

Learning by Listening

Comparing Volunteering Experiences of International Volunteers and the unheard Voices of those Affected

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Master thesis

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Preface

The master thesis is a significant part of the author's master Human Geography: Conflicts, Territories and Identities. A research internship of three months is required in this master. This internship was completed at a volunteer organization in Guatemala from April to June. The only condition while conducting said research in this particular organization is that everything in and about the given organization is to remain anonymous.

The individuals whom partook in the research were thanked for their contributions. Not only for the volunteer organization by providing the author with the opportunity to conduct research, but as well all the interviewees and other researched people for sharing their time. Some have become close friends and many lessons were derived from this experience.

The author thanks the supervisors Haley Swedlund and Milena Feldkamp. They have been very understanding of the exploring element of this research. More specifically, they contributed by allowing the author to guide himself and only add directions when they were most needed. This has led to the paper that lies before you.

Last but not least, the friends and family of the author are thanked. Especially the parents of the author deserve some free-standing words. Their main objective in life is to give their children educational opportunities. Thanking them for the final project in the last year of the author's education is both symbolic and fitting, but it is hardly a compensation for all their efforts for their children over the years. Hopefully, this project is one of many other upcoming achievements and thus other opportunities to thank them.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Cause

1.1.1 Practical cause

There is an enormous increase of volunteer tourism (Keese, 2011). A study of Tourism Research and Marketing (2008) estimates that nowadays 1.6 million people participate in volunteer tourism projects every year (Guttentag, 2009, p. 538). As well, new volunteer organizations are established to offer, most of the time, young people of developed countries to have a more meaningful holiday than the usual celebration of a holiday. These organizations provide a theoretically ideal situation wherein people are helping each other out; local people need to be helped and people who want to travel to help.

Keese (2011, p. 257-260) describes that the NGOs are the principal promoters and implementers of volunteer tourism. They provide the bridge between the international volunteers and the people and communities in need. These “volunteer tourism NGOs” are tapping into the demand for alternative travel experiences of, predominantly, people from developed to developing countries. At the same time, these NGOs exploit a new niche within the aid industry.

The situation that is created is not necessarily ideal though. Over the years the NGOs have received a lot of criticisms. These criticisms revolve around five core themes: effect, dependence on external funding, representation and transparency, commercialization and unfitting ideological and politically colored motivations (Reimann, 2005). These criticisms will be explained and applied to the volunteer tourism NGOs in the next chapter, but still it is important to remark the following: the interaction between people in local projects and volunteers is new within this literature. This is the gap that will be explored in current research.

One example of the criticisms on NGOs is for example the effect of the provided help. Boyer (2012) explains that most organizations measure their success and impact by tracking statistics of things like numbers of volunteers sent abroad, houses and schools built, trees planted, money raised, etc. She suggests that reviews about the experiences of volunteers would improve the volunteer programs.

However, if the interaction between the people in the local projects and volunteers is new, why should there only be listened to the side of the volunteers? It is argued that is the most important to listen to the side of the people who are the very essence of this volunteering venture in the first place. This is listened to the least.

One reason could be that the volunteer tourism NGOs are market-driven social enterprises instead of NGOs. Because the volunteers pay money to volunteer, the volunteer tourism organization is dependent on their money and will listen more to the needs of the volunteers than the needs of the people in the local projects.

It seems to be especially relevant, because it is concluded that the motivations of volunteers often revolve around the desire to visit an exotic destination (Keese, 2011, p. 261). Another study has found found that at least among those interviewed, motivating factors for volunteer tourists were ‘to travel’ rather than ‘to contribute’ or volunteer (Sin, 2009, p. 497). It is questioned what the

experience of the people in the local project is when the volunteers are not primarily motivated to help them out.

To the knowledge of the author only a few articles (Guttentag, 2009; Sin, 2010) provide insight from the impacted locals to improve the volunteer tourism. There are articles (e.g. Elliot, 2013) which ask the manager of the local projects how they experience the provided help of the international volunteer, but hardly any research or article seem to be interested to hear the story of the impacted locals who are actually working together with the international volunteers. What is the value of helping when the voices of the persons to whom it all circles around – the people in the local projects – is hardly listened to?

1.1.2 Cultural cause

A cultural psychological perspective is used for two reasons. First, volunteering is supposed to induce value change or changed consciousness at both the volunteers and the people in the local projects (Sin, 2009, p. 482). Huntington (1993, p. 24) explains that value exchange doesn't happen between specific cultures. In the contrary, Huntington states that specific cultures clash.

This statement is relevant for current research. International volunteers go to developing countries and these cultures typically clash, according to Huntington. It will be looked upon if this is relevant for people in the local projects too.

The second reason is that possible value exchanges must be derived from cultural differences. The majority of the international volunteers come from developed countries and areas such as the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia and Japan and most go to developing countries (Keese, 2011, p. 257). According to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005, p. 90) these developed countries, except for the more moderate Japan, belong to the most individualistic countries in the world. Next, the developing countries are mostly more collectivistic, not in the least place because 80 % of the world population live in more collectivistic countries (Heine, 2012, p. 206).

In the few data available, one of the most studied cross-cultural variables in social psychological research is the individualism vs. collectivism dimension of Hofstede and Hofstede (Cialdini, Wosinska, Barret, Butner, & Gornik-Durose, 1999).

People from individualistic and collectivistic countries have another way of perceiving the world. Individualistic cultures, wherein persons use a more independent view of the world (Heine, 2012, p. 202) define the person as an autonomous entity with a distinctive set of attributes and qualities. In the collectivistic cultures, wherein persons use a more interdependent view of the world (Heine, 2012, p. 204), the person is defined by existing social relationships and obligations (Petrova, Cialdini, & Sills, 2007, p. 105). Are these values exchanged between the volunteers and the people in the local projects? This will be looked upon.

1.2 Problem posing

1.2.1 Research objective

The objective of current research will be to look and compare how the people in the local projects and the international volunteers are experiencing the provided help by the latter. This seems to be

overlooked. The author argues that criticisms and improvements regarding volunteer tourism will have more value when looked at both the perspective from the helping international volunteers *and* from the local in the local projects.

1.2.2 Main question

How do international volunteers and people in local projects experience each other when the volunteer tourism NGO acts as a market-driven social enterprise?

1.2.3 Sub questions

1. What is considered a positive volunteering experience by both the international volunteers and the people in the local projects the international volunteers are engaging in?
2. What are the differences and similarities of the volunteering experiences?
3. How can the differences in volunteering experiences be explained by the different cultural values and ways of viewing the world of these mentioned involved parties?
4. What is the influence of the volunteer organization on the volunteering experience of both the international volunteers and the people in the local projects?
5. What are considered improvements to the volunteering experience by the international volunteers, the people in the projects and the volunteer organization?

1.3 Methods

Current research is an extreme case study (Gerring, 2007, p. 89). By exploring the situation which had the most different cultural features one can see more easily the differences in the volunteering experiences of the involved parties.

Current research will be conducted at a volunteer organization in Guatemala. This organization seemed typical in focusing on the needs of the international volunteers primarily and thereby overlooking the needs of the people in the local projects. Moreover, according to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005, p. 90) Guatemala is the most collectivistic country in the world. During the time of the author's visit the international volunteers were from the United States and the Netherlands, belonging to the most individualistic countries in the world.

All the available and known data sources are used to answer the research questions. Heine (2012, p. 142) argues that multiple methods are important for all kinds of scientific research. The data sources are semi-structural interviews with staff members, members of the volunteer organizations and all the present volunteers, psychological tests, an ethnography, internship and evaluations. These will be analyzed in the corresponding way.

1.4 Relevance

1.4.1 Societal relevance

Although there is an enormous increase of volunteer tourism, it is never asked the people the local projects how they experience it. It could be that they don't like it at all, but there are more and more volunteers coming their way. Moreover, this might mean that the volunteers are not welcome and came for nothing too. That is why this research attempts to picture the volunteering experience of

both involved parties. Both sides will be looked upon and especially the side of the people in the local projects, although considered the most important, seems to be overlooked.

1.4.2. Scientific relevance

The discussed articles primarily seem to focus on the volunteer's experience and not necessarily on the experience of the people in the local projects. There are a lot of articles in the volunteer tourism literature that attempt to map the motivations of volunteers (e.g. Keese, 2011; Sin, 2009). On the one hand this is good, because the more investigation about the motivations of the volunteers, the better volunteer organization can try to improve the volunteering experience for the volunteers for example.

On the other hand, the most important people, the people in the projects in the developed countries, are hardly looked upon. There have been just a few researches (Guttentag, 2009; Sin, 2010), at least to the knowledge of the author, that consider this side too. What is more, the research of Sin (2010) is more specified to the hosts of the international volunteers about how they experienced the volunteers and not about how people in the local projects experienced these volunteers. Therefore, current research aims to keep in mind both involved views on the volunteering experience, namely the international volunteers and the people in the local projects.

Moreover, the cultural psychological comparison of the *possible* differences or similarities has, once again to the knowledge of the author, never been done. The independent view of the world of the investigated international volunteers and the interdependent view of the world of the investigated people in the local project are the other ends of the spectrum. It has never been researched if the different views of the world of the involved people will either positively or negatively influence the volunteering experience.

Finally, most research in psychology has emerged in individualistic cultures where independent selves predominate, whereas 80 % of the world population is living in a collectivistic culture where interdependent selves are more common (Heine, 2012 p. 206). Therefore, the psychological theories are hardly generalizable to all people. Current research will compare these different views in a culture where persons with interdependent selves predominate and will make the used psychological theories more generalizable to more people. To conclude, in many aspects this research is an explorative research.

1.5 Organization thesis

Chapter 2 contains the theoretical framework of this research. It provides the background information of this research. Chapter 3 provides the methodological framework. It is explained how the research questions have been answered and why specific methodical choices are made. Then, chapter 4 elaborates on the results of the research before chapter 5 ends this paper with concluding remarks. The concluding chapter will answer the sub and main questions.

Chapter 2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

The first section of this chapter will focus on how the emergence of volunteer tourism can be understood. It explains that volunteer organizations are a consequence of the original goals of NGOs and the arisen need for alternative tourism.

The second section provides the five core critiques on NGOs. These critiques are applied to the literature on volunteer organizations. This has created gaps in the literature regarding volunteer tourism. The main question of this explorative research follows next.

The next section provides more background information why volunteers would want to help in the first place. This is followed by a section that explains that volunteers and people in the local projects might have an entire different volunteering experience, because of their different cultures. The

That is why the next section explains cultural differences. This may shed light on possible different volunteering experiences. Last but not least it is explained why this research is conducted in Guatemala.

2.2 Emergence of volunteer tourism

Radelet (2006, p. 4) outlines that the standard definition of foreign aid comes from the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which defines foreign aid as financial flows, technical assistance, and commodities that (1) are designed to promote economic development and welfare as their main objective; and (2) are provided as either grants or subsidized loans.

Thereby, the DAC classifies aid flows into three broad categories. Official development assistance (ODA) is the largest, consisting of aid provided by donor governments to low- and middle-income countries. Official assistance (OA) is aid provided by governments to richer countries with per capita incomes higher than approximately \$ 9000. Private voluntary assistance includes grants from non-government organizations, religious groups, charities, foundations, and private companies.

Within this third category, the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has increased since the 1980s (figure 1). Agg (2006, p. 1) and Reimann (2005, p. 38) explain how NGOs, in the 1980s and the 1990s, were considered key actors in development policy. There was a growing perception that non-governmental (or: "human progress") was preferable to governmental development, particularly the provision of social services such as health and education.

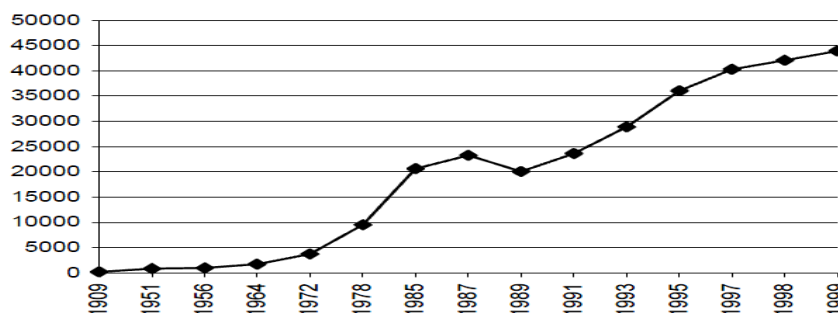


Figure 1. Total number of NGO's worldwide by year (Agg, 2006, p. 16).

Closely related to this, NGOs have been considered to play a significant part to build up a civil society, for example in post-conflict areas. In a civil society people are not driven by kinship and family ties, power logics and state and market interests. People voluntarily organize to defend common interests or work for social and political change (Orjuela, 2003, p. 196). Some of the advantages of a well-organized civil society are that it can address politics, economic issues and ethnic divides and public opinion through reconstruction, development, informal diplomacy, advocacy work, popular mobilization, education, cross-ethnic dialogue and awareness-raising programs (Orjuela, 2003, p. 209).

For these reasons, a shift of ODA funds to NGOs has occurred (figure 2). The donor governments invested more and more in NGOs. According to Agg (2006, p. 1) one explanation for the promotion of NGOs at that point is that they were seen in a positive light across the political spectrum. The neoliberal agenda of reducing the influence of the state and improving human rights advocated diverting funds away from government control. As well, it was seen that NGOs had goals of participation and empowerment of locals, a potential for a change in social structures by establishing a well-functioning civil society. All in all, the focus on top down aid to governments of low- and middle-income governments shifted to the bottom up aid of the NGOs in those countries.

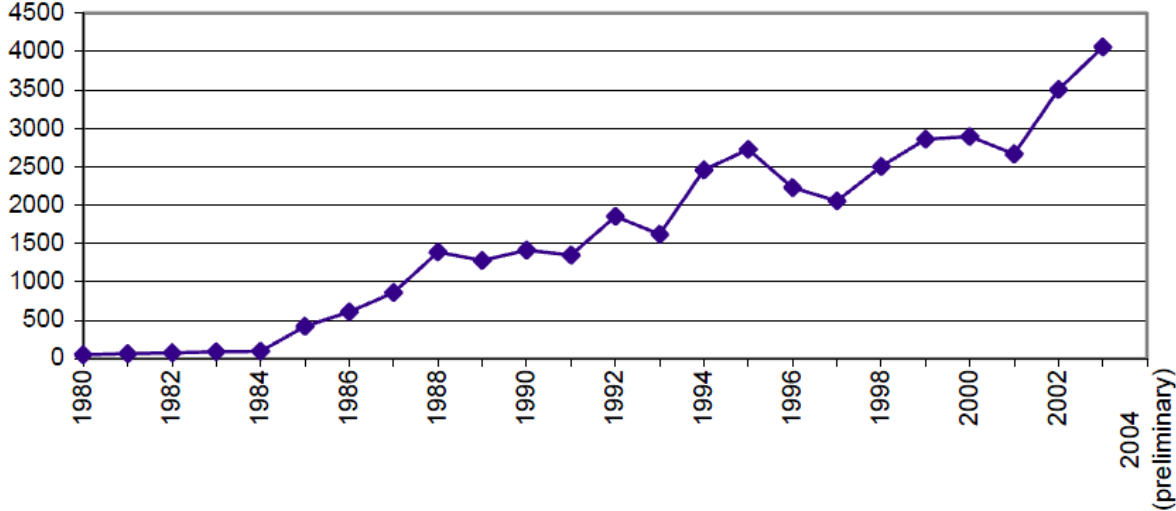


Figure 2. ODA funds channeled through NGOs, in millions of dollars (Agg, 2006, p. 16).

Keese (2011, p. 257-260) describes that the NGOs are the principal promoters and implementers of volunteer tourism. They provide the bridge between the international volunteers and the people and communities in need. These “volunteer tourism NGOs” are tapping into the demand for alternative travel experiences of, predominantly, people from developed to developing countries. At the same time, these NGOs exploit a new niche within the aid industry.

Tourism is business. From 1950 to 2007, international tourist arrivals grew from 25 million to 903 million (WTO, 2008). With receipts of \$ 856 billion, international tourism is one of world’s largest industries. However, there are many types of tourists. The goals of traditional mass tourism are to maximize the leisure and comfort of the tourists and the profits of tour operators, who are often transnational corporations. In the later part of the twentieth century, tourists began searching for new forms of travel that were more adventurous, culturally interactive, educational or nature based (Keese, 2011, p. 257).

This is the mentioned niche that NGOs have been exploiting ever since. The bridge that is created by these volunteer tourism NGOs is used plenty of times by now. This has led to an enormous increase of volunteer tourism. A study of Tourism Research and Marketing (2008) estimates that nowadays 1.6 million people participate in volunteer tourism projects every year. Volunteer tourism applies to those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment. Most volunteers experience their project one to four weeks (Keese, 2011, p. 257).

Most of the time it concerns young people of developed countries who want a more meaningful holiday in developing countries than the traditional celebration of a holiday (Guttentag, 2009, p. 538). Central to volunteer tourism is the idea that tourism ventures can and should bring about positive impacts to locals in host-destinations. It is suggested that volunteer tourism has the potential to induce change, specifically “value change and changed consciousness’s” (Sin, 2009, p. 482).

2.3 Critiques on NGOs

The expected impact of NGOs stayed away and NGOs received a lot of criticism over the years (e.g. Agg, 2006; Reimann, 2005). In her review about these criticisms Reimann (2005, p. 39) states that, while closely interrelated, the core criticisms can be divided into five main categories. These core criticisms are applied to the known literature concerning the focus of current research, namely the volunteer tourism NGOs.

2.3.1 NGO performance and effectiveness in obtaining their goals

NGOs have been criticized for creating dependency on aid and contributing to the general decline in local self-sufficiency and self-help that makes the transition to an efficient economy even more difficult (Reimann, 2005, p. 41). The financial advantage attributed to the NGO channel – that NGOs are more cost effective than state service providers and better at reaching marginalized groups in society – has not been supported by any major study (Agg, 2006, p. 24).

Furthermore, Reimann (2005, p. 40-41) elaborates that there are stronger critiques too by claiming that NGOs are ‘doing more harm than good’. One of many examples revolve around market and economic distortions that NGOs and relief aid either cause or reinforce during wartime. Food aid can create food import dependency in formerly self-sufficient states, enriching corrupt elite and rebels who use food aid for power and personal enrichment, and putting small scale farmers and local distributors out of business by flooding the market with cheap imported food. These examples advocate that NGOs can do more harm than good.

2.3.1.1 Measuring volunteer tourism performance and effectiveness

Central to volunteer tourism is the idea that tourism ventures can and should bring about positive impacts to people in host-destinations. It is suggested that volunteer tourism has the potential to induce change on both sides. More specifically, “value change and changed consciousness’s” is meant (Sin, 2009, p. 482). It is undetermined whether or not this attempted impact has led to dependency of the people the local projects, because the assumed value changes and changed consciousness’s are hardly measured.

For example, Boyer (2012) explains that most volunteer tourism organizations measure their performance and efficiency by tracking statistics of things like numbers of volunteers sent abroad, houses and schools built, trees planted, money raised, et cetera. She suggests that reviews about the experiences of volunteers would improve the volunteer programs.

Strikingly, it is hardly considered to include reviews about the experiences of the people in the local projects themselves. They are the ones that actually matter, are aimed to be impacted too and are the reason why volunteer tourism exists in the first place. To the knowledge of the author there only a few articles (Guttentag, 2009; Sin, 2010) that provide insight from the local hosts of volunteers to improve the volunteer tourism. Subsequently, there are some articles (e.g. Elliot, 2013) that describes how managers of local projects are asked how they experience the provided help of the international volunteer.

However, hardly any research or article seem to be interested to hear the story of the impacted people in the local projects who are actually working together with the international volunteers. What is the value of criticism, such as the mentioned dependency, on volunteer tourism NGOs or improvements, such as solely considering the reviews of experiences of volunteers, if the voice of the persons to whom it all circles around – the people in the local projects – is hardly heard?

Moreover, an alternative impact could be that predominantly the values of the volunteers are changing because of the influence of the people in the local projects and in a lesser amount vice versa. It is questioned if the impacted people in the local projects really care about value change and changed consciousness's when, putting it roughly, their lives are at stake and probably are more in need of food and shelter than value or consciousness change.

Right now one can only guess how the people in the local projects experience the volunteers. These speculations can thus either be positive or negative. Current research attempts to shed light at this ambiguous situation. To truly get a picture of these NGOs are doing more good than harm, the volunteering experiences of people in the local projects should be taken into account as well. They represent the other half of the story (Guttentag, 2009, p. 540).

2.3.2 Issues concerning accountability, representations and transparency

Originally, NGOs seemed to have an image as representatives of the 'civil society' and 'the people', acting directly with the people and independently. It is been questioned of NGOs can claim this representative position. Also, the question has risen who can hold NGOs responsible for their mistakes and other questionable practices (Reimann, 2005, p. 42-43).

Reimann (2005, p. 42) names one example in terms of financial accountability and corruption. A recurring problem is the phenomenon of 'fake' NGOs set up in developing countries by local entrepreneurs, gangsters, for-profit businesses and government officials in order to tap into the many funding opportunities now available for NGOs. With the rise of these sort of NGOs, the difficulty of sorting out legitimate and 'good' NGOs from the corrupt, profit-seeing and 'fake' ones has led to general cynicism and skepticism towards NGOs, especially among local populations in the developing world.

2.3.2.1 Issues regarding the volunteering experience

Volunteer tourism NGOs have a new dynamic to be taking into account: the volunteer. These volunteers are paying the volunteer tourism NGOs to volunteer and to be accommodated, entailing a changing role of these *non-profit* organizations into market-based social enterprises (Keese, 2011, p. 260). In terms of transparency it is questioned if the volunteers are aware of the fact that they might be paying profit instead of non-profit organizations.

Additionally, it is questioned to what extent a volunteer tourism NGO is still representing the civil society. If it is a market-driven social enterprise that solely derives money from volunteers, it is implied that they primarily care about accommodating volunteers – and thus securing a continuous cash flow and perpetuating their own existence – instead of the original NGO goal of taking care of the local people who are in need. A shift seems to be emerging that the local people who are in need are used as a means to earn money, whereas original NGOs consider money as a means to help these people. This possibility is looked upon in current research and as well if both involved parties are aware and what their views are about this.

2.3.3 The question of dependence on external funding and NGO autonomy

Various studies in the 1990s concluded that Western-based international NGOs working in development and relief were 30-90 percent dependent on ODA and a large number of NGOs in developing countries were 80-100 percent dependent on foreign sources of aid. To get that funding, NGOs have become “donor-driven” and have shifted their activities to match the goals of donors, starting projects not because there is bottom-up demand but rather because there is top-down supply of resources. And as ties between many NGOs and the state have deepened, critics have accused NGOs of being coopted by the state and of effectively losing their autonomous ‘nongovernmental’ status as they become the subcontractors and policy instruments of states. (Reimann, 2005, p. 43).

These critiques are especially relevant for local NGOs that are working in developing countries. They have been attacked by their governments as “agents” of Western cultural imperialism and their ties to Western governments and international NGOs make these kind of NGOs vulnerable to such accusations. Examples are advocacy NGOs working in the democracy aid industry that promote human rights or in some way challenge states. Almost inevitably, local NGOs that are heavily dependent on foreign funding will tend to be viewed by both governments and local populations as less legitimate and less authentic than those that receive no outside support (Reimann, 2005, p. 44).

This can be seen in the following case study of Bellioni (2001). Bellioni has been investigating the international efforts to build a civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He explains, among other points, how research has shown that the heavy dependence of local NGOs on external donors has a strong impact on their functioning, agendas and effectiveness. Top-down planning and top-down funding often negate the active local participation and therefore contradicts the original considered advantages of NGOs (Orjuela, 2003, p. 196). Instead of building an active civil society, it is neglected in this case study in Bosnia and Herzegovina by depending too much on external funding and the donor’s agenda’s (Bellioni, 2001, p. 174).

2.3.3.1 Dependence on external funding of volunteers

It is stated before that if the volunteer tourism NGO is a market-driven social enterprise that solely derives money from volunteers, it is implied that they primarily care about accommodating volunteers – and thus securing a continuous cash flow and perpetuating their own existence – instead of the original NGO goal of caring the local people who are in need. Dependence on the funding of the volunteers may be another reason why the side of the local people seems to be overlooked.

Sin (2010, p. 986) explains that many interviewed host families wished to provide the researcher with valuable insights that might improve volunteer tourism, but they were also wary of putting their names to quotes that could potentially be misinterpreted. One anonymous host member responds “It is only natural that we don’t want to bite the hand that feeds us. What will they think when people hear what we say? It is not all bad, but it is just some things can be better. But they might not see it this way”.

Sin (2010) also provides examples of unhappy host families who don’t like the attitude of volunteers. Their hands seem to be tied though, because the volunteers bring prosperity to the family too: they are dependent on external funding. Current research will delve into the side of the impacted people in the local projects, because they actually work together with the volunteers and are the target group in the first place. They simply can’t be neglected and be only passive participants, just like Bellioni (2001) describes. But it is clear that current research will be conducted anonymously, because of the possible dependence on external funding and its consequences.

2.3.4 Commercialization and the emergence of highly competitive charity and activist ‘market’

Reimann (2005, p. 44) outlines that some critics are worried that NGOs are losing their non-profit status. The growth in official funding and the emergence of a competitive charity market transformed NGOs into large, highly professional organizations. And by becoming more professional the NGOs have also become increasingly bureaucratic and income-driven and have lost many of the original comparative advantages and bottom up features that made them special in the first place.

Moreover, the market competition among NGOs and the pressure to continually raise large sums from the general public have also caused NGOs adopt questionable marketing and fundraising practices, like exploiting the poor by using images of starving children, that have raised ethical questions about their integrity and real intentions. These and other questionable practices also led some critics to view NGOs as profit-driven, self-serving ‘business’ organizations that care more about perpetuating their own organizational existence than helping victims of poverty and conflict (Reimann, 2005, p. 45).

2.3.4.1 Commercialization of volunteer organizations

It is already assumed for current research that the volunteer tourism NGOs are market-driven social enterprises. This can also be concluded how they advertise themselves. Central to volunteer tourism is the idea that tourism ventures can and should bring about positive impacts to locals in host-destinations. It is suggested that volunteer tourism has the potential to induce change, specifically ‘value change and changed consciousness’s’ (Sin, 2009, p. 482). But it is concluded that the motivations of volunteers often revolve around the desire to visit an exotic destination (Keese, 2011, p. 261; Sin, 2009).

Sin's study (2009, p. 497) has found that at least among those interviewed, motivating factors for volunteer tourists were 'to travel' rather than 'to contribute' or volunteer. Volunteering in the local community was also but one of the many means of travelling to different destinations to 'learn about local cultures' or to 'go beyond superficial tour packages where you don't see how people really live'.

As a reaction of mapping volunteer's motivations, the sending volunteer organizations focus on how to distinguish the countries and its projects. In that way, these organizations advertise their projects in accordance with the needs of the volunteers (Keese, 2011, p. 273-274). An example to correspond with the need to visit an exotic destination is how a Guatemalan program page evoked a place image with statements such as 'Volcanic peaks, scenic coastlines and a forested mountain interior shape the brilliance of the Guatemalan landscape'. Or an example to learn more about the local culture: 'visit projects in north-east Thailand, because many people have never even seen a Westerner'.

On the one hand, one could argue that this particular focus on motivations is not necessarily negative, because the persons will be send to a place where help is needed and people learn each other's values. On the other hand, it is considered rather naïve not to investigate what the consequences are that the volunteer tourism NGOs attempt to adapt to the mentioned different motivations of the volunteers. It is questioned if value change and changed consciousness occurs just as much with the different motivations of the volunteers. It is assumed that the motivation to travel will not induce as much value change and change consciousness as the motivation to learn about local cultures.

In addition it is questioned which approach, attitude or motivations of the people in the local projects towards the volunteers can induce value change on both sides. Current research will investigate both sides of the story.

2.3.5 Ideological and politically motivated critiques of the rising influence of Western NGOs.

Last but not least, Reimann (2005, p. 46-48) explains that the NGOs have also faced ideological backlash from both the political left and right and have been depicted as a dangerous political force that threatens justice, freedom and the true will of the people. While leftists accuse NGOs of being the agents for Western neoliberalism, capitalism and neocolonialism, right-wing critics bash NGOs for being the enemies of Western capitalism and democracy and the tools of left-wing radicals.

She explains how leftists are convinced that NGOs have effectively helped contain potential bottom-up popular resistance to the neoliberal program and have promoted a privatized 'self-help' approach development in which the poor are asked to exploit themselves. Hoogvelt (2002, p. 15) implies that NGOs in Africa actually contain the current imperialistic status quo. She states that Africa's problems are seen largely as a consequence of its present 'structural irrelevance' to the world capitalist system. The trick of expansion is to create consumer demand for the rich rather than meet the needs of the poor. So instead of financing NGOs that attempt to help the "undeveloped" she demands the following: 'We in the West, in the heartland of globalization, must change our lifestyle, our dependency on the rapacious extraction of the wealth from that continent. The first step is to recognize what is wrong with us' (Hoogvelt, 2002, p. 22).

On the other hand, the right-of-center NGO critics believe that NGOs are often wrong in their policy prescriptions. An example is the unbalanced and unscientific approach of NGOs for international

bans of pesticides and genetically modified food products. This has led to “international” standards and policies that have exacerbated malaria and food shortages in Africa. Not only does this undermine the national sovereignty to decide on issues like this on their own, but as well has slowed down economic development and prevented capitalism from spreading gains (Reimann, 2005, p. 48).

2.3.5.1 Ideological motivated volunteers

It is unclear if the political left and right critiques apply for the volunteer tourism NGOs. It depends on the role of the volunteer tourism NGO. First, there is the possibility that the volunteer tourism NGOs, like original NGOs, still work together with the civil society, but invite international volunteers to help too. Second, there is the possibility that volunteer tourism NGO only acts as a mediator and only invites international volunteers to help the civil society. In this case, the volunteer tourism NGO does not help the civil society directly anymore, because the role has changed from a helping role into a mediating role of bringing volunteers in contact with people in local projects.

Especially the latter seems problematic and is attempted to be investigated in current research. It is outlined earlier that the volunteers are not necessarily primarily motivated to help the civil society. It was also revealed by Sin (2009) that volunteer tourism was often used as an experience (often reflected in resumes and casual conversations with friends and acquaintances) which volunteer tourists used to perform a ‘self’ suggesting that he or she was a conscious and worldly tourist or individual. This emphasis on the ‘self’ is perhaps already acknowledged in an understated manner among many involved in organizing volunteer tourism. However, instead of leaving such emphasis on the ‘self’ in the background, it is important to realize upfront that many volunteer tourists are typically more interested in self-enhancement (Sin, 2009, p. 497). Hoogvelt (2002) would ask them what is wrong with them that they need to help others to help themselves. Who is helping who?

On top of that, Sin (2010) states that volunteer tourists have the tendency to ‘frame’ the experience and ‘shape culture and nature’ (including the desire to enact caring relationships) to their own needs. And they consider their needs as so-called ‘international standards’. One host of a volunteer gives an example how this way of thinking can be clashing: “They don’t learn anything because they think they want to change this world. You cannot have this kind of thinking. You have to learn from each other, and not think that your culture is better than their culture” (Sin, 2010, p. 988).

It is questioned what the impact of these volunteers are if the volunteer tourism NGO is only mediating between the volunteers and people in local projects. Especially when the people involved in this NGO have become dependent to external funding, the NGO won’t fill in this role. It is questioned if all people in the local projects consider specific or the attitude of volunteers in general problematic. Different attitudes of volunteers will be discussed later on.

2.3.6 Summary

Volunteer tourism NGOs seem to have differentiated itself from original NGOs. Reimann’s critiques on NGOs (2005) apply in a different way to volunteer tourism NGOs. This is because the actor ‘volunteer’ has come into play. This has put the focus on the importance of a positive interaction between these volunteers and people in the local projects. As is explained above, a series of questions are unanswered and will therefore be touched upon in this research.

It is questioned why the experiences of volunteers but as well people in the local projects have not been used to measure effectiveness and performance of the provided help. It is the opinion of the author that in every NGO the experiences of the impacted people in the local projects should be listened to very carefully, because the civil society is the initial goal of a NGO. But with the volunteer tourism NGOs and the increased focus on the interaction with the people in the local projects, this seems to be even more relevant and important. The emphasis of current research revolves around this.

The other critiques of Reimann expose the importance of this emphasis. The role of the volunteer tourism NGO seem to have changed from a more representative role of the civil society into a more mediating and market-driven role. How does the volunteer tourism NGO influence the volunteering experiences of the involved parties? And: how do the volunteers and people in the local projects experience this apparent changed role?

Another reason to ask the people of the local projects for their experiences is because the most volunteers are driven by travel rather than help aspirations. How does this influence the volunteering experiences of the involved parties? Above all, it is prevented that the possible dependence on external funding will be endangered by this research. That is why all involved organizations and persons in this report remain anonymous.

2.3.7 Main question

Current research will use the following assumptions. The more commercialized volunteer tourism NGOs are, the more international volunteers are attracted with travel instead of help motivations. And the more commercialized volunteer tourism NGOs are, the more dependent on external funding, the more mediating their role is and the more uncontrolled contact the volunteers have with people in local projects. Subsequently, the more these factors are relevant, the higher risk of a negative impact of volunteers on the people in the local projects and the less helpful they are to each other, both in terms of effect and value change. But to test this last assumption, both the volunteering experiences of volunteers and impacted people in local projects are taken into account. This all leads to the following main question of this research:

How do international volunteers and people in local projects experience each other when the volunteer tourism NGO acts as a market-driven social enterprise?

2.4 Different possible motivations of volunteers to help

2.4.1 The cosmopolitan element of international help

Current research aims to take both sides of volunteering experience into account and that is why the motivations of volunteers should be understood better too. Sin's study has found that, at least among those interviewed, motivating factors for volunteer tourists were 'to travel' rather than 'to contribute' or volunteer (Sin, 2009, p. 497). Still, this section will give the 'contribute' motivation a moment thought. Appiah (2006) makes a comprehensible distinction of possible reasons why people want to help others. This can be applied as well to volunteers who want to help people in the local projects.

To consider helping other people from a different country as meaningful, one sympathizes cosmopolitanism by definition. Literally, a cosmopolitan is a citizen of the world. According to the Ghanaian philosopher Appiah (2006) there are two strands that intertwine in the notion of cosmopolitanism. One is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. There are times these two ideals – universal concern and respect for legitimate difference – clash (Appiah, 2006, xiii).

2.4.2 Universal concern

In philosophy there are many authors that try to come up with theories of equality. These theories touch upon how to help and reorganize societies. Dworkin (2000) focuses his theory of equality around two different forms of bad luck. Option luck is a matter of how deliberate and calculated gambles turn out — whether someone gains or loses through accepting an isolated risk he or she should have anticipated and might have declined. An example would be buying stocks on the exchange market. Brute luck is a matter of how risks fall out that are not in that sense deliberate gambles, like being hit by a falling meteorite (Dworkin, 2000, p. 73). According to Dworkin, a luck egalitarian, equality would be attained when individuals with option luck are held responsible and are not compensated by others and individuals with brute luck are not hold responsible and will be compensated. He acknowledges that some forms of bad luck, like blindness or growing up in the slums instead of growing up as a royal child of a rich king, can't be equally compensated. Therefore, the compensation provides no upper bound to the initial compensation, but an attempt for doing so must be made (Dworkin, 2000, p. 80). Volunteering would be such an attempt to attain little but more equality in the world.

Andersons (1999, p. 290) states that this kind of luck egalitarianism is based on two moral premises: that people should be compensated for undeserved misfortunes and that the compensation should come only from that part of others' good fortune that is undeserved. She questions if the bad luck is considered as such by the involved people. You can overextend your notion of equality into a misplaced form of pity which undermines the notion of freedom. She portrays this misplaced pity vividly in the upcoming quote:

“To the ugly and socially awkward: How sad that you are so repulsive to people around you that no one wants to be your friend or lifetime companion. We won't make it up to you by being your friend or your marriage partner — we have our own freedom of association to exercise — but you can console yourself in your miserable loneliness by consuming these material goods that we, the beautiful and charming ones, will provide. And who knows? Maybe you won't be such a loser in love once potential dates see how rich you are.” (Anderson, 1999, p. 305)

By compensating *assumed* bad luck of the other, one compensates with pity. Pity is incompatible with respecting the dignity of others. Pity may grow universal concern into paternalism, undermining the concept of individual freedom and making own choices (Anderson, 1999, p. 306). Therefore, it is important to determine what is considered 'bad luck'.

In the past, colonialism and imperialism has many often been justified, because the 'civilized' people of the western countries needed to 'civilize' people in developing countries. It was a so-called obligation to help out others. In 1899 Kipling made the famous sarcastic poem called 'White man's burden' to characterize the attempt to justify the imperialistic policies of these countries as noble enterprises (Dixon, 1902, p. 441). Bad luck was misused and misinterpreted immensely and did not respect differences. As Appiah (2006, xiii) mentioned, sometimes universal concern and respect to legitimate differences can clash.

First of all, it is mentioned before that articles and researches concerning volunteer tourism seem to be primarily focused on the side of volunteers. It is not wished to imply that the current status of the literature concerning volunteer tourism aligns with the notion of the white man's burden.

It is also not wished to imply that the volunteers act along those lines too. But it is a troubling thought that the majority of the volunteers experience their project only one to four weeks (Keese, 2011, p. 257). So if this specific group of volunteers only feels obligated to help without respecting the people in the projects, they will not have much time to adapt to gain more respect. It is unclear how the people in the local projects experience this though.

For both these scientific and societal reasons, current research attempts to prevent any misattribution of bad luck of the helped, to prevent burdening oneself with merely obligations and therefore aims to listen to both sides of the involved parties considering the volunteering experience.

2.4.3 Respect for legitimate difference

Cultural anthropologists are great enthusiasts of cultural differences, unlike of international invention. The skepticism was grown by colonialism, imperialism and other historical examples of international intervention, such as Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Mongol, Hun, Mughal, Ottoman, Dutch, French, British, and American, that weren't intended to extinguish bad luck but personal gain (Appiah, 2006, p. 13-15).

Rather than studying and teaching others, cultural anthropologists prefer learning from others (Spradler, 1980, p. 3). An example would be that cannibalism is considered an abomination in western societies, whereas not eating the enemy's meat is considered a waste of food by the Amazon tribe called the Miranhas. Cultural relativism, the approach of most cultural anthropologists, goes beyond objective concepts of what is right or wrong and accepts every cultural concept (Appiah, 2006, blz. 16).

Relativism can clash with universal concern in another way too. When we fully accept that every culture has different perspectives, we would be living effectively in different worlds. And without a shared world, what is there to discuss? People often recommend relativism because they think what is right to think and feel and do, then conversation between them will be pointless. Relativism of that sort isn't a way to encourage conversation; it's just a reason to fall silent (Appiah, 2006, p. 31).

International help will not uphold and international volunteers will not act when respect to legitimate differences is overextending and when there is no room for universal concern. International volunteers won't feel the obligation anymore to go abroad to help and to make their holiday more meaningful.

What is more, research has shown that volunteers are motivated to learn about cultural differences (Sin, 2009, p. 497). A volunteer could also overextend this motivation during the project and forget to contribute by helping the people in the local project. Once again, it is unclear what the people in the local project like and don't like about volunteers. So Appiah's notions on cosmopolitanism has shed more light on possible motivations of volunteers to help and as well has provided more reasons to consider the side of the people of local projects.

2.5 Different values and experiences

2.5.1 Possible clash of the volunteers and people in local projects

Interaction between the international volunteers and the people in the local projects is the key element of the enterprise, but to the knowledge of the author this has not been researched. Huntington would state that even a balanced cosmopolitan attitude of international volunteers would not induce value change or changed consciousness (Sin, 2009, p. 482). Huntington's 'Clash of civilizations' is a provocative article which is both well-known and infamous. It basically states that the eight largest civilizations in the world, among which the Western and Latin-American, are incompatible because of the differences of their deep-rooted values (Huntington, 1993, p. 25).

An interpretation of this theory learns that the original goal of volunteer tourism to induce value change is not realistic. This could mean that there are clashes going on of international volunteers with people in the local projects. Attempts of organizations like Learning Service, to provide resources and support for future volunteers to build the correct mentality they should have during volunteer work, are in vain. Because ultimately, Huntington says, their values are incompatible.

Huntington assumes that every civilization is a power bloc, which struggles for survival, and clashes between different civilizations are at hand (Rubenstein & Crocker, 1994, p. 114). Among other reasons derived from realism a civilization fears to be dominated by another civilization, which jeopardizes the position, and thus culture and values, of the previous.

According to Huntington (1993, p. 24) a civilization is a cultural entity. The most widely cited research on culture is Hofstede's research. He is also the most cited living social scientist in the world. His research has had a remarkable effect on academics and practitioners alike. Hofstede's model has been instrumental in the implementation of many business systems, including: compensation practices; budget control practices; entrepreneurial behavior; training design; conflict resolution; workgroup dynamics and performance; innovation; leadership styles; management control systems; participative management and of course many other cross-cultural issues (Jones, 2007, p. 3). Hofstede's model proves there is hope for value change for international volunteers and people in the local projects. That is why Hofstede's model is used in current research as a starting point to delve deeper into their value differences.

2.5.2 Cultural differences might induce value change

In 1970 Geert Hofstede worked as a researcher for the multinational IBM and conducted a large scale pioneering research to categorize the values of IBM's employees whom were divided over 50 countries. This has resulted in five cultural value dimensions in which nations have similar or different scores. The scores are cross-checked with scores of other enormous value tests and are proved to be consistent (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 45).

Current research will only focus on one dimension of Hofstede: individualism versus collectivism. Individualistic cultures define the person as an autonomous entity with a distinctive set of attributes and qualities. In the collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, the self is defined by existing social relationships and obligations (Petrova, Cialdini, & Sills, 2007, p. 105).

There are a couple of reasons to focus on this dimension. First, to take all the dimensions into account is too much work for this research. Second, in the few data available, one of the most studied cross-cultural variables in social psychological research is the individualism vs. collectivism dimension of Hofstede and Hofstede (Cialdini, Wosinska, Barret, Butner, & Gornik-Durose, 1999, p. 1243).

This leads to the third reason. The majority of the international volunteers come from developed countries and areas with individualistic cultures such as the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia and Japan and most go to developing countries with collectivistic cultures (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 45; Keese, 2011, p. 257). A possible clash between international volunteers and people in local projects can therefore be understood from a cultural psychological perspective, because the foundation of a culture are values (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 23).

Fourth, when Huntington is wrong and value change occurs between international volunteers and people in local projects it is assumed that value change is more significant when both are more different at first. That is why current researched will be conducted in the most collectivistic country in the world: Guatemala. The international volunteers that go to Guatemala are from the most individualistic countries in the world, the USA and the Netherlands (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 90). In this way, there is a bigger chance for a possible clash but also a bigger chance for learning other's values.

Fifth, Hofstede's model has been applied to many practices, but no single dimension has been applied to volunteer tourism. According to Oyserman, Coon and Kimmelmeier (2002, p. 7) there are three ways to apply Hofstede's dimensions. The first approach is to use the ratings that are provided. The second approach is to measure individualism and collectivism at the individual level with Hofstede's existing questionnaire. The third approach is the usage of priming experiments and testing psychological concepts that are linked to Hofstede's dimensions. The next section will provide more insight of these linked concepts and current research will also make use of this third approach.

2.5.3 Sub questions

As is explained before, current research aims to test the assumption that the more commercialized volunteer tourism NGOs are, the more international volunteers are attracted with travel instead of help, or cosmopolitan, motivations. And the more commercialized volunteer tourism NGOs are the more dependent on external funding, the more mediating their role is and the more uncontrolled contact the volunteers have with people in local projects. Subsequently, the more these factors are relevant, the higher risk of a negative impact of volunteers on the people in the local projects and the less helpful they are to each other, both in terms of effect and value change. But to test this last assumption, both the volunteering experiences of volunteers and the people in local projects are taken into account. Once more, this has led to the main question:

How do international volunteers and people in local projects experience each other when the volunteer tourism NGO acts as a market-driven social enterprise?

That is why it is necessary to understand how international volunteers and people in the local projects think, experience and give value to something. It is discussed how international volunteers can have different attitudes to help. It is not discussed and mapped yet what the values of the international volunteers and the people in local projects, entrenched in their culture, are and how and if they experience each other differently.

Because this is aimed and ought to be changing (Sin, 2009, p. 482) - although Huntington (1993) would suggest otherwise -, the following section will explain some of the many considered different values and ways of thinking of the international volunteers and people in the local projects. This can help to understand the *possible* differences in how they experience each other. It is not clear yet if they experience each other differently, because this is not researched yet. For mentioned reasons the cultural differences might be a significant explanation for the possible different experiences of each other. To conclude, insight in the considered cultural differences between the international volunteers and people in the local projects can provide more insight to the answers of current research's main question.

This all leads to the following sub questions:

6. What is considered a positive volunteering experience by both the international volunteers and the people in the local projects the international volunteers are engaging in?
7. What are the differences and similarities of the volunteering experiences?
8. How can the differences in volunteering experiences be explained by the different cultural values and ways of viewing the world of these mentioned involved parties?
9. What is the influence of the volunteer organization on the volunteering experience of both the international volunteers and the people in the local projects?
10. What are considered improvements to the volunteering experience by the international volunteers, the people in the projects and the volunteer organization?

2.6 Cultural differences

2.6.1 Independent versus interdependent view of the self

The perspective on cultures and identity begins with the fundamental notion that people everywhere develop an understanding of themselves as physically distinct and separable from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 225). Therefore, identity is inevitable. The 'Self' is expected to deal with the fundamental dilemma how to give meaning to life (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996). In this way, the need to have an identity is a way for people to deal with negative feelings and insecurity (Leary & Tangney, 2003).

This entails that creating differences in identity implies the practices of othering, the differentiation between 'Self' and 'Other' (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). People in different cultures define the 'Self', 'Other' and its relation in different ways. The cultural psychologist Heine (2012, p. 200) states that every human is ultimately a distinct individual, unique from everyone else and at the same time, we are also a highly social species. Our survival and fitness depend both on the things that we accomplish as individuals and on our abilities to interact successfully with others. This can be

traced back to one of the most fundamental differences regarding identity: the independent versus the interdependent view of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Most research in psychology has emerged in individualistic cultures where independent selves predominate, whereas 80 % of the world population is living in a collectivistic culture where interdependent selves are more common (Heine, 2012 p. 206).

On the one hand, independent selves (figure 3) tend to be viewed as distinct, autonomous entities whose identities are grounded in a variety of internal component features, and who interact with other similarly independent entities (Heine, 2012, p. 202). This is based on an entity theory of the self: people who endorse this set of beliefs tend to view their abilities and traits as largely fixed, innate features of the self (Heine, 2012, p. 229). The independent self is more likely to be found in Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 225).

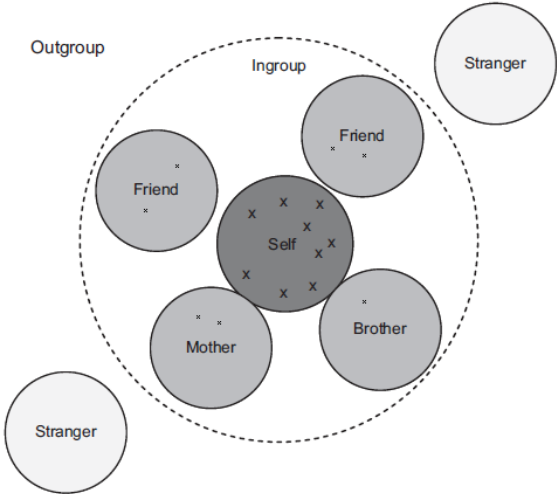


Figure 3. The independent view of self (Heine, 2012, p. 201).

On the other hand, interdependent selves (figure 4) consist largely of nodes within networks of individuals tied together by specific relationships, whose identities are grounded in those relationships, and who are contrasted against other networks of individuals (Heine, 2012, p. 204). This is based on an incremental theory of the self: a person’s ability and traits are malleable and can be improved (Heine, 2012, p. 229). The interdependent self is more likely to be found in Asian, but as well African and Latin-American cultures like Guatemala (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 225).

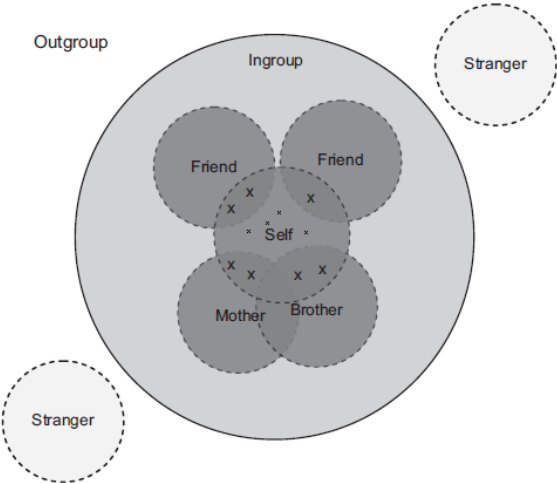


Figure 4. The interdependent view of self (Heine, 2012, p. 201).

Further differences of these views of the self are outlined. These differences are linked to the well-known need hierarchy theory of Maslow (1943) fulfillment of human needs (figure 5). The most basic human needs would be the physical necessities to survive, such as food and water. The need to feel safe follows next and after this come the need to love, the need for self-esteem and the need for self-actualization. To fulfill the next need, the previous should be fulfilled first, hence the hierarchy of needs (Spector, 2008, p. 202-203).

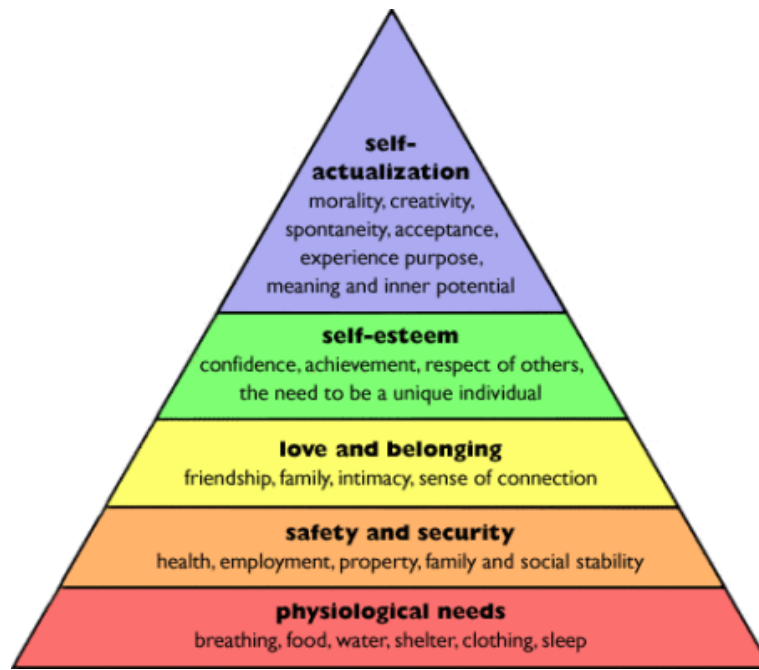


Figure 5. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Spector, 2008, p. 202-203).

This theory is mentioned because of two reasons. First, it is a useful frame of reference to see which motivations are relevant regarding helping the people in developed countries: who are 'in need'. Secondly, it is used to express the cultural focus in current research.

Since it must humbly be noted that the more important and very basic needs, such as food, water and safety don't have much to do with the most researched psychological motivations and needs. That is why this research will not necessarily contribute to help people survive and fulfill the physiological and safety and security needs. It is primarily focused to compare the needs wherein identity motivations occur, such as self-esteem and self-actualization (keyword: self). Therefore, possible cultural implications of current research can only be extrapolated to situations wherein the identity motivations are relevant.

Moreover, this theory is a useful frame of reference, but in the upcoming paragraphs it is seen that the theory of Maslow is not flawless among different cultures. It will be outlined how an independent person fills in the self-esteem and self-actualization need different from an interdependent person. First of all, a difference in motivation of independent persons (self-enhancement) and interdependent persons (self-improvement) is elaborated. Secondly, a difference in how control and choices are perceived by independent persons (disjoint control) and interdependent persons (conjoint control) will be looked upon.

2.6.2 Self-enhancement versus self-improvement

Self-enhancement results in that people from Western countries have a higher self-esteem, than East Asians (Heine, 2012, p. 246). Self-enhancement is the motivation to view oneself positively and research provides converging evidence that interdependent East Asians do not have as strong this desire as independent Westerners (Heine, 2012, p. 248). An example is the self-serving bias, a tendency for people to exaggerate how they think they are: American university professors were asked if they were better than the average university professor. Ultimately, 94 % stated they were better than average, an obvious error and a self-serving bias to think positively (Gleitman, Reisberg & Gross, 2007, p. 449; Heine, 2012, p. 243).

Also, when faced with a failure, which could undermine the positive feeling and self-esteem, independent people have an impressive arsenal of tactics to protect and enhance the self-views (Heine, 2012, p. 244-245). Among these are the concepts of *downward social comparison*, by comparing the bad performance with the performance of someone who is doing even worse, *compensatory self-enhancement*, instead of acknowledging the failure starting to think of the excellent skills one has, *discounting*, reducing the importance of the failure's domain, and *external attribution*, attributing the cause of the failure outside our selves instead of the other way around (internal attribution). The interpretation of Heine (2012, p. 250) is that these independent people from individualistic countries are encouraged to be self-sufficient and not to rely on others; by taking care of themselves, there should be a corresponding motivation to view oneself positively.

On the other hand, self-improvement is a desire to seek out potential weaknesses and work on correcting them and is a strong motivation in the East Asian hierarchical collectivistic context (Heine, 2012, p. 254). The underlying mechanism is called face - hence the expression 'to lose face' - which is of considerable importance in much of the world, besides the Western countries. Face has been defined as the amount of social value others give you if you live up to the standards associated with your position. The higher your social position, the greater the amount of face that is available to you (Heine, 2012, p. 251).

The self-improvement resembles as well the prevention orientation, which is a cautious approach not to lose something and thus not to lose face. The promotion orientation, on the other hand, has a concern over advancing oneself and aspiring for gains. This promotion orientation is linked to the independent self and the prevention orientation to the interdependent self. An example is that after a failure, independent Canadians persist in tasks for which they think they are talented and interdependent Japanese persist in tasks for which they believe are untalented (Heine, 2012, p. 253).

In short, international volunteers from individualistic countries tend to have independent selves and persons in the local projects tend to have interdependent selves. Persons with independent selves and the interdependent selves have different social values and goals and consider others differently. The distinction between these selves might be helpful to explain possible different volunteering experiences. For example, if a volunteering experience of international volunteers from an individualistic country turns out negative, then the volunteers are more likely to blame others instead of themselves whereas people from local projects in a collectivistic country are more likely to react vice versa.

2.6.3 Disjoint vs. conjoint model of agency

Models of agency are implicit frameworks of ideas and practices about 'how to be a good person' that guide action; they reflect descriptive, prescriptive, and normative understandings of how and why people act (Savani, Markus & Conner, 2008, p. 2). Taking action, in the sense of making choices, is prevalent in all societies and cultures and is either done with a more disjoint or conjoint model of agency (Murphy-Berman & Berman, 2003, p. 27; Savani, Markus & Conner, 2008, p. 2-3).

The disjoint model of agency, more applicable in the North American context, prescribes that actions are freely chosen, contingent on one's own preferences, goals, intentions, motives' and defines good actions as those that are 'independent from others; follow from the expression of individual, intentions, and goals (Savani, Markus & Conner, 2008, p. 3). It resembles closely to the concept of primary control (or internal locus of control): people achieve a sense of primary control by striving to shape existing realities to fit their perceptions, goals, or wishes (Heine, 2012, p. 264). One example of this disjoint model of agency, which incorporates self-enhancement, is that successful - independent - American Olympic athletes in 2000 explain their success primarily through positive personal characteristics and features of the competition. The American gold medalist Misty Hyman in the women's 200-m butterfly states: "I think I just stayed focused. It was time to show the world what I could do. I am glad I was able to do it and I knew it was my night." (Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend & Kitayama, 2006, p. 103).

The conjoint model of agency, more applicable in the Indian and Japanese context, states that actions are responsive to obligations and expectations of others roles, and situations; references, goals, and intentions are interpersonally anchored (Savani, Markus & Conner, 2008, p. 3). This resembles closely to the concept of secondary control (or external locus of control): people achieve a sense of secondary control when they attempt to align themselves with existing realities, leaving the realities unchanged but exerting control over their psychological impact. It involves accepting one's circumstances (Heine, 2012, p. 264). An example of the conjoint model of agency, which incorporates self-improvement and face, is that successful – interdependent – Japanese Olympic athletes in 2000 explain their success simultaneously with athletes' personal attributes (both negative and positive), background, and social and emotional experience. The Japanese gold medalist Naoko Takahashi in the women's marathon states: "Here is the best coach in the world and all of the people who support me – all of these things were getting together and became a gold medal. So I think I didn't get it alone, not only by myself" (Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend & Kitayama, 2006, p. 103)

In short, international volunteers from individualistic countries tend to have independent selves and persons in the local projects tend to have interdependent selves. Volunteers with independent selves and persons in the local projects with interdependent selves have different views on making choices and acting in accordance to the choices being made. They value the influence of others on their own choices and control differently. For example, if a volunteering experience of international volunteers from an individualistic country turns out positive, then the volunteers are more likely to praise themselves instead including others too whereas people from local projects in a collectivistic country are more likely to react vice versa.

2.6.4 Distinctiveness vs. similarity

To sum, East Asians are more likely to have a flexible and incremental view of themselves, whereas - in contrast - people from Western cultures tend to stress the malleability of the world relative to the individual (Heine, 2012, p. 265). This is expressed in the independent versus interdependent view of the self, which can be traced back to the dimension of individualism and collectivism (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

This entails, on the one hand, that self-enhancement results in that people with an independent view of the self from Western countries have a higher self-esteem, than East Asians with an interdependent view of the self (Heine, 2012, p. 246). On the other hand, self-improvement and face is a strong motivation in the East Asian hierarchical collectivistic context (Heine, 2012, p. 254).

Moreover, experiences of primary control (closely tied to disjoint model of agency) seem to be more frequent among people from Western than Eastern cultural background. Likewise, the East Asian pattern of relatively weaker feelings of primary control, but stronger secondary control (closely tied to conjoint model of agency), has also been found in African samples (Heine, 2012, p. 267).

This all leads that people with an independent view of the self are more motivated to stick out, to be different, and people with an interdependent view of the self are more motivated to fit in, to be similar (Heine, 2012, p. 278). An example is an experiment with European-Americans and East Asians whom were asked to fill in a survey and they had to pick a pen in a bag full of pens. Some were red and a lot were blue, reflecting the minority or majority choice. European-Americans were much more likely to choose a pen of the minority color and in stark contrast East Asians were more likely to choose the pen of the majority color (Heine, 2012, p. 281). Markus, Savani and Connor (2008) replicated this study with North Americans and Indians and found similar results.

2.6.5 Cultural differences in volunteer tourism

All in all, the elaboration on cultural differences started off with the notion that people in different cultures define the 'Self', 'Other' and its relation in different ways and that our survival and fitness depend both on the things that we accomplish as individuals and on our abilities to interact successfully with others (Heine, 2012, p. 200). The independent persons tend to depend more on what the individual accomplishes (self-enhancement and primary control) and interdependent persons tend to depend more on the person's abilities to interact successfully with others (self-improvement, face and secondary control).

As stated before, the majority of the international volunteers come from developed countries and areas with individualistic cultures such as the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia and Japan and most go to developing countries with collectivistic cultures (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 90; Keese, 2011, p. 257).

It has not been studied what happens when an international volunteer is interacting with people in local projects. The different views of the self might influence how they experience their interaction and the volunteering experience in general. Moreover, possible value change or changed consciousness of both could be learned from the previous mentioned differences in views of the selves.

2.7 Guatemalan case study

2.7.1 Consideration

Current research will be considering both sides of the stories. It concurs with the position of Guttentag (2009, p. 538): “this research does not intent to imply that volunteer tourism is so detrimental that it should be wholly abandoned. Rather, it is simply argued that the volunteer tourism sector may cause various negative impacts, and a greater awareness of these impacts will allow project managers to develop volunteer tourism ventures in a manner that is more beneficial to both host communities and the volunteers.” Current research will not take any risks that might endanger the possible dependence on external funding.

2.7.2 Guatemala

Current research is explorative in nature. It will be conducted at an anonymous volunteer organization. The structure of the researched volunteer organization is derived from its website and portrayed in figure 6. It has local branches all over the world. The purpose of the headquarters is to manage the local branches and to initiate contact with potential volunteers. The local branches, for example the Guatemalan branch, have the purpose to search projects of local ‘NGO’s’. The offered projects don’t have the goal to earn money, in the contrary of the volunteer organization itself, but to be helped by the volunteers.

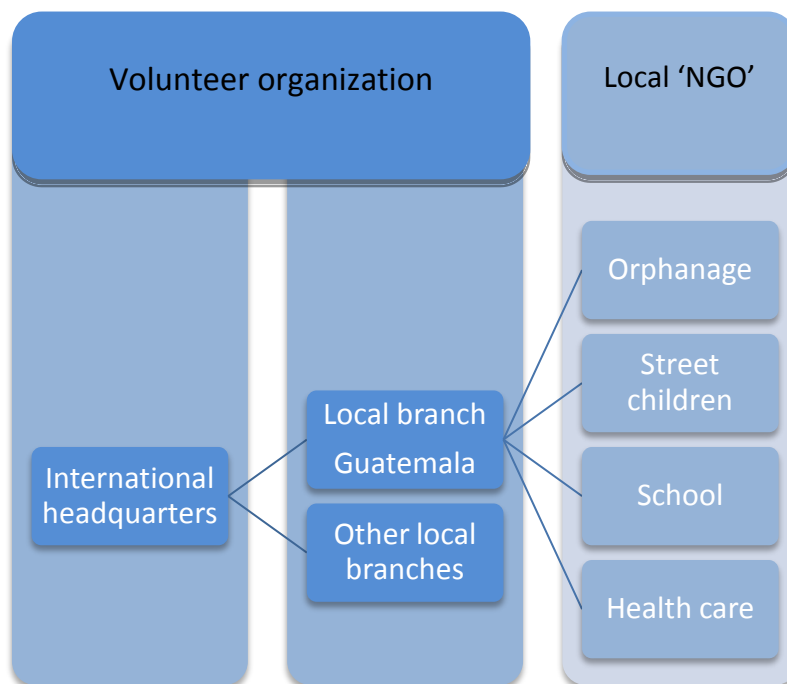


Figure 6. The structure of the researched volunteer organization.

The volunteer organization portrays itself as a mediator between the need to help of the international volunteer and the need to be helped by the people in the local projects of the local NGO’s. This mediator role implies that the organization keeps the needs of the people in the local projects in mind.

Three of the four Guatemalan projects revolve around working with children, which is typical in many volunteer tourism projects (Guttentag, 2009, p. 547). The orphanage project is explained as a place

where children without families are nurtured and taking care of. The street children project is outlined as a place where street children can find shelter, food and education. The school project concerns a school where children don't get English education. The health care project is to reduce the application of bad healthcare in Guatemala. The volunteers can help in these projects to provide love, attention and education by using their skills. The organization explains that the school asks for volunteers who can teach English, whereas the health care institutions ask for volunteers with a background in health care.

This mediator role and considering the needs of the people in the local project contrasts with the first reason of picking this specific volunteer organization: the volunteer tourism NGO is considered a market-driven social enterprise. It states on its website: *"over 10 years of volunteer abroad experience – 10.000 satisfied volunteers and counting"*. The volunteer organization seems primarily interested to satisfy the volunteers, whereas their success of a volunteering experience is not including what the people in the local projects think of the provided help. This is supported by the fact that the main picture on the homepage of Guatemala is not related to the local projects, but it portrays a volcano lake, one of the natural beauties of Guatemala.

Furthermore, it explains how Guatemala, with its history of the Maya's, has a lot to offer besides its nature: *"Guatemala is a traveler's delight for history buffs and nature lovers. The unique blend of the country's ancient Maya ruins and its colonial ancestry combine with expansive landscapes decorated with rainbow-colored plants and diverse wildlife to present the visitor with breathtaking beauty and power. Make a commitment to share your love and compassion with needy children and adults through us in Guatemala programs."*

For these reasons it is assumed that this volunteer tourism NGO is commercialized. The assumption is tested that this will attract international volunteers with more travel instead of help, or cosmopolitan, motivations. As well, the mediator role of the local branch of this organization might be induced because of dependence on external funding and it is assumed this entails less controlled contact between the volunteers and people in the local projects.

As stated before, the research will take place at the Guatemalan branch of this volunteer organization. First, because according to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005, p. 90) Guatemala is the most collectivistic country in the world. In this way the cultures of the Dutch author and the other available volunteers (all American) during the time of visiting - the Netherlands and the United states belong to the most individualistic countries - and the local people in the projects differ in the most extreme way. In this way, a situation will be created where people from the two ends of the discussed spectra will meet.

Furthermore, after being informed by the volunteer organization, only a few percentages of the Guatemalan persons in the local projects speak English, whereas only a few percentages of the international volunteers speak Spanish. This makes communication and collaboration more difficult. Hottola (2004, p. 453) points out that a so-called 'language-confusion' is troubling the intercultural adaption in tourism. In this case, the language barrier will make it less likely that the volunteers can discuss obstacles and possible improvements with the people in the project regarding the volunteering experience. Also, the language barrier might prevent bridging the cultural values or differences, such as the mentioned independent and interdependent view of the world.

To wrap it up, this Guatemalan case study has created conditions for a possible clash – aligning with the theory of Huntington – between international volunteers and people in the local projects. On the one hand, it is assumed that the volunteer tourism NGO is so commercialized that it doesn't attract volunteers with cosmopolitan and thus genuinely helpful motivations in a respectful manner towards the people in the local projects. On the other hand, the cultural differences and values of the involved parties are so different that either the clash (Huntington) or the value exchange can't be imagined more intense. The language barrier is assumed to either induce the clash or value exchange. Above all, both the volunteering experiences of volunteers and the people in local projects are taken into account.

2.7.3 Case selection

The described choice for Guatemala contains conditions to create an extreme case study (Gerring, 2007, p. 90). First, the extreme case study looks upon a typical case. It is chosen when a case is considered to be prototypical or paradigmatic of some phenomena of interest (Gerring, 2007, p. 101). The volunteer organization is considered typical in terms of commercialization and the assumption that this may lead to overlooking the side of the people in the local projects.

Secondly, the extreme case study looks upon the extremes in the typical case. Therefore, the extreme case study is purely exploratory (Gerring, 2007, p. 105). The chosen extremes of the mentioned cultural dimensions in the described Guatemalan case will make it more detectable to see the similarities and differences of the volunteering experience.

It must be mentioned that current research has its limits. Specifically it focuses on the effects of commercialization of volunteer tourism NGOs. It is argued that the effect of the impact of these NGOs should be measured as well in terms of positive experiences of both the volunteers and the people in the local projects, because this direct interaction is more relevant than ever. In the literature it is assumed that value exchange and changed consciousness can cause a positive volunteering experience, but this is never tested on both sides. That is why cultures differences are taken into account. Though, only one dimension, namely individualism versus collectivism, is explored in current research. Nonetheless, this research has scientific and societal value by investigating this small but significant piece in the volunteer tourism ventures.

Chapter 3 Methodical framework

3.1 Introduction

The first section of this chapter explains the explorative nature of this research. The multiple method strategy is used in current research and will be explained.

The second section explains the available data sources during the visit of the author in Guatemala. It is a field research. So it will be described how every, although limited, data source can provide more than sufficient answers for the sub questions of current research. Moreover, it will be explained which sub questions are aimed to be answered with which data source. A research design will be portrayed next to make everything more clear.

The last section elaborates on the research methods how and which information is derived from the data sources. It provides an in-depth inside of all the used methods and why these methodological choices are made.

3.2 Point of departure

3.2.1 Explorative research

The main question of this research is explorative in nature. It is not known *if* there are differences in volunteering experiences by the involved parties and even *if* there are, it is not known what can be learned from it. There is insufficient data available to answer this question and no hypothesis can be derived from the existing data. The participants of current research will cumulate the answer to this question and generate data for possible hypotheses in new researches concerning this topic. In general, explorative questions request qualitative methods and the gathered data consist of non-numerical – and thus qualitative – units of information, like interviews with persons and text fragments (Boeije, 2005). To conclude, these qualitative methods will be used in this research.

3.2.2 Multiple methods

Every study has potential shortcomings or alternative theoretical explanations. Heine (2012, p. 142) argues that multiple methods are important for all kinds of scientific research, but they are especially so in cultural psychology because of methodological challenges are involved.

Studying people from other cultures involves issues that are unique compared with those involved in studying people from one's own culture. For example, because psychological methods are mostly quantitative experiments, psychological data are only clues and clues are always ambiguous (Heine, 2012, p. 131). Not only inherit cultural psychologists the standard ambiguities of whatever methods they adopt from other subfields of psychology, but the usage of these methods create further ambiguities when they are applied to the study of people from other cultures (Heine, 2012, p. 112).

That is why Heine suggests that if a finding is observed with one method, it is good practice for the researcher to try to replicate it with a different kind of method. The more divergent the methods across the different studies, the more compelling a convergent set of findings would be. This multiple method strategy is not used in the known researches about volunteer tourism. For that reason current research is considered unique. The different methods will be explained next.

3.3 Data sources

3.3.1 Interviews

There are five sources of data that are used. First of all, qualitative and prescriptive interviews have been done with both the international volunteers, the staff members in the local projects and staff members of the Guatemalan branch of the volunteer organization. The interviews have been used to elaborate on the volunteering experience of both sides and touches upon the main question and all the sub questions.

The reason for merely interviewing the staff members in the local projects is because most of the children were too young to have in-depth interviews with. That is why the staff members are also asked about the interaction between the volunteers and the children, because they have a valuable view on that.

3.3.2 Tests

Second, psychological tests have been done to get a grasp of the elaborated cultural differences between the international volunteers and the children in the local projects. This answers the third sub question of this research and contributes to answer the main question.

According to Oyserman, Coon and Kimmelmeier (2002, p. 7) there are three ways to apply Hofstede's dimensions. The first approach is to use the ratings that are provided. The second approach is to measure individualism and collectivism at the individual level with Hofstede's existing questionnaire. The third approach is the usage of priming experiments and testing psychological concepts that are linked to Hofstede's dimensions. These used psychological concepts are linked to the independent and interdependent view of the world.

There are four reasons for doing tests with the children. The first reason is because they were too young to have in-depth interviews with. The second reason is that the children are mostly illiterate, which rules out the option of getting data by written surveys and other possible written data sources. The third reason is because psychological tests can be staged in such a way that it can be applied to children too. The final and most important reason would be that the children in the researched local projects are the most significant focus group of the volunteers. Therefore, it is relevant to address the children specifically. For above reasons, the best way of addressing them is by doing the tests.

The reason for doing tests only on the children and volunteers is because at least 30 participants are needed to detect differences in groups (Wilson-Van Voorhis & Morgan, 2007, p. 48). The amount of staff members is insufficient to conduct these tests with them as well. Still it is argued that the cultural differences between the Guatemalan children and the American volunteers are more or less the same as between the Guatemalan staff members and the American volunteers.

First of all, Hofstede and Hofstede (2005, p. 32) provide a few reasons to extrapolate the derived values of the IBM employees to national and cultural values. The most relevant reason is that the cultural values, like individualistic and collectivistic values, exist for a longer period of time and are shared among fellow countrymen: one dominant language, communal mass media, country wide educational system, national army, national political system et cetera. So children and adults predominantly have the same type of influence on their values and concepts.

This is supported by research that show differences between children to concepts that are linked to the interdependent and independent view of the self. In one study, for example, young European-American and Chinese children ranging in age from 3 to 8 years were interviewed to ask about themselves and their early memories. American children were less likely to refer to others when describing themselves, compared with the Chinese children (Heine, 2012, p. 176).

Also, by the fifth grade, the best-performing U.S. school in the study performs about the same as the worst school in collectivistic countries as Taiwan, Japan and China. On average, the East Asian children are doing much better as a group on math tests than the American children that one might expect East Asian mothers to be especially satisfied with their children's performance. Though, linked to the concept of face, the differences in performances can be linked to the expectations of children and their mothers. More generally, East Asian mothers direct their children's attention to their academic failures, in an effort to correct the shortcomings, whereas European-American mothers direct their children's attention to their successes. This suggests that American children have less reason to work perform than East Asian children (Heine, 2012, p. 190-192).

To conclude, it is assumed in current research that the children act more or less the same as the parents of the same culture. This means that the results of the tests between the children and the volunteers can be extrapolated to how staff members and volunteers might differ as well.

3.3.3 Evaluations

Third, the Guatemalan branch of the volunteer organization made the evaluations of the volunteering experiences of volunteers in Guatemala available to the author. The analysis of these evaluations has contributed from another perspective how the volunteering experience is constituted by the international volunteers. Once again this touches upon the main question and the sub questions, but from one perspective: the volunteer perspective.

3.3.4 Ethnography

Finally, the author has been a volunteer too in three of the four projects. The health care project requires a medical education, which is ruling out participation of the author. The amount of time in each project will be four weeks, because most volunteers experience their project one to four weeks (Keese, 2011, p. 257).

The ethnographical description of this experience is used to increase the contribution of data regarding the volunteering experience of the volunteer's side. Furthermore, it is used to identify more with the experiences of both the impacted people in the projects and the international volunteers. Therefore, the author has volunteered in the same local projects as the researched international volunteers and the impacted people. The ethnography contributes to answer the main and all the sub questions.

3.3.5 Internship

Officially, the author did a research internship at the local branch of the volunteer organization. This meant that the author could get in an insight in the doings of the local branch. The country manager of the local branch has also been the Spanish teacher of the author. For eight weeks the author has been working with the country manager two hours a day. This created a platform to ask more about

the volunteer organization. Furthermore, the author helped out the volunteer organization in activities with international volunteers. This resulted in a better grasp of how the local branch interacted with the international volunteers and how the volunteer experience was maintained. This has contributed to answer from another perspective the fourth and the fifth sub question. These questions revolve around the influence of the volunteer organization on the volunteer experiences.

3.4 Research design

This complex research boils down to the following. The five data sources revolve around four clusters of questions to four groups of participants to answer five sub questions which ultimately answers the main question. The four groups of participants are the volunteers, the children, the staff members and the volunteer organization. The four cluster of questions concerns the personal background of the participants or their NGO, the objective volunteering experience, the subjective volunteering experience and the considered improvements of the participant. This will be explained later.

Basically, the interviews are used to cover all the groups (the children indirectly), the ethnography to relate to all the provided answers, the evaluations to get a better insight on the volunteers, the tests to get a better insight on the cultural differences and finally the internship that provides a better insight on the volunteering organization (figure 7).

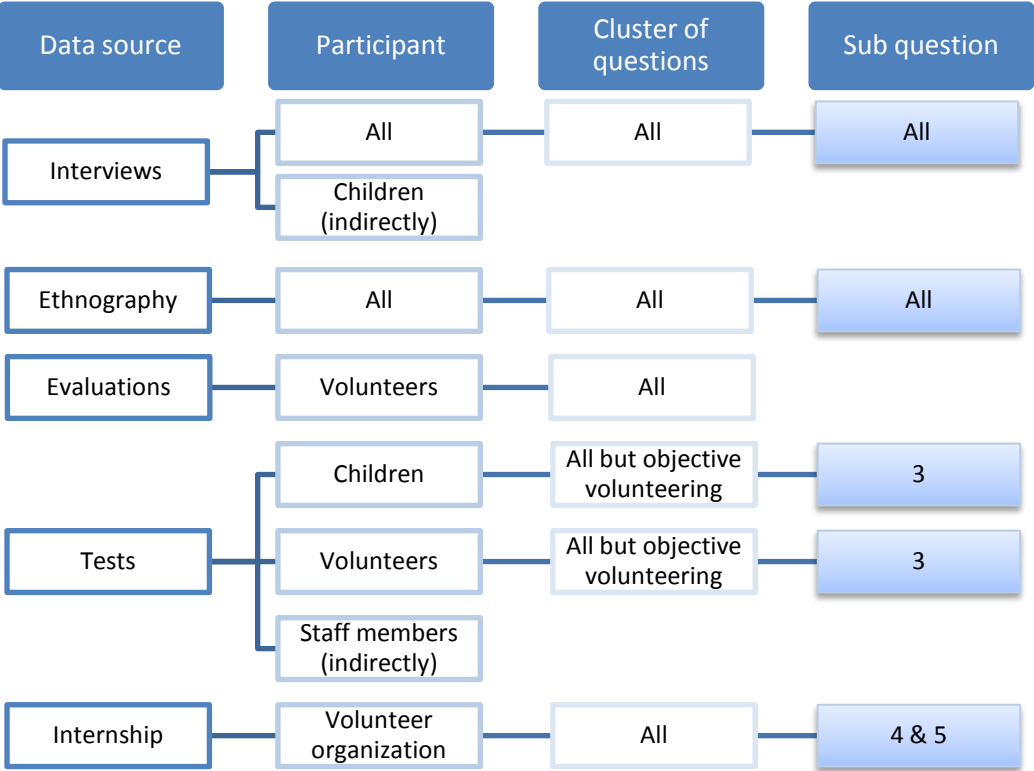


Figure 7. Research design of current research.

3.5 Research methods

3.5.1 Participants

A total of 151 children (92 boys; 59 girls) with a mean age of 12.26 (SD = 2.96), 43 volunteers (5 men; 38 women) with a mean age of 25.54 (SD = 13.07), 29 staff members (5 men; 24 women), and the

country manager of the volunteer organization conducted the study. The children and staff members were divided over three projects.

The orphanage project consisted of 83 children (52 boys; 31 girls) with a mean age of 10.19 (SD = 4.42) and 20 staff members (3 men; 17 women). The street children project consisted of 27 children (16 boys; 11 girls) with a mean age of 10.70 (SD = 2.84) and 3 staff members (3 women). The school project consisted of 41 children (24 boys; 17 girls) with a mean age of 14.78 (SD = 1.56) and 6 staff members (2 men; 4 women).

The volunteers were approached to schedule interviews during their stay. The directors of all three projects were asked if tests could be done with the children and interviews with the staff members. After their approval, the author approached the children and staff members during his stay at the specific project.

3.5.2 Interviews

It was aimed to have verbal interviews only. The advantage of verbal interviews is that these can be held semi-structural. This means that a participant who gives an unexpected yet seemingly interesting answer will be asked to elaborate. This can't be done with written interviews and therefore were a second best option to explore the volunteering experience. Unfortunately, every now and then natural circumstances in the field caused taking refuge in written interviews.

The verbal or written interviews with the staff members and volunteers have proceeded in the same way. During or in the interview it was stated that participation was completely voluntarily and would take approximately thirty minutes. Confidentiality and anonymity regarding their answers was guaranteed. The precise questions vary from the different parties involved and will be outlined next. Then, all participants were asked if they had questions or remarks which they liked to share. After this they were thanked for their cooperation and reminded that any second thoughts regarding the interview should be made known so that adjustments can be made.

First there will be outlined how the procedure of interviewing the involved parties was staged and what the interviews were about. Next, it is elaborated how the analysis is carried out.

3.5.2.1 International volunteers

All the 43 volunteers agreed upon being interviewed. One group of 12 volunteers didn't have enough time to be interviewed, so they were provided with the same but a written version of the interview.

What follows are the 18 questions of the interview (appendix 1). The interview has different clusters of questions. The first cluster of questions is used to get an individual picture of the volunteer before any volunteering experience has come to pass. It concerns questions 1, 2, 3 and 5. Examples are "How did you expect your input in the project would be, before arrival?" and "What is your motivation to come to this project in Guatemala?". These kinds of questions can give an idea what has motivated the volunteer to help. These might be linked to the cosmopolitan motivations.

The second cluster of questions is used to get an idea of how the volunteer – more objectively – interprets the volunteering experience. It concerns questions 4, 7, 9, 15 and 16. Examples are "Can you describe the interaction with you and the staff members? How do you experience this interaction?" and "Can you describe the interaction with you and the children? How do you

experience this interaction?”. These questions will set a status quo of the volunteering experience to which the other questions can relate.

The third cluster of questions is used to get an idea of how the volunteer – more subjectively – interprets the volunteering experience. It concerns questions 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and part of 17. Examples are “When do you work well with the staff members? When not?” and “When do you interact well with the children? When not?”. These questions are more subjectively and can be related to the first cluster of questions. Both clusters of questions provide an insight in the way of thinking of the volunteer, before and during the volunteering experience.

The fourth and final cluster of questions is used to address the suggested improvement by the volunteer. It concerns questions 14 and 17. An example is “What do you think could be improved, regarding the relation between the people from this project and volunteers?”. The suggested improvements of all participants will be combined to look upon overall suggested improvements.

3.5.2.2 Staff members of the local projects

All but one of the staff members in the local projects speak Spanish. A translator was needed to proceed with the interviews verbally. All staff members of the three projects were offered the same interview, either verbally or written.

In the first project – the orphanage – a written interview has been handed to the staff members. The first reason was because the first project ended up having far more staff members (21) and thus more time-consuming than anticipated and told beforehand (12). This, in combination with the fact that the beforehand arranged translator left during the author’s stay in the orphanage, let the author to no other choice than to hand out written interviews.

The staff members of the second project – the street children project – have been verbally interviewed. A new arranged translator was used to help understand the answers of the local staff members. The director was asked permission to do the interviews, as was asked to the involved staff members.

The staff members of the third project – the school – have been handed written interviews as well. During the time of the school project, the author was overruled by circumstances and unfortunately could simply not find the time to do the interviews verbally. A written interview has been handed out to the staff members.

Before the interview was provided to the staff members, the interview has been translated from English to Spanish. This was done by two fully bilinguals in the languages that are being compared. These persons helped to translate the interview not only in the correct languages but as well to dissolve problematic direct and unnatural translations of the words and sentences (Heine, 2012, p. 121).

What follows are the 17 questions of the interview (appendix 2). The directors have two extra questions concerning the statistics of having volunteers, namely questions 1 and 5. Question 6 is in the same cluster of questions but is asked to the other staff members too. An example would be “Since when are international volunteers engaging in this project?”. These questions were used to get a grasp of what kind of volunteers and since when the international volunteers have been engaged in this project.

The remaining questions of the interviews were the same to every staff member. As well, the interview has different clusters of questions. The first cluster of questions is used to get a picture of the project. It concerns questions 2, 7 and 18. Examples are “Can you describe how the project emerged and what its goals are?” and “Do you think this project is different from other child projects in the area?”. These questions are used to look upon the structural similarities and differences between the three researched projects.

The second cluster of questions is used to get an individual picture of the staff member in the project. It concerns questions 3 and 4. The questions are “What are your responsibilities?” and “How long have you been working in this project?”. These questions give an idea of the amount of interaction with the international volunteer.

The third cluster of questions is used to get an idea of how the staff member – more objectively – interprets the volunteering experience. It concerns questions 8, 9, 10 and 11. Examples are “Can you describe a typical interaction between a volunteer and you here in the project?” and “Can you describe a typical interaction between a volunteer and a child here in this project?”. These questions will set a status quo of the volunteering experience to which the other questions can relate.

The fourth cluster of questions is used to get an idea of how the staff member – more subjectively – interprets the volunteering experience. It concerns questions 12, 13, 14 and 15. Examples are “What is a typical situation in which children interact well with volunteers? When do they not interact well?” and “What is a typical situation in which staff members interact well with volunteers? When do they not interact well?”. These questions are more subjectively and give an insight in the way of thinking of the staff members regarding the volunteering experience.

The fifth and final cluster of questions is used to address the suggested improvements by the staff member. It concerns questions 16 and 17. The questions are “What do you think are the characteristics of an ideal volunteer?” and “What do you think could be improved about the relationship between the people who work in this project and the international volunteers?”. The suggested improvements of all participants will be combined to look upon overall suggested improvements.

3.5.2.3 Interview country manager volunteer organization

The Guatemalan branch of the volunteer organization knew one full-time employee and several part-time employees. Only the full-time employee, the country manager, was interviewed. The information about the volunteer organization was not only derived from this interview. The author worked along with the country manager during his stay, which gave opportunities to get a better insight in the doings of the local branch as well. The official interview was held in the last week of the author’s three-month stay, so that the insight in the organization’s activities could be used to ask extra in-depth questions for doing so.

The interview has 15 questions which are combined in different clusters of questions (appendix 3). The first cluster of questions is used to get an individual picture of the country manager. It concerns questions 1, 2 and 3. Examples are “Can you describe your responsibilities and activities?” and “What is your motivation of doing this work?”. It gives an idea how the country manager pictures himself in relation to the volunteering experience.

The second cluster of questions is used to get an idea of how the country manager – more objectively – interprets the volunteering experience. It concerns questions 4, 6, 8. Examples are “Can you describe the interaction with you and volunteers? How do you experience this interaction?” and “Can you describe the interaction with you and the staff members in the local projects? How do you experience this interaction?”. These questions will set a status quo of the volunteering experience to which the other questions can relate.

The third cluster of questions is used to get an idea of how the country manager – more subjectively – interprets the volunteering experience. It concerns questions 5, 7, 9, 10 and 11. Examples are “When do you work well with the volunteers? When not?” and “Do you think you help the projects and the volunteers? Who do you think you help the most: the projects (staff members and kids), the volunteers, the headquarters or yourself?”. These questions give an insight how the volunteering experience is perceived from the country manager’s point of view.

The fourth cluster of questions is used to address the suggested improvements by the country manager. It concerns questions 12 and 13. The questions are “What is an ideal volunteer, according to you?” and “How would you improve the above discussed interactions?”. The suggested improvements of all participants will be combined to look upon overall suggested improvements.

The fifth and final cluster of questions is used to get an explanation of the country manager regarding the local branch’s activities which were considered remarkable by the author. It concerns three specific events. An example is that the host families for the volunteer seemed richer than the average Guatemalan family: are they the true beneficiaries? These questions are posited to prevent and undermine misinterpretations of the beforehand considered money driven volunteer organization.

3.5.2.4 Analysis of the interviews

This phase is portrayed as step 2 in figure 5. The interviews have more or less the same clusters of questions. The first similar cluster is the more individual cluster of the participant. The second similar cluster is the more objective cluster about the volunteering experience. The third similar cluster is the most subjective cluster about the volunteering experience. The fourth and final similar cluster contains improvements for the volunteering experience by every participant. The answers of the questions in every cluster will be compared among the involved parties.

To begin with, all the interviews will be transcribed. Then, the interviews will be coded according to recommended steps of coding by Boeije (2005). Coding means that the researcher distinguishes themes and categories in the data and provides that with codes. Coding is first and foremost meant for semi-structural interviews (Boeije, 2005, p. 85).

According to Boeije coding contains three steps: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Open coding is to look at the transcription of the interviews what the most important fragments are. These fragments are coded with a word. The most important challenge is to provide the most suitable word which summarizes the fragment the best. Approximately 50 codes are recommended (Boeije, 2005, p. 92). To reduce the subjectivity in allocating codes, other coders are recommended in this phase to align the allocated codes. This will increase the intercoder reliability (Boeije, 2005, p. 97).

Therefore, three extra coders are used in current research to coincide small language differences in the English codes which are translated from either Dutch to English or from Spanish to English. One coder is from the same country as the author and is fluent in both Dutch and English. The second coder is from the same country as the impacted people in the local project and is fluent in both Spanish and English. The third coder is from the same country as the majority of the researched volunteers, the United States, and is a native English speaker.

After comparing the codes the coders will discuss with the author the most problematic translations and resolve them through consensus (Heine, 2012, p. 121). It must be noted that not all the transcribed data will be presented to the extra coders, because this will take too much of their time. It is aimed to give coded material to keep them occupied a couple of hours and not days.

The second step in coding is called axial coding. During axial coding the meaning of the most important terms is ascertained. Differences between main and sub codes can be made (Boeije, 2005, p. 99). These codes will be compared, tested and interpreted to discover the most important codes to define volunteering experience (Boeije, 2005, p. 104).

The third and last step in coding is called selective coding. Up to now, there are categories with descriptions. The goal of selective coding is to reveal why certain variations are shown in the researched phenomenon, i.e. volunteering experience (Boeije, 2005, p. 105). This is done to express the validity of the concluded connections in codes (Boeije, 2005, p. 108). The result is a coherent story of the most important relations regarding volunteering experience.

3.6.3 Evaluations

3.6.3.1 Evaluation forms

The country manager provided the author 31 evaluations of international volunteers in the past (appendix 4). The last dated evaluation is from 2010. In general, the evaluations are delivered to the volunteers after their last day of volunteering and before departure to their own country. The country manager noted that the volunteers often do not fill in the evaluations and the explanation is that the volunteers simply forget.

On the evaluation form, the volunteers are asked to fill in their names. Then, the volunteer is asked to rate the headquarters staff, airport pick up, food, accommodation, host family, volunteer project and field with either the score of 1 (= poor), 2 (= good), 3 (= very good) or 4 (= excellent). Then, in the rest of the page it is asked to summarize the volunteer experience. Finally, the volunteer is asked if the volunteer would recommend to others and if the volunteer's email can be passed on to interested potential volunteers.

3.6.3.2 Analysis of the evaluations

First of all, the ratings are looked upon to get a first glimpse whether the volunteers had a positive or a negative experience. Then, like the interviews, the evaluations will be coded as the interviews to further define the volunteering experience. The same three stages of coding according to Boeije (2005) are used. Moreover, part of the transcribed evaluations will be presented to the three coders to check if the allocated codes are correct.

3.6.4 Tests

The tests revolve around cultural differences. It is used to picture the possible differences between the side of the persons in the local projects and the international volunteers. What is more, it gives a better insight how the most important persons in the projects, the children, might perceive international volunteers. As is argued before, the test results can be extrapolated to the staff members too so that the volunteers and the staff members can be compared too. All in all, the tests have a between subject design.

The first two projects have the same test, whereas the third project has slightly modifications to the original setup. When every project is providing the same results, the external validity of the test findings will increase. This implies a decrease of the external validity when there aren't the same results.

All the children in the projects speak only Spanish. So, just like the interviews, the tests that were provided to the children have been translated from English to Spanish (appendix 5). This was done by two fully bilinguals in the mentioned languages. These persons helped once more to translate the tests not only in the correct languages but as well to dissolve problematic direct and unnatural translations of the words and sentences (Heine, 2012, p. 121).

Additionally, most children in the projects appeared to be illiterate. Therefore, they were helped filling in the answers. This was either done by the author, helping staff members or children who could read.

3.6.4.1 "Candy test"

3.6.4.1.1 Study 1: Children of the first two projects versus volunteers

This test is designed to measure the desire to make majority or minority choices: the motivation to either fit in or to stick out. This is either related to the conjoint or the disjoint model of choice, which are linked to the interdependent and independent view of the world.

A similar procedure is used as Savani, Markus and Conner (2008) and Kim and Markus (1999). In their studies participants were offered a pen. It was assumed that pens have a similar meaning and value across cultural contexts (Savani, Markus & Connor, 2008, p. 8). The experimenter had a bag full of red and green pens; she would pull out a handful of five of them, and ask each person to choose a pen. By doing this the experimenter ensured that all participants had to make a choice between pens of two different colors, and that they also had to choose between pens that were either of a majority color (three or four pens of the same color) or of a minority color (one or two pens of the same color). About half of the time the majority color was red and about half the time the majority color was green (Heine, 2012, p. 281).

They argue that a person chooses to be distinctive (minority color) or similar (majority color), dependable on their independent or interdependent selves. Choosing either of these pens will be a proxy for the independent (distinctive) or interdependent (similar) self. More specifically, it focuses on either the disjoint or conjoint models of agency.

In current research pens will not be used, but candies. This was suggested by the director of the first project, because most children are illiterate. This could mean that the pens wouldn't have the same

value for the children as for the volunteers (Savani, Markus & Conner, 2008, p. 8). That is why the candies have been used as a substitute for the candies: both involved parties would value the candies more or less the same. The children of the first two projects and volunteers were approached during the author's stay in the same project. Both groups were offered two silver and three white candies.

The independent variable is the cultural dimension individualism versus collectivism of Hofstede and Hofstede (2005). Two groups will be compared: the volunteers (assumed individualistic) and the Guatemalan children (assumed collectivistic). The dependent variable is the motivation to either fit in or stick out. It is hypothesized that the volunteers will choose the silver candies (minority choice to stick out) more and the white candies (majority choice to fit in) less than the Guatemalan children.

3.6.4.1.2 Study 2: Children of the first two projects versus children of the third project

Study 2 tests an alternative interpretation of study 1. The preference for the color or flavor of the candy will be tested too. The participants are offered three silver and two white candies, which is reversed to the options in study 1. This can only be conducted with children, because there are not enough volunteers to create two groups of at least 30 participants (Wilson-Van Voorhis & Morgan, 2007, p. 48). Nonetheless, it contributes to understand the choices of the children. It answers to the question if this choice for this candy really is driven by the motivation to either fit in or stick out or simply the preference for a color or flavor.

The independent variable are the Guatemalan children. Two groups will be compared: the children of the first two projects and the children of the third project. The dependent variable is the preference for the color or flavor of the candy. It is hypothesized that the children don't make their choices for a candy based upon a preference for a color or flavor, but based upon the motivation to fit in or stick out.

3.6.4.2 "Fish test"

3.6.4.2.1 Study 3 Guatemalan children versus volunteers

This test (appendix 5 and 6) is used to measure the internal disposition or the influence of the group. This can be linked to the interdependent and the independent view of the world.

The independent variable in this study is the cultural dimension individualism versus collectivism of Hofstede and Hofstede (2005). Two groups will be compared: the volunteers (assumed individualistic) and the Guatemalan children of all the three projects (assumed collectivistic). The dependent variable is the attribution of the other who sticks out. It is hypothesized that the volunteers attribute the other who sticks out more internal (or less external) than the Guatemalan children.

Hong, Morris, Chui and Benet-Martínez (2000) used an accessible measurement, which can be used with children as well, to discover whether a person is attributing stimuli in a more internal or external way. The same picture is used (figure 8).

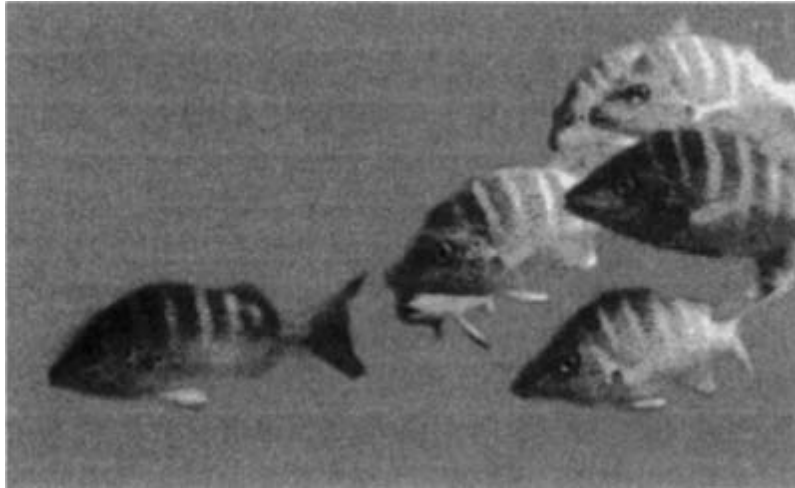


Figure 8. The used picture in the “Fish test”.

After looking at the picture one question is asked: do you think this fish is leading the other fishes or do you think this fish is being chased by the other fishes? The answer reflects the internal or external attribution of the other: is the fish in front part of the group and leading or is the fish in front not part of the group and being chased (Hong, Morris, Chui and Benet-Martínez, 2000, p. 714)? Basically, it touches upon the concept that interdependent and independent persons regard persons that are sticking out differently and behave differently to people who act as such (Heine, 2012).

In the original study of Hong, Morris, Chui and Benet-Martínez (2000) the internal and external attribution of the other were measured on a scale of 12. 1 resembled ‘very confident that this fish is leading the group’ and 12 resembled ‘very confident that this fish is being chased by the group’.

Current research asks the same question. But it uses a simplified version regarding the answer possibilities, so that the children will not be confused. This means that the question can be answered by writing an ‘X’ on the lines behind the five answer possibilities: very leading, little leading, neutral, little chasing and very chasing.

In the original study both the independent (4.8) and interdependent persons (5.7) scored lower than 6, which implies that a preference for the internal attribution of the other is made in both cultures, but only the strength of the preference differs.

That is why it is not assumed that the assumed interdependent children will choose on average for ‘chasing’ and the assumed independent volunteers will choose on average for ‘leading’. In the first place, it will be tested if the choices of the children and the volunteers significantly differ. Secondly, the strength of the preference will be looked upon. In other words as previously stated, it is hypothesized that the volunteers will choose ‘leading’ more strongly than the children.

3.6.4.2.2 Study 4: Related collectivistic versus non-related individualistic speaker

Furthermore, it is suggested that an insider of the same context as the collectivistic participants should be explaining tests (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 118). The author, an assumed individualistic person from the Netherlands, might have a different influence on the children than an assumed collectivistic staff member. Namely, it is assumed that the author is not and a local staff

member is being part of the world of the interdependent selves of the children in their project. This will be tested.

The independent variable is the extent of being part of the assumed collectivistic and interdependent world of the Guatemalan children. Two type of persons are compared: the author, assumed to stick out in the children's world, and staff members, assumed to fit in the children's world. The dependent variable is the motivation to attribute someone who sticks out. It is hypothesized that the Guatemalan children are more motivated to attribute the other who sticks out more internal (or less external) when there is someone around who sticks out (author) than when there is someone around who fits in (staff member).

One staff member of the temporary home and one staff member at the street children project are asked to help with the test. Part of the fish test is explained by the author and part of the fish test is explained by the staff member. The results are compared.

3.6.4.3 Analysis of the tests

The data are rated and used in the statistics data editor SPSS. The used models to analyze the tests are outlined in the next chapter.

3.6.5 Ethnography

3.6.5.1 Volunteering

The author has been a volunteer in the three projects, four weeks each and approximately four hours a day. The author attempted to be a typical and active volunteer who helped out when needed and participated in activities. This attempted typical volunteering experience has been written down. The directors of the projects gave permission for doing so. Dependable how much was needed to be done in the projects the author described the volunteering experience during or after volunteering.

This ethnographic fieldwork is considered contributing in getting a grasp of the volunteering experience. The method of participant observation of Spradley (1980) is used how to keep track of this experience. According to Spradley (1980, p. 3) ethnography is the work of describing a culture. Its central aim is to understand another way of life from the native point of view. Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people.

The ethnography is considered an asset in getting an idea of the volunteering experience. Primarily it gives better insight on the side of the international volunteers, but it contributes by giving more information on the interaction with children and staff members in the local projects too.

When ethnographers study other cultures, they must deal with three fundamental aspects of human experience: what people do, what people know and the things people make and use. When each of these are learned and shared by members of some group, we speak of them as cultural behavior, cultural knowledge and cultural artifacts (Spradley, 1980, p. 5). The aim is to get a hold of the cultural knowledge. This is considered the deepest layer of a culture, whereas behavior and artifacts are expressions of this knowledge. It gives meaning to acts (p. 7).

Meanings are different among cultures and therefore it is necessary to avoid different cultural interpretations in another culture (Spradley, 1980, p. 14). Descriptive observations are necessary to avoid intrusions. Nine dimensions must be noted in the description of the social situation considering

volunteering. The first is space, the physical place or places. The second is actor, the people involved. The third is activity, a set of related acts people do. The fourth is object, the physical things that are present. The fifth is act, single actions people do. The sixth is event, a set of related activities that people carry out. The seventh is time, the sequencing that takes place over time. The eighth is goal, the things people are trying to accomplish. The ninth and final is feeling, the emotion felt and expressed. The importance of every dimension is not equal in every situation (Spradley, 1980, p. 78). In current research especially the feeling dimension is emphasized.

3.6.5.2 Analysis

In order to move on and describe the cultural behavior, the cultural artifacts, and the cultural knowledge, it is necessary to discover the patterns that exist in the data (Spradley, 1980, p. 85). To keep the analysis the same as the analysis of the interviews and the evaluations, the three stages of coding are used (Boeije, 2005). This is done to smoothly compare the different descriptions from the different data sources. As well, part of the descriptions will be presented to the three coders to check if the allocated codes are correct.

Spradley (1980, p. 86) points out it is important in this phase to make a difference between the concept of culture and the concept of social situation. Social situation refers to the stream of behavior (activities) carried by people (actors) in a particular situation (place). Culture, on the other hand, refers to patterns of behavior, artifacts and knowledge that people have learned or created. It is an organization of meanings given by people to objects, places and activities.

The descriptions, with the emphasis on the dimension of feelings, will be compared among the different projects to see which kind of descriptions are describing the social situation and which the culture. By making this division, it will be mapped better which cultural and which situational factors are influencing the volunteering experience.

Chapter 4 Results and analysis

4.1 Introduction

The first section will shortly outline the objective volunteering experience of the volunteers. This is valued in different ways by the children, staff members in the local projects and the volunteers.

The second section will elaborate on these subjective volunteering experience. Every involved person of the described objective volunteering experience have their own way of experiencing. The different subjective volunteering experience will be categorized and portrayed in figures.

The third section provides the tests results. These tests revolve around the cultural differences and possible significant results can provide insight and answers why the subjective volunteering experiences of the involved parties differ.

The fourth section describes the influence on the volunteering experience of the involved parties. Finally, the improvements of all involved party will be specified.

4.2 Objective volunteering experience

The volunteers have the same objective as the staff members in the local projects: addressing the needs of the children. The dominant needs of the children vary per project. The children's rights have been physically or sexually abused and primarily need to be protected (temporary home), the children are in need of food (street children project) or need to be educated in English (school).

The volunteers either directly or indirectly help the staff members with attaining their objective. Especially the volunteers in the temporary home and street children project indirectly help the staff members by playing with the children, so that the staff members can concentrate on their own tasks to attain the objective. Examples of playing with the children are playing football and playing parlor games.

The volunteers also directly help the staff members. This is the dominant activity in the school project, but as well in the other two projects when the volunteers are staying at least a couple of weeks instead of one week. Examples of these volunteer activities are teaching English, supporting the children with their homework, helping in the kitchen, serving food, watering plants and painting the walls.

4.3 Subjective volunteering experience

The described objective volunteering experience is experienced in different ways by the involved parties. This will be outlined next.

4.3.1 Children

Above all, it is told by the staff members that the children in all the projects are very happy about the presence of the volunteers. The staff members in the temporary home and the street children home explain that the children like the extra direct attention. Typical remarks are: "The relationship with the volunteers is very good because the children like to play with them" and "The children always are thankful for the attention of the volunteer, especially when the volunteers give them attention".

A staff member explains that the street children come more often to the project side when they know that volunteers are there: “The volunteers attract the children to come, because they know they will get play time. And then we (staff) can offer lunch and other activities like classes. When the volunteers stay longer, they can offer these classes too.” So the children like the extra direct attention of the volunteers and are more motivated to interact with them.

For example, at some point the author was playing with three boys of the ages 7, 10 and 11 at the street children project. Various ways of interacting, like playing football, learning English words and doing some acrobatics, have been tried to establish a positive interaction but were in vain. But then a ‘secret hideout that is only ours and no one may know about this’ was made somewhere in the backyard on the project side. They absolutely adored this, like most young boys do, and came back to the project side ever since, not only because of the presence of the author, but as well because of their hideout. This has created opportunities for the staff members to offer them lunch and even some math classes.

The extra attention is also effective at younger children in the temporary home. A staff member notes: “The volunteers have relations with baby areas and in the medical area. They are supporting and offering good attention to the babies”. A pattern has emerged in the ethnography that the babies cried less when the volunteers were taking care of the babies, like rocking the babies or changing the diapers.

The volunteers in the school align more with the objective of the staff members: teaching the children. One school teacher says: “The volunteers always has the strategy to be dynamic in class and take good care of the kids. They identify themselves with the volunteer and have a friendly interaction with them”. It must be noted that the volunteers at the school could speak at least some Spanish, whereas the volunteers at the first two projects hardly could speak Spanish. The volunteers at the school were able to teach English, because they could make themselves understandable with their Spanish.

Another school teacher thinks that their commitment and attitude is a very important element why the children like the volunteers so much: “The foreigners are very friendly persons, very tolerant and they have a lot of patience towards the other students when they don’t learn and don’t pay attention. And the volunteers also explain in an attentive way and with a big smile. They bring didactic materials to the center that they give to every kid so that they can learn in different and many ways.”

All in all, the children are very happy with the extra attention of the volunteer, either through learning, taking care of them or playing with them. The staff members simply haven’t reported any bad experiences of the children with the volunteers. However, a pattern is both experienced by the author and as well detected at volunteers. The less Spanish the volunteers could speak, the less they could interact with older children from the age of approximately 7. They still could give direct attention to younger children, because it is easier to play with them. This didn’t necessarily make the older children unhappy, but the younger children happier. This could be a reason why almost all the staff members said that the children are very happy with the volunteers.

The dynamics are portrayed in figure 9. These dynamics especially apply to the younger children and for all the children in the school project where the volunteers were able to make themselves understandable.

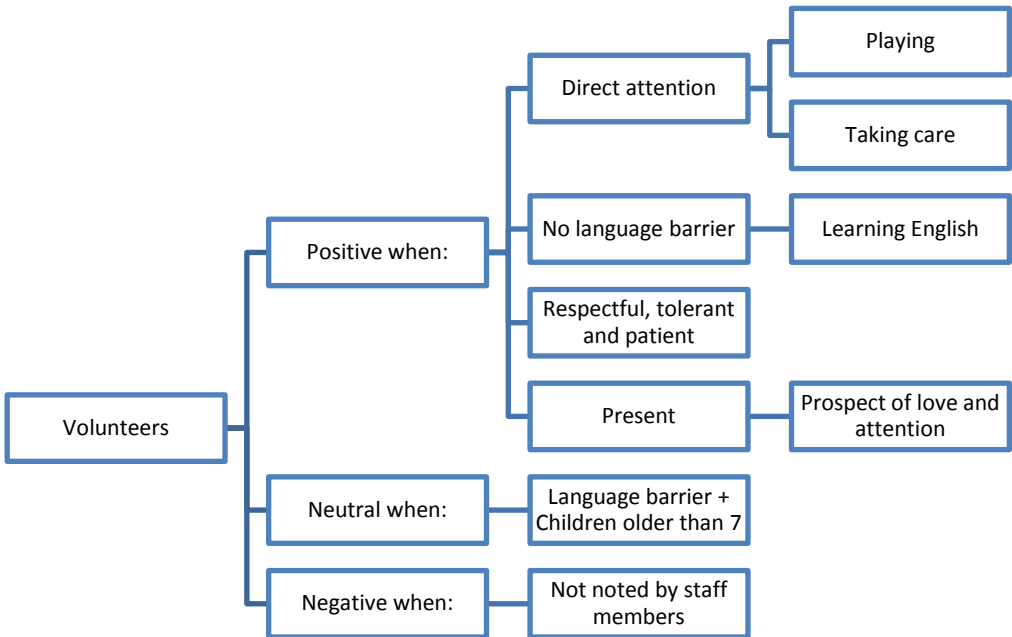


Figure 9. Subjective volunteering experience of children.

4.3.2 Staff members

The subjective experience of the staff members is more complex than the children’s. But above all are all the staff members thankful that the volunteer come to help. To give one of the many examples: “As director of the school, I am very thankful with every volunteer, who are helping in the school. We know that every one of them come helping our children and that they go satisfied because of having helped.”

That quote of the director explains partially why all the staff members are thankful for their help: they come to help the children. They align with the project objective. Another school teacher remarks: “It is the objective of the volunteers to give attention to the beneficiaries (children) of the institution”.

A staff member at the temporary home explains this objective is typically achieved in two ways: “I think that the volunteers always leave satisfied. They generally help with the children and a lot of times they make donations for the institution.” Once again, the volunteers’ direct attention to the children (and their perceived happiness) is highly valued by the staff members. Moreover, another staff member at the temporary home remarks that the donations are used for the children too: “Something that has been very good is when the volunteer has left donations for the needs of the children.”

There are a few bad volunteer experiences of staff members at the temporary home. It concerns not obeying the rules of the temporary home, like showing their tattoos: “There has been one bad experience with a volunteer. A volunteer came with arms, neck and legs tattooed and a earring in her nose. These are not permitted, because we try to move the children away from this. They talked to her and she understood. She was not bothered and returned dressed in a manner that they could not

see the tattoos and she took out the nose ring. There was not a problem.” So the tattoos don’t align with the type of care that the staff members want to give to the children. Incidents with tattoos hardly happen lately, because this is one of the current directives that are provided to new volunteers in the temporary home.

The director of the street children project has told that the volunteers don’t have the same objective at first sometimes: “International volunteers are sometimes very young and are volunteering against their will. They are obligated by their parents who wanted to teach their children what poverty is like. These volunteers don’t like it in the beginning. Later they see that the children are in a sad situation and they help anyway. One group of volunteers realized that at the end of the week and thanked for the opportunity to help in this project.” This is an interesting pattern. The volunteers didn’t like it at first, but at some point they have aligned with the project objective because they realized the situation of the children. Still, this director explained that she felt sorry for the volunteers that they were obligated to come by their parents and that she was happy that the volunteers were able to understand the situation eventually.

Typically, the staff members don’t interact much with the volunteers. The first reason is because they work at other areas and have different tasks. The second noted is the language barrier. A staff member at the temporary home remarks: “The communication between the volunteers and us is little. They relate to the children instead, also because the majority of the volunteers can’t speak Spanish and we can’t set up communications with them”. This staff member states that the volunteers direct their attention towards the children after noticing the language barrier with the staff members, because, despite the language barrier, it might be easier to relate and communicate with them.

The staff members also consider following their instructions as a way to determine whether a volunteer has the same objective or not. One staff member at the temporary home explains: “The staff members go along well with the volunteers when they help in the area they have been selected to. When they collaborate with the work that has been assigned to them or when they observe what is necessary and they help to realize it. They observe who is in need and help with children. The staff members don’t go along well with the volunteers when the staff asks volunteers for help and they don’t do it. The volunteers annoy the staff and then they (staff) move away.”

Another staff members remarks the following: “The staff of the institution is happy with the volunteers, because they integrate into the teamwork and the children appreciate them. At the same time, there have been difficulties sometimes, since the volunteers don’t understand much Spanish and employees don’t understand English.” The language barrier makes it more difficult for the volunteer to understand the instructions of the staff members.

It must be noted that the language barrier does not necessarily mean that the volunteers direct their attention to children. One staff member at the street children projects says: “The volunteers always help because there always is a job to do”. It is seen by the author that a group of volunteers did their own initiated activity, painting the walls, after asking permission to the staff members. Simply because there is so much to do in this project, the staff members are flexible in giving permission to volunteers with activities that align with the project objective.

Side note: The staff members of the school and the temporary home are a bit less flexible for new ideas like painting walls, because these projects are state owned and need clear rules and as well because the street children is a relatively new project with less clear rules too.

Differences or similarities in values do not influence the dynamics (like language barrier, better attention to the children or better collaboration with the staff members et cetera) of how the staff member experience the volunteers. Sometimes the staff members, like the director of the school, note that the values of the staff members (“Respect, solidarity, work in groups, equality”) differ from the values of the volunteers (“Help, affection for children, work, cooperation”). Other staff members, like one staff member at the temporary school, note that the values of the staff members (“Love, affection, protection”) are almost the same as the values of the volunteers (“Love, affection”). Both the staff members who provide value differences or similarities are for the same reasons thankful for the volunteers. That is why it is concluded that there is no stronger factor than the ‘same objective’ that makes the staff members thankful for the volunteers. The dynamics are portrayed in figure 10.

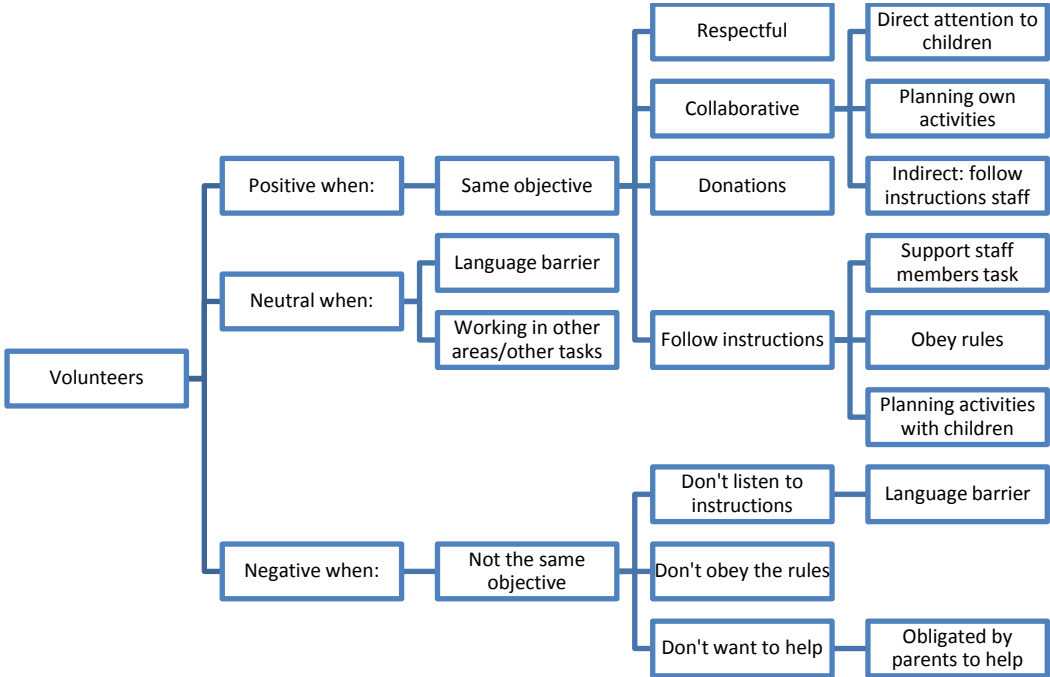


Figure 10. The subjective experience of the staff members

4.3.3 Volunteers

The subjective experience of the volunteers is even more complex, because it includes the subjective experience with the children, staff members and the volunteer organization. It was determined in the evaluations and the interviews that ultimately most of the volunteers recommend this Guatemalan volunteering experience. This is mostly caused by the fact that they felt helpful, especially towards the children. Some volunteers wouldn't recommend this volunteering experience, because they felt that the volunteer organization is helping itself more than the volunteers could help in the local projects.

4.3.3.1 Children

Most of the volunteers felt happy they could interact with the children through playing and taking care of them: “I cannot find words to describe how rewarding my volunteer experience was. I spent six weeks working in the temporary home. There I changed diapers, gave baths, helped out at mealtimes, regularly engaged in tickle fights and fell in love with about eighty little kids.” Another volunteer who went to both the temporary home and the street children project reported: “The children were great and just wanted to play! I had an excellent time. All the time!” Typically the volunteers felt helpful and rewarded by taking care of the children and because the children wanted to play with them.

One volunteer in the street children project summarizes why playing and taking care of the children is considered important among volunteers and children. “I loved playing with the children and I enjoyed caring for the children. I communicated and bonded with them with the little Spanish I know. But human language speaks for itself – love. All we need is caring and understanding towards one another.” Through playing and caring the volunteers bond with the children and this is what makes them feel helpful and needed too.

The most mentioned problem with the children by the volunteers revolves around the language barrier though. One volunteer at the street children project noted: “I would say that the language barrier was the most difficult obstacle to overcome when interacting with the street children. I interact well with the children when they understand that I cannot speak their language, but it is hard to cooperate with children when they get frustrated”.

The author observed the interaction between the volunteers and the children and observed the following pattern. The volunteers react in two ways after being confronted with the language barrier: either they play with the younger children below the age of approximately 7 (the ages of the children were asked and written down for the ethnographical part of this research) or they help in another way instead. A volunteer at the street children projects says for example: “Children are not my strong point, so I painted at the street children project”. Or another volunteer at the temporary home remarks: “The only barrier was the language. (...) At the temporary home I mostly engaged with the infants. I found many babies just lying in their bed with wet diapers, crying for help with no staff to help.” So despite the language barrier, the volunteers were able to see the need for help and tried to adapt. This is also concluded from the story of the street children project’s director about the volunteers who were obligated to help, but helped anyway eventually after they realized the situation of the children.

This pattern was also experienced by the author himself. I engaged at the temporary home first, but just like the most volunteers I could hardly speak Spanish back then. There was this 15 year old child who was crying. I wished to help him by listening to his problems, but the language barrier got in the way. I felt really sorry that I was not able to help him. Because there were so many children in the temporary home I realized that I could enlarge my impact by directing my attention to the younger children instead. They were more easy to interact with and thus more easy to make them happy. This way of reasoning after being confronted with the language barrier is observed at other volunteers too. The dynamics are portrayed in figure 11.

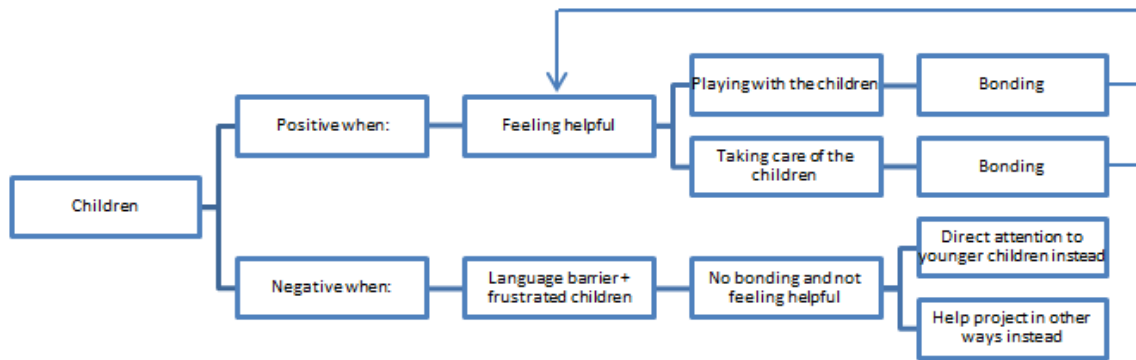


Figure 11. Subjective volunteering experience of volunteers with children

4.3.3.2 Staff members

The subjective experience with the staff members is diverse. Most of the volunteers in all the three projects don't interact that much with the staff members, because they have different tasks or because of the language barrier. Nonetheless, the most volunteers felt helpful towards the staff members too when they direct their attention to the children: "At the orphanage we helped the children by giving them the basic care they needed and were not getting. At the street children I felt that I helped the staff out by keeping the kids occupied so they could take care of other tasks." This last remark is another reason why the volunteers give direct attention to the children. They feel that they helped the children like this, but also the staff members.

Most of the time the interaction with the staff members is positive when they interact. One volunteer at the temporary home explains that this has to do with bonding: "The interaction was great. Our group interacted with the staff members. We bonded when the staff members and group interacted at volunteer sites." Another volunteer at the school explains why bonding is so important: "I felt appreciated and needed, because of our main goal to teach the children. They made me feel at home by laughing when we took over each other's classes and when they were asking me questions."

The shared goal or objective is also noted as the most important reason why the volunteers like the interaction with the staff members: "This summer was my first experience to be an international volunteer and I have to say that it was one of the best experiences in my life. I have come to Guatemala to work at a school of alternative education. The director of the school is a decisive person who has a big passion for the innovations in the school system. I share those ideas too and he and me have worked together to develop interactive lessons in English." The volunteers who work together with the same objective are the most enthusiastic about the staff members.

Though the capacity to speak Spanish is necessary to really interact with the staff members instead of only greeting each other. The third project of the author was teaching English in Spanish at the school. A teaching plan was necessary and this plan had to be discussed with the director of the school before actually putting it into practice. It was absolutely necessary to speak Spanish to teach the children, but as well to collaborate with the director. After two weeks of teaching other teachers saw my teaching skills and how the children appreciated my efforts. Then two teachers asked me if I could teach two other classes, which is the biggest compliment I have received: I felt needed and

appreciated. Different from the temporary home, where I could mainly direct attention to the children because of the lack of Spanish, I was able to collaborate with the staff members too.

The critiques on the staff members revolve around the perceived quality of care to the children or their bad instructions to the volunteers. These factors entails a feeling that they are not helpful. The critiques are a consequence of the fact that all the volunteers were able to understand the situation and the needs of the children. Secondly, the critiques on the staff members that will be elaborated next are mainly from volunteers with the primary motivation to travel and then help.

This is one typical evaluation of such a volunteer. She stayed at the temporary home: “I am glad I was able to come here. I made a lot of great new friends (who were also volunteers). The city was by far the best part of this trip and I am not done travelling yet, so there could be more!!! (...) The temporary home was OK, but felt somewhat disorganized for new volunteers. I spent a lot of time in the nursery and seeing the babies with extremely bad diaper rash made me very sad. The staff would ration the diapers, so the babies would be left crying and unhappy in dirty diapers for a few hours until they REALLY needed changing. The toddlers lacked attention and punishments, so when someone (including me) would try to tell them not to do something, they would hit or even swear (like really bad swear words that I will not repeat). ☹️ I try not to complain, but as a childcare teacher I know that children, especially at such young age, need a lot of attention and care. Some of the volunteers started buying their own diapers so we could change the babies as needed. I have just 2 days left at the orphanage and I am ready to leave this place.”

These volunteers realized that their help is only short-term oriented and that other solutions should be invented to increase the quality of care to the children: “The temporary home was a nightmare. I started crying at some point. If anyone could help the temporary home, it should be done. They need an entire new staff.” And another volunteer expresses: “The children in the temporary don’t get the attention and care they need. It is sad to see how they are treated by the staff and major changes need to happen there. I was very upset.” Another volunteer is more mild and doesn’t suggest new staff members, but still acknowledges the low quality of care: “For the temporary home and the street children project, they just need to improve the quality of care. Especially at the temporary home they are not getting the care and attention they need. They are too young to help themselves and it is so sad to see how they are treated.”

The other main critique, sometimes a consequence of the first, is about the lack of instructions of the staff members. The language barrier is mentioned as a reason, but as well the attitude of the staff members. A volunteer at the temporary home says: “We would ask them questions and they would just walk away. They were not helpful at all.” The lack of instructions has given these volunteers the feeling there were not helpful: “The staff members often left us with no aid in determining if we were helping the kids properly and we didn’t have someone to help us mediate between the Spanish-English language barrier.” As a reaction the volunteers directed their attention to the, predominantly, young children instead. But as stated before, sometimes this didn’t seem helpful either, because of the low quality of care in the projects.

Different from the volunteers who had the primary motivation to travel, not a single volunteer who had the primary motivation to help has complained about the staff members and their low quality of care. They either had neutral or positive experiences with staff members (figure 12). The language barrier is not considered a problem. A volunteer at the temporary home says for example: “I thought

the staff did their best to communicate with us. The language barrier was hard but their positive attitudes helped a lot.”

Also, there was this group of volunteers at the street children project that were from an development aid organization of the USA. When they didn’t receive much instructions, they asked permission to the staff members to paint the walls. The staff members responded that every help is needed and accepted this offer. The group responded in the interviews: “Although we didn’t have much interaction, it was very positive that they accepted our offered help”. The dynamics are portrayed in figure 12.



Figure 12. Subjective volunteering experience of volunteers with staff members local project

4.3.3.3 Volunteer organization

Most of the volunteers are satisfied with the volunteer organization, especially during the stay. This satisfaction has to do with the package that most volunteers have taken. Not only are they volunteering in the discussed projects, but they offer Spanish lessons too, the volunteers sleep at host families and they offer guides to go to touristic places. Especially volunteers with both travel and help motivations are satisfied:

“It was an amazing experience overall! I had an amazing host family and always felt welcome and at home. I really enjoyed working at the orphanage, the Spanish lessons and having the opportunity to live with a Guatemalan family. There was always good advice and assistance when planning weekend trips, and traveling around the country during days off was greatly encouraged, which furthered my knowledge of the culture and experience within the country. I would love to do something like this again and will (and have already) recommend the organization to friends and family interested in volunteer travel opportunities.”

Although most of the volunteers liked to have more information before their trip, about what to expect so they could prepare more, they adored the interaction with the local branch of the

volunteer organization: “I would have been nice to have more in depth emails what to expect beforehand, but our trip and the staff we interacted with was absolutely wonderful!” One volunteer provides some other reasons why she liked the organization so much: “They are very professional, accommodating, nicely organized and answered all my questions I ever had. They provide tours and are always there to help. There really go the extra mile.”

The negative experiences in relation to the volunteer organization only came from a few volunteers who primarily had the motivation to help and next to travel. Their complaints circle around the notion that they didn’t feel that they helped as much as they were told beforehand and that the organization was making profit on behalf of them. A volunteer said: “I feel lured into coming here. They have taken advantage of us, they overcharged and they sugar-coated how we could be helpful in the projects. On top of that, there were too much volunteers in one project, especially combined with all the other volunteers and groups as well”.

Most of the unsatisfied volunteers went to the clinics to help. They didn’t like when they realized that they were not allowed to help, but only shadow the doctors. The author witnessed a few volunteers complain at the country manager about this. The country manager tried to comfort by implicitly saying that he did everything for them he could: “I paid the clinics money to accommodate you, so I will make sure that they will find something for you”. The volunteers reacted furiously. When they were asked about this incident later on they replied: “If he needs to pay them money so that we could help them, do they really need our help in the first place?”. That is how they got the feeling they were tricked and how their motivation to help was not satisfied.

On the other hand, these volunteers were much more satisfied with the host families than the volunteers with the primary motivation to travel and then help. The volunteers of the first group liked to submerge more into the new culture and typically they say that “the host family makes us feel at home”. One of these volunteers states: “I didn’t expect to feel at home here, because we are here to help. But the host family really is amazing!”.

However, the volunteers with the primary motivation to travel and then help don’t mentioned the host family as much as a significant part of their volunteering experience. The aspects that has made them feel the most at home are not from the new culture, but from their own culture. Examples are “I go to McDonalds every now and then”, “I listen to country music” and a lot of them value internet access every day to talk to their family. The dynamics are portrayed in figure 13.

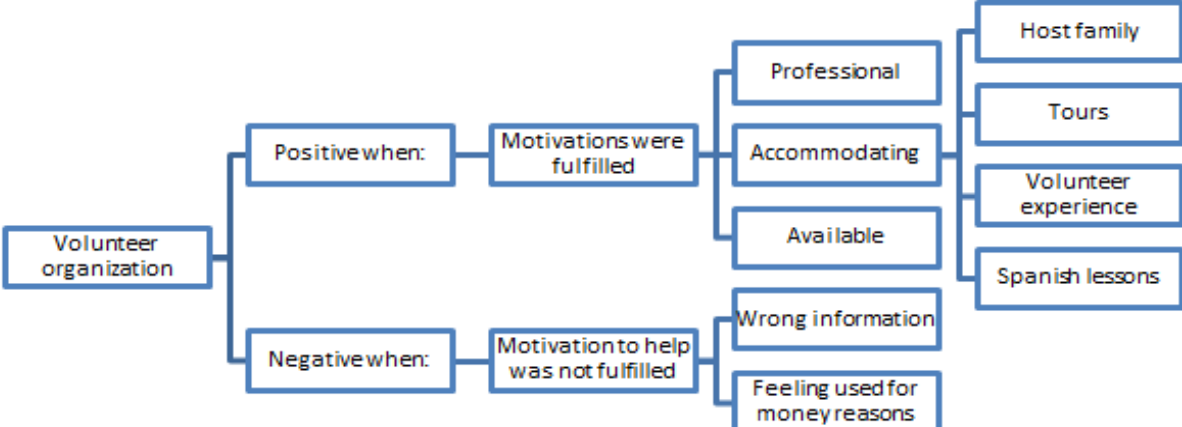


Figure 13. Subjective volunteering experience of volunteers with volunteer organization

4.3.3.4 Volunteer differences

It is touched upon how volunteers differ. The pattern that has emerged is that the motivation is linked to how they felt at home, who they think they helped the most and what they have learned.

The first type of volunteers, and most occurring type among the volunteers, will be outlined. A typical example is the next volunteer who volunteered in both the temporary and street children project. Motivation: "To get out of the country and to experience a new culture. To do good for others." Helped who the most: "Children and staff members. I thought I would help these people and move on with life. Didn't realize it would be helping them on a daily basis. I feel I made a great difference in the lives and especially the lives of the children." Learned: "I learned that even the little things and gestures can make a big difference in someone's life". Home: "Going out to eat at McDonalds. It is Americanized and reminds me of home. It also helps having my sister and best friend here."

To conclude, the first type of volunteers has the following characteristics. They want to travel first, but also want to help. They feel they helped the people in the local projects the most. They have learned that they can make a big difference by doing small things and that is how they feel more grateful for these small things. This is how they feel helpful and are satisfied with the volunteer organization. More than the second type of volunteers they need reminders of their own culture to feel at home. Also, the longer the stay of these volunteers, the more they feel at home because of the host family instead of reminders of their own culture.

The second type of volunteers will be outlined. A typical example is the next volunteer who volunteered at the street children project. Motivation: "Helping others in need. I want to give back to the community". Helped who the most: "Myself. It changed my perspective. I didn't have a big impact there (local project) whereas this experience has a long term impact on myself". Learned: "This doesn't have lifelong impact on the other (people in local projects), but a lifelong impact on me. I grew as a person, for example how to be flexible in new situations". Home: "The host family made me feel the most at home. They were absolutely amazing and got me a new routine".

To conclude, the second type of volunteers has the following characteristics. They want to help others. They learn that they can't make a big difference on others as expected. They still feel helpful, but they feel that they helped themselves the most. In combination with the host family this makes them satisfied with the volunteer organization.

The just described pattern is rather black and white, because there are exceptions. But the pattern can explain which type of volunteers have for which reasons a positive volunteering experience. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

4.4 Cultural differences

4.4.1 Candy test

4.4.1.1 Study 1: Children of the first two projects versus volunteers

This study is designed to measure the desire to make majority or minority choices: the motivation to either fit in or to stick out. The independent variable is the cultural dimension individualism versus collectivism of Hofstede and Hofstede (2005). Two groups are compared: the volunteers (assumed individualistic) and the Guatemalan children (assumed collectivistic). The dependent variable is the

motivation to either fit in or stick out. An ANOVA Univariate test reveals an insignificant effect ($F(1, 149) = 2.16, p = .14$).

The primary explanation is that the volunteers and the Guatemalan children have the same motivation to either fit in or stick out. An alternative explanation is that the children have a dominant preference for the color or flavor of the candy. This could have blurred the originally intended effect of the candy.

4.4.1.2 Study 2: Children of the first two projects versus children of the third project

This study is designed to test this alternative explanation. The independent variable are the Guatemalan child. Two groups will be compared: the children of the first two projects and the children of the third project. The dependent variable is the preference for the color or flavor of the candy. An ANOVA Univariate test reveals an insignificant effect ($F(1, 149) = 1.44, p = .23$).

This means that the alternative explanation of study 1 is not found proven. The children's choice for a candy, that uses as a proxy to either fit in or stick out, is not driven by a preference of a color or flavor. Another alternative explanation is that the candies don't have the same impact as the pencils that are used in the original study. It could be that pencils are more neutral stimuli than candies to the participants. Because the participants like candies so much, they don't choose and just take any candy, because they want the candy so badly. This could be different from choosing a neutral pencil.

Another appealing alternative explanation is that the volunteers don't have the motivation to stick out when they are in situation with people who are motivated to fit in. It could be that they want to bond with the group and therefore not stick out too much. This would mean that they have the same motivation to fit in as the children.

4.4.2 Fish test

4.4.2.1 Study 3: Guatemalan children versus volunteers

This study is designed to measure the following dependent variable: the attribution of the other who sticks out. The independent variable in this study is the cultural dimension individualism versus collectivism of Hofstede and Hofstede (2005). Two groups will be compared: the volunteers (assumed individualistic) and the Guatemalan children of all the three projects (assumed collectivistic). An ANOVA Univariate test reveals a significant effect ($F(1, 190) = 14.90, p = .00$). The international volunteers ($M = 1.85, SD = 1.04$) attribute the other who sticks out in a more internal way than the Guatemalan children ($M = 2.94, SD = 1.72$).

The primary explanation is that volunteer attribute others who stick out in a more internal way than the Guatemalan children. An alternative explanation is that because the involved participants are attributing stimuli who stick out in a different way, it matters if the person who conducts the test either sticks out (author) or fits in (related staff member).

4.4.2.2 Study 4: Related collectivistic versus non-related individualistic speaker

This study tests this alternative explanation at the Guatemalan children. The independent variable is the extent of being part of their assumed collectivistic and interdependent world. Two type of persons are compared: the author, assumed to stick out in the children's world, and staff members, assumed to fit in the children's world. The dependent variable is the motivation to attribute someone who sticks out. An ANOVA Univariate test reveals a significant effect ($F(1, 149) = 7.46, p =$

.01). The author who sticks out has a stronger influence on the children to internally attribute the other who sticks out too ($M= 2.65, SD= 1.61$) than a staff member who fits in ($M=3.41, SD= 1.80$).

The primary explanation is that the Guatemalan children are more motivated to attribute the other sticks out more internally when there is someone around who sticks out too. An alternative explanation is the expectancy bias (Cozby, 2007). This bias posits that the researcher can unconsciously influence the participants in the test, because the researcher is known of the assumed results. It is suggested that further research looks more closely at this effect.

4.5 Volunteer organization

4.5.1 Influence on the volunteering experience

4.5.1.1 Goals of the volunteer organization

The country manager started receiving international volunteers approximately 20 years ago. First and foremost, the goal of this branch of the volunteer organization is the safety of the volunteers. One example is that they give volunteers an option to have an arranged and paid airport pick up. When the volunteers arrive at the international airport they are picked up by people connected to the volunteer organization. They help the volunteers to get to the local branch's office in another, but anonymous city in Guatemala.

The second goal of the local branch is to fulfill the needs of five parties: the volunteers, the staff members of the volunteer organization, the people (staff members and children) in the local projects, the staff members of the headquarters of the volunteer organization and the host families. The country manager states that they help everybody equally. First, the headquarters attract volunteers and send them to the local branches. The local branches send the volunteers to the local projects sides to help the staff members and the children. Moreover, they send the volunteers to host families as well. The families can live on the salary for hosting volunteers. According to the country manager, this is all a symbiosis: without one party, the other could not exist and all parties are benefiting.

It is concluded that this volunteer organization is a market-driven social enterprise, because the needs of the host families, staff members of the headquarters and of the local branch revolve around money. This can also be seen in the next example. The volunteers have named three different volunteer organizations that they are dealing with in Guatemala. When the author looked at the three websites of each volunteer organization, he discovered that it boils down to one and the same organization. Namely, every website offer the same projects in the same countries. The only differences are the different prizes, different interface, different way of explaining the projects and that the 'owners' of the specific volunteer organization are different. The latter could have been done so they can't be traced back to the same source. The interpretation is that the same people of the same all-encompassing organization are trying three methods (read: organizations) to attract volunteers. This might be done to enlarge the field of players in the so-called symbiosis.

4.5.1.2 Influence on people in the local projects

The country manager explains that it is in everyone's interest to listen to evaluations and improvements of every involved party. For example, after every stay of a volunteer a member of the

volunteer organization goes to the volunteer’s host family and project. Any remarks or improvements are beneficial for everyone that is part of the mentioned symbiosis.

The country manager further explains that the current projects, like temporary home, street children project and school, are chosen because they consider volunteers helpful. They have needs that can be filled in by the volunteers.

Over the years there have been other projects too. However, the country manager withdrew these projects, because of either negative experiences on the side of the people in the local projects or on the side of the volunteers. The symbiosis was not at place.

He mentions one remarkable example: a volunteer told the project he was paying a volunteer organization to come and help them out. The project director called the country manager and explained they would rather have the money of the volunteer than a volunteer coming over. When this was refused by the country manager, the project withdrew from receiving volunteers. This has happened a couple of times with multiple projects.

That is why since then all the volunteers are not allowed to say to the people in the local projects that they are paying a volunteer organization to come to local projects to help. Instead, the country manager has created a ‘white lie’. He has told the staff members of the local projects that he runs a Spanish school and that many times these international ‘students’ want to volunteer. All the volunteers, including the author, are instructed to tell this ‘white lie’ to the staff members of the projects when the staff members are asking questions about it.

Technically, the white lie is not entirely untrue, because Spanish can be part of your volunteering experience and the volunteer organization offers teachers and Spanish lessons. However, the staff members have no clue that these ‘students’ are actually volunteers who are paying money to the volunteer organization to come to their projects. Also, not a single volunteer said something about this in the interviews. Either they are not aware of this ‘white lie’ or they are aware, but they don’t care. This will be further discussed in the next chapter. The dynamics are portrayed in figure 14.

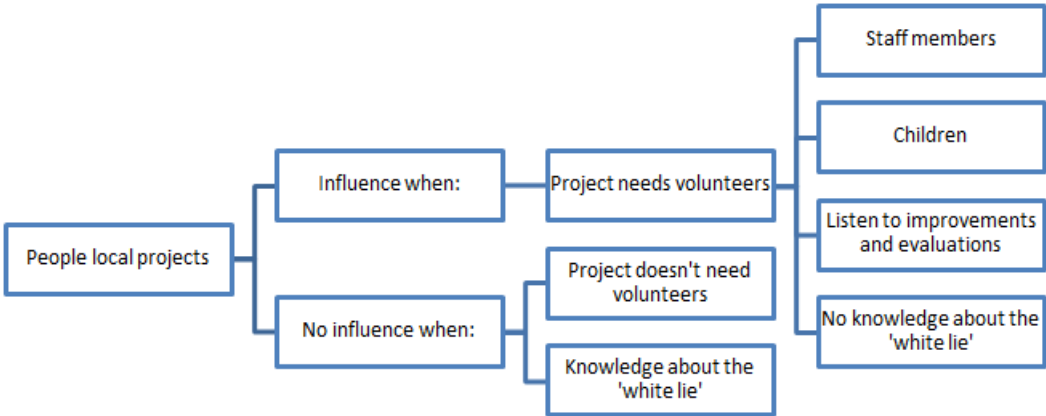


Figure 14. Influence volunteer organization on volunteering experience people local projects.

4.5.1.3 Influence on volunteers

As stated before, the first objective of the volunteer organization is to keep the volunteers safe. Next, they try to keep the volunteers satisfied. Examples are Spanish lessons, a nice host family, a valuable experience in the project, tours (either suggestions or guide themselves), et cetera. When a volunteer is not happy with his or her host family for example, a staff member of the organization will find a new host family. Above all, it is in the interest of the volunteer organization to fulfill the needs of the persons who provide them.

Next, the volunteer organization tries to satisfy the needs of the different involved parties through mediating. The country manager knows for example about the volunteers' comments about the diapers in the temporary home. This is something that is discussed by the volunteer organization and the staff members of the temporary home. Changing diapers is not something considered popular by the staff members in the temporary home whereas the volunteers seem to like it. Therefore, the staff members leave the changing of diapers up to the volunteers every now and then. In this case, the volunteer organization is actively involved as a mediator to fulfill the volunteer's desire to help and the staff member's desire to be helped.

The country manager explains that sometimes he can't actively mediate, but can only explain the situation to the volunteers. He explains that most of the volunteer's project improvements are about the quality of care to the children. This is something the volunteer organization can't do much about. The only thing they can do is explain the situation to the volunteers. An example is that a lot of volunteers mention that a lot of children fight in the temporary home and the staff members don't do much about it. Then, it is explained that the children are from violent families and that the children show more violence than the volunteers are probably used to. So the volunteer organization helps the volunteers to understand the situation. As stated before, it is in their interest to satisfy the volunteers.

The country manager tells that most of the volunteers are happy and have a positive volunteering experience. The only aspect that can be improved is the perception of the volunteers, because every now and then a volunteer doesn't feel helpful. This directly corresponds with the analysis about the negative volunteering experience of volunteers before.

The country explains that he finds these situations very hard to dissolve. Normally, the staff members of the volunteer organization ask these volunteers to make a list of things they want to do or could do. Typically, these volunteers don't know what they want to do or could do. The volunteer organization find those volunteer tough to satisfy, because the volunteers feel dissatisfied and want to help more, but they don't know how.

Sometimes these volunteers suggest that their skills should be used more. But this is considered not feasible and realistic by the volunteer organization, because most of the time this doesn't correspond with the needs of the people in the projects. Most of the time not only the skills are important, but as well the capacity to speak the Spanish language.

A typical example are the clinics. This is the fourth offered project by this local branch and in the previous section some volunteers were unhappy about this. The country responds to that and says that the clinics are paid a small fee to let volunteers shadow the doctors and see what is happening.

Basically, the organization offers a place where typically American premedical students can shadow and have an experience they can't have in the United States. Though once they learn that the clinics are paid for receiving them, they don't feel like helping. But helping was never the intention of the organization in the first place. But, to feel helpful, the 'volunteers' want to help. Typically, just as described before, the volunteers don't know how. And even if they know what to do, most of the time they don't have the correct set of skills. Next, even if they have the correct set of skills, they can't speak Spanish. The country manager asks the rhetoric question if he would let himself operated by a person who doesn't have the qualifications and can't communicate with the rest of the operating staff? He concludes that the volunteer organization can't help to satisfy these volunteers: "the only way they can be satisfied is if they help themselves by changing their perception of how to be helpful".

He also thinks that these volunteers are a little arrogant when they think they can do a better job than the local staff members. This is seen in the hospitals but as well in the temporary home. According to the country manager, the best volunteers are the ones that understand their limits, about skills and as well language. They are humble in their expectations. Moreover, the country managers subscribes that these volunteers underestimate how helpful they already could have been. Sometimes cleaning is already the most helpful activity for example. The dynamics are portrayed in figure 15.

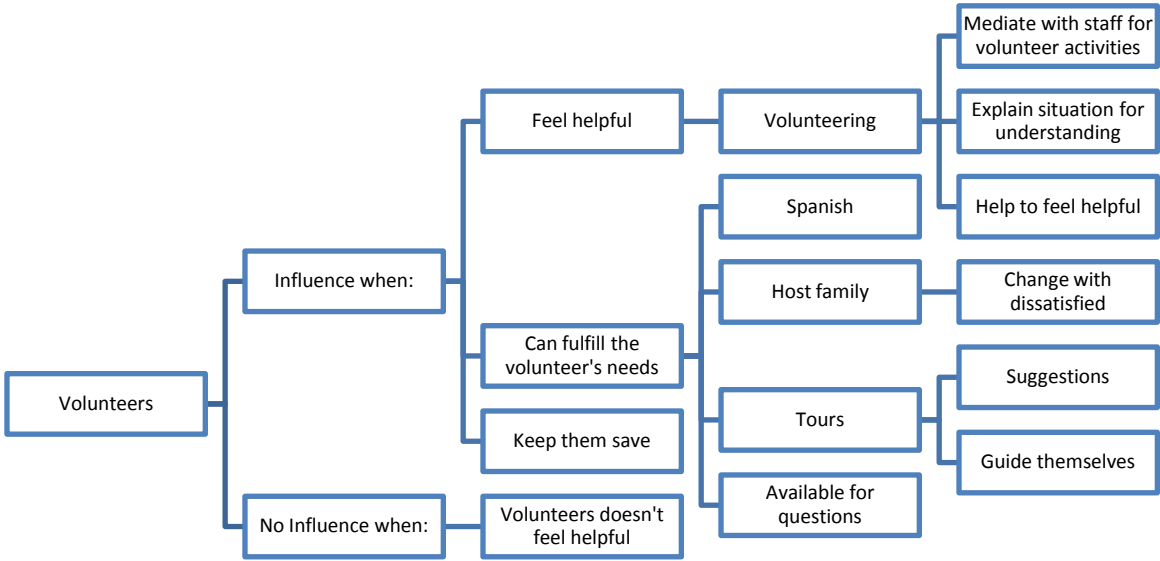


Figure 15. Influence volunteer organization on volunteering experience volunteers.

4.6 Considered improvements

4.6.1 Improvements volunteers

The improvements of the volunteers revolve around feeling more helpful through increasing the quality of care to the children. As concluded before, the volunteers feel helpful in two ways. The first way is when they help the children directly through playing, teaching and taking care of them. The second way is to help the staff members in their objective to address the needs of the children. This can be done by following their instructions, initiate own activities for the children or collaborating

and fulfill tasks like teaching too. The improvements revolve around the improvement of the second way.

The most prevalent improvement of the volunteers is that the staff members give better instructions. The volunteers who have negative interactions with the staff members think that the staff members should improve. On the other hand, the volunteers who have positive interactions with the staff members think that the volunteers can improve. This can be achieved through learning Spanish, so the staff members can provide clear and better instructions. The second way is to have a volunteer coordinator at the project side that mediates the needs of the people in the project with the skills of the volunteers. In this way, the skills of the volunteer can be used more too in increase the quality of care for the children. Last but not least, the volunteers think that the volunteer organization should give more honest information about the project before coming to Guatemala. This would help them prepare classes et cetera. All in all, all these improvements are about feeling more helpful.

4.6.2 Improvements staff members

The staff members have a positive volunteering experience when the volunteer has the same objective: the children. This objective can be achieved in two ways: directly or indirectly. The first way is if the volunteers guide their attention directly to the children and the second way by helping the staff members to fulfill their tasks. This latter can also be achieved through donations.

The improvements of the staff members revolve around helping the staff members to fulfill their tasks better. The most prevalent improvement is that the volunteers collaborate more by listening better and more carefully to the instructions of the staff members. Learning Spanish or have a translator to overcome the language barrier are practical solutions as well that entails better listening to their instructions. Overcoming the language barrier can also improve the quality of care by involving the volunteer more in the project and knowing what the volunteers can and can't do and wants and doesn't want to do. One staff remarks that the only improvement is more volunteers, because there is so much work to do.

4.6.3 Improvements volunteer organization

The volunteer organization sees that the most volunteers are happy and have a good volunteering experience. The only volunteers who are not happy are volunteers who don't feel helpful. The volunteer organization states that they can't help these volunteers. That is why the only considered improvement of the volunteer organization is that these volunteers improve their perception of how they can be helpful.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and discussion

5.1 Introduction

The first section will answer the five sub question of this research first. The complex results and the analysis of the previous chapter are summarized. The main question will be answered next.

The last section outlines the methodological reflection before addressing the value of this research. Recommendations, both practical and scientific, will be elaborated too.

5.2 Sub questions

5.2.1 First sub question regarding subjective volunteering experience

What is considered a positive volunteering experience by both the international volunteers and the people in the local projects the international volunteers are engaging in?

The children have a positive volunteering experience when the volunteer is giving them extra attention. This extra attention can be achieved through teaching, playing and taking care of them. It must be noted that most of the volunteers play and take care of the younger children below the age of approximately 7, because this is probably the easiest way to help without knowing Spanish.

The staff members have a positive volunteering experience when the volunteer has the same objective: the children. They can be achieved in two ways: directly or indirectly. The first way is that the volunteers help the staff members with their tasks to address the needs of the children. This can be achieved by the volunteers by following the instructions of the staff members. The second way is that the volunteers direct their attention to the children. This helps the staff members to focus on their own tasks and as well makes the children happier. The last way is through donations. Donations can be employed for the project objective.

The volunteers have a positive volunteering experience when the volunteers have the feeling they have helped. As mentioned before, young children below approximately the age of 7 might be the easiest way to feel helpful without knowing Spanish. This is achieved through playing and taking care of these children. These activities can also generate bonding between the children and the volunteers which makes them even more helpful. Another way to feel helpful is by helping the staff members in their objective to address the needs of the children. This can be done by following their instructions, initiate own activities for the children or collaborating and fulfill tasks like teaching too. What makes or breaks a positive experience for volunteers is if or if not the volunteer organization provided wrong information about how the volunteer can be helpful. If the volunteer organization didn't create false hopes or expectations that might have given volunteers the feeling they are used for money-driven purposes, they can feel helpful through the just explained ways.

5.2.2 Second sub question regarding subjective volunteering experience

What are the differences and similarities of the volunteering experiences?

The first major similarity is that all the children, the staff members and most of the volunteers have a positive volunteering experience in this research. The second similarity is that the language barrier does not necessarily mean that there can't exist a positive volunteering experience for all of them.

The motivation of the volunteer plays a significant role in this. The third and probably the most important similarity is that everyone has the same objective: addressing the needs of the children.

First difference is that the children, staff members and volunteers are satisfied in different ways. The second difference is that, despite their complaints sometimes, the staff members are always happy with the volunteers but not vice versa. The third difference is that it is dependable on the volunteer's motivation and expectation how they perceive the interaction with the volunteer organization. This can make or break the positive volunteering experience of the volunteer.

5.2.2.1 Reasons different satisfactions

The children's rights have been physically or sexually abused and primarily need to be protected (temporary home), the children are in need of food (street children project) or need to be educated in English (school). Especially the needs of the children in the first two projects correspond to the two most basic needs of Maslow's hierarchy (Spector, 2008, 202-203).

When the volunteers support the staff members attaining their objective, they help to fulfill these two most basic needs. Also, when the volunteers guide their attention directly the children, they provide the third need of Maslow's hierarchy: love and attention. Maslow would say that the only reason why the children are able to enjoy this love and attention, is because the first two needs of the children are fulfilled. So the staff members in the temporary home are doing a great job, according to this theory. The next phase is providing them love and attention too and the volunteers can fill in this role. All the people in the local projects are glad they have an extra pair of hands to address these three needs more intensely.

Dependence on external funding is another reason why the staff members claim to be satisfied (Reimann, 2005, p. 44). The donations and the other ways of offered help by the volunteers contribute the objective of the project. It could be that they don't appreciate the volunteers personally, but they put these feelings aside, because of the benefits of the volunteers to the project objective. Anyhow, value exchange is not mentioned important, but contributions to the project objective (Sin, 2009, p. 482).

The majority of the volunteers have the primary motivation to travel instead of help, but still they want to feel helpful above all to have a positive experience. Although not aligning with Appiah's (2006) more altruistic notions of help, they consider help meaningful (self-enhancement) and makes them feel good about themselves (self-esteem). Hoogvelt (2002) would cynically ask the majority of the volunteers what is wrong with them, because it seems that the people in the local projects help them to feel helpful. It is only convenient that the staff members and the children would not necessarily agree with Hoogvelt (2002), because they acknowledge the help and don't seem to mind the motivations.

5.2.2.2 Different experience interaction staff members and volunteers

As explained before, the staff members are satisfied with the help of the volunteers because it aligns with their project objective. Although it could be that they personally don't like the interaction with the volunteers, they wouldn't say it, because of dependency reasons.

On the other hand, the volunteers want to feel helpful, but the staff members don't always give them this feeling. Most of the time this has resulted in blaming the staff members for providing a low

quality of care to the children. The first explanation is that the volunteers don't understand the needs of the children properly. For example in the temporary home the primary needs are protection and stability, whereas the volunteers might think the primary need is love, attention and happiness. These volunteers impose more meaning to changing diapers, and thus less crying and more happiness, than the babies actually need. By blaming the staff members, they use the concept of external attribution to blame others for their own failure to understand the real needs of the children (Heine, 2012, p. 244).

A second explanation, perhaps in combination with the first, is that the volunteers correctly understand the needs of the children, but are not respectful to the staff members and their culture (Appiah, 2006, p. 16). There is no balance between universal concern and respect for legitimate differences. This explanation is backed up by the pattern that typically these volunteers need reminders of their own country to feel at home, whereas the volunteers who are feeling at home in the new culture never complained about the staff members personally. So although the volunteers might be right, Appiah would say that they can make this known to the persons of the other culture, but never hold the staff members personally accountable.

5.2.2.3 Different experiences volunteers with volunteer organization

The majority of the volunteers primarily want to travel and the minority of the volunteers primarily want to help. Typically, this first group of volunteers are always satisfied by the volunteer organization, but within this last group there are volunteers who are the only volunteers who didn't have a positive volunteering experience. Their reason is that they didn't feel helpful and felt tricked by the volunteer organization.

The explanation that these volunteers were naïve in their intentions to help and 'change the world' does not hold. Most of these volunteers learned that they didn't have as much impact as they expected to have and feel like they helped themselves the most instead of the people in the projects. Though, most of them accepted that and had a positive volunteering experience anyway, perhaps because of this lesson. The volunteers who didn't have a negative volunteering experience didn't accept this. They felt more helpful to the money-driven purposes of the volunteer organization than that they felt helpful to the people in the local projects.

The first explanation of their negative experience is that their perception is incorrect. Once again the concept of external attribution could be in place (Heine, 2012, p. 244). They really wanted to help the people in the local project, but didn't know how. This might have been even more painful, because they explained how they liked the interaction with the people in the project and as well how they felt at home. They seem to align with the mentioned balance of Appiah (2006), mixing universal concern and respect to differences, but externalized their frustration to the volunteer organization that they didn't know how to be really helpful to those people.

The second explanation is that these volunteers are right and the volunteer organization used them. Exactly because these volunteers liked the people in the local projects and the host family so much, they understood that the volunteer organization is not representing them (Reimann, 2005, p. 42-43). It is likely they realized that the volunteer organization is using the people in need as a means to earn the volunteers' money instead of using the volunteers as a means to address the needs of the people in need.

5.2.3 Third sub question regarding cultural differences

How can the differences in volunteering experiences be explained by the different cultural values and ways of viewing the world of these mentioned involved parties?

Some concepts like Maslow's hierarchy of needs and external attribution have already been applied, because these are relevant already. Right now the significant results and findings of the third and fourth study will be used to explain the differences. Elements of the three mentioned differences in subjective volunteering experience can be explained by the volunteer's motivation to attribute others who stick out in an internal way and the Guatemalan's motivation to attribute in an external way. And how the latter group have a more strong internal attribution of persons who stick out when there is a person in the room who sticks out.

5.2.3.1 Different satisfactions and experiences

Study 3 shows that the Guatemalan children in the projects attribute others who stick out in a more external way, but study 4 shows that under influence of a person who sticks out this attribution can shift into a more internal way. In other words, the children are willing to adapt people who stick out, like volunteers, into their world. These studies can explain why the children are happy with the volunteers as well. The reason is that they can become part of their world. This tendency might be induced by the love and attention that the volunteers gives to the children.

The same dynamics might apply to the staff members and how they experience the volunteers. Volunteers can become part of their world. This could explain why the staff members are hardly naming personal bad experiences. The conjoint model of choice, related to the assumed collectivistic staff members, states that actions are responsive to obligations and expectations of other's role, and situations; references, goals and intentions are interpersonally anchored (Savani, Markus & Conner, 2008, p. 3). Because the volunteers can be or have been part of their world and have the same objective, they feel obligated not to tell any personal bad experiences with others.

On the other hand, this can explain too why volunteers are not satisfied with the staff members sometimes. They tend to attribute others who stick out internally. When others don't stick out, they might like them less. This might be relevant to the diaper incidents for example. Because it occurred to these volunteers that the children are in need, because they cried. In their perception only the volunteers reacted and stuck out by helping the children, whereas the staff members didn't do anything or in other words: didn't stick out. This explanation might have intertwined with their assumption that the children really were in need and the staff members didn't acknowledge this in a way they should have.

5.2.4 Fourth sub question regarding influence volunteer organization

What is the influence of the volunteer organization on the volunteering experience of both the international volunteers and the people in the local projects?

First of all, the volunteer organization might have an influence on attracting more volunteers with travel motivations. The three different sites and the non-related activities to volunteering such as Spanish lessons, tours et cetera make it look like this. It is not measured in this research how strong its effect is in attracting volunteers with travel instead of help motivations. It is a fact though that the majority of the volunteers in this research had primarily travel motivations and the motivation to

help comes next (Keese, 2011; Sin, 2009). Above all, this is a market-driven organization, because on top of this all the host families, the people of the local branch and the people of the headquarters have salaries (Reimann, 2005, p. 44).

The influence on both the experience of the international volunteers and the people in the local projects is creating a constellation wherein the needs of all involved parties are fulfilled. Considering the influence on the local projects, the organization first makes sure that local projects need the help of the volunteers. Also, by listening carefully to evaluations and improvements of the staff members the volunteer organization attempts to mediate and connect the needs of the people in the local projects with the volunteers' need to feel helpful. Last but not least, the volunteer organization creates a 'white lie', that is told by the volunteers too, to maintain this constellation wherein every needs each other and everyone benefits.

The influence on the volunteering experience of the volunteers predominantly consists of keeping them save and making them feel helpful in their projects. Next, they are thanked many times by the volunteers because they professionally fulfill their needs, like tours and learning Spanish et cetera. Moreover, they are always available to answer other questions concerning their volunteering experience. All in all, they understand well that they need to satisfy the volunteers, because they are part of the just mentioned constellation wherein everyone, including themselves, benefits.

5.2.5 Fifth sub questions regarding improvements

What are considered improvements to the volunteering experience by the international volunteers, the people in the projects and the volunteer organization?

The volunteers want to feel and be more helpful. First, they think that staff members should give better and more clear instructions. Second, they think that learning Spanish and a translator at the project side can help to understand the needs better. Third, they want more information about the projects so that they can prepare their help.

The staff members of the local projects want have more help to increase the quality of care to the children. First, this can be done by sending more volunteers. Second, the volunteers should listen more to the instructions of the staff members. This can also be induced if volunteers learn Spanish or if there is a translator in the project side to overcome the language barrier. Third, the volunteers should be involved more and there should be looked more at their skills and how these can be helpful.

The volunteer organization thinks that the involved parties are happy, but continues to listen to all the improvements et cetera, because this benefits all. The only improvement they have come up with is that the volunteers who don't feel helpful should change their perception of how they can be helpful.

5.3 Main question

How do international volunteers and people in local projects experience each other when the volunteer tourism NGO acts as a market-driven social enterprise?

Every child, staff member and most of the volunteers have positive volunteering experiences. This positive experience of the staff members might be influenced by reasons of dependency. It could be that the staff members don't like the volunteers so much personally, but because the volunteers are contributing to the same objective, and as well because of their assumed collectivistic inclinations to feel obligated to them, they are positive. All the children are happy with the extra attention of the volunteers and almost all of the volunteers have a positive volunteering experience too because they feel helpful. As the country manager remarked: every benefits in this 'symbiosis' and everyone is helped in an equal way.

From an utilitarian view the country manager is correct. The children and the staff members in the local projects are helped, the volunteers feel helpful and the host families, members of the local branch and headquarters of the volunteer organization are paid. Everyone seem to benefit equally. However, the author disagrees completely to this notion.

This research objective has been to give room to the unheard voices of the people in need. They are the most important group of this whole venture, but they are helped the least. The reason is because the local branch of the volunteer organization has created a lie about the volunteers. Everyone except for the people of the local projects knows that the volunteers are paying a lot of money for this volunteering experience. The staff members of the local projects have absolutely no idea that there are host families, members of an international volunteer organization (with several local branches) and arguably volunteers as well who are thriving on their behalf. There are a couple of reasons why this lie can't be justified.

The first reason are the opinions of the most important people: the people in the local projects. This lie has been created in the first place because they didn't like it that volunteers are paying to help. It is very understandable that they prefer the volunteer's money above their help. But, what happened in the past is that the staff members of the local projects rather had no help of volunteers than inviting volunteers while knowing that these volunteers paid a lot of money to help them. This really puts the 'help' of the volunteers in a large perspective. The staff members of the local project choose not to be used and not be tricked above receiving help of these volunteers.

It could be that the staff members of the current projects think otherwise. The author couldn't ask them directly, because this might have jeopardized the existed constellation wherein all the people are dependent on the external funding of the volunteers. But it explains enough that the lie is still told to the staff members of the local projects. What is more, every volunteer is asked to uphold this 'white lie'. This means only one thing: the staff members of the current project might perceive the situation in the same way. They also are likely to prefer not to be used and not be tricked above receiving help of these volunteers.

I must admit that I can understand that completely. Allow me to give an example. I highly respect the director of the school I have been teaching. He graduated in theology and is a priest. That is what he likes to do the most, but because this doesn't earn much money he has built his own school (!) and worked hard to get it state-funded. In the evenings he stills acts as a priest and he has intertwined Christian values with the school policy. When I asked him what his big dream is for the upcoming years he replied that he wants to build three floors on top of his school to educate even more poor children in the surrounding area. He thinks it will take him five years and he estimates the costs at more or less \$ 11.000.

From his perspective, how do you think he reacts when he hears that a volunteer pays approximately \$ 500 to a vague volunteer organization to come to his project to teach for only one week? The money of 22 of those volunteers who come one week and he can build three extra floors. Right now, what happens is that part of that money goes to the host family, to the members of the local branch and to the members of the headquarters of the organization. Not a single dollar goes to the school, because officially these volunteers are 'students who have come to Guatemala to study Spanish and that's all'.

According to the opinion of the author, this lie that is created is so bizarre and intrinsically wrong. It is considered by far the most striking finding of this research and it should be researched more. This research should aim to provide more transparency concerning volunteer organizations. How many volunteer organizations are using a lie to make use of the people who are in need the most? And: what do volunteers think about this? Would they still want to help or is it only the opinion of the author that this type of help is so intrinsically wrong?

5.4 Methodological reflection

As stated before, every study has shortcomings. This study has shortcomings too, especially because it is an explorative research. First of all, the staff members haven't been asked what they think about this lie, because of assumed dependency on external funding. There should be found a way to reveal the answer to the just described questions without jeopardizing the current constellations wherein everyone 'benefits'.

Second, the majority of the staff members had to be handed out written interviews. There was no option to elaborate on specific questions. The verbal interviews with the remaining staff members attempted to elaborate on typical questions of staff members in the previous project, but still it could have been improved. Current research gives a voice to the staff members for the first time and every bit of information is a bonus, but the information could have been even better if all the interviews were held verbally. Therefore, a recommendation for further research is to have more semi-structural interviews with staff members. This should be done to strengthen the findings of current research.

Third, the tests haven't been conducted with the staff members, because there was not a sufficient amount of staff members to make a group to compare (Wilson-Van Voorhis & Morgan, 2007, p. 48). Also, study 1 and 2 haven't been proven significant, but an alternative explanation is that volunteers don't want to stick out in the presence of children and staff members who want to fit in. A next study should test directly if this explanation is correct, because it might reveal if volunteers adapt to the local culture or not. This next study should test the preference for the candy's flavor or candy with both the volunteers and the children instead of only the children. Last but not least, if the 'fish-test' is aimed to be replicated, then the expectancy bias should be taken into account too.

Next, most of the researched volunteers are female. This is not typical for volunteers. This should be taken into account if the results of this research are used in some way.

Last but not least, value exchange and changed consciousness does not seem important to the staff members, but seems to be relevant to the volunteers. It should be tested with a longitudinal research if learned lessons are truly incorporated as values over time. According to the definition of

Huntington, values are deeply entrenched within your culture. This is why it couldn't be tested in current research, because it only scratched a bit on the surface. A follow-up and longitudinal research should measure whether or not value exchange really is occurring in volunteering experience.

5.5 Recommendations

5.5.1 Reflection on research

In this case study in Guatemala value exchange and changed consciousness are not the main reasons why the involved parties have a positive volunteering experience. The main reason for the volunteers is because they felt that they helped, for the children because they liked the extra attention and for the staff members because they like the same objective of the volunteers and because they are lied to.

Most of the time the cultural differences don't give problems, because almost all involved parties have positive volunteering experiences. The first side note is that the staff members might not be telling their personal frustrations with volunteers, because they are dependent on their help and because they have assumed collectivistic obligations to not tell anything negative about others who are contributing in their world. The second side note is that there are some volunteers who don't like the staff members, but it is concluded in 5.2.2.2 that either the volunteers should understand the situation and the staff members better and/or should be more respectful to the staff members.

Current research has used the following assumptions. The more commercialized volunteer organizations are, the more international volunteers are attracted with travel instead of help motivations. Although the strength of the attraction of this organization is unknown, it is known that it is a commercialized volunteer organization and the majority of the volunteers are motivated with travel instead of help motivations.

Next it has been assumed that the more commercialized volunteer tourism NGOs are, the more dependent on external funding of the volunteer, the more mediating their role is and the more uncontrolled contact the volunteers have with people in local projects. It has been assumed that this would mean a higher risk of a negative impact of volunteers on the people in the local projects and the less helpful they are to each other, both in terms of effect and value change. The first assumption is right that the this volunteer organization is dependent on external funding and that has a mediating role. That is: after telling the lie. The uncontrolled contact doesn't entail much problems, as is explained earlier.

The most significant contribution of this research is the detection of this lie to the people in the local projects. It is really hard to position this research within the literature on volunteer organizations. That is the most significant recommendation of this research: to position this research. How many volunteer organizations are using a lie to make use of the people who are in need the most? And: what do volunteers think about this? Would they still want to help or is it only the opinion of the author that this type of help is so intrinsically wrong?

5.5.2 Recommendations in practice

In the meanwhile, the current constellation is at place and can be improved too. Most of the involved parties have positive volunteering experiences, but there are two situations wherein this is not the case.

The first situation is about the negative experienced interaction between the volunteers and the staff members. It is disentangled this might be caused by two reasons. The first reason is that the volunteers don't understand the situation properly why the staff members give a different type of aid from the type of aid the volunteers would give. There are a couple of ways to deal with this. The first way is to explain the situation to the volunteer. This can be done during their stay, but also prior to arrival. When this problem keeps occurring then a translator should come to the project side. A translator can dissolve the confusion and as well can help with resonating the needs of the people in the local projects with the skills and offered help by the volunteers. Then, the second reason is that the volunteers should respect the staff members more. Their situation can be explained in the same way, but the translator will likely have less effect.

The second situation is about the negative experienced interaction between the volunteers and the volunteer organization. They wish to have honest information about the projects and the people's needs to get a picture how they can be helpful. In both situations it is recommended to the volunteer organization to provide upcoming volunteers with more real information of the situation on the ground. This information should at least elaborate on the situation of the children. In the case of the temporary home it should be named that the children are abused and are already satisfied with a stable situation. The goal of the staff members is the security and safety of the children. Therefore, love and attention is considered a bonus. By knowing what the temporary home and the staff members mean for the children, it is prevented that volunteers think they are not providing the proper treatment to the children.

Secondly, the information should as well elaborate on activity examples. This will prevent volunteers from creating higher expectations how they can help and generate a better preparation of the real situation in Guatemala. The better preparation will further improve the offered quality of care to the children in the local projects.

5.5.3 Value of this research

A perfect research does not exist. The many provided recommendations, both scientific and methodological, reveal that this research is not perfect either. Still, it is considered an unique research. First, it is an explorative research that has revealed dynamics that hasn't been researched before. These insights have both scientific but as well societal relevance. Next, a multi method strategy is used interpret the enormous amount of data. Last but not least, the finding that the most important people of this volunteering venture are being used and lied to is considered both shocking and encouraging by the author. It has been worth it to explore. It has been worth it to listen to the unheard voices. The next step is to change those whispering voices into screaming voices. This will be done to give the research findings a stage so people and upcoming volunteers know about it and can decide what to do with it.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview volunteers

Current research is conducted, because it is part of my masterthesis at the Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. It is conducted only by me.

I am doing research on what the relationship is between volunteers and the local people in the projects the international volunteers are engaging in. More specifically, I am interested how international volunteers and the local people in the projects are negatively or positively influencing each other. This information can be used to improve the successfulness of the projects. Because you are part of one of these projects, I would like to ask you some questions. It will not take longer than half an hour and to emphasize: this conversation will be processed anonymously and confidentially.

1. What is your age, country of residence, sex and amount of time (total days and time per day) spending in the project?
2. Did you have relevant experience for this project, before arrival? If so: what?
3. What is your motivation to come to this project in Guatemala?
4. Can you describe your daily activities?
5. How did you expect your input in the project would be, before arrival?
6. Has this expectation been correct? If not: why? When did you realize that? Subsequently, how did you react? What do you think of this 'adaption'?
7. Can you describe the interaction with you and the staff members? How do you experience this interaction?
8. When do you work well with the staff members? When not?
9. Can you describe the interaction with you and the children? How do you experience this interaction?
10. When do you interact well with the children? When not?
11. Do you think you helped the staff members, the children or the project in general? How?/Why not?
12. If happened, how often did bad experiences occur? What happened?
13. What did/do you learn in your project?
14. What do you think could be improved, regarding the relation between the people from this project and volunteers?
15. How do you experience the interaction with your local host family? In what sense are they helping you make feel more at home in Guatemala?
16. Can you describe your interaction with the volunteer organization before and during your stay?
17. How do you experience the interaction with the volunteer organization before and during your stay in Guatemala? What could be improved?
18. Do you have any questions or remarks which you would like to share?

Thanks for your cooperation. If you would like, we can exchange emailaddresses. If you happen to have any second thoughts about this conversation, you can contact me so that we can make adjustments to your answers. Moreover, I can send you the results of the research.

Appendix 2 Interview staff members

Current research is conducted because it is a part of my master thesis at the Radboud University Nijmegen in the Netherlands. It will be conducted by only me.

I am doing research on what the relationship is between international volunteers and the local people in the project that volunteers are engaging in. More specifically, I am interested in how international and the local people are positively or negatively influencing each other. This information can be used to improve the successfulness of this project. Because you are a part of this project, I would like to ask you some questions. It will not take longer than half an hour. I want to emphasize that what you write will be considered anonymously and confidentially.

1. What is the age, sex, and amount of time spent in the project of the volunteers in your project? (For the director only)
2. Can you describe how your project emerged and what its goals are?
3. What are your responsibilities?
4. How long have you been working at the project?
5. Since when are international volunteers engaging in this project? (For the director only)
6. What is a typical volunteer in your project, in terms of age, sex, country of residence, group/solo?
7. What are the values in this project?
8. What do you feel are the values from the perspective of a volunteer?
9. Can you describe a typical interaction between a volunteer and you here in the project?
10. Can you describe a typical interaction between a volunteer and other staff members here in the project?
11. Can you describe a typical interaction between a volunteer and a child here in this project?
12. What is a typical situation in which children interact well with volunteers? When do they not interact well?
13. What is a typical situation in which staff members interact well with volunteers? When do they not interact well?
14. When is a volunteer most effective? When not?
15. How often do bad experiences occur with volunteers? What are some examples? Has there ever been a time when a bad experience with a volunteer turned into a good experience? What were the circumstances of the situation?
16. What do you think are the characteristics of an ideal volunteer?
17. What do you think could be improved about the relationship between the people who work in this project and the international volunteers?
18. Do you think this project is different from other child projects (such as day cares, other orphanages, etc.) in the area? If so, how?
19. Do you have any questions or comments that you would like to share in regards to this topic?

Thank you for your cooperation in assisting with this research. If you happen to have any questions or further comments about what you have written, you can contact me by email at ferdiklaver@gmail.com, which can be found on the business card provided. Feel free to contact me if you would like to change or add to your previous answers.

Appendix 3 Interview Volunteer organization

Current research is conducted, because it is part of my masterthesis at the Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. It is conducted only by me.

I am doing research on what the relationship is between volunteers and the local people in the projects the international volunteers are engaging in. More specifically, I am interested how international volunteers and the local people in the projects are negatively or positively influencing each other. This information can be used to improve the successfulness of the projects. Because you are part of one of these projects, I would like to ask you some questions. It will not take longer than half an hour and to emphasize: this conversation will be processed anonymously and confidentially. With your permission, this conversation will be recorded.

1. Can you tell me how your projects emerged and how you established contact with the headquarters of the volunteer organization?
2. Can you describe your responsibilities and activities?
3. What is your motivation of doing this work?
4. Can you describe the interaction with you and volunteers? How do you experience this interaction?
5. When do you work well with the volunteers? When not?
6. Can you describe the interaction with you and the staff members in the local projects? How do you experience this interaction?
7. When do you work well with the staff members? When not?
8. Can you describe the interaction with you and the organization's headquarters? How do you experience this interaction?
9. When do you work well with the headquarters of the volunteer organization? When not?
10. Do you think you help the projects and the volunteers? Who do you think you help the most: the projects (staff members and kids), the volunteers, the headquarters or yourself?
11. If happened, how often did bad experiences occur? What happened?
 - a. Perhaps elaborate on previous groups. Examples.
12. What is an ideal volunteer, according to you?
13. How would you improve the above discussed interactions?
14. How do explain the following events:
 - a. The local families. Are they your friends? They seem to be richer than an average Guatemalan family.
 - b. Same question for the hotel and pickup. Is the hotel manager your friend? The pickup fee is out of proportion, compared to Guatemalan standards?
 - c. Why volunteers are sent to hospitals and clinics? By paying hospitals extra to accept the concerning volunteers, the hospitals portray they don't need volunteers; why would you send the volunteers anyway?
15. Do you have any questions or remarks you would like to share?

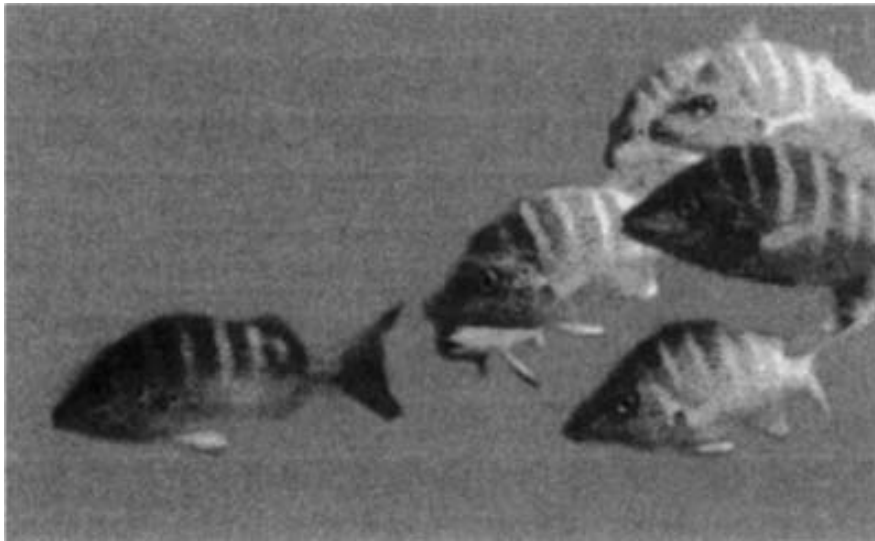
Thanks for your cooperation. If you would like, we can exchange emailaddresses. If you happen to have any second thoughts about this conversation, you can contact me so that we can make adjustments to your answers. Moreover, I can send you the results of the research.

Appendix 5 Tests for the Guatemalan children

Niño: O Niña: O

Edad: _____

1



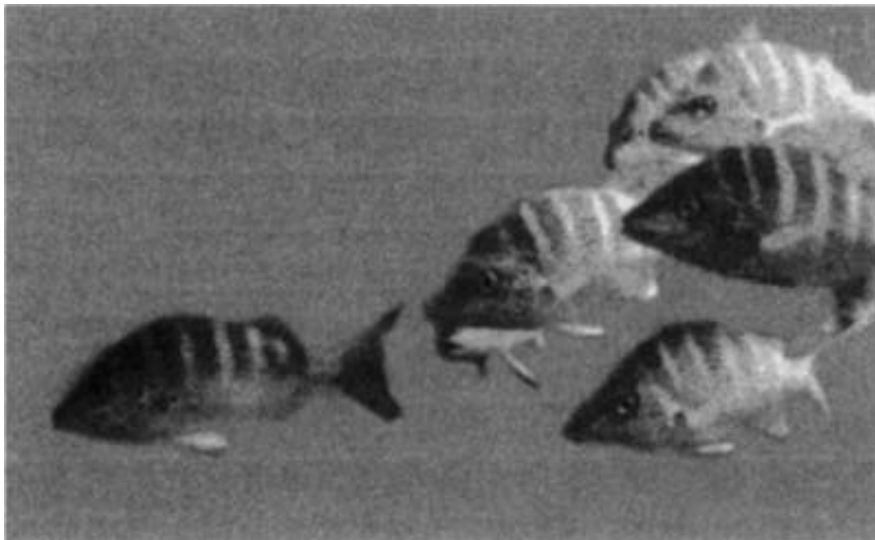
¿Piensas tú que este pez está guiando a los otros peces? O ¿Piensas que este pez está siendo perseguido por los otros peces? Favor de hacer un círculo en la opción que tú crees que es la correcta.

- Mucho guiando _____
- Poco guiando _____
- Neutral _____
- Poco persiguiendo _____
- Mucho persiguiendo _____

Appendix 6 Fish test international volunteers

Man: O Woman: O

Age: _____



Do you think this fish is leading the other fishes or do you think this fish is being chased by the other fishes?

- Very leading _____
- Little leading _____
- Neutral _____
- Little chasing _____
- Very chasing _____

Executive summary

Current research is about volunteer tourism. The objective of this research is to look and compare how the locals in the projects and the helping international volunteers are experiencing the provided help by the latter. This seems to be overlooked. The author argues that criticisms and improvement regarding volunteer tourism will have more value when looked at both the perspective from the helping international volunteers *and* from the impacted locals. The main of the research is therefore stated as follows: How do international volunteers and people in local projects experience each other when the volunteer tourism NGO acts as a market-driven social enterprise?

The research has been completed at a volunteer organization in Guatemala. It is an extreme case study. The volunteer organization is considered typical in regards of overlooking the side of the people in the local projects. Secondly, the extreme case study looks upon the extremes in the typical case. Therefore, the extreme case study is purely exploratory. The chosen extremes are the independent and interdependent view of the world. The international volunteers are related to the first concept and the impacted people in the local projects are related to the latter. These chosen extremes of the cultural dimensions in the described Guatemalan case make it more detectable to see the similarities and differences of the volunteering experience.

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods are used to address the research questions. Interviews have been held with 29 staff members of three local projects, with the Guatemalan country manager of the volunteer organization and 43 international volunteers. Furthermore, tests have been done with 151 children in the local projects and with 43 international volunteers. The author as well has volunteered four weeks in all three projects to include ethnography for answering the research questions. Finally, 31 evaluations of volunteers in the past have been analyzed too.

This all led to the following conclusion. Every child, staff member and most of the volunteers have positive volunteering experiences. This positive experience of the staff members might be influenced by reasons of dependency. It could be that the staff members don't like the volunteers so much personally, but because the volunteers are contributing to the same objective, and as well because of their assumed collectivistic inclinations to feel obligated to them, they are positive. All the children are happy with the extra attention of the volunteers and almost all of the volunteers have a positive volunteering experience too because they feel helpful. As the country manager remarked: every benefits in this 'symbiosis' and everyone is helped in an equal way.

From an utilitarian view the country manager is correct. The children and the staff members in the local projects are helped, the volunteers feel helpful and the host families, members of the local branch and headquarters of the volunteer organization are paid. Everyone seem to benefit equally. However, the author disagrees completely to this notion.

This research objective has been to give room to the unheard voices of the people in need. They are the most important group of this whole venture, but they are helped the least. The reason is because the local branch of the volunteer organization has created a lie about the volunteers. Everyone except for the people of the local projects knows that the volunteers are paying a lot of money for this volunteering experience. The staff members of the local projects have absolutely no idea that there are host families, members of an international volunteer organization (with several local branches) and arguably volunteers as well who are thriving on their behalf.