projects are now visited by the travellers or volunteers sent by the travel organisations. Examples of these partners are elderly homes, which are visited "to connect […] young people with old people", as mentioned by Global Exploration. With Casa Lan projects are visited for volunteering purposes but go "on with or without the volunteers". This applies to many of the organisations. In addition to partners that provide volunteering opportunities, there are partners that provide opportunities for cultural exchange and touristic activities. These partners are usually visited each time the travellers of an organisation visit the country.

Young & Fair Weg mentioned travelling to smaller communities and corporations. Their connection to these places is reciprocatively, as they can visit these places with their travellers and then "give publicity to their company". This kind of reciprocity was also mentioned by Operation Groundswell, who do this by "by highlighting the work of [their] partners in their communication" and Fairaway, who travel to certain destinations with young people to "make students and young people aware of what is happening in the world". Not only partners from abroad were mentioned, but AIESEC Nijmegen mentioned having connections in Nijmegen so people from other countries can travel here. They also have partners abroad, who are part of the organisation and have their own partners, where people from Nijmegen can travel to, their organisation has a "whole hierarchy". GVI mentioned that their partnerships in-country are mostly with other organisations, like WWF or Save the Children.

In addition to visiting projects and partners, some organisations, like Global Exploration and GVI mentioned also having long-term partnerships with their local partners and "work with them to set up these goals" they want to accomplish with their projects. As Global Exploration said, "our connection with the partners […] is really good". Another important group of partners that was mentioned frequently in the interview were local tour guides, by for example Global Exploration, who have so called "chairmen"

who arrange a substantial portion of the travel itinerary for the travellers and Fairaway who mentioned working together with local tour guides who arrange their contact with places to visit. The final important group of partners are local families that function as host families to the travellers and have them stay in their homes for the duration of their travels. Several different organisations use these types of accommodations, like Domino Volunteers, Global Exploration and Fairaway.

The third category of partnerships mentioned by organisations is with schools and universities to acquire travellers or volunteers for their programs. Domino Volunteers mentioned they "work with several universities that send [them] interns". Young & Fair Weg mentioned visiting schools to gain travellers. Operation Groundswell said, "half of […] the programs [they] run are actually direct partnerships with universities and colleges" and they acquire their travellers this way and Fairaway, mentioned having partnerships with a few schools who had a group of students travelling with their organisation "once then join year after year". The organisation that had the biggest dependency on schools for acquiring travellers is Global Exploration. Their organisation only has a few groups each year which consist of people that are not from a school. They have partnerships with around twenty different schools in the Netherlands who have a group of students travelling with Global Exploration each year. Not only schools are used for acquiring travellers, but also travel agencies, like in the case of GVI, who work with travel agencies globally that help promote their projects and thus help them acquire travellers, "[they] refer to them as booking partners".

The fourth and final category is the broadest category of all four and entails all other organisations that the travelling organisations work together with apart from in-country organisations in the destination country. This category includes organisations that the travel organisations get money from, quality marks from and other collaborations to support the organisations in achieving their goals.

First, Global Exploration mentioned working together with activist projects that try to draw attention to several different problems in the world. One of these projects is Dollar Street by Gapminder and another is Frame, Voice, Report! which is a grant project from the European Union to create more awareness for the Sustainable Development Goals.

The Sustainable Development Goals are considered by several of the organisations. GVI is even registered as a contributor to the United Nations on the Sustainable Development Goals. They regularly feed back to the United Nations to make sure their projects are contributing to the Sustainable Development Goals and the projects are making an impact. Another partnership used to verify the quality of the work of the organisations is mentioned by AIESEC Nijmegen who has partnerships with local companies, in their city of residence, who provide them with all kinds of advice. These partners are often companies or banks who are enthusiastic about the work AIESEC Nijmegen does and voluntarily support the organisation. Finally, Mattlawie Ecological mentioned that the founder of the organisation

is also a member of the International Cities of Peace, and the organisation aligns with these goals in striving for peace and talking about it.

A different kind of partner that was mentioned by several different organisations, is a partner that provides the organisation, or the projects aligned with the organisation with money. Examples of these organisations are Wilde Ganzen, which is a Dutch organisation that "really just wants to support small projects […] in the entire world". Global Exploration has been "working together with Wilde Ganzen since the beginning".

The final category of partners consists of overarching organisations that help the travel organisations with their activities and making sure the activities of the organisations are impactful instead of being harmful. Two of these organisations are Volunteer Correct and Better Care Network. Ontmoet Afrika mentioned being connected to Volunteer Correct, which is a "trade association for sustainable international volunteering".

Chapter 5 – The connection or disconnection with voluntourism

Whilst conducting the interviews and executing the analysis of this research, it became apparent that the field of voluntourism is filled with contradiction, tensions, and discrepancies. Many of the organisations, for example, do not want to be associated with volunteering, but when listening to the stories about the activities of the organisation, the activities do not differ from volunteering that much. This chapter will dive into the different tensions that were found when analysing the interviews.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, voluntourism is a contested field. With the volunteers often benefitting from the experience (Occhipinti, 2016), but the local community not actually wanting the volunteers to be there (Hasanova, 2017). This chapter will go into the perspective that the employees and travellers of the organisations have on voluntourism and the way they choose to frame their activities. In this way, this chapter will try to find out where the discrepancy between theory, framing and reality comes from.

The answers to this question and its link to the theories on voluntourism that were discussed in the theoretical framework will be discussed in the following paragraph. In line with the definition of Gallarza (2000) & Occhipinti (2016), the travellers of the organisation will be called travellers and not volunteers. This is also relevant since not all organisations do volunteering work and thus not all organisations have volunteers. In this way, the travellers of all organisations will be defined in the same way.

5.1 Associations with voluntourism

It already became clear in the theoretical framework that there is a lot of negativity surrounding the term voluntourism, as a lot of critical research has been published on voluntourism and the activities in which some non-profit organisations partake (Occhipinti, 2016; McLennan, 2019; Guttentag, 2009). It is important to note that not all organisations that were interviewed in this research can be categorized under the term voluntourism. This will also become apparent when the answer of each organisation to the question whether their organisation does voluntourism, is discussed. Before each respondent answered this question on their organisation, they each answered a more general question first: "Could you explain to me what, according to you, voluntourism entails?" and "Do you have a positive or negative association with voluntourism, and why?". These two questions gave a lot of insight into the association people had with the term voluntourism and the potential reasons why they did or did not want their organisation to be associated with the term. Since these questions were asked to single employees of each organisation, the answers to the first two questions will not be connected to the organisations, but spoken about in broader terms, which was also asked for by multiple respondents, as they spoke for themselves and not the entire organisation.

There was a total of twenty respondents, of which fifteen were employees of a travelling organisation and five were people that travelled with one of these organisations. Every single one of the employees of the organisations knew what voluntourism entailed and could give a definition of what they thought voluntourism is. Interestingly, only one of the travellers was able to give a definition of voluntourism and knew what it entailed. The definitions given by the respondents, often already gave away whether they had a positive or a negative association with voluntourism. The answers to these questions can give us a clear view on whether these organisations already have a prejudice about voluntourism, which can give a clearer view on why these organisations do or do not want to be associated with the term.

Some respondents gave descriptions that come close to the definition given to voluntourism in articles: "it's a travel where the people go to help in project, like any kind of project and at the same time they have that tourism experience in a different place" and "volunteers, tourism projects, you know, where you obviously go for for two weeks, you spend two days on a, on a volunteer program, and, you know, end up doing the rest of the time you're visiting local sites". Other respondents gave less accurate descriptions, like "if you think about the word volunteering, it's very kind of one-sided in that the person who is the volunteer is coming and just giving stuff for free.", which is not a complete description of what voluntourism entails. This last description, already has a hint of a negative association in it, that was given by this person in the answer to the next question. Some of the respondents even added the critiques to their definition: "voluntourism is actually that you go there to do volunteering, to a developing country, but there are of course people, researches that have been done, that are very critical towards voluntourism".

The second question of this part of the interview: "Do you have a positive or negative association with voluntourism, and why?", was only asked to the respondents that thought they knew what voluntourism entailed, as the respondents that could not give a definition, could not have a positive or negative association with it. The replies to this question were the same in many instances: eleven of the sixteen respondents said they had a negative association with voluntourism by stating that for example "tourists are part of the problem and not part of the solution" and that there "are a lot of pitfalls to the model". These statements by the respondents can be connected to research on the negative consequences of voluntourism, mentioned before in the theoretical framework. Examples of this are statements about "people do volunteering to create a good feeling for themselves" and are not travelling for the project but for themselves and "often do things well-intentioned that eventually lead to negative consequences", as was also stated in the theoretical framework (Occhipinti, 2016). It became clear that the organisations were aware of the existence of these researches by the answers they gave to the question and statements like "when looking at the literature" and "there are […] researches being done that are critical about voluntourism".

Three respondents said that they thought voluntourism was only a good thing if it happened in the right way, when "a win-win situation is created for both travellers and the community" or "there's ways that it can be done that are positive", which implies that the current way it is being done, is not the right way.

There was only one respondent that said they have a positive association with voluntourism. They stated that "voluntourism is all about travelling, […] it's learning, you're also working, helping, […] exchanging what you know, you give back and also you take from the culture from where you're travelling to […] to learn from".

These comments show that the association people, within travelling or volunteering organisations, have with voluntourism is, overwhelmingly, a negative one and would explain why many of the organisations do not want to be associated with the term. Most of the organisations explicitly stated that their organisation does not want to be associated with voluntourism. The reasons organisations gave for this were that "it doesn't fit in the same sentence as sustainable volunteering", "not putting the word 'help' at the centre of the organisation" or "because it doesn't fit in with our ethicalities or […], sustainable goals". The tension between not wanting to be associated with voluntourism and the actual activities of the organisation will become apparent in the rest of this chapter.

Since most of these organisations do travel to the Global South with young people or receive young people at their organisations in their country of residence who often do voluntary work, it is important to go into the actual activities these organisations do. When analysing the activities, we should discuss whether their activities differ that much from "tourism with which travellers do volunteering jobs to help the community or environment in the place that they are visiting", which is the definition of voluntourism that was given to the respondents during the interviews?

5.2 Goals and activities

This paragraph will go into the activities the travellers do when they are on their trip. The most important question is: what are the goals and activities of these organisations? The goals and activities can be divided into three distinct categories: personal development, cultural exchange, and volunteering. The final paragraph of this chapter relates to voluntourism, but mostly to any kind of ethics concerning the organisations, which are quality marks. These quality marks are used to steer away from the negative connotations that there are within the youth travel sector.

5.2.1 Development of travellers and the local community

One of the goals that was mentioned by many of the organisations as the most important is the personal development of their travellers. This was not only mentioned by the organisations but also one of the

goals that the travellers themselves had when going on these trips. Travellers mentioned "my goal was […] to be aware […] what it is really like there", "I want to get to know their culture" and another said they were curious "what am I like as a person on this trip with a group in a completely different country". The trip to them was a personal learning experience and a way to understand the rest of the world. These reasons were not only given by the travellers interviewed in this research, but have been mentioned before by respondents in other research (Occhipinti, 2016; Hasanova, 2017; McLennan, 2019). Another traveller mentioned the same thing, but also mentioned that "it might sound selfish, […] but it is really not meant that way, […] I went there […] really for myself, my own personal development". Many of the travellers have achieved their goal of developing themselves, as many of them, like Traveller III, mentioned specifically, "it really actually changed me as a person". Traveller IV added that they wanted to see the rest of the world for themselves instead of through the framing of the media, as "on tv only the most negative image is drawn". It is questionable however whether what the travellers see of the country through a pre-planned trip can be objective.

Not only their personal development was mentioned by the travellers. Some of them also mentioned that the travels are "looking good on my CV". This response can be linked to research on the positive effects of voluntourism, which state that the positive effects are often linked to the personal development of the travellers (Occhipinti, 2016). This research speaks negatively about these trips as reinforcement for a resume.

There were several organisations that had the personal development of their travellers as one of their main goals. One of these organisations is Global Exploration, which has the development of global citizenship for their travellers as their main goal. They try to achieve this goal by showing their travellers other cultures and learn from these experiences and interactions, which was also mentioned by Fairaway. This goal could also be seen in the responses given by the travellers of Global Exploration. They each knew that one of the goals of the organisation is to develop global citizenship. A different way besides travelling to achieve this goal was mentioned by GVI, Global Exploration and Operation Groundswell, who all mentioned that their trainings and courses outside of the travels educate their travellers on certain topics. These statements once again link up with the research that has already been conducted on voluntourism, which states that the personal development of travellers is almost always at the forefront of voluntourism activities (Occhipinti, 2016).

Other organisations that had the personal development of their travellers as one of their main goals or as their main goal are Young & Fair Weg, ActLocal, AIESEC, Domino Volunteers, Fairaway, GVI, Operation Groundswell, Ontmoet Afrika and Mattlawie Ecological. This shows us that, even though these organisations have quite different motivations for their existence and have varying goals and activities, the personal development of the travellers is one of the most important goals of each of these organisations. The kind of personal development might be different for some of the organisations, but

the general goal is the same. An example is AIESEC, who "through this (the travels) develop their [travellers] leadership qualities", and Young & Fair Weg, who have the "goal to learn something about fair trade". Although they educate their travellers on different subjects, the educational goal is the same and thus the personal development of their travellers.

A different goal that several organisations mentioned is not only to educate their travellers through their travels, but to also have these travellers bring their stories back to their country of origin and educate their peers at home by talking to them about their travels. This was mentioned by Young & Fair Weg, Global Exploration, Casa Lan and GVI. These goals can contribute to the greater understanding of "the other" and breaking down stereotypes, mentioned by Guttentag (2009). This also relates to global citizenship, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6. The question, which was already raised in the theoretical framework, remains whether it is an ethical choice to have young people travel to these places to do certain work or do certain things, for their personal gain.

5.2.2 Exchanging culture instead of volunteering

Cultural exchange was mentioned as one of the goals of several organisations. The attention for cultural exchange helps the breaking down of stereotypes and creates a greater understanding of "the other" (Guttentag, 2009). It remains to be seen whether this exchange is very one sided. This goal was shared by many of the organisations that were interviewed and by the travellers, of whom many mentioned the interactions with others on their trips being one of the most important aspects of the trip. For example, Traveller I mentioned that her "goal was actually mostly to get to know the other culture". Global Exploration is one of the organisations that uses cultural exchange to achieve their main goal of creating global citizens. As one of the employees mentioned that their goal is "interculturality, trying to bring young people together (…). Both the Dutch youngsters as the young people there and through this contact, filling their backpack, so to speak". The question that should be asked when it comes to cultural exchange is whether this exchange is equal. Only one of the organisations interviewed facilitated return trips for the inhabitants of the Global South to visit the Global North, this shows an inequality within the cultural exchange. Inequality is mentioned because, all organisations, apart from one, facilitate travels from the Global North to the Global South, but not the other way around. The travellers from the Global North are thus able to really experience the different culture, while the local community in the Global South is not, creating a one-sided exchange.

The way organisations try to achieve their goal of creating a cultural exchange differs between organisations. Several travellers mentioned that they learned a lot from travelling and seeing and experiencing life on a different continent, which contributed to them learning about another culture. Traveller I mentioned that they immediately noticed the differences between the culture of the country they travelled to and their country of origin, "Wow, this is really different and that you of course don't

see here". This contradicts the debate on the continued decrease in cultural diversity worldwide (Nederveen Pieterse, 2000), which happens because of the increased crossing of borders, which creates a mingling of cultures. This mingling of cultures is exactly what is being described by the travellers and being established by these travelling organisations.

This kind of cultural exchange is what happens naturally when people cross borders and visit a different country. A different kind of cultural exchange happens when the culture is intentionally shown to the travellers. Traveller I mentioned two different instances where the culture was shown to them through performances by the local community, "it was a group of orphans actually and they were taught to dance and make music and make bracelets and stuff like that for money and so they came to perform with us". These performances were, according to them, very educational in learning about the culture of the country they were visiting. They stated that "this is really Africa, you know".

A third way in which culture is being exchanged during the travels with these organisations is mentioned by Global Exploration, among other organisations. One of the respondents mentioned that while working together on projects at the travel destination, the travellers get the chance to interact with the local community and in this way exchange culture, because "that conversation, about how they do it and about how we do it, that discussion, is the most important, (…), understanding each other's world". Because, as mentioned by the same respondent from Global Exploration, the local community knows best how to do things in their country, as they stated, "they can probably do that better than us". This way of cultural exchange should eliminate one of the most important problems with voluntourism mentioned in the theoretical framework, as they no longer neglect the locals' desires (Guttentag, 2009). Whether this works out in practice remains to be seen in future research. Global Exploration is not the only organisations that mentioned collaborating with the local community as one of the ways of creating cultural exchange. Several organisations, like Ontmoet Afrika and ActLocal, but also travellers mentioned it as an important way to exchange culture. ActLocal mentioned that "you get to know the culture in a very different way from where you would normally go on holiday and also help the people that way". "Getting to know each other equally", is what they believe in. This different way of experiencing another culture and meeting others, can be related to the Tourist Gaze 3.0, which states that this way of meeting others is more interactive than the traditional Tourist Gaze in which tourists only "look" at the local community instead of interacting with them (Cowden, 2020).

Finally, for most organisations, the exchange of cultures happens intentionally during the travels by visiting local communities and giving the travellers the opportunity to interact with the locals and in this way exchanging culture. Young & Fair Weg do this by travelling to a community and giving the local community the opportunity to share their story with the travellers by "showing the face behind fair trade […] to young people". Global Exploration mentioned taking this one step further by having the travellers create games and activities that are "always focussed on curiosity and the exploration of the people, so

to say". Global Exploration also facilitates trainings to the travellers before they travel to improve their abilities to have contact with the local community and improve their open mindedness before travelling to a certain country. Many organisations, two of them being Domino Volunteers and ActLocal, stressed the importance "to have an intercultural exchange, were both sides are benefitting" and "getting to know another culture in an equal way". While this should eliminate the inequality in cultural exchange mentioned before, the problem remains that travellers from the Global North are the only ones visiting and not the other way around. This tension was indirectly mentioned by one of the travellers, as they stressed that they started to "understand some more things [about the world], instead of staying at home in your own surroundings". This is not the case for the community that is being visited.

We can state that most travelling organisations had the exchange of culture as one of their main goals, or at least as one of their activities. There was one organisation, AIESEC, for whom this cultural exchange served a higher purpose, besides created mutual understanding. They "strive to achieve peace and fulfilment of humankinds' potential [...] by delivering cross cultural exchanges all over the world". This shows us that cultural exchange can also be used as a tool to achieve other goals. Finally, Global Exploration also mentioned having the greater goal of turning their travellers into global citizens and using cultural exchange to achieve that goal. Whether the goals were achieved during the travels and preparations differed per respondent, some said that becoming a global citizen is a process that is achieved over a longer period than a year or three weeks and some mentioned that there were too many goals to achieve in such a brief period.

5.2.3 Volunteering or not?

Different organisations have different approaches when it comes to volunteering abroad. Some organisations were against volunteering and made sure that their travellers only travelled to certain countries as a traveller and not as a volunteer. Other organisations would have their travellers do volunteering jobs, with different activities involved. With the final category of organisations travellers would work on certain projects when they were travelling, but the organisations would not classify this as volunteering, but as collaborating with the local community or as an internship. The question that arises is why organisations that have their travellers do work on a voluntary basis, do not want to be associated with volunteering and voluntourism. Are the negative association and framing involved or are the activities fundamentally different?

The activities that are undertaken by the organisations that did send their travellers to volunteering jobs were different for each organisation. The activities ranged from environment focussed volunteering by Casa Lan and Mattlawie Ecological to volunteering to help the local community by Domino Volunteers and Ontmoet Afrika. With ActLocal, examples were "help to refurbish schools, you can teach, you can help to sell fish on the market". Another organisation that does volunteering jobs in education is AIESEC

and another organisation that does volunteering jobs together with the local community is Operation Groundswell, who "go in the fields and with the farmers will help pick beans". Casa Lan is focussing their volunteering jobs on "trying to impact the environment" and educating travellers and locals on the problem of climate change, because of "the social impact that we want to make". The volunteers still help the local community, but the projects all focus on improving the climate. It is important to Casa Lan, as for multiple other organisations, that the travellers are not only volunteering, but there is a solution where everyone benefits where "project are being done with the help of them and then they back with new learnings". This shows that the volunteering jobs that are undertaken by the travellers often serve to reach a higher purpose. These goals can range from the personal development of the traveller, the will to create a greater understanding of the other or to raise awareness for climate change. This once again shows some of the tensions in the voluntourism field, as the approach of volunteering to reach these goals can be questioned. Is the volunteering beneficial for the receiving end and how beneficial is travelling for climate change? These goals are not related to the volunteering jobs, but the volunteering is used to achieve these other goals.

Several organisations take a different approach and have their travellers work on certain projects when abroad, but these organisations do not classify these activities as volunteering for varying reasons. To Global Exploration, for example, it is particularly important to "let the children know that it is not volunteering". This is explained to the travellers during the trainings that are given to them before they travel. Global Exploration explicitly does not want their work to be seen as volunteering, but "as working together and supporting". The employees gave this perspective. Interestingly, the travellers of Global Exploration interpreted the work they did while travelling in a different manner. Traveller II mentioned that they "actually helped the people there with building the shelters of the monkeys a little bit" and traveller III even said that the work Global Exploration does is volunteering as "that is really 100%, because they say we are doing volunteering there, period". This discrepancy between the way the volunteers see the work and the way the employees of the organisation see it, was stressed further by Respondent A from Global Exploration when they explain that "Guys, we are not here to just help poor kids. […] that helping part, so we really want to counter that, but the friction that is there, is that students really want to do that" and "that is not our goal".

Interestingly, when looking at the definition of a volunteer, given by the Cambridge Dictionary, which is "a person who does a job or some work without being paid or forced to do it" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.), the work that these travellers do when travelling, can definitely be seen as volunteering. As is what the travellers themselves stated. Why then, do these organisations not want to be associated with the term? The connection that can be drawn from the interviews is that most organisations do not want to be associated with voluntourism because they are aware of all the negativity surrounding the field. Because of this, they change the way they frame their activities instead of changing the activity. Future

research should focus on whether this awareness resolves all problems in the voluntourism field or if this mere change in framing only covers up the problems. All these findings show there is a great discrepancy between the reality and the framing that happens, and the way theory tries to frame the work these organisations do.

Young Fair Weg & Fairaway are among the group that do not do anything related to volunteering or working when travelling. The main goal of both these organisations is to educate their travellers about the different countries they travel to and their people. The way they achieve this goal is not through working in the country of destination, but merely by travelling there and having their travellers experience the other culture by interacting with the local community. This shows that the goal of cultural exchange could also be achieved through different approaches than volunteering.

5.3 Quality marks

An interesting aspect of the travelling and volunteering sector is quality marks. Some organisations created their own guidelines to do their work ethically and other organisations align with a label or organisation that enables them to show that the work they do, happens in an ethically responsible way. The reason these quality marks have become relevant to the organisations is because of the negative connotations and negative consequences that have become a part of the travelling and volunteering world. These quality marks try to work on the critiques there have been on this sector and bring into practice what theory suggests.

The quality mark that was mentioned by a few organisations is Volunteer Correct, which is a trade association for sustainable international volunteering. Organisations can become a member of Volunteer Correct and must align with certain guidelines and with this obtain a stamp of approval. As mentioned before, not all organisations want to be associated with volunteering and thus, there is not a majority of organisations that is affiliated with Volunteer Correct. The quality mark of Volunteer Correct is an important sign of the ethicality and sustainability of a certain organisation. Since the founder, who is also the director of Ontmoet Afrika, mentioned that not every organisation that has applied, has been given the quality mark in the end. Since this association only focusses on improving the volunteering, it could very much be helpful in changing the activities of organisations.

A second overarching quality mark was mentioned by Mattlawie Ecological and is called International Cities of Peace, of which the director of Mattlawie Ecological is a member. "I am a member of International Cities of Peace. […] I'm a representative of them here, like, to talk about peace and peace

advocacy. We do that too, in our projects". This quality mark is thus not as much concerned with ethics, but with other aspects of the organisation.

A different example of a collaboration was mentioned by Global Exploration. Their collaboration with Wilde Ganzen is not specifically meant to provide them with a quality mark, but to people outside of the organisation, it can show that the organisation collaborates with a trustworthy and established organisation and thus unintentionally creates a quality mark. They stated that "you have this stamp, because that of course indicates that, hey, not only have we, here at the office, looked at it with a few people, but there are also country specialists from Wilde Ganzen who look at it". Global Exploration is one of the listed partners of Wilde Ganzen, which shows that they align with the code of conduct and the terms and conditions of an established organisation (Wilde Ganzen, ND).

Finally, two organisations gave examples of quality marks created by the organisation themselves. Global Exploration mentioned that they themselves provide a quality mark to their partners. The schools that partner with the organisation and send their students on travels with Global Exploration can provide their school with an internationalisation quality mark. Lastly, GVI created their own *Badge of Ethics*, which is a stamp, created by the organisation itself, that states that the organisations commit to running their projects ethically, a director of ethics supervises this badge of ethics. GVI is thus not aligned with a certain quality mark that is used by other organisations but has their own strategy of dealing with the ethics of their projects. This approach is interesting as the organisation can create their own rules and in this way are not checked by anyone externally.

Concluding, it is interesting to look at whether and which quality marks contribute to a decrease in negative activities in the travelling and volunteering sector. Future research could focus on evaluating which quality mark is most effective and trustworthy.

Chapter 6 – Creating cosmopolitans and global citizens through travel

This chapter will discuss to what extend the framing of the activities of the travel organisations relates to cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. The definitions of cosmopolitanism and global citizenship have been discussed in the theoretical framework and will be connected to the interviews that were conducted for this thesis. There are several subjects that came up in the interviews with the travelling and volunteering organisations and their travellers that can be related to these concepts. The first of these subjects is the personal development of the travellers and the development of the people from the local community, which was mentioned by almost all organisations as part of their goals or as their main goals as an organisation. The second subject that came up in the interviews is the goal of raising awareness about other parts of the world, which was mentioned by a few of the organisations that were interviewed. Finally, there is the goal of cultural exchange that relates to global citizenship and cosmopolitanism.

6.1 Traveller's personal development

This paragraph will first discuss the way in which the travelling organisations approach the personal development of their travellers. Secondly, the way the travellers themselves view their personal development before, during and after their travels will be discussed. By incorporating both the perspective of the organisations and the travellers, insight is created in the intentions the organisation has with their travels and the actual experiences of the travellers, who can give a first-hand perspective on what happens on the travels. Achieving personal development by travelling is not a new concept. It has already been researched in relation to educational travel. This way of travelling combines learning with travelling (van 't Klooster, van Wijk, Go, & van Rekom, 2008). And, as already discussed in the theoretical framework, this way of travelling fits within a very old tradition of travelling for the purpose of learning (Wokler & Brooke, 2012; Brodsky-Porges, 1981; Towner, 1985). Whether travelling is educational depends on three factors which increase cross-cultural learning: "interaction with local people, equal status between host and guest, and the shock of crossing cultural borders" (van 't Klooster, van Wijk, Go, & van Rekom, 2008, p. 692; Pizam, Milman, & Jafari, 1991). As will become apparent in this chapter, the first and third characteristic are present within the type of travelling that is discussed in this thesis and can thus be considered educational travel.

6.1.1. Thoughts of the organisations

The organisation for which the connection to cosmopolitanism and global citizenship is most clear, is Global Exploration. Their main goal is to make global citizens out of their travellers by sending them on travels to different countries in the Global South. They name their travels and the preparation beforehand

"a global citizenship internship, because it is still for a big portion for yourself what you are doing". They want to create global citizens and "really bring about a change in the thoughts of the children" by "getting young people in contact with another culture" and in that way "filling their 'backpack' a little better". Global Exploration does not only strive to educate the travellers they send to other countries, but also wants to make sure the local community can learn from the Dutch travellers and become global citizens through the contact with the travellers, "so that it is not about you, but about your whole environment". This adds to the idea of global citizenship, which is that everyone is a citizen of the world (Dower & Williams, 2002). Global Exploration frames this as "filling the backpack [of their travellers] further", "changing the thoughts [of their travellers]" and "understanding each other's world". All these connections to the concept global citizenship can be found in the framing of Global Exploration as an organisation. Their slogan for example is "Together One World", which once again relates to the idea that we are all citizens of the world, which is the definition of global citizenship (Dower & Williams, 2002).

The educational aspect of travelling (van 't Klooster, van Wijk, Go, & van Rekom, 2008) is something that came forward in the interviews with many of the other organisations, especially related to educating the travellers on what is happening in other parts of the world. Fairaway mentioned this as they want to "make the students and youngsters aware of what is going on in the world". This is related to the Voltarian notion of cosmopolitanism discussed by Appiah (2006), that we should be understanding the other. Fairaway is not the only organisation that stresses the importance of educating their travellers on "the other" or the local community in the countries they travel to, this was also mentioned by GVI and Operation Groundswell. The goals and activities of Operation Groundswell can be related to global citizenship clearly, as they want to "build a network of travellers who are socially, politically and environmentally aware of the places that they travel to" and to GVI, who make sure their travellers become more "culturally aware", which relates greatly to the idea of global citizenship, mentioned by Caton & Santos (2009), that cross-cultural understanding should be promoted. This cross-cultural understanding of the world was also mentioned by Ontmoet Afrika, whose goal is for their travellers to "get a better and honest, broader view of that other world". The promotion of cross-cultural understanding can be connected to all organisation that stressed the importance of cultural exchange, which, according to Caton & Santos, "must be promoted to ensure the prevalence of global citizenship ethic" (2009, p. 195). So, the organisations that stress the importance to promote cultural exchange, play into the idea that the global citizenship ethic is significant. The only critique that still arises when reading the statements of the organisations is an emphasis on "the other", confirming Guttentag's (2009) statement that voluntourism reinforces conceptualisations of the other.

6.1.2 Travellers' perspective

During the interviews with the travellers of Global Exploration, it became apparent that the travellers were overwhelmingly embarking on these travels for their personal development. Traveller I wanted to experience "what am I like as a person on such a trip with such a group in a completely different country, where I of course have never been". Traveller IV had the same goal of wanting to see the world for themselves. They wanted this because "I thought it would be very interesting to really see how it really works there instead of just, (…) on TV only the most negative image is painted anyway". This also applied to Traveller II, who mentioned that they went on this trip "really for myself, my own personal development". They travelled with Global Exploration to see what it was like on the other side of the world and said they went there with a very open mind, which was also mentioned by Traveller III, who said they "just try to keep my eyes open as much as possible and just see what is there and basically just let everything come at you". This open mindedness very much connects with the idea of global citizenship. To achieve global citizenship, one must exchange ideas with others across the globe, this can only be achieved when open conversations are possible, as stated by Appiah (2007). This openness was also mentioned by Traveller III, but their experience was that these travels almost forced them to be more open towards the world, because they were starting to understand more of the rest of the world by being uprooted from their everyday surroundings, "it is kind of an out of the box experience". Finally, Traveller V, also mentioned that they wanted "really to get to know their culture and I really want to have a conversation with buddy's and find out how they live". All these statements make it truly clear that the travellers all wanted to better understand the other and thus become global citizens through their travels. This aligns with the goal that Global Exploration sets for itself as an organisation.

The goals the travellers had before they went on their travels to a different country differed from what they experienced on their travels. This paragraph will now discuss the experiences of the travellers on and after their trips. All travellers mentioned that their travels were extremely educational and that their experiences abroad enriched them as a person. The way Traveller II explains it is that "you become more open towards the world and understand more instead of staying at home in your own environment". Some travellers even mentioned that the travels completely changed the way they viewed the world and behaved in daily life, like for example Traveller III, who mentioned that they "started focussing on certain things to keep the world in the way it is". An example they gave is that they started recycling plastic and picking up rubbish. It thus not only changed them as a person but changed the way they view the world. This can be linked to the way in which we are supposed to value the world, which is part of the definition of cosmopolitanism, given by Ostby (2018) and Guttentag (2009). This shows that at least some travellers' experiences can be linked to cosmopolitanism.

Not all travellers were as happy with the outcome and the course of their travels. An example of this is that travellers were not always happy with the way they were able to communicate with the local

community. Traveller III mentioned that "we had a Global+ trip, if you had to say whether or not it was a Global trip, I would have said before that it was not a Global trip, because it is more about yourself than about making contacts with the people there, because we had done that very little". Another aspect of the travels that was seen as less positive was also mentioned by Traveller III, who mentioned that they sometimes had the feeling that it was not as beneficial to the local community that they were visiting them, as it was to the travellers. This goes somewhat against the idea of global citizenship of cross-cultural understanding (Caton & Santos, 2009), which requires both the travellers and the receiving community to equally benefit from the visit and links again to the tension mentioned in chapter 5, that the cultural exchange is not as equal as it should be according to the goals of most organisations.

The overarching picture that is painted by the travellers is that the travels were very educational to them and that they were able to achieve their goal of developing themselves personally and the main goal of Global Exploration of helping them become global citizens. This last goal was mentioned as most important by all travellers, as "a true Global trip is more about connecting with another culture than developing themselves".

6.2 Using cultural exchange to create global citizens

As stated in the theoretical framework, humans can gain a lot from having conversations with others across our differences (Appiah, 2007), which will create greater cross-cultural understanding. It is crucial for becoming a global citizen to have exchange with others from all over the world (Dower & Williams, 2002). Many of the organisations that were interviewed contributed to the creation of global citizens by creating opportunities for cultural exchange during their travels.

The connections that the travellers make with the local community during the travels can last past the duration of the travel. This was expressed clearly by Traveller II, who mentioned that they are still in contact, almost weekly, with the people they met when travelling with Global Exploration. These statements can be related to time-space distanciation or "the spatial stretching of social networks" (Larsen, Axhausen, & Urry, 2006, p. 261). This time-space distanciation means that ordinary people can stretch their social networks to the Other, who would normally be out of reach, because of modern communication methods (Castells, 2000; Urry J. , 2003). The interactions on these travels thus create a cultural exchange that reaches further than just on the travels themselves and create a global network by stretching beyond nations (Larsen, Axhausen, & Urry, 2006).

The way in which most of the organisations frame their activities as cosmopolitanism or connected to global citizenship is by framing their travels as a way to create cultural exchange between different people. Different organisations have different approaches for reaching cultural exchange. GVI for example, offers many "cultural immersion activities" to their travellers, through interactions with the local community and additional courses. These intentional activities of interacting with the other are a great

activity for reaching the conversation with one another, which was mentioned in the theoretical framework by Appiah (2007). Other examples can be found in chapter 5. The question that is unanswered is whether cosmopolitanism and global citizenship is achieved through these activities. Further research is needed in this area. To the question whether the organisations feel that they achieve their goals, all organisations answered "yes".

6.3 Awareness & global citizenship

An interesting topic that was brought up by several organisations is the fact that the organisations hope and try to achieve that not only their travellers learn from their experiences when travelling, but the travellers should also bring back what they have learned to their own communities. This was for example mentioned by GVI, who "want to empower people to be able to go back home and make a difference within their own community, because it starts at home." This was also mentioned by Operation Groundswell, who "build a network of travellers who are socially, politically and environmentally aware of the places that they travel to, but also the places that they call home". Global Exploration even incorporated raising awareness into the main goals of their organisation. Research supports the idea that these travels can not only support the cultural awareness of the travellers towards the local community, but also increases their sensitivity towards their own culture (Haloburdo & Thompson, 1998; Koskinen & Tossavainen, 2004).

Different organisations approach the achievement of this goal in diverse ways. Young & Fair Weg for example said they "also want to take the stories of those people (the partners) to the Netherlands through that journey and we do that, for example, through a photo report, through a documentary". They then use these photos and documentaries in their guest lectures, which are organised by the organisation they are part of, Young & Fair, in the Netherlands. This approach is almost equally taken up by Fairaway, who are part of an organisation, called Cross Your Borders, who organize interactive citizenship projects and worldly school trips, with which they want to inspire young people to get involved in the world around them (Cross Your Borders, ND). Another organisation that takes a direct approach of raising awareness is AIESEC, who ask their travellers to write a blog or film a video when they are on their travels, "because there are just so many stereotypes about that population". The importance of this was already expressed in the theoretical framework as we are becoming increasingly interdependent with the rest of the world and should create cross-cultural understanding (Caton & Santos, 2009). These activities show that these organisations strive to achieve global citizenship for more people than just their travellers.

There were also organisations that specifically asked their travellers to communicate their experiences to others after their travels. GVI, for example, has created an ambassador project in which their travellers write a testimonial or visit a college for a talk and a big alumni network that helps them

"spread the word". This same approach is used by Global Exploration as they explain that the travel is not only about the traveller themselves, but also about their surroundings. The travellers all mentioned this when they were talking about what they experienced after their travels. Traveller I mentioned that they gave a presentation about their trip after they travelled.

The question remains whether the same awareness or amount of global citizenship ethic, as mentioned by Caton and Santos (2009) can be achieved in this indirect way of creating cross-cultural conversation. The people that receive information on other cultures in this way, receive the information through the interpretation of the people that travelled to the countries themselves. This inherently creates a certain amount of subjectivity on the subject.

Casa Lan presented a different approach to create awareness beyond their travellers. They merely want their volunteers to go back home and implement certain things in their daily lives, to improve the way they live back home in a sustainable way. This approach creates a certain change in the country the travellers come from, but the goal is not to also reach others directly.

Finally, some organisations mentioned that they used their social media pages to spread awareness about other parts of the world and in this way increase cross-cultural understanding. Global Exploration was one of the organsations that does this themselves by "if you look at Facebook posts. We find it important to show […] the goal of global citizenship". Mattlawie Ecological shared that their travellers are the ones that share the stories of the organisation on their own social media pages.

In the most ideal situation, these efforts to spread awareness, contribute to an increase of the amount of global citizens around the world. Unfortunatelly, this effect could not be measured by interviewing the travel organisations only. This topic could be interesting for further research. Otherwise there is no way of knowing whether this indirect contact with a different culture creates more cross-cultural understanding and because of that more global citizens (Caton & Santos, 2009). The different strategies of raising awareness might also contribute to the effectiveness of it, as the social media messages of the organisations themselves might give a different view on the other cultures, than the travellers might give.

6.4 Preparations before travelling

The critiques from development studies on the voluntourism field, focus mostly on "work [that] is being done by volunteers without formal training, who conduct very short-term visits" (Banki & Schonell, 2018). Some organisations try to counteract these critiques by offering information and training to their travellers before they embark on this trip. These trainings could solve the issue that arises with volunteers who have not received any training but does not solve the issue of these volunteers conducting very short-term visits. These trainings are not only focussed on making better volunteers out of the travellers, but also on making sure the contact with the community runs smoother, which contributes to the goals

of creating global citizens, that many of the organisations have. This paragraph will focus on the various kinds of preparations that the organisations offer and what the goal of these preparations is, because, as Operation Groundswell stated: "we say that the program starts when you sign up". The trainings are in almost all cases given by the employees of the organisations themselves. The content of these training courses gives insight into the efforts of the organisations to eliminate some of the negative effects of voluntourism and the negative effects of the presence of their travellers in the countries they travel to. The question remains whether only giving these trainings is enough to eliminate the negative side effects of only travelling to these destinations short term. It does not seem like extending the trips is an option for many of the organisations, as ActLocal stated, "it must be accessible, so that people also, that they do not have to cooperate for three months immediately".

6.4.1 Registration and application process

For some of the organisations, the preparations start when the travellers apply for their trips, months before they travel. After travellers sign up for a trip, there are several organisations that mentioned having an interview with the traveller beforehand, like Domino Volunteers, who mentioned "we fill an application, we interview them, we speak with the projects and then we assign them to the specific project". Domino Volunteers was not the only organisation that mentioned that the projects that the travellers will visit participate in the application process. This was also mentioned by Ontmoet Afrika, a Dutch speaking organisation, who said "I ask people, if they are interested, to write a motivation letter, in English please, because then I can also share it with people in Africa". Mattlawie Ecological said the same thing and mentioned that the need of the community can be evaluated after the application. Not only the needs of the receiving end are considered, but also the needs of the travellers themselves, who according to GVI "mostly […] come knowing exactly where they want to start in because they have this passion. They have a passion and then they want to sort of put it to use". All these measures the organisations take are meant to eliminate the discrepancy between what the travellers want to provide and what the community needs, since the needs of both the travellers and the local community are being determined.

The selection process is not only limited to meeting the wants and needs of the community or project. One of the travellers of Global Exploration stated that "the application process is a great way to make sure that the right people are selected to go on the travels", which is also mentioned by Domino Volunteers, who stated that "the volunteers are screened, to make sure they are fit to stay with a host family and are then appropriately matched". No further explanation was given on what this screening entails with Domino Volunteers. With Global Exploration, traveller II explains that "you have to have a sheet filled in by your tutor or your mentor who can prove that your grades are good enough and all

that and it is also signed and also how you are in terms of personality, that you are somewhat suitable for it and also in terms of stress and such if you can handle everything".

6.4.2 Trainings on culture

After the application process, most of the organisations provide trainings that focus on an array of different topics. Most trainings are focussed on a general preparation of the travellers on their trips. As mentioned by a traveller of Global Exploration: "they really don't want you to travel unprepared".

Many of the general trainings focussed on presentations about the culture of the country that the travellers are going to visit. Topics that were mentioned by different organisations were clothing options, ways to behave and basic knowledge of the language. The cultural dos and don'ts and the language are also addressed by Operation Groundswell as well as the history of the place. Young & Fair Weg focus their trainings on educating the travellers on the social and economic situation of the country they will be visiting. This shows us that a division between us and them is still present in the trainings. This colonialist division being made and the creation and framing of "the other" could reinforce cultural stereotypes (Hammersley, 2014). This happens, even though some of the organisations focus their trainings specifically on debunking stereotypes and addressing biases.

Operation Groundswell, for example, addresses "what it means to be in a different place, what it means to respect or understand or cope with the differences" in their trainings. These stereotypes are also mentioned by Ontmoet Afrika, who train their travellers to be prepared for African situations. To do that they "draw many African situations and see how you act in". They also address biases because "with all your unconscious, prejudices get started there, that is often a harbinger of frustration". Global Exploration also addresses these biases by saying "you will have your own message as it were, which you have before the trip, you will have to reframe it a bit by getting better and more information". The question remains whether training that is given by someone that is not from a certain country about a certain country, can reduce stereotypes and biases, because this person will always have a somewhat biased view on the world, because of their upbringing in a different country.

Ontmoet Afrika mentioned a preparational training before the trip on how to communicate with the local community. They mentioned this is necessary because the travellers will be "a bit removed from all kinds of amenities and fun. So that you are really very concerned about getting to know the people there and that the emphasis is on that" during the trainings. The improvement of communication skills is taken one step further by Global Exploration who teach their travellers ice breakers to improve contact with the local community. These trainings could contribute to the conversations across our differences (Appiah, 2007) that are present during the travels, as the biases are addressed and techniques to start up conversation are discussed.

In addition to learning about the culture, Global Exploration also mentioned that they have alumni of their travels talking about their experiences and specifically about the culture shock they experienced when travelling to certain countries in previous years.

Some critiques that can be given on these trainings are whether these preparations limit the negative effects related to voluntourism. One of these is the Tourist Gaze. The Tourist Gaze has preconceptions about the countries tourists visit baked into it (Cowden, 2020) and it is questionable whether this is eliminated with these trainings. Secondly, although the effort is being done, these trainings cannot eliminate the aspect of "power imbalances, colonial legacies and structural white privilege" (Banki & Schonell, 2018, p. 1477) that are part of voluntourism. These trainings could even increase these power imbalances, since the trainings are only offered to the travellers coming from the Global North and not to the visited communities in the Global South.

6.4.3 Trainings about the goals of the organisation

The next goal of the trainings that was mentioned by several organisations was to present the goal of the organisations, but also partially to achieve the goal of the organisation. As mentioned by Global Exploration, who stated that their goal is partially achieved on their trainings as "the global citizenship […], curiosity, you try to stimulate there a little bit". They said their travellers already have an increased sense of awareness that is created during the trainings.

Other organisations that mentioned that they explained their goals to the travellers during training were AIESEC who explain the goals of the organisation in the first conversation they have with the travellers and Operation Groundswell, who create little activities that the group does to teach them parts of their core curriculum. A traveller of Global Exploration also added that during informational evenings, the goals of the organisation are explained.

Fairaway takes a different approach and goes into what they do not want to achieve with their travels, to set the right expectations for the travellers. "Then we always first clearly emphasize our goals with what we do and do not want to achieve with this trip".

Since many of the organisations have the creation of global citizens as one of their goals, these trainings will mostly specifically focus on educating the travellers on global citizenship. As Global Exploration stated, "every sub-training that is given, as it were, is also dominated by that main goal and then you always name it".

6.4.4 Trainings about specific topics

The fourth and final category consists of trainings about specific topics that are relevant for the specific organisation. The topics that came up are leadership, security, bonding with the group, Gapminder, global citizenship, voluntourism and how to deal with children.

Three organisations that mentioned they educate their travellers on leadership qualities are GVI, Operation Groundswell and AIESEC. AIESEC stated that "we started looking more at how can we ensure that every young individual, especially students, can actually be trained to become the leaders of tomorrow, because we have the idea that you really learn to lead, so you can really use that to […] spread that cultural awareness again". GVI said they "offer a leadership course on our programs as well, which has been endorsed by the Institute of Leadership and Management, which is an internationally recognized body. So we also want to sort of cultivate leaders within our volunteer group". These leadership qualities are useful for the resume of the travellers and for the support of the volunteering group. The question remains whether this approach of the travellers needing to provide leadership to the local community that is visited, plays into the white saviour complex, which will be discussed later on. This would mean that these trainings are useful to the volunteers but might not be as beneficial to the elimination of the negative effects of voluntourism in the host community. This would fit into the trend, discussed in the theoretical framework, that voluntourism has some negative consequences to the host community, to the benefit of the volunteers' personal development (Occhipinti, 2016; McLennan, 2019; Guttentag, 2009).

With several organisations the travellers travel in a group instead of individually. This is the case with Operation Groundswell as well as Global Exploration, and some others. With Global Exploration the trainings beforehand are used to create a bonding experience for the group before they travel together. This was mentioned by one of the travellers, who said "we had two training weekends. Yes, also to bond with the group a bit, so to speak".

Global Exploration also used the trainings to increase the skill set of the travellers, specifically their problem solving abilities, as mentioned by one of their travellers, "If you have to do something together, you know, how are you going to do it, how are you going to solve a problem and all that". Another skill set that is addressed in the trainings is the way of thinking of the travellers, as the preparation for their travels takes up an entire year. A focus on skill set is shared by Casa Lan, who offer training to the travellers before they start on a project.

An important aspect of the trainings of Global Exploration is that they explain the travellers that their presence in the country they travel to, will not change this country. It is explained that "that's why those training sessions are just so super important, that for those kids of ours you make it clear in advance that guys we're going, that project will continue without you, and it will probably go even better. So, you're really not going to help anyone, just yourself". This very much aligns with the statements made

on voluntourism in the theoretical framework, which state that voluntourism can hinder the work progress and creates a completion of unsatisfactory work (Guttentag, 2009; Cowden, 2020). It also decreases employment for the local community and promotes dependency. Global Exploration explains these things to their travellers. The only sidenote that needs to be made is that they still travel to these countries and do work there. It is unclear, without further research, whether the education of the travellers can limit the negative effects of their presence in these countries.

Finally, one of the travellers of Global Exploration mentioned that they received specific training on how to deal and interact with children on their travels. Even though this addresses the problematic aspect of voluntourism and children combined (Kowsoleea, 2017). It does not eliminate the aspect of safety associated with children being involved in these projects. Global Exploration did mention that they have significantly reduced and almost eliminated projects that involve children from their curriculum in an effort to no longer work with small children.

6.4.5 Critiques

The organisations interviewed are aware of the problematic aspects of the sector they are operating in. These training are one of the ways in which they try to eliminate the negative consequences of travelling to a foreign country and interacting with the local community from their travels. But, as discussed, these trainings are often not enough to eliminate the negative consequences. It could even be argued that these trainings are part of the problematic aspect of these travels, as they address the problem, but not at the root. It does go to show that the statement made by Hall & Page (2014), that these organisations overlook the effect of their travels on the local community and that it is not mentioned as part of the preparation of the travellers is not entirely true. Some organisations do go into the dependency debate. This should and could be taken a lot further. It is an important step, to be taken in the future, to educate the travellers on all negative parts of the travelling industry during their preparation and even before they apply to travel, so they are fully aware of the effects of their travels.

What the trainings beforehand lack is a "shared responsibility" (Carabain, Keulemans, van Gent, & Spitz, 2012; Dower & Williams, 2002). The preparation is very one sided, there is no mention of the local community being trained before the arrival of the foreigners in their community, which does align with the statements made by Hall & Page (2014) that the organisations overlook the effect of their travels on the local community. Involving the local community in the trainings beforehand, would be a particularly useful addition to the training program.

Chapter 7 – The white saviour complex & dependency

This chapter will place the goals and activities of the organisations within the development studies debate by connecting them to the white saviour complex and dependency theory. This chapter adds another aspect from the interviews, namely the motivations of the organisations and travellers. These motivations are important in relation to the white saviour complex. These motivations can be related to the origins of voluntary work for development, which can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century with a foundation in Christian morals (Georgeou & Haas, 2019). It is being compared to earlier and current day missionary work (Occhipinti, 2016). In line with these Christian morals, this paragraph will discuss the motivations of travellers and the organisations for undertaking trips to the Global South and in some cases undertaking volunteering or working activities. As discussed in the theoretical framework, there is already a lot of research on voluntourism that is focussed on the motivations of volunteers (Nelson & Child, 2016). When connected to the white saviour complex, it becomes apparent that voluntourists feel they have the unique power to develop the host community (Straubhaar, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018).

This developmental relationship and its connection to dependency theory will be discussed in the last part of this chapter. This paragraph will discuss the partnerships and collaborations and the projects that these organisations have and whether these are creating a dependant relationship from the Global South to the Global North. This dependant relationship was already brought up in the theoretical framework and is being made relevant again by the activities of some of these organisations (Cowden, 2020; Guttentag, 2009).

7.1 The white saviour complex

As mentioned by Straubhaar (2015), many of the volunteers have the ambition to lift the poor and oppressed in developing countries. This is called the white saviour complex. Mentions of the travellers wanting to lift the poor and oppressed were made by almost all organisations that undertook any kind of volunteering or working activities. Global Exploration, for example, mentioned that in order "to make the trips interesting for the travellers, they have to feel like they are a world improver, because that is what they find important". AIESEC mentioned, "some people within the organisation are really world improvers (wereldverbeteraars)" and GVI mentioned that "they are concerned about others, rather than themselves". The white saviour complex is not only present in the ambitions expressed by the travellers beforehand, but also in the experiences of the travellers during their travels. Different things the travellers expressed were that "there are things you did there that you learn from and contribute to the people there", the fact that "they look up to white people there very much and are very respectful", and "after the trip you are definitely thinking about what have I done there. What have I done for the people?"

Finally, one of the travellers said that "you were so welcome, they were so grateful to you for being there". Differences that can be identified in these statements are a certain amount of reflection on the trips that one of the travellers expresses, who wondered whether they really contributed to the lives of the people. All statements show clear signs of the white saviour complex (Straubhaar, 2015) and do not show signs that the travellers are aware of the privilege that is involved in them travelling to these countries (Straubhaar, 2015; Bone & Bone, 2018). A very interesting statement was made by one of the travellers who mentioned that "So it was actually more for myself that I went […] it may sound selfish when you put it that way, but it's not meant that way at all, but not so much that I went there for the Let's Work program or the Schools for Schools program". This statement goes to show this traveller assumes that it is expected of the travellers of these organisations to be world improvers and not travel for themselves but to offer help.

Some of the travellers mentioned that they find it important to be useful on their trips. To the question what their goal was, one of the travellers answered, "for me it was mainly helping of course" and another mentioned that they think this is the case for most travellers, "I think most go for that, that most go for that too, because you really want to mean something". This contradicts with the statements of some organisations who mentioned that they found this less important. Ontmoet Afrika mentioned that "the word help […] I never focus on that" and Global Exploration said that: "the work is less important for us, but one of the most important things for the youth, because they want to feel useful, they want to get the image that they are helping people in a different environment". It thus seems that the organisations are playing into the white saviour complex that is present within some of the travellers, which is also mentioned by Global Exploration themselves, as they stated that "we [the sector] are partly companies that just simply have a profit motive and simply make young people enthusiastic to indeed play the do-gooder in another part of the world and that works, commercially". Global Exploration does try to explain to their travellers that "as a white person taking a selfie with four hundred school children because we are the good person, the one that everyone looks up to. And of course, we don't want to achieve that at all". Another organisation that mentioned taking pictures with local children is AIESEC and they were criticised for it: "even in projects that we have that we sometimes send people away to Africa and you know them, that the pictures are taken with the children and such, all very nice, but there has also been quite a bit of criticism on that". The organisations are aware of the sector they are a part of and the criticism it has received in the past, but their activities seem to not have changed enough to get rid of the negativity. The organisations do facilitate travels to the Global South from, mostly, the Global North. The question remains whether there is not always an inherent privilege within being white and travelling to a developing country (Malkki, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018), which should also be addressed.

Not only travellers have the ambition to make a change in the world. This ambition is also expressed by many of the organisations. For example, ActLocal expressed "we would like to save all of humanity, but we can't." and AIESEC mentioned that they "just really want to make sure that people have the best possible time abroad and can indeed make a change" and they "really try to look at, gosh, what does this contribute to the community, what sustainable development goal can we attach to this". With GVI their travellers "will be guaranteed to make a difference". This very much plays into the feeling of having the unique power to develop the host community that is felt within the white saviour complex (Straubhaar, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018), these organisations stated clearly that their volunteers are going to make a difference. Partly, the statements contradict this, as ActLocal stated that they are not going to be able to save all of humanity, but the idea that they can help remains: "it is a bit of making the world a little bit better and the idea was that you can do that". It is important to these organisations to offer their travellers the possibility to make a change in the country they are visiting, implying that these travellers can do that with their skill set and in the short amount of time they are there.

It became apparent in the interviews that the privilege that is part of travelling to the Global South as a white person and doing volunteering work is not discussed extensively in any of the organisations. The inclusion of the white saviour complex into the trainings and informational sessions that are done before the travels would be an especially important addition. It is mentioned briefly by some of the organisations that the travellers will not be developing these countries by their presence, but the privilege of travelling to these countries in the first place is mostly overlooked.

7.1.1 Travellers' motivations

Since a great part of the white saviour complex is related to the motivations of the travellers and organisations, this paragraph will now move on to explain the motivations of the travellers for undertaking these trips. Statements made about the travellers were not only pulled from interviews with the travellers themselves, but also from statements made about travellers by the travelling organisations. It is of course important to take into consideration that these statements are a secondary statement made about another group, but will nonetheless be taken up as truthful, since these organisations have been collaborating with travellers for quite some time.

The travellers' motivation that was mentioned by most different travellers and organisations is a motivation that is also mentioned by many of the articles written on voluntourism, which is that at the root, every volunteer wants to help others (Hasanova, 2017; McLennan, 2019; Occhipinti, 2016). As stated by one of the travellers, they "think most go for that [...], because you really want to mean something". Global Exploration added to this that travellers do this "to make themselves feel good of course and because they like to do something for someone else and I don't know which one is at the top". This is also mentioned by GVI, who stated "we're here to build a global network of people united by their

passion to make a difference". As we have seen before, this motivation to help others is not always enough to gain the wanted result. This will be discussed further in the next paragraph which will go into dependency theory. Since the motivation to help others is often not included the main goals of the organisations, it is interesting that many of the travellers do have this motivation. Global Exploration mentioned that "the moment you register as a young person for such a trip, and you know that you can do something for a good cause, that is a lot of extreme motivation". This goes to show that some of the organisations are aware of the motivations of their travellers and play into these motivations when they promote their travels.

Other traveller's motivations relate more to the goals of the organisations. Some travellers mentioned that they were interested in seeing different places for themselves. As one of the travellers mentioned: "I mostly wanted to help, but also see how bad some people have it on the other side of the world" and another traveller mentioned that they "really want to see what it's like on the other side of the world". Related to this, some of the travellers also expressed an interest in the culture of the country they were going to visit. One of the travellers said they "think Africa is a very interesting country anyway, I just find that culture […] quite interesting actually, […] because they are very different from us of course". Fairaway stated "there were also students who said yes, you should really be able to experience it yourself. What it's like to live there and what you encounter there and that's why we started organizing the trips". Although some of these statements express a misunderstanding of the world, they do state an interest in getting to know the world and other cultures.

Some of the travellers found their motivation to embark on these travels from others in their surroundings, for example one of the travellers said "I was already doubting anyway, like, yes, am I actually a good person for that […] and then a teacher said to me, […] *respondent*, you just have to come along, […] that's really something for you". Another traveller saw others that had already travelled with the organisation and was in that way motivated to also travel with the organisation, "they also tell you something about it and then you become a bit interested". These statements show some societal norms and values that are present and that travellers become motivated because of what others tell them. This shows that the origin of voluntourism, which can be found in Christian morals (Mortimer, 2013), has never fully disappeared and that there are still some societal values present in the motivations of travellers to go on these trips.

As expressed by one of the travellers, many of the travellers are younger and still exploring where they want to go in life. The personal development of the travellers is thus a great motivation for some of the travellers to go on these trips. The travellers want to make use of the opportunities they get on these trips. As stated by one of the travellers, "that I am one of the few people who has ever been there, that, that is very nice and that also looks great on my resume".

Finally, some of the travellers touched on how the local community was regarding them while they were travelling. These statements show that the travellers felt that "they look up to white people there very much and are very respectful". One of the travellers mentioned that the "[hosting] family was also really looked up to because they had a white person with them". Another traveller mentioned that they were really respected by the locals, as "they hardly talk to you. They don't look at you, all out of respect". These statements are examples of the white saviour complex as the travellers feel that they are regarded as better than the local community. Domino Volunteers added to this that the volunteers should "feel that they are valued and needed". It is thus important that the volunteers do feel that their presence is necessary for the communities to develop. This ties into both the white saviour complex and dependency theory, which will be discussed in the next paragraph and it also ties into statements that were made in the theoretical framework that volunteers describe their experience as meaningful and life-changing (Occhipinti, 2016), as this is actively facilitated by some of the organisations.

7.1.2 Organisations' motivations

This paragraph will discuss the motivations of the eleven organisations that were interviewed during this research in relation to the white saviour complex. The organisations were asked about their motivations, which often became clear when they explained why their organisation was founded. It also became clear that some of the organisations try to dissociate from the white saviour complex with their activities and the trainings they give to their travellers. Even though these efforts are being made by some of the organisations, the statements of some of the organisations can still be related to the white saviour complex. Examples are that ActLocal mentioned that they work "from our own inner intrinsic motivation to just do something and we actually want to do something good for the world", which relates to the motivation to "help the poor and oppressed in developing countries" (Straubhaar, 2015, p. 384) and playing into the white saviour complex. A different motivation was given by GVI and Domino Volunteers who want to improve the volunteering field that already existed when they were founded. Domino Volunteers was founded because they "basically realised that there was this need for local projects to connect with all of these tourists and people coming to the city who just really didn't have a way. And also vice versa I would get people contacting me saying I want to come and volunteer. How do I do this?" and GVI mentioned that "the founder of GVI, he sort of came about establishing this organization after joining on a volunteer program himself many years ago, and just sort of being quite disappointed in the impact, […] So he spent a lot of time investigating and doing research, how to make an impact ethically, how to ensure that we are a sustainable organization". These motivations are about wanting to make an impact on the world and responding to the demand there is of people wanting to volunteer and seeing that local communities need help. A question that could be asked in whether communities asked for help or whether the founders of these organisations interpreted the need for help themselves.

This would relate to the white saviour complex, where the white person feels that their help is needed for a community to develop further (Cowden, 2020).

Global Exploration said that they themselves have evolved in recent years. They "used to talk about development work, for example, now you really talk about a collaboration". This statement shows a clear want to move away from the white saviour complex, where the white person comes in to develop the local community since they have the unique power of doing so (Banki & Schonell, 2018; Straubhaar, 2015), and working together with the local community instead. The reason for this is that "simply that ten years ago people thought about it completely differently. If you look at literature from ten years ago, yes, if you look at the fact that the foundation was set up in 2006, then we were even talking about the third world". The organisation thus stated that their motivation for founding the organisation was more closely related to the white saviour complex, but the organisation is changing their views in accordance with new literature.

The motivation to travel that was mentioned by both the travellers and the organisations is establishing cultural exchange. AIESEC mentioned that "this cultural awareness ensures that there is less hatred towards other cultures, so that's kind of the approach that AIESEC started with". As mentioned before, many other organisations had cultural exchange and mutual understanding as one of their main goals. This shows us that there is both similarities and friction within the motivations of the travellers and the motivations of the organisations. What should be asked is whether this cultural exchange can ever be equal if only the travellers from the Global North are visiting the Global South, keeping up the white privilege that is involved with this kind of travelling (Banki & Schonell, 2018; Malkki, 2015).

Some of the organisations struggle with not wanting to align with voluntourism and steering away from the white saviour complex but hearing that the travellers do want to do this. It is possible that this is one of the reasons that the organisations are moving forward in the activities that their organisations do, away from the white saviour complex and dependency, but still fall into old habits. These old habits align with what some of the travellers stated they want to do: "you really want to mean something".

7.1.3 Friction

Some travelling and volunteering organisations can see a problem with the presence of the white saviour complex in their industry. They are thus aware of the frictions within their sector. Operation Groundswell even mentioned that their founders "wanted to kind of undo the thinking that, that the Western world, you know, kind of needed or had solutions to other people's problems". This is a clear example of an organisation acknowledging the presence of the white saviour complex and wanting to get rid of it. Although all these things are acknowledged, the employee also mentioned that there is no set-in stone solution to this friction. "I was paralyzed by this fear of doing the wrong thing, you can't do anything because everything is just bad. And international development and international aid is just a disaster.

And, you know, there's no way to help that doesn't have some sort of hindrance or dark side". Operation Groundswell thus not only acknowledges that the white saviour complex is present in their sector but mentioned that their organisation wants to move away from it and that they do not have the perfect solution, acknowledging the shortcomings of developmental work. Questions could be asked on whether the sector can change in such a way that all the negative side effects are eliminated fully, as is clearly stated by the employee from Operation Groundswell "there is no way of help that doesn't have some sort of hindrance or dark side". These organisations are thus trying to manoeuvre in a sector that is being criticized a lot.

Global Exploration mentioned that it is hard for them to move away from this friction because of the wishes of the travellers. Since travellers mention that they feel like they have not contributed enough after the trip, stating that "for me, the Let's Work [working] activities could have been a bit more", while that is not the goal of the organisation. This need of the travellers to feel useful was also noticed by Operation Groundswell who mentioned that "voluntourism just gets ideas in people's minds about what it's supposed to look like, and what they think it's supposed to look like, isn't necessarily the thing that they, while well intentioned, are trying to achieve". There is some distance between what the organisations want to achieve, what the travellers want to achieve and the activities that can contribute to both goals without disregarding the other.

Although these organisations make it seem like the travellers themselves are unaware of all these negative consequences and the white saviour complex that is involved. One of the travellers was certainly aware of what was happening on their trip. They mentioned that they also "saw the dirty side of it. Where people only visited to take pictures of the children. It felt like we were the tourists there that were ruining it". Here it becomes noticeably clear that the travellers are not always as ignorant as they are portrayed to be in articles and by the organisations.

Several organisations have tried to reduce the negative side effects of their travels, but it seems insurmountable to have privilege and a certain amount of white saviour complex involved with travelling to the Global South from the Global North and in some cases do volunteering jobs. Whether there is a way to keep going on these travels and eliminate all negative side effects is questionable. As this traveller said: "some countries should not be overrun by tourism and voluntourism, we should give them the money and not come back there". This critique on voluntourism by one of the travellers shows a close link to the main critiques on voluntourism by the literature. These critiques are intricately linked to the white saviour complex, as they focus on "imbalances, colonial legacies and structural white privilege" (Banki & Schonell, 2018, p. 1477).

7.2 Dependency

Voluntourism has been linked to the dependency debate before, as it is said to contain a "neglect of local's desires (..), a hindering of work progress and the completion of unsatisfactory work (…), a decrease in employment opportunities and a promotion of dependency" (Guttentag, 2009, p. 537). When discussing the dependency debate in relation to the activities of the organisations, it becomes apparent that the way the organisations frame their activities is relevant. Therefore, this final paragraph is structured in line with the different concepts that the organisations use to describe their activities.

7.2.1 Struggles around collaboration

One of the terms that was used by many of the organisations that were interviewed was a "collaboration". As many of the organisations mentioned, for example Global Exploration who said they "do not use the word help, we use collaboration and support", they collaborate with their partners and collaborate with them to achieve their goals instead of only offering them help. For example, Casa Lan mentioned that they had "been working with them with different technologies" and Domino Volunteers mentioned that they are "constantly see[ing] them and talking to them", as was also mentioned by Global Exploration, who said the "goal is to work together". These statements already contradict what research states about voluntourism, that the local's desires are neglected within the industry (Guttentag, 2009). This research cannot ensure that the local's desires are no longer neglected, but there is a conscious effort being made to ensure that it no longer happens. What this way of working could also help with is the fact that "international media frame recipients of voluntourism as underprivileged, helpless and without agency" (Banki & Schonell, 2018). Collaborating with these partners instead of helping them, could give them back their agency, as they have a say in what happens to them. Once again, whether these partners get their full agency back and regarded as equals remains to be seen.

An important aspect of collaborating with the local community instead of imposing something on them is a desire to create an equal relationship. Framing the activities not as offering help, but as a collaboration, helps steering the activities away from dependency, but the question remains how equal this collaboration is and why it is assumed that the local community needs a collaboration to achieve their goals. It is said by organisations that they have the local community tell them what they need. For example, Domino Volunteers mentioned that they "really try to have them tell us what they need and what profiles they could use. So, we are never just sending them a random person to a random project that may or may not have the skills that you needed […], they [the partners] set the requirements for the profile (i.e., the kind of volunteers they need)". Not only the organisations saw value in collaborating with the local communities, but travellers also mentioned that "that school that had collapsed and then we [...] together with our buddies and with children from the primary school itself [...] we had to make a foundation actually […] you really work together, so that's really fun".

What is important to find out about this collaboration is who is initiating the contact. Questions should be asked on whether the goals that the local community had without the interference of the organisations are the starting point or whether the goals of the organisations are placed at the centre, reinforcing the idea that volunteers have the unique power to develop the host community, which will reinforce power structures (Straubhaar, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018). By the sounds of some of the organisations, it is sometimes the goals of the organisations that are placed at the centre, which was for example mentioned by GVI, who stated that "in each location, specific to the projects, [GVI] have short-, mid- and long-term goals. […] those will take into account the needs of the community. The last thing they want to do is come and establish a project within a community and […], there's no need for it". The organisation stated that the wants and needs of the community are taken into account, which would counteract the statement of Guttentag (2009) that locals' desires are neglected, but an important side note to make is that the starting points are the goals that are set by the organisation, which reinstates a certain power balance (Banki & Schonell, 2018). The organisation sets goals first and then takes the wants and needs of the community into account. It could be argued that to create a relationship that is equal and ensuring that the work being done is beneficial this order should be reversed. The local community should be able to state what their community needs help with and ask for help from the organisation, which would then adapt their goals to the ask of the local community. This would give the local community the agency to decide about their own community. Another organisation that sets up the projects themselves is AIESEC who said they "try to set up the projects [them]selves together with another team abroad".

Another problematic aspect of framing the activities of the organisations in this way is that the framing of "us" and "them" is still very much present. This colonialist division can reinforce cultural stereotypes. There is a danger in this colonialist division as the volunteers could assume that they have a certain amount of expertise or expecting to contribute their existing skills in particular ways and with that disregard the existing knowledge, skills and expertise of the local community (Hammersley, 2014). This means that although the organisations have the ambition to create an equal relationship and take the wants and needs of the local community into account, the framing of "us" and "them" that is still present, could undo all these good intentions.

In addition to that, the trips that these travellers take will always be a privilege (Malkki, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018). The travellers are often not aware of the unequal position this creates between them and the host community. This became apparent in the statement of one of the travellers, who mentioned that "you work together, but they are really helped by what we do for them", stating that their presence is necessary. Another question that needs to be asked when the initiative comes from the travelling organisations instead of the local community is whether the organisations went in assuming that the

local community needed help instead of having the local community coming to them to ask for assistance. Does the local community want them there in the first place? (Hasanova, 2017).

Not all organisations are supportive of this idea that the goals of the organisations are at the centre of the activities of the organisation. For example, Global Exploration mentioned that "the initiative needs to come from them" and "[they] work from a question from over there, [they] don't say what [they] want to do, it is a collaboration". Having the initiative come from the local community, could contribute to the agency of the local community to have control over what happens to their community. The most important reason was given by Global Exploration who stated that "the main goal is to work together with the local people, because they know way better how their country works and what their situation is". For Operation Groundswell it was even one of the reasons that the organisation was founded, as they realised that "there was a lot they could learn from people who face challenges themselves and actually often held the solutions to their own challenges". They try to "undo the thinking that the Western World had solutions to other people's problems". This line of thinking sounds promising in preventing the white saviour complex and dependency, as the expertise of the local community is recognized. Both organisations take this expertise of the local community as a starting point. Whether this eliminates the white saviour complex is questionable, but it is a start.

Finally, Global Exploration mentioned that a lot has changed in their work field since they were founded as an organisation. They mentioned that they also used to speak about developmental work but are now transforming their partnerships into collaborations. This development is really moving the field of travelling and working away from the dependency debate, which could be a great development as the way tourists interact with places also influences the way the local community views themselves. When connected to voluntourism and the white saviour complex, the local community might think that development can only come from the outside (Cowden, 2020), which brings us to the dependency debate.

7.2.2 Creating an equal partnership through support

It is stated by previous research that voluntourism promotes dependency (Guttentag, 2009). In this paragraph it will become clear that the way the different organisations frame their activities is especially important in relation to this debate. As Global Exploration stated that "you know, help that feels very dependent. Supporting is more of, you are already doing well yourself and we'll give you an extra push" and Young & Fair Weg stated that "paying money to help someone else. Actually, also as a tourist activity, yeah I really see it as a kind of yeah, an expression of that inequality.", which is why Global Exploration uses phrases like working together instead of helping. They also stated that they "support on the spot, a completely different word from helping". An interesting question to ask is, whether the renaming of the activity fundamentally changes the activities that are being done by these organisations.

Although Global Exploration stated that they are not "helping poor children" or "doing developmental work", it would be interesting to see how their activities differ from the activities of other organisations that do say they "help" their partners and projects. Especially since the travellers of Global Exploration mentioned that they did help the host community: "we did some work and helped the people there" and "we did quite a lot of work and also donated to the school".

Within this discussion it once again became clear that there is a friction between what the organisations want and what the travellers want. Global Exploration mentioned that they "really try to avoid the helping of the local community, but it is what the travellers want, there is friction there". Ontmoet Afrika also mentioned that "the word help you use, […] I never focus on that". The friction between the goals of the travellers and of the organisations is confirmed by one of the travellers, who said that they "mostly want to help". The organisations thus need to do a balancing act and "the balance between global citizenship and charity needs to be good", as stated by Global Exploration themselves.

Organisations are aware of the fact that what they do is not going to change the world. As mentioned before, ActLocal said that their partner projects are helped by the visiting volunteers, which is part of their goal, but they add an important side note to this that "it really only helps one or two or three people maybe in a nice project but it is a bit of making the world a little bit better and the idea was that you can do that". This goes to show that the impact that these volunteering projects make is most likely not making a long-term impact on the local community, but their idea is that a change can be made by the volunteers.

Other organisations strive to make a bigger and more long-term impact. AIESEC wants their travellers to be able to "indeed make a change" in the country they are visiting. Casa Lan also has great ambitions and "want something that is more transcendent, really change the way we live and the way the world is now". From a developmental perspective, the goal of Casa Lan and AIESEC to not only want to make a short-term impact on the places they visit is in line with progressive development, which "is intended to lead to the betterment of people and places around the world" (Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith, 2008, p. 6). It is questionable whether this strive for development is paying off and the ability of voluntourism to create this kind of development has been criticized in literature on voluntourism.

It does not go unnoticed that there is critique to be given on the idea that the volunteers from the Global North are going to make a change in the Global South. ActLocal criticizes the view that is present in developmental work "as Dutch people or Westerners we also have a kind of image that we are going to help everyone or something. Only, the elaboration is still […] a precarious one. I think that's something that we need to look at very closely, how we do that". The fact that the organisation is aware of the shortcomings of the volunteering sector is positive, because often the volunteers feel they have the unique power to develop the host community and consequently dehumanize the local population (Straubhaar, 2015; Banki & Schonell, 2018). What is important, is to transfer this knowledge, that the

volunteers are not going to change the world, to the volunteers themselves. Since, as seen in earlier statements, the travellers do often feel that they are really helping. This shows another area in which there is distance between the organisations and the volunteers as the volunteers are often not aware of the little impact they are making, but the organisations are.

Some of the organisations stated that their travellers are not helping the local community in a traditional volunteering way. For example, by Young & Fair Weg, "we don't come to offer any help at all, we just come to hear a story", which is supported by Operation Groundswell, who stated that "help, can look very different". They are not visiting the country to change the lives of the local community, but the lives of their travellers. They said, "the goal is […] change the way the world travels and, […] by changing kind of individual perspectives […] ultimately change […] the world in kind of the most simple way". Mattlawie Ecological also supports this statement and mentioned that their volunteers help by "exchanging like what you know, you give back and also you take from the culture from where you're traveling to, to take it back like to learn from".

Some of the organisations mentioned that they mainly support the partners and projects they visit by supporting them financially. For example, Global Exploration mentioned that they support small projects, but do state that they will not be making a difference "because of the few thousand euros we invest in projects". ActLocal also mentioned that "you [the traveller] also pay [the partners], they also get a normal fee for that, and you can possibly also become some kind of donor or friend of the NGO where you helped". Dependency theory has shown us that there are problematic aspects with developing countries depending on foreign investment for their development (Singer, 1975). Since these organisations support their partners and projects financially, these projects are depending on their support to succeed. This creates a dependant relationship and can be detrimental to the independent development of these communities. Also, once again, this lender and recipient relationship creates an unequal relationship, contributing to the power imbalance that is already in place (Banki & Schonell, 2018). An organisation that counteracts the act of donating money to these communities is Ontmoet Afrika. They stated that "I am not the funding for their organization. That would also draw a fault line, that would throw the relationship off balance and then they could possibly start to rely on me, and they can't".

Another strategy that is kept up to prevent dependency from happening is by GVI, who mentioned "it's about ensuring that, you know, maybe today we can feed 50 kids, but are we equipping the local community to plant their own vegetable gardens grow their own vegetables so that next week when maybe when GVI aren't there anymore, they're able to feed themselves?", empowering the local community. This statement is interesting, since they do keep structural partners for the longer term and keep intervening with the local communities and supporting them financially, which is exactly what dependency theory describes as problematic (Cowden, 2020). In addition to that, empowering the local

community could be greatly beneficial to preventing dependency from happening, as described by GVI. They want to make sure that the local community can help themselves. A side note that needs to be made is whether this empowerment is a different way of stating that the western way of doing it is the right way and that we should be teaching them this way, for them to be able to help themselves? With this line of thinking, the white saviour complex is still very much present in that feel that they have the unique power to develop the host community (Banki & Schonell, 2018; Straubhaar, 2015).

Finally, it became apparent that a lot of the organisations are aware of the negative impact their work can have and some organisations mentioned that there is a change happening in their work field. Global Exploration mentioned that they are no longer doing developmental work, which did happen before, but that they are now collaborating with the local community and Ontmoet Afrika mentioned that "they have internationalization internships that are very much about intercultural intentions, which I like, so they are no longer based on old-fashioned postcolonial aid". This shows that there is a change happening in the traveling and volunteering sector, which is also noticed by the organisations. Organisations are wanting to change their way of working and are wanting to move away from the negative connotations that surround their sector. Each organisation has a different approach to try to make a change, Domino Volunteers for example said "we are a different organisation. There is so many ways to do this and there are so many different kinds of organisations, […] I think the main difference with us is that we are locally based". Other organisations, like mentioned before use quality marks to ensure that they are doing their work ethically and yet other organisations focus on putting the wants and needs of the local community at the centre of their organisation. Finally, there are the organisations that decided to not do any volunteering work at all, because, as Fairaway mentioned "the reason why we as Fairaway don't do that is that we organize short trips and in nine days we can't achieve anything there".

7.2.3 Projects owners

The best examples of creating or counteracting a dependant relationship were given by the organisations in their descriptions of their projects or the projects they visited. This paragraph will focus on firstly, the projects that seem to be creating a dependant relationship and secondly the projects that try to counteract a dependant relationship. Finally, it will go into whether the projects are set up and ran by the organisations or the local community and what this implies.

As mentioned before, the donating of money directly to a local community can create a dependant relationship of the communities on foreign investment for their development (Singer, 1975). Some of the organisations that mentioned sending direct donations or collect money for their projects are ActLocal, Casa Lan and Global Exploration. Actlocal mentioned that their travellers "can also become a kind of donor or friend of that NGO where you helped". Casa Lan said that "we've been searching for a

lot of you know like you put the project *typing motion* and you get funds". Global Exploration said that their partner "Wilde Ganzen would like to support small projects [...] all over the world, especially in developing countries or in the south". All these examples create a dependant relationship on foreign investment for a local community to develop.

A second example of creating a dependant relationship is when organisations set up projects themselves instead of leaving this to the local community. Examples of this were given by AEISEC who mentioned that "the Nour program has been set up, also from the Netherlands, to work with a number of countries [...] in the MENA region, the Middle East and North Africa, so you go there to fill that gap between the Western and the Arab culture", GVI who mentioned that "all of our projects are run and owned by GVI" and Ontmoet Afrika who mentioned that "it is also a bit that we sometimes set it up ourselves", contradicting their statement that they are not doing the management of the projects themselves. These examples show dependant relationship because the projects are set up by the organisations. The question is whether these projects would continue to be successful without the presence of the organisations, making the interference of the Global North necessary.

In contrast with creating dependant relationships, there are organisations that actively try to counteract this dependant relationship by for example not taking away the agency from the projects and making sure the projects do not need the volunteers or funding from the organisation to exist.

Some of the organisations mentioned that they actively try to make sure the agency of the projects is not taken away. One of them is ActLocal who mentioned that "in principle, we let them be free in the sense of it being their project, but yes, but we do have those [our] goals", which influences whether they start working with a certain project because "it has to fit in the concept". Casa Lan works together with their project partners to create the project but are a local organisation themselves and Domino Volunteers actively stated "we really try to have them tell us what they need and what profiles they could use. So we are never just sending a random person to a random project that may or may not have the skills that you needed". The difference between the approach of ActLocal and Casa Lan is that with ActLocal the project is managed and created by the partner project themselves and with Casa Lan a joint project is created. Domino Volunteers also do not interfere with the projects of their partners and merely sends volunteers that are needed for the project. Whether one or the other approach creates less of a dependant relationship cannot be concluded.

Another strategy to prevent dependency is empowering the local community, which is promoted by Casa Lan, who said "we help them actually, to coast the production, so they know how much is worth it, so now they don't accept like a low payment". Domino Volunteers also mentioned that "the main goal is obviously to empower local projects that are already doing really good work". This strategy ensures that the projects can go on by themselves without interference of the organisations. This independence is actively promoted by several organisations. Casa Lan mentioned that "the project [...] has been going

on with or without volunteers". Ontmoet Afrika mentioned that their partners "are all small local organizations, which are also not dependent on Ontmoet Afrika" and Global Exploration mentioned that "we are now working […] some bigger projects […] so you just know […] it is not only […] short term, but in the long term we can also provide something with this". These strategies are all focussing on independence and long-term effect, trying to prevent dependency.

Organisations mentioned two different ways of working when setting up projects. On the one hand, there are organisations that set up their own projects and take the wants and needs of the local community into consideration when setting up the projects and on the other hand, there are organisations that start working from the ideas of the local community and add their own work onto that.

One of the organisations that mentioned their own expertise is ActLocal, who mentioned that "the projects we work with are relatively small-scale, but […] it is tested what […] they do and whether we see that they are doing the right thing". This insinuates that the Western way of developing is the right way, as the organisation themselves is most fit to approve projects instead of the local community. Another organisation that takes the needs of the local community into consideration is GVI who said they "have short, mid and long-term goals, so those will take into account the needs of the community". An important difference that can be seen within these statements is that these organisations start from their own viewpoint and add the ideas of the local community in later, to make sure they meet the needs of the community. This is beneficial to the goals that the organisation has set for themselves but does not start the process from the local community that is affected by the projects.

In contrast with this, some other organisations take the expertise of the local community into account first and build their own ideas on top of the already existing projects. Casa Lan, for example, mentioned that the local community already has a lot of knowledge as "they know a lot about agriculture and like they use different traditions". The expertise of the local community is considered by several organisations. GVI and Global Exploration take their partners as a starting point for their work. GVI said they are "linking up to these local organizations who are already making an impact already doing work within the community and supporting them", the note that needs to be made with this, is that these "local projects" consist of for example WWF and Safe the Children, which are not local projects. Global Exploration said they "work very much from their point of view. What do they want, and they also submit that application. They decide where the money goes".

In addition to starting the work from the point of view of the local communities, several organisations also let the local organisations take the lead within the projects. Operation Groundswell mentioned that "we partner with local organizations who lead the way in kind of the engagement that we have with them". This is also done by Global Exploration who collaborate with a local person that coordinates the projects in their respective country, "in every country we have a number of projects that

we visit and above that hangs, as we call it, a chairman, a chairwoman, who is responsible for such, the entire internship, on the spot".

7.2.4 Equal or unequal partnerships

Almost all organisations that were interviewed for this thesis have long-term partnerships with partners that are all over the world. This final paragraph will focus on these relationships and how they relate to dependency and equality. Different organisations have different approaches on how they communicate with their partners and what the relationship with their partners looks like.

Most organisations make a conscious effort in making sure the relationship with their partners is as equal as possible. Global Exploration for example mentioned "in the choice of our partners we are always looking for peers and not for primary school children where you very quickly start looking at the poor pathetic fellow man instead of that person being an equal person in another continent". Young & Fair Weg do the same when they travel to small civil societies, because they "just notice that there are actually so many good things and so many beautiful stories to tell about those small-scale communities". Ontmoet Afrika mentioned how "I have also raised them a bit in the sense that they cannot and may not stand on my shoulders. Actually, they never get any money from me".

Global Exploration takes this strive for equality one step further, as their organisation not only sends Dutch students to their partnering countries, but also arranges trips for students to come to the Netherlands from these countries, they call it "Xplore Europe, that means all people from abroad who come this way, (…) exchanges on a smaller scale, so what we usually do with China and Indonesia". This creates a much more equal cultural exchange in which there is an actual exchange going back and forth and partly eliminating the white privilege that is involved with the travelling and volunteering sector.

Finally, Global Exploration also expresses that they try to portray an equal relationship to the outside world, for example on their social media accounts where they "think it is important that things come into the picture based on a bit of positivity and equality, so especially the goal of global citizenship". As already expressed in the literature, it is partly due to the global citizenship approach that these organisations take, that a more equal relationship with shared responsibility is created (Carabain, Keulemans, van Gent, & Spitz, 2012; Dower & Williams, 2002).

For the relationship to be as equal as possible, several organisations make sure that the agency of their partners is affected as little as possible by their presence. Some examples were already mentioned in the last paragraph. AIESEC added that they actively use the expertise of the local community as their organisation collaborates with external partners all over the world, they "have a local advisory board and these are people who are completely outside the organization", using the expertise of local companies. Operation Groundswell said, "we try to distinguish ourselves and communicate what we want to do to our community […] by highlighting the work of our partners". All these organisations mentioned the goal

to have an equal partnership with their partners, but whether these partnerships are as equal as these organisations say remains to be seen, since the interference of these organisations in the projects of their partners will most likely always imply a certain amount of expertise from the organisation that the projects take on board in their decision-making process.

There are some mentions of parts of the partnership that suggest that the partnerships are not always as equal as these organisations might say or feel for themselves. Global Exploration for example, mentioned that their partners are reminded of what a good project looks like that will get funding and what projects do not. As they stated, "that is the goal where we contribute to the projects on site, I always call it the traditional charity, where real money is also donated to a project in a developing country, in one of our Global countries". These statements imply that the western image of what a project must look like is more important than the perspective of the local community and that there are requirements set for projects by the organisations. This is in line with statements in literature that voluntourism reinforces power imbalances (Banki & Schonell, 2018).

Examples of implying that the expertise of the organisations of the Global North is more important were given by several organisations. GVI mentioned that their projects are aligned with the SDGs "to ensure that we are sort of on track, and then we do regular reviews to see, you know, what, what can we change what isn't working, what isn't actually helping? Is there more we can do?", imposing that the projects need to align with the SDGs to be beneficial to the local community. This was also mentioned by Global Exploration, who work "with the aim of raising awareness for the Sustainable Development Goals, the SDGs". Fairaway mentioned that their organisation collaborates with local guides that "so until now they are almost always Dutch, because we notice that communication is easier than". This could imply that the local guides are not as knowledgeable as the Dutch guides. GVI also mentioned that their "local partners" are organisations like WWF and Safe the Children. These organisations are exceptionally large global organisations, and it is questionable whether local communities or people run these.

Finally, there is one organisation, Young and Fair Weg, which is not a fan of long-term partnerships, as they feel that the communication would not be as authentic anymore when you visit the same places over and over. This chapter has shown the shortcomings that long-term partnerships can have and eliminating these could solve some of the problematic aspects of the partnerships that were mentioned. Although it might seem like a good solution, short-term partnerships will also come with negative sides, like not creating any structural change because of the one-off visits for example.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

"There's no way to help that doesn't have some sort of hindrance or dark side"

(Employee Operation Groundswell)

This thesis identified how travelling and volunteering organisations frame what they do. Based on the semi-structured interviews with organisations and the travellers that travel with these organisations, it can be concluded that the activities and the framing of the activities is influenced by the critique that this sector has received from science, traditional media, and society. The organisations need to manoeuvre this, but by trying to counteract these critiques, the organisations create new frictions and tensions. The way the activities of the organisations are framed is influenced by every single one of the main topics of this thesis: voluntourism, dependency, the white saviour complex, cosmopolitanism, and global citizenship. Each one of these topics has a certain positive or negative connotation to it and because of that, organisations do or do not want to be associated with the terms. The interesting thing is that in some cases, the organisations merely change the way the activity is framed to counteract the negative connotation instead of changing the activity.

8.1 Findings

The first concept that was dealt with in this thesis is voluntourism. The association that employees of organisations had with this term was a negative one. This also became apparent in their answer to whether their organisation is associated with the term. Even though many of the organisations do facilitate volunteering trips for their travellers, most of these organisations stated that they do not want to be associated with voluntourism. Most likely because there has been such a great amount of critique surrounding the term. What became apparent in the interviews with the travellers is that they do want to volunteer and do something good for the world. Some organisations stated that that is the reason they keep facilitating the volunteering activities on their travels. To do this, they reframe their activities as "sustainable volunteering", "working together" and "an equal exchange of knowledge". This goes to show that even though the organisations do not want to be associated with voluntourism, their activities still very much relate to the term, which means "tourism with which travellers do volunteering jobs to help the community or environment in the place that they are visiting". The critiques on the sector have resulted in the adapting of their activities by some of the organisations to be more ethical. For example, by aligning with a quality mark, and sustainable, by aligning with the Sustainable Development Goals. Critique was given on the ability of these measures to change the negative aspects of the sector that have received criticism.

To move away from the voluntourism connotation, almost all organisations mentioned that their main goal is to create a cultural exchange. The goal is to create a greater understanding for the other and create global citizens through this cultural exchange. With this effort to move away from the activities that have been critiqued, there are some new challenges that arise. The exchange that is happening is not as equal as the organisations intend it to be. Apart from one organisation, there are only travellers from the Global North travelling to the Global South, creating a one-sided exchange. This same one-sided effect is happening with another effort to eliminate the negative effects of voluntourism. Namely, the trainings given to the travellers beforehand. These trainings are meant to eliminate some of the negative effects of these trips like stereotypes about the local community and trainings for the personal development of the travellers. These trainings are only given to the travellers that are going on a trip, not to the local community that is going to receive visitors. This measure once again creates an unequal relationship. In addition to this, the trainings are meant to eliminate the negative effects of voluntourism, but once again, the activity of volunteering and travelling abroad is not changed at the root.

As mentioned before, the travellers mentioned that their goal when travelling is to do something meaningful for the local community, relating to the white saviour complex. This contradicts with what most of the organisations mentioned to be the main goals of the organisation. Although some of the organisations have the ambition do something meaningful too, many of the organisations mentioned that they are aware of the expertise of the local community and of the fact that their presence is not going to make a difference for the local community. Due to the tension between what the organisations want to achieve and what their travellers want to do, the organisations still provide volunteering activities, while this is not part of their main goal. It did become apparent that a change is happening within the sector. The sector is moving away from "traditional developmental work" and is now more so collaborating with the local community and taking their expertise on board. It became clear that the organisations struggle with the fact that there is no set-in stone solution to the tension that is there between their travellers wishes and the critiques that there are on the white saviour related activities. Finally, there also seems to be a lack of recognition of the privilege that is involved with travelling to the Global South from the Global North and the contribution this gives to keeping up an unequal relationship with the local community in the Global South.

This unequal relationship also became apparent when discussing the goals and activities of these organisations in relation to the dependency debate. As mentioned before, the organisations try to change the sector by offering their "assistance" and "collaborating" with the partners in the Global South instead of "helping" them. Another strategy to create a more equal relationship is to have the local community take the initiative in asking for the help that they need. All these efforts are unfortunately not enough to create an independent relationship. The thought is still that the projects and partners in

the Global South need the support of the organisations in the Global North to succeed, creating dependency and thus not creating actual development.

The subject that came up frequently in this thesis is equality. Most organisations try to create a situation in which inequality is ensured in all different areas. They try to facilitate an equal cultural exchange between the travellers and the local community, they want to create situation in which the travellers and local community can work together and want equal partnerships with their partners in projects. With each of these efforts it became apparent that it is almost impossible to create a fully equal relationship. Within the cultural exchange there is always the fact that the travelling is one-sided. The people from the Global North can visit the Global South and experience their culture, but not the other way around. In creating a situation where the travellers and local community can work together, the interaction becomes more equal, but there is still part of the assumption present that the support of the "white saviour" is needed to support the local community with work that they are most likely able to do themselves. And finally, within creating equal partnerships, there is still the idea present that the help of the organisations is needed to help the local community and that they are not able to do it themselves. In addition to that, the continued interference of the organisations from the Global North in the Global South creates a dependant relationship that is inherently inequal. This goes to show that it is never fully possible to create an equal exchange or partnership between these organisations and partners, as there is almost never an exchange that goes both ways.

8.2 Contributions to the debate

The goal of this thesis was to add the perspective of the organisations onto the voluntourism debate and critically analyse this perspective. The focus of the debate has thus far been on critiques and the implications for the local community and on the travellers. In this thesis the focus has shifted to the organisations that facilitate travelling and volunteering and it has included the perspective of the travellers of these organisations. This thesis has contributed to the debate on societal values related to voluntourism by questioning what the association is that respondents have with the term voluntourism and relating the goals and activities of the organisations to this term. This thesis has shown that these organisations, because of the amount of critique their sector receives, need to manoeuvre themselves in ways to avoid these negative consequences from happening. Each organisation had a different approach to prevent negative consequences and each approach comes with a new set of challenges that need to be dealt with. The perfect solution remains to be found.

8.3 Recommendations

Due to this only being a master's thesis and the research for this master's thesis being conducted during a pandemic, there were some limits to the research. A recommendation for future research is to fill in the gaps by checking the statements of the organisations in the interviews. The organisations described their activities through interviews in this thesis and there was no time to evaluate whether the activities are as beneficial to the local community as the organisations state they are. These activities relate back to the cultural exchange activities and whether these are beneficial to the understanding of the local community and to the different strategies the organisations have taken up to limit the negative effects of travelling and volunteering abroad. Finally, further research is needed in whether these travels have positive effects on the travellers themselves. The travellers in this research did mention that their travels affected them and their personal development, but whether they have a better understanding of the world that is "correct", without stereotypes and whether the image they have of the world is a more accurate one after their travels should be researched further. The final recommendation for further research is to study the effect these organisations have on society. Is the cultural awareness spread further than the travellers, as some organisations intend and what is the image that the rest of society has on these organisations and does this affect the goals and activities of the organisations?

Recommendations for the organisations can also be made. The most important recommendation is for organisations to be careful with the reframing of their activities and to not lose sight of whether the activity is changed in a way that is eliminating negative effects. Another recommendation is to incorporate the debates discussed in this thesis in the informational talks and trainings that are given to the travellers before they travel. This includes the debate on voluntourism, as it became apparent that almost none of the travellers knew what the term entailed. Travellers should be made aware of the term and the critiques that are surrounding the sector. Another recommendation is to expand the use of the existing quality marks there are in the sector. There is a certain amount of danger in organisations producing their own rules and the sector not being addressed as a whole.

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Appendix 1 – Interview guides

Interview guide employees Global Exploration

Introductie	**Introduceer het gesprek met de onderstaande informatie. Houd de aangegeven volgorde aan.**
Intro	Mijn naam is Loes, en ik zal dit interview afnemen. Fijn dat je deel wil nemen aan dit interview en onderzoek.
Doel van het onderzoek	Met dit interview neem je deel aan een onderzoek. Tijdens dit onderzoek zullen reisorganisaties door heel Nederland en in het buitenland geïnterviewd worden. Met dit onderzoek zal worden gekeken wat de doelen van de verschillende organisaties zijn, hoe ze deze doelen proberen te bereiken en op welke manier deze organisaties hun werk presenteren aan de buitenwereld.
Onderwerpen	De onderwerpen die in dit interview aan bod zullen komen zijn de volgende: - De hoofddoelen van jullie organisatie - De werkwijze van jullie organisatie - De communicatie binnen jullie organisatie en naar de buitenwereld - Voluntourism of vrijwilligerstoerisme
Anonimiteit en vertrouwelijkheid	Dit interview is anoniem, dat wil zeggen dat persoonlijke gegevens niet gebruikt of genoemd zullen worden en dat indien gewenst ook de naam van de organisatie niet gebruikt zal worden. Daarnaast zullen de dingen die je ons vertelt en de informatie die je ons geeft alleen gebruikt worden voor dit onderzoek.
Vroegtijdig stoppen	Als je tijdens het interview besluit dat je niet meer verder wilt gaan, dan mag je dat ten alle tijden aangeven. We zullen dan stoppen met het interview.
Opname	Zoals u ziet hebben wij opnameapparatuur meegenomen, waarmee dit gesprek wordt opgenomen. Vindt u het goed dat dit gesprek wordt opgenomen?

Variabelen, onderwerpen, centrale vragen en subvragen.	**Alle variabelen, onderwerpen en centrale vragen moeten aan bod komen.**
1. Algemeen Onderwerpen: - Organisatie, oprichting	Kunt u iets vertellen over Global Exploration? Subvragen: - Wat zijn de werkzaamheden van de organisatie? - Wanneer werd de organisatie opgericht?

- Structuur organisatie - Werkzaamheden - Werkgebied	- Wat is de structuur binnen de organisatie: o Werknemers - Welke activiteiten onderneemt de organisatie? - Waar is de organisatie werkzaam? - Wat is de doelgroep van deze organisatie?
2. Doelen organisatie Onderwerpen: - Hoofddoelen - Werkwijze - Evaluatie	We gaan het nu hebben over de hoofddoelen van de organisatie. - Wat zijn de hoofddoelen van jullie organisatie? - Op welke manieren proberen jullie deze doelen te bereiken? - In hoeverre is het tot nu toe gelukt om deze doelen te bereiken? - Met welke partijen werkt jullie organisatie samen om deze doelen te bereiken? - Op welke gebieden werkt jullie organisatie samen met deze partijen?
3. Communicatie Onderwerpen: - Interne communicatie - Externe communicatie	Op welke manier communiceert Global Exploration over haar hoofddoelen? - Wordt er binnen de organisatie gesproken over de hoofddoelen? - Op welke manier worden de hoofddoelen geëvalueerd binnen de organisatie? - Op welke manieren communiceert jullie organisatie haar doelen naar de buitenwereld? - Via welke kanalen communiceert jullie organisatie haar doelen naar de buitenwereld?
4. Voluntourism	Weet u wat voluntourism inhoudt? Zo ja: dit is de definitie, als je dit hoort is jullie organisatie dan bezig met voluntourism? Indien nee: toerisme waarbij reizigers vrijwilligerswerk doen om de gemeenschap of de omgeving te helpen op de plek waar ze naartoe gaan. - Doet jullie organisatie aan voluntourism? - Heeft u een positieve of negatieve associatie met voluntourism?

Afsluiting	
Afsluiting interview	Wilt u nog iets toevoegen aan dit gesprek?

	Zijn er nog dingen die niet aan bod zijn gekomen in het gesprek maar die u wel belangrijk vindt om te vertellen? Wat vond u van het interview?
Ledencontrole	Het interview zal worden uitgewerkt. Als u wilt kunt u hier een uitdraai van ontvangen.
Bedanken voor het interview	Ik wil u graag bedanken voor uw tijd en uw deelname aan het interview. Ik hoop dat u het gevoel hebt dat u uw verhaal hebt kunnen vertellen en dat er naar uw verhaal is geluisterd.
Een telefoonnummer achterlaten voor als er nog vragen zijn	Als u nog vragen hebt, kunt u terecht bij mij. Afgeven van informatiepakketje en presentje. Telefoonnummer +31 6 83100425.

Interview guide Dutch organisations

Introductie	**Introduceer het gesprek met de onderstaande informatie. Houd de aangegeven volgorde aan.**
Intro	Mijn naam is Loes, en ik zal dit interview afnemen. Fijn dat je deel wil nemen aan dit interview en onderzoek.
Doel van het onderzoek	Met dit interview neem je deel aan een onderzoek. Tijdens dit onderzoek zullen reisorganisaties door heel Nederland en in het buitenland geïnterviewd worden. Met dit onderzoek zal worden gekeken wat de doelen van de verschillende organisaties zijn, hoe ze deze doelen proberen te bereiken en op welke manier deze organisaties hun werk presenteren aan de buitenwereld.
Onderwerpen	De onderwerpen die in dit interview aan bod zullen komen zijn de volgende: - De hoofddoelen van jullie organisatie - De werkwijze van jullie organisatie - De communicatie binnen jullie organisatie en naar de buitenwereld - Voluntourism of vrijwilligerstoerisme
Anonimiteit en vertrouwelijkheid	Dit interview is anoniem, dat wil zeggen dat persoonlijke gegevens niet gebruikt of genoemd zullen worden en dat indien gewenst ook de naam van de organisatie niet gebruikt zal worden. Daarnaast zullen de dingen die je ons vertelt en de informatie die je ons geeft alleen gebruikt worden voor dit onderzoek.
Vroegtijdig stoppen	Als je tijdens het interview besluit dat je niet meer verder wilt gaan, dan mag je dat ten alle tijden aangeven. We zullen dan stoppen met het interview.

Opname	Zoals u ziet hebben wij opnameapparatuur meegenomen, waarmee dit gesprek wordt opgenomen. Vindt u het goed dat dit gesprek wordt opgenomen?

Variabelen, onderwerpen, centrale vragen en subvragen.	**Alle variabelen, onderwerpen en centrale vragen moeten aan bod komen.**
1. Algemeen Onderwerpen: - Organisatie, oprichting - Structuur organisatie - Werkzaamheden - Werkgebied	Kunt u iets vertellen over uw organisatie? Subvragen: - Wat zijn de werkzaamheden van de organisatie? - Wanneer werd de organisatie opgericht? - Wat is de structuur binnen de organisatie: o Werknemers - Waar is de organisatie werkzaam? - Wat is de doelgroep van deze organisatie?
2. Doelen organisatie Onderwerpen: - Hoofddoelen - Werkwijze - Evaluatie	We gaan het nu hebben over de hoofddoelen van de organisatie. - Wat zijn de hoofddoelen van jullie organisatie? - Op welke manieren proberen jullie deze doelen te bereiken? - In hoeverre is het tot nu toe gelukt om deze doelen te bereiken? - Met welke partijen werkt jullie organisatie samen om deze doelen te bereiken? - Op welke gebieden werkt jullie organisatie samen met deze partijen?
3. Communicatie Onderwerpen: - Interne communicatie - Externe communicatie	Op welke manier communiceert de organisatie over haar hoofddoelen? - Wordt er binnen de organisatie gesproken over de hoofddoelen? - Op welke manier worden de hoofddoelen geëvalueerd binnen de organisatie? - Op welke manieren communiceert jullie organisatie haar doelen naar de buitenwereld? - Via welke kanalen communiceert jullie organisatie haar doelen naar de buitenwereld?
4. Voluntourism	Weet u wat voluntourism inhoudt? Zo ja: dit is de definitie, als je dit hoort is jullie organisatie dan bezig met voluntourism?

	Indien nee: toerisme waarbij reizigers vrijwilligerswerk doen om de gemeenschap of de omgeving te helpen op de plek waar ze naartoe gaan. - Doet jullie organisatie aan voluntourism? - Heeft u een positieve of negatieve associatie met voluntourism?

Afsluiting	
Afsluiting interview	Wilt u nog iets toevoegen aan dit gesprek? Zijn er nog dingen die niet aan bod zijn gekomen in het gesprek maar die u wel belangrijk vindt om te vertellen? Wat vond u van het interview?
Ledencontrole	Het interview zal worden uitgewerkt. Als u wilt kunt u hier een uitdraai van ontvangen.
Bedanken voor het interview	Ik wil u graag bedanken voor uw tijd en uw deelname aan het interview. Ik hoop dat u het gevoel hebt dat u uw verhaal hebt kunnen vertellen en dat er naar uw verhaal is geluisterd.
Een telefoonnummer achterlaten voor als er nog vragen zijn	Als u nog vragen hebt, kunt u terecht bij mij. Afgeven van informatiepakketje en presentje. Telefoonnummer +31 6 83100425.

Interview guide international organisations

Introduction	**Introduce the conversation with the information given below. Stick to the order presented.**
Intro	My name is Loes, I will be conducting this interview. I'm really glad that you want to participate in this interview and research.
Goal of the research	With this interview you will be participating in a research. During this research, several travel organisations throughout the Netherlands and abroad will be interviewed. This research will investigate what the goals of different organisations are, how they try to achieve these goals and in what way these organisations present their work to the world outside.
Subjects	The subjects that will be dealt with during this interview are the following: - The main goals of your organisation - The way your organisation works - Communication within your organisation and to the outside world

	- Voluntourism
Anonymity and confidentiality	This interview is anonymous, this means that personal information will not be used or mentioned and, if you wish, the name of the organisations will also not be used. In addition to that, the things that you tell me and the information you give me will only be used for this research.
Untimely finish	If you decide, during the interview, you do not want to continue, you can always say so. We will end the interview.
Recording	As you know we are conducting this interview through Skype with which this interview can be recorded. Do you agree with this conversation being recorded?

Variables, topics, central questions, and sub questions.	**All variables, topics and central questions need to be touched on.**
1. General Topics: - Organisation, foundation - Structure organisation - Activities - Work field	Can you tell me something about your organisation? Sub questions: - What activities does the organisation undertake? - When was the organisation founded? - Can you tell me something more about the foundation? - What is the structure within the organisations?: o Employees - Where does the organisation work? - What is the target audience of the organisation?
2. Goals organisation - Main goals - Methods - Evaluation	We are now going to discuss the main goals of the organisation. - What are the main goals of your organisation? - In what ways do you try to achieve those goals? - To which extent have you been able to achieve these goals? - With what parties does your organisation work together to achieve these goals?
3. Communication Topics: - Internal communication - External communication	In what way does your organisation communicate about its main goals? - Does your organisation talk about its main goals internally? - In what way are the main goals of your organisation evaluated internally?

	- In what way does your organisation communicate its goals externally? - Through what channels does your organisation communicate its goals externally?
4. Voluntourism	Do you know what voluntourism entails? - Do you have a positive or negative connotation with voluntourism? If so or if no: this is the definition: tourism with which travellers do volunteering jobs to help the community or environment in the place that they are visiting. - When taking this definition into account, does your organisation do voluntourism?

Closing	
Closing interview	Is there anything you would like to add to this conversation? Is there anything that was not mentioned in this conversation that you find important to tell? What did you think of the interview?
Member checking	The interview will be transcribed. If you wish, you can get a copy of this.
Thanking for the interview	I would like to thank you for your time and your participation in the interview. I hope you feel like you could tell your story and you're your story has been listened to.
Leave a phone number for any further questions.	If you have any questions, you can contact me. *Hand over information booklet and thank you gift or ask for address to send gift in times of coronavirus*. Phone number: +31 6 83100425.

Interview guide travellers Global Exploration

Introductie	**Introduceer het gesprek met de onderstaande informatie. Houd de aangegeven volgorde aan.**
Intro	Mijn naam is Loes, en ik zal dit interview afnemen. Fijn dat je deel wil nemen aan dit interview en onderzoek.
Doel van het onderzoek	Met dit interview neem je deel aan een onderzoek. Tijdens dit onderzoek zullen reisorganisaties door heel Nederland en in het buitenland geïnterviewd worden en personen die met deze organisaties gereisd hebben. Met dit onderzoek zal worden

	gekeken wat de doelen van de verschillende organisaties zijn, hoe ze deze doelen proberen te bereiken en op welke manier deze organisaties hun werk presenteren aan de buitenwereld.
Onderwerpen	De onderwerpen die in dit interview aan bod zullen komen zijn de volgende: - De hoofddoelen van Global Exploration - Jouw doelen op jouw reis met Global Exploration - De werkwijze van Global Exploration - De communicatie binnen Global Exploration en naar de buitenwereld - Voluntourism of vrijwilligerstoerisme
Anonimiteit en vertrouwelijkheid	Dit interview is anoniem, dat wil zeggen dat persoonlijke gegevens niet gebruikt of genoemd zullen worden en dat indien gewenst ook de naam van de organisatie niet gebruikt zal worden. Daarnaast zullen de dingen die je ons vertelt en de informatie die je ons geeft alleen gebruikt worden voor dit onderzoek.
Vroegtijdig stoppen	Als je tijdens het interview besluit dat je niet meer verder wilt gaan, dan mag je dat ten alle tijden aangeven. We zullen dan stoppen met het interview.
Antwoorden	Het is belangrijk om te weten dat er geen foute antwoorden zijn. Jouw antwoord hoeft niet hetzelfde te zijn als dat van andere geïnterviewden.
Opname	Zoals u ziet hebben wij opnameapparatuur meegenomen, waarmee dit gesprek wordt opgenomen. Vindt u het goed dat dit gesprek wordt opgenomen?

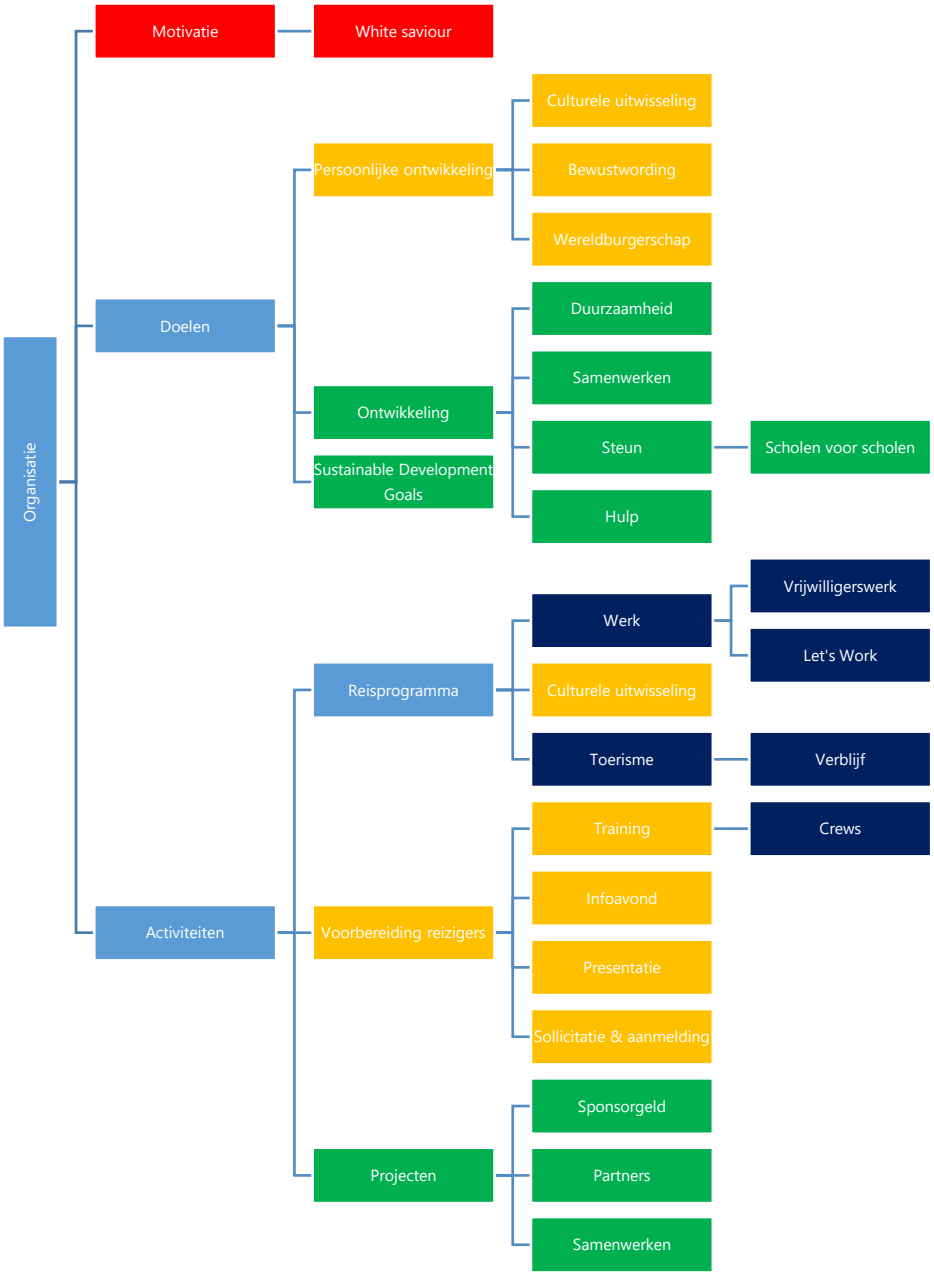
Variabelen, onderwerpen, centrale vragen en subvragen.	**Alle variabelen, onderwerpen en centrale vragen moeten aan bod komen.**
1. Algemeen Onderwerpen: - Organisatie, oprichting - Structuur organisatie - Werkzaamheden - Werkgebied	Kun je iets vertellen over jouw ervaring met Global Exploration? Subvragen: - Op welke manier ben jij met Global Exploration in aanraking gekomen? - Met wie heb je hiervoor contact gehad? - Wat heb jij allemaal voor activiteiten ondernomen met Global vóórdat je op reis ging? - Wat zijn de activiteiten die je ondernomen hebt tijdens je reis met Global? - Welke activiteiten heb je ondernomen na je reis met Global?

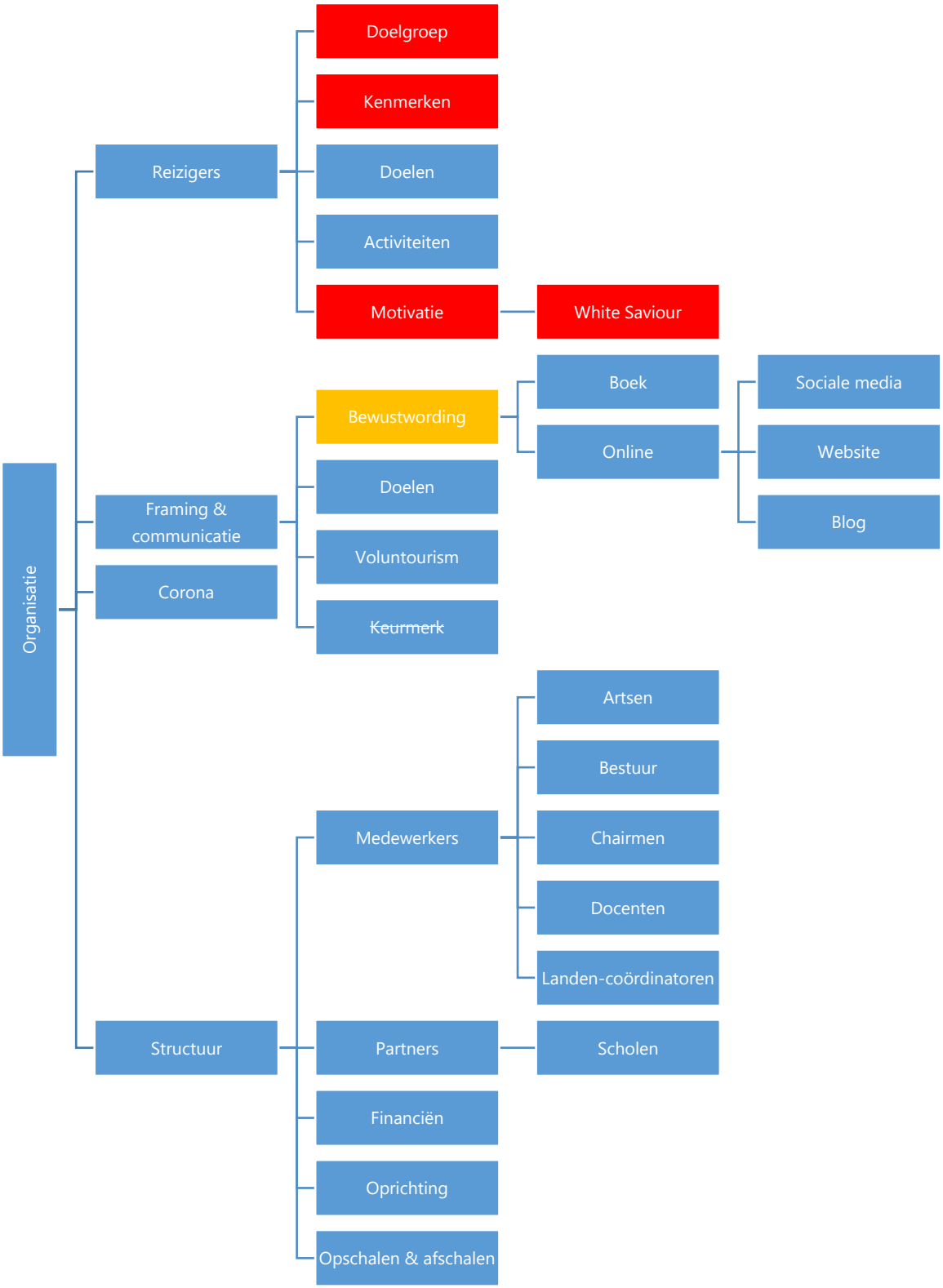
2. Doelen organisatie Onderwerpen: - Hoofddoelen - Werkwijze - Evaluatie	We gaan het nu hebben over het doel van jouw reis. - Wat was jouw persoonlijke doel toen je op reis ging met Global Exploration? - Wat zijn volgens jou de hoofddoelen van Global Exploration? - Op welke manieren heb je geprobeerd om al deze doelen te bereiken? - In hoeverre is het gelukt om deze doelen te bereiken?
3. Communicatie Onderwerpen: - Interne communicatie - Externe communicatie	Op welke manier ben jij te weten gekomen wat de hoofddoelen van Global Exploration zijn? - Op welke manier werd er tijdens jouw reis of tijdens de voorbereidingen gesproken over deze hoofddoelen? - Op welke manier werden de hoofddoelen geëvalueerd? - In hoeverre heb jij na je reis gecommuniceerd over de doelen van Global Exploration en jouw persoonlijke doelen?
4. Voluntourism	Weet je wat voluntourism of vrijwilligerstoerisme inhoudt? - Heb je een positieve of negatieve associatie met voluntourism? Indien ja of nee: dit is de definitie: toerisme waarbij reizigers vrijwilligerswerk doen om de gemeenschap of de omgeving te helpen op de plek waar ze naartoe gaan. - Als je deze definitie hoort, doet Global Exploration dan volgens jou aan voluntourism of vrijwilligerstoerisme?

Afsluiting	
Afsluiting interview	Wilt u nog iets toevoegen aan dit gesprek? Zijn er nog dingen die niet aan bod zijn gekomen in het gesprek maar die u wel belangrijk vindt om te vertellen? Wat vond je van het interview?
Ledencontrole	Het interview zal worden uitgewerkt. Als je wil kun je hier een uitdraai van ontvangen.

Bedanken voor het interview	Ik wil je graag bedanken voor je tijd en je deelname aan het interview. Ik hoop dat je het gevoel hebt dat je je verhaal hebt kunnen vertellen en dat er naar je verhaal is geluisterd.
Een telefoonnummer achterlaten voor als er nog vragen zijn	Als je nog vragen hebt, kun je terecht bij mij. Afgeven van informatiepakketje en presentje. Telefoonnummer +31 6 83100425.

Appendix 2 – Tree analysis




Organisatie
Reizigers
Doelgroep
Kenmerken
Doelen
Activiteiten
Motivatie
White Saviour
Framing & communicatie
Bewustwording
Boek
Online
Sociale media
Website
Blog
Doelen
Voluntourism
~~Keurmerk~~
Corona
Structuur
Medewerkers
Artsen
Bestuur
Chairmen
Docenten
Landen-coördinatoren
Partners
Scholen
Financiën
Oprichting
Opschalen & afschalen

Summary

This thesis analyses the framing of the goals and activities of travelling and volunteering organisations. The goal of this thesis is to contribute to the debate on societal values related to voluntourism by researching the activities of the organisations that are in some way related to voluntourism and the way they frame these practices. To reach this goal, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eleven organisations and five travellers. This thesis concluded that the organisations are aware of the critiques that surround their sector and try to act on these critiques. There are different ways in which the organisations counteract the critiques. These measures can be related to several different debates on voluntourism, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship, but there are also still connections to the debates of the white saviour complex and dependency. The measures taken come with new challenges and negative consequences as the privilege and inequality that comes with travelling from the Global North to the Global South cannot be prevented and there are cases of the framing of the activities changing, but the activities not changing at the root. This creates inequality between travellers and the local community, but also inequality between the travelling and volunteering organisations and local partners. Organisations and travellers are often not aware of the inequality and privilege that are part of their travels. The recommendations that are made, are for the organisations to be aware of whether their activities are changing or merely the framing of the activities and to consider the white saviour complex and dependency theory in their goals and activities and include these debates in the trainings and information given to their travellers.