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Volunteer Tourism, an ambiguous phenomenon:
An analysis of the demand and supply for the volunteer tourism
market

by

Konstantinos Tomazos

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Business School
University of Strathclyde

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ABSTRACT

One of the more recent forms of tourism to emerge from the continuing fragmentation of tourism into many different forms is what has become known as Volunteer Tourism. Although itself taking on a number of variations, it is essentially the practice of individuals going on a working holiday and volunteering their labour for worthy causes. The concept of volunteer work has existed for several decades since its origins immediately following the First World War, but the idea of combining this activity with tourism is relatively new and has already changed considerably over a very short period. This thesis reviews the process by which volunteer tourism has developed, focusing on its transformation from an individual altruistic endeavour to a more commercial form of conventional tourism. As such, volunteer tourism has mirrored in many ways the development and commercialisation of opportunities for individuals to engage in ecotourism, another form of tourism which also began on a small scale with compassionate and non-economic priorities. This thesis provides a twin pronged approach to the study of volunteer tourism focusing both on the demand and the supply of volunteer tourism. The demand is investigated through an observation of a group of volunteer tourists in Mexico over a three week period and a new conceptualization of participation in volunteer tourism as a balancing act between commitment and hedonistic pursuits is developed. This thesis also reviews the growth in number of websites devoted to the various forms of volunteer tourism that now exist, and discusses the changes that have taken place in the content and focus of these websites and the organisations they represent over the last two decades. In relation to this analysis, it also examines the location of destinations which are being made available to volunteer tourists and providing the opportunity to engage in this activity. As a part of this analysis, the thesis examines the changes in the distribution of these locations and the relationship between location and the relative need of the respective destinations for assistance. The current distribution pattern of volunteer tourist opportunities now bears little similarity to the acute need for assistance that one might expect if the real motivation for providing this assistance was altruistic rather than commercial. In proposing a new approach of viewing volunteer tourism participation as a balancing act, but also by showing that the organizations involved vary in terms of their commitment and expectations, this study presents clarification on the role, expectations and motivations of the main players in volunteer tourism.

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the thesis as a whole. The scope of the research is presented in order to provide an insight into the research focus, context and key objectives. The strategy used to conduct this research is then briefly discussed, followed by the organisation of the thesis.

1.2 The Scope of the Research

Volunteer tourism is a form of travel which involves volunteering for a worthy, often charitable cause. Historically, volunteer tourism has its roots in the early 20th century, when the Service Civil International (SCI) was established as an organisation of volunteers that provided relief to those in need (SCI, 2007). Volunteer tourism found impetus in the 1960s and 1970s and has grown steadily to experience a boom in the 2000s (see Figure 5.1). Thousands of volunteers now use the services of a large number of different organisations which facilitate volunteering experiences. The volunteers vary in terms of their motivation, their background and their expectations, as do the organisations that facilitate their 'deployment' throughout more than three thousand projects spanning 150 countries (Appendix 5). Volunteer tourism endeavours can be either domestic or they can be international. They can also vary in duration, depending on the project and the volunteer organisation involved.

The focus of this research is episodic short-term, project based international volunteering to a developing country. Preliminary research had indicated that volunteer tourism organisations put emphasis on meeting the perceived need of destinations and communities by creating social goods for the benefit of groups or individuals. This need appears to be swelling the ranks of volunteers who are prepared to pay, travel and work in order to serve a cause or provide assistance.

This proliferation, the popularity, and relative novelty of the volunteer tourism phenomenon, along with the lack of a comprehensive conceptual framework, has given impetus to this research effort.

1.3 Research Purpose

The research purpose introduces the aims of this thesis and its five principal objectives. The justification of the research follows, outlining the importance and value of this research effort.

1.3.1 Research Aim

The principal aim of this research is to undertake an investigation into the motivations and expectations of volunteer tourists and the role that the market has played into shaping these. The main research question is: “*What are the expressed and underlying motivations of volunteer tourists to participate in volunteer tourism?*”

In order to answer the above question the researcher utilises a twin pronged approach investigating both the demand and the supply that have shaped the market for volunteer tourism.

1.3.2 Research Objectives

- (i) To investigate the motivation and actions of volunteer tourists;
- (ii) To develop a conceptual ‘hook’ or framework and thus contributing to the understanding of volunteer tourist motivation;
- (iii) To explore the volunteer tourism market and see how supply affects demand;
- (iv) To provide a detailed review of the literature on the phenomenon of volunteer tourism;
- (v) To make a contribution to research on volunteer tourism by combining conceptual and applied studies.

1.3.3 Justification of Research

With growing participation in volunteer tourism, research has been warranted in regard to understanding the motivational factors of individuals who participate in such endeavours. The motivations of volunteer tourism participants have been shown to vary from individual to individual and project to project (Wearing, 2001; Lyons, 2003; Broad, 2003; Smith, 2006; Ellis, 2003; McGehee and Norman, 2002). Most of these research studies have utilised qualitative methods and techniques of observation, interviews, case studies or focus group. This study set out in order to provide a unique perspective, with the researcher covertly observing the volunteers while experiencing life as a volunteer at first hand. This study also investigates the volunteer tourism market in order to examine if and how the ethos or message of volunteer tourism has been affected by its recent rapid expansion. The study of such a confusing and ambiguous phenomenon, as volunteer tourism necessitated a fresh and new triangulated approach, simultaneously examining both the demand and the supply sides of volunteer tourism.

1.4 Strategy used to conduct this research

The strategy used to conduct this research is a combination of literature analysis, desk study and fieldwork. All three components are now discussed briefly.

(i) Literature Analysis

A comprehensive literature review of sources was carried out, drawing on: motivation theories spanning different research disciplines (psychology, biology, sociology); the history of international volunteering; and theories of social entrepreneurship. The rise of the non-profit sector was examined, along with theories of tourist motivation prior to undertaking the empirical research.

(ii) Desk Study

A market analysis of volunteer tourism was undertaken examining the entirety of volunteer tourism projects within a chosen Internet database. Data were collected for two different times in order to make comparisons. Projects were categorised and analysed, and organisations were scrutinised in terms of their business practices and their setting of priorities. The findings from this market analysis are reported and discussed in parallel with the review of relevant literature.

(iii) Fieldwork

The methodology adopted was qualitative, specifically covert participant observation. The context of the research was an orphanage in the Jalisco area of Mexico. The respondents (40 volunteer tourists) were not sampled, instead they were the ones that were present at the orphanage while the research was underway (August, 2007). The research data were collected using un-constructed interviews in the form of impromptu conversations. The data were recorded, transcribed and analysed. The data were analysed using thematic analysis to create groups and themes. These findings are reported on and discussed with reference to the literature.

1.5 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis comprises 10 chapters and has the following structure

Chapter 2 introduces and defines the phenomenon of volunteer tourism in terms of its expansion and its characteristics. In addition, volunteer tourism is put within the context of tourism before examining it within the context of volunteering. What follows is a historical review of the development of volunteer tourism, from small beginnings to its contemporary form which provides the justification for further research into the sector.

Chapter 3 presents theories of volunteer motivation and an examination of human behaviour before engaging with the long standing debate over the existence of

altruism. In this review theories of philosophy, biology, psychology and sociology are presented, and key motivations to volunteer are identified. There is then a discussion on empathy and how different individuals respond to a call for help, and the role of the different factors that may influence the type and effect of a response to such a call.

Chapter 4 present theories of tourist motivation before presenting a framework explaining tourist motivation as a function of human needs. In this process, theories on human behaviour and human drives are examined, preparing the ground for a discussion on leisure as an expression of those needs. Leisure is defined and discussed along with its relationship with work and the human construct of time. Work, time and leisure in different periods of human history are then examined, before the thesis presents a theoretical schema of the fusion between work and leisure in which volunteer tourism exists.

Chapter 5 traces the roots of charity throughout history, from ancient Greece and Rome to Church paternalism and the emergence of private philanthropy. The concept of enlightened self interest is introduced as a paradigm of fusing doing good and making a profit, introducing a discussion on social entrepreneurship and the emergence of the non-profit organisation. Having established a theoretical ground for a synthesis of profiteering and philanthropy, this chapter then moves on to present a review of the volunteer tourism market by presenting the findings of the desk analysis of the providers of volunteer opportunities.

Chapter 6 brings chapters 3 and 4 together by reviewing volunteer tourist motivation as it is discussed in the literature, before presenting a conceptual framework of the volunteer as ‘Hero’, utilising the ‘Hero’s Journey’, a theoretical construct from Anthropology. Analogies between the hero and the volunteers encountered in this study are drawn and supported by examples from the field study.

Chapter 7 presents the research methodology, research strategy and design, sampling considerations and research propositions for the study. It also describes the data collection method, the role of the researcher, and the procedures for data management and data analysis and the role of the participant statements and the research journal of the researcher.

Chapter 8 introduces the discussion and findings from the fieldwork in terms of providing a context for the motivations of participants and presents descriptive data on the participants.

Chapter 9 presents the discussion and findings on the motivations of the participants using statements from the participant observation study, supported by extracts from the research journal. The motivations identified are compared to these noted in the literature.

Chapter 10 draws conclusions and recommends strategies relative to key objectives of the thesis. It also highlights the contribution of the research, identifies the research limitations, and outlines recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Volunteer Tourism: Origins, Definitions and Evolution

2.1 Introduction

Contemporary volunteer tourism has tended to suffer from a lack of differentiation from other forms of tourism or volunteering (Wearing, 2001). It has been a 'nomad' concept wondering between alternative tourism and international volunteering (Wearing, 2004; McGehee and Norman, 2002). Its treatment in this chapter and throughout this thesis aims to provide volunteer tourism recognition as an independent tourism research entity. It is the belief of this writer that volunteer tourism, because of intense entrepreneurial activity and influence, has grown to encompass many forms of what is known as alternative tourism but that it remains a distinct and unique form of tourism, differentiated by the integration of a work element into what remains a leisure activity.

2.2 Definition and Characteristics

According to Wearing, the term volunteer tourist applies to those tourists who *"...for various reasons volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment"* (Wearing, 2001: p1)

Another definition, provided by Singh and Singh (2001) sees volunteer tourism *"...as being more of a conscientious practice of righteous tourism-one that comes closest to utopia. At best, it may be regarded as an altruistic form of tourism, which has the capacity to uphold the highest ideals, intrinsically interwoven in the tourism phenomenon"* (as cited in Singh, 2004: 174)

Amid the confusion that surrounds volunteer tourism as a research concept (Relph, 1977; Stebbins, 1992; Wearing, 2001; and Butcher, 2003) it is imperative that volunteer tourists are not confused with so called 'working tourists'. The term

working tourist is often used when referring to those travellers undertaking a 'gap year'. This term is problematic because not all 'working tourists' are volunteers. Some find paid employment while travelling and that can create a conflict of interest situation. On the one hand there is a definition of tourists that excludes travellers remunerated at their destination (UNWTO, 1999), and on the other hand there is the pecuniary need of travellers to sustain themselves while travelling. It is inevitable that working travellers could well be defined as working tourists, only under the condition that their work is voluntary and with no direct financial reward and with the added condition that they do not extend their travel beyond the 365 day definitional threshold (see UNWTO 1999 definition of tourism).

A key part of a definition of a volunteer tourist is the absence of pay. Volunteer tourists do not get remunerated while on their trip, instead they pay for the privilege of volunteering. This payment could either be in the form of a relatively small one-off registration fee or be a larger fee covering expenses and a contribution to the project or organisation involved (Wearing, 2001; Ellis, 2003). Volunteers often pay relatively more than what they would have paid for a 'normal' holiday to the same destination (Wearing, 2001) with the extra cost ideally being for the benefit of the cause or project the volunteer will work for.

By its nature volunteer tourism is sporadic and episodic, perhaps to off-set the high cost of participating (Cnaan and Handy, 2005). Volunteer experiences offered at the time of writing can extend from short term projects of a few weeks to extended periods of many months (but less than a year). There is also a growing market of volunteer experiences, which in their packaging and timeline, seem to have emulated the commercially successful model of mass tourism packaged holidays (Brown and Morrison, 2003).

Examples of Volunteer Tourism organizations include operations such as i-to-i, Original Volunteers and Geovision. It is difficult to say precisely how widespread the phenomenon is. Travel is often officially considered only either business or pleasure, and international volunteers may avoid stating their purpose to border authorities for fear of complicated paperwork. Nevertheless, one can build an estimate of its size by means of internet research. A web search for 'volunteer abroad' yields over one

million hits and a scan through the first five hundred demonstrates a vast range of opportunities for such experiences. Currently there are many tour operators, environmental and humanitarian NGOs and academic groups who offer travellers the opportunity to participate in projects that can assist in community development, scientific research or ecological and cultural restoration (Wearing, 2004; Wight, 2003).

It has been suggested that the push force of alternative tourism and the pull force of the need for volunteering have promoted this new form of tourism (Pearce and Coghlan, 2008). Volunteer tourism has become increasingly popular under a variety of names: “volunteer tourism” (Henderson, 1981), “volunteer vacation” (McMillon, Cutchines, and Geissinger, 2006), “mini mission” (Brown and Morrison, 2003), “mission-lite”, “pro-poor tourism” (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001; Hall, 2007), “vacation volunteering”, “altruistic tourism” (Singh, 2002), “service based vacation”, “participatory environmental research (PERT)” (Ellis, 2003), and “voluntourism” (The Guardian, 2007).

The studies of the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (2008) demonstrate that the volunteer tourism market has grown rapidly, with a current yearly total of 1.6 million volunteer tourists, contributing a value between U.S D 1.7-2.6 billion. The significant growth and the uniqueness of the volunteer tourism model have attracted many researchers and practitioners.

From the definitions listed above, volunteer tourism can be viewed as a tourism activity incorporating volunteer services. As a sector it combines environmental, cultural and humanitarian issues with an intention to benefit, not only the participants (the tourist element), but also the locals (the volunteer element). It could be said that volunteer tourism meets the needs of tourists who prefer to travel with a purpose (Brown and Lehto, 2005) and to make a difference during their holiday (Coghlan, 2006), thus enjoying a tourist experience with the benefit of contributing to others.

What has captured the interest of a number of researchers in particular is the motivation behind the choice of such a type of holiday (McGeehee and Norman, 2002; Ellis, 2003; Lyons, 2003; Broad, 2003; Brown and Lehto, 2005; Campbell and Smith, 2006; McIntosh and Zahra, 2007; Mustonen, 2007; Broad and Jenkins, 2008; Lepp, 2008; Lyons and Wearing, 2008; McGeehee and Andereck, 2008). Four reasons why people travel with a purpose identified by Brown and Lehto (2005) are: cultural immersion, the desire to give something back (altruism), camaraderie

(friendship), and family. The key motives of volunteer tourists emerging from Caissie and Halpenny's (2003) study about a nature and conservation program included: pleasure seeking, program "perks", place and nature based context, leaving a legacy, and altruism. Those researchers found that the participants focused more on self than altruistic reasons and expected their trip not only to fulfil a higher need such as self-actualization, but also the basic needs of relaxation and stimulation (Caissie and Halpenny, 2003). Mustonen (2007) suggested that four similar interactive dimensions, altruism, egoism, socializing, and individuality, motivated volunteer tourists, based on his research. Researchers tend to divide volunteer tourists into volunteer-minded and vacation-minded participants (Wearing, 2001; Brown and Lehto, 2005; Mustonen, 2007), but it can be argued that the true volunteer tourist exists in a continuum dimension somewhere in between these two extremes. The research noted above and its implications are further examined in more detail in Chapter 6, where additional contemporary volunteer tourist motivation literature is presented and reviewed.

In concluding this section and before examining volunteer tourism within a tourism context, this researcher considers it necessary to comment on one other aspect of the literature. There has recently been some debate about the potential value of travel blogs and visitor comments as valuable sources of information (Pan, MacLaurin and Crofts, 2007), but this researcher decided not use such sources in this study. While there are a large amount of such material and many opinion pieces, there are also serious and unanswered questions about their validity, scope, purpose, and sources. Many of the web-based writings are non permanent and sometimes cannot be returned to, there is often no basis given for the statistics cited, and no clear and reliable description of any methodologies used. They are clearly potentially subject to bias and personal viewpoints, and their findings may not be replicable. For these reasons, such sources generally have not been used in this study, the major exception being the use of information on companies and organisations involved in supplying volunteer tourism opportunities, and there the information used has been mostly in the form of data on organisations history, scale of operation and costs.

2.3 Tourism in Context

The history of tourism may be traced back three thousand years at least, as far back as 1244 BC (Weaver and Opperman, 2000) with one example being the mass movement of people travelling to watch the Olympic Games in the stadium of Olympia in Greece. Since then people had been travelling for various reasons but it was the technological advances and societal changes in the aftermath of the Second World War that prepared the ground for the rapid expansion of tourism from the 1960s onwards to today's phenomenon that influences the lives of millions of people around the globe. For many tourism is an activity which needs the services of a number of related industries such as hospitality and transport. Over the past few decades the rapid increase of mass packaged tourism business with the development of packaged holiday companies and retail travel agencies is perhaps "*....the closest that tourism comes to being an industrial sector*" (Swarbrooke and Horner, 1999: p4).

Today tourism is a vast complex phenomenon that involves hundreds of thousands of units (McIntosh, 1990) and generates a vast amount of wealth for many countries. A measure of the economic importance of tourism can be obtained from statistics provided by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO). According to them, international arrivals reached 600 million in the year 2000 and tourist receipts accounted for thirty per cent of the value of world trade in the service sector, and thanks to higher disposable incomes, fewer restrictions to travel, and the growth of more convenient and cheaper travel, tourism is forecast to grow even more (Godfrey, 2000).

According to Hall (1995) the birthday of tourism in its contemporary form was 5th July 1841 when Thomas Cook left Leicester Station taking members of his parish to the seaside. From that moment travel for leisure became a commodity potentially to be sold to all people. Until then leisure travel had been exclusively reserved for the privileged and wealthy. From that day on tourism advanced and it has become more than just an experience, to many westerners it is now a way of life, a family tradition and institution on such a scale that it was named mass tourism and as such has had an immense impact on the environment and on societies. As Hall put it

“...for every report of success it often seems that there are ten reports of failure or at least further recognition of the negative impact of tourism” (Hall, 2000: p8).

This had led many observers and researchers to be critical about past methods and forms of tourism development and to instead offer the ‘hope’ of alternative tourism. This term has been coined as a response to the negative consequences of mass tourism and its degrading nature. However, it should not be considered as an alternative to mass tourism per se but rather an alternative to all the elements that have ‘demonised’ mass tourism as the ‘Golden Hordes’ (Turner and Ash, 1975). Within the broad spectrum of alternative tourism lie a variety of activities including ecotourism, cultural tourism, and adventure tourism or trekking. Most importantly alternative tourism is

“...linked strongly to more general conceptualisations of ‘community based’ forms of tourism” (Stoddart and Rogerson, 2004: p31)

In principle alternative tourism represents a shift from the three Ss- sea,sun,sand of mass tourism (Cooper et al, 1998) to the three Ts of alternative tourism- travelling, trekking and trucking (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). In the literature, alternative tourism has been seriously considered as a significant area of tourism experience (Holden, 1984; Cohen, 1995) and research in the area has grown especially after the 1992 Rio de Janeiro UN conference in which a significant number of papers addressed the issues surrounding alternative forms of tourism and their implementation in the context of sustainable development. Indeed the issue of sustainability, and by implication sustainable development, has gone hand in hand with the development of alternative tourism in its many shapes and forms. There has been a general realisation since the early 1970s that Earth’s resources are finite and that realisation has hit home currently with the ongoing debate surrounding ‘global warming’ and the part that man has played in causing or speeding this process.(Oreskes, 2004). Daily bombardments of messages from various sources in the media, pressure groups and governing bodies inevitably have increased the awareness of consumers, not only in tourism but in every other aspect of consumers’ decision making process (Green Marketing, 2007).

The turn towards 'green', less harmful products has had a great impact in the field of tourism with the development and increasing popularity of alternative tourism and ecotourism (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1987; Butler, 1990; O'neil, 1991; Wheeler, 1992; Kamaro, 1996; Honey, 1999). This is manifested in tourists' taste as a desire for the new, the authentic, the sensitive and inevitably the more exclusive. It seems that the doctrine of low volume-high value that underlines alternative forms of tourism has promoted exclusivity and at the same time high prices. Potential tourists are 'coerced' into making the 'right' choice in tune with the times and usually this means a more expensive choice. It might appear to a cynic that tour operators have been presented with a new and exciting field to exploit and from which to make even bigger profits by providing new authentic experiences within low scale development areas (Wheeller, 1993). As a result alternative tourism and ecotourism on the one hand provide the customer with a feeling of having the moral 'high ground' while being sensitive, exclusive and 'fashionable' and on the other hand gives the operators a 'licence' to print money.

Thus it could be argued that by exploiting the guilty conscience of an industry with many past sins, ecotourism and alternative tourism provide superficial validation; some plastic surgery, while the DNA of short term, money making, profit driven practices remains. The debate about such forms of tourism and their merits, motives and beneficiaries has been going on for two decades and signs are it will continue for a considerable time. In this thesis this writer will contribute to an analogous debate, this time focusing on volunteer tourism, which may be perceived as the 'new ecotourism'.

2.4 Organized Volunteering and its various forms

According to the National Centre for Volunteering in the UK, Volunteering is
"....any activity which involves spending time unpaid doing something which aims to benefit someone (individual or groups) other than or in addition to close relatives, or to benefit the environment" (Lynn and Davis Smith, 1992: 16)

Plato argued that citizens should play their part in their community according to their individual gifts and that the truest gift by a person to society was a piece of one's self

(Grube, 2002). The above sentiment might be the first kernel of volunteerism and community conscious ideology. Drawing from the above sentiment expressed in the 5th century BC, it does not come as a surprise that volunteerism is not a recent phenomenon but it can be traced even further back to 8,000 BC to the origins of human social existence (Anderson, 1971). Some anthropologists have suggested that volunteer activity became more common and substantial as societies evolved and became more complex and more technologically advanced (Bauton, 1957).

Other researchers place volunteerism within the spheres of religion and class, suggesting that volunteerism emerged from the church connections of the aristocracy and it was manifested as acts of 'altruistic' duty to help relieve poverty (Stebbins and Graham, 2004) or educate poor children (Harvie, 1978). The notion of 'noblesse oblige', which dictated the lives of the nobility of the time, was generally used to imply that with wealth, power and prestige came a duty towards the weak and unprivileged (The Free Dictionary.com). This was also reflected in the 'Knightly Virtues' which included courage, justice, mercy, generosity, faith, nobility and hope (Howard, 1964). 'Elite' supported charities evolved into the 'Friendly Societies' and 'Voluntary Anglican Schools' that continue to this day (Graham, 1995).

To others, volunteerism and community spirit took its present form in the 'New World' during the struggles of the first North American settlers (Johnson, 1997). It was not religion that was the origin of this but rather the native people, who displayed solidarity and supportive behaviour in abundance by assisting the Europeans in many ways. They taught them how to forage for food in the forest, to construct settlements, to build and paddle canoes, to travel on snow shoes and to cure illnesses such as scurvy (Trigger, 1991). The natives' example was then reinforced by the fact that the shelters had to pull together and show solidarity and a spirit of mutual assistance in order to battle the harshness of their new environment and survive.

Subsequently, farming neighbours frequently combined efforts to accomplish vital work. Not taking part in these schemes meant isolation and being an outcast in those days in such an unforgiving environment could mean death. Gradually these relationships helped to instil amongst the settlers a sense of what is now called community identity (Johnson, 1997). A living illustration of those communities are

the contemporary “Amish” communities in the United States and Canada who reject modern technology and live in basic conditions which could be easily described as a throwback to the 18th century (Kraybill, 1997). As the numbers of settlers grew, the commitment to voluntary cooperation to achieve common goals continued and volunteer organisations began to form, some of which have survived today as institutions such as hospitals or universities (Johnson, 1997).

At the same time on the other side of the Atlantic the 18th century brought with it an avalanche of changes in European societies. At that point in history, due to the effects of industrialisation, helping your fellow man was not catholically practiced in an organised way like today. It was though a booming time for private charities and the elite wanted to be seen helping their fellow man because of the label of respectability and righteousness attached to pursuing wholesome causes and assisting the needy (Kendall and Knapp, 1996). Moreover, within elite circles volunteering for the poor was seen as the only occupation suitable for women of repute and there are various anecdotes of the time where wealthy ladies were competing among themselves in showing ‘altruism’ and ‘empathy’ towards the poor (Ginzburg, 2004). Today organised volunteering and charity crosses boundaries of class, ethnicity and race in such a way that was unthinkable in those days. Such charitable actions initially took place in the participants’ home locations. Travelling to do ‘good works’, was performed by missionaries, predecessors to today’s volunteers.

2.5 Volunteer Tourism

It could be argued that the Europeans needed a shock to act as a catalyst for voluntary and charitable initiatives. Just like the harsh conditions which brought European settlers together in the New World, it was another kind of storm that awoke feelings of solidarity and mutual assistance. The First World War came as a shock to Europeans of the Belle Epoch; a new form of misery and total destruction was revealed to the nations of Europe and this had a considerable impact on the psyche of ordinary people and paved the way for the birth of the phenomenon of volunteer tourism.

2.5.1 1920-1945: The Early Years- A Pacifist's Vision

At the beginning of the 20th century the International Fellowship of Reconciliation was an organisation of Christian pacifists who shared the values of non-violence, peace education and inter-religious dialogue. In 1919 they organised an international conference in the Netherlands at which a Swiss man, Pierre Ceresole, presented the idea of an international team of volunteers who would work together to repair the damage from the war which had just finished. The idea was based on the premise that working together in a spirit of friendship would be an expression of solidarity which could heal the wounds of hate (Ceresole, 1954). Values determined by society, such as pacifism and to “help the wounded” became the instigation behind the phenomenon of volunteer tourism.

Pacifism is the opposition to war or violence as a means of settling disputes or gaining an advantage (see Brock and Young, 1999; Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2006). Pierre Ceresole was a dedicated pacifist and in his time he was imprisoned and ridiculed for his beliefs. He saw the atrocities of World War One and he despaired as nations were inventing new and more effective ways to cause pain and suffering (Ceresole, 1954) and envisaged an outlet for human effort and ingenuity designed to alleviate pain rather than causing it. He quickly put his vision into action. As a result during the summer of 1920 a small group of volunteers lead by Ceresole himself, set out to work rebuilding a village near Verdun (Figure 2.1).



Ceresole (on the left) and two of his volunteers in Verdun
SCI Archives 2007

The initial ‘lone crusader’ nature of Ceresole’s vision and the swift way he put it into action, inevitably draws comparisons with another visionary who envisaged a new organisation which was to change the world; Henry Dunnant.

Just like Ceresole, Dunnant a wealthy businessman himself, was appalled by the suffering of thousands of wounded men, on both sides who were left to die due to lack of care after the Battle of Solferino (Boissier, 1985). Reports of wounded and dying soldiers being shot or bayoneted on both sides were filtering out. A shocked Dunnant, in the area on a business trip, took upon himself to mobilise and organise the local population to provide assistance to injured and sick soldiers, irrespective of the side they had fought for; the Red Cross was born.

Both the Red Cross movement and Ceresole’s first work camps reflected a new drive towards peace initiatives. With its highlight being the Geneva Convention (1864-1949) the pacifist movement brought together many committed men and women who became increasingly disillusioned with the status quo, especially amid the frenzy of rearmament of the mid-thirties. This swelled the numbers of volunteers participating on Service Civil International work camps designed to assist in areas in need (SCI, 2007).

Table 2.1: Examples of Volunteer Activities

1920
First ever work camp in the village of Esnes near Verdun
1924
First voluntary work-camp of conscientious objectors in Switzerland to clear rubble after avalanches
1928
Volunteers clear the Rhine Valley in Liechtenstein after heavy floods
1930
Voluntary work camp in Lagarde (France) to clear up flood devastation
1931
Work camps to restore self-confidence in mining towns in England during depression
1934
Rebuilding villages in the area of Bihar (India) after a devastating earthquake
1937
Assistance to civilians during the Spanish Civil War; evacuating refugees and feeding the population

(Source: Service Civil International archives, 2007)

At the end of the Second World War, relief work and reconstruction work began in voluntary camps in France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands.

The end of the Second World War signals the close of an era for volunteerism. It marks the end of the period of 'tangible' and 'direct' suffering which swelled the numbers of western volunteers. The first volunteers had been influenced by current political and social issues like pacifism and catalytic events such as War or Acts of God. It would take another form of war to help in the evolution of international volunteer tourism. It should be noted at this point, that there is no evidence to suggest that these volunteers, despite the fact that their volunteering in general involved travelling, perceived themselves as tourists. Their motivation appeared to be humanitarian and the travelling abroad was just a means to access a scene of misery and not a tourism (leisure) related activity.

2.5.2 1946-1968: A Second Boost- Cold War and a Booming Economy

By the end of World War Two it became apparent that antagonism among nations was not to end with the defeat of the Axis. The World gradually separated into two camps representing two different political ideologies and systems, with the United States on one side and the USSR on the other. In 1946 Winston Churchill warned the West that the USSR was lowering an 'iron curtain' across the European Continent and this statement set the tone for an era marked by antagonism, suspicion and an armament race that kept the world on edge for almost half a century (see Dockrill, & Hopkins, 2006). A vital part of both sides' strategic planning was expanding their respective spheres of influence around the globe. The military and intelligence services of the United States and the Soviet Union worked both covertly and overtly to influence other countries with mixed success (Gaddis, 2006).

In the early 1960s US authorities were receiving worrying reports about Soviet university students travelling to developing countries and providing expert assistance. The fear of more countries falling under Soviet influence drove the Americans into action and the US Peace Corps was formed in order to win hearts and minds around the world. In his inaugural speech on 20th January 1961 President Kennedy issued a

‘call to arms’ for volunteers challenging a new generation of Americans “...to fight tyranny, poverty, disease, and war” and he also issued a pledge “...to those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery” to help them help themselves (JFK quotes, 2007).

The Peace Corps began in 1961 with an executive order signed by President Kennedy which introduced it to the world as a volunteer organisation that would run on donated funds and funding by Congress. In August of the same year, President Kennedy hosted at the White House Rose Garden a ball to honour the inaugural group of volunteers who a few weeks later arrived in Ghana and made an immediate impact on their hosts, by forming a chorus and singing the Ghanaian national anthem in Twi, the local language. Within two years 7,300 volunteers were in the field serving in 44 countries from Afghanistan to Uruguay and by June 1966, more than 15,000 volunteers were working in the field, the largest number in the Peace Corps’ history.

The Peace Corps was not founded on a single idea and with a single purpose. In the early 1960s the Cold War was dictating political agendas throughout the world. Trying to find a way to fight the Cold War and win it was high on the political agenda in the United States. Considering their sources of funding and their patron it could be hypothesised that it was the underlying objective for the Peace Corps to fight the Cold War by influencing their hosts towards democratic theologies. They would provide a better understanding of America, promoting their desired image and ‘propaganda’ (Carey, 1970). Irrespective of the political agenda that led to it, the founding of the Peace Corps provided contemporary volunteer tourism with a blueprint of international expansion and involvement on a large scale.

Despite the Cold War, Volunteer Tourism found extra impetus in the economic boom between 1945 and 1973 (energy crisis) which led to a rise in spare time and travel-motivations. The economic boom, the rise of social security and the reduction in working hours gave people the opportunity to seek self fulfilment and success in their spare time as well as at work (Rivlin, 1992). This change in attitude and goal setting meant that perspective volunteers were not prepared to settle for working in a camp to achieve a specific goal. Instead they started showing an inclination of striving to expand their horizons and raise their levels of conscience. This change in volunteers’

expectations meant that volunteer tourism had to transform in order to meet the new needs.

2.5.3 1969-1990: Transformation and Turmoil- New Political and Ecological Movements and Modern Volunteer Tourism

On the 22nd March 1968 far-left groups and a small number of prominent poets and musicians along with 150 students invaded an administrative building at Nanterre University. This started a chain reaction that is considered to be the watershed moment that saw a shift in values towards idealism and renewal (see Absalom, 1971; Ross, 2002). The events in Paris in 1968 made clear that young, educated people were questioning the values of society and they were likely to put their ideas into action more systematically and more radically than ever before (Finzi et al, 1971). This rebelliousness was expressed in the form of an escape to the 'utopic' manifested in the music, films and literature of that period which became vehicles of expression for a generation that wanted to change the world. They wanted to oppose the consumer society but what they failed to see was that their intellectual goals of freedom, sex-liberation and equality were logically leading to a society of hedonism and conspicuous consumption. It could be argued that the subsequent rise of mass tourism was not a coincidence and again volunteer tourism had to change in order to fit the requirements of the new generation.

The emergence of Youth Challenge International (YCI) as an organisation devoted to providing volunteer travel experiences for young people who wished to take part in projects that helped local communities internationally (YCI, 2006) was a natural evolution of the Peace Corps model. Youth Challenge International, originally known as Youth Challenge of Connecticut, is a Christian organization founded in 1970 by Bishop Raul Gonzalez, senior pastor of Glory Chapel International Cathedral in Hartford, Connecticut. Today it has expanded and has offices in Guyana, Costa Rica, Australia, and the Solomon islands (Wearing, 2001:44). At the same time similar ventures were founded such as in the UK 'Operation Drake (1978-1980) and Raleigh (1984-1989) which, under the patronage of Prince Charles, provided the opportunity to young people to assist in a variety of volunteer projects (Wearing, 2001).

When examining the roots of organised volunteer tourism it is impossible to overlook the role that individual initiative and business acumen have played in the development of its structure and contemporary form. Its transformation into a conventional business product was perhaps inevitable due to the economic potential of volunteer tourism opportunities. The prospect of creating a business model or structure which could simultaneously place demands on customers' time, labour and money proved far too good an opportunity for aspiring entrepreneurs to miss. Arguably for the first time in history there was a business venture that could take customers' time as well as physical labour along with their hard-earned-cash, and provide them with a feeling of satisfaction and validation that they had contributed to a good cause. It is likely that the mass-tourism model of packaging and segmentation was adopted due to its current success and popularity. So following a tried and tested blueprint, volunteer tourism was segmented and packaged into its contemporary form (see Ellis, 2003).

The extent of the commercial success of volunteer tourism is impossible to determine due to the fact that it is a predominantly internet-based phenomenon and the market is still growing (Brown and Morrison, 2003; Pearce and Coghlan, 2008; Association for Tourism and Leisure Education 2008).

However, estimates can be made based on its proliferation which indicates a substantial market. The utilisation of a single volunteer tourism internet database- 'Volunteer Abroad' yielded more than 2,600 volunteer projects, spanning 149 countries provided by around 200 organisations (Chapter 5). Through purposefully designed websites, volunteer organisations and others ensure that volunteers are promoted as the archetype of a new kind of tourist who has compassion and empathy for the plight of the disadvantaged, the neglected, the endangered and the needy, irrespective of species, situation or destination, an approach that has proven very successful.

It is quite ironic that a tourism form which is seen as an alternative to the 'dark form' of mass tourism should end up being so similar to it in terms of segmentation and packaging. In terms of marketing and advertising, except for the internet, large successful organisations such as I-to-I, Earthwatch and Crosscultural Solutions publish sophisticated, glossy brochures which at a first glance are indistinguishable from mass tourism brochures. In terms of the organisation of the trip there are some

differences. Duration of a trip for volunteer tourism varies widely from participant to participant and trip to trip, while mass tourists do not generally extend their stay beyond a period of three weeks, often only one or two weeks. In terms of promotion and packaging volunteer organisations undertake the promotion and packaging of the volunteer tourism product, whilst for mass tourism tour-operators carry out the same tasks. In the area of transport, both volunteer tourists and mass tourists predominantly travel by air but a differentiating factor is often means of transport used while at the destination. Volunteers tend to use forms of public transport, whilst their mass tourism counterparts tend to use either hired coaches or rental cars.

In terms of cost, the prices for a volunteer holiday tend to be generally higher than the prices for a mass tourism holiday with the cost of a typical catered volunteer holiday (flights excluded) ranging from 900 pounds to 1,300 pounds per week (YCI Brochure, 2006) depending on the destination, whilst the cost for a typical mass tourism all inclusive holiday may be as low as 400 pounds per week (Thomsons Summer Brochure, 2006) or even lower in the case of last minute special promotions.

Whilst packaged volunteer tourism may on average be more expensive than mass tourism, volunteer travellers are often able to count on financial support in order to fund their trip through charitable organisations in the form of sponsorship (Popularity trends in Volunteering, 2001) and indeed many of the volunteer organisations provide directions and guidelines as well as references for people who choose to raise the funds for their trip this way. Such an option is not available to mass tourists who have to cover the cost of their holiday in its entirety.

The most substantial difference between volunteer and mass tourists lies in the area of holiday activity. Volunteer tourists take part in activities with an emphasis on helping the local community rather than focusing on enjoyment, and give up some of the luxuries of their Western lifestyle. Mass tourists on the other hand have their emphasis on pleasure and undertake excursions involving sight-seeing and recreation, generally revolving around the sun, sea and sand model. The nature and scale of the portion of opportunities in VT are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

2.6 Conclusion

Volunteer tourism has had a long journey to reach its contemporary form. From Plato's sentiment of helping to the 'friendly societies' and the rebirth of Verdun, volunteerism has evolved and has become a wholesome activity for the sensitive few, organised and segmented to reach a global audience. As an antidote to mass tourism, volunteer tourism is not substantially different from its much maligned 'adversary'. In terms of packaging they are almost identical. There are differences when it comes to types of accommodation and activities, but there is no escape from the fact that they both can be generally pre-packaged, pre-paid forms of holiday that fit the characteristics outlined by Poon:

"They are standardised, inflexibly packaged, replicated and marketed to an undifferentiated clientele" (Cited in Burns and Holden, 1995: 11)

However, what best illustrates the difference between them is the motivation of the participants. It has been argued that there are probably as many motives as to why a person may become a volunteer, as there are volunteers (Smith et al, 1995). The motivation and the instigating factors that fuel the phenomenon of volunteer tourism are the focus of this thesis and the following chapters review the motivating factors behind participation in both tourism and volunteering.

Chapter 3

Volunteer Motivation

3.1 Introduction

There is confusion surrounding the motivation of volunteers because of lack of understanding about the concept of volunteering. In the case of most employees the main motivation to participate in work is money. However, in volunteering this is not the case as there is no direct ‘payment’ to the participant. Integral to research on this topic is the study of certain internal triggers to the human psyche which tend to fuel or influence the decision to volunteer, along with external factors such as the media and the individual’s immediate environment.

This Chapter will examine volunteer motivation within the context of the current literature, at the same time drawing connections between empathy, the media and the effect they have on modern audiences, and how they might ‘push’ people towards volunteer participation and volunteer tourism in particular.

The roots of volunteering vary across cultures and time and volunteer commitment has manifested itself within different political, religious and social frameworks from religious communes to military service (Burns, 2000).

According to the National Centre for Volunteering (UK) volunteering is

“...any activity which involves spending time unpaid doing something which aims to benefit someone (individual or groups) other than or in addition to close relatives, or to benefit the environment” (Lynn and Davis Smith, 1992: 16)

In spite of the existence of such definitions, it is difficult to conceptualize the specific act of volunteering because it has many forms and thus the picture that has emerged could be described as rather ‘sketchy’ (Tuan, 2005; Ranade, 2000).

In addition, to a large extent, the majority of volunteer studies have examined volunteers as a homogeneous group, not taking into account the diversity and proliferation of volunteer activities. As a result, the literature on volunteer motivation

remains imprecise and inconsistent and not surprisingly, that on volunteer tourism even less specific.

3.2 Volunteer Motivation Theory

Research into motivations for volunteering has as yet received only limited attention. It has been suggested that volunteering is a manifestation of cooperation and reciprocal altruism (Murnighan, et al, 1993). This reciprocity implies that central to the act of volunteering is the expectation that the actor will receive some form of benefit at some point in the future (short term, long term or very long term e.g. after-life, depending on religious disposition).

There were two early models postulated in the literature;

The Two-Dimension Model: Egoistic and Altruistic Motivation

In this model Egoistic Motivation is related to tangible rewards and it is argued that volunteering is directed towards an ultimate goal of increasing the participant's welfare. Altruistic Motivation in this model holds that the volunteers' actions have the ultimate goal of increasing the welfare of others (See for example Clary and Miller, 1986; Frisch and Gerrard, 1981; Horton-Smith, 1981; Latting, 1990)

The Three-Dimension Model: Altruistic, Material and Social

The term social is used to describe access to social contacts or as fulfilling a social obligation to society.(See for example Adams, 1980; Fitch, 1987; Knoke & Prensky, 1984).

It has to be noted that researchers have identified a weakness in this kind of model, in that such models generally provide a list of reasons for volunteering, with little attempt at analysis or to relate these reasons to the extensive literature on motivation theory (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Pearce, 1993a)

Literature on volunteer motivation (Taylor, 1995) has highlighted three sets of principle variables:

1) *Material/Utilitarian*: This principle applies to rewards that have monetary value or can be translated into monetary value such as wages, salaries, property value and information. The volunteer may seek to gain knowledge and intellectual enrichment that will equip them to acquire specific new skills which might later generate career opportunities, or to provide an opportunity for the volunteers to display those skills to potential employers. As such volunteers could gain benefits or experiences from his/her work that could become a springboard for future employment prospects. These benefits could include knowledge, experience, technical expertise, networking and improved curriculum vitae and could directly assist the volunteers in finding employment or improve their salary, when they return to the mainstream world.

2) *Solidary/Affective/Social*: This applies to motivation derived from social interaction, interpersonal relationships, friendships, group status and group identification. There is a body of evidence that suggests that the social rewards of volunteering are paramount. When Schlegelmilch and Tynan (1989) performed lifestyle analyses of the volunteers they found that most types of volunteers shared a strong liking for group activities. However, the possible unreliability of qualitative research in terms of social motivations should be noted because it could be argued that it is considered highly unacceptable to admit one's volunteering is motivated by the desire for social approval, even if that is the case. Volunteers may be trying to fit some normative expectation or behaviour, to gain prestige or social approval or expand their social circle. Thus volunteers could realize their self actualization ambitions by being accepted by their peers through offering volunteering services. The motivation also finds an outlet through involvement with charities, social groups or politics

3) *Purposive/Normative/Altruistic*: These are motives based on global concerns of a supra-personal nature. They appeal to values such as community action and support, civic responsibility and environmental concern (Caldwel and Andereck, 1994). According to Smith (1981), the benefits of acts of volunteering for the individual are considered to be primarily psychological and essentially altruistic. People volunteer for a host of reasons and usually more than one motivating factor is relevant. Some

may volunteer out of altruistic or humanitarian concerns; to benefit someone in need, or society in general, establishing value expressive relationships of giver and recipient, reminiscent of the concerns related to charitable donations.

These imply that people gain pleasure from doing good deeds even if their actions have no material benefit. This last motivation brings this section to the 'sphinx' that is called altruism. If one accepts that altruism is a disposition for unselfish humanitarian acts for the common good, then it could be argued that the very essence of volunteering is altruism but in turn, that any calculated behaviour could not be described as altruistic. However under closer scrutiny it would be unfair to accept that there is only black or white- altruism and calculated behaviour as described below.

Under the prism of psychology it becomes apparent that even the most selfless act has some direct benefits to the actor; these benefits have been described in the literature as 'warm glow' and in practical terms this refers to stress release and improved mood. This should not mean however that the volunteers' motivation should be in doubt. The volunteers do not ask for anything in exchange for their participation, they have no secret agenda. In its practical implementation the essence of volunteering is the provision of services and goods for the benefit of a good cause and volunteers invest their time and energy in achieving a certain goal. Thus the existence or not of altruistic motivation in its pure form should not be the acid test for volunteer motivation. Volunteers are not angels, they are human beings who see a need and then choose to act

Clary et al (1998) have identified a set of six motives for volunteering: career enhancement, learning new skills, social interaction, escaping from negative feelings, personal development and expressing pro-social values. Such sociological approaches to volunteer motivation have used a range of methods including discourse analysis and phenomenology (Brooks, 2002; Yeung, 2004), but they perhaps need the tools of psychology in order to construct a comprehensive motivational framework for volunteering.

Psychological approaches towards volunteer motivation have placed their emphasis on developing lists of potential volunteers' motives, rather than seeking to advance the existing conceptual or theoretical understanding of the phenomenon (Cnaan and

Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Farrel, Johnston and Twynan, 1998). There have been attempts to reduce the items in these lists to a small inventory (Clary et al, 1998), but the literature is still far from providing a comprehensive model that would apply to all volunteer motivation, encompassing socio-biological and psychological factors.

The main conclusion of most recent works on volunteer motivation is that this should not be viewed in isolation from the existing body of literature on work motivation. This idea highlights the distinction between volunteer work and leisure volunteering as described by Stebbins (2005). This distinction and the possibility of a work/leisure fusion are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

To date studies on volunteer motivation have been largely quantitative which has had the result of producing a long list of motives with no real explanation of motivation. Research (Schram, 1985) has shown that to a large extent volunteers are rarely altruistic (offering their services for no personal gain). Instead they expect to benefit in some way from their activities (Moore, 1985). Pearce 'cuts' the Gordian Knot of the existence or not of altruism with the use of the term 'pro-social' instead of altruism, in an attempt to put within context the fact that volunteers are indeed community minded, yet they also expect to gain from their efforts. As such it could be argued that the motivation of volunteer tourists could be subject to similar variables.

The donation of volunteer time is a discretionary activity. The volunteer does not need to volunteer in order to make or improve their standard of living; a volunteer is more likely to volunteer out of desire to improve their quality of life (Bruce, 1995).

'Remuneration' or gratification from volunteering comes to the volunteer in the form of satisfaction of goals and expectations in the volunteer situation. The success of this relationship hinges on the mutual satisfaction of the volunteers and the organizational expectations and goals (Bruce, 1995; Ellis, 1994; Gwin, 1990).

In more simple terms, it could be argued that volunteer participation is self-motivated and is guided by a self-developed mission (Searle and Brayley, 1993) for the ultimate gratification of a higher intrinsic need for self actualisation (Maslow, 1943). In the process, the volunteer derives satisfaction from the task undertaken and, as long as the cost is mitigated and the experience as a whole continues to be rewarding and

satisfying to their unique needs, they will continue to volunteer (Noble and Rogers, 1998).

The cost to volunteers of their participation could be pecuniary and psychic; tangible and intangible (Stebbins, 1989; Solomon et al, 1991; Wilson and Musick, 1997; Wagner and Rush, 2001). There is also the opportunity cost of volunteering which may involve wages foregone from paid employment, if volunteer time is time away from paid work. It may also involve the loss of human capital benefits in the shape of missed chances to improve career prospects and increase future earning capacity as well as the loss of the psychic benefit of job satisfaction. There may be out of pocket expenses and there could also be the loss of unpaid work, such as gardening or doing DIY during leisure time.

As such it could be argued that most volunteers not surprisingly try to see both sides of the coin in terms of what are the benefits of volunteering to them, their family and to society in general and what are the actual and perceived costs. Volunteers weigh in their mind what they get out of it, whether it does any good to anyone and how much pain, hassle and effort is involved. This consumption model (Govekar and Govekar, 2003) dictates that an individual's decision to supply volunteer labour or not arises from an implicit optimisation process, in which the willingness to contribute to a cause or organisation is weighed against the opportunity cost of doing so.

3.3 The Genetic Origins of Motivation and Human Behaviour

There are many ways in which physical science can inform the study of human motivation. In one sense it could be argued that our understanding of human motivation is enhanced by considering our animal nature. This section will examine the development of the study of human motivation through the science of psychobiology and attempt to determine to what extent the scientific approach can explain certain aspects of human behaviour that relate to volunteering. To this end this section first presents the philosophical basis of using biology to explain human behaviour, before moving on to discuss evolutionary theories and other physiological

factors that may affect human behaviour, culminating in a further discussion on altruism.

Assumptions about human nature are nothing new. Their utilization by philosophers and by the common man can be traced back through recorded civilization. Questions about the nature of matter were of great concern to the ancient Greeks. In attempting to explain the physical world around them, two Greek philosophers, Leucippus and Democritus, developed the atomistic theory, a landmark in scientific thought (Taylor, 1999). The hypothesis they developed suggested that matter was made up of solid, indivisible, moving particles that cannot be seen but that exist everywhere and that share the same essential properties (Cartledge, 1999). Although this hypothesis could not be tested empirically at the time, it reflected a general conviction in the Greek psyche that matter had an irreducible essence which somehow joins or interacts with other essences to form larger more complex wholes.

When later Greek thinkers began their systematic speculation about human nature they found a base in these atomistic theories and concepts. They started to seek evidence of irreducible essences within the context of human action, placing emphasis on the irreducible qualities and attributes of mankind. They looked at the basic characteristics of humans and their actions and they wondered to what extent they were inherited traits or learnt behaviour. Gradually the dilemma over what was human nature and what was human artifice became one of the major themes of Athenian intellectual life. The tragic poet Euripides argued that man was noble by nature, whereas the sophist Antiphon said that humans go against nature by artificially creating discriminations amongst them (Sabine, 1961) and as a result there are social casts and other forms of discrimination, like the patricians and plebians in ancient Rome and the haves and have nots today.

Throughout history philosophers have continued to search for natural and artificial essences. The fact that people were using philosophies of human nature as an explanation of the social world 2,500 years ago, just as they are today, suggests that the idea of a basic human nature, like the idea of a basic physical nature, is an intrinsic part of the psychological schema of causal explanation (Williams, 2004).

This philosophical schema has been utilized in two ways. Firstly, it has been implemented epistemologically as a paradigm that sets forth a causal explanation of social phenomena. Secondly, psychologically speaking, it has been described as a set of social schemata or tools to enable understanding of the phenomenal world. A good way to look at how philosophies on human nature function is to determine the ways in which they have been implemented from the time of Plato to the present day.

This brief review could not do justice to the plethora of thinkers or philosophers who have devoted their lives to the study of human behaviour. A series of quotes by philosophers may communicate the basic themes of major theories in relation to human nature and also underline the lack of agreement amongst some of the greatest minds of the ages.

Table 3.1: Famous Quotes on Human nature

<p><i>“Man is a political animal”</i> Aristotle (Circa 5th Century BC)</p>
<p><i>, "No man giveth but with intention of good to himself; because gift is voluntary; and of all voluntary acts the object to every man is his own pleasure."</i> (Hobbes, 1588-1679)</p>
<p><i>“Man develops from an antisocial and completely egoistic being into an altruistic one”</i> Lester Ward (1841-1913)</p>
<p><i>“The salient characteristic of human nature is its insatiability. Men are creatures whose desires are unlimited; they are not satiated when their biological needs are fulfilled”</i> Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)</p>
<p><i>“In the depths of my heart, I can’t help being convinced that my dear fellowmen, with a few exceptions, are worthless”</i> Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)</p>
<p><i>“The essence of human behavior is the subjective meaning the person attaches to his/her behavior. Behavior is important to the degree that it reflects the values of the behaved”</i> Max Weber (1864-1920)</p>

(Sources: See Bibliography)

All the quotes on human behaviour (Table 3.1) have one thing in common. They all are the result of detailed study which did not have the benefits of modern genetic science. This shortcoming of their research becomes more apparent when considering that

“...the underlying principle on which examining the biological bases of human behaviour rests, is the fact of evolution” (Wagner, 1999: 4)

With the benefit of modern science this study examined existing literature in the field of biology and genetics in order to achieve a better understanding of human motivation.

The concept of evolution is inextricably linked to the name of Charles Darwin, following the publication in 1859 of his book “The Origin of Species”. His suggestion that man was descended from other species was not a new one, since the speculation about modern and older species had been going on for a century (Wagner, 1999). However, Darwin’s contribution lay in the fact that he envisaged that there was a mechanism for evolution which followed a patterned process of natural selection; he called this pattern “the survival of the fittest”. With this hypothesis Darwin was reinforcing the atomistic theories of old, even though science was yet to identify the basic essence of humans. This changed though, with the discovery of the human gene which could be paralleled with the atom of physical nature as the basic essence of human beings.

All of the tissues and chemical constituents of the human body derive from genes inherited from parents. Each gene carries the code for the production of a particular protein or other molecule. These molecules, directly or indirectly form the basis of cell and tissue development. Each gene is part of a very large molecule called “deoxyribonucleic acid” (DNA). Each DNA molecule is looped and bound to a central matrix to form a chromosome. Human beings have 23 pairs of chromosomes, and inherit half from each parent. This genetic make-up of the individual organism is called its “genotype”. The extent to which a gene exerts its effect and gives the organism a characteristic depends on environmental influences. This environmental factor is called the “phenotype” (Wagner, 1999). It is vital at this point to underline the influence of the environment. For instance, the gene that regulates height will only have its full effect if the organism is well nourished. If that is not the case then the gene will not reach its potential.

So could there be a gene for every aspect of human behaviour? Genetics has proven that genetic influences on human behaviour, unlike human physical characteristics, are influenced by more than one gene. This means that two or more genes help to establish variations in a particular behaviour or characteristic (Dawkins, 2006)

There have been many studies to establish the extent to which behaviour is determined by genetic factors. In humans most studies have examined how similar people with different degrees of family relationships to each other are. It is assumed that monozygotic (from one egg) identical twins should be most similar and studies of this type have compared monozygotic twins reared together with those reared apart, usually following adoption (Wagner, 1999). In other species selective breeding produces strains that vary in behavioural characteristics, demonstrating a genetic basis for those characteristics. Could these principles of selective breeding for animals be applied also to humans, given the fact that *Homo sapiens* are direct descendants from other species? However, genetic science at the time of writing has no known answer to the function of most DNA (Dawkins, 2006). Humans have 1.6 per cent DNA that they do not share with other species and the feature that most clearly distinguishes the evolutionary line that leads to *Homo sapiens* is progressively larger brain size, especially the size of the lower brain regions or the cerebral hemispheres (Wagner, 1999). This is important because science has identified this area of the brain as the regulator of control and adaptability. It is this unique ability to control urges and to adapt to circumstances that limits the extent to which motivation for humans can be explained by underlying physiological mechanisms. The extent to which humans follow their biological urges lies within the scope of physiological psychology.

Physiological Psychology is the study of the physiological mechanisms underlying behaviour and mental processes. Most behaviour is considered to be motivated and approaches to the understanding of motivation have varied enormously. The main approach to these motives is to search for physiological mechanisms that underline psychological motives. According to this approach, motivation consists of drives arising from needs and that leads to behaviour directed at satisfying those needs (Maslow, 1970)

Such an approach could have flaws, even under the premise that human actions are ultimately, like those of other species, driven by an underlying need to increase the representation of their genes in succeeding generations. It is not a satisfactory explanation for day-to-day human behaviour which has a variety of different manifestation and outlets, and one of the most puzzling could be argued to be altruism.

3.4 Altruism

An interesting aspect of social living is that people and animals sometimes perform acts which seem to serve the needs of others, even to the detriment of themselves. Such acts are called altruistic. The word “altruism” (derived from French *autre* “another”, in its turn derived from Latin *alter* “other”) was coined by August Comte, the French founder of positivism, in order to describe the ethical doctrine he supported (Comte, 1852). Altruism is usually defined as self-destructive behavior performed for the benefit of others (Wispé, 1978). There are many different acts that could be deemed altruistic, from helping an old lady cross the street to sacrificing one’s life for the greater good. Research suggests that altruistic behavior is as old as the human race and it is a primal instinct since it has been observed in animal behaviour too (Oliner and Oliner, 1988). However, the question of whether human beings are by nature cooperative and altruistic, or intrinsically egoistic and competitive, is as old as the Western tradition of political theory (Wispé, 1978). It is a traditional virtue in many cultures, and central to many religious traditions.

There are two opposing schools of thought. The pre-Socratic philosophers argued that men are naturally oriented to individual gain and that altruistic behavior is just a cultural trait that humans are taught to display. One of the major modern champions of this egoistic theory is Nietzsche. He asserts that altruism is predicated on the assumption that others are more important than one’s self, and that such a position is degrading and demeaning (Nietzsche et al, 2009). On the other side of the debate are Plato, Aristotle and Marx, who argue that ‘Man is a political animal’ and thus by instinct human beings are willing to sacrifice themselves for the common good (Aristotle et al, 2003; Marx in Kain, 1991).

Before taking sides in this diachronic ‘battle’, it is necessary to look more extensively into altruistic behaviour and its traits. Altruism depends wholly on the individual involved knowing and caring about the needs of others and their satisfaction. The act of the benefactor should be gratuitous with no gain in mind; the act itself is the only reward. Thus early on in the discussion three elements have been identified that constitute the altruistic act; the desire to give, empathy and no motive for reward.

However, these three elements immediately come ‘under fire’ by psychologists who argue that altruism has no strong foundations, logically or empirically. They call this phenomenon the ‘hedonistic paradox’ (Gide, 1960) because according to it, a truly gratuitous act is impossible as even the most unselfish act may produce a psychological reward for the actor. To others (Becker, 1974; Margolis, 1982; Mancur, 1965), altruism is a complex result of socio-cultural evolution. It could not be understood by using psychological criteria. It is a part of human development and a product of human civilization and the argument is proposed that altruistic behaviour is revered and celebrated catholically. For supporters of this view this common idolization means that altruism, like morality and decency, has a survival value in the popular psyche and thus comes naturally to humans (Wispe, 1978; Sigmund, 1994; Plomin et al, 2002; Turner and Chao, 2003; Griffin et al, 2004).

Given the ever-present character of altruism it would not be prudent to form an opinion solely by adhering to sociological and psychological theories. According to Alexander (1987), in general moral philosophers and sociologists have not paid adequate attention to biology and have not taken into account biological knowledge. The science of biology has, for almost two centuries now been trying to solve the enigma that is human altruistic behaviour.

There is a plethora of evolutionary theories (Thorpe, 1974; 1978; Lorenz, 1977; Armstrong, 1981; Stadler and Kruse, 1990) concerned with altruistic behavior and they all seem to stem from a basic scenario and an accepted hypothesis that there is an altruistic gene. The argument revolves around the daily life of prehistoric humans. Caveman X shows signs of altruistic behavior and shares his food with caveman Y. On the other hand caveman Y does not share his food with caveman X. This scenario

is plausible since sharing food is common even amongst animals, as for example vampire bats who donate food to other members of their group (Okasha, 2003). Who of these two cavemen will be more successful in surviving and procreating and thus passing on their genes? If Darwin and his theory of natural selection (Darwin, 1871) are to prevail, then caveman X is at a disadvantage compared to caveman Y and thus caveman X does not get to pass on his “noble” genes. Thus according to Darwin the altruistic gene dies along with its carrier and since humans are still behaving altruistically, altruism is not genetically inherited, because it would not have been possible for it to be transferred from generation to generation. This Darwinian theory of natural selection and the survival of the fittest was challenged in the 20th century by Hamilton in 1964 and his theory of kin selection (Hamilton, 1964).

The solution to the obstacle posed by Darwinism was simple and it opened the gate for more discussion and debate over the existence of the altruistic gene. What if caveman X does not share food with just anybody, but only with his relatives? Relatives share genes with one another, so when the caveman carrying the altruistic gene shares his food, there is a higher probability that the recipients of the food will also carry copies of that gene. The overall effect may be the increase of the altruistic gene within the next generation and thus the trait is passed on (efficient altruism, Sober and Wilson, 1998). Another possible scenario that rises from the same episode is the free-rider scenario. Caveman X shares his food with caveman Y at a time of need but when the situation is reversed caveman Y refuses to share his food with caveman X. This free-riding happens today and it is safe to assume that it also took place in earlier times so it was imperative for generous cavemen to avoid being cheated. Over many generations, one obvious solution would be for cavemen X to evolve a way of spotting potential cavemen Y, the consequence of this would inevitably be cavemen Y evolving a way of convincing cavemen X that they do have good intentions. This kind of evolutionary stand off could have only one result; more sophisticated disguises by cavemen Y and more sophisticated detectors by cavemen X. This evolutionary “arms race” could have only one end result according to evolution scientists. Cavemen Y were forced to actually become genuine co-operators by erecting psychological barriers to promise-breaking (Batson, 1991) and to become sincerely moral and helping individuals- in short cavemen Y developed a conscience and became caveman X.

Recent research (Rilling et al, 2002) postulates that human beings have neural representations of emotions which clearly derive specific rewards from mutual cooperation and which punish norm violators. Further support for this scenario comes from the work of Boehm (2000) who deduced from the study of contemporary hunter-gatherer societies that altruistic punishment could have been common during the first 100,000 years of human existence. This evolution based scenario cements its legitimacy thanks to a recent medical research breakthrough in the United States. It was found that the lower area of the brain became aroused when the subject performed helping acts (Duke Medical News, 2007).

The above, combined with ideas of kin selection, may explain how a fundamentally selfish process can produce a genuinely non-cynical form of altruism that gives rise to human conscience. However, this technical game theory analysis (Binmore, 1994) seems to ignore the fact that human beings are both rational and emotional. It would have been very disappointing for the human race if biology had a simple answer for such a complex aspect of human behaviour. *Homo sapiens* is an evolved species and thus general evolutionary principles apply to us but human behaviour is obviously influenced by culture to a far greater extent than it is in the case of animals and is often the product of conscious beliefs and desires (Trivers, 1985). Nonetheless, at least some human behaviour does seem to follow the above theories. For instance, humans tend to behave more altruistically towards their close kin than towards non-relatives (as kin selection theories suggest), but they also display anomalies in their behaviour such as adoption, which is contradictory to theories of both natural and kin selection (Sober, 1994)

Thus it becomes apparent that the two theories that have dominated the literature for the past century do not apply completely across the board of human behaviour.

This realization subsequently demands a more contingent approach, adding to biology some practical realities of human behaviour. The act of sharing food may be reciprocated by the same gesture in return at a different time. This means that the motive behind sharing food could have been to get food in return when the circumstances changed and the benefactor was in need of his beneficiary. This type of

altruistic behaviour has been identified in the literature as reciprocal altruism (Hamilton, 1964; Trivers, 1971; Chalmers, 1979; Fairbanks, 1980; Seyfarth and Cheney, 1984; Tucker, 2004) and, along with natural selection and kin selection, comprises the evolutionary approach to human behaviour.

Having briefly reviewed theories concerning the evolutionary approach in explaining altruistic behaviour, it has to be said that there is no evidence to support the conclusion that evolution would have made humans into egoistic, self centred individuals, nor there is any evidence to support the idea that evolution would have made humans self sacrificing, altruistic individuals (Sober, 1994).

Undoubtedly, biology can point to parallels between much human behaviour and that of other species, arguing that much of what humans do has its origins in behaviour that serves reproductive goals in many species. However, it is imperative to remember that being able to draw some parallels does not mean that science has understood or is able to explain all human behaviour. Human beings, unlike other species, have control over their urges or instincts, otherwise infanticide would be as common amongst humans as it is amongst lions. It makes sense in a genetically explained fashion but it does not happen. The larger brain and the unique hypothalamus give humans a control and adaptability which other species appear to lack.

The secret to this failure of biology to explain altruism lies in philosophy and the simple fact that there is no solitary person. “*One person is no person*” (Palmer, 1919: p9) or as Aristotle put it in the 4th century BC, someone who lives alone is either more than human (a god) or less than human (an animal). No human arrives in the world alone; relations encompass humans from birth because humans are social beings, members of a family, a community, a state or at least members of human kind.

Living in communities means that members sometimes put the interests of others first; acceptance within any group depends upon individuals acting according to their obligations towards the group. This duty to fulfil obligations towards the whole may clash with the individual’s hopes, desires or even welfare and it has evolved within human societies into satisfying the need to protect the weak, fight wars or sustain the status quo in every era. The emphasis on the individual of putting the whole first is

evident in the 'opium of the people', religion. The great religions of the world have urged that an unconditional concern for the welfare of others is one of the highest ideals that humans can pursue and they offer rewards such as a clear conscience in this life and rich rewards in the next. The result is that generosity, sympathy and self sacrifice are judged good and worthy of cultivation, although, people possess these traits to different extents. There are people who put other people's welfare before themselves and there are people who would do anything in order to look after themselves. The intriguing challenge is to establish why this difference occurs.

At this point this discussion inevitably returns to the field of psychology in order to see what factors make humans altruists or not.

From a psychology point of view, altruism is not in a strong position, logically or empirically. This is because of the so called 'hedonistic paradox' (Gide, 1960) which points out that a truly gratuitous act is impossible; good or bad, rewarding or punishing effects will always result for the actor. Thus when somebody acts altruistically, they hinder or help themselves. Cognitive psychology has identified factors in the upbringing of an individual that may hinder or promote altruistic behaviour (Wright, 1971). The learning principles in psychology (Bandura, 1969) suggest that altruistic behaviour can be taught in three ways: by reward, by punishment and by example. For instance, parents who think that their children should learn to share their toys with other children tend to systematically reward them for doing so. In the literature there is much empirical research that deals with the acquisition of generous habits through reward (Donald and Adelberg, 1967; Fischer, 1963; Midlarsky and Brian, 1967). Teaching altruism by example also features heavily in the literature with various experiments proving that humans tend to act altruistically once they have been 'stimulated' by the example of another altruistic act (Bryan and Test, 1967; Hartup and Coates, 1967). Finally another way of teaching altruism is by applying the principles of social group theories (Berkowitz and Daniels, 1963). According to these theories, altruistic behaviour is affected by the norms and morals of the group to which the individual belongs. If altruistic behaviour is generally acceptable then the individual is motivated to act accordingly.

This section has touched only the surface of the various theories involving altruistic behaviour by humans. However, it is clear that altruism is a very complex aspect of human behaviour. It may stem from the early days of humans on earth and their quest for survival in a wild and unforgiving environment, even though it could be conceded that as a concept, altruism goes against one of the most basic instincts of man, self-preservation. Nevertheless, altruism has evolved as society has changed in order to serve its purpose, promoting the importance of the whole over the individual and this notion has been reinforced by religious and moral codes. This was made possible by the need of humans to be accepted and altruistic behaviour was an example set by local heroes or characters in religious scripts. This model behaviour then was used by parents who tried to bestow this model behaviour on their children. This simple process reflected the norms and mores of societies at a time when information was a rare and exclusive commodity and education was a privilege of the few.

This sub-section ends with the conclusion that none of the sciences examined clearly have the answer in terms of human behaviour or altruism. Further evidence is the fact that recently a new paradigm has been adopted by researchers, combining genetics, medicine and psychology in order to investigate human behaviour more rigorously (Cambridge University News, 2008). Thus the scientific community is conceding that to date there is neither a definitive nor satisfactory answer to the debate on altruism and human behaviour. This realisation turns the focus of this review to empathy as a potentially instrumental factor in volunteer participation.

3.5 Empathy

There are many studies on volunteerism that have highlighted altruism as a motivating factor (Howard, 1976; Henderson, 1981; Gittman, 1975; Moskos, 1971; Chapman, 1980). In these, altruism can manifest in many shapes or forms, such as helping people (Howard, 1976), benefiting children (Henderson, 1981), working for a cause (Gittman, 1975), patriotism (Moskos, 1971) and serving the community (Chapman, 1980). What all these studies have in common is the realisation that altruism as a concept can be neither observed nor studied as motivation, but only as a manifested behaviour. In order to shed further light on motivation, it has been argued that

empathy should be examined as a crucial influence on pro-social or altruistic behaviour (Chlopan et al, 1985).

The root of the term empathy comes from the Greek word 'empathia' which means to make suffer. In modern terms empathy is defined as the ability to recognize, perceive and directly experientially feel the emotion of another (Hoffman, 2000). To put it in more simple terms, empathy is the ability to tune into another human being's emotions, or as is commonly said "put oneself into another's shoes". Before discussing empathy in more detail, it is useful to clarify that empathy should not be confused with sympathy. Sympathy is the feeling of compassion for another, which could be based on empathy (Corazza, 2004).

Since its inception, the term empathy and its meaning have wandered among the theoretical contexts of philosophy, religion and psychology. The concept of empathy has a long history; Aristotle used it three millennia ago, but the term empathy is quite recent. Empathy as a term started its life in Germany where the word "einführung" was used to describe the aesthetic effect of a work of art. The literal translation of that word is "feeling into" and it signifies the ability to comprehend another's state without actually experiencing it (Goldman, 2000). Over the last century, perhaps due to the attempt to understand the interaction between self and society, empathy has replaced sympathy to signify compassion for others. It gradually became a standard part of psychoanalytical and psychological terminology and migrated to analysis of prejudice and inhumane actions (Batson et al, 1983; Davis, 1983; Duan and Hill, 1996).

Humans can have empathy not only for real persons but also for fictional characters. A good example of empathy is Greek tragedy. In Oedipus the King for example, the audience can relate to the tragic hero, they feel what he feels and suffer along with him. This is where the compelling power of Sophocles's masterpiece lies. Oedipus's distress and pain is felt by the audience, before they are all mercifully 'saved' by the catharsis at the end of the play. Few if any members of the audience will have experienced Oedipus's exact situation, but most people can nevertheless imagine at least roughly what it would be like to be in Oedipus's shoes. There is some debate concerning exactly how the conscious experience of empathy should be characterized.

The basic idea is that by looking at the facial expressions or bodily movements of another, or by hearing their tone of voice, one may get a sense of how they feel. For instance, the sight of Oedipus screaming and taking away his own vision arouses a sense of the emotional atmosphere or state of mind of the hero in the audience.

Following on from this situation, it is easy to apply the same doctrine to a real life situation. A starving, emaciated child staring at the reader from a magazine with their sad eyes full of despair is a good example. What effect does that image have on the observer? Is the child shouting help in the observer's head or it is just another page in another magazine? Will the same picture have the same effect on different people? Or even, would the same picture have the same effect on the same person at the second time of viewing? Is empathy dependent on circumstances or is it a consistent emotion? This question has considerable relevance to volunteering and volunteer tourism.

Empathy is the evocation of positive feelings towards human suffering even of a fictional character. Media depictions of human tragedies could be argued to have brief or long term impacts on human psyche and perhaps influence people's decisions to act in order to make a difference. There are many theories regarding the process of the transference and construction of media meaning. The classic view on the transfer of meaning is the Shannon-Weaver model which suggests that the communication process has four stages, which culminate with the receiver decoding the message as the sender intended (Hall, 2004). This approach was particularly popular in the 19th century and it postulated that the media can be seen as an 'intravenous injection' of message. This 'hypodermic needle' model is based on the tacit assumption that any message conveyed by the media is bound to be willingly and unquestionably accepted for its preferred reading by the audience. The notorious 1938 broadcast of the 'War of the Worlds' by Orson Wells, is the archetypal example of 'hypodermic needle' effect. Its realistic tone and execution incited panic within audiences who actually believed that an alien invasion was underway, with consequential riots and mayhem (Ross, 2005).

In spite of this spectacular example, the 'hypodermic needle' theory can be discredited by the simple means of common sense and observation. If this theory held, then all individuals would react and respond to the same media stimuli simultaneously

and identically. However, each person decodes messages, sometimes in a different way to that which the sender intended. The theory's main flaw lies in the vast number of intervening variables that influence a person's perception of media messages. In consequence the encoded meaning of media stimulation is dynamic, not fixed and it does not prescribe any 'magic bullet theories'. Hall (1994) postulates that people make the meaning of a message, but he also concedes that under certain circumstances, the content of a message may be arranged to produce 'preferred readings' or to produce a certain decoding on behalf of the audience. It could be argued that this reveals the real power of the media to shape and construct meaning and the social experience for their audiences.

In relation to a verdict on the range and extent to which the media directly influence human behaviour, the jury is still out. Research conducted across various disciplines such as psychology and sociology has produced conflicting findings (Gauntlett, 2002). When the emphasis shifts, from effect and behaviour, to influence and perception, then the picture becomes clearer (Gauntlett, 2002:9). The above argument does not necessarily reject the idea that behaviour could be traced back to media influences. The fact that research has not been yet able to establish a direct link does not mean that the interpretation of a message could not have an effect. As Hall puts it: the media's power lies in the fact that they are "... *able to influence, entertain, instruct or persuade with very complex, perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological or behavioural consequences*" (Hall, 2004: 202).

Going back to the emaciated child image mentioned earlier, it is not always a given that an analogous cry for help will get an answer. One of the most documented incidents of indifference to human suffering took place in New York in 1963. Kitty Genovese was repeatedly stabbed by an assailant as she returned home from work. Thirty-eight people witnessed the attack, but not a single person came to help-even after the assailant left her to die. No one even called the police. This glaring incident received much publicity and it was interpreted as an indication of the growing apathy and indifference to human distress that had resulted from the impersonal complexities of modern life (Wainwright, 1964). Though dramatic and containing inaccuracies, the news article generated a useful research program by Darley and Latane (1970) who found that there might have been mitigating factors for the thirty eight people who

failed to respond, since there are different factors that influence human response to a cry for help.

Distance was highlighted as one factor but it has to be said that distance could have two meanings. It could mean geographical distance and it could also mean personal distance, or a lack of affiliation or familiarity with the sufferer. In the case of Kitty Genovese, physical distance was not an issue thus it could be argued that other distance factors may have been at play such as the fact that she was a stranger to the witnesses. According to Latane and Darley (1970), the observers of an accident are less likely to aid the victim if they are complete strangers than if they are familiar with the victim. Observers are also likely to distance themselves at such a time from responsibility by assuming or convincing themselves that somebody else more capable (police or doctor for example) is responding. Finally population differences also appear to be important in determining willingness to help. People in urban areas are less likely to help than those from smaller towns or rural areas.

In a geographical sense distance and the response to human suffering have taxed some of the brightest minds in human history. From Aristotle to Diderot, and from Balzac to Marx, the understanding has been that distance dictates human reaction to pain and suffering (Smith, 1982). In his “Letters to the Blind”, Diderot poses the famous scenario of the Death of the Chinese Mandarin” and he argues that distance has the effect of inuring humans to the suffering of others by stating that no one in France will ever care about the death of a man in China, or a person in the West Indies will not really care about events in India (Ginzburg, 1980). Rousseau presumed that all natural human compassion has socio-historical limits determined by the extent of our likeness to others (Smith, 1982), meaning that compassion can be distorted by geographic, ethnic and social distance.

At the time of these philosophers geographical distance was a considerably bigger obstacle than it is today and news of events from China or India would take a long time to reach the heart of Europe. However, there were still cases where distance proved irrelevant and affluent Europeans rushed to the aid of the needy. In 1823 Eugene Delacroix revealed a painting that was to shock Europeans into action. His painting of the “Massacre of Chios” shows sick and dying Greeks civilians about to

be slaughtered by Turks. The massacre of around 25,000 unarmed women and children had an enormous impact on European public opinion and increased its philhellenic mood. In this case distance was proven irrelevant due to the power of the medium which depicted the plight of the Greek people. The painting graphically showed what the Europeans already suspected was happening in Greece at the time and its realistic depiction shocked the public. Another painting that had a similar effect was “La Guernica” by Pablo Picasso, which depicted the result of Fascist bombings during the civil war in Spain. Distance becomes irrelevant when the medium that transfers the suffering is powerful enough, and none is more powerful than television, which has dominated the lives of Westerners for several decades.

Returning to the image of the emaciated child, how does that affect modern audiences? Does it cause them to spring them into action? In the case of volunteer tourism, did the image of catastrophe and suffering that dominated screens worldwide following the 2004 Tsunami push people towards volunteering to help? Or does the overexposure to such images render audiences incapable of feeling empathy?

Peer pressure could be argued to be another limiting factor to acting in response to empathy. The extent to which one believes that a person can maintain their convictions in the face of pressure to conform to a majority view has been instrumental in understanding human action in the face of human suffering. Drawing on the extreme example of the Nazi lower ranks executing the most inhumane and sadistic orders. Stanley Milgram (1965) proved that human beings put conforming to orders from an authority figure above another’s pain and suffering. Freud (1905) insisted just before the Nazis proved him right that all human actions are directed towards two basic and opposed sources of energy, the life instinct and the death instinct, or to put it even simpler, that all human actions are undertaken in order to avoid pain. Under this view there is no room for altruism or a positive response to human suffering. The term positive is added because in some cases human suffering and the feeling of empathy can trigger feelings of sadistic pleasure or voyeuristic arousal (Moeller, 1999) which apply to the darker side of human nature. Psychiatric studies of Nazi perpetrators conducted by the court-appointed psychiatrists at the Nuremberg trial showed a relative absence of empathy among high ranking Nazis (Reed, 1984). There is an entire genre of narratives (Riccoboni, 1786; Marx et al,

1988; Moeller, 1999) about the morbid, erotic excitement in all social classes produced by public executions, one that developed its most self-conscious expression in the late 19th century, particularly in France when large crowds watched executions by guillotine in public places. Marx depicted a vicious bourgeoisie who professed pity but secretly revelled in spectacles of pain and applauded the atrocities to which victims were subjected.

From the above discussion one might argue that distance should not, in theory, be an issue in terms of the evocation of a humane response to human suffering. Ethnic differences and race issues should not be issues that inhibit help in an ideal world. Physical distance is less important now as people have the means to reach almost any country in the world within 30 hours. However, distancing from responsibility may still happen with individuals refusing to help on the premise that help will inevitably arrive from another source or organization which specializes in such assistance.

It could be assumed that this conviction that help will arrive gives individuals an easy option of ignoring the plight of people in need, while at the same time not suffering a feeling of dissonance from not acting according to their cognitions. This clear conscience ploy, has according to researchers, found a sibling in the form of empathy fatigue or “compassion fatigue” in which numbness is explicitly conceived as a form of self-protective disassociation (Moeller, 1999).

In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of “compassion fatigue” many writers, journalists and reviewers have accused the mass media (especially television) of redefining the relationship of audiences with human suffering, by overusing icons of atrocity. According to them, modern visual media generate “moral habituation” in audiences (Zelizer, 2000), or to put it more simply: *“You see so much, you no longer notice it, and in seeing more, you may even feel less”* (Morris, 1996: 24).

This notion is based on the ‘inoculation model’ in media theory which postulates that previous and/or sustained exposure to a media message renders the audience immune to it. Thus, long term exposure to violent messages will result in desensitization of the viewer. This model perceives the audience as entirely passive and impressionable and has been discredited by some media theorists (Taylor and Harris, 2007).

However, if the above argument does have any validity, then modern audiences may have undergone a radical transformation in the range of their responsiveness to human suffering, with the traditional reliance on the power of words and images to provoke emotions trapped in a time warp of an era that is no more. Stanley Cohen demonstrated how possible donors for humanitarian causes have a tendency to be in a state of denial in relation to the suffering of others (Cohen, 2001) due to a large extent to the knowledge or suspicion that images or stories may have been manipulated in a variety of ways. Thus, compassion fatigue can be seen also in the resistance of the general public to give money to charity or other good causes, perhaps due to this over-exposure. This arguably becomes amplified by some charities increasing the practice of requesting potential patrons' bank details for ongoing monthly donations rather than a one-off donation (Cohen, 2001).

The media, of course, have a responsibility to society by exposing and recycling stories and incidents which may validate and reinforce this apathy and fatigue. People become increasingly sceptical that most money will ever reach the needy, feeling that it will instead be used for personal benefit by corrupt politicians or spent on unnecessary overheads. In the aftermath of 9/11 many people became frustrated with the Red Cross's handling of the donations. They believed that their donations would go to the families of the victims, while the Liberty Fund only paid out approximately one third of its receipts to families and dedicated the rest to long term planning (CNN news, Nov 2001).

More recently the United Nations' oil for food program has been under investigation over allegations that the son of the then UN Secretary General received illegal payments from an external party (CNN News, Dec 2004). Although the oil for food program may not be a registered charity, the message that comes out to an already disillusioned and cynical audience is that charity is often made ineffective due to fraudulent dealings and people have the right to follow the convenient route of ignoring charity calls without feeling guilty.

These phenomena should present a wake up call to humanitarian activities worldwide because they indicate a perceived erosion of empathy which could prove detrimental to their causes. This cynicism could hurt charities but at the same time may present

volunteer tourism with a great opportunity. Few of these disillusioned people who have empathy for a cause or were touched by a catastrophe, may still want to help and make a difference. Their mistrust of the agents of assistance leaves them only one course of action; Do-it-yourself charitable and humanitarian action- Volunteer participation.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter volunteer motivation was suggested to be a function of different factors, both intrinsic and extrinsic to the individual potential volunteer. The literature identifies several motivators which may or may not entice or benefit all individuals equally. Altruism remains an enigma and perhaps future research will be able to answer once and for all whether altruism exists as a motivating factor or not. Despite the research in a variety of fields from biology to sociology, altruism remains just observable actions. There is a clear connection between altruism and the evocation of empathy, which in turn is influenced by a variety of stimuli in the media and also in an individual's immediate social environment. The media tend to influence the perception of individuals and may either intensify feelings of empathy or confirm and reinforce an individual's tendency towards psychological disassociation.

This chapter concludes that in an overall sense research is nowhere near explaining 'altruism'¹ in human behaviour and the emphasis in terms of volunteer motivational research should broaden from the motivation of the volunteers *per se* to a more integrated approach including the volunteers' impact and also the role of the organizations that act as agents to their volunteering efforts. This same argument applies equally to the motivation of volunteer tourists as it does to other volunteers. In the case of volunteer tourists however, the researcher faces the added complication of why people would volunteer as a form of leisure, exchanging a non-work leisure opportunity for at most an intangible reward from unpaid work. This is discussed further in the next chapter.

¹ As established in Chapter 3 the possibility of pure altruism is in question. Therefore, from this point onwards altruism in this thesis will be written in inverted commas.

Chapter 4

Tourist Behaviour: Leisure and Work

4.1 Introduction

By the 1990s tourism had become a highly specialised commodity and niche products such as ecotourism, heritage tourism, sport tourism and adventure tourism, had emerged. Despite the fact that the industry was relatively slow in recognising and responding to the existence and diversities of tourist demand, it has long been known among academics that tourists engage in a variety of behaviours or tourist roles and that their needs, wants and expectations vary considerably. From seeking paradise and proximity to God to wander-lust and Sun-lust, tourists have engaged in hedonistic activities and taken on different roles. This chapter reviews tourist motivation and examines the roles that tourists play in order to provide a platform for a discussion on volunteer tourist motivation.

4.2 Tourist Motivation: Seeking ‘Paradise’

Primitive man had no reason or desire to venture beyond his boundaries. Travel, being the privilege of people with means, became the basis for numerous legends and heroes who ‘dared’ to go beyond their limits and seek new places and experiences in celebrated myths such as the “*Argonaut Expedition*”, “*Odysseus’ Journey*” in ancient Greek mythology and the “*Epic Voyage of Gilgamesh*”. Very few dared or had the means to travel and occasional military endeavours provided the only opportunity for travel. In Roman times the vastness of the Roman expansion and its methodical nature meant that the legionnaires could combine their paid army ‘job’ with seeing the world and travelling. A notion found today with army recruitment promotional drives urging young recruits to enlist and ‘*see the world*’ (Royal Navy Promotional Material, 2007).

Of course the conditions of travel and the dangers they faced have nothing to do with contemporary mainstream tourism, but still their example could be used as a very archaic form of tourism whose participants were simply brave, most of them desperate men whom were travelling out of necessity rather than choice. If they were lucky enough to return home, they brought with them exotic, different artefacts,

scents, fruits and excited the imagination of their contemporaries with stories of pristine lands, exotic people and miraculous sites. Later the emergence and final victory of Christianity over paganism provided the contextual background for these 'mirages' that excited the imagination. The Biblical story of the 'Garden of Eden' presented a powerful mythological imagery of a 'paradise lost' which preached that contemporary man was not always surrounded by chaos and misery, but instead once belonged to something 'oneiric' and pristine to which he was actually entitled. This yearning for a lost paradise fuelled the development of 'paradisiacal cults' (Eliade, 1969: 88-111), the search for the promised land, which arguably culminated in the Crusades at first and the Great Voyages of Discovery later.

The Crusades and the comparative security provided by the Templars created the opportunity for pilgrimages to the 'Holy Lands' to commence and for ordinary people to undertake a vast journey in the hope of an intrinsic reward in this life or the after-life. Jerusalem became the centre of the Jewish and Christian 'world' and Mecca later became the centre of the Muslim 'world'. This pilgrimage, as an early form of 'special interest' tourism or 'religion tourism', is in simple terms a movement from the ordinary and profane to the idyllic and holy. Similarly it could be argued that the rise of contemporary tourism, as an escape from the dark (bad weather) and ordinary (routine) has followed to a considerable extent the same path. Substitute Jerusalem with a Spanish resort and the quest for the pristine and untouched with 'sun-lust', and to a large extent that could be a representative model for contemporary tourism. Tourist behaviour and motivation are part of a set of complex conceptual schemes that will be reviewed next.

In the literature tourist behaviour is shown to be neither capricious, nor trivial but to demonstrate stability and consistency with the life-course of the tourist, and to be related to certain specific demographics, such as life-stage, gender, education, income and marital status (Madrigal, Havitz and Howard, 1992; McGehee, Loker-Murphy and Uysal, 1996; Ryan, 1995; Shoemaker, 2000). To Cohen and others (Dann, 1977; Iso-Ahola, 1983; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992) tourist roles may serve as vehicles through which tourists seek to meet unsatisfied and growth needs (Yiannakis, Gibson and Murdy, 2000).

Since the 1970s researchers have undertaken systematic research into tourist behaviour and psychological needs. Wagner (1977) studying tourists in Gambia and Lett (1983) studying tourists in the Caribbean, found that touristic endeavours provided the individual with the opportunity to meet needs which they could not fulfil at home. Gray suggested that tourists were motivated either by 'wanderlust' or 'sunlust' (Gray, 1970). Crompton postulated seven psychological motives including escape, relaxation and culture (Crompton, 1979). Berlyne suggested that individuals tend to choose environments where they function at their optimal level of stimulation (Berlyne, 1960), a position also adopted by Wahlers and Etzel (1985) in their effort to decode the proliferation of tourist motives (Wahlers and Etzel, 1985). Dann (1981) noted the interaction and interrelationship between socio-psychological motives (or push factors) and the 'charms' of a destination (or pull factors) in determining choice of location for tourism. McGehee et al (1996) investigated the differences between men and women in terms of tourist choice and found that women were more likely to be influenced by culture and opportunities for family bonding and prestige, while men put their emphasis on sports and adventure. That finding is very important for this study since volunteers behave in a similar way in terms of gender. In discussing gender and volunteering, Pearce (1993) concluded that women are more likely to volunteer for organizations relating to family, culture and health, while men are more likely to provide volunteer assistance for sporting events and seek leadership roles (Slack, 1982; Selzer, 1990; Pold, 1990; Pearce, 1993).

Murray (1938) and Maslow (1943) have long suggested that human behaviour is a function of needs. Their work has been the basis upon which other researchers have built theories of the potential relationship between leisure, tourism and need satisfaction (Lounsbury and Polik, 1992; Bondy and Blenman, 1985; Thomas and Butts, 1998). Pearce's celebrated 'travel career ladder' is also grounded in Maslow's work (Pearce, 1988; 1996). In his celebrated hierarchy of needs Maslow (1943) categorized human needs at five different levels and attached motivators to them. Volunteer tourism, as an act of social consciousness can fit in different levels of Maslow's Pyramid.

One type of basic motivation which could be argued to be intrinsically tied with tourism is curiosity. Curiosity is common to humans and other animals which are

known to explore novel environments. Monkeys, for example, will repeatedly open a window of a closed cage with no reward other than the view. It would be simple to say that there is a basic curiosity drive which needs to be satisfied in the same way that there is a hunger drive. However, it has been argued that, unlike drive-reduction motives like hunger or thirst, curiosity driven behaviour does not satiate (Wagner, 1999). As has been established by the work of Hebb (1955), the satiation of a drive can at least partly, be stimulus specific. This means that consumatory behaviour is recommenced when a new stimulus is offered to the animal or person. The same thing appears to happen with curiosity. A rat, for instance, will explore a maze with no external reward but will stop doing so when it becomes familiar with it. Similarly humans become bored when the novelty of a new situation wears off. On the other hand, when the rat is put in new maze, or a person is given something new to explore, then the explanatory behaviour or interest is rekindled (Hebb,1955). This drive in people to explore new environments has been identified in the tourism literature as wander-lust (Gray, 1970). It is commonly defined as a strong desire to travel, or by having an itch to get out and see the world.

Biologically wanderlust makes a lot of sense since it could be based on a basic need of early humans to be able to respond effectively to threats by being aware of their environment. In addition, this curiosity drive theory is reinforced on an empirical basis with the satiation of curiosity being closely linked with optimal levels of arousal. There is an optimal level of arousal reached when exposed to different environments; if it is not reached, then the individual experiences feelings of boredom and dullness which can lead to behaviour targeting the increase of arousal. In the same way, if the optimal level is exceeded, then the result is anxiety and distress and the subsequent reaction is behaviour to reduce the levels of arousal. Anxiety and relaxation are intertwined in the tourism and leisure literature with individuals trying to achieve the ultimate in terms of leisure satisfaction; the 'flow experience' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). This type of experience means complete involvement of the actor with their activity and it is central to this study of volunteer tourism since flow can only be achieved with the condition of free choice: "*...there was strong evidence for the prediction that higher levels of flow accompany freely chosen activities...freely chosen activities are not only more likely to be labelled leisure, but to be accompanied by higher levels of flow*" (Mannel et al, 1988: 289).

This exploration drive has been incorporated into tourism in the work of Gray and his two pronged motivation theory (Gray 1970), whereby potential tourists are influenced by two motivating factors. Firstly the desire to go from a known to an unknown place, which he termed “wanderlust”, and secondly the desire to go to a place that provides the traveller with facilities that do not exist in his or her own place of residence, which he termed “sunlust” (Mansfeld, 1992).

Anxiety caused by the same surroundings and dullness caused by routine feature prominently in the tourism literature. Krippendorf (1999) suggested that travel is motivated by going away from, rather than going towards, something and that the travel needs of modern society have been created largely by society and the demands of every day life. People tend to feel the need to escape their daily routine and experience something different to their normal environment. The hectic, almost inhumane pace of modern life at times or the conditions of the modern work place “...increase the levels of stress to ordinary people and that creates a feeling of emptiness and boredom” (Krippendorf, 1999: 5). Going away from the above becomes an oasis for any stressed person; an opportunity to unwind, relax and recharge themselves in order to be able to withstand more of the same routine once back from holiday. Thus the motive to go away is present thanks to society which stimulates escapism and also provides the means to do so. As Krippendorf has put it; “We work in order to go on holiday, among other things, and we need a holiday in order to be able to work again” (p: 7)

What makes volunteer tourism so unique is that it ignores the boundaries between work and holidays as described by Krippendorf (1999) and introduces the concept of a working holiday. This study does not suggest that volunteer tourists are more curious than other human beings, but the wanderlust-sunlust motives do help in the case of international volunteering, in explaining why volunteer tourists choose settings which are different from their routine that enable them to participate in activities that they would not have been able to participate in at home. It should be noted though, that volunteer tourism is not always international and it can take place within a familiar surrounding. In that case the wander-lust motivation is not as strong as the motivation to volunteer which is subject to a different set of factors.

The achievement expectation motive was proposed by Murray in 1938 as a universal and important human motive. McClelland and Atkinson and their colleagues launched a research program in the 1950s into the need to achieve, which they defined as a need for success in gaining a standard of excellence (McClelland et al, 1953). With the use of TAT (Thematic Appreciation Tests), Atkinson (1964) linked the mechanism of achievement motivation closely to emotional outcomes of situations. A person experiences a conflict between approach and avoidance when faced with a challenge. Accepting the challenge results in conflicting emotions. Positive affective anticipations, notably of pride if the challenge is met; and negative, such as shame, if the attempt fails. A person's tendency to take on a challenge is determined by the combination of the person's need for achievement, the perceived probability of success, and the incentive value of success. The same rule also applies to a person's tendency to avoid challenge, but in this case failure replaces success. This is further analyzed in detail in the Hero conceptualization which follows later in this study.

The need for achievement can be explained also from a biological point of view as a drive towards achieving status and power, akin to the continual struggle to rise up the "pecking order" found in many species. In the tourism literature, the need for achievement has been highlighted as a driving force in tourist motivation. In their "tourism expectancy theory" Witt and Wright, (1992) suggested that tourist behavior is determined by the belief that the attractiveness and valence of an outcome (type of holiday taken) is useful to attain another outcome (relaxation, spiritual growth, knowledge) with greater attractiveness or valence. These potential outcomes can be linked in Maslovian theory with higher needs of self esteem and self-actualization, or more specifically, this need for achievement can be parallel with the need for 'prestige' which highlights the importance of achievement as a source of self-confidence and contentment

4.3 Motivation and Behaviour

A prominent concept which rose in the 1950s and 1960s was the cognitive approach which supported that motivation in general results in action or in behaviour response. It also argues that a major source of human motivation is the need to maintain

consistency amongst beliefs, attitudes, feelings and knowledge. The most widely discussed of these theories was the “cognitive dissonance theory” (Festinger, 1957). This proposed that humans experience a state of dissonance when they realize there is a mismatch within their cognition. This dissonance may be associated with increased physiological arousal and as with any other state of arousal, action must be taken by the organism accordingly (Brehm and Lohen, 1962). This need for cognitive consistency is important within the study of tourism. In their “theory of reasoned action or theory of planned behavior” Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) argued that the changing beliefs of a tourist will produce a change in behaviour, but this may not be enough to alter tourist behaviour if attitudes or subjective norms do not change. Wearing (2001) argues that unlike other forms of tourism, this change in behaviour is possible in the case of volunteer tourist participation since volunteer tourism has the power to transcend the state of the individual before and after participation through experiences that make a difference (see Wearing, 2001). The way the participation can change an individual is further discussed in the ‘volunteer –hero’ conceptualisation.

Archaeological evidence (Stanford, 1999; Scupin, 2004) suggests that human beings evolved to live in groups of up to fifty persons. Given the properties of groups, it is likely that motivational processes will have evolved to promote the functions of the group. The simplest motivational effect of being in a group was first recorded one hundred years ago, when researchers noted that cyclists would ride faster when in direct competition with others than when alone. This discovery led to the systematic study of ‘social facilitation’ (Zajonc, 1965). His explanation of this effect was that human beings experience a state of arousal by the mere presence of a member of the same species. Social facilitation takes the form of peer pressure in groups of people and as such it is very relevant to the study of tourism since in general tourism involves interaction between individuals or groups. Peer pressure is additionally important for this study since the participants observed, in many cases, had to make decisions under the influence of the group (see findings and discussion chapter).

Research has shown that human beings display great concern about how other people evaluate them and strive to present themselves in the best light possible. Social psychologists call this self-presentation motive ‘impression management’ and have

viewed it as a fundamental motive (Schlenker, 1980). Accordingly, successful and unsuccessful impression management can lead to feelings of self esteem and pride (see Maslow, 1943) and also low confidence and shame. Impression management can also be explained in a biological sense, since it can be argued that good impression management could promote membership of a social group, whereas bad impression management could lead to exclusion or rejection. This study explores if this notion applies to volunteer tourists as perennial ‘do-gooders’ in terms of their reasons for participating in the activity.

This motive can also be applied to tourism since peer pressure and image management influences much contemporary consumer behavior. Man needs to be recognized, to feel superior to those below him. One means of this advancement is via travel. “A tourist can go to where his social position is unknown and where he can feel superior by dint of this lack of knowledge. Additionally, on his return a further boost can be given to his ego in the recounting of his holiday experiences” (Dann, 1977:87).

Table 4.1: Needs and Tourist Motivation

Maslow Need	Relevant Literature	Tourist Motivator	Relevant Literature	Common Ground
Curiosity	Hebb,1955; Wagner, 1999	Wanderlust-Sunlust	Gray, 1970; Krippendorf, 1999; Mansfeld, 1992	Escape
Achievement Motivation	Atkinson,1964; McClelland et al, 1953; Murray, 1938	Tourism Expectancy Theory	Wit and Wright, 1992	Challenge
Cognitive Consistency	Brehm and Lohen, 1962; Festinger, 1957	Tourist Planned Behaviour	Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980	Self-Expression
Social Facilitation	Zajonc, 1965	Peer Pressure	Carr,2002; Leiper, 2004	Acceptance
Self Presentation	Schlenker, 1980	Touristic Ego-boost	Dann, 1977	Messiah Complex

Sources: Devised from Murray, 1938; McClelland et al, 1953; Hebb, 1955; Festinger, 1957; Atkinson, 1964; Zajonc, 1965; Gray, 1970; Dann, 1977; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980 Schlenker, 1980; Mansfeld, 1992; Wit and Wright, 1992; Wagner, 1999; Krippendorf, 1999; Carr, 2002; Leiper, 2004

As illustrated in Table 4.1, it is possible to create a framework of understanding tourist motivation by combining the study of human behaviour and the study of tourist motivation. Curiosity as established in the work of Hebb (1955) and Wagner (1999) can be linked to wanderlust or sun lust (Gray, 1970; Krippendorf, 1999; Mansfeld, 1992). The common ground between the two which is utilised in this study is the need to escape. As presented in the finding of this research, many of the volunteers encountered were escaping from something either from within or without (Findings Chapter). Achievement motivation or expectation as established in the work of Atkinson, (1964); McClelland et al, (1953); and Murray, (1938) can be linked to tourism expectancy theory (Witt and Wright, 1992) which, for the needs of this study, can be seen as accepting and meeting a challenge.

Cognitive consistency (Brehm and Lohen, 1962; Festinger, 1957) in the tourism literature can be linked to tourist planned behaviour or to theories of reasoned actions (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) which in this study, find common ground as self expression, since volunteer tourist participants follow their beliefs by wanting to make a difference. Social facilitation (Zajonc, 1965) can be viewed in the study of tourism as peer pressure (Carr, 2002; Leiper, 2004) and for the needs of this study it can be viewed as a need by volunteer tourists to be accepted by the group they have to live and work with. Finally, self-presentation or image management as a psychological trigger (Schlenker, 1980) becomes touristic ego-boost in tourism theory (Dann, 1977) and for the needs of this study, a Messiah complex or superiority complex the possession of which many volunteers have been accused in the media (Times, 2007)

4.4 Tourists and Experiences

According to Cohen (1979), the tourist experience can be differentiated in terms of an individual's motivation and relationship with a variety of 'centres' (Li, 2000: p64). In an attempt to explain this relationship, Cohen (1979:6) developed a typology of tourist experiences based on tourists' interests and appreciation of culture, social life and the environment of others, before presenting a continuum of motivations in relation to the tourist experience. The different modes of tourist experiences according to Cohen are ranked to represent the range of experiences from those of the most

hedonistic and psychocentric tourist, to those, who like pilgrims search for a deeper meaning at the centre of another culture. Although Cohen's work has been criticised (Mannell and Iso-Ahola, 1987:p321) as lacking empirical and systematic research, it has been the basis for a number of research projects (Boomars, 2000; Ryan, 2000) since it provides launch pad from whence to develop a discussion on tourist motivation.

According to Cohen, 1979 the tourist experience can be differentiated in terms of a variety of modes:-

The Recreational Mode

The Diversionary Mode

The Experiential Mode

The Experimental Mode

The Existential Mode

The recreational mode represents the tourist who does not seek the authentic and is happy to accept the make believe or staged. They are solely motivated by their 'urge' to escape and everything they experience is part of their 'me time'. Not unlike the audience of a circus, they do not care whether the clown is really happy or if they mask their sadness; they just want to get what they sought. To this tourist 'persona' the choice of destination is a function of their most basic motivations (Crompton, 1976). They thrive on pseudoevents (Boorstin, 1964) and they are quite content to listen and watch, accepting what takes place before their eyes as fiction and not reality and this fake reality inevitably becomes part of their escape from the 'real world'.

In defence of this type of tourist it can be said that pleasure is a legitimate reason to travel. Hedonism is deeply rooted in the human psyche and throughout history there are numerous examples of conspicuously hedonistic societies to whom pleasure is seen as a gift from the gods (Santili, 2006). Society generates pressure and an escape through tourism provides stress off-setting for man. This escape or anomie is well documented in the tourism literature (Dann, 1977) and is a well known vent for frustration and pressure, A good example of such an escape is a Carnival, whereby people for a few hours escape the restrictions of Christian ethics (Coronato, 2003). In

terms of this study, it will be examined whether volunteer tourists are seekers of a similar type of 'release', and exercising balance between hedonism and duty.

In diversionary mode the tourist is also seeking to relax and escape in a similar fashion to the recreational tourist, with the main difference being that the diversionarists express a certain dissatisfaction with their daily routine and are looking for a diversion from their otherwise mundane everyday life. This rejection of 'home' and everything it encompasses 'pushes' the diversionist towards engaging with the destination culture in order to fill this gap that they feel. In terms of the volunteer tourists in this study, escape from daily routine and environment will be explored as a motivating factor.

In experiential mode the tourists again reject 'home' but in a more intense fashion. They strongly feel that they have needs that they are not able to meet at home and they actively seek to engage in different cultural events in order to fulfill this need.

In direct contrast to the above three modes, some tourists, the 'non-institutionalised' types of tourists (Cohen, 1972), derive a deeper meaning from their travels. They are the experimentalists who use travel to a destination as a time to closely engage with the culture of the host, but they make sure they do not make any real commitment to them, unlike the existential tourist who actively embraces the society of the destination. The latter immerse themselves in the culture of the destination which they find fulfilling to such an extent that they want to be, live and become part of the host community (Cohen, 1979: p17). This tendency to 'go native' could be argued to be central in the study of volunteer tourism where participants in many cases live, work and interact at a grass-root level, experiencing the 'real' destination, not as observers of a problem or phenomenon, but as part of its solution. Just like MacCannel's (1989) 'pilgrim-tourist', volunteer tourists' experiences are existential. They participate in trying to make a difference. They partake of and are united with other similarly minded individuals in a *communitas* (sharing the same goal-quest). Where MacCannel's pilgrim tourist only vicariously experiences the authenticity of the life of others without appropriating it for himself (Cohen, 1996), the volunteer tourist does more by really experiencing the life of the 'other' and working to improve it. There are elements of the volunteer tourist body that will fall within the recreation or

diversion typology, but volunteer tourist motivation cannot be typecast by the aesthetics of the destination.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter tourist motivations have been examined in relation to the satiation of needs and summarised in a table (4.1). Cohen's typologies of tourist experiences suggest that the main motivation in the pursuit of the tourist experience is tension management. People engage in various types of leisure and recreational activities so that they may find release and relief from their mundane routine existence. There is a clear distinction between notions of play and work, and play, or time off work, is highlighted as a means of taking a break from everyday life. Thus tourist activities are generally presented as taking place in 'vacant time' where the tourists spend a few days of workless and care-free enjoyment. But what happens when the lines between work and play are not as clear? What happens when leisure gets intertwined with working on a cause or a project? These two questions fall within the sphere of the work and leisure relationship which is the subject of the next chapter.

“But the Gods taking pity on mankind, born to work laid down the succession of recurring feasts to restore them from their fatigue and gave them the Muses, and Apollo their leader, and Dionysus as companions in their feasts, so that nourishing themselves in festive companionship with the Gods, they should again stand upright and erect”.

Plato

4.6 Dimensions of Leisure and Work and Implications for Volunteer Tourism

4.6.1 Introduction

Tourism is an integral part of leisure in the same way as work is an integral part of volunteering. As such the relationship between work and leisure is at the heart of the volunteer tourism conundrum. This section explores the relationship between work and leisure in order to provide a context to the study of volunteer tourism as a fusion of work and leisure. Leisure and notions of time throughout history are examined with the common denominator being human behaviour. To this end the literature on leisure and different approaches to leisure are summarised along with a brief discussion of the value of leisure to modern society. Further, the distinction between the perceptions of leisure and work is examined in pre-industrial, industrial and post industrial contexts with respect to different dominant social paradigms. The result is that this study supports the view that human behaviour has not changed in terms of leisure, but what have changed are the perceptions of work and leisure and the relationship between the two.

4.6.2 Defining Leisure

Etymologically, the word leisure descends from the Latin word ‘licere’ meaning ‘to be permitted’ or to ‘be free’, via old French, ‘leisir’ and first appeared in the early 14th century. The ‘u’ first appeared in the early 16th century, probably by analogy with words such as pleasure (Etymonline.com). The Oxford Concise Dictionary defines leisure as ‘ free time’ , ‘time at one’s own disposal’, ‘enjoyment of free time’ or ‘ opportunity afforded by free time’ (Fowler and Fowler, 1990). Subjective definitions of leisure have their origins in the writing of Ancient Greece, and more recently such ideas have been revisited in the work of Degrazia (1962), Neulinger (1974, 1981), Iso-Ahola (1980), Mannel (1980) and Kelly (1983).

To the ancient Greeks, leisure was intrinsic to the absence of work, or the lack of necessity to work. Aristotle postulated that to be at leisure one must have the means to be so (Aristotle and Barnes, 1984). To him, work and leisure were part of two different worlds with work in today's meaning being the domain of slaves and leisure being the 'birth-right' of the Athenian citizens whose sole responsibility towards the state was to keep their body and mind harmoniously fit in order to protect their city and republic (Aristotle and Barnes, 1984). Popular contemporary definitions of leisure reveal three essential meanings of leisure. Leisure is viewed as a period of time, an activity, and a state of mind (Cooper, 1985). Of these the most prevalent is leisure as a period of time which is often described as free time. Neulinger (1980) makes the distinction between subjective conceptualizations of leisure (leisure as a state of mind) and objective conceptualizations (leisure as time or an activity).

To the ancient Greeks, and in particular Plato, leisure was viewed as belonging to the highest class of things which are of value for themselves and for their results. To Plato an activity that fails to be of this highest class is not leisure (Cooper, 1985). In the Greek philosophical tradition, leisure is anthropocentric in form and content. Overall, this subjective approach centred on the individual was prepared to recognise that all human beings are capable of pleasure, happiness and excitement in different ways. What ties these different capacities to leisure is the principle of utilitarianism which sees leisure as an action that produces meaning and feeling, and elevates human nature towards the highest aspect of human nature (Nash, 1953). Traditional theories on leisure maintain that there is a natural balance and that an exchange exists between work and leisure, as Brightbill (1961:25) put it "*...without work there can be no rewarding leisure and without leisure, work cannot be sustained*". Objective definitions of leisure to a large extent highlight the antithesis between work and leisure and make attempts to qualify leisure and work and examine the extent to which work can be seen as leisure and vice versa (Kelly, 1972; Parker, 1971).

Leisure satisfies different needs in different ways. In many cases, as will be shown in this section, a work activity can be seen as leisure and leisure activities as work. Such conceptualisations provide a framework from which to view volunteer tourism (working holiday) primarily as a form of leisure rather than work, with the key

determining factor being the motivation to participate in the activity (Poria et al, 1999).

Dickens' (1969) belief in the recuperative properties of leisure echoes the Latin roots of the word 'recreation' which carry the connotation of restoration or recovery from something. Its root is the word 're-creo' (to create again), to refresh, invigorate or revive (Etymonline.com). Dickens may have agreed with the ideas of the ancient Greek pre-Socratic philosopher Zeno, who suggested that a weakness of human nature is that it requires frequent remissions of energy through rests and pauses which serve to prepare man for re-engaging in the pleasures of activity (Barnes, 1979). However, the value of leisure is not limited solely to its recreational nature as shown by various philosophies. As noted earlier, the ancient Greeks believed that leisure contributed to the development of human nature and thus added to human capital. According to Taoism, leisure brings forth the state of "jing jie" (Gong, 1998) which is a harmony between mind, spirit and body, which is somewhat analogous to the state of "flow" as described by Csikszentmihalyi (1990). To the Chinese such a state can lead to infinite happiness and joyfulness (Wang and Stringer, 2000). In Indian tradition, the Brahmanism concept of "Vedanta" described a state of self-realization, attainment or cosmic consciousness which can be attained through leisure (Sharma, 2002).

Perhaps the emphasis and value given to leisure by several cultures could serve as an indicator of the value of leisure, and research also shows that there is perhaps a correlation between leisure pursuits and quality of life. A complex and vague term (Cummins, 1998; Veenhoven, 2000), quality of life has been deemed to be considerably value laden and to differ across individuals and cultures (Lloyd and Little, 2005). A multi-layered, multi-national research approach by the WHO (World Health Organization) in 1998, after gathering data from 15 countries around the world, came up with six main domains of the quality of life;

- Physical (Pain, discomfort, energy and fatigue)
- Psychological (Positive feelings, self-esteem, negative feelings)
- Level of Independence (Mobility, activities of daily living, work capacity)
- Social Relationships (Personal relationships, social support)

- Environment (Physical safety and security, home environment, work satisfaction, financial resources, health and social care, participation in opportunities for recreation and leisure)
- Spirituality (religion, personal beliefs)

This study showed that leisure activity represents a key element of Quality of life (QOL). Studies in individual countries also confirmed that leisure contributes to the QOL of individuals; Australia (Lloyd and Auld, 2002); Canada (Michalos and Zumbo, 2003); Iran (Kousha and Mohseni, 1997); Israel (Ritsnen et al, 2005). However, it is not yet clear in the literature exactly ‘how’ leisure participation contributes to QOL.

The main obstacle to such research is that “...*people living in different situations, see different things as essential to a meaningful existence*” (Shin and Rutkowski, 2003:51). Culture in particular is perhaps the most central and defining characteristic of diverse societies since “...*the universal strive for a positive life, indisputably takes place within the specifics of the person’s cultural environment*” (Sun and Oishi, 2004:219). There has been limited research linking quality of life to volunteering, but Moen et al (1989; 1992) showed that participation in voluntary work had a significant positive effect on physical health and longevity among their sample of women. While though the results were impressive, they did not make a clear distinction between different volunteer activities, and their sample did not include men. A few years later, further studies confirmed the work of Moen et al (1992), by showing that volunteering had an effect on mortality rates (Oman et al, 1999). Their work showed that older volunteers (over 65 years old) in a sample experienced lower mortality rates over a 5-year period than those who did not volunteer. Their research was validated also by the work of Musick et al (1999) who had similar results. However, the value of their work comes into question taking into account the fact that they used for their study only people over 65 years old. It is not clear if their findings could be generalised to include younger adults and total populations.

There is extensive literature which highlights the importance of primary group ties (Durkheim, 1951) and how certain positions or roles in society foster and promote a

sense of attachment and integration (Mirowsky and Ross, 1986; Seeman, 1959). It has been argued that well-being is correlated to the extent to which individuals feel part of a supportive community, find their work rewarding, and have a sense of purpose in their lives. These assumptions can be applied to this study and by adding to the argument the benefits of volunteer participation (noted above), it can be argued that if volunteer work facilitates the above three aspects of life among participants, then it could also have a positive effect on individual well-being across age, generations and cultures.

4.6.3 Leisure in Pre-industrial times: Leisure, work and notions of time

In order to understand how volunteer work could add to the quality of life of individuals it is important to show how notions of work and play have always been interrelated and how their interplay epitomises how people have viewed work, leisure and life itself in different periods of human history. This is significant since the fusion between work and leisure-tourism and work is at the heart of the volunteer tourism phenomenon.

Most people in pre-industrial society worked the land and they were well aware of the distinction between work and non-work. But crucially the pace of their lives obeyed diurnal and seasonal rhythms, instead of the rational discipline of the industrial working week. This close relationship with agricultural cycles ensured that there would be a fusion between work and leisure. This fusion is reflected in the fact that there were no clearly defined periods of leisure as such, but economic activities like hunting or market-going also held a recreational element as did telling stories at work or singing while carrying out a task (Thomas, 1965). Such a situation was depicted in terracotta in Thebes from the third century BC, which shows four women rolling dough into loaves to the sound of the flute (Geoghegan, 1945). In pre-industrial times work was not regulated by the clock but by the requirement of the task. The pleasure derived from work and captured on the terracotta was also observed in indigenous populations by Malinowski (1935), with local Maori fishermen getting up in the middle of the night to polish their fishing clubs.

Key to this fusion between work and leisure with a direct link to work satisfaction was the Cosmo-theory of time as a cycle which repeated itself. In the myths of various civilizations such cycles take centre stage, highlighting the importance and fascination of the ancients with time and its nature. Indeed the battle between day and night, light and dark, has been immortalised in the myths of the Sun God Helios in ancient Greece and the struggle of Seth and Horus in Egyptian mythology. The exchange between night and day and the passage of time was a reassuring constant reminder to early human societies that the Gods favoured them and looked after them. The Aztecs were infamous for carrying out human sacrifices in order to keep the Sun, and thus time, moving. It is not difficult to understand the fascination of nomadic hunter gatherers with the Sun and its 'movement' on the sky. Their whole life was conditioned and determined by the rising and the setting of the Sun. Since there were no clocks to count hours, minutes and seconds, the height of the Sun in the Sky was used to gauge how much time they had left to complete any unfinished tasks before night and darkness took hold. Indeed tribal life was oriented around daily, monthly, and seasonal rhythms dictated by the Gods themselves, who for some reason had laid down the rules of the natural observable universe (Murphy, 1974). These rules found their way into myths providing different explanations for phenomena such as the summer solstice, the vernal equinox and the different seasons. The common theme of these is that all the above phenomena were circular conceptions of time which were constant and recurring (Murphy, 1974) with an inevitability that only divine intervention could safeguard or overturn. As sure as day followed night and spring followed winter, this cyclical conception of time dictated repetition and familiarity in all human activities, both social and natural. This cyclical nature of time meant that time was never lost or wasted and as such it allowed a relaxed attitude towards time, life, and the natural surroundings. De Grazia notes that the ancients “...*delightedly accepted the eternal harmonious order that could be discovered through contemplation*” (1962:26).

For the philosophical Greeks a circular conception of time allowed for regeneration and revitalisation of nature. Spring returned every fourth season and brought a period of new vigour during which every species renewed and reproduced. A similar attitude towards time continued through in the Middle Ages and it was reflected in the leisure activities of the time which show the same lack of clarity about where work ended

and leisure began. Most of the activities were obvious products of a society organized for war. The knightly tournament was leisure and practice for the upper classes, while archery, riding and wrestling were the leisure of the lower classes and similar rehearsals for possible future conflict (Thomas, 1965). The Saturnalia or Feasts of the Fool held a special place in the leisure of the lower classes in the middle ages. During this day, social roles were reversed and unsocial behaviour or even assaults were formally immune to prosecution (Coulton, 1925). All leisure activities displayed a pre-industrial sense of time with events being dated by reference to the ecclesiastical calendar. As such festivals occurred at slack periods of the agrarian year and they followed the rhythm of the harvest (Thomas, 1965). This lack of preciseness was to become a thing of the past with the invention of the mechanical clock and the introduction of structured shift-work during industrialization which drew clear lines between work time and leisure time. The mechanization of time was set in motion, when early nomads and food gatherers needed to meet other men and engage in barter or trade of goods. This required a more clear and finite division of time (Murphy, 1974: 6) and as a result, clocks were developed in order to cater to the needs of a more time conscious man. Mechanical clocks are known to have existed in the 13th century AD, but the earliest survivors belong to the 14th century (Priestley, 1968: 27). From this point onwards, man became a 'slave' to time; it regulates life and natural rhythm was replaced by the rhythm of machines (Anderson, 1964). The importance of the clock in transforming human consciousness should not be overlooked. Without the clock, free time in its contemporary form would not have emerged. Work and leisure were fused in pre-clock societies. The clock has turned work and leisure into two opposing concepts, rigorously circumscribed by a notion that sees work as time filled with productive occupation, and leisure as empty time (Murphy, 1974).

As such it becomes apparent that fusing work with leisure is not a paradox or a contradiction. A fusion between the two is dictated by natural rhythms while the distinction between the two is fuelled by a human invention, the clock. As such volunteering during holiday time should come as naturally to the participant as singing came to the women depicted on the terracotta from ancient Thebes or 'waulking' tweed in the 19th century. All are combining leisure and work activities, albeit for different reasons.

4.6.4 Leisure in Industrial times: Leisure, work and notions of time

Since the early Middle Ages all attempts to organize the working day had imposed a regime which coincided more or less with the hours of daylight and was consequently longer in the summer than in the winter (Langenfelt, 1954). This perhaps may have been the influence behind the pre-industrial relatively slack attitude towards work.

Even though people in pre-industrial times worked hard, their relaxed and flexible attitude towards work is reflected in the quote by Clayre (1974:152) who suggested that the pre-industrial period “...*was not a golden age of labour*”. It is clear from the literature that labour services were deeply unpopular with those who had to discharge them and the unsatisfactory nature of their performance was one of the factors leading to commutation, which was the substitution of money payments for rents and payments in kind rendered by the villeins and cottars to their feudal lord (Coulton, 1937).

The upper classes (not unlike the ancient Greek citizens) had contempt for manual labour and they considered it as the domain of the working class or slaves (Thomas, 1965). This class differentiation is continued in the idea of the ‘leisured’ and ‘working’ classes (Linder, 1970). The old model, based on either institutional or Marxist premises, assumed that leisure was determined by work (Rojek, 1985). In the early days of industrialisation with a well defined work schedule, this distinction became very clear. The newly industrialist factory system of the second half of the 18th century imposed a system of labour discipline which was based on the regimentation of time through time-sheets, time-keepers, clocking in and out times, piece work, over-time and bonus systems for beating the clock. For the entrepreneurs of the period, time was money and a prime management resource which was to be manipulated and used. This newly introduced approach added pressure to the concept of daily labour and workers began to formulate a distinction between their time and their employer’s time (Rojek, 1985: 18). From that point on for the worker, a working day lost was a day’s pay lost and this interrelationship of time and revenue contributed to the commoditisation of time.

Many commentators have suggested that modern western industrial society is dominated by a 'consumer ethic' which is based and reinforced on a fixed set of perceptions;

- (a) The biosphere was viewed as unlimited with regards to its supply of materials and its capacity to absorb wastes and other impacts.
- (b) Faith was placed in the unbounded ability of science and technology to exploit nature, while unbridled optimism about the prospects for sustained economic growth was expressed.
- (c) The quality of life was assessed primarily in material and quantitative terms, equating satisfaction and success with material yardsticks, such as growth in an individual's income or the GNP of a country (Boulding, 1966; O'Riordan, 1976 and Russel, 1979)

Dunlap and Van Uere (1984) attempted to identify and measure the core values associated with the industrial spirit which heralded conspicuous consumption as the dominant social paradigm (DSP). To Dunlap and Van Uere DSP was "*...a useful shorthand term for the constellation of common values, beliefs and shared wisdom about the physical and social environments which constitute a society's basic worldview*" (1984: 1013). Spry (1980) provides a detailed discussion of leisure in the consumers' society. He described such society as "*...a world in which the emphasis is constantly on the apparatus of living, not on the quality of life itself*" (1980:147). As such the goal of life is having and not being, and as a consequence, leisure became associated with lavish spending and self-promoting activities.

With hindsight it could be argued that such a DSP was bound to have several impacts. Wall and Wight (1977) highlighted severe environmental impacts as a result of such an approach to leisure due to the heavy demands made on natural resources, especially energy, which was reflected in types of equipment and the scale of facilities and patterns of leisure travel (Foster and Kuhn, 1983; Richie and Claxton, 1983). In more intangible terms, consumer society leisure provided instant and quick thrill gratification for a price and it was a mirror of consumers who competed with each other in terms of status and prestige based on possessions.

This DSP was formed during a bygone era of extraordinary abundance at a time when people thought the ‘party’ would never end and they would keep benefiting from the supposedly infinite resources of the earth. They were wrong and today clearly this paradigm is no longer adaptive in a new era of ecological insecurity and established limits, as well as financial upheaval and the disappearance of credit on which much of the conspicuous consumption was based.

4.6.5 Leisure in Post Industrial Times: Leisure work and a new notion of time

The rigidity of mechanical time resulted in many people feeling constrained by this one-way temporal process epitomised by industrial clocks (Murphy, 1974). People may yearn to escape the prison of work-time and experience situations where time fuses with their actions in an enjoyable and natural manner. This is psychological time, concerned not with the quantitative aspect of time but rather with the qualitative. It is not unusual for people to remark that they lost track of time while they were doing something enjoyable, while the clock does not seem to move while they are doing something they would rather not. This relative nature of time is central to the understanding of psychological time. When asked about it, Einstein used the following example:

*Put your hand on a hot stove for a minute, and it seems like an hour.
Sit with a pretty girl for an hour, and it seems like a minute.
THAT'S relativity*

(Einstein 1879-1955)

Time and our understanding of it depend very much on the activity that the time is spent on. This is why psychological time is paramount. It off-sets the effects of mechanical time. The passing and relentless rhythm of time takes with it a part of ourselves and humans must learn to perceive time and space as an opportunity to add to their human capital through a broadening and deepening of their consciousness in an attempt to achieve self-actualisation (Maslow, 1943). This is where leisure comes into the equation.

As Aristotle is a philosopher of happiness, so he is also a philosopher of leisure. He suggests that true happiness and a high standard of living can only appear in leisure postulating that “...*a citizenry unprepared for leisure will degenerate in prosperous times*” (Aristotle: Ethics: 12). According to De Grazia, Aristotle was proven right in the case of Sparta. It remained secure as long as it was at war and it collapsed as soon as it won an empire. The Spartans did not know how to use the leisure that peace had brought them (De Grazia, 1962). How, relevant is Aristotle today? Like the Spartans, the western world today is a society that is no longer at war. There is no need to ‘fight’ nature or toil too hard to survive and, unlike previous generations, there is no imperialist power to threaten our ‘nirvana’ and keep us on edge. We used to be a society of Spartans occupied with dealing with the harshness of life and that was our War. Now we are warriors with no war to fight and as such we need to direct our leisure in such a way as it does not destroy us as it did Sparta or Rome. Recently though certain phenomena have arisen that may mean the beginning of a new era of ‘war’ for societies, terrorism, the credit crunch (see Crichton, 2005).

Another characteristic of post-industrialism is that the fusion that existed earlier between work and leisure seems to be returning. Work and leisure can not be treated as opposites to the same extent as they were during the industrial era. The production of more attractive workplace designs, the introduction of flexitime and the provision of recreation and rest facilities (staff bar and play areas) along with the provision of day care facilities have added to the perception that work could also have elements of leisure.

Similarly, leisure gradually has become increasingly more work-like. Specialist pursuits such as photography, playing musical instruments, even jogging, involve a great deal of discipline, planning and work, while less strenuous activities like watching television or a film are highly routinized and regimented. Another point is that leisure in its prolific nature is ‘big business’ and a major part of an increasingly service oriented economy. Finally and most importantly to this study, the increasing number of people who spend time doing unpaid labour in their free time such as DIY (Geshuny, 1978) and the increased numbers of volunteers may also add to this fusion of work and leisure (see Stebbins, 2007 below)

Not unlike the DSP of industrial times, the post-industrial era also has a new dominant social paradigm which according to Jackson (1989) is the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) which comes as an antidote to the 'evils' of the consumers' society DSP. As such the NEP contains a new set of norms and values;

- (a) A limited biosphere is viewed as imposing constraints on technology and the possibility for unchecked economic growth.
- (b) Uncontrolled Economic growth is seen as undesirable, given the inevitable negative environmental and social consequences that could result if the 'growth ethic' is not moderated
- (c) Re-direction of material aspirations is thus required and the quality of life is assessed using primarily qualitative criteria (Boulding 1966; O'Riordan, 1976; Russel, 1979)

Leisure in this NEP ideally would be decentralised, small scale, individualistic and oriented towards the non-consumptive enjoyment of the natural environment, utilizing less equipment and mostly un-mechanised. In addition it would consume less energy and be geared towards the personal, long-term physical and mental development of individuals and societies (Jackson, 1989). If we accept Jackson's vision for the future, then the recent emergence of new forms of leisure may be evidence of the restructuring of societal values and behaviours, at least partially, due to the changing perceptions of ecological limits and resource constraints which dominate the current 'zeitgeist'. What we have now is a mixed synthesis of the two societal paradigms; a consumer society, where the influence of the NEP is more and more widely accepted, due to the manifested impacts of the previous discredited paradigm.

4.6.6 Combining Paradigms

Thus far in this chapter different approaches to leisure have been examined. Each of them had its roots in the social paradigm of its time which was a manifestation of the current societal norms and the technological advances of the time. This section will present a more holistic view of leisure as a phenomenon of the 21st century,

concentrating on the work of Stebbins who provides a potential vehicle for the purposes of the study of volunteer tourism.

Stebbins (2007) provides a holistic definition of leisure integrating both subjective and objective notions of leisure. To him then leisure is “...*un-coerced activity engaged in during free time, which people want to do and, in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both), use their abilities and resources to succeed at this*” (2007:4). Free time is also defined as “...*time away from unpleasant obligation*” (2007:4).

As such Stebbins proceeded to build a basic framework of leisure which according to him can be categorised as casual, serious, and project-based leisure (Stebbins, 2000; 2005; 2007).

Starting with casual leisure, Stebbins defines it as “...*immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable core activity, requiring little or no special training to enjoy it* (2007:38). He goes on to identify eight different types of casual leisure;

- Play: Dabbling, dilettantism
- Relaxation: Sitting, Sunbathing, strolling
- Passive Entertainment: Books, recorded music
- Active Entertainment: Games of chance, party games
- Sociable Conversation: Gossip, idle chatter
- Sensory Stimulation: Sex, eating, drinking. Sight seeing
- Casual Volunteering: Handing out leaflets, stuffing envelopes
- Pleasurable aerobic activity

What all eight types have in common is that they are all hedonistic; they all produce levels of pure pleasure or enjoyment for those engaging into such activities. However, casual leisure is not frivolous in its entirety. Several studies have shown that doing what comes naturally can have certain benefits (Shinew and Parry, 2005; Kerr et al, 2002). What makes the above eight types of casual leisure relevant to this study is the fact that all eight could feature in a conventional holiday.

Serious leisure on the other hand is the systematic pursuit of an amateur hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting and fulfilling that they launch themselves on a (leisure) career, centred on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge and experience (Stebbins, 1992). Serious leisure can apply to volunteer tourism provided that the individual in question partakes in volunteer tourism frequently and acquires specific skills in order to participate at even higher levels.

Project-based leisure according to Stebbins is a short term one off or occasional though infrequent creative undertaking carried out in free time (2007:43). In contrast to casual leisure, it requires considerable planning, effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge. This type of leisure fits perfectly the idea of volunteer tourism in its contemporary format, since it involves many of the characteristics of the latter

4.6.7 Implications for this study

One aim of this study is to deconstruct the motivation and expectations of different stakeholders in the field of volunteer tourism. This section has shed some light on the nature of leisure and also on the fact that the perception of leisure may be more important than the actual leisure activity undertaken. People in pre-industrial times had no perception issues about how they spent their time. Their approach to work and leisure was dictated by natural rhythms and the necessity of tasks needing to be done. When a hunter gatherer went hunting, their actions may have resulted in some benefits associated with modern concepts of leisure, but were dictated by the instinct of survival. Similarly when the women depicted on the terracotta in ancient Thebes sang, they did not consciously utilise their right to leisure, but they just did what came naturally to them. The invention of the mechanical clock and a new notion of time which arrived with industrialization changed this relaxed attitude where work and leisure could be one and instigated a new approach where work became synonymous with toil, since during work time only work was expected to be undertaken. This view of work as duty and a punishment was reinforced by religion, with the Bible portraying work as the result of Adam's fall (Genesis 2:25-3:13). Gradually, work and leisure became two opposite entities, with leisure being the enjoyable one. From

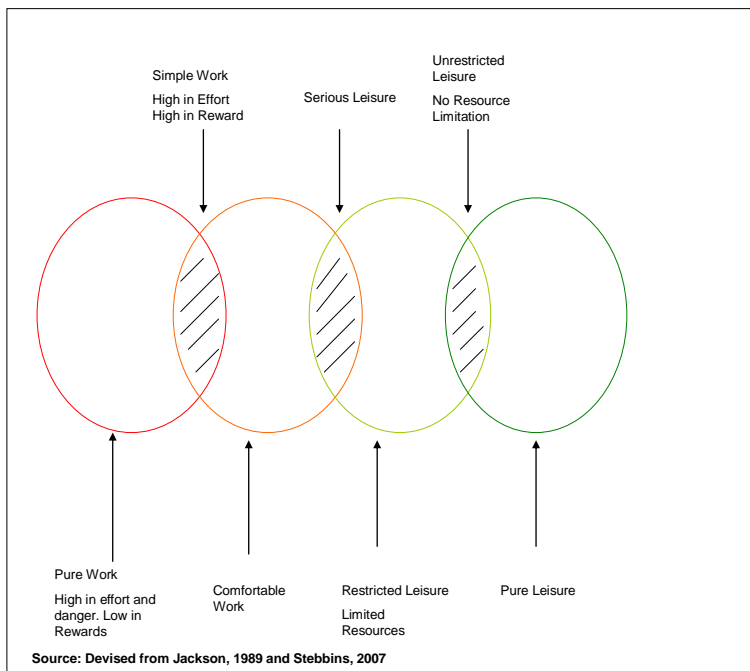
something that came naturally, work then became a necessity and even a sense of moral duty. As Wordsworth wrote; “...*the discipline of slavery is unknown amongst us-hence the more do we require...the discipline is virtue*” (Thomas, 1965). The triumph of industrialization meant that old incentives to work, such as joy, competition, craftsmanship and social responsibility became things of the past and work became an imposition which had to be suffered and was compensated for by earnings.

Post industrialism brought with it a return to basics and a resurfacing of the work and leisure fusion. Again the two notions are mixed, with people returning to the natural state of carrying out tasks and undertaking strenuous activities for the sheer pleasure of doing so. Within this environment it is paramount to find a conceptual home for volunteer tourism. There are four dimensions involved in the range of definitions of volunteering; (a) un-coerced help; (b) lack of remuneration; (c) structure and (d) intended beneficiaries (see Chapter 3). Volunteer tourism, due to the absence of direct economic motivation on the part of the participants, is a leisure concept since it fits the requirement of being an un-coerced activity undertaken during free time (see Stebbins earlier).

A work-leisure synthesis then is required in order to be able to conceptualize volunteer tourism and provide a conceptual ‘hook’ for this research.

The fusion between work and leisure means that there are various mixes of work and leisure that may overlap each other.

Figure 4.1: Work and Leisure Fusion



As presented in Figure 4.1 the relationship between work and leisure could be presented as a continuum with the one extreme being pure work and the other extreme pure leisure. In order to show the overlapping notions the figure was devised from the work of Jackson (1989) and Stebbins (2007). Pure work is often strenuous, even dangerous, involving following orders and fulfilling enforced obligation with a low return (low rewards). Pure leisure can be seen as synonymous to Stebbins' (2007) casual leisure, a type of activity that does not need any preparation or planning and does not take any significant effort on behalf of the participant to complete (strolling, sun-bathing etc).

Simple work is carrying out strenuous work but with higher rewards. Comfortable work is work that is enjoyable and under other circumstances could have been a leisure activity. Instead a certain level of talent means that the individual can make a living out of taking part in a (for others, not so talented) leisure activity. Serious Leisure indicates an activity which takes a lot of effort on behalf of the individual and discipline, just like work, but the difference is lack of remuneration. Career (long term) volunteering is part of this category. The next circle is restricted leisure. This category includes leisure activities like DIY around the house or working on a car during free time. It is termed restricted leisure because the individual, by doing the

DIY, in general avoids the cost of paying a professional to carry out the same work. The restriction applies to the financial resources of individuals in general that may be trying to reduce their spending by not hiring a professional. The final category is unrestricted leisure, where the individual takes part in similar tasks to the ones above, but the avoidance of payment is not a factor.

Volunteer tourism can be argued to belong in both restricted and unrestricted leisure. It can be seen as restricted because in the case of very cheap volunteer tourism opportunities, the individual has to work during free time but in exchange they avoid the extra cost of a different type of holiday to the same destination, just as the amateur plumber, painter or gardener avoids the cost of paying a professional. The restriction in this case is the potential lack of resources which may push individuals towards not hiring a professional or using the same analogy, not choosing a more expensive holiday. There might be cases where resources are not an issue and the DIY participant chooses not to call in a professional, for reasons other than necessity. Similarly, a volunteer tourist may choose a certain volunteer holiday for reasons other than low price. It can also be categorised as unrestricted leisure when volunteer tourism holidays incur a similar or even a higher cost than a conventional type of holiday to the same destination. In this case there are no financial or resource restrictions and the choice is determined by other factors. Finally, volunteer tourism could also feature as serious leisure, provided that the conditions of frequent undertaking and skills acquisition are fulfilled. Volunteer tourism by nature is episodic and serious leisure normally prescribes a routine and some volunteer tourists appear to meet these requirements as discussed later.

4.6.8 Summary

This section has explored the relationship between work and leisure and its implications for the study of volunteer tourism. It also showed that the fusion between work and leisure that characterises the post industrial era is not new but a return to a previous model of work and leisure to which societies of the past adhered. In this equation, the fusion has been shown to be facilitated by nature while the lack of fusion was imposed by human invention. Thus a return to the old, natural ways could

be just a sign that human activity and history has come full circle and has gone back to basics. In this environment, volunteer tourism stands not only as an analogous fusion between work and leisure (tourism and volunteering), but also as a fusion between pleasure and duty, while in supply terms it is also supported by a fusion between profit and serving a need. This study aims to disentangle the ‘Gordian knot’ that is volunteer tourism, with the next chapter focusing on the relationship between profit and serving a cause, and the provision of opportunity supported by strong marketing.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the relationship between work and leisure and how leisure has evolved according to the dominant social paradigm of different eras in human history. In this journey leisure or work as expressions of human endeavour have not changed, only the perception of them has. An era of fusion in pre-industrial times changed to an era of clear distinction between the two in industrial times, but this fusion between work and leisure is now making a comeback. Volunteer tourism is a bi-product of this mixed paradigm of work and leisure. Yet the interrelationships and ambiguity in the case of volunteer tourism do not stop there. Volunteering is about good works, allied to philanthropy, altruism and recently to social entrepreneurship. Tourism, on the other hand, is predominantly associated with business and profit making. Inevitably the blending of the two raises questions in terms of the organisations that act as agents offering volunteer tourism opportunities. What is the conceptual context, in which such agents act as volunteer tourism tour operators; what is the relationship between doing good and profit-making; and how has entrepreneurial activity transformed volunteer tourism from its early model of humanitarian service to the business model that exists today? The next chapter tackles these questions and provides a conceptual background to the phenomenon of social entrepreneurship and the emergence of the non-profit organisations, before presenting the findings of market research of a part of the industry supplying the volunteer tourism market with opportunities.

Chapter 5

Philanthropy: From Paternalism to Social Entrepreneurship

5.1 Introduction

The analysis undertaken in this study shows that the majority of volunteer tourist organisations are registered as non-profit organisations. This understanding highlights the importance of exploring the phenomenon of social enterprises in an attempt to see if there is a direct correlation between the aim and objectives of organisations and the volunteer tourism organisation model in terms of whether the market is driven by supply factors (real need) or by demand factors (pseudo-need). Exploring the phenomenon of volunteer tourism with a good understanding of how non profit organisations operate and are developed will be instrumental in overcoming distrust as to their objectives and priority setting in their involvement and also highlight the role that social responsibility has had in the development of the modern third sector. This chapter provides a theoretical background to the development of the phenomenon of social entrepreneurship and its recent ‘offspring’ the non-profit organization. In this process philanthropy is considered as human heritage from the ancient Greeks to the Romans and from the Paternalism of the Church to the nouveau riche of industrial times, who strived to gain social status by doing God’s work. Throughout this trip in time it becomes apparent that philanthropy was a duty imposed on the ‘Haves’ to help the poor, a noblesse oblige that decreed that with great power came great responsibility. Religion is also a mainstay in this historic review, with the Calvinist ethic declaring profit as sinful and unethical.

The concept of enlightened interest surfaced in a time of turmoil in France as a framework for pacifying the masses and preventing revolts like the French Revolution (1789) and the Commune (1871). It provided a blurred paradigm of fusion between profit and charity which was inherited in the tradition of current corporate philanthropy and social entrepreneurship. The chapter concludes with a discussion of social entrepreneurship as a concept and a review of non-profit organizations leading into the following section on the supply of volunteer tourism opportunities.

5.2 Charity and Religion

Philanthropy is not a new idea. In “Corruption and the Decline of Rome” (1998) MacMullen discusses how charitable foundations were partly responsible for the flourishing of Rome, and their decline coincided with the loss of the empire. Earlier in ancient Greece, Solon, one of the ‘seven wise men’ of antiquity’ had put in place economic reforms that were designed to help the poor. His “seisachtheia” was a set of laws in order to rectify the wide spread serfdom and slavery that had run rampant in Athens by the 6th century BC (Hammond, 1961).

In the Christian tradition, charity or love (‘agape’ in Greek) is the greatest of the three theological virtues. Sentiments such as “Deus caritas est”, “God is love” sum up the importance of charity which is also shared by other faiths like the Muslims, with the concept of “Sadaqah” which encompasses any act of giving out of compassion, love or generosity (Moody, 2008). A Papal decree of Gregory IX urged the faithful to seek their salvation by bequeathing part of their wealth to the support of pious causes (Tierney, 1959). To most people of the time, pious causes were these which honoured God and his church, such as gifts for the saying of masses, for obits, for the foundation of chantries, for vestments for candles and incense, for the repair of churches and for the upkeep of religious houses (Jones, 1969). The canonical conception of piety also embraced gifts for the relief of distress and suffering on earth, such as provisions for the poor, the maimed and suffering, and the upkeep and repair of hospitals, bridges, roads and dykes (Ashley, 1925: 53).

Christian charity has been an integral part of European civilisation. In Medieval Europe the church bore the responsibility for organising and promoting poor relief until the 16th century when some European countries began to take responsibility for the poor (Lockyer, 1964). In England the first statutory measures to alleviate poverty were introduced in the late Tudor period (1485-1603). Relief was directed not at the population at large, but at the poor and disabled. The method employed was to place responsibility on the parishes which were helped by a poor tax (Lockyer, 1964). There was a complicated system of poor relief in England which dated back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (Poor Relief Act, 1601). The main idea behind this Act was that each Parish was to be held responsible for its own poor members. Property owners

were to pay certain rates which would then be put aside and spent it in a variety of ways to provide relief and support for the needy of their community (Speed, 1975). During the era of industrial revolution there were still remnants of this paternalistic approach that decreed that Parishes should take care of their paupers; the Speenhamland or Allowance system, the Roundsman system, The Labour rate and the Workhouse are all such approaches which were soon criticised as being too rigid in structure and ineffective (Speed, 1975).

This ineffectiveness led to a resurgence of private charity and a rejection of state paternalism by a new social caste of merchants (entrepreneurs). Many often contributed large sums of money to private charities which were, in the long run, probably more effective than state-aid in delivering relief for the poor. These new contributors called for dedication to work, honesty, thrift and charity and their philosophy was that people should be helped to help themselves. True to this philosophy, they poured money into the comprehensive remodelling of English education which, together with the entrepreneurship they propagated, made Britain the most prosperous nation in the world a few years later (James, 1995).

5.3 From Religion Paternalism to Private Philanthropy

The Reformation statutes in England were the legal culmination of a complex social and religious revolution which affected all aspects of European life (Jackson, 1969). They overthrew Papal supremacy and the decline of the authority of organized religion was paralleled by what Dickens (1964) has called “...*a change of viewpoint concerning the nature and functions of religion, both in the individual and in society*” (1964:325). The main manifestation of such a change was in the character of philanthropy. The objects of charity were to become more secular as the majority of people reflected less on the fate of their souls and became more concerned with the worldly needs of their fellow men (Jones, 1969).

As noted earlier, before the Industrial revolution, community involvement was the responsibility of the landed gentry or the church. It was not uncommon to see the lady of the manor accompanied by the vicar’s wife distributing alms to the sick and the

needy. The state itself accepted minimal responsibility and only a few urban centres could be seen to be having some sort of involvement (Jones, 1989). In the 19th century came profound change in the social structure of the newly industrialised countries. The moral or religious backing for industry was provided by the Protestant ethic and doctrine of self-help which carried within itself the implicit relegation of community involvement to a position low down on the list of the self-made man's priorities (Rogers, 1972). The economists' interpretation of the doctrine was "laissez faire", a convenient doctrine when you are on top and a cruel and unjust millstone around the neck when you are not able to pull yourself up by your own efforts. The result of this doctrine was an unfair society, full of inequities and environmental disaster, child labour, exploitation, slums and 'dark, satanic mills' (Dickens in Lohre, 1988).

In this environment the traditional benefactors were few, while the aristocracy were occupied living in their own world and marrying into the nouveau riche for dynastic purposes. In these dark times, there were some industrialists, who in their minority, attempted to respect human rights and provide humane conditions for workers introducing upgraded work amenities and safety laws.

Working mills were a key part of the industrial revolution. There were mills that were dirty, dusty, ill-ventilated and dangerous, but there were others that were, for their day and age, model factories. The most famous were the New Lanark Mills, the property of the philanthropist, Robert Owen, and the Titus Salt Mills at Saltaire. These mills have been described by visitors as follows: "*I had great pleasure in walking through the eighteen apartments of the spinning mills and power loom weaving establishment and witnessing the admirable order of the works, and the apparent happiness of the people employed which is quite remarkable and as obvious as at any of the other great factories situated in country districts*" (Speed, 1975: 31).

By the end of the 19th century conscience and civic responsibility reasserted itself, partly one may argue due to fear of uprisings of the masses (Paris Commune, 1871), and partly because of enlightened self interest; industry and society came closer together.

5.4 Enlightened Self-Interest

Enlightened self interest was a concept first discussed by Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) in his work “Democracy in America” (1835). The notion held that people join together in groups to further the interests of the group and by that serve their own interests. With this notion he posed the question of whether or not it is to the advantage of a person to work for a benefit for all. In order to understand Tocqueville’s notion one must look at the political and social turmoil that existed in France during his lifetime. His grandfather and aunt had been guillotined and his parents imprisoned at the time of the French Revolution (Hutchill and Adler, 1964). This uprising of the masses against the elite made him think that perhaps by encouraging the masses to participate in civil associations it would take their minds off the ills of their lives. On the other hand, if the aristocracy contributed to the welfare and improving of the life of the many, then they may minimise the risk of facing the guillotine again (Elazar, 1999). In today’s terms, enlightened interest could take several forms; a corporation contributing to scholarship programs might be doing this to educate future workers but the same time help poor students. Another example is the same corporation supporting cultural programs in the city where they have their headquarters. One motivation could be to make those cities more attractive for recruitment purposes, while at the same time they improve the surroundings for all and their own image.

Tocqueville’s concept of enlightened self interest provides an accurate description of the foundational history of the non-profit sector as it was shaped in US philanthropic tradition.

5.5 Profit Making and Enlightened Self-Interest

The real founders of US philanthropy were the British men and women who crossed the Atlantic to establish communities that would be better than the ones they had known at home (Owen, 1964). These puritans were characterised by the principles of industry, frugality and humility derived from the Calvinist belief that : “...*a rich man is a trustee for wealth which he disposes for the benefit of mankind, as a steward who*

lies under direct obligation to do Christ's will (Jordan, 1961:406). As such the puritans regarded profit making as unethical and sinful and they punished greed accordingly (Zoltan, 2003). There is a long history of Americans who have questioned the right of people to become rich. Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919) a Scottish-born American wrote about the responsibility of wealth over a century ago and he still inspires modern social entrepreneurs (Zoltan, 2003). He suggested in his writings that the only luxury that should be afforded to the wealthy should be the luxury of doing good (Nassaw, 2006). For a man like Carnegie the question was not only how to accumulate wealth, but what to do with it. In his "Gospel of Wealth" (1889) he suggested that the extremely rich should not bestow vast fortunes on their heirs or make one-off grants to various causes, but instead the entirety of their fortune should be put in a public trust which should be used for good deeds. To him, philanthropy was a vehicle for creating social order and harmony. Another philanthropist of Carnegie's calibre was George Peabody (1795-1869). He also was a man of modest beginnings who became a well known philanthropist with a reputation for flawless integrity (Zoltan, 2003). He displayed great devotion towards the communities of his immediate environment while he envisaged a secular puritan doctrine which dictated the stewardship of riches for the common good (Parker, 1971:209).

J.D Rockefeller (1839-1937) could also be in this company of great philanthropists. A powerful industrialist, he 'gave back' 95 per cent of his wealth before he died and throughout his life he set the standards for modern corporate philanthropy (Zoltan, 2003). From his very first pay check Rockefeller tithed 10 per cent of his earning to the poor and as his wealth grew, so did his giving, primarily to educational and public health causes, but also for basic sciences and the arts. Yet, he never showered causes with money, instead he aimed at building sustainable institutions that would provide long term services. He prescribed the doctrine of the 'efficiency movement' which advocated that there was always a best way to fix a problem and as such, expertise is required in order to identify and take care of difficult situations (Kanigel, 1997).

All three major philanthropists were motivated by a variety of factors. As noted in chapter 3 human behaviour is manifested in actions and the underlying factors could be positioned anywhere on a continuum spanning from altruism to self interest. Carnegie, Peabody and Rockefeller perhaps took a more long term approach and

understood that their interests necessitated assisting the worthy poor and disadvantaged - enlightened self interest as opposed to altruism.

There is a direct relationship between entrepreneurial activity, the creation of wealth, and aid for the poor. Entrepreneurial activity can destroy artificial and hierarchical barriers and generate the opportunities for the poor to become rich or less poor. This notion has come under fire by socialists who argue that people with capital exploit those without. However capitalism, where it has flourished, has had a better record of reducing poverty than any system of state paternalism. The benefiting effect of industrialisation for the poor can be seen in Paris which was cursed with recurrent famine. Life expectancy in France, in 1800 was 24 for males and 27 for female and in 1780 over 80 per cent of families in France spent 90 per cent of their income on food (Williams, 1983:19). In one century due to industrialisation the nature of poverty was transformed, the working populace quadrupled, and real per capita disposable income doubled between 1850 and 1900 (Williams, 1983). The creation of wealth also promoted benevolence and made it possible and affordable for individuals to show concern for their fellow man, which led to the development of social philanthropy and social entrepreneurship.

In modern times there is increasing acceptance that what society expects of businesses is changing, and the extent to which companies are willing to respond to these expectations may well determine the survival of individual companies and indeed the survival of the private enterprise system itself (Rogers, 1972). Gradually it is becoming important for private organizations to create social capital while also striving to increase their profits. Social capital as a notion has been around for a long time. The first use of the concept was in 1916 by L.J Hanifan, who highlighted the importance of community involvement for successful schools (Putnam, 2000). The concept though came into prominence thanks to the work of Jacobs (1961); Bourdier (1983); Coleman (1988) and especially Putnam (1999; 2000).

He describes social capital as follows:

“Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals- social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from

them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called 'civic virtue'. The difference is that social capital calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations" (Putnam, 2000:19). In the same study Putnam endorses Henry Ward Beechers' (1813-1887) advice to multiply picnics as a way of developing social capital by creating social networks in an increasingly isolated society.

The creation of social capital can take place within organizational settings by increasing the ability to work together for common purposes in groups and organizations (Fukuyama, 1995). It can also be created by empowering otherwise disadvantaged participants to assume responsibility and control for their lives (Leadbeater, 1997). This latter approach is often referred to as social entrepreneurship and it has been seen as a radical grassroots approach to reformulating and empowering the voluntary sector (Bornstein, 2004; Henton et al, 1997; Sullivan et al, 2003). While such a reconsideration and reactivation of social engagement is an important part of the third sector, it should not be overlooked that social entrepreneurship presents fresh opportunities and challenges (Thompson, 2002; Zietlow, 2001).

5.6 Social Entrepreneurship and the 'Third Way'

The meaning of the term social entrepreneurship is not widely understood and increased activity in the sector is required to address the needs-provision gap within society. While social entrepreneurs exist, many of those may not choose to be viewed as such. It may be argued also that while social entrepreneurs are focussed on caring and helping rather than profit making per se, and that the main domain of the social entrepreneur is within the voluntary sector, social entrepreneurship may be seen also in many profit-seeking businesses. A range of categories may be considered to fit within the umbrella term of social entrepreneurship, highlighted by Thompson (2002). The stereotyping of entrepreneurs historically as rogue individuals (Shumpeter, 1961) has resulted in some discomfort with the label of 'entrepreneur', as reflected in a reluctance on the part of some 'social entrepreneurs' to accept such a label, preferring to be considered community leaders.

Issues of fairness may be involved in the underlying motivations of social entrepreneurs, and all people do not share the same fairness norm relative to self interest. altruism takes us beyond the moral duty of fairness (see chapter 3). While fairness may explain some of the deviations from the “homo economicus” (Konow and Earley, 2008), it does not explain it all. In the complex arena of human behaviour such underlying motivations can be attributed to such variables such as fairness, altruism, spite or other motives which are intermixed to varying levels across individuals (Tan and Bolle, 2006).

Social entrepreneurship may be considered to be a merging of concepts that do not naturally combine well; that of making a profit within a market driven capitalist approach and that of providing social services in relation to community need. The language we use to describe social entrepreneurship is key to rationalising the concept, as acceptance of the discourse is required in order for the concept to gain acceptance (Roper and Cheney, 2005). The development of the concept of social entrepreneurship is visible in the social impacts of developments within society and the resultant effects on community groups, particularly social services such as health, education and protecting the most vulnerable in society.

It should be noted that government involvement has been paramount in the development of social entrepreneurship with governments gradually recognising the potential impact that individuals or NGOs could have on creating social capital (Roper and Cheney, 2005). The development shown in table 6.1 illustrates the approach to economics referred to as “the third way”. This approach deals with the situation where the state cannot provide all that it once did, by allowing government to retain responsibility for social services such as health and education, but enabling the business elements to enjoy a free market environment. Resistance to this third way approach may be reflected in a resistance to social entrepreneurship (Roper and Cheney, 2005)

Table 5.1: From Industrialization to Social entrepreneurship

Timeline	Major Event	Impact on Community
1945-1970	Keynesian model of social democracy in place	Fixed exchange rates guarding inflation
1980s	New paradigm of neo-liberalism in place	Deregulation of markets Privately own enterprises Corporatisation/ Privatisation of previously state-owned assets
Late 1990s (Third Way)	Neo-liberal model considered as not ensuring welfare of all in the community Reduced revenue from taxes; technical advances in health care; increased life expectancy	Growing gap between rich and poor Government responsibility for social provision Increased cost of meeting community needs and wants Free market approach to the business sector Emergence of social entrepreneurship

Source: Devised from Roper and Cheney, 2005)

Social entrepreneurship is not new, but rather a form of re-labelling of activities including the anti-slavery campaigns and the provision of facilities such as welfare centres, which may be traced back to the early 19th century. The credit to coining the term ‘social entrepreneur’ is attributed to William Drayton, who founded one of the first organizations “Ashoka” in 1980, in order to fund social entrepreneurs. The emergence of social entrepreneurship is due at least in part to a level of dissatisfaction with the operation of existing charities or foundations. There is evidence to suggest that social entrepreneurs find impetus through their personal experience or a traumatic or transformative experience in their life (Barendsen and Gardner, 2004), a point returned to later in the discussion on the founding of volunteer organisations.

5.7 Non-Profit Organisations

As presented in the supply analysis that follows in the next section, the majority of volunteer tourism organisations are registered and label themselves as non-profit organisations. They may be choosing to do so for a variety of reasons, ranging from brand and image related issues to the practicalities of attaining a special tax status. Before discussing the organisations and their roles, it is useful to provide a definition and a brief overview of what constitutes a non-profit organisation.

The non-profit sector, the voluntary (third) sector has emerged to fill the gap between a reducing public sector and a price-focused private sector. “...*Neither in the profit sector, nor the public sector, but between the two*” (Wolf, 1999: 20). The process of creating organizations within the voluntary sector is problematic as there is always suspicion regarding the purpose and responsibility of a non-profit organization in a context overshadowed by participative democracy, the stridency of profit-orientation, and a dramatically reduced level of state intervention (Fric, 1994: 4). Sentiments such as lack of trust, lack of personal self confidence, mutual suspicion, and cynicism have added to the complexity of the task for non-profit organizations (Muller, 2003; Ladmanova, 2003).

Non-profit organizations have the following characteristics;

- a) They are institutionalised, which means they possess the structure of a formal organization;
- b) They are privately managed and thus institutionally separate from the state;
- c) Non-profit, which means that they are economically sustainable but not profit driven;
- d) Self-governing, which means that they are autonomous in setting goals and agendas;
- e) Voluntary, which means that they utilize some aspect at least of volunteer participation in administrative and operational roles

(Salamon and Anheier, 1997)

The economic theories on non profit organisations in the literature (Feldstein, 1971; Hansmann, 1980; Ben-Ner, 1986) can be divided into two types: theories on the role of non profit institutions and theories on their behaviour. The first type deal with the reason behind the existence of non profit organisations, and what functions they perform, while the second type address questions surrounding the objectives and the motivation of non-profit stakeholders.

All non profit organisations are subject to the laws of the country in which they were formed, normally involving a constraint of non-distribution (Hansmann, 1980) that prohibits the distribution of residual earnings to individuals who exercise control over the organisation, such as officers, directors or members (Hansmann, 1981d). Non profit organisations are not prohibited from earning profits per se, provided that they simply divert this surplus to supporting future services or distribute it to non-controlling persons.

Examining the role of non profit organisations in the general economic theory literature, it becomes apparent that non profit organisations are viewed as private producers of public goods (Weisboard, 1974, 1977). This means that such organisations exist to meet residual demand by providing public goods in order to supplement those provided by the government. In relation to this study, the organisation chosen by the researcher provides assistance to an orphanage in Mexico which could not sustain itself solely on the resources provided by the public sector (Mexican Government). What makes volunteer tourist organisations unique is the fact that while they meet a supply based demand for assistance, they also simultaneously satisfy a segment of tourist demand as well.

5.8 Summary

Volunteer organizations in the majority label themselves as non-profit organizations and attract volunteers who pay them in order to be recruited on a worthy project in a variety of countries. This transaction poses several philosophical and ethical questions. Are the organizations being unethical by making a profit from arrangements for people to go and provide assistance for a worthwhile cause? Is it

another case of enlightened self interest, where there is a reciprocal relationship between the recipients and the suppliers of the volunteer activity? The answer to this question is subject to another set of factors relating to the value of the organizations' input, and the price charged for their services.

A simplistic view would be to say that in the world of charity and benevolent intentions, commerce is the enemy. A cause or an ideal may have a mission to serve, but the organization also has a bottom line which has to be protected. As such it may be more beneficial for everyone to try to satisfy rather than to satisfy every stakeholder involved. The fusion between doing good business and doing good is presented in the literature as enlightened self interest and theoretically allows for all interested parties to achieve their goals.

In ancient Rome people were segregated into two distinct classes, the patricians and the plebeians, and the patricians had a duty of care towards the plebeians. In the time of the Knights, "noblesse oblige" again highlighted this duty towards the needy, and enlightened industrialists in the 19th and 20th century reinforced this notion of civic duty towards the poor. In today's more classless society, people are free to embrace the same obligations in a number of ways, as volunteers, donating their time and effort, or as philanthropists, donating money or goods. Volunteer tourism in this unclear environment stands as a combination of philanthropy and volunteering since it involves several forms of donation (time, labour and money). The next section will discuss the effect of that ambiguity or vagueness in terms of the operations of the organizations involved in the provision of volunteer tourism opportunities.

5.9 Volunteer Tourism Supply

The desk study offered in this chapter is not claimed to be representative of all organizations providing volunteer tourism experiences, however, it does aim to be comprehensive in terms of the proliferation of projects offered, the destinations promoted, the appeal to different types of volunteers, and the continuous segmentation and diversification which characterizes the market. To this end a broad examination of the organizations offering volunteer projects via the internet was

undertaken in order to gain a richer understanding of the diversity of projects offered across the globe. The extensive internet based database 'Volunteer Abroad' was utilised building on the work of Thomas and Callannan, 2003. The database was accessed on two different occasions, in 2005 and 2007 in order to make comparisons and examine different trends. The data were compiled on an Excel spreadsheet and are discussed in detail in this chapter. The general aims are to explore the nature of the growth of volunteer tourism, the relationship between purpose of projects, their location and potential need, and the nature (origins, focus and status) of organisations offering volunteer tourism opportunities. This discussion begins with a review of potential destinations for volunteer tourists.

5.9.1 Volunteer Tourist Destinations and Assumptions

Not all countries in the world feature as volunteer tourist destinations. It is argued that the locations offered perhaps reflect a number of considerations of suppliers, including cost, appeal (as tourist destination) and need for assistance.

The ten destinations with the highest number of projects are listed in table 5.2. All countries in the list are categorized as developing countries, with India having 241 projects listed in the database. Compared to Callannan and Thomas (2003) count of 51, there was an increase of 190 projects in India within a period of four years. The second country on the list, Costa Rica had seen an increase of 158 projects, and Peru 192 projects. Overall in four years, the number of projects examined in 2003 (698) on the Volunteer Abroad database has increased to 3,441 in 2007, which is an increase of approximately 492 per cent in four years, which confirms the rapid expansion anticipated.

Table 5.2: Volunteer Tourism Expansion (2003-2007)-Top 10 Countries

Country	Projects 2007	Projects 2005	Projects in 2003
India	241	185	51
Costa Rica	201	133	43
Peru	193	122	1
Ecuador	188	150	47
Kenya	183	102	21
Thailand	176	138	3
Ghana	171	149	37
South Africa	148	135	3
Nepal	144	117	2
Brazil	96	91	15
Totals	1741	1322	223

Source: Author's Analysis of Volunteer Abroad Database

It might reasonably be expected that because volunteer tourism projects are essentially to provide assistance and support to communities needing help, there would be a close relationship between need and numbers of projects.

In order to gain a better understanding of how destinations are chosen and projects set up, the 150 countries were categorised by their current Human Development Index (HDI) score in order to examine the extent to which the level of human development influences the presence of volunteer projects within each country. The HDI is a tool developed by UNDP to illustrate the total life quality in a country. Factors like GDP per capita, life expectancy, the quality of education and the literacy rate are used to create a value where 1.0 is the highest possible score. Countries with an index above 0.8 are called 'high human development' countries; countries with indices between 0.799 and 0.5 are considered medium, while countries below 0.5 are categorized as low human development countries. (undp.org)

Table 5.3: The Most 'Needy Countries'

Country	HDI SCORE	No of Projects in 2007	No of Projects in 2005	No of Projects in 2003
Afghanistan	0.229	1	1	1
Sierra Leone	0.336	1	0	0
Burkina Faso	0.37	3	2	4
Niger	0.374	3	2	0
Mali	0.38	2	0	0
Mozambique	0.384	10	7	1
Ethiopia	0.406	7	7	5
Congo Dem Rep	0.411	1	0	0
Ivory Coast	0.432	1	1	4
Zambia	0.434	13	13	2
Total		42	33	17

Source: Author's Analysis of Volunteer Abroad Database

Table 5.4: The Least 'Needy Countries'

Country	HDI SCORE	No of Projects in 2007	No of Projects in 2005	No of Projects in 2003
Iceland	0.968	9	5	6
Norway	0.968	1	1	1
Australia	0.962	25	29	12
Canada	0.961	14	28	11
Ireland	0.959	6	5	2
Sweden	0.956	2	3	1
Switzerland	0.955	3	3	1
Japan	0.953	12	11	8
Netherlands	0.953	2	3	2
Finland	0.952	3	3	7
Total		77	91	51

Source: Author's Analysis of Volunteer Abroad Database

Of the 3,441 projects listed, 905 were based in High human development countries, 2,357 were based in medium human development countries and only 147 projects were based in countries with a low HDI score. To illustrate this point further the top ten most ‘needy countries’ (see table 5.3) and the top ten least ‘needy countries’ (see table 5.4) were examined. It was found that there were more projects (77) based in highly developed countries than in those countries with a lower HDI index score (and thus a greater need for support 42).

If the presumption that volunteer tourism projects are fuelled by need is correct, the greater presence in highly developed countries is a contradiction.

One might argue that total aggregate need might influence distribution e.g. (population of a country) (see table 5.5). India has a vast population which hosts a total of 241 projects, so at a first glance the assumption seemed reasonable. China most populated country in the world hosts only 89 projects and Indonesia despite having a large population hosts only 25 projects. Pakistan with a population of 165 million is host to only 2 projects. It becomes apparent that there are countries with a far smaller population than India or Pakistan but with relatively high volunteer project presence like Costa Rica, Ecuador and Nepal that have much smaller populations but feature in the top ten volunteer tourism project destinations. As result the population / project number relationship collapses.

Table 5.5: Top ten Countries by population and number of projects

Country	Population in Millions	No of Projects
1-China	1,320	89 (3)
2-India	1,290	241 (1)
3-USA	301	47 (4)
4-Indonesia	234	25 (5)
5-Brazil	190	96 (2)
6-Pakistan	165	2 (10)
7-Bangladesh	150	6 (9)
8-Russia	141	19 (6)
9-Nigeria	135	8 (8)
10-Japan	129	12 (7)

Source: Author’s Analysis of Volunteer Abroad Database

Having ruled out population and need as possible influences on expansion, the researcher considered if the number of projects in a country responds to events related to the plight of a destination, or what might be termed ‘emergency need’.

The Boxing Day tsunami in 2004 was a very high profile catastrophe which touched the hearts of millions, over that holiday season. In 2003 Thailand was host only to 3 volunteer projects (Callannan and Thomas, 2003) while in 2005 there were 138 projects, increasing to 176 in 2007 (see Table 5.2). Examining the other tsunami affected countries (see Table 5.6), the same rapid increase is noted for Sri Lanka, jumping from 2 projects in 2003 to 35 in 2005 and for Indonesia increasing from 13 to 27. The countries most affected by the tsunami showed an increase in the number of projects almost immediately. Even though the effect is not as dramatic as in the case of Thailand, it is clear that there might be a connection between the 2004 tsunami and the increase in volunteer tourism projects in affected countries because of global exposure.

Table 5.6: The 2004 “Tsunami Effect”

Countries	Projects in 2007	Projects in 2005	Projects in 2003
Thailand	176	138	3
Indonesia	25	27	13
Malaysia	11	5	1
Myanmar	1	2	0
Bangladesh	6	5	4
Sri Lanka	48	35	2
Seychelles	1	1	0

Source: Author’s Analysis of Volunteer Abroad Database

The United States also showed a dramatic increase in projects between 2003 and 2007 (+47); in this case possibly reflecting the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. However, it has to be noted that after 2005 there was a drop in the number of projects (-29) in the United States. The hurricane hit the United States in September 2005, at which time there were 77 projects, but in 2007 these had decreased to 48. Thus it would appear that Hurricane Katrina had no effect compared to the tsunami of 2004. Clearly other factors affect project location beyond emergency need response. There were other

countries which displayed rapid expansion also between 2003 and 2007 which were not hit by extreme events. South Africa went from 3 projects in 2003, to 135 in 2005, growing further to 148 in 2007. Ecuador also followed a similar pattern as did Peru, Kenya, and Ghana (see table 5.2). This raises the question that there may be more conventional market forces that drive the development of volunteer tourism rather than response to the need for assistance. In order to answer this question the types of projects were examined.

5.9.2 Volunteer Tourism Products

The 3,441 project entries in the database have a number of associated activities attached to them. After closer scrutiny it became apparent that of the 3,441 project opportunities advertised, 995 were not meeting the criteria for volunteer tourism. They either exceeded a year in duration or were internships or paid jobs. Thus the researchers were left with 2,446 'pure' (in terms of this research) projects to analyse further. For ease of examination the projects have been categorised into nine activity groups based on the work by Callannan and Thomas (2003). Table 7.6 illustrates the numbers of cases identified within each group. The most frequent cited group was community welfare (805 cases) followed by teaching (572 cases). The next category in prominence was Environmental (502), followed by Medical (236). Next category in prominence was Cultural (131), followed by Business Development, followed by Building (54) and Research (47) with the least popular category of activities being 'other' (28 cases) which included specialised catastrophe relief projects and Olympic Games related volunteer support opportunities.

Table 5.7: Project Groups and their Activities

Group	Activities	Total of Cases
Community Welfare	Community Development Children Care Elderly Disability Peace Human Right/ Legal	805
Teaching	Teaching a Foreign Language Sports Coaching	572
Environmental	Nature Conservation Wildlife Protection Global Warming	502
Medical	Hospital Support Pandemic (HIV, Ebola) Support Drug Rehabilitation	236
Cultural	Arts Cultural Exchange Empowerment of Women Heritage Conservation Museum Support	131
Business Development	IT Support Accounting Support Farming/ Organic	91
Building	Construction Renovation Water Management	54
Research	Wildlife Monitoring Land-mapping/Zoning	47
Other/ Miscellaneous	Catastrophe Relief Olympic Games	28

(Source: Based on Callannan and Thomas, 2003 and Author's Analysis of Volunteer Abroad Database)

The most prominent of the groups includes projects designed to support and improve the lives of local communities at a grass roots level. Examples of such projects include working in orphanages, elderly homes or clinics for the disabled. It may also include raising awareness for a cause, like peace, human rights and providing legal support. It has to be said that the spectrum and proliferation of community welfare related projects changes continuously and most of the internet based organisations cite such projects as community development without making clear what the project entails.

Teaching projects are also prominent in the list of project activities. Many organizations offer teaching qualifications (via TEFL tests) a priori to departure to volunteers who then reach their destination with a qualification that in the future could provide them with paid employment. Sports coaching is also popular, especially football coaching in African countries.

Another prominent category, environmental projects, is comprised of activities with a 'green' remit and outlook. They include nature conservation activities such as protecting rainforests, flora, or cleaning beaches; wildlife conservation includes activities such as volunteering to assist new born turtles reach the water or help in animal refuges and hospitals.

Medical related projects involve providing support in hospitals or clinics. They also vary from assisting with eye surgery to raising awareness about sex education and STDs, especially in the HIV pandemic stricken countries of Africa. Drug rehabilitation projects are also included with the volunteers providing support to communities that have such problems.

The cultural category is comprised of projects designed with an emphasis on cultural celebration and preservation. Societal reform is also on this agenda with female empowerment projects, such as the 'revolutionary women of Afghanistan' project which aims to 'free' women from the Taliban's beliefs and oppression. Heritage conservation is also very popular with volunteers assisting at archaeological sites with excavations or providing support at museums or cultural centres.

Business development projects include activities designed to attract western business experts to assist developing communities with building websites, balancing their books or giving advice. It also includes support for farming communities e.g. those that grow organic products. These farmers also benefit from marketing advice.

The building category relates to projects involving construction or renovation. It also includes water management projects such as the construction of sand dams.

The research category encompasses projects involving wildlife monitoring and measuring ice sheets in Antarctica. The volunteers on such projects provide support to scientists or follow an expedition.

The final category involves projects that by their remits are related to a specific occasion. Catastrophe relief projects are few and this might be because catastrophe relief may be included in many of the above activities. There are only 12 explicitly

catastrophe relief projects listed in the database. Olympic Games projects on the database compiled in 2007 were designed exclusively to provide volunteer support for the Beijing Olympics of 2008.

Community welfare and teaching may top the list because of limited investment in social services and weaknesses in the educational systems of the countries listed. Increasing demand on these systems is due to issues such as increased birth rates, refugees from neighbouring war torn countries, orphaned children due to pandemics like AIDS and low number of experts and skilled professionals to deal with these problems

Table 5.8: Countries and Types of Projects

Destination	Total Projects Listed	Community Welfare	Teaching	Environmental	Medical	Cultural	Business Development	Building	Research	Other/ Miscellaneous	Pure Volunteer Tourism Projects	Internships/Paid positions/ Adventure tours
India	241	68	46	8	24	21	15	1	2	1	186	55
Costa Rica	201	36	27	55	8	3	0	3	3	0	135	66
Peru	193	57	30	15	14	7	4	4	6	3	140	53
Ecuador	188	36	28	47	11	5	5	1	1	0	134	54
Kenya	183	17	28	30	16	1	6	3	2	0	103	80
Thailand	176	36	41	26	8	4	3	4	4	4	130	46
Ghana	171	34	23	5	25	11	4	1	1	0	104	67
South Africa	148	30	20	46	10	0	5	2	1	0	114	34
Nepal	144	32	33	7	19	5	1	2	1	0	100	44
Brazil	96	23	17	12	4	7	1	5	0	0	69	27
	1741	369	293	251	139	64	44	26	21	8	1215	526

Source: Author's Analysis of Volunteer Abroad Database

This table raises a number of unanswered questions. India has a low number (8) of environmental projects in comparison to Costa Rica or Ecuador who have 55 and 47 projects. Is the physical environment of Costa Rica or Ecuador more at risk than India's, or is it because Costa Rica and Ecuador are established eco-tourism destinations? One element that needs consideration is the popularity of project areas destinations as tourist destinations and thus whether volunteer organizations are glamorizing volunteer tourism projects by selecting areas that are popular tourist

destination as areas for projects. Have they turned volunteer tourism into a product, a macdonaldised sibling of mass tourism with green and charitable undertones?

5.9.3 Volunteer Tourism Organizations

In the 1920s volunteer tourism was highly personal, very limited in scale, with little assistance available and volunteer opportunities were not marketed as they are now.

The current projects noted above are rich in variety and diverse in terms of how demanding they are on participants. What is not always clear is the value of the projects in terms of output and added skills to the communities and causes they are supporting themselves. In order to get a clearer picture, an examination of the volunteer tourism organisations is necessary.

The 3,441 projects listed in the Volunteer Abroad database were provided by 146 volunteer tourism organisations (see table 5.9). The organisations vary in terms of size, structure, mission and experience. In order to gain a better understanding of these organizations, the top forty in terms of growth were identified and examined in several key areas; foundation, diversification, cost and direct contribution, skill requirement and involvement of locals.

-Foundations and Mission

It is revealing that over half (26/40) of the organisations examined were founded by individuals, a figure head pioneer who set down the foundations of the organisation (see table 5.9). The first was Pierre Ceresole, the man who started it all with the establishment of Service Civil International (SCI) (see earlier) in 1920. Brigadier Armstrong is another example who started the British Trust of Conservation Volunteers (BTCV) in 1959. The VSO also had similar beginnings with Alec and Moira Dickson being the founding figures. More recently Jean-Marc Arbeola started Volunteer Adventures in 1987; Dr Peter Slowe established Projects Abroad in 1992 and Deidre Bounds started I-to-I volunteers in 2003. Volunteer tourism organizations started growing significantly in numbers in the 1980s and then exploded in the 2000s. As presented in Figure 1 the period of the two World wars saw the emergence and development of 6 organisations, followed by the Cold War period and the Hippie

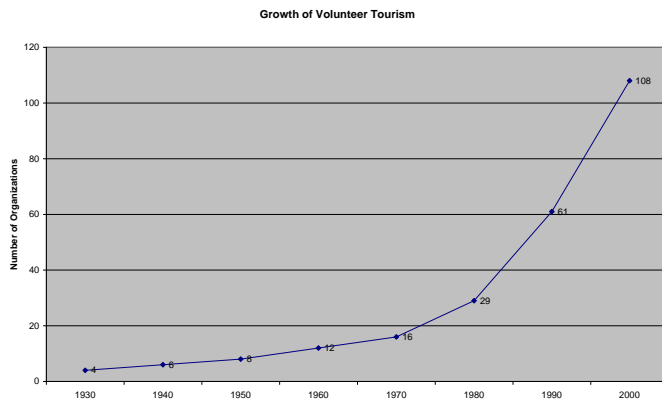
(alternative) movement period during which ten new volunteer organisations came to existence. The 1980s brought an additional 13 volunteer organisations and in the 1990s another 32 followed, by the 2000s during which volunteer organisation numbers mushroomed. Out of the 146 organisations presented in the database, almost a third (46) were founded in the 2000s. Seventeen of these are in the top forty most expansive organisations. There are 38 organisations which did not state the year of their founding on their website.

Table 5.9: Organisations and Founders

ORGANISATION	YEAR	FOUNDERS
Service Civil International	1920	Pierre Ceresole
Partnership Volunteers	1932	
Voluntary Service Overseas	1958	Alec and Mora Dickson
Operation Crossroads Africa	1958	Dr James Robinson
BTCV	1959	Brigadier Armstrong
BUNAC	1962	
Amigos de las Americas	1965	Guy Bevil
Earthwatch	1971	Max Nicholson
Habitat para la Humanidad	1976	
Volunteers for Peace	1982	Peter Coldwell
Global Volunteers	1984	Michel Gran and Bud Philbrook
World Teach	1986	Michael Kremer
Volunteer Adventures	1987	Jean-Marc Alberola
World Endeavors	1988	
Frontier	1989	
Projects Abroad	1992	Dr Peter Slowe
Greenforce	1992	Marcus Watts
Travellers Worldwide	1994	
Cross-Cultural Solutions	1997	Steve Rosenthal
Global Vision International	1998	Steve Gwenin
United Planet	1998	Charles F. Clarke
Helping Hand USA	1999	Mel W. Slavick and Frank Cook
Global Volunteers Network	2000	Colin Salisbury
Cosmic Volunteers	2000	Scott Burke
Right to Play	2001	Johan Olar Koss
Geovision	2001	
Mondochallenge	2001	Anthony Lunch
Original Volunteers	2002	
i-to-i	2003	Deidre Bounds
Global Crossroads	2003	
Global Aware	2003	Haley Coleman
Institute for Field Research Expeditions	2005	
Global Youth Opportunity	2005	Michelle L. Anderson

(Source: Various Organizations' Websites)

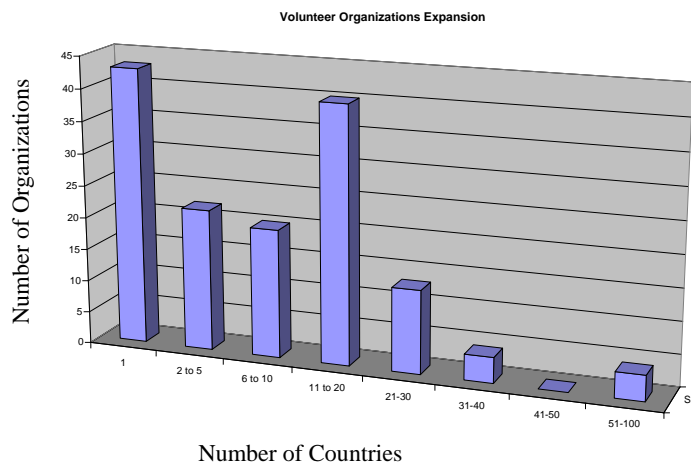
Figure 5.1: Growth of Volunteer Tourism



Source: Author's Findings from Desk Analysis

Volunteer organizations vary in terms of how widely they are active around the world. Some established humanitarian organizations such as Service Civil International, Volunteers for Peace and Habitat for Humanity run projects in 90, 99 and 100 countries respectively. However, the majority of volunteer organizations tend to operate at a much smaller scale (see figure 2). Forty-six out of the 146 organizations present in the database operate in a single country only, which may indicate local, specialised organizations working on attracting volunteer tourists to a single country.

Figure 5.2: Expansion



Source: Author's Findings from Desk Analysis

There are 22 organizations which offer projects in 2 to 5 countries while there are 20 organizations that provide volunteer opportunities in 6 to 10 countries, 40 organizations that operate in 11 to 20 countries and 13 that operate in 21-30 countries.

Beyond that there are only 8 organizations that operate in more than 30 countries. These differences arguably have implications on the scope, effectiveness and impact of the organizations, because depending on their size and their structure, some will be stretched in terms of allocating their resources and their attention.

In order to understand further how organizations gain and allocate their resources it is necessary to examine the status of the organizations and how they portray themselves.

Table 5.10: Declared Status

Status	Number of Organisations
Not for Profit	17
Operated by or working for non profit	6
Ethical NGO	6
Not Stated	6
Special Tour Operator	3
Charity	2

Source: Author’s Findings from Desk Analysis

Table 5.10 shows that there are 17 of the 40 organizations studied that have non-profit status, and as such they are entitled to certain privileges which will be discussed below. In addition, there are 6 organizations that do not hold a non-profit status but instead make clear on their websites that they are operated by, or work for, non-profit organizations. Another 6 organizations call themselves “ethical NGOs” while a further 2 label themselves as charities. Different labels and different statuses involve different legal requirements, benefits and brand image. Three organizations made it clear on their website that they are ‘special’ tour operators organizing and packaging volunteer holidays. Finally there were 6 organizations that did not disclose their status on their website. This could be to avoid legal issues but the ambiguity might suit them.

What emerges from the above is that the market is characterised by inconsistency in terms of structure, commitment and mission. Non-profit status means that such organizations have a tax status meaning that any donations towards their projects are in general tax deductible for the donor and this may include participation and travel costs. Charities also hold a similar status with the added benefit that they can count on

the support of national or international organizations. The brand and image value of being a non-profit or charitable organization is considerable. Organizations that are not recognised as such seem anxious to explain why they are making profits and why people should still choose them as their volunteer tourism provider. The general claim is that they only make an operating profit, which they argue enables them to continue the work they do. They further argue that they have a duty towards the projects they support, but also towards themselves and their families who must be supported through their salaries and wages. Other organizations refrain from declaring any status and thus do not have to explain or justify anything. However, all types of organizations claim to take the necessary steps to price their products and conduct their business ethically. Such statements are important as prices charged by the organisations are causing concern in the media at least (Times, 2008).

In terms of pricing, proliferation and variety are again apparent, with different organizations adopting different pricing strategies (Table 5.11). Starting with the cheapest projects, only one of the forty organizations examined offered volunteer projects for the price of a one-off application/membership fee. This fee was around \$500 US and it provided the opportunity to customers to choose another project without charge, as long as they wished to travel within the same year. There was also one organization that offered volunteer opportunities in return for a \$1,500 US deposit which participants could collect after completing their volunteer efforts.

Table 5.11: Pricing Policy

Pricing Policy	Number of Organisations
Fixed Price	25
Not Clear (Call back service)	10
No prices	3
Single Application Fee	1
Deposit	1

Source: Author's Findings from Desk Analysis

Three organizations refrained from disclosing any details about their volunteer opportunities. Instead they offered guidebooks for sale at prices ranging from \$ 30 to \$ 75. The vast majority of organizations, 25 out of 40, provided volunteer opportunities at a fixed rate with an all inclusive packaged deal format. The fee in general included project fee, volunteer coordination, accommodation, and

administration expenses. These fees range from \$ 300 US to \$ 1,000 US per week depending on destination, project, and of course, the type of accommodation.

Adding to the price of volunteer participation are certain extras which participants can purchase at their own discretion (see Table 5.12). These extras vary from short excursions and city tours to safari experiences. A recent development in the field is the option of obtaining academic credit, from mainly US academic institutions. The cost of such an optional extra varies from organization to organization and university to university. There were 10 organizations that would not disclose any details of this option on their website. Instead they offer a call-back service, perhaps in an attempt to utilize direct contact in recruiting new volunteers. It becomes apparent that the theme of ambiguity, uncertainty and proliferation exists in the pricing and packaging of most volunteer organizations. This may have certain implications in terms of the impact and contribution of the organizations to the destinations utilised.

Table 5.12: Extras on Offer

Extra Options	Number of Organisations
Extra Supplements	20
Not Stated (Call back service)	10
Academic Credit	8
No Extras	2

Source: Author's Findings from Desk Analysis

-Long Term Viability and Value

Such variation in the market, in terms of size, ethos and business conduct, raises questions in relation to the value and utility of volunteer projects. Most organizations do their best to portray themselves as ethical improvers of communities and environments but the proliferation of approaches and ambiguity, plus the lack of control surrounding volunteer tourism leaves the door open for opportunists. There are some organizations that appear to have a clear mission and philosophy to international volunteering.

“Our conservation projects are established with the central aim of empowering local communities to manage their livelihoods sustainably, improving the overall quality of their lives and preventing over-use of their natural resources” (Frontier.org)

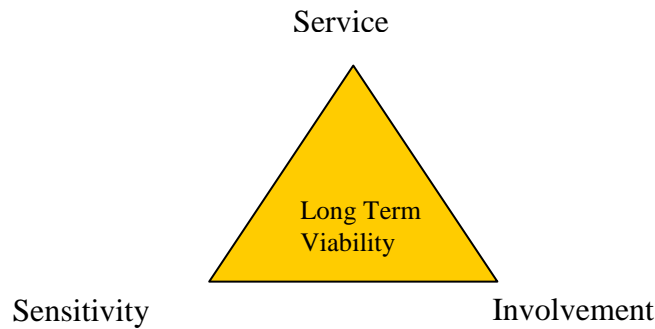
Such commitment to their project and their impact is underlined by the fact that these conservation efforts are part of longer term programmes which may last up to five years. This commitment to projects does not seem to affect prices, since Frontier.org are able to offer projects for the relatively low price of \$ 125 US per week (excluding flights).

According to the International Volunteer Program Association (IVPA) essential requirements are a clear structure and understanding of the participants' roles and what should be expected from them. To that end some organizations offer training to their volunteers prior to departure and appear to have in place a rigorous selection program. Frontier, for example appears to assess individual candidates before inviting them for a telephone interview. In the case of certain projects, Frontier runs 'training weekends' which are held at least two months before departure. In general organizations with clearly stated practices seem put an emphasis on building their volunteering experiences upon the four element of good volunteer organization practice as prescribed by the IVPA code of ethics (ivpa.org) in order to maximise the impact of their projects (sensitivity, service, involvement, and long term viability) (see Figure 5.3). Sensitivity implies that organizations encourage their volunteers to be culturally sensitive and learn from their experience creating understanding and tolerance for other people and cultures. Frontier uses their website effectively in an attempt to convey that message:

"We believe that travel is about diversity. Travel is about authentic experiences and volunteering enables you to immerse yourself in a foreign culture. Doing so will help you grow as an individual and will help you understand the importance of living in a world that is made colourful and vibrant by the many different cultures within it"
(Frontier.org)

Other organizations use similar language on their websites, but Frontier was chosen because they also appear to implement their mission statement in both their practice and business conduct.

Figure 5.3: Elements of Good Practice



Source: Author's Findings from Desk Analysis

The second element, service, implies that the volunteers are prepared and committed to provide good service to the project or cause of their choice. To this end there should be attempts to involve the locals as extensively as possible, creating employment and the conditions for long term viability by ensuring that the projects have the expertise and the infrastructure in place to enable them to continue, even without the contribution of volunteers. Employment of local drivers, cooks, guards, game guards and boat crews contributes to the successful running of projects. Involvement of local scientists and students creates knowledge and experience that will remain even if volunteer tourism projects cease in an area.

In terms of involvement, many organizations strive to keep their participants active after their return. Most encourage strong alumni networking and make full use of social networking websites as Facebook or Bebo. They arrange reunions and their offices help past volunteers get in touch with each other. In terms of future employment, references may be provided to prospective employers and university tutors. Organizations generally also tend to improve their 'product' by taking on board the feedback and constructive criticism of former participants, for example, by volunteers providing written feedback on their experience.

Volunteers generally need to undergo certain training in order to be sensitive and good volunteers. Looking at the larger picture (Table 5.13), in terms of training provided for participants, out of 40 organizations, only 16 made it clear on their

websites that they provide training to prepare volunteers for their projects. This training varies from language training for volunteers in order to teach English as a foreign language (TEFL certification) to just being taught a local language at ‘survival’ level, and leadership training. Special projects involving diving may also provide PADI diving certificates for participant volunteers. In more general terms there are organizations (BTCV, Peace Corps) that provide basic manual labour training for volunteers who take part in conservation or construction projects. However, 24 of the organizations examined do not state clearly on their websites whether they offer any pre-project training. Instead they offer the promise of pre-departure briefing material after registration with them. Other organizations advertise certain open-day events, but these could be seen more as recruiting than training events, since registration is not necessary in order to attend. This lack of mandatory training may reflect the simplicity of most volunteer project tasks, or it might also suggest avoidance of potentially costly practices by the organisations

Table 5.13: Volunteer Training

Training	Number of Organisations
Some sort of Training	16
Not Clear	24

Source: Author’s Findings from Desk Analysis

In terms of the screening of participants, organizations go to different lengths in order to ensure ‘quality’ volunteers. In general terms all organizations profess to be inclusive and democratic in their selection process. Volunteers between the ages of 18 to 90 are welcome. Of course some projects may require a certain level of mobility and fitness which may de facto exclude people over a certain age or these with physical limitations. Operations Crossroads for example require a letter from the applicant’s physician confirming fitness.

Volunteers under 18 are often welcome but in general they require the explicit written consent of their legal guardian. However the organisations appear to be widening their scope to attract even younger volunteers with family volunteering opportunities becoming increasingly available. Organizations such as Volunteer Latin America,

Cross Cultural Solutions, i-to-i and Volunteer Abroad are typical organizations that are developing this niche market.

In terms of gender, both male and female volunteers are welcome within generally mixed sex groups of volunteers. Members of the gay and lesbian communities appear to be welcome also, but organisations caution that in some destinations such volunteers may need to keep a low profile. Looking at statistics provided by the Peace Corps the profile of their volunteer participants shows 3/5 of their volunteers are female and 2/5 male. The average age of their participants is 27 years and the median is 25 years but 5 per cent of participants are over 50 years old with the oldest being 80 years of age. The vast majority of volunteers (93 percent) are single and only 7 percent are married. In terms of education, 95 percent of Peace Corps volunteers have at least an undergraduate degree, which suggests that their market is well educated people.

Different organizations have different requirements in terms of qualification and different quality control systems in place. Out of 40 organizations examined, only 11 request background checks in terms of CV, references or police, and criminal record checks. This can have far reaching implications in terms of volunteers working with the more vulnerable members of communities. This varied approach to requirements and screening of volunteers potentially has implications in terms of the contribution of different organizations and different projects.

-Financial Handout Policy

There is a certain hesitation about providing direct monetary support to communities or projects which might stem from a perceived discomfort related to former colonial stereotyping. Volunteer tourism organizations generally profess a non-handout-policy because, as they describe in on their websites, they aim to create self-sufficient and sustainable projects in communities in need. On their website, for example, i-to-i stipulate that they avoid monetary handouts so that the projects:

“...do not become reliant on drip-fed financial aid for their continual existence” (i-to-i.com)

They argue that direct financial contributions can have a destabilising effect on the development and spirit of communities. They continue with their argument that in case their involvement ceases “... *the reasons can vary from an act of God, war, to a destination becoming less popular*” (i-to-i.com) then a once relied on source of income is instantly removed and some of the projects would collapse.

-Local Involvement

Another way the organizations can contribute indirectly to local communities is by providing employment for locals. This empowers the employees and creates the right conditions for long term viability.

As presented in Table 5.14, different organizations yielded different findings in terms of the employment of the locals. To start with 23 organizations out of the 40 examined made no explicit claims or statement on their website that they make sure they utilize local staff, while 9 organizations, even though they imply to be using staff on location, they fail to state whether the staff is local or imported. Only 8 organizations explicitly stated that they have as their policy to employ local staff where possible.

Table 5.14: Employment of Locals

Employment	Number of Organisations
No Claims of Employment of Locals	23
Implicit Employment of Locals	9
Clear Employment of Locals	8

Source: Author’s Findings from Desk Analysis

5.9.4 Motivation and Profit

Examining the roots of organised volunteer tourism makes it impossible to overlook the role that individual initiative and business acumen has played in the development of structures and contemporary forms. Its transformation into a bone fide business was probably inevitable due to the potential appeal of volunteer tourism products. The prospect of creating a business model or structure which could demand customers’

time as well as physical labour along with their funds and provide them with a feeling of satisfaction and validation that they had contributed to a good cause could be argued to have proven irresistible for aspiring entrepreneurs. It could be argued that the mass-tourism model of packaging and segmentation now used in volunteer tourism was adopted because of its current success and popularity. Volunteer tourism has been segmented and packaged into its contemporary form (see Ellis, 2003). Through purposefully designed websites volunteer organisations ensure that volunteers are portrayed as the archetype of a new kind of tourist who has compassion and empathy for the plight of the disadvantaged, the neglected, the endangered and the needy, irrespective of species, situation or destination, an approach that has proven very successful.

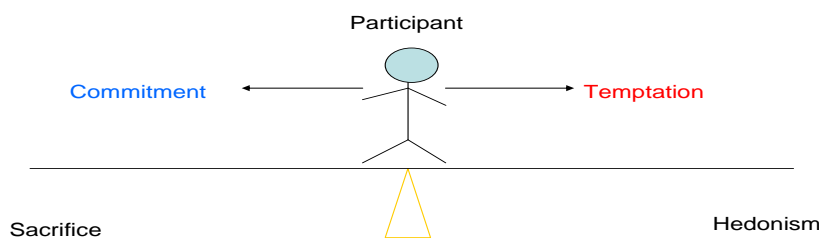
As discussed earlier in this chapter, a significant segment of the volunteer organizations labels itself as non-profit. Yet the market is becoming more and more prolific with many organizations diversifying and offering various extras as part of the volunteering experience. Recently, there have been media calls for the volunteer organizations to stop charging large amounts of money for their services based on the argument that where there is a need volunteering and assisting should be free of charge (The Times, 2008). Volunteer Organizations now find themselves facing a dilemma as to which should be the way forward. The organizations can be put on a continuum in terms of their priorities between profit and altruism (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Profit and 'altruism' Continuum



It can be argued that a similar continuum applies to the volunteer participants themselves. Volunteers have to balance between altruistic sacrifice and hedonistic pursuits when selecting and participating in a volunteer project (see Figure 5.5) and the organisations are making clear that participants can satisfy both motivations by buying their product.

Figure 5.5: Motivation See-Saw



It cannot be determined yet to what degree the organizations (supply) are creating and shaping demand (participants), nor whether the marketing of volunteer tourism is dominating the selection process of participants. One may note organisations have always been influential (SCI, Red Cross) but in earlier years because they were the only way to access volunteer opportunities. Now organisations can offer much more than a simple opportunity to volunteer, they can and do offer holidays, and the balance is clearly shifting from altruism and commitment to hedonism and profit, in the same way that ecotourism has become a synonym to 'ego-tourism' (Wheeler, 1993) and a form of mass conventional tourism.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the supply side of the volunteer tourism market and the origins of the emergence of the non-profit organisation which is central to the volunteer tourism providers' dynamic. In this environment and within a business paradigm of confusion and ambiguity, the supply of volunteer tourism has evolved and been segmented in order to meet the needs and expectation of ever more demanding volunteers (customers). This has affected or even diluted the mission and

message of volunteer tourism, but on the other hand it has turned it into the phenomenon that it is today. Without any doubt the customer - volunteer is central in the volunteer tourism cosmos and is the focus of the next chapter. First volunteer tourist motivation is discussed through a review of existing literature, before engaging anthropology in order to try and explain volunteer tourist motivation through an analogy with the concept of 'The Hero'.

Chapter 6

Volunteer Tourist Motivation

6.1 Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 discussed the motivation for volunteering and for participating in tourism. It is rationalised that, much like conventional tourists, volunteer tourists travel internationally but with somewhat different motives and objectives from either conventional tourists or volunteers. However, the literature reveals that volunteer tourist motivations are prolific and diverse, reflecting the novelty of the activity, and the marketing rhetoric of volunteer tourist organisations through which the majority of volunteer tourists participate.

6.2 A Synthesis of Volunteering and Tourism

In the literature volunteering as part of a leisure trip has been shown to be influenced by both volunteering and tourism motivations (Broad, 2003). Having already examined the motivation of both volunteers and tourists separately, this section will attempt to provide a synthesis of this discussion in a volunteer tourist motivation framework. This approach is not new, Wearing (2001) applied Dann's (1981) idea of 'push and pull' factors while also putting emphasis on Pearce's (1982) 'travel career ladder' model, in order to deconstruct volunteer tourist motivation. Some researchers, building on Plog's (1974) tourist typology, show volunteer tourists as allocentrics (Brown and Lehto, 2005), while others have used motivations to develop classifications of volunteers based on profiles, motivation and commitment (Graham, 2000; Smith, 2002).

Caldwell and Andereck (1994) proposed the combination of three groups of motives: purposive which are in essence altruistic; material which are based on self interest; and solidarity and affective, which put emphasis on opportunities for social interaction. This multidimensional approach is justified by the dual nature of volunteer tourist participation. Wearing (2001) breaks down the experience into two elements, leisure and volunteering. However, research (Stebbins, 1992; Parker, 1992)

has shown also that some volunteers do not perceive themselves as being at leisure, but rather as involved in a sense of doing good, for the benefit of the community or the cause they serve. Including image management and self presentation as crucial drives of human behaviour (see Chapter 4), it is not surprising that volunteers refrain from giving leisure as a motivator for volunteer tourism.

Volunteer tourists should not be seen as a homogeneous group in terms of their motivation. Instead perhaps a schema analogous to the one used in eco-tourism to distinguish between 'deep' eco-tourists and 'shallow' eco-tourists is called for (Wearing, 2001). As such 'deep' volunteer tourists are the ones who choose to volunteer at destinations with few, if any opportunities for hedonistic distractions (e.g. restoring a temple in Outer Mongolia), while 'shallow' volunteer tourists are those who choose destinations inexorably linked to hedonistic pursuits (Bali). Tourist destination image plays a very important part in determining destination choice for tourists (Prentice, 2004) and the imaginings of a participant volunteer about the 'charms' of a destination are, without doubt, part of the tourist decision making process.

Broad (2003) postulates that volunteer tourists are predominantly motivated by an altruistic desire to help, but that other motives were also evident, such as socialising while working with like minded people. The same research showed also that volunteer vacationers displayed a desire to develop their personal capital (experience, CV) through volunteering. Finally, Broad also suggested that, to the participants involved, volunteering was at least partly motivated by wanderlust and many saw it as an opportunity to experience a new culture. Such a form of participation is self motivated and is guided by a self developed mission (Searley and Barley, 1993) for the ultimate gratification of higher intrinsic needs.

When applying Broad's (2003) findings to Maslow's hierarchy of needs (chapter 4) it becomes apparent that volunteer tourists' motivational influences span different levels, from lower needs to higher needs, such as self-actualisation. The self-actualisation argument is supported by the work of Gazley (2001), who found that self-actualisation was perceived to be very important by short-term - project volunteers. Singh (2004) supported the argument that volunteer tourism focuses

primarily on the gratification of subliminal human needs through cooperative and self-less employment, while in the process the volunteer receives as much satisfaction from the task undertaken as the receiver, since there is a common goal of providing/receiving welfare among the less privileged. The literature suggests that all volunteer tourists believe that they are serving communities in need through their leisure activity (Neulinger, 1982; Henderson, 1984) and there is a high correlation between an individual's description of their volunteer efforts and the perception of leisure (Henderson, 1984). Whether or not leisure is explicitly stated as a motivating factor, it is important to understand that, given the freedom of choice of destinations, the purpose of the trip may well remain largely a leisurely vacation with participants spending a small component of their leisure time on volunteer work at their destination.

Brown and Morison (2003) linked volunteering with escapism by suggesting that volunteer participation is used as a means of fighting 'corporate burnout' in some participants by providing a sense of belonging, achievement and satisfaction outside the workplace. Social interaction, in the form of making friends from different backgrounds, cultures and geographical areas, also appears in the literature (Brown and Morison, 2003) and through the words of Bud Philbrook (CEO of Global Volunteers) who saw volunteer tourism as a vehicle of promoting world peace and understanding:

"The more people volunteer all over the world and make friends with local people, the more peaceful the world will be" (p: 73-82). The above sentiment reveals that pacifism is present in the rhetoric of contemporary volunteer tourist organisations, just as pacifism was at the heart of early international volunteering efforts (Chapter 2).

The notion of wishing to gather experiences, mature, and develop as a person through experiencing different cultures and the lives of others, is discussed in the literature with Weinmann (1983) and Carlson (1991) suggesting that personal development can be correlated with greater tolerance, compassion and understanding of other people and their individual differences, and the gaining of a more global perspective and insight into the values, beliefs and ways of life of people whom the individual interacts through travelling (Wearing, 2001). Stitsworth (1987) adds to this argument

by showing that a short term, grass root level experience of the lives of others can contribute to personal growth. Weinmann (1983), goes further by suggesting that personal growth can be achieved through culture shock e.g. a westerner experiencing real poverty and misery and thus gaining a better perspective on life and their own relatively, by comparison, minor problems. This study returns to this point in further detail in the discussion chapter and also in the volunteer as 'hero' conceptualisation below.

Another reason people may become volunteer tourists is because of their personal interests which may be expressed by membership of organisations, such as on the World Wildlife Fund, and Greenpeace, that are committed to helping people, wildlife or the environment. Several case studies on this topic exist in the literature on volunteer tourism. McGehee and Norman (2002) present a case study of an Earthwatch expedition, while Ellis (2003a) investigated Landscape Expeditions. Lyons (2003) investigated volunteers on a J-1 Visitor Exchange Program, while Broad (2003) focused on a wildlife rehabilitation project in Thailand. Campbell and Smith (2006) identify a set of motives surrounding environmental and green ethics on turtle conservation, while Caissie and Halpenny (2003) focus on conservation ethics as a motivational factor.

But what makes people not content with just pledging money or attending rallies, but wishing instead to go out and do it themselves? What pushes people out of their armchair and on to the plane? (as Dann, 1977 would have put it). One answer is simple; they do so because they can. International volunteer work, especially on an individual basis, can be a dangerous and risky affair. There are many examples of volunteers who came to harm while serving abroad (The Independent, 2008; Reuters, 2007). Specialised volunteer tourism organisations offer the opportunity to satisfy the 'urge to help others' in a safer and more controlled environment, thus reducing the problem and providing a solution as to how to participate. The possibility of physical danger, injury, or sickness while on vacation, along with vulnerability to crime or terrorist acts have a severe negative effect on tourism demand. Despite the low probability of such events, risks such as terrorism provoke serious consumer reaction (Richter and Waugn, 1986). Volunteer organisations make clear in their marketing material that the destinations they have chosen offer minimum risk and that they also

provide local support (see Chapter 5). This reassurance can play a big part in the final decision to participate.

The link between leisure and work is human experience. Human attitudes towards work and leisure have fluctuated throughout human history as noted earlier. Neulinger (1982) and Henderson (1984) both suggest that in terms of motivation, leisure volunteering fulfils higher needs such as self-esteem, belonging and self-actualisation. Stebbins (1982) highlights the personal benefits of such endeavours to participants including personal fulfilment, identity enhancement, self-expression and social and personal well being (Henderson, 1981; Frank, 1992).

It has been suggested that there are as many motives to volunteer as there are volunteers (Smith et al, 1995), and volunteering clearly taps into a natural 'urge' which people have to help their fellow human beings (1995: 122). This urge to help or altruism (Pearce, 1993; Wearing, 2001; Beighbeder, 1991) illustrates the humanitarian motives of volunteers. The use of the term altruism to explain the motivation of participants somewhat contradicts the literature (Chapter 3), which makes clear that 'pure' altruism cannot exist if there are direct or indirect benefits to the actor. In the case of volunteer tourists and leisure volunteering it is clear from the literature that there are several benefits to the actor. Regardless of intentions, the hedonistic paradox discussed earlier leaves no room for manoeuvre in terms of using the term altruism. The answer to the question whether volunteer tourists are really altruistic is no. Although volunteers may pay large amounts of money to participate, they can often get sponsorship to cover their costs. They do sacrifice their time, but their sacrifice is 'diluted' by factors such as holidays with pay and the European Union Working Time Directive (Thomson, 1994). This suggests that volunteer travel should not be characterised as altruistic (Wearing, 2001), but rather as 'pro-social' (Pearce, 1993: 77). The acts are "...*designed to produce and maintain the well being of others without the restriction on potential 'pay-offs' for the actors*" (1993: 77).

In this study volunteer tourist motivation is put on a continuum of motivators ranging from purely personal advantage to pure altruism. Stebbins (1982; 1992; 2004) postulates that the motivation of volunteers vary in terms of their reasons and their socio-economic conditions. In different volunteer project settings, different

researchers have identified different motivations. This project-based motivational structure becomes even more complicated when taking into account the effect of marketing messages through the information highway that the internet has become (Brown and Lehto, 2005). Yet this constant interplay between altruism and personal interest renders the onsite behaviour of volunteer tourists unpredictable, regardless of their motivations. All volunteers arrive at the project destination of their choice 'carrying' a different set of motives, expectations, experiences and background. What is important is what they do at the destination. The fact that motivation theories alone will not fully explain why people participate in volunteer tourism propelled this study towards choosing covert observation as its main methodological approach.

The main difficulty with getting to the reasons that influence people to participate in volunteer tourism is essentially the fact that volunteer tourism is both work and leisure, or volunteering and tourism, and hence the variety of motivations are theoretically doubled, or at least increased. None of the articles and case studies reviewed by the researcher provided a satisfactory, all embracing conceptual framework for participation in volunteer tourism and the nature of participation in it. To resolve this issue this study draws an analogy with the '*Hero's Journey*', a concept proposed by Campbell (1968; 1988) and which allows many comparisons to be made between his 'Hero' and the volunteer tourists encountered in this study. This study does not claim that volunteer tourists are heroes but that there are strong similarities and analogies between the two, and as such the '*Hero's Journey*' provides a valid conceptual hook for this study.

6.3 The Hero's Journey

A construct of celebrated anthropologist, Joseph Campbell, is the "Hero's Journey"². After studying the myths and legends of many cultures, Campbell (1968; 1988), argued that there is a common 'motif' which underlines heroic stories and adventures.

² (Note: The use of the term "Hero" refers to both male and female. The traditional feminine form "Heroine" is secondary and a diminutive form of "Hero" which the author finds anachronistic and inappropriate)

Intrinsic to this motif is a “*cycle of going and returning*” (Campbell, 1988: 123), which sees the hero undertake a venture that is bound to bring danger, challenges, and, at the same time, allows the hero to fulfil his/her human potential. The journey is comprised of three phases, departure, initiation, and return, which are further broken down by Campbell into 17 steps (Table 1). These 17 steps are not included in every myth but they are representative of the motif that underlines various myths from different regions of the world.

Table 1: The Hero’s Journey’s Steps

- The call to adventure
- Refusal of the call
- Supernatural Aid
- The crossing of the first threshold
- The Belly of the Whale (Rebirth)
- The Road of Trials
- Marriage
- Woman as temptress
- Atonement with father
- Apotheosis
- The Ultimate Boon
- Refusal of return
- The Magic Flight
- Rescue form without
- The crossing of the return
- Master of two worlds
- Freedom to live

Summarising the journey, the call to adventure (1) is the point in a person's life when they are given notice that everything in their life is going to change, whether they are aware of it or not. Often when this call is given, the future hero refuses to heed it (2). This could be for a variety of reasons including fear, insecurity, a sense of inadequacy, a sense of duty or any other reason that may hold the hero back. In the "Matrix" film trilogy the hero (Nemo) is given the choice of two pills, red and blue. The red represents refusal of the call and continuing with routine life and the blue means change (Warner Bros, 1999). Of course the hero chooses the second. Once the hero has committed to the quest, his or her guide and super-natural aid (3) will appear or become known. With this personification of his/her destiny to guide and aid him the hero goes forward until he/she comes to the point where his/her known world ends and adventure, danger and the unknown begin (4). What follows is the road of trials (4) which is a series of tests, tasks and ordeals that the hero must undergo. Often he/she fails one or more tests which often occur in threes. One of the tests the hero has to face is that of the meeting with the Goddess which is presented by Campbell as a mystical marriage (7) of the triumphant hero-soul with the Queen Goddess of the World (who is incarnate in every woman). The hero in this instance attempts to enter sacred ground and win the boon of love (Campbell, 1968:118) from the Goddess. In some instances the hero fails and his punishment is horrible (Actaeon-Artemis), or succeeds and enjoys the love of the Goddess (Odysseus-Calypso). In the case of a female hero, the maiden is the one who, by her qualities and her yearning has to prove she is fit to become the consort of an immortal (Psyche- Cupid). During these trials the hero is always tempted to abandon or stay away from his-her quest. The "woman as temptress" (8) is a metaphor for the physical or material temptations of life, since the hero was always tempted by lust away from his spiritual quest. Having overcome temptation and trials, the hero then reaches the centre stage of his journey which often is a meeting with a being of incredible power (9). This being is usually a father figure, a patriarch who represents, according to Campbell, the "ogre aspect of the father" (Campbell, 1988:126). This 'dark' side of the father figure is present in the myths of Zeus-Cronus and Cronus-Uranus where the father figure must be defeated or emasculated in order for the old cycle to come to a close and a new one to commence. During this encounter the hero's old self is "killed" and he is reborn as a hero. This transformation leads to the apotheosis (10) which means that the hero achieves a god-like status, not unlike Hercules in Greek mythology, who was accepted into the

Pantheon of the Olympian Gods upon completion of his labours. The reward for the hero is generally something ethereal and transcendent such as the elixir of life or the Holy Grail (11) (Campbell, 1988). Following this the hero has to choose between returning or not. Once success has been tasted and the nectar and ambrosia drunk will the hero leave it all behind and return to his/hers old mundane, routine life? There are many instances of heroes who decided to remain forever in the land of their quest (12). As Campbell put it; “*Numerous indeed are the heroes fabled to have taken up residence forever in the blessed isle of the unaging Goddess of immortal beings*” (Campbell, 1968:193). In Hindu mythology the Lord Muchukanda, instead of returning, decided to retreat further from the world (see Campbell, 1968:193-196). If the hero decides to return immediately, sometimes he/she has to escape to the normal world and struggle for a long time before he/she makes his/her eventual return (13). Odysseus, in Greek mythology, wandered for three years after he left Troy and stayed in the arms of the ‘unaging’ goddess Calypso for a further seven years before giving it all up in order to return to his beloved Penelope in Ithaca. In other cases the hero might just need to be ‘rescued from without’ (14), in simple terms the world must come to him and ask for his/her return (Lord Mucukanda). In many cases he/she needs more time to realise that there are other people who need the boon and so he/she has no choice but to return to his/her former world. What follows is the crossing of the return threshold (15), where the hero finally realises that the two worlds are in reality one, merely a forgotten dimension of the world he/she knew. Upon arrival the hero must learn to retain the wisdom gained from the quest and integrate it in his/her everyday life. This will eventually give the hero a perfect balance between the material and the spiritual and will make him/her the master of two worlds (16) and wise enough to live the moment (17), neither anticipating the future nor regretting the past (Campbell, 1988).

6.4 The ‘Journey’ as a ‘rite of passage’

In a sense the journey duplicates a ‘rite of passage’ comprised of different phases and tests. Throughout this ‘process’ the hero undergoes transformation, leaving behind his old ways of thinking and acting, and displays a new level of consciousness, skills and freedom. The importance of the ‘Journey’ as a rite of passage should not be

overlooked. Campbell's work echoes the work of another anthropologist, Arnold Van Gennep who saw rites of passage from cultures around the world as a three phase process (Van Gennep, 1960). These three stages are separation, liminality and incorporation. In the first phase, people withdraw from the group and begin moving from one status to another. In the third stage they re-enter society having completed the rite. The liminal phase is the transition period in between, where the individual has left one phase but has not yet entered or joined the next (Van Gennep, 1960). In the Bible, Jesus of Nazareth withdraws for a period in the desert before returning as the accomplished article prepared to start His work. In nature, a caterpillar goes into a cocoon state (chrysalis), before transforming into a butterfly. In human societies a rite of passage is often a ritual that marks a change in a person's social or sexual status. There are often ceremonies surrounding events such as childbirth, menarche, or other milestones within puberty, coming of age, marriage or death (Van Gennep, 1960). There are numerous initiation ceremonies in contemporary societies such as baptism, confirmation and bar or bat-mitzvahs that are considered as important rites of passage (Turner, 1969). As such, rites are in general diverse and may not be recognised as such in the culture in which they occur (Cushing, 1999). In Greece conscription is mandatory and has historically been linked with the maturing of man. The army was perceived as the 'natural way to go' and as a final school of socialisation and maturing for young men before they came into the real world. In practical terms this made a lot of sense because it was, in general, the first time a young man would find himself on his own, and away from home. Consequently, men unwilling or unable to serve, encountered prejudice and were often deemed 'useless' in conservative societies (Joenniemi, 2006), or treated as outcasts or cowards (cf. "white feathers" in the First World War) and forced to take exile, as did Vietnam draft dodgers in the 1960s and 1970s.

Recently, adventure education programs such as "Outward Bound" have been studied as potential rites of passage (Bell, 2003; Cushing, 1999) and the diversity of rites of passage perhaps gives us the 'licence' to see, for the purposes of this paper, volunteer travel as a contemporary rite of passage for young people. The 'Gap Year' has for a long time played this role, as a period between two major life stages (childhood-adulthood), or as Van Gennep may have put it, the liminal phase of a young adult's life (see earlier). The individual is clearly in transition and he/she is undoubtedly

going through changes, not unlike the chrysalis in the cocoon. The intent is to become a complete adult ready to face whatever life has to throw at him/her; the journey has already begun.

6.5 The “Hero” volunteer tourist

It is not difficult to fit the above ‘pattern’ or ‘mono-myth’ (Campbell, 1988) within the scope of volunteer tourism because the ‘Hero’s Journey’ is eternal and all encompassing. For Campbell, the journey is not just a pattern manifested in myths but it is a pattern of human experience. Every obstacle, every challenge we face endows us with experiences which contribute to the building of a new perspective, a new insight and spiritual growth (Campbell, 1988). This clear link with human experience and the three stage motif of departure, initiation and return, fit perfectly with what may be regarded as four basic components of the volunteer tourist experience:

- Ordinary Life
- Episodic Task
- Challenges
- Personal Development

In the ‘Hero’s Journey’ the hero starts his journey at the entrance to a new domain. The hero stands at the limits of his/her present sphere or life horizon (Campbell, 1968:77). Beyond lies the darkness of the unknown and danger which ordinary people are content and happy to avoid, but through which the hero dares to tread. This region could be a desert, a jungle, deep sea, or alien lands, and it provides context to the adventure as a passage beyond the veil of the known to the unknown. The volunteer tourist participants encountered in this study also stood at a threshold at one point in their lives. Behind them lay everything familiar and their daily routine life, and in front of them a trip to a developing country where they intended to carry out their mission, in this case to assist in an orphanage. At that point new participants had no clear idea of what to expect or what they were going to find upon arrival. At this point the hero enjoys the benefit of the appearance of his/her magical helpers (above) who are instrumental in guiding the hero with his/her first uncertain steps into the

unknown. Just as the hero gets assistance, so the participants also have their own 'magical' assistance in the form of their volunteer (or other) tourist organisation representatives who are there to help them settle in and adapt. The next step in the journey is the road of trials where the hero has to face certain challenges which he/she has to overcome. The volunteer participants also face certain challenges; they have to raise the cost of their trip, and also find the time to travel. In addition there is a linguistic challenge for those who did not speak the local language, and finally, the challenge to adapt and interact in a new environment. If the hero succeeds in his/her challenges, then comes the apotheosis, which means the hero is transformed to a god-like status, his/her 'old self' a thing of the past. During this study, at the end of the third week of participation at the orphanage, the volunteers (and the author) took part in the volunteers' appreciation day, by the end of which all felt transformed. We were not just individuals from different places and different backgrounds, we were all volunteers. It has to be noted that the author is including some comments from the main study in this chapter, in advance of describing the study methodology, simply to strengthen the case for the hero- volunteer tourist analogy.

We were all given t-shirts and we had a welcoming lunch, which we all cooked, served, ate and cleaned afterwards. It was a bit surreal, I felt like a member of a commune, a close knit group of people who worked together, ate together and had fun together.

What was underlining this feeling was the uniformity in our appearance wearing the t-shirts. They brought a change of atmosphere. It seemed like if all of the volunteers gained a new sense of identity and we were all swept away by a wave of newly found enthusiasm, responsibility and energy.

(Research diary: Excerpt 70)

The next step inevitably is the return. The hero may choose to return or stay away from his/her former world. Of the participants encountered all but one returned home at the end of their trip (volunteer No 3 decided to prologue her stay for a further six months). The hero also then faces the challenge of making a good use of the 'boon' which he/she gets as a reward. There are numerous cases of former volunteer tourist participants who, on return from their experience, started up new volunteer tourism organisations, to some extent continuing their 'journey'. Table 5.9 provides a list of volunteer tourism organizations (see Chapter 5) which, in their websites describe their founding and highlight the role of a single individual or group of individuals as key to their existence. One such example of a volunteer who used her experience and started her own organization is Deidre Bounds, who after volunteering abroad for a number of summers, decided to start her own volunteer tourism provider (i-to-i. com).

Another is Jean Mark Arbeola who started Volunteer Adventures (Volunteer adventures.com).

This 'boon' carried by the Hero in many cases is seen as wisdom which allows the hero to live in harmony, having found the right balance between the spiritual and the material world. Wearing (2001) found that for the young volunteers he studied in St Helena, their participation was a wake up call which made them realise what is important in life:

“ It puts you in such a radically different environment. Over the years, you’ve got used to the environment and it does not change much, like what car you drive, what clothes you wear, etc. You get there and that all shrinks in because there is none of that there, it is just you, and no one really gives a stuff what car you drive back home” (Mic, SERR participant as quoted in Wearing, 2001: 128). This elevation above materialism could also be the result of a reality check which some of the volunteers received when they were confronted with the realities of the lives of the children. A very good example that in this study is a child volunteer who followed her mother to the orphanage. She had a change of perspective and attitude, even though, as her mother put it, she had been a difficult child:

“X is twelve years old and she really enjoys playing with the orphanage’s children. According to her mum she brought her here in order to really appreciate how lucky she is and she seems to have already become less demanding and she does not mind sharing her things anymore”
(Research Diary: Excerpt 43)

Of course, just like the Hero, who is after all human, some of the participants showed certain weaknesses, for example, in missing creature comforts from home. It is not automatic that three weeks participating on a volunteer project will make a young person renounce their 'former' world. One example was Volunteer 27, an art performer, who volunteered in order to *“loose her inner princess”* (Research Diary: Excerpt 49) as she put it, but by the end of the trip admitted that she was on her way to New York for a spa treatment. Most of the volunteers showed a great affection and nostalgia for small creature comforts they had left behind and to which they had no access while volunteering:

The rain keeps us all in and the effects of spending a lot of hours in a confined space with a group of people start to appear. Inevitably the conversations revolve around what the volunteers have missed the most. The girls have missed having baths, their beds and their favourite soap operas and TV shows, which they could not follow while here and the guys mostly, have missed watching football and their friends.

(Research Diary: Excerpt 77)

From the above it can be argued that it is clear that we can draw strong analogies between the Hero's Journey and participation in volunteer tourism. Table 6.2 lists selected stages from Campbell's 'Journey' and compares them to the realities of volunteer tourism participation. It did not seem appropriate to make the obvious simplistic analogy between the 'Magic Flight' and flying to a destination or the value of the stage of 'Marriage' even though the possibility that some of the volunteers encountered get married in the future can not be discounted. This brings the discussion to the issue of the stage of 'Woman as temptress', with its deodological implications. It could be argued that Campbell was being allegoric and 'woman' represents all temptations, or he could literally mean lust. During the study there was inevitably interaction among the volunteers and even some tension caused by 'lust'. Of course it is not surprising that young people sharing the same areas and socializing for three weeks may pair off, so it was decided to keep that stage in the table below on the basis that competing for the affection of the same girl could be destructive.

Table 6.1: The Volunteer as a Campbellian 'Hero'

Campbell's Hero	Volunteer Tourist
Starting point-Familiar World	Routine-Mundane life
A call to adventure or a new challenge	Becoming aware of volunteer tourism projects and deciding to answer the call
Challenges and trials along the way	Raising funds for travel-Long flight- Adapting to new surroundings
Woman as temptress	Social interaction may lead to romance while on the volunteer trip, other temptations of the flesh while in the field
Supernatural Aid	Volunteers receive assistance from volunteer tourism representatives who help them adapt and give support in any emergency
Apotheosis	Volunteers complete their tasks trying to make a difference while overcoming the challenges presented to them.
Rebirth	Volunteers' lives are transformed by their experience- The turning point (Starr, 1994)
Return carrying the ultimate boon	Volunteers return to their old routine bringing with them their experiences and perhaps a new life perspective
Master of two worlds	Volunteers having experienced real hardship, real misfortunes and are now more content with their life.

(Devised from Campbell, 1968)

6.6 The ‘Hero’ Volunteer Tourist Model: The Call and the Individual

The call to adventure is the first of Campbell’s steps in the Hero’s Journey and it is the one that invites the hero into adventure offering an opportunity to face the unknown. The hero may choose willingly to undertake the quest or he/she may be dragged into it unwillingly. The choice on behalf of the hero may be determined by a variety of factors which this paper will try to fit within a tourist motivation framework.

-The Call

On a psychological level the call could be just a realisation that something is missing from the life of an individual and he/she must find out what is missing. That feeling of emptiness in the modern world could be associated with boredom or stress accumulated through always having the same routine and surroundings. Humans have a drive to explore new environments, and in the tourism literature this has been defined as ‘wander-lust’ and in simple terms it is a desire to travel, or having an itch to see the world (Mansfeld, 1992). In addition individuals may feel trapped in their routine life and they may just want to escape and leave it all behind. Krippendorf (1999) suggested that travel is motivated by going away from, rather than going towards, something, and the travel needs of modern society have been largely created by society and the demands of modern life. Escape and wander-lust influencing factors feature prominently in the finding of this study. The volunteers encountered were escaping from their daily routine or a situation that caused a lot of stress, while other expressed wanderlust (see Chapter 9).

The direct quotes from volunteers may just be a simple answer to “why are you here” which was the question they were asked within the context of an informal conversation, (see methodology section) but they could also mean that they undertook their quest because for one reason or another they felt that their life story was no longer matching who they were; they felt constricted and sought change, and change is central within the story of ‘the journey’.

Different individuals felt the need to change something in their lives but the method of their escape, volunteer work, leaves room for further ‘heroic’ analogies. The

participants in question decided to combine their escape with assisting at an orphanage, thus there may be something truly 'heroic' about them that makes them more receptive to a call to a cause.

In the 'Journey' the Hero finds him/herself in a situation where he/she has to make a choice which will determine their future and in many cases, the future of others. The call could come in a variety of shapes or forms regardless of whether the hero is ready to answer it or not. It could be that something was taken from the hero or the hero's family, and the quest is to reclaim it. In the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur, the hero's quest is to kill the monster and relieve his citizens from the heavy debt of blood they had to pay to King Minos (Campbell, 1968:58). In other cases, the hero wants to save or restore his/her honour, which is why they undertake a quest. Again in Greek mythology there is the example of the son of Agamemnon, Horestes, who sets out to avenge his father's death and suffers the consequences. The hero may realise that his people need something and quests to get it for them regardless of the consequences. Prometheus is a good example of this, stealing fire from the Gods in order to assist humanity but suffering the wrath of Zeus. The above motifs or scenarios could be replicated although, of course not as dramatically, when it comes to the 'Call' the volunteer tourists receive. The hero in most myths is expected to behave with honour and selflessness, often to protect and defend the weak by resisting the forces of evil, even if putting him/her self in danger. This 'hero code' of conduct is prominent also in knight's tales and stories such as the seven pillars of knighthood (courage, justice, mercy, generosity, faith, nobility and hope) (Howard, 1964). This code of honour survived down the centuries and became the cornerstone of the notion of '*noblesse oblige*' which underlay early charity and volunteering efforts by the aristocracy (Kendal and Knapp, 1996). The concept in simple terms means that with wealth, power and prestige come responsibilities, in a sense a form of moral economy which dictates that privilege must be balanced by a duty towards those who lack such privilege, mainly the weak and the poor. This notion should not be discounted in terms of this study, as some of the volunteers stated that they felt privileged by the relative ease and comfort of their western lives and they felt that they were giving something back by volunteering (Chapter, 3)

The main theme of most conversations with the volunteers revolved around the feeling that if they do not do something, no-one else would, which is the opposite of the phenomenon of responsibility detachment (Latane and Darlane, 1970), a tendency people may have to distance themselves from responsibility by assuming, or even convincing themselves, that somebody else more capable or professional will provide help. The current generation of young people may be disillusioned with what is going on in the world, and media coverage of high profile scandals in relation to charities and humanitarian organisations may be argued to reinforce this disillusionment (see Chapter 3).

Are volunteers different? Are they genetically programmed to be more generous, more tolerant, more affected by the needs of their fellow human beings? Science postulates that acts of generosity are just part of an evolutionary mechanism that helps to ensure that our species survives, and altruism is still an enigma, with scientific research revealing more questions than answers about it (Cambridge University News, 2007). In terms of volunteering, altruism has been identified as a motivating factor (Howard, 1976; Henderson, 1981; Gittman, 1975; Moskos, 1971; Chapman, 1980). It has been argued that altruism is manifested in many shapes or forms such as helping people (Howard, 1976), benefiting children (Henderson, 1981), working for a cause (Gittman, 1975), patriotism (Moskos, 1971) and serving the community (Chapman, 1980). What is in common is the realisation that altruism, as a concept, can neither be observed nor studied as a motivation, but only as manifested behaviour. In terms of the volunteers encountered in this study, “altruistic” may be too strong a term to use to describe them. They were doing something worthwhile, and they could have chosen not to, but like the hero in Campbell’s *Journey*, they all gained from their volunteering, intentionally or not. Some were certainly aware that they would benefit in some way from participating, which makes their participation not altruistic, as the essence of this concept is action for no intended gain (Axelrod, 1984)

6.7 The Boon: Benefits from volunteering

In the Hero's Journey, the hero gets a boon for his effort, an ethereal, transcended gift (Cambell, 1968) which he/she takes with him/her on his return. This gift must be kept and used for the benefit of him/herself and others. Volunteer tourist participants also return to their former lives carrying a 'boon', the experience that has helped their personal development. According to Broad, (2003), volunteer participation has long-term effects on participants. He suggested that volunteers became more broad-minded, contented and relaxed, and less psycho-centric. In addition, retrospective studies suggest that a majority of volunteers considered that their assignment had influenced their personal development or careers positively (Reark Research, 1998). In a longitudinal qualitative study, Starr, (1994) considered the lives of 21 Peace Corps volunteers twenty years after their assignments. The volunteer experience was viewed as a turning point in their life course (Starr, 1994:137). To most volunteers their participation acted as a baptism of fire before they had to confront the reality of adult commitments. Volunteers encountered within this study certainly felt that they were going to get something out of their participation and they were also aware that while they were doing something worthwhile and commendable, they were also ready to admit that they were not saving the world, unlike the Campbellian hero who in many cases prevents a large scale catastrophe or saves countless lives. It may be argued that the volunteers do not by any means make a difference at a large scale, and as such they should not be compared to real heroes, but not all heroes save the world. Perseus, in rescuing Andromeda is considered a hero, even though he only saved one person. In knightly stories, the hero may fight for the honour of a single maiden and is revered for it, even though within the context of the greater scheme, such acts are minor. The volunteers in the microcosm of their 'adventure' can be considered heroes also, in that while they did not change the world they could certainly improve the lot, and add colour to the lives of a group of children in a small orphanage. While it may be true that in general a single individual is rarely able to make a difference at a large scale, we should not overlook the power individuals have to make a considerable difference to the lives of those less fortunate, even if it is only for a few days. As Mahatma Ghandi put it: "*To the world you might be just one person, but to the eyes of one person you might be the world*" (Fischer, 2002)

6.8 The Hero-Volunteer Model

The extent to which the volunteer participants are similar to Campbell's hero can be clarified with the implementation of a model (figure 6.1) presenting what the hero and volunteer have in common in terms of the call, the journey and the return. In Figure 1, the hero or the volunteer (H/V in diagram) is central to this dynamic representation. Intrinsic to both the hero and the volunteer is the fact that both have goals and perceptions influenced by different factors. The common factor in this instance is 'family' (Figure1) which in many cases shapes personality and influences individuals at the earliest stages of human development (Mitchell, 1990). Modern volunteers are also influenced by the media, which did not exist in the time of the heroes described by Campbell, except in the form of myths and legends. The media play a very important part in shaping the consciousness of modern society since they are "... *able to influence, entertain, instruct or persuade with very complex, perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological or behavioural consequences*" (Hall, 2004: 202). In earlier times, there were stories and myths that played the same role. Rhapsodists like Homer, used to travel from city to city reiterating from memory the feats of legendary men. Their stories excited the imagination and they may have prompted younger generations to follow into the footsteps of their heroes. Alexander the Great was known to sleep with a copy of the Iliad under his pillow (Stoneman, 2008), much like youngsters today falling asleep reading the adventures of Superman or Harry Potter.

Another influencing factor is the past of both the volunteers and the Campbellian hero. As argued earlier, healing past wounds could be a major factor in answering a call or erasing the past. altruism, more as an expression of empathy, is also central to the psyche of both the volunteer and the hero. Empathy is the ability to relate to another human being's emotions, or as is commonly said "put oneself into another's shoes" and could be key when it comes to understanding the 'heroic' actions of the hero and the volunteer

From a tourism perspective, the hero and the volunteer both have several push and pull factors that may influence their answering the 'call'. These factors in the tourism literature are based on the interaction and interrelationship between socio-psychological motives (push factors) and the 'charms' of a destination (pull factors) in

determining choice (Dann, 1981). As noted earlier, escape, wanderlust, social interaction and the destination itself are common motivators for both the volunteer and the hero, with the main difference being the fact that the hero is more likely to experience danger by answering his/her call.

The most influential factor in answering the call however, is the timing of the call. Where and how it finds the hero or the volunteer is central to acceptance or rejection of the call. As noted earlier, the hero's response to the call depends to a large extent on their psychological disposition and circumstances. For those volunteers encountered in this study timing was paramount. As they put it, the time was right to travel and do volunteer work (see Chapter 9).

Acceptance of the call in many cases demands some sort of sacrifice on behalf of the hero and the volunteer. They both leave everything they know behind; their loved ones and their material goods. Both also suffer the opportunity cost of departure. The hero in myths might miss the chance of ruling his/her kingdom or spending time with their loved ones, while the volunteers have to use their holiday allotment and also cover the cost of participation before enjoying the benefits described earlier (the boon).

6.9 Heroes and Villains

Cambell's (1968) hero is a positive character but in most heroic sagas there are villains as well as heroes. Some, like Launcelot in the Arthurian legends, move from hero to villain because of forces greater than they are capable of withstanding, and the consequences of their fall from grace are often catastrophic for all parties. Some are portrayed as fulfilling their part in a greater scenario, as Judas Iscariot, although in such cases sympathetic treatment of the individual may vary with whoever is recounting the story. In many heroic sagas there is also the conversion of the villain to at least a neutral, if not finally heroic figure. In contemporary imagery, this is perhaps best revealed by the character of Darth Vader in the Star Wars films and stories (Campbell, 1997). The young knight is seduced by the Dark Side of the Force into becoming a villain, attacking his own brother Jedi knights, until the final meeting with his son. Thus the 'journey' of the hero, Luke Skywalker, involves not only great

danger, but an ultimate confrontation with the evil father incarnate. This corresponds to the “ogre aspect of the father” (Campbell, 1988:126), stage 9 in Table 1 of the Journey. In the *dénouement*, George Lucas, the creator of the epics, has the villain finally commit a heroic and self sacrificing act to save his son, thus redeeming himself and saving civilisation (and his son) from the Dark Side. Lucas has noted his familiarity with Campbell’s writings in interviews (Campbell, 1988b). In the context of volunteer tourism, villains may be those participants who take unfair and ignoble advantage of other volunteers or the intended recipients of their actions. In some cases there will be no conversion or redemption, and “the ugly tourist” character may remain a blot in the volunteer saga. In other cases, guilt, peer pressure or other forces may result in redemption and a return to the heroic status of the other participants.

This model (illustrated in Figure 6.1) is a first step in portraying the volunteer tourist as a ‘hero’ and could be seen as a conceptual hook on which to hang and build a theory and model of volunteer tourist participation and motivation. In the modern world the concept of heroism is normally confined to acts of bravery or sacrifice, such as would be rewarded with medals or trophies. It is perhaps typical of contemporary society that volunteer tourism is rapidly becoming commercialised, at least in terms of the provision of opportunities, with several thousand organisations now offering a volunteer experience, many for a very considerable price. Increasingly the marketing of such opportunities is stressing not only the beneficial aspects of the experience to recipients in host countries, but also the implied benefits to volunteer participants themselves. altruism is being replaced with benefits to participants in financial terms and reputation enhancement. On the basis of the participants in this study

Figure 6.1: The Hero-Volunteer Model



however, the motives seem to have remained more heroic than pecuniary as will be discussed later, but whether that will be the situation in the future is less unlikely, and remains to be seen.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined volunteer tourist motivation as it appears in the literature and how it has been influenced by a market that is expanding and that puts the customer-volunteer at the centre of their operations. In such a volatile and highly competitive environment, individuals become volunteer tourists for a plethora of reasons that are difficult to predict or explain away as purely calculative, rational behaviour. The 'Hero's Journey' shows that anyone, anywhere, for any reason, could become a "hero" or act "heroically". When the call comes it is then up to the individual and circumstance to decide on participating or not. The field study of the author provides an insight into the motivation of volunteer tourist participants, but before discussing the findings, the methodology used in the study is described in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Methodology

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the principles underlying quantitative and qualitative research traditions in order to clarify their application to this research. As this study employs both positivist analysis and constructivist grounded theory that are drawn from often opposing research traditions, it was deemed necessary to conduct an exploration of their appropriateness for this study. The intention is to clarify the validity of the research process in regards to this enquiry. Specifically this chapter examines the use of the interpretivist paradigm in the field of tourism.

7.2 Background to Philosophical Thought

The term ‘philosophy’ comes from the Greek word (Philosophia) which means ‘love of wisdom’. To the ancient Greeks philosophy was the quest for genuine knowledge and the eradication of false opinions. The Penguin Dictionary of Philosophy defines it as the study of “...the most fundamental and general concepts and principles involved in thought action and reality” (Mautner, 2005). The term research is often described as an active, diligent and systematic process of inquiry aimed at discovering, interpreting and revising facts. This intellectual investigation produces greater knowledge of events, behaviours, theories and laws and makes practical application possible. By combining the above two definitions it is possible to define a research philosophy as the concepts and principles in the thought, action and the reality of intellectual investigation.

At its very beginning philosophy was held back by religious and political inhibitions which served the status quo but did nothing for the development of new knowledge. However, the development and evolution of the democratic ideology in the 5th century BC prepared the ground for empiricism, the basic idea behind scientific research. Derived from the Greek word ‘empiria’ which means experience, empiricism suggested that observation and measurement were at the core of the scientific

endeavour and great philosophers among them Aristotle, Bacon and Mill based their lives' work upon this premise.(Mautner, 2005)

This acceptance of experiment and knowledge was put to the test in 1781 when Immanuel Kant published his 'Critique of Pure Reason' and caused a revolution in philosophy and started a debate which has not yet been settled. Kant argued that there are other ways of knowing about the world than through direct observation, and that people use these all the time. He suggested that it may be useful to consider not how our representations may necessarily conform to objects but how objects conform to our representations. This proposition that the result of an observation could vary from observer to observer provided the platform for the launch of many of the ideas associated with a qualitative research methodology.

Regardless of what researchers believe is the right approach, it is imperative that they are consistent and that they should clearly outline the epistemological or philosophical path which their research will follow (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Since the late 1960s such a path has been known as the research paradigm which can be explained as a thought pattern in any scientific discipline or other epistemological context, and it was argued that all researchers should keep following the same path throughout their research endeavours (Kuhn, 1970).

7.3 The Positivist Approach

The historical periods identified as the Renaissance and the Reformation are noted for ushering in the age of reason when the stranglehold of the Medieval Church dogma of '*believe, do not seek*' was challenged and overthrown. The roots of methodological philosophy can be traced to the scepticism of the Enlightenment discourse that rejected the established view that phenomena possessed occult or hidden qualities beyond the domain of experience (Murphy et al, 1998).

The bedrock of positivist thinking is based on the argument that a distinction can be made between questions that are to be defined as legitimate knowledge and issues that are unlikely to be resolved in that they reside outside the realm of human experience

and experimental enquiry (Kolakowski, 1993:3). It is a position that holds that the goal of knowledge is to describe the phenomena that one experiences. To a positivist the purpose of science is to adhere to what is observed and can be measured and any knowledge beyond that is impossible (Mautner, 2005). This attitude towards scientific research was introduced into social science research by Comte (1830/18530) and was given the name 'positivism'. His work was followed up by Durkheim (1895/1964) as a celebration of the supremacy of logic and scientific knowledge as the sole viable paradigm by which to obtain valid knowledge and solve all practical problems facing mankind.

However, in order to use 'natural science' paradigms in social research it was imperative for sociology and other social sciences to be translated into natural sciences' terms. To this end social science is broken down into social facts, and facts into objects (Babbie, 1998), but this is not enough according to Giddens (1974), who argued that there is a need for three key assumptions:

- 1) Methodological procedures of natural sciences may be directly adapted to the study of human social actions.
- 2) The outcome of research in the social sciences will take the form of social laws.
- 3) Results of social research are value free

If these assumptions are met, then positivism can become a popular paradigm especially in business research because the data used is highly specific and precise (Hussey and Hussey, 1997) and the results obtained are considered to be valid. Within the positivist framework, validity becomes an extension of the 'Correspondence theory of truth' which argues that scientific findings correspond to an objective reality (Kvale, 1989).

However, what should be taken into account when evaluating the positivist paradigm is that the paradigms used by the social sciences, unlike those in the physical sciences cannot be true or false as a way of seeking knowledge; they can only be more or less useful (Babbie, 1998).

7.4 The Interpretative Approach

The dominance of positivism was to be questioned in the 19th and 20th century by a research paradigm which suggested that there are fundamental differences between natural and human sciences. This paradigm is referred to as interpretivism and it proposes that social science researchers seek to understand social phenomena in terms of human experience and thus the ‘causal-functional’ approach of the natural sciences is not applicable in social enquiry (Shutz, 1954).

Interpretivism recognised the nature of subjectivity in studying humans and is based upon the premise that whilst physical systems cannot react to predictions made about them, social systems can. Checkland (1999) took the above sentiment further by suggesting that human beings are self-conscious and this is expressed through free choice, and choice is not regulated by natural laws. Thus a social scientist can only reveal trends, rather than laws. The interpretivist tradition undermines the traditional view of methodology with its system of procedures and rigid protocols that were abstract and formalised. The interpretative approach safeguards the right of the researcher to exercise judgement in applying methods appropriately based on the context of the research. This doctrine is in stark contrast to positivism that views methods as the means to avoid subjectivity and achieve the valued benefit of objectivity.

Giddens (1979) breaks down the generic term interpretivism, into variants such as phenomenology, hermeneutics and social constructionism, but what all the above have in common is a deep rooted belief that there is an interrelationship between the investigator and the investigated, the researcher and the researched. Verification of what actually exists in the social, and so human, world depends on the researcher’s interpretation, or as the common saying goes; *‘beauty is in the eye of the beholder’*.

The interpretative turn reorients the ontological search for a reality that is separate and apart from the researcher, and locates this search in terms of the acknowledgement of the researcher as being ‘irretrievably a part’ of the system of the production of meaning by his or her participation in the ‘circle of readings or interpretations’

(Schwandt, 1998:227). The overall aim of pursuing these readings and interpretations is to gain insights into the link between theory and praxis, thereby producing a body of knowledge that is useful and has social relevance and applicability. If there is no objective reality to be discovered, the object of the investigation and the tools of the investigation share the context of human reality and should be inseparable.

This contextual relationship of phenomena and nature leaves the interpretivist no option but to keep expanding interpretations and meanings. Subsequently, researchers are caught up in a dialectical and hermeneutic cycle with the only salvation the fact that they do not subscribe to the epistemological assumption of objectivity. Thus they are not restricted by the use of a certain set of procedures and methods in their enquiries.

This lack of clear procedures or methods leaves the interpretative approach vulnerable to the accusation of being arbitrary and lacking in rigour. In defence of the paradigm Schwandt points out that all researchers on the field have to ‘watch, listen, ask, record and examine’ (1998:222). Whether it is interviews, archival research, participant observation or any similar method, an interpretative theoretical and epistemological conviction underpins the process. Thus the purpose of the enquiry along with the advice of epistemological theses determines to a large extent the direction and the criteria set by the researcher. According to Schwandt (1998), if the method fits the aims of the research, then there are grounds to accept the interpretation as plausible. Going beyond that position to greater claims of the discovery of ‘truth’ is impossible in light of the relativity of knowledge and the polyvalency of meaning (Daye, 2004).

In this environment then, reader evaluation becomes a major criterion in evaluating an interpretative exercise Potter (1996:139). According to him the most important aspect of constructivism is the presentation of rich and detailed materials in a manner for readers to assess their adequacy. This will provide the reader with the opportunity to pass judgement on the claims the interpretation of the materials might lead to.

7.5 Constructivism

Beyond the general critique of positivist empiricism characterised by the interpretivist orientation, constructivism goes further in challenging the main epistemological, ontological and empirical tenets of positivism. Positivist dogmas of objective truth and empirical realism are refuted by constructivism (Schwandt, 1998:236). The constructivist approach places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants (Charmaz, 2006:130). The main thrust of constructivism is the belief that there is no objective truth on which to pin observations and findings in order to determine reality or the nature of the world (Nightingale and Cromby, 1999). Instead, truth lies within the minds of individuals and is formed through the individual believing, accepting and subscribing to this truth. Thus, a theory or a truth gets 'flesh and blood' at the moment it is accepted by its audience. This link of acceptance of a truth by different individuals leaves the door open for different interpretations of the same truth by different individuals to be constructed. This process is dynamic, not linear and it can produce multiple versions and reconstructions of the same phenomenon.

Overall, this paradigm is an amalgam of relativist epistemological and ontological stance and methodological research. Through a constructivist lens reality and truth are a world of lived experiences which can be investigated through social constructs or social artefacts such as language and culture. Language becomes crucial as a tool for expressing social relationships and interaction. It can be deconstructed accordingly in order to create meaning and truth.

This primacy of social processes within social constructivism, stands in opposition to other traditions such as cognitivism and behaviourism (Pujol and Montenegro, 1993:83). Cognitivism argues that human mental processes can be understood by quantitative, positivist and scientific methods, while behaviourism postulates that all theories should have observational correlates without any philosophical boundaries between actions and feelings. In direct contrast to this attitude research approach, constructivists highlight language as the means of representing and deconstructing the

world. As a result the reality woven by language is, to a very large extent, discursive. To the constructivist reality in all its essences can not be captured beyond language.

7.6 The Case for Method Combination in Research

In the above discussion, two different approaches to scientific enquiry have been examined and analysed. It has become clear that positivist and interpretivist traditions are ineluctably rooted in epistemological and ontological commitments which render their combination extremely difficult. For instance, the decision to employ participant observation is not just a decision about how to gather information, but it is a de facto commitment to a certain epistemological position that is ‘hostile’ to positivism and that subscribes to interpretivism (Bryman, 2004). This kind of view has created the impression that multi-strategy research is not feasible or even desirable, due to the fact that the epistemological positions in which they are grounded are irreconcilable in terms of how social reality should be studied (Smith, 1983:12; Smith and Heshusius, 1986).

However, research reality and pragmatic difficulties advocate, and some times require, that researchers should accommodate the two traditions in a combined research methodological approach. Even then, as in any other reconciliation exercise, issues of supremacy and dominance are raised. Murphy and Greatbatch (1998) argue that there are three approaches which fit combined method research and as a whole they make an attempt at ‘satisfising’ the two ‘warring’ schools of thought.

Table 7.1 Types of Instrumental Method Combination

Type of Method Combination	Paradigmatic Emphasis	Main Purpose	Primary Determinants of Choice
Qualitative research as junior partner	Positivist	Operationalisation, data gathering	Research question, type of data required
‘Horses for Courses’	Constructivist	Clarifying, expanding and exploring the dimension of the research	Researcher
Qualitative research as senior partner	Constructivist	To adequately represent experiences and processes that may be missed in quantitative approaches	Epistemological decision

Source: Murphy, Greatbatch et al (1998)

As seen in table 7.1, the first view proposes qualitative research as a junior partner to a more quantitatively oriented method. Subsequently, quantitative methods play a subsidiary role in the early stages of the research. Accordingly, qualitative approaches are implemented by the researchers solely when quantitative methods are inappropriate. The second approach is a more contingent approach and it has a utilitarian undertone. It also denies hierarchy or hegemony to any of the two paradigms (Hammersley, 1992; Silverman, 1993). Fittingly, Murphy, Greatbatch et al (1998:59) have termed this approach as “Horses for Courses” and as the title implies, the researcher is free to apply the tools he/she sees fit in terms of producing the optimum results. Not surprisingly the third approach is a reverse of the first approach. Qualitative methods take centre stage, while quantitative take a back seat. In the hierarchy of choices, qualitative methods ‘outscore’ quantitative methods because of the fact that qualitative research has the edge in uncovering social process and subjective realities of subjects (Bryman, 2004).

In terms of paradigmatic emphasis these three positions display even more proliferation. In the first option, concerns for data generation and hypothesis building tend to lead towards a positivist epistemology subsidised by the qualitative method. The “Horses for Courses” approach seems to stem from the need to clarify and explore different dimensions with a pragmatic lens. When there is a need to present a subjective reality in an epistemological sense, then the third approach of predominant qualitative and complementary quantitative is chosen. As seen in the table (table 7.1) all three combinations relate to epistemological, methodological and theoretical concerns which researchers in different fields have to face. The fact that they are so diverse and different leads to potential trade-offs when opting for one or the other (Hammersley, 1993; Murphy and Greatbatch et al, 1998; Silverman, 1993; Fielding and Schreier, 2001). Naturally, the advocates of quantitative methods should remember that what they gain in validity and reliability within the ‘safety’ of mathematical equations, they may lose in terms of contextual richness and conceptual depth. Similarly, for a qualitative researcher, richness in context and depth might be at the expense of validity and ‘cold’ reliability.

7.7 The Case for Triangulation

The role of triangulation in research started as a means for qualitative researchers to address concerns for any inherent bias in the research process. According to Denzin: *“By combining multiple observers, theories, methods and data sources researchers can hope to overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-methods, single observer and single-theory studies (Denzin, 1970:313).*

Thus triangulation found a place within the pragmatic instrumental tradition in order to mainly address issues of validity and verification in the qualitative process. As discussed earlier (section 7.6), there is a kind of trade-off, as the benefits of one approach are applied in order to balance the bias of the other. It is also seen as a useful tool for reducing distortion which some times proves inevitable in single-method research (Kelle, 2002). A hypothesis checked by a series of tests using different methods is likely to be more ‘valid’ and reliable than a hypothesis checked by a single method. Danzin saw triangulation’s advantage in ‘playing each method off against the other so as to maximise validity of field or ‘ethnographic’ effort with the result of reducing the threats to internal or external validity (Kelle, 2002: p6).

According to Paton (1990:464) there are four types of triangulation used in qualitative analysis; methodological triangulation, source triangulation, analyst triangulation and theory/perspective triangulation. The first one involves cross-checking findings based on different data collection methods. The second involves the cross-checking of the consistency of different data derived from the same method. The third one involves several analysts reviewing the findings of a research. Finally, the fourth one describes the situation when multiple perspectives and theories are used to interpret data. The conviction of Paton, that triangulation is a validation process came under fire by several researchers who argued that different methods may produce separate errors and thus they do not guarantee validity (Fielding and Fielding, 1986). In addition the critics argue that the fact that different methods are also grounded in different methodologies increases the likelihood of separate errors. Others suggest that a correlation between results is not always an indication that both results are correct. It could mean equally that both results are wrong (Kelle, 2002). Others go further suggesting that corroboration of findings should not be the acid test for validity

(Jensen and Jankowski, 1991). Failure of corroboration could be the beginning of further empirical research and further conceptualisation of the findings.

7.8 Methodological Triangulation

In general, methodological triangulation is the application and combination of several methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. It can be employed in both quantitative (validation) and qualitative (inquiry) studies. It is a recognised strategy in founding the credibility of qualitative analyses and it becomes an alternative to ‘traditional’ criteria like reliability and validity and thus it is a common approach in social sciences enquiry. As such, the purpose of triangulation is to increase the credibility and hopefully validity of the results. Several scholars have aimed to define methodological triangulation throughout the years. Cohen and Manion define it as “*an attempt to map out, or explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint*” (1986:254). Artrichter et al (1996:117) contented that triangulation “*....gives a more balanced picture of the situation*”. According to O’Donoghue and Punch (2003:78) triangulation is “*a method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data*”. For Kelle and Para (2002) the use of methodological triangulation is a research practice that relates metaphorically to the classic definition of the term within the context of trigonometry. In defining methodological triangulation they present it on the one hand as an approach which is employed to create a more comprehensive and accurate picture of the social phenomena under review, while on the other hand, it is described as an approach employed in order to ensure validation of methods and results along with identifying potential validity threats. These two different approaches present the researcher with the dilemma of which approach to employ. Thus an awareness of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the above approaches is useful in order for the researcher to make the right choice. What is vital at this point is for the researcher to remember to ensure that his/her chosen position is consistent with the overall objectives of his/her research.

Even sceptics and polemics of triangulation, such as Fielding and Fielding (1986) recognise that it assists the researcher in taking a critical stance towards the data.

Ideally this new stance creates the opportunity for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena investigated, but it also leaves the door open to risks to reliability due to possible skewing of the analysis and bias towards locating points in the data that support the research question. This danger can be pre-empted by the researcher being reflective throughout the research effort since methodological and epistemological concepts and dispositions are not sufficient criteria to determine whether methodological approaches are combined or single. Kelle (2002) takes the instrumental view that in the process of research there are strategic decisions that have to be taken in the quest for truth. In this process, using a geometrical metaphorical analogy, the methodological triangulation can be seen operating “...like a prism of light on a spectrum to produce varying levels of illumination” (Daye, 2004:141).

7.9 Methodological Triangulation and this Study

This study utilises the two methods of quantitative content analysis in order to deconstruct the supply side of the volunteer tourism market, and qualitative participant observation in order to deconstruct the motivation of volunteer tourism participants. Each method is independent and can therefore stand on its own in terms of the findings that are produced, however, the overall analysis of results integrates the findings of the two approaches with the intent to explore the various dimensions and facets of the research topic. Decrop (1999:158) saw triangulation as a way to make qualitative findings sounder and to gain a larger acceptance of qualitative tourism studies. This study utilises methodological triangulation in an attempt to answer the research question rather than as a means of validation of the qualitative findings. This author opts for the stance postulated by Fielding and Schreier (2002) and Kelle (2002), that methodological triangulation is employed in order to provide depth and the means to uncover and understand the dimensions and aspects of the phenomenon being investigated. There is no single ‘recipe’ of how to treat data gathered from the combination of methods, but at least such an approach has the potential to gain from the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of both positivist and interpretivist approaches combined. As Brewer and Hunter (1989:17) put it: “*Multi-methods fundamental strategy is to attack a research with an arsenal of*

methods that have non-overlapping weaknesses in addition to their complimentary strengths”.

7.10 The Two Paradigms in Tourism Studies

To many, tourism studies have tended to suffer from an over-emphasis on quantitative studies, while qualitative methods have been overlooked (Walle, 1997; Riley and Love, 2000; Hollinshead, 1996; Jamal and Holinshead, 2001). Not surprisingly positivism has been identified as the predominant paradigm by Riley and Love (2000), after a review of its application in research published in four major tourism journals. Retrospectively there are several factors that may have contributed to this positivist dominance. Firstly, tourism has traditionally been viewed from a financial and economic position, due to its wealth generating properties. Accordingly, tourism research in that vein has provided ways of achieving financial goals, such as profitability and national incomes. As a result, tourism studies revolved for a long time around revenues, forecasting and modelling which are more suited to positivist enquiry. Secondly, it is generally accepted that the interpretative paradigm has to a large extent lagged behind its positivist predecessors in most research fields (Goodson and Philimore, 2005). This, in combination with the fact that tourism is admittedly less methodologically and theoretically advanced than other fields (Walle, 1997), breeds insecurity for researchers who as a consequence opt for more tested and more grounded approaches in their enquiries.

For too long qualitative research in the field of tourism was labelled as ‘non rigorous, and the poor relation of ‘real’ (positivist) research (Riley and Love, 2000). This does not mean that qualitative research in tourism is something new. According to Riley and Love (2000), there was such research underway in areas such as tourist motivation and host-guest relations or cultural identity, but it was within the context of sociology, anthropology and other related fields. While saying that, it has to be noted that the earliest tourism journal commenced in the early 1950s (Tourism Review), so it should not be expected that the tourism research tradition would mirror the lengthy development and evolution of other research disciplines and fields.

A call for the emancipation of tourism from positivist 'rule' is directly linked to a new conceptualisation of tourism as an agent and construct of human and social experiences, activities and actions. Tourism research in its relatively short life has employed qualitative methods, but it has not fully embraced, with any conviction, a qualitative approach to research (Goodson and Philimore, 2005). While qualitative methods are gradually finding a place in tourism research as a legitimate and equally viable approach, it could be argued that many researchers are still struggling to break the boundaries between paradigms and are limited by epistemological, ontological and methodological conundrums.

Tourism research being an offspring of human intellectual endeavour, it has arguably inherited all the paradigmatic, epistemological, and ontological tensions associated with the methodological approaches of research within the social sciences. New tourism researchers are parachuted, if not teleported, into a very old battleground and they somehow have to survive. Is choosing a side the wisest course of action? Should they join the side that is most likely to ensure paradigmatic safety? Which is the right choice? Determining which of the two provides a paradigmatic 'Valhalla' is a Sisyphean task, and rather futile. The approach taken in this study is to produce justifiable and plausible grounds for the methodological choices and strategic decisions that have been undertaken during the research process in order to achieve clarity and to contribute to the process of theory building and understanding in tourism.

7.11 Summary

The overall aim of this section has been to establish the theoretical justification for the methodological approach that is undertaken in this research and to lay the foundations for resulting discussions on the theory of content analysis and participant observation. In achieving this goal, this chapter so far has presented a critical view of the various philosophical traditions that have influenced the development of methodological approaches in the social sciences. It has shown that the apparent schism between quantitative and qualitative methods has emerged from the conception of methodological monism which claims that social sciences must conform to the

methods of the natural sciences in order to be accepted as 'scientific'. In order to establish the theoretical basis for methods combination in this research it has been necessary to bridge the epistemological and ontological 'chasm' between positivist and constructivist traditions. This section also explained that the methodological triangulation employed in this study was used to provide both depth and the means of uncovering different dimensions of understanding the phenomenon of volunteer tourist participation. This discussion also reviewed the basis for its application in this research and argued that both positivism and constructivism are useful for theory building in the field of tourism. The next section follows with a discussion on the issues relating to the theory and praxis of the participant observation method, preceded by a brief discussion on the use of quantitative content analysis as a tool of exploring the supply side of the market for volunteer tourism.

7.12 Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis is an empirical method used in the social sciences primarily for analyzing recorded human communication in a quantitative, systematic, and inter-subjective way. This material can include newspaper articles, films, advertisements, interview transcripts, or observational protocols, for instance. Thus, a quantitative content analysis can be applied to verbal material, and also to visual material like the evening news or television entertainment (Holsti, 1969). The researcher decided that it would be useful to apply a similar approach to an internet database by gathering descriptive data on volunteer tourism projects and organisations. A similar method has already been utilised by Callanan and Thomas (2003) and as such the research felt that gathering descriptive data from an internet data base was a valid method of research.

In an attempt to gain a more spherical insight into the phenomenon of volunteer tourism (see Chapter 1), the researcher carried out an extensive investigation of a part of the volunteer tourism market supply. Building on Callanan and Thomas, (2003) the researcher utilised an internet database for two different dates (2005 and 2007) in order to test the assumption that volunteer tourism projects were growing rapidly. In 2007 this database held information on 3,441 projects spanning 150 countries. While

there are other organizations, such as Responsible Travel or Do it Overseas that provide such databases, Volunteer Abroad was preferred for comparison purposes as Volunteer Abroad provides a detailed and extensive list of projects.

A separate database was compiled using Excel to store information retrieved from the volunteer database. In order to select appropriate information to transfer onto this database, a framework was developed. First was to record the organization's name and contact details along with the year of establishment, and the founder, then the framework added the name, nature, duration and destination of each project. It was deemed necessary to focus also on the corresponding organizations offering the project in question, in terms of their screening of volunteers, the extras they offered, their policies and their contribution and this information was transferred on the Excel database. Due to the vastness of the data, a comprehensive list of codes was developed which facilitated in making comparisons between different organizations. The findings of this process are presented in the volunteer tourism supply section (5.9).

7.13 Concepts of the Methodology: The Application of Covert Participant Observation

In view of the investigative nature of the research, a qualitative method of enquiry was utilised. The methodology chosen for this study may be described as naturalistic, using what might be most accurately termed as a sociological impressionist or auto-ethnographic approach. The particular methodology is that of modified grounded theory in which an interpretive approach is adopted. A study was undertaken in which data was collected via a covert participant observation approach and through the utilization of a researchers' diary (Appendix 1) Photographs were also taken primarily of field locations, interiors, activities and participation as an *aid memoire*. A portfolio was also created with documents and mementos from the fieldwork (Appendix 2).

The methodology is naturalistic as the study adopts an ethnographic approach, which means that knowledge that is socially acquired and analysed is used to explain

‘observed patterns of human activity’ (Gill and Johnson, 1991: 92). It is central to this approach to strive to comprehend what takes place within an organization or activity, on the presumption that this could provide an insight into the rationale of the actions of the subjects of the investigation.

Participant observation is a common methodology with a usually inductive approach. Before venturing deeper into the concept of participant observation it is necessary to state the key assumption that underlines participant observation as a viable research approach, which is that the observant can be emotionally involved but simultaneously objectively detached. Recent developments in the literature have challenged this approach by highlighting how the self impacts upon the ethnographical perspective (Tedlock, 2000), arguing that there are different styles of ethnography, for example classical, modernist, post-modernist, post-structuralist. The above and the fact that there now exists a smaller barrier between observer and observed than in earlier classical studies (Mead, 1973) have combined in such a way that it was suggested that ethnography has become narrative ethnography or autoethnography (Tedlock, 2000).

The narrative ethnographic or auto ethnographic approach underlines the subjective process in the construction of knowledge, rather than claiming that an objective, nomothetic truth exists. Subsequently, knowledge is developed from what is observed in combination with the language used to describe the observer’s experiences. This is a frequent argument used by researchers who find this approach too subjective by nature to stand as a viable research tool. Thus, the onus lies with the writer to attempt to be objective and employ a set of methods that will allow the reader to understand and have confidence in the study’s findings.

The observations were of a covert nature in order to ensure that there was no change in the behaviour of the observed fellow volunteers caused by the study. Such a change of behaviour has been well documented in the literature and it is known as the ‘Hawthorne effect’ (Mayo et al, 1939). For the needs of this study, emphasis was put on the observation and actual experience rather than artificially seeking to influence answers or conduct social experiments. Thus the methodology adopted differed from other studies on volunteer tourists where focus groups or interviews have been implemented (Wearing, 2001; McGehee and Norman, 2002; Broad, 2003; Caisie and Halpenny, 2003; Lyons, 2003; Smith, 2006). This study positions itself in the

literature as a typical, authentic, real, hands-on volunteer tourist experience. The researcher aimed to maximize opportunities for interaction with fellow volunteers by being one of them and gaining insight into the rationale of their actions by means of casual conversation that was felt likely to yield better results since the subjects would be far more relaxed in a social setting than in an interview situation (Gillespie, 1991).

Adopting Lynch's approach (2003), the author's preferred description of his approach is that of sociological impressionism, and agrees with Lynch that aesthetic impression is not class related as Simmel (1968) postulates. Impressionism is also chosen due to the fact that it allows selectivity in terms of the observations which socially construct knowledge. The aesthetic observations derived in the field are complemented as a natural follow up by the author's emotions and ideas, following to the work of Ellis (1991) who highlighted the potency of observations fused with emotions. She called this fusion 'introspection' and it involved thinking about one's thought and feelings. This approach is further amplified by 'free writing' where the observers write non-stop about what they are thinking and feeling and what it means to them (Ellis, 1991). This approach is in contrast with Goffman's (1959) and Hochschild's (1983) approach of using personal feelings in a detached way without exploring in detail the subjective process of feeling management and the effect it has on the observer. Perhaps Ellis' approach leans more towards Friedman's (1990) autobiographical sociological approach, which has as its starting point the individual observer, before expanding outwards towards the observed. This approach fits with the purposes of this study, because it is arguably paramount to know one's self before attempting to deconstruct others.

The recent trend in post modernist writing in anthropology in particular explicitly aims at presenting both "...the self and other...within a single narrative ethnography" (Tedlock, 1991:69). The point is often made that 'objectivity' is not possible in the study of human behaviour. Understanding ourselves and our own reactions to fieldwork and the individuals studied should be a beginning point and not the final product of ethnography (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). In the past psychoanalysis was commonly used by anthropologists as a method of studying others and also as a means of coming to terms with their own reactions to their research (Dubois et al, 1944; Kardiner et al, 1956; Benedict, 2005). It is this researcher's view that it is paramount to first understand how his own race, gender, sexuality and other factors

may affect his observations. These issues are dealt with in detail in the subjectivity subsection later in this chapter.

This deconstruction utilises modified grounded theory in an attempt to work and think “outside the box” and boundaries of research up to date. Grounded theory is concerned with the discovery of new theoretical insights while avoiding the traps of logical deductive reasoning (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In this approach the literature is used when the inductive process is largely completed and analysis and data collection happen simultaneously through the dynamic process of data gathering and data logging. This grounded approach specialises in determining group and individual behaviour patterns and as such it has been selected for the needs of this study. In terms of strategy, Glaser proposed methodological processes associated with grounded theory, building upon an earlier work more concerned with the philosophical and theoretical aspects of the methodology (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The following could be described as a ‘recipe’ for grounded theory research:

1. Simultaneous collection and analysis of data
2. A two stage data coding process
3. Comparative methods
4. Memo writing aimed at the construction of conceptual analysis
5. Sampling to refine the researcher’s emerging theoretical ideas
6. Integration of theoretical framework

(Charmaz, 2000: 510)

Coding of data was undertaken on an ongoing basis during the study. The process of coding commences the process of defining and categorising the data, of generating insights on the data and focusing further enquiries, and thus puts in motion the mechanism of theory building. For purposes of greater reliability, line-by-line coding is recommended (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) as this is perceived to reduce the possibility of imposing existing theories and personal beliefs. At the same time a process of constant comparison is undertaken (eg individuals, relationships and time). This process is replicated until such time as theoretical saturation is reached before theoretical sampling takes place in order to choose cases which will illuminate more efficiently the emerging theoretical path (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This process also is replicated until saturation point is reached and the coding process is complete. It

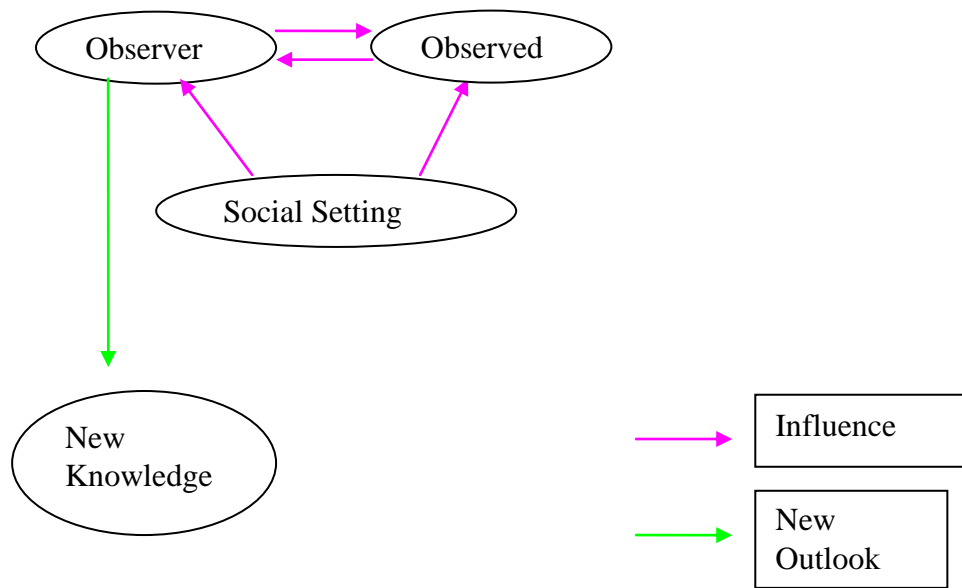
has to be noted that the validity of the data occurs through the ability to develop theories which successfully translate the social world/setting described and which satisfactorily explain the behaviours of the subject.

The greatest ally to the researcher in this process is the researcher journal, which has also been described as a reflexivity journal by Carney (1990). Such a journal becomes a powerful weapon for the researcher as a means of reflecting upon the study and also maintaining a certain distance, particularly during data collection.

A constructivist grounded theory approach can be justified on a number of levels for the needs of this study. Firstly, due to the lack of sufficient research in the field of volunteer tourism (Wearing, 2001) there is a need for the researcher to keep a more holistic perspective while experiencing volunteer tourism at first hand. Such research benefits from being highly inductive in nature and does not suffer from bias or preconceived ideas (Connel and Lowe, 1997). It may be argued that such an approach was followed during the volunteer participation. In terms of research philosophy, the grounded theory approach allows the possibility of new knowledge to be born from the interaction of the observer and the observed in a social setting, which in turn has its effect on the observer's outlook and thus the outcome of the research (see fig 7.1)

The constructivist approach allows for multiple realities, recognises that knowledge is a mutual creation between the observer and the observed, and is concerned with understanding the meanings of subjects (Gaba and Lincoln, 1994; Schwandt, 1994). Constructivist grounded theory is concerned with meanings, views, values, facts, acts, situations and structures (Charmaz, 2000: 525) and recognises that social reality is a construct of human action and does not exist independent of human action. This continuous interactive process should provide the final results with some form of objectivity and reliability.

Figure 7.1: Grounded Theory Illustration



Source: Adapted from Charmaz, 2000; Alaszewski, 2006

7.14 Applied Methods and Data Collection

In order to investigate participant volunteers at an orphanage, the author travelled to the area of Jalisco, in Mexico, to an orphanage. Even though initially the location was chosen for reasons of low cost and no requirement for several vaccines, with hindsight the researcher believes that it was an excellent choice due to the fact that there was a considerable level of temptations in the form of hedonistic pursuits at the nearby holiday resort of Puerto Vallarta, and as such the volunteers observed could be studied while making choices between commitment and pleasure, which became one of the main themes of this study. As part of the preliminary research the author collected information on the orphanage and constructed a portfolio on the orphanage and its activities. A summary of the principal characteristics and mission of the ‘*Santa Esperanza*’ refuge for young children is provided below.

The ‘*Refugio Infantil Santa Esperanza*’ (RISE) is a non-profit shelter that currently houses 55 abandoned children under the age of 14 under the care of three nuns from

the order of Carmelites of Jesus of Nazareth. The 'refugio' opened its doors in March 2001 thanks to donations from the Children's Shelter of Hope Foundation which since then has solicited cash and contributions of equipment that have improved the lives of the children and the Madres at the refugio.

RISE is technically not an orphanage. It is a refuge or shelter for families who are struggling and not able to care for their children due to emigration for work purposes or poverty. Very few of the children are available for adoption, as they still have ties and contacts with their families and relatives. RISE receives a subsidy of \$3,000 pesos (\$270 USD) monthly from the Mexican government which of course is not sufficient for its daily running and need and thus the management of the refugio are constantly seeking new sources of contributions in any shape or form.

In terms of sampling for this research, the author decided that it would fit his purposes in terms of numbers of participating volunteers, and also in terms of destination characteristics. The intention was to construct a volunteer vacation assisting children, while being surrounded by volunteers in a developing country. A total of 44 volunteers were encountered during a three week stay in the summer of 2007 with the author taking the role of a fully participating volunteer. There was no sample selection, the researcher strived to engage in conversation and observe all the volunteers within this three week period.

Timescale

The study took place over a period of three weeks during August 2007. This was in order to fit with the author's other commitments and budget and also in order to ensure the maximum number of participant volunteers (high season). Clearly a large number of participants would increase the research sample and would also provide the experience of interacting, sharing and living with the optimum number of volunteers. Carrying out the observations within a relatively short period of time is justified by the generally episodic nature of volunteer tourism, and it was also forced upon the author due to the fact that the study was solely self-funded. During that time the author spread his time between working at the orphanage and socializing with the

volunteers, in order to permit transcription of notes which comprise the research journal (Appendix 1).

Anonymity

The field notes have been edited and the data presented in such a way that the anonymity of individuals other than the author is preserved. It has to be noted that confidentiality and anonymity was not promised but presumably expected.

Covert Participant Observation and Ethical Issues

The effectiveness of covert participant observation depends upon the researcher being unknown to the subjects (Hussey and Hussey, 1997: 128), so that the subjects of observation behave 'naturally' in relation to the participant researcher. Freilich (1970) found, at his expense that conversations stopped as soon as his notebook came out and Jackson (1990) noted that a number of ethnographers she interviewed thought that her taking notes in front of participants made them uncomfortable and was objectifying. Whyte and Whyte (1984) used the simple method of hiding in the bathroom in order to take notes. Role strain was an issue for the author, who, throughout the study, did not reveal his researcher status and did not take notes openly and found casual ways of initiating conversation (Appendix 1) Under these circumstances the researcher resorted to 'jot notes' (Bernard, 1995) or 'scratch notes' (Sanjek, 1990) as words, sentences or events during the course of each day primarily as aids of memory. How much got 'jotted' down was up to the author, the quality of his memory and the circumstances of each day. The author's volunteer participant role involved long shifts in the orphanage's kitchen or running after children for a minimum of four hours every day. This was overcome by making mental notes as well as whispering into a recording device and hiding in large cupboards. Fortunately the sound quality did not suffer due to this fact, except for a single instance when the sound of an ambulance drowned out the author's voice (Appendix 1).

The biggest fear of a covert researcher is disclosure, or being found out. This could lead to contamination of the study, since the Hawthorne effect would take immediate effect. From a practical point of view, being found out could be a result of over-

extending the participant researcher role by asking too many probing questions that may arouse suspicion (Pearce, 1990:342). Another threat to the author's study was the possibility of the paraphernalia of research (notes, recording device) being discovered in the accommodation shared with other volunteers during periods of absence. This led to the author always carrying on his person all his research paraphernalia, including his journal and the recording device.

Due to this role strain, not everything during a day gets jotted down. This game of 'hide and seek' and its practical implications may or may not allow the opportunity for every observation to be written down. Of course the rule of 'scripta manent' does apply to fieldwork, but it seems that in Participant Observation tradition memories and experiences have a different approach and value. Losing one's notes is the cardinal fear of all researchers (Maybury-Lewis, 1965; Sanjek, 1990). As Ottenberg (1990: 139) put it:

"As I collected my written notes, there were many more impressions, scenes, experiences than I wrote down or could possibly have recorded. But the notes are also in my head. I remember many things and some I include when I write even though I am not able to find them in my field notes". Head- notes thus can be equally as important as written notes in Participant Observation since they could add an edge to the researcher's work. In addition, the written notes remain the same, while head-notes on the other hand change and evolve while the researcher grows and matures as a person and as a researcher

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval for the methodology involving covert participant observation was applied for and received. The ethical issues associated with this study are discussed in detail below.

Sarantakos (1998: 218) highlights very different perspectives on ethical issues. These range from the position that ethics is not an important issue if the research is conducted for a good purpose, to the view that ignoring ethical issues is not

permissible, and that researchers should disclose their identity when entering the private domain of individuals, and disclose their research aims and objectives. Hussey and Hussey (1997: 128) suggest that in considering ethical issues of covert observation, the researcher should consider the moral acceptability of the method of observation. In particular, it should be considered whether the findings might be used 'to manipulate or exploit the subjects'. In the study in question, it is difficult to see how subjects might be manipulated or exploited by the study.

An issue which has occurred to the author relates to the use of photographs of interior shots of the orphanage and shots of the children and some of the volunteers. It was important for the study for the researcher to be able to understand and convey to the reader the atmosphere at the orphanage and the work of the volunteers. In the cases where faces of subjects are shown in pictures, except of course for the face of the author, they have been covered, so that visual anonymity is preserved. For this author, ethics is a highly complex but ultimately subjective concept, where decisions need to be taken in relation to the study in question. Throughout the study the researcher did not interview any of the children, did not record any activity or conversation directly, and took the necessary steps not to leave any "footprints" behind.

Subjectivity

The subjective stance of the observer is essential to understand and important to mention. A key part of the research process was to acknowledge the subjective element of the researcher but then to triangulate the researcher's perspective with the wider literature and to ensure a systematic approach to recording and analysing observations, leading to a progressively objective analysis. In so doing the interactive nature of volunteer participation experience is reflected through the observations and the subsequent analysis.

The author followed a grounded theory approach although it may be disputed how 'pure' a grounded theory approach it was, given the researcher's considerable knowledge of the topic, having previously researched volunteer tourism. However, any researcher following a grounded theory approach seems to encounter this issue of how 'pure' and to what extent, the researcher enters the study as "*tabula rasa*"

unaffected by previous readings. This emphasises the importance of keeping a journal, and reflecting on events or observations.

A feature of a grounded theory approach is that the substantive literature is reviewed when the inductive process is complete. Accordingly, considerable additional literature was reviewed on completion of the fieldwork.

Reflexivity

In 1998 Denzin and Lincoln questioned the validity of the role of the researcher as the all-knowing creator of knowledge and raised questions around issues of gender, class and race, such as what kind of impact the personality of the researcher has on deciding what to ask and the way in which they interpret the answers to these questions. They argued that the personal biography of the researcher was critical in determining the way they approached research, and thus it was not possible to simply replace one researcher with another and expect the same results (even when the methods were unchanged). This understanding acknowledged the fact that there are multiple interpretations influenced by the personal biographies of researchers and their subjects.

In reviewing previous tourism research, Riley and Love (2000) found little evidence that tourism researchers had breached this 'new territory' but in recent years more researchers have been breaking new ground by highlighting the importance of the need to write themselves into the text of their work and thus imprint their own personality and biography on their research (Pitchard and Morgan, 2000; Fullagar, 2002; Galani-Moutafi, 2000; Wearing and Wearing, 2001; Crouch, 2000). Thus reflexivity has started to become increasingly prominent in tourism research (Dyer et al, 2003; Ray and Ryder, 2003; Fullagar, 2002).

The above three works serve as a blueprint for this researcher. Dyer et al (2003) describe themselves as 'Anglo-Australian descendants of colonists' researching an indigenous Australian tribe. This researcher describes himself as a 'male white Greek' carrying out fieldwork in Mexico. Would a Spanish, English, or even Mexican researcher arrive at the children's home with a different perspective? Probably yes, but at least the researcher felt no obligation or guilt, and did not have the historical baggage that perhaps a Spanish or local researcher in Mexico might have, or the

cultural and historical legacy a US citizen would have when researching native Americans, or the 'Anglo-Australian's had researching indigenous Australians. Ray and Ryder (2003) admitted that their research effort sprang from the personal experience of travelling with a disability. Similarly this researcher's work was influenced by his experience and previous work in the field of tourism and volunteer tourism in particular.

Fullagar (2002) took action in order to write herself in the text of her work by acknowledging the 'I' (Philimore and Goodson, 2004) and drawing on her research diary. Similarly this researcher also wrote himself into the text and used excerpts from his diaries as parts of his continuous stream of consciousness, as demonstrated by the use of the research journal in the interpretation of situations and discussions with volunteers.

Acknowledging the distinct possibility of multiple interpretations and taking into account any bias or subjectivity, the researcher followed the lead of Ap and Wong, (2001) and Dewalt and Dewalt, (2002) and circulated transcripts of data among peer researchers during the coding stage in order to minimise the level of personal bias in data interpretation.

Gender and Sex Issues

The gender of the ethnographer can have an impact on several areas of an ethnographic enterprise and it plays a major role in constructing the research experience (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). Women in the field have often been harassed and become victims of violence in ways different to men (Warren, 1988). This issue did not apply to this research, since it was conducted in a relatively 'safe' environment. The only nuisance or harassment that took place was the constant attempts of young local men to 'chat-up' some of the female volunteers. The researcher, being male, did not have to deal with that.

In addition male and female researchers alike may find that the 'world' of the other sex is general off limits or difficult for them to access (Nader, 1986; Warren, 1988). This issue did arise with the researcher not having access to volunteers while they were engaging in some activities in the orphanage (bathing and grooming of children, for example). There is no evidence that not being able to communicate or observe volunteers engaged in these activities was likely to significantly influence the responses gained from participants.

Finally, some researchers have argued that in general women make naturally better fieldworkers because they are more sensitive and open than male researchers (Warren, 1988; Nader, 1986). However, this researcher following the example of Hooks (1990), who strived to gain the rapport of the volunteers by generally matching their race, class and background, being a middleclass white student, and also by hiding his identity as a researcher.

The Role of Sexuality during Fieldwork

As several writers have noted, even in the climate of reflexivity, the sexuality of the fieldworker has not been discussed to any degree by ethnographers (Kulick, 1995; Caplan, 1993; Lewin and Leap, 1996). Discussion of sex in the field was not part of the methodological or theoretical training of many anthropologists and such liaisons were deemed inappropriate (Newton, 1996). There is a clear hesitation of researchers to discuss their sexuality while writing themselves into the text with some few exceptions (Malinowski, 1967; Rabinow, 1977; Turnbull, 1986; Cesara, 1982). Yet sexual encounters are not necessarily harmful for research purposes. Gearing (1995) describes how becoming the 'girlfriend' and later wife of her best informant, not only increased her acceptance in the community she was researching, but also gave her the opportunity to gain significant insight of the indigenous life by playing different social roles as an indigenous bride. Lewin and Leap (1996) and Kulick and Wilson (1995) recognised that the ethnographer is situated sexually as well as with respect to gender, class and race. Thus discussion of sexuality becomes part of the process of reflexivity, which leads to a discussion concerning sexual relationships in the field. Several researchers have documented how sex has assisted in their data gathering (Bolton, 1995,1996; Leap, 1996; Murray, 1996; Gearing, 1995; Cesara, 1982; Lewin and Leap, 1996; Newton, 1996) but also admitted that perhaps the intimacy developed may have altered the behaviour of the informants, who may just told them what they thought they wanted to hear at the time (Murray, 1996; Kulick, 1995) On top of some obvious doubts about whether information obtained during sexual encounters could be admissible data, there are several other issues that may render sexual relationships in the field not advisable, such as ethical issues (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002) and issues of safety for the researchers, especially women (Warren, 1988; Lee, 1995; Moreno, 1995). Finally sexual relations in the field or just expressing a strong sexual identity may become a problem due to possible antagonism by some of the informants vying

for the attention of other informants or even the researcher (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). This was recognised by the researcher and extra care was given not to have any favourites among the volunteers, nor engage in any relationships or sexual encounters, while all the time playing the role of an approachable and friendly volunteer participant. The key was to get close but also keep a distance from the informants.

It has to be said that it is impossible of humans to interpret results without imprinting their personality in them. The researcher has strived to gather the data in an objective way as possible, minimising bias and has also strived to do the same during the analysis of the data, including involving others a checking mechanism. Beyond this there is little else the research could do but to acknowledge the reflexivity issues that have risen in his research endeavour but also in the research of others.

7.15 Data Management

Data were gathered from the field in the form of informal interviews, field notes, pictures and written documents. The rich qualitative data collected then had to be sorted out and transformed into an analysable form (Hill and Gowan, 1999). The goals of qualitative data management are to summarise the unsorted data into related themes and patterns and to develop explanations or theses for these relationships (Walsh, 2003).

Basic raw data from the field notes must be processed before they are suitable for analysis. Field notes are required to be converted into transcripts, so that they can be read and the researcher '*might augment some missing content, when it is remembered from the field*' (Miles and Huberman, 1994:51). The data from the field was transcribed verbatim and in other ways, including making notes, selecting excerpts, and making judgements derived from the impromptu conversations (Fallon and Kriwoken, 2003). These processes of transforming the qualitative data were time consuming (Curran and Blackburn, 2001; Walsh, 2003). The transcribing of the field notes was done as accurately as possible but it is not totally verbatim, since the repetition of the questions asked in the field, while initiating conversations, were not repeated in the transcription. To ensure the accuracy of data transformation, the processing of the data into an analysable form was done by the researcher himself

(Patton, 2002). The transcribed data were analysed by the process of coding, and finding patterns and themes (Curran and Blackburn, 2001; Fallon and Kriwoken, 2003; Hill and McGowan, 1999; Patton, 2002). The transcribed field notes were divided into eighty six (86) excerpts, each of which carries a title and a synopsis of its contents (Appendix 1). The names of the volunteers encountered were replaced by numbers (V1, V2, V3 etc) in order to maintain the confidentiality of the participants' identities.

To manage the large amounts of rich data it needed to be coded to link it to meanings and categories (Tesch, 1990; Walsh, 2003). Codes are labels of abbreviations for assigning units of meaning to the information gathered from the study (Tesh, 1990; Patton, 2002). Miles and Huberman (1994) introduced three types of codes; descriptive, interpretive and explanatory. The descriptive code is simply an attribution of a class of phenomena attached to the segment while the second is more interpretive to represent greater meaning. The explanatory codes illustrate an emergence of patterns and the relation of the text segments to the research. The codes are attached to the segment of phrases or sentences that are connected to the specific category of meanings.

Currently, there are qualitative software packages available to help in the coding of data, but this can also be completed manually (Walsh, 2003). There are two sides to this debate. There is general agreement in the research literature that there are some advantages for data management in the use of such a program (Gibbs, Friese, et al. 2002; Kelle, 1995) but there are also researchers such as Wood and Kroger (2002:142) who discourage the use of computer assisted software in discourse analysis, on the grounds that there is a deductive bias inherent in the programs as they are based on a 'digital and quantitative' view of the world. The main danger then is the inability of these programs to 'deal adequately with context' (141). Holding the middle ground are researchers like Cohen, Manion, et al (2000) who note that computers may be used to assist with the practical realities of data management.

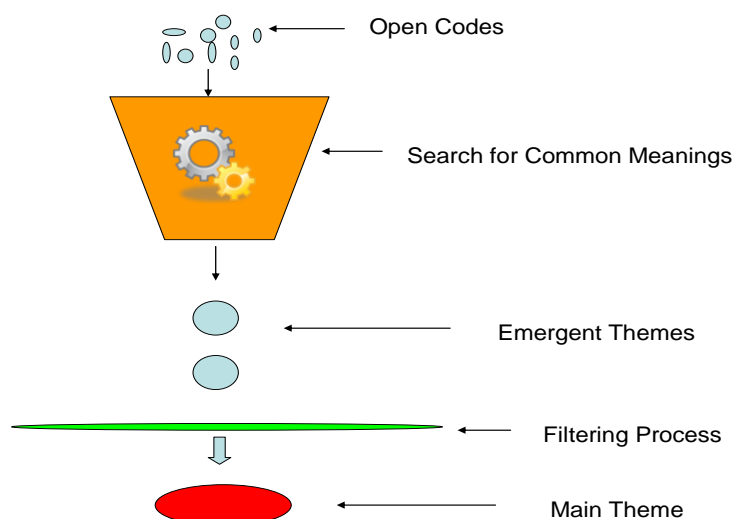
The approach to the coding of the field notes taken by this researcher was to read the texts first before setting up any nodes. Nodes in the coding process represent categories and unlike content analysis, are categories are established before the coding

begins. In the case of this study categories emerged from the analysis rather than being imposed on the data *a priori*. In coding, the aim was to look for ways to derive meaning from the transcribed data. In the early stages of the analysis, this researcher found that in reading the data there were many leads, permutations of meaning and insights that could be coded. These were used as coding points or ‘signposts’ in the body of the final study. Since the initial stage of the coding process took place with no considerable problems the use of software was not deemed necessary.

Overall, computer aided software does not provide more rigour, transparency or scholarship in research and its application in research is primarily mechanical, not conceptual. As McLuhan put it: “*Every technology contrived and outered by man has the power to numb human awareness during the period of interiorization*” (as cited in the Gutenberg Galaxy, 1962:153). The bottom line is that the use of technology should not suspend human analytic capacity, especially so in the case of this type of study which is derived from the observation of human activities.

The process went through a number of versions as did the code, some of which were dropped, added and merged into accepted categories. The evolution of the coding system is shown in more detail in Appendix 3.

Figure 7.2: The Coding Process



Source: Devised from Patton, 2002; Walsh, 2003

The coded data maintains a rich form in both short and long phrases. As illustrated in Figure 7.2 The content of the phrases was analysed to determine its significance (Patton, 2002). The content analysis was performed to observe the counts of the significant items being mentioned. The most common meanings were grouped into categories. The categories were then used to create themes (Walsh, 2003). The key themes (see Appendix 3) emerged and the important phrases or short paragraphs that related and supported the themes were isolated and added into the discussion of the key themes that emerged from the data. In line with the coding process, created themes were also reviewed and merged to obtain sound main themes.

It has to be noted that all research diary excerpts from the field study are treated in the same way as 'participant quotes'. That is because they are derived from the researcher's written notes (no direct recording allowed) and they are an integral part of the author's "stream of consciousness" based on his feelings, observations, deductions and reflections and as such valid to be used as data. Participant observers find it extremely useful to note and record their personal feelings and impressions of field involvement and data collection. If only for therapeutic reasons, this researcher made sure to note his fears, apprehensions, mistakes, and misadventures, as well his excitements, success and disappointments. It was also deemed valuable to note his guesses, hunches, suspicions or topics targeted for subsequent inquiry. In the literature, notes of this nature can be extremely useful as a tool for gauging the material the researchers have been collecting (Johnson, 1975; Glazer and Strauss, 1967).

The researcher on this respect went a step further in terms of registering and subsequently isolating his feelings and putting them in 'quarantine' in order to 'protect' the data. Before initiating the coding process, the researcher applied the 'three questions technique' to his data (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). This entails the researcher asking the following questions; what surprised me; what intrigued me; and what disturbed me. This ensures that what is left is from pure observations, divorced from personal feelings. During the fieldwork stage, the role strain and the realities of the study revealed to the researcher different aspect of other people, and also himself.

7.16 Conclusion

The aim of this section was to explain the qualitative method of covert participant observation as used in this research activity. It is considered that covert participant observation method provides more flexibility and quality of data, even though the researcher has to face issues such as role strain and a fear of disclosure. Systematic data collection, management and analysis procedures were discussed. The data collected from the observation is presented in Chapters 8 and 9.

Chapter 8

Findings and Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data findings from the covert observation. The background information to the orphanage, the volunteer organization involved and the participants are reported in Section 8.2. Section 8.3 looks at the obstacles and challenges faced by the participants while en situ. Section 8.4 examines and discusses the volunteer tourists' gaze and their new found sense of identity. Section 8.5 deals with the relationship and affect of the volunteers on the children and vice versa, while Section 8.6 discusses moments of weakness of the volunteers, when the experience perhaps got too much for them. Section 8.8 brings the chapter to a close with a summary.

8.2 Background Information regarding the participant volunteers, the orphanage and the volunteer organization involved

During a three week period the researcher undertook unstructured interviews in the form of impromptu conversations with forty volunteers at an orphanage in the Jalisco area in Mexico (Chapter 7). The following subsections present the background information on the volunteers and their characteristics, the orphanage and the volunteer organization involved, to provide a context for subsequent interpretation and discussion

8.2.1 Profile of the Participant Volunteers

A total of forty volunteer tourists were encountered and engaged in conversation. Thirty-nine of them were volunteer tourists and one a Canadian ex-pat permanent resident in the area (Volunteer 25) (Table 1, Appendix 4), who volunteers also in the winter, when volunteer tourists are in short supply. The volunteer tourists who were encountered will be referred to as participants throughout this discussion. To preserve anonymity where individuals are discussed, they are identified by a number or initials

only. Thirty one of the volunteers encountered were female and nine were male (Table 2, Appendix 4). In terms of age (Table 3, Appendix 4) most of the participants (22) were between 18 and 25 years of age, thirteen were older, between 25 and forty years of age, and three were between 40 and 55 years of age. Finally there was an eleven year old participant accompanied by her mother and a 60 year old permanent resident of the area (see above). In terms of nationality, the majority of participants were British (25), eight were Canadians, two Americans, two Indians and there was one participant from Australia and the Isle of Man respectively (Table 7, Appendix 4).

The marital status of the participants (Table 9, Appendix 4) features next with the vast majority of the participants (34) being single, three of the participants stated that they were recently divorced and one was a widower. Two of the volunteers were engaged to be married and they had volunteered as a couple.

In terms of occupation, the participants were of various backgrounds. The largest group (18), perhaps reflecting their age, were students, nine were teachers, seven were categorized as white collar workers (including marketing consultants, lawyers), two were 'care' professionals (doctors, nurses), two were categorised as other (yoga instructor and mechanic) and two stated that they were not in paid employment (between jobs or retired) (for more detail see Table 1, Appendix 4). From this group of forty volunteers only one (Volunteer 33) had previous volunteer travel experience, with Original Volunteers in Peru.

In terms of the duration of their participation, (Table 4, Appendix 4) a large number of the volunteers (15) stated that they were participating for three weeks, followed closely (14) by those participating for two weeks. Six participants answered four weeks and one suggested that they would extend their stay to five weeks. Three of the participants stated that they would be volunteering for the whole summer, which was calculated to be twelve weeks. The duration of stay and its implications for the volunteers and the orphanage are discussed in detail in the next chapter but it has to be noted that this study was designed to focus on episodic, short term volunteering, as a direct substitute for a conventional type of holiday and not on longer term endeavours, such as gap years.

The vast majority of the participants (excluding the permanent resident) organised their volunteering experience through a Volunteer Tourism Organization/Operator (VTO). “Original Volunteers” (32) featured heavily in the sample as the main operator of choice, while “Outreach” was chosen by one of the volunteers. Six of the participants encountered were independent travellers who offered their services to the orphanage directly, without the intervention of a medium or operator. In terms of cost, the “Original Volunteers” affiliated participants had to pay a registration fee of £ 300 in order to secure their place (this fee, its necessity and value will be discussed in detail in the next chapter). The volunteer that chose “Outreach” stated that she paid a total of £2,000 for her volunteering which leads to further discussion in the next chapter. Finally, of the six independent volunteers who had no registration fee to pay, some opted to donate money to the orphanage instead.

The average cost of flights paid by the majority of volunteers from the UK to their destination was around £800, using a London airport as their starting point. For those volunteers who had their participation organised through a volunteer tourism operator, accommodation was arranged for them by the orphanage director in coordination with the volunteer organisations involved (Original Volunteers-Outreach). The independent participants had to find accommodation on their own and they made use of nearby tourist hospitality amenities, generally staying in small hotels.

The organised accommodation was a spartan yet comfortable shared house/apartment with a kitchenette and a small living area (Picture 1, Appendix 2). The sleeping arrangements were in general bunk beds, with the occasional emergency mattress on the floor when needed. The building itself appeared to be a former holiday home or a small hotel which was now rented by the orphanage director for the needs of the volunteers.

Despite slight inconveniences and its basic nature, the accommodation was sufficient, clean and comfortable, and most importantly, very affordable, since the director of the orphanage in agreement with the volunteer tourism operators had set a rate of £12 per week of stay. The amount was agreed to be paid in full on the day of departure, a policy that was to be revised, as noted later in this chapter.

8.2.2 The Participants' Environment

The volunteer accommodation was located ten minutes from the popular tourist resort of Puerto Vallarta, on the Pacific coast of Mexico. However, the area and the streets surrounding the volunteers' 'HQ' have nothing in common with the shiny, glamorous, neon lit promenade where the tourists go to 'play' (See Picture 2, Appendix 2).

Walking around these narrow cobble streets it is impossible to miss one thing; poverty. Just a few minute walk from rigorous tourism development the contrast that underlies Mexican society is painfully obvious. Earlier, I saw people collecting tin cans, pressing them in order to sell for a penny each. As one local said it is good business but hard work. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 8)

The overdeveloped promenade provided the researcher and his 'comrades' with comfort and a sense of familiarity provided by the sight of signs of MacDonald's, Starbuck's and other western conglomerates that exist within the area.

It is also very hard to overlook the 'colonial' presence of American influence in the area. There are frequent buses taking people to Wal-Mart and I have already spotted a Dominos, Blockbuster Videos and the Peso is also called the Mexican dollar. That amusingly seems to be causing few problems to volunteers and me. When you are told a price in dollars, you just hope it is Mexican dollars and not US. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 8)

The promenade itself is a typical resort promenade with bars, restaurants and shops lining busy streets. The promenade is the heart of Puerto Vallarta and the place the researcher had to be very often in order to interact and converse with the participants outside the orphanage.

Obviously tourism is the life-force of the area, but there is also heavy industry in large factories in Guadalajara, a few hours away, and many locals have sought employment there, uprooting themselves and in some cases their families. Some leave their children behind, and this is what has, to a large extent, increased the numbers of children at the orphanage.

8.2.3 The Orphanage

On the top of a hill next to the local church, surrounded by small, poor houses, lies the orphanage. A small gate and a security door keep the children from wandering out and also provide security. A security guard is also employed in the form of a young girl, who opens and closes the gate and the door for volunteers and visitors (see Picture 3, Appendix 2). There is a small office from which the director of the orphanage, a local woman in her forties and the matron direct the orphanage's operations. There is a comfortable shaded desk area where the children have their English lessons with the volunteers. Up a small set of steps is the dormitory for the infants, an area to which only volunteers who can change nappies and care for babies have access. Downstairs from the dormitory there is a big court-yard with a lot of plants and flowers where the children spend the major part of their day. There is a swing, a small play-fort and a basketball hoop. Next to the court-yard is another building which includes a small dining area comprised of a few plastic tables and chairs. Connected to the dining area is a small kitchen in which the cook and the volunteers prepared meals for the children (The management of the orphanage will be discussed later in this chapter). Adjacent to the courtyard lies a new laundry room which was donated by 'Ambassadors for Children' (see Picture 4, Appendix 2). There the staff and the volunteers take care of the children's clothes and keep all cleaning and hygiene products away from the children. At the back of the building at the time of visiting there was construction taking place, an extension of the orphanage's dormitory area. The building area was strictly off-limits for the children, although at times some of the older children were seen carrying cool drinks to the workers. The orphanage appeared to be clean, tidy, fit for children and well organised.

8.2.4 The Orphanage and its Management

According to the director of the orphanage, Santa Esperanza was established in 2001 with the initial funding coming from various sources but mainly from local stakeholders.

We went from door to door asking for clothes, milk etc...Anything the locals could spare. We also were clever enough to try the big hotels and we got quite a lot of stuff to start with.

You see it is the culture here to give generously, especially to orphanages. The children you see are under the protection of God. Even though we are poor people we are very willing to help **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 86).**

From this small beginning the orphanage managed to secure support from American child charities which, according to the management of the orphanage, provide \$4,000 monthly for the running of the orphanage. This provides invaluable support for the refugio since they are not able to count on substantial central or local government support for their operational costs.

We get help from three organisations: Children Shelter Corporation, Hospice, and Ambassadors for children

Approximately \$65,000 Mexican (\$6,500 US) a month

No, we solely rely on donations from predominantly wealthy Americans. But saying that, the Children's shelter gives us a fixed amount of money (\$4,000 US)

...Laughter... The government provides \$300 US a month for the needs of the orphanage. So you can understand how we are desperate for donors. Every day that goes by we keep searching for new donors. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 86)**

The vast majority of children at the orphanage are local and have been left there by their parents. According to the director of the orphanage, this is not uncommon in this area due to the need of local people to seek employment elsewhere as noted earlier.

Well, the people in this area are very poor and sometimes they need to travel far to find work in the area of Guadalajara. They choose not to take their children with them...they leave them with us...Some of them come back a few years later and they take them back, but most of the time they do not come back for them. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 86)**

The orphanage is run with great skill, experience and balance by two very capable ladies. The matron was the figure of discipline that inspired respect and Sol, the director, was the capable, friendly and more approachable 'face' of the orphanage. These two make up a formidable team that deals with the running and good management of the orphanage.

From working a lot in the kitchen, the author can say that in terms of food, only local, fresh produce went in the children's meals and the cook made sure that she prepared healthy, yet low cost meals for the children.

The food looks nutritious and it indicates good management. First potatoes and onions are boiled before they are mashed, adding salt and nothing more. Afterwards they use a spoon to put the mash on soft tacos (tortillas) before they deep fry them. The tacos were served with finely chopped vegetables. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 32).

Another example of clever management, and care for the children was the way soft drinks and juices were made for the children. As a result the children had a more 'exciting' drink than water that was cost effective, since they did not need to purchase such 'treats' and thirdly, it was a source of vitamins and refreshing for the children.

After we made the tacos I saw Lilly carrying limes. It turned out she squeezes the juice and adds to iced water. I am not sure whether that is a treat or just a precaution. When I asked about the water, she said that there is nothing wrong with it, but I still have not been brave enough to risk drinking it with or without lime. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 32).

In other cases, lime was replaced by squashed fresh melons and the cook used various fruits depending on the season in order to get different flavours and different vitamins. Another example of good management is the fact that the orphanage has its own website, set up by a computer expert volunteer about a year ago. The next step will be for people to make donations on line by using direct debit or 'pay pal'. Until now the orphanage has relied on cheques and one-off donations from North Americans in order to survive, but soon they will be able to ask people to pledge a small amount from their account on a monthly basis. This would provide the orphanage with security and a steady source of income.

In terms of staff, except for the full time employed cook, the orphanage also benefits from the services of two nuns of the order of the Carmelites. All information gathered about the running of the orphanage came from the matron, the director and the cook.

8.2.5 Original Volunteers: Business Model and Involvement

Established in 1997, Original Volunteers, according to their website (originalvolunteers.co.uk), is an organization that facilitates opportunities for independent individuals to volunteer with small organisations and charities overseas which have declared a need for volunteers. For a one-off registration fee of £295 pounds (price as of April 2008), Original Volunteers can, in most cases, guarantee a placement on a volunteer project in one of sixteen countries spanning Africa and South America. The prices, according to Original Volunteers, are those suggested by the charities and organizations overseas and as such they reserve the right to alter them, if they are advised to do so. Other costs, such as local services are paid separately as extras, and payment in some cases is due in advance, not later than 60 days before arrival. In the case of a cancellation within 30 days of departure, the company reserves the right to offer no refund to the participants.

By agreeing to volunteer using the services of Original Volunteers, the participant, according to the same website, is not signing up on a package holiday but instead is committing to being a self-motivated independent volunteer. This status incurs responsibilities on behalf of the participant. Volunteers are expected to make travel arrangements independently, normally using the internet and their own guidebooks, especially when sourcing local travel information for their destination. Although a contact person is usually available for advice in cases of emergencies, sickness and crime, when one is not present or immediately available, the volunteers need to accept the responsibility for managing their immediate concerns by themselves.

According to the orphanage director, volunteers are relatively new to the orphanage and the children. Original Volunteers contacted the orphanage and offered to supply it with volunteers. Before they did that they carried out background checks on the orphanage's management and funding. Once they were satisfied they started sending volunteers to the orphanage.

Well... Original Volunteers contacted us...they contacted me and said that they could supply us with volunteers. They visited the orphanage, they inspected all the rooms, did some checks and then they left. We later found out that they made enquiries about our budget, our funding and our commitment. Yes that is about right...I am not too sure what you mean by background checks. They just wanted to see, if the orphanage was in good hands and run properly...that donations go towards the children's benefit and not in somebody's pocket (Research Diary, Excerpt: 86)

The arrangement between the orphanage and Original Volunteers is that OV would provide the volunteers while the orphanage is responsible for arranging accommodation for the volunteers. The accommodation is basic but comfortable and it is cheap, even in comparison to the youth hostel in the area, since Original Volunteers cover some of the cost (through the one off registration fee).

Original Volunteers cover some of the cost for the accommodation and the rest is covered by the volunteers. But you cannot say that \$24 US a week is a lot

I: No you cannot and thank you for providing it...do you have the same problem finding accommodation in the winter?

S: No, we mainly rent these apartments from May till October. But there are also volunteers who find their own accommodation. This is a poor country; housing is relatively cheap for you (Research Diary, Excerpt: 86)

In terms of numbers of volunteers the orphanage seems to have its needs covered through Original Volunteers. In the winter, when volunteers are in short supply, the orphanage can count on the support of local ex-pats (see earlier), who assist with its daily running. This is not much of a problem according to the orphanage director. Even though winter (older) volunteers lack the energy and enthusiasm of summer (younger) ones, this is a blessing in disguise, because during the school season the children need to focus on their studies more, and the presence of volunteers could prove a distraction.

S: Perhaps we could seek to get into the books of more organisations, so we have a greater chance of getting winter volunteers. But on the other hand...no because in the winter the children must concentrate on their studies

I: So you think that the volunteers could become too much of a distraction and have an adverse effect?

M: That is a difficult question. Of course the children will get distracted by the volunteers. Perhaps you could say, they lose the focus they have in the winter with school and such...but it is summer after all. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 86)

A future ambition for the orphanage and the volunteers is to set up a transition home for children who as youths are not able to stay in the orphanage any longer. It would be helpful to provide, through volunteers, training for a vocation or skill that could give better prospects to the orphanage “graduates”.

At the moment we have a plan to start a ‘transition home’ for the children who are too old (over 12) to stay at the refugio. We are renting a house at the moment and we are hoping that we can provide these adolescents with training or a vocation, so that they can have a good life. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 86)

As for the volunteers, the people who run the orphanage think very highly of them, even though they do detect some shortcomings which will be further discussed later in this chapter.

8.3 Working at the Orphanage

The participants are introduced to the orphanage by means of other volunteers as soon as they arrive and have unpacked. This support was vital on the first day because the orphanage was difficult to find, and there were no signs in relation to where to get the bus in order to reach the orphanage. Also the drive itself to the orphanage seemed to amuse some volunteers and terrify others.

The bus ride was like nothing I ever experienced before. The bus has no doors and no windows. Which is just as well since it is the only form of air-conditioning available. Moreover, the driving was at best erratic if not dangerous with the driver overtaking on curves and even in the small tunnel that leads to the road to the orphanage. Eventually my stop came up and I started the small ascent to the orphanage. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 28)

Upon arrival the volunteers follow the sign-in procedure, noting the time of arrival and then are given tasks according to the needs of the orphanage on any given day.

The day is organised in three shifts: 8-12; 12-4 pm and 4-8 pm. The areas of work vary as well as the tasks. The volunteers can choose to work either in the kitchen, with babies, with toddlers, or with the older children.

For instance, if it is time for breakfast, early shift, then the volunteers are put on children preparation duty, helping the children wash their hands, and always depending on numbers, helping with preparing the children's breakfast.

Arriving at around 07:45 in the morning there was a buzz around the place with the children freshly awoken and preparing to have their breakfast. The breakfast was strawberry yogurt with corn flakes cereal. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 40)

After breakfast the children are free to do as they please and play outside on the small children's fort and the push-swings. Older children tend to play basketball or football, but what they all had in common was constantly seeking attention and trying to monopolise the volunteers.

Today I opted to spend 4 hours working with kids between the age of 3 and 6. That involved watching them play, pushing them on swings or just becoming a human 'monkey-bar'. The children seem to have become accustomed to the volunteers and they continually scream 'please' and 'look-look' trying to get my attention or just wanting to be lifted and carried around. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 24)

Some of the volunteers occasionally tried to introduce some order or structure into the children's play and organise activities with only mixed success, due to the fact that the children seemed to love anarchy in their play and they displayed a very short attention span to things such as game rules and organisation.

R is a retired police officer and he is a widower. He always tries to get the children to play organised soccer but he gets frustrated when all they want to do is run around in anarchy. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 47)

Later we tried to organise a game of dodge-ball with the older children. It was a disaster at first but with a lot of screaming and shouting, plus keeping stern about the rules, the game was a success and the children had a good time. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 53)

Later during the day the orphanage requires some of the volunteers, depending on their numbers, to assist in the kitchen on a variety of tasks including dish-washing, cleaning or food preparation. The kitchen tasks seemed to be avoided by some volunteers due to their nature and of course the heat.

I went to the kitchen where the cook had a new task for me since none of the squeamish girls wanted to do. . I found skinning chicken fun and then I chopped a lot of vegetables in order to make salsa. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 44)

After that I went to the kitchen where I spent a few hours chopping vegetables and skinning chicken. I also got more than I bargained for by having my hands covered by the goo of some unknown to me vegetable. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 63)

The late afternoon shift is perhaps the least demanding one. It seems the children are rather subdued due to the exertions of the day. The only task for the volunteers was to sit with the children and watch a film by Disney or something similar. Of course there were times that some volunteers were needed by the cook to assist with dinner but in general most of the volunteers spent the late afternoon shift watching movies and tending to the children.

My impressions from the 4-8 shift is that it seems easier. The children seem to have less energy after their earlier exertions. Most of them are inside watching cartoons. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 53)

The later shift also had the responsibility of putting the infants and the toddlers to bed. This involved showering the children and putting on their pyjamas. Male volunteers were not allowed to assist in the above task and this will be discussed in the next chapter as a gender related issue.

Apart from certain emergency tasks that arose during the time of the researcher at the orphanage, involving a power cut and a break down in the kitchen, the above is a synopsis of the tasks the volunteers had to do while assisting in the orphanage.

As soon as I arrived they led me to the kitchen where the cook was frantically trying to carry everything from the fridge which was broken. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 28)

It has to be mentioned that there were volunteers who, while watching the children, attempted to teach them words in English, or some dance moves, but these actions are all included in tending the children. The level of commitment of the volunteers and the extent to which they went the extra mile will be discussed further later.

From what I have seen thus far in terms of shift delegation and organisation the orphanage refrains from putting any pressure on the volunteers. Yes there are structured shifts, but the volunteers can come and go as they see fit. The orphanage relies on the good faith and commitment of the volunteers to uphold discipline and complete their shifts. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 26)

It becomes apparent then that the volunteers' work at the orphanage included simple tasks which required minimal or no training. In addition, the volunteers were not under any obligation or pressure to carry these tasks out. If a volunteer wanted to spend the day sitting and chatting with other volunteers outside while watching the children, there was nothing forcing them to go inside and help in the kitchen or in the dormitory. It was all left to the volunteers' good will and commitment which arguably should reflect their motivation to participate.

8.4 The Volunteers' Gaze and Volunteer 'Identity'

Overall, the locals seemed very friendly and it was a common feeling amongst the volunteers that they really were appreciated. In many instances the locals offered the volunteers a ride to the orphanage and an old lady running a refectory near the orphanage was known to give discounts to volunteers. The implications of the notion of volunteer work in a deeply religious country like Mexico on the psyche of the locals cannot be overlooked, and the following example shows that:

Another interesting point about today was an encounter with a local woman at a nearby to the orphanage refectory where I chose to buy water and a soft drink. The old lady there suggested that we volunteers have the sign of the Madonna and she told me to go with God. Of course the locals think that we lead an easy life if we are able to do what we do, but it cannot be overlooked that in a religious, catholic country like Mexico, there is a large emphasis on the religious dimension of volunteer work. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 53)

Part of the anomie element of the volunteer experience arguably was the fact that as part of the experience the participants were surrendering their individuality to become part of a close-knit group to serve a common goal. The first week of volunteering flies by in a haze of idealism, meeting new people and wanting to change the world. After

that honeymoon period goes by is when human nature kicks in and the volunteers needed a boost.

During the first seven days of volunteering there was a conspicuous absence of the organisation, Original Volunteers. Some of the participants were wandering where the t-shirts they were promised were and they perhaps felt let down. This was to change on day eight with the aptly named 'volunteer appreciation day'. On that day the volunteers assisted in putting together a small lunch party during which photos and video were taken and the volunteers were given the Original Volunteer t-shirts to wear (see picture 9, Appendix 2). As discovered later, the 'volunteer appreciation day' was a frequent occurrence scheduled to provide material for the Original Volunteers website. Evidence to this is the fact that the children on the day had all sang the 'volunteers appreciation song' which was obviously rehearsed and sang before.

We were all given t-shirts and we had a welcoming lunch, which we all cooked, served, ate and cleaned afterwards. It was a bit surreal, I felt like a member of a commune, a close knit group of people who worked together, ate together and had fun together. (Research Diary, Excerpt 70)

"Do I feel different today?"

The answer is yes. I have to say that today I felt part of something worthwhile. Ok it was staged and directed but still it was a nice little party and everyone had a good time. Most of us even braved the water. The food was simple and delicious and we all felt that we had earned that little lunch "(Research Diary, Excerpt 70).

Without a doubt the t-shirts inspired the volunteers and increased enthusiasm and energy throughout the group. Perhaps the t-shirts underlined uniformity and the individual volunteers became one.

What was underlining this feeling was the uniformity in our appearance wearing the t-shirts. They brought a change of atmosphere. It seemed like if all of the volunteers gained a new sense of identity and we were all swept away by a wave of newly found enthusiasm, responsibility and energy. (Research Diary, Excerpt 70).

During this gathering the director of the orphanage took advantage of this opportunity to take photos and to shoot a video of the volunteers playing with the children. This

video and photos ended up on the website of Original Volunteers (see website). It could be deduced then that the small party was nothing more than a publicity stunt on behalf of the orphanage to keep Original Volunteers happy and this fact did not escape the volunteers, some of whom had mixed feeling about it.

“Unfortunately, we could not help thinking that the whole thing was staged. New toys materialised from nowhere and the children were wearing their best clothes and singing how much they love the volunteers. I understand that Sol wanted to please everyone and also provide Original Volunteers with good material for their website”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt 70)**

“They all did realise that they took part in a publicity stunt for the benefit of Original Volunteers. However, they were all ok with it since it is bound to help bring in more volunteers to help the children”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt 73)**

Unfortunately what also became apparent during the small party was the exclusion of the volunteers who did not use the services of Original Volunteers. Even though there was no conscious effort of excluding these individuals, as soon as the t-shirts were put on by the Original Volunteers participants, there was an identity crisis. The others failed to feel part of the group and partake into the activities of the days. Instead they shied away in a corner, some of them feeling bitter about the whole event.

“What struck me though was the exclusion of the volunteers who were not there with Original Volunteers, the independent ones. I am sure that it was not intentional, but as soon as the t-shirts were on, they faded away, shying away, perhaps feeling different or alienated to us”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt 70)**

*“One of the Canadian independent volunteers, remarked sceptically **that we were wearing 300 pound worth of t-shirts, while she donated 2,000 \$ to the orphanage and got no t-shirt, but still she could buy one for a dollar (my emphasis)**”* **(Research Diary, Excerpt 70)**

Perhaps the above comment could be dismissed as bitterness, but it does underline the fact that there were some volunteers that day that stopped feeling part of the group. Overlooking the t-shirt identity crisis that took place, the party was also a way for the children and the orphanage to say ‘thank you’ to the volunteers who were perhaps leaving the next day. The children themselves sang a song dedicated to the volunteers and a picture with all the children literally ‘hanging’ from the volunteers was taken (see picture 10, Appendix 2). Putting cynicism aside this picture summed up the

whole trip and without a doubt made for a great souvenir, freezing a moment during which this group of volunteers were really special to these children.

8.5 The Volunteers and the Children

The recycling of volunteers, the demise of the familiar, and the arrival of new faces very other week may be argued to have been confusing for the children. Before presenting the findings on the relationship between the children and the volunteers, perhaps it is appropriate to mention that the majority of children had been abandoned or had suffered some sort of trauma before they found refuge at St Esperanza. It could be argued that the presence of volunteers provided some sort of distraction for the children from their daily routine and perhaps painful memories.

The volunteers themselves arrive at the orphanage without any idea of how they will be received or how they should approach the children. The orphanage has a website and it provides some information, but children are unpredictable in terms of accepting volunteers or not. The first impression of the researcher in terms of being accepted by the children was the enthusiasm with which young male volunteers were received.

“I think I have struck an instant bond with these kids. As I was told they do not get a lot of male volunteers, so being a rarity male volunteers are most popular”. (Research Diary, Excerpt 24)

This popularity of male volunteers can be explained by the scarcity of male volunteers at the orphanage, and also by the fact of what young male volunteers had to ‘offer’ to the children’s play. Ability in sports, especially football was much appreciated. All it took for the researcher to win the children over was a few tricks with a football. Another factor that contributes to the male volunteers’ popularity was the fact that they could lift and carry children for a longer time than female volunteers.

“After the kitchen I headed out again to watch and look after the children while they play. Most of the day I was seeking to keep the children in the shade, but alas I had to run after them in 42 C with four children hanging on me”. (Research Diary, Excerpt 32)

“As it stands, I will be working the toddler shift because as the girls put it I could make a ‘great monkey bar’ (Research Diary, Excerpt 26)

Overall, in terms of the orphanage male volunteers seemed to be very appreciated for practical reasons like the ability to carry heavy loads or chop frozen meat.

“After that feeling awkward, I went into hiding in the kitchen where the cook had a lot of frozen meat for chopping and I have to say that this was the hardest task thus far due to the fact that the meat was frozen and the knife not sharp enough.” (Research Diary, Excerpt 66)

Naturally, all volunteers were made to feel welcome and they were greatly appreciated, but it was also true that the presence of male volunteers gave a different vibe of energy and enthusiasm to the children. What also stood out was the fact that the volunteers were trying their best to keep the children interested and occupied. The problem though was that the children were desperately seeking attention by acting ‘silly’ or trying something dangerous that was bound to monopolize the attention of a volunteer. This realisation prompted thoughts of how the children adapt to the volunteer presence; their level of understanding and even manipulation of the situation, which will be discussed in detail later.

One of the constant worries of the volunteer was keeping the children clean and away from the construction-site at the back of the orphanage (see picture 11, Appendix 2). This involved constant vigilance and cooperation between volunteers, but this task became impossible when the orphanage was short-handed in terms of volunteers. In that case, one of the older children was recruited to look after the small gate that leads to the back of the orphanage. It was imperative for the volunteers to have a good relationship with the older children, especially C who was the ‘leader’ of the children and looked after them. C merits extra mention due to the fact that he assisted in terms of keeping the children in line and out of harm’s way.

Overall, all the volunteers displayed great affection and care towards the children, and during the researcher’s time at the orphanage there was no injury or accident to the children. Children at large are notoriously careless and injury prone, so perhaps the lack of accidents could be argued to be the co-efficient of hard work by the volunteers and good luck.

There is no surprise in the fact that females, and especially the child-care professionals showed care and commitment while working with the children, but what also became apparent to the researcher was the way the volunteers were becoming attached to the children. One of the volunteers, K, suggested that she preferred working at the orphanage to teaching in the UK due to the warmth and affection she got from the children. She argued that in the UK constant paranoia about child-abuse frowns upon expressions of affection from the children or towards them, which leaves a lot to be desired in terms of job satisfaction.

Other volunteers also indicated that they had clear favourites amongst the children and they took their 'favourites' on short trips to MacDonald's or for an ice-cream (of course with the permission of the orphanage).

"Some of the volunteers said that later they are taking one of the children from the orphanage to MacDonald's'. But I have to say I have my reservations about that. How does that affect the children? Especially the ones who are not selected. Will have to think about that". (Research Diary, Excerpt 51)

Subsequently, feelings of attachment towards the children or one favourite child, inevitably lead to feelings of sadness and loss upon departure, as in the case of one of the volunteers. Fortunately, the volunteers drew comfort from the knowledge that the children were in good hands and that there were more volunteers on the way to replace them. Some of the female volunteers became so emotionally attached to a child that they expressed a desire to adopt one of the children.

This will to adopt a child could be dismissed as just a spontaneous reaction to going away and leaving the children behind, but it also has potential repercussions. Young women today are so independent and secure that they feel they could adopt and bring up a child on their own. More worryingly, it may be that recent high profile celebrity adoptions have made adopting a child from a developing country fashionable.

Unfortunately, the volunteers did not only have favourites, but there were also cases where they avoided certain children, due to the problematic nature of dealing with them. One such case was MC, a 12 year old girl who suffered from a mild case of

schizophrenia but was still living with the other children. She had a terrible temper and mood swings and she could become violent.

“None of the other children speak to her and all of the volunteers, including me are somewhat reluctant to deal with her because of her violent mood swings”. (Research Diary, Excerpt 64)

She gets a special mention due to an incident during which the researcher got involved and bought her a present.

“The first thing I did today at the orphanage was find little MC and give her the new brand CD-player I bought for her. At first she did not realise that it was hers for keeps. She thought I was lending it to her. Finally she realised and her smile was worth the whole trip”. (Research Diary, Excerpt 67)

The present seemed to calm her down for a while, but soon she was back to her old self prompting the researcher to enquire, why she did not receive any special help. The answer to that was that MC’s siblings were also at the orphanage and they did not want to separate the children.

8.6 Chinks in the Volunteers’ ‘Armour’

Time away from the orphanage did not only involve excursions and nights out, it also involved staying in and watching television, playing cards or just sitting and chatting. These periods of confinement within a small common area were really the biggest test of the volunteers, especially during the time that Hurricane Dean made its presence felt and we all had to stay in for many long hours. For some of the volunteers this was just another chance to stay in and drink some more and for others the pressure of being surrounded by people in a confined environment began to take its toll. Thankfully some of the volunteers had laptops with them and the showing of a film or just some background music came to the rescue.

“She is kind of depressed for having to stay indoors but one of the other volunteers has brought her laptop and she is watching DVDs.” (Research Diary, Excerpt 55)

Today we heard on the local radio that there is a possibility of being hit by a hurricane within the next 72 hours. The broadcast said that if the hurricane changed its course and went overland it could hit the Pacific coast. There is a mixed reaction among the volunteers. Most of the girls are scared, whereas the guys see it as an opportunity to stock up with food and beer and see it through. One thing we all agreed on though; we should stay together for the next few days. (Research Diary, Excerpt 71)

We are now affected by hurricane Dean who has finally arrived from the Caribbean. Fortunately he has reduced from a factor 5 to 2, but he can still pack a punch and it has been raining non-stop for the last 18 hours or so. This rain though is like nothing any of us has ever seen; a wall of water kept us all in. None of us braved the rain and who can blame us. The roads are little rivers and there are no people outside. So the plan for today is playing cards and listening to music. (Research Diary, Excerpt 76)

The rain keeps us all in and the effects of spending a lot of hours in a confined space with a group of people start to appear. (Research Diary, Excerpt 77)

During these hours of isolation from the outside world, it was interesting to see the composure of the volunteers and their determination fading away and being replaced by nostalgia for home and the creature comforts they left behind.

“The girls have missed having baths, their beds and their favourite soap operas and TV shows, which they could not follow while here and the guys mostly, have missed watching football and their friends.” (Research Diary, Excerpt 77)

Interestingly, none of the girls said they missed any people. Not their family or boyfriends, but instead items or services they cannot have while here. On the other hand the male volunteers missed their friends. Perhaps the large number of girls present has met the social needs of the girls, but the low number of male volunteers has left a lot to be desired by the male volunteers. The above and the implications of group and gender dynamics will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Ironically Hurricane Dean provided a great service to this research because it helped expose chinks in the armour of the volunteers, which raised the issue of the effect of the experience on the volunteers. Does their stay take its toll on their volunteering efforts? The answer was yes. There seemed to be a difference between the attitude of newly arrived volunteers and the ones who were already there. New volunteers seemed to be more charged with energy and enthusiasm which seemed to fade as the

days went by. The above revelation may mean that the recycling of volunteers is a blessing in disguise.

“I was pleasantly surprised by the two new volunteers Z and C. They were so enthusiastic today that I really felt it and everyone else did so. Z was trying to teach the children few ballet moves and she is hoping I can help her to put up a play with the children. She has a lot of energy and she says that she regrets the fact that she does not have enough time here, but she is determined to make the most of her time here”. (Research Diary, Excerpt 69)

Perhaps I was unfair on the volunteers. Maybe they were all as enthusiastic and full of energy as these two when they were fresh. So maybe the episodic nature of volunteering and the short stays is a blessing in disguise (Research Diary, Excerpt 69)

Thus as the weeks went by, the onus was on the orphanage director, just like any other manager of people, to keep morale up and reinforce the volunteer identity and commitment.

8.8 Summary

In this chapter, the volunteering experience was deconstructed as experienced by this researcher and his fellow volunteers. Thus this chapter focused on the practicalities and realities of volunteering in terms of living and working conditions and of course the management of the orphanage. The role of an external agent, the volunteer tourism organisation that provided the orphanage with volunteers was also examined in terms of their approach and their expectations from the orphanage’s management. The focus of this chapter then shifted to the volunteers and the children in terms of their interaction and their relationship, before focusing back on the volunteers and their moments of weakness and how the experience affected them. The next chapter

focuses on the motivation of the participants and completes this study's enquiry by focusing on the reasons that lead to the volunteers' encountered participation.

Chapter 9

Participants' Motivation

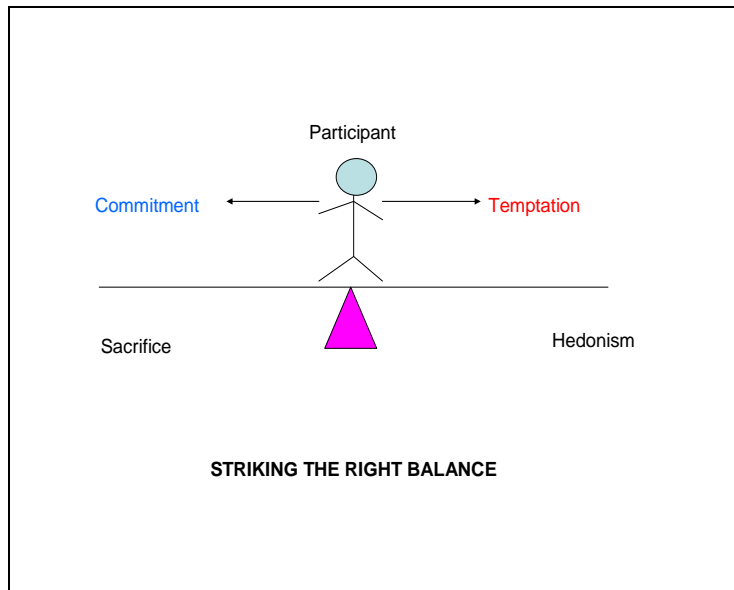
9.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the motivation of the participants encountered. This varied from volunteer to volunteer and it lead the researcher to understand that the expressed motivation of the volunteers should be compared directly to their actions. Supported by the literature this realisation leads to an interesting discussion on motivation and actions before the author reflects back to the experience as a whole but also on the study. This chapter then comes to an end with a summary.

9.2 Motivation

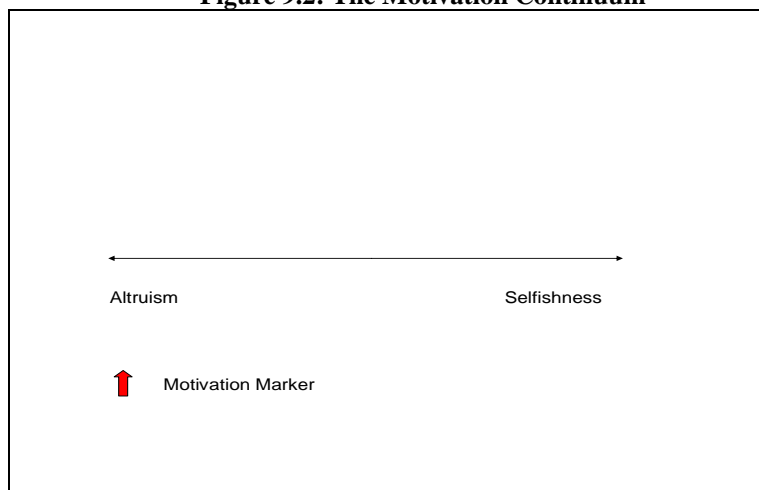
Through this study the motivation of the volunteers encountered varied from relaxation to idealism or even altruism. As such the motivations of the participants could be deconstructed with the help of a 'Motivational See-saw' (see Figure 9.1). This reflects the balancing act participants have to perform while participating in their volunteering experience. As presented in the Hero's Journey discussion (see Chapter 6), all participants are capable of the best and the worst, and some times they would show their commitment to the cause and at others they would give in to temptation. As such it is possible to start interpreting the motivation as it is expressed in actions, while being observed, instead of hoping to uncover motivation a priori- as a thought or a statement, since it is clear from the literature on human behaviour that motivation can only be empirically assessed as action (see Chapter 3).

Figure 9.1: The Motivation See- saw



In order to deconstruct expressed motivation as a statement of intent, this study will attempt to place various expressed motivations on a Motivation Continuum spanning from altruism to Selfishness (see Figure 9.2)

Figure 9.2: The Motivation Continuum



Taking into account the nature of the volunteer tourism experience as a synthesis of both volunteering and tourism, some of the motivations were anticipated given the literature on both volunteer and tourist motivation, and some were a surprise to the researcher. In methodological terms, for expressed motivation the researcher used the answer to the direct question, 'why are you here' or 'what has brought you here' (see

Appendix 1). The deconstruction of motivation as action, is derived from the actions of the volunteers, as described in the research diary, and by other impromptu discussions, initiated by this author (see Appendix 1).

9.2.1 Escape

Eight of the volunteers encountered (see Figure 9, Appendix 4) clearly expressed that their main motivating factor was escape. This is not surprising since it becomes clear in the literature that escape features prominently as a motivating factor for travel (see Chapter 4). Some of them wanted to get away from it all, their work routine and wanted to breathe again:

“I needed to get away; I deserve a break from it all” V1: Excerpt 11

“I needed to escape the rat race of the legal profession” V8: Excerpt 20

“I was fed up with the ‘dog-eat-dog’ world and I wanted to breathe again” V10: Excerpt 22

“I wanted to escape the plastic world of Miami” V22: Excerpt 41

“I am here to escape London and the pressures of all the rehearsals” V27: Excerpt 49

“The trip is helping me unwind from the hectic rhythms of my profession” V29: Excerpt 52

Others wanted to leave behind a stressful situation or something that caused them distress. A stressful re-sit exam, a relationship break-up or an acrimonious divorce battle:

“I was stressed with a re-sit exam and I wanted to let-off some steam” V15: Excerpt 34

“I recently broke up with my boyfriend of three years and I wanted to get as far away from the UK as possible” V29: Excerpt 52

“Just settled a custody and divorce battle and needed to relax” V10: Excerpt 22

This tendency to flee from the reality of daily routine is well documented in the tourism literature as anomie (Dann, 1977) which sees tourism related escapism as a vent or a valve that is turned to bring release from the accumulated stress of daily routine life. This escapism is nothing new, it is part of human tradition and its most famous example, as noted earlier, is in the many Carnivals found around the world,

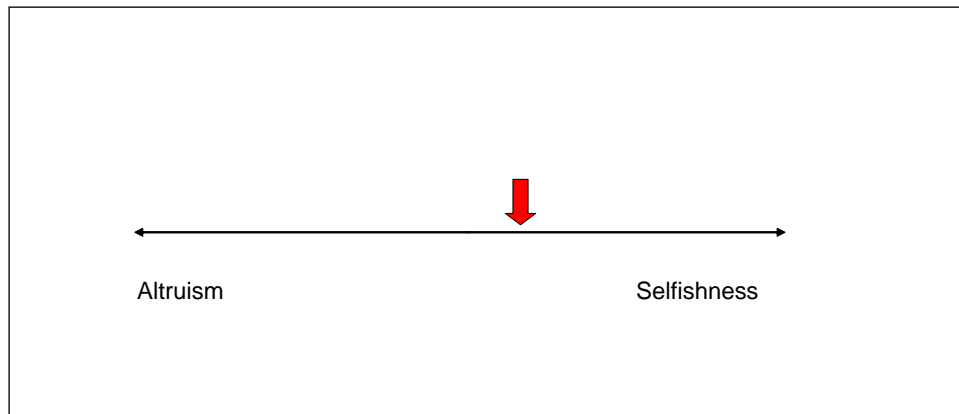
during which people could for a few hours escape the mundane nature of their daily life as prescribed by Christian ethics (Coronato, 2003).

Another form of escape could also be escaping one's own self and bringing about change. Thus escapism in terms of volunteer tourism is two-fold; escaping from without, and also escaping from within. This escape from within could be deconstructed as a function of the human need of self-presentation (see chapter 4). The volunteer tourist, while in situ on the project, escapes their own self; seizes the chance to become the volunteer, as seen in the Hero discussion in chapter 6. In many cases, it could be argued that even the most level headed of participants could get a 'touristic Ego-boost' since during their participation their background and identity are unknown (Dann, 1977) and just like any super hero from comic books, they are known only by their alter ego –the volunteer.

Recuperation via escape should also not be discounted as a motivating factor. Even though the volunteers who wanted to escape, did not say so directly, it is implicit that 'recharging' themselves was high on their agenda while planning their escape. Leisure has long been seen as an escape from daily life for recreational purposes, hence the term recreation from its Latin roots 're-creo' (to create again), to refresh, to invigorate or revive. As discussed in chapter 4 the recreational properties of leisure have long been appreciated. In addition in times of stress or in times of dealing with a bad situation, distance may become a factor of finding peace and salvation. Geographical distance can also provide a sense of disassociation from problems, responsibilities or anxieties. As such there is no surprise that individuals seeking to heal or 'lick their wounds' would strive to put some physical distance between themselves and the sources of their distress.

Putting escapism on the motivation continuum is by no means a straightforward task. It could be assumed that escaping responsibilities might indicate a propensity to let off some steam and have a good time. Yet, the choice of working with children while on holiday instead of just choosing a typical hedonistic holiday pushes the motivation 'marker' away from selfishness towards altruism (see Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.3: Escape as a motivation



9.2.2 Interest in Children (Love for Children)

Another frequent answer was project related, often expressed as love for children or enjoying working with children. Five of the participants (Table 10, Appendix 4) stated explicitly that the specific nature of the project was the main motivating factor. Participation in a very focused form of tourism has become known as special interest tourism (Weiler and Hall, 1992). In terms of tourism participation, special interest tourism is a term encompassing various forms of niche tourism and it is increasing in popularity (Rojeck, 1993; Stenberg, 1999; Urry, 1990).

This love for children as a motivation was expressed in many ways:

In our first conversation Volunteer 39 suggested that she loves children and that is the main reason she has come to Mexico. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 10)

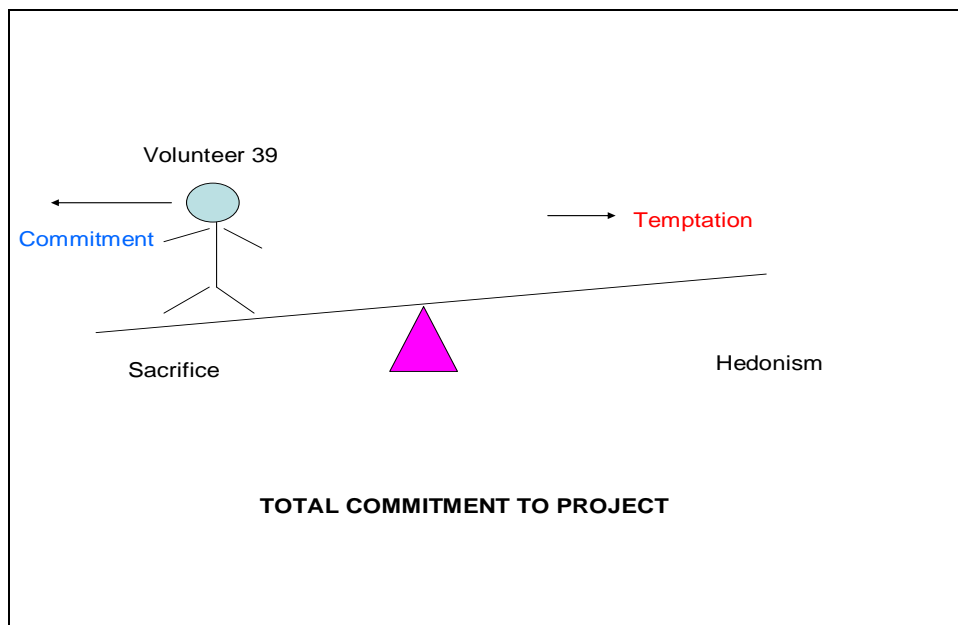
There is definitely something in her eyes when she speaks about children or when she is around these children. She seems very fond of the children and they adore her. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 23)

In the case of Volunteer 39 it can be said that she represents the extreme in commitment side of the spectrum. This volunteer rarely left the orphanage, never joined in any of the activities or excursions of the volunteer group and always wanted to be around children.

During our first meeting she gave me the impression that she does not like to talk about herself In terms of the way she behaves she is in a league of her own. She does double shifts and while other volunteers cannot wait to leave, she stays. From what I gather she also sleeps at the orphanage too. There is definitely something in her eyes when she speaks about children or when she is around these children. She seems very fond of the children and they adore her.

It is unrealistic to treat her case as the norm, but perhaps this type of volunteer could be the benchmark for total commitment while participating on a volunteer holiday.

Figure 9.4: Total Commitment to Project in actions



Another aspect in relation to motivation and love for children is perhaps the possibility of the teacher volunteers not feeling fulfilled by their normal employment and their relationships with children while working in the UK. One of the volunteers suggested that the ‘nanny state’ in the Western world does not leave room for meaningful relationships or ‘connection’ with the children:

K started the ball rolling by saying that she felt guilty that she will have to leave the children. K is leaving soon and she says it will really cost her. Even though she tried to have no favourites among the children, she had a very touching moment with one of the children.

She said she really valued that moment and then she added that in the UK, if she got a kiss from a kid, she works with, she would be in trouble, but not in Mexico. (Research Diary, Excerpt:59)

This love for children was also manifested in action as some of the volunteers organised a play for the children which took a lot of the volunteers' discretionary time and resources.

Volunteer 38 says that she loves working with children and she is looking forward to putting up a play with the children. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 66)

This is a case where intentions as statement were also turned into action, and it is an example of commitment displayed by some of the volunteers to go beyond the call of duty and do something extra to add to the children's' experience. This example will be discussed further later as a show of commitment.

Another interesting point that became apparent during conversations with the female volunteers was that some of them would like the opportunity to adopt one of the children in the future:

"It has to be noted that some of the volunteer girls expressed a wish to adopt one of the children from the orphanage. Is it a fashion fad fuelled by the recent high profile celebrity adoption wave, or is it just another piece of evidence that suggests that women have become so independent that they are not fazed by the prospect of being a single adoptive parent.

When teased about adoption being fashionable all they girls could say was that; "at least these children will have a good life without starving to death or dying from diseases" (Research Diary, Excerpt: 84)

At this point there is no way of knowing whether anyone followed up on their interest and did so, but it does show the extent of their interest in these children and the bond they struck with them over a few weeks

9.2.3 Social Interaction and selecting a project

Some of the participants, as expected from the literature, expressed socially related motivations, as the main instigator for their participation (Table 10, Appendix 4). These were expressed as motives of social interaction due to the involvement of young people from different backgrounds and also peer-pressure, described as following a friend or imitating the actions of friends or relatives who had been volunteer participants in the past. Social interaction with like-minded people could be argued to be a major motivation factor. For example, T, a 25 year old teacher from Canada, suggested that the main reason for her participation was mingling and interacting with people of her own age:

During our first meeting T said that the main reason she was there was to make friends and interact with other people of her age. She is not here alone but she has accompanied her friend. All she talks about is the night life and the hot spots. I am not quite sure yet, but she would like to break away from her much older friend and spend some time with younger people (Research Diary, Excerpt: 30)

Social interaction was also manifested as a convenient way of spending time with a loved one; as in the case of G, a 22 year old student, who combined working at the orphanage with spending time with her boyfriend who lived in the area:

She has a boyfriend of two years who lives in Mexico and she visits very often. This is not her first time volunteering. She has also worked with OV in Peru. G will stay in Puerto Vallarta for three months
(Research Diary, Excerpt: 50)

What is very interesting in her case is the fact that she did not plan to volunteer while in the area. Instead she decided to do so after meeting some of the volunteers on a night out and she felt it would be a constructive and worthwhile activity to pursue while her boyfriend was at work. This case was not the only one where it became apparent that volunteering could be 'contagious'. C, a medical student from London, felt that she had to undertake a volunteering experience in order to 'tick' another box in direct comparison to her peers:

*She says she wanted to do some volunteer work before she started her studies in Religion and Divinity at the University of Leeds .When asked why; she said that most of her friends have done volunteer work in the UK or abroad and she felt kind of inferior.***(Research Diary, Excerpt: 74)**

Social interaction also meant following a friend or a loved one. C* from Canada, followed her boyfriend at the time (D), who was an experienced volunteer:

She says that she is not as 'crazy' as D in terms of volunteering but she thought that it would be a good relaxing break from studies and work. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 61)**

Two friends who chose to go volunteering together were T and K who took a year off from their studies to go on a gap year and volunteering in St. Esperanza was one leg of their itinerary:

T is K's best friend and they have travelled here together. They have also been on a Gap year together. T studies the Classics and he says he is here for a new experience and to play with the children. T has brought with him a football which he promptly gave to the children. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 81)

Following a friend was also the stated motivation of another pair of friends who travelled to Mexico together:

In our first meeting Marc said that he loves working with cars and that he wants to specialise in American 'muscle' cars. He seems loud and lively and quite fun.

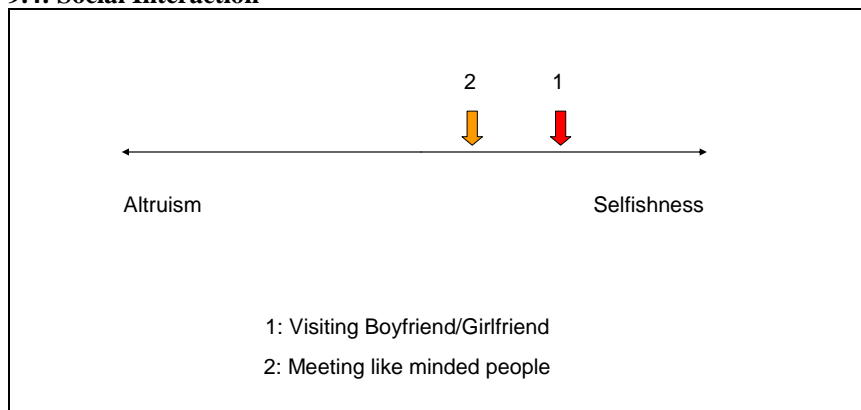
He is on a Gap year with his very good friend Milton and after Mexico they will be travelling to Argentina. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 16)

Social interaction being a major factor does not come as a surprise. As noted in Chapter 4 self presentation and self-image, along with peer pressure, are common denominators of human behaviour (Schlenker, 1980; Zajonc, 1965). Social interaction inevitably features in the experience of the volunteers due to the 'tourist element' within volunteer tourism (Wearing, 2001). The social interaction element applies not only to how the participant is viewed by his/her peers back home but also by the people encountered during participation. People may feel 'special' when they tell other people that they are going on a completely different holiday; one that is exclusive to the committed and sensitive few; self presentation kicks into overdrive and it is a possibility that the participants get a feeling of superiority and importance that transcends their daily routine and existence back home (see earlier). Social interaction or facilitation can play an integral part in the project or destination selection process, if there are added benefits linked to a specific choice.

In terms of the altruism and selfishness continuum, it is very difficult to mark a position for social interaction as a motivator due to the different forms of social interaction encountered. As such, different manifestations of social interaction could be positioned on different positions on the continuum.

Visiting a boyfriend or girlfriend in terms of being a motivating factor could be hypothesized to be closer to selfishness and hedonism compared to following a friend or striving to meet like minded people;

9.4: Social Interaction



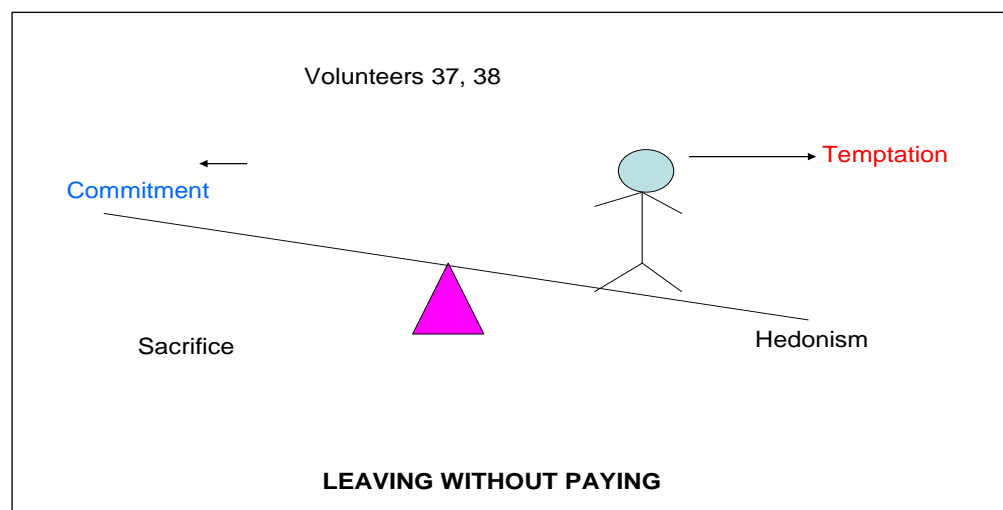
Though the above is a plausible argument, the acid test for the motivation of this group of individuals should not be what they said, but how they behaved during the time that they were observed. This is where the value of the covert observation lies. For example, from the sample of volunteers there were two cases of Gap year travellers travelling in twos. The first two, T and K, stated that they more or less followed each other here and while on the project they displayed great sensitivity and brought toys for the children (see Excerpt 81 above). The other two, M and M, also stated the same reason for being on the project, yet they left the orphanage without

paying for their accommodation and were a disruptive influence throughout their stay with the rest of the volunteers:

After that she said that she was very disappointed with two of the volunteers who left the previous morning (M and M). Apparently they left Puerto Vallarta without paying their rent for the 4 weeks they spent here. She said that now the orphanage has to cover the cost.

Needless to say that we were all in shock. The common sentiment could be summed up as follows: "Ripping off a charity is the lowest of the low. Not a very gentleman thing to do" (Research Diary, Excerpt: 83)

Figure 9.5: Leaving Without Paying



This example shows that regardless of the stated motivation, it is the actions that determine the final judgement on participant volunteers. The remit of this study is not to pass on judgements on personal behaviour, yet this example is helpful to show that volunteering while on holiday is a very difficult balancing act and any of the volunteers at any given moment could slip up.

9.2.4 Experience

Another group of the volunteers gave experience as the main motivating factor for their participation. This search for experience is a prominent characteristic of modern society as illustrated in the work of Stebbins (2005), who highlights a turn to the experiential in terms of leisure and free time. In this study the participants expressed a yearning for gaining experiences in different ways, on the one hand, as a once in a lifetime opportunity, and on the other hand as a character building exercise, tying in with their personal development.

An example is J, a 28 year old from the United States, who was planning to get a job with a pharmaceutical company. After studying for his PhD for so long, he noted:

He has recently finished his PhD in immunology and he is now studying for an MBA. As he put it “....why do all the hard work and let others make the big bucks?”

John has also brought a bag with toys for the children and as I found out he will be my roommate for the next few weeks. He professes that he is here for the experience and to meet new people.

“I am here to see if I can cope with living in close quarters and I hope I survive the food (ha ha)”

(Research Diary, Excerpt: 19)

A, a 25 year old teacher, also cited experience as her main reason for participating. She has a job already and came for the opportunity to gain a once in a lifetime experience:

“A is very artistic and her drawings excite the children. She is here because she wanted to experience something different and see how children in the orphanage live” **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 37)**

C, on the other hand, expressed a long standing yearning to do something along the lines of volunteering, and she had finally got her chance:

“When asked, she did not think that her medical studies had anything to do with her being here. She does not in particular like children and she does not want to go into paediatrics. At the moment she is quite anxious as to what is expected from her at the orphanage.

From what she says the main reason for her to come here is that she always wanted to do volunteer work and Original Volunteers provided her with the perfect opportunity” (Research Diary, Excerpt: 65)

Echoing the ‘Grand Tourists’ of the past, K expressed a yearning to gather experiences, but his expressed wealth made him stand out from the rest of the volunteers, many of whom had financial and work related worries. Interestingly, K found his way to Santa Esperanza while travelling around the world for a year, before taking over his family’s business:

“He has never done any volunteer work though and he wanted the experience.

He says that he comes from a wealthy family and thus he is lucky enough not to have to worry about money or time pressures. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 80)

This yearning to experience different things can also be tied in with the motivation of wanderlust as expressed by a group of the volunteers. This was expressed as an ‘itch’ to see the world and experience different places. Naturally for those participants with an expressed propensity to travel, international volunteering has the emphasis on the word international.

A, a 19 year old from Birmingham, stated that she wanted to go travelling before starting her work placement in Spain:

“In our first conversation, A said that she is a Spanish literature student and that she cannot wait to arrive in Madrid for her work placement in September” (Research Diary, Excerpt: 12)

Interestingly she was planning to work in Spain, which may explain the choice of a Hispanic destination. It could be argued that to her, visiting Mexico was part of her 'love affair' with anything Hispanic as indicated by her choice of studies. She may have also wanted to practice her Spanish before moving to Spain for her work placement. Yet she genuinely cared for the children and everyone else and she seemed very sensitive and committed:

"She is not following today her friends who went swimming with dolphins because she said she hated the fact that they were kept in captivity. She seems a very open person. Her mother is deaf and she speaks sign language which I found impressive" (Research Diary, Excerpt: 12)

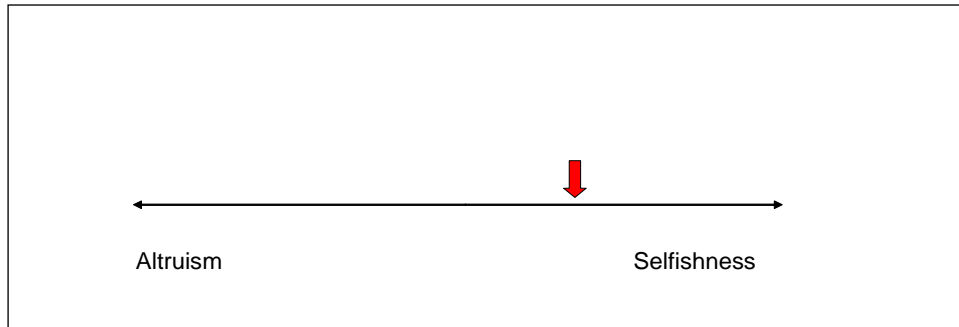
MA, on the other hand, displayed a more classic, clear-cut case of wanderlust which was expressed as a desire to see the Pacific Ocean and that was that drove her all the way to the Pacific coast of Mexico:

"She is about to start her studies at Glasgow University and she is excited to have made the acquaintance of someone who lives in Glasgow. She says that she chose the orphanage because it is on the Pacific coast and she always wanted to see the Pacific" (Research Diary, Excerpt: 39)

Indeed the charms of the destination, along with the fact that it is 'different' as an environment, may be a driving force behind people volunteering in the area. In the tourism literature (Gray, 1970), wanderlust is highlighted as a driving force for tourist behaviour. It can also be explained in terms of basic stimuli-driven human behaviour that 'pushes' humans (and also animals) to seek different environments in order to offset the effect of their routine surroundings (Wagner, 1999; Hebb, 1955; Kaplan, 2004). In terms of the altruism and selfishness continuum, wanderlust driven

participants are more likely to be positioned towards the selfish side of the spectrum since they are gaining some gratification from their participation.

Figure 9.7: Experience



Again, their actions should determine their final position on the Motivation See saw (see earlier), taking into account the fact that they chose to do volunteer work while satisfying their thirst for experience instead of just lying on a beach.

9.2.5 Personal Development

Following on from experience as a motivating factor was personal development. For the volunteers, their participation also had an educational dimension that held the promise of a long term benefit in the form of future career advancement or short term one of finding their limits.

The volunteers did not hesitate to recognise the potential of future benefits from their participation, taking into account the present recruitment 'zeitgeist' which generally rewards volunteer work:

“When prompted today the volunteer workers with the exception of K and L openly admitted that such an experience would do wonders for their employment prospects. Very interestingly almost all of the volunteers used the same term ‘personal development’ to explain their rationale”. (**Research Diary, Excerpt: 26**)

Wearing (2001) discusses in detail the effect of volunteering on personal development and beside the obvious (professional development which can be gained with occupational advancement or job security) there are other, less tangible effects on the personal development of participants. Kuh et al (1998) identified the development of attitudes, skills and values for the benefits of the individual and their community.

In the case of little K, who accompanied her mother to Mexico, she left the orphanage with a new attitude towards her mother, making fewer demands and a more grounded perspective after experiencing the lives of children at the orphanage:

“K is twelve years old and she really enjoys playing with the orphanage’s children. According to her mum she brought her here in order to really appreciate how lucky she is and she seems to have already become less demanding and she does not mind sharing her things anymore”(**Research Diary, Excerpt: 43**)

Wearing (2001) views personal development as a learning process which encourages, if not challenges, people to put themselves to the test and go beyond their comfort zone. This is tied to the concept of experiential learning and personal development as described by Kolb (1984). In terms of tourism, Cohen (1979) discusses the typology of the existential tourist as the type of traveller who goes completely native and strives to expand his/her horizons by adopting the destination as his/her own. This exodus beyond the perimeter of one’s comfort zone is evident in the case of J, a 25

year old artist from London who came to Mexico with the sole goal of leaving behind her pampered comfortable life-style and for a few days to test her resolve by staying in basic accommodation:

“Earlier today I had an encounter with J. I asked her whether her expectations had been met from this trip. She said that the biggest ambition she had coming here was to lose her inner princess, but as she says, she has failed since next week she is flying to New York to stay in a luxurious hotel and have a long spa day and beauty treatments”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 84)**

Of course, a short stay in Mexico and working in an orphanage cannot be a ‘road to Damascus’ epiphany for everyone. In the case of J, she lost her inner princess for a few days and she was on her way to finding her again during a planned spa weekend in New York after the volunteer experience.

In terms of gauging the levels of confidence of the volunteers, the researcher did not have the benefit of a ‘before’ and ‘after’ participation snapshot of the confidence level of all volunteers because the researcher did not know them before their participation. However, in the case of S, a young volunteer who had never been away from her parents or abroad, such a snapshot was possible:

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Wearing (2001) also suggests that volunteer participation inspires confidence and it makes individuals trust themselves. In terms of gauging the levels of confidence of the volunteers, the researcher did not have the benefit of a 'before' and 'after' participation snapshot of the confidence level of all volunteers, because the researcher did not know them before their participation. However, in the case of S, a young volunteer who had never been away from her parents or abroad, such a snapshot was possible:

"S is the baby of the group. She just arrived yesterday and we all felt sorry for her. It is her first time away from her parents and it has already taken its toll. She says she missed her parents and she could not hold back the tears when contemplating that she still has two weeks over here". **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 74)**

As the days passed, the feeling of helplessness and panic, with the help and support of the group, gave way to confidence, and it was nice to see her come into her own after just a few days.

There were also more clear-cut cases where the motivation of personal development as career advancement, was plain to see. In the case of K, who always wanted to be a teacher, volunteering was another chance to work with children and boost her CV:

“She will be starting preparation for the PGHC teaching qualification exam”. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 15)

What stands out from the researcher’s experience with this group of people was the fact that they were completely at ease with the implicit reciprocal nature of their experience, and they did not try to mask it or make any excuses for it:

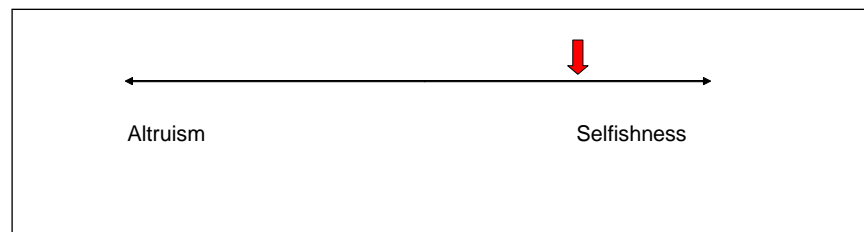
“There is a very refreshing pragmatism about the volunteers. They do understand that it is a transaction and that on the balance of things they get more out of volunteering than what they offer”.(Research Diary, Excerpt: 59)

Still, some volunteers expressed some guilt for the fact that they were benefiting from helping the children and they expressed their feelings while reflecting on their experiences and work at the orphanage:

“K started the ball rolling by saying that she felt guilty that she will have to leave the children. K is leaving soon and she says it will really cost her. H said that she felt guilty because she got to volunteer in such a wonderful place and that she also got funding (sponsorship from friends and family) to be here. The other volunteers reassured her that she still went through the effort and the hassle of travelling here when others do not”. (Research Diary: Excerpt: 59)

As seen above the participants encountered were very conscious of the effect their participation could have on their future, in terms of a career, but were also fully aware of the more short-term benefits, of having a good time and making the most of finding themselves in a location that, under other circumstances, they might have visited for a typical ‘spring break’ holiday.

Figure 9.8: Personal Development



9.2.6 Relaxation/Fun

Only one of the volunteers stated having a good time as a motivating factor:

“In our first meeting J gave me the impression of a very open “party person”. Immediately as soon as he meets other volunteers he is desperate to arrange nights out and excursions. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 19)

Despite only one person openly stating this, there is no escaping the fact that Puerto Vallarta as a nearby party-destination played a part in their decision making. Even though this is not supported by expressed statements, it is supported by the actions of the group of volunteers. Indeed as soon as the researcher arrived at the accommodation and was introduced to some of the other participants, he was initiated into the group’s motto:

“At last some of the other volunteers have awoken and they are planning to go to the beach. As they said it is the weekend after all. Could it be that the volunteers refrain from working on the weekend? Could it be that on the weekends they take off their ‘volunteer cap’ and put on their ‘tourist’ one? But let me just quote K; ‘This is what we do here, we work hard and we play hard’”. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 14)

This ‘manifesto’ during the researcher’s time with the volunteers was some sort of ‘battle-cry’ for going out, during which the participants put their ‘tourist caps’ on and had a typical, noisy, alcohol-fuelled night. Alcohol in quantity was a mainstay during nights out, with the volunteers taking advantage of cheap prices and night-club promotions to dance the night away in a stupor and as a consequence forfeit the ability to do early shifts at the orphanage the following day. This behaviour jeopardised the gentleman’s agreement (see earlier) between the orphanage and the volunteers and forced the director to take action and have a chat with the group:

“Today the director of the orphanage had a few things to say about the volunteers. After gathering us all present in her office she listed her complaints. She said that the volunteers should put more effort into covering the early morning shifts, because the numbers of volunteers at that time are too low, and then during the day there are too many volunteers doing nothing”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt 83)**

This behaviour pattern is hardly surprising when there is a group of young people who are on holiday, short of money and presented with the opportunity of very cheap alcohol and fun and games:

“Another thing I noticed is that most of the volunteers have already started thinking about money and that it is still many days before their trip is over. Some of them are discussing about cuts in expenditure, but that funnily enough does not mean any cuts in drinking while going out at night”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 55)**

Alcohol was the main emphasis of excursions and days out and this is not surprising, taking into account the ‘spring break’ mentality of the tourism market in Puerto Vallarta:

“Most of the volunteers have already taken advantage of the open bar and soon they will have trouble standing, never mind snorkelling. The boat is packed with young people who are getting louder and merrier by the minute. Perhaps they are not familiar with the fact that alcohol and heat are a formidable duo. I joined some of the older, more mature girls and this way I managed to avoid having drink poured down my throat by an over-enthusiastic bikini clad Mexican girl whose job seems to be to safeguard drunkenness”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 57)**

Making an analogy back to the hero analysis (see Chapter 6), the volunteers are surrounded by many temptations and sometimes they simply give in, some less and some more than others.

There were other types of excursions like zip-wiring³, dune car racing and horse back riding, which featured in the itinerary of most of the participants. This caused friction with the orphanage due to the fact that the participants took advantage of group bookings and sometimes left the orphanage with minimal support:

“Nevertheless, it is very nice to see most of the volunteers unwind and relax. The question is; who is at the orphanage? We got a group booking and got a better deal and we all took the day off”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 57)**

“Quite interestingly today there are enough volunteers in the morning but around 12 at noon there were only three left. Perhaps the heat has something to do with that. Anyway the reason could also be that quite a few of the volunteers have booked a tour of the canopy. Some of them are planning to zip-wire down the canopy. Those activities are usually undertaken in groups as one of the volunteers explained the organisers give them discount if they buy in groups”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 46)**

³ A zip-line (also known as a flying fox, zip wire, aerial runway, death slide or Tyrolean crossing) consists of a pulley suspended on a cable mounted on an incline. They are designed to enable a user propelled by gravity to traverse from the top to the bottom of the inclined cable, usually made of stainless steel, by holding on or attaching to the freely moving pulley. Zip-lines come in many forms, most often used as a means of entertainment.

Another dimension of the leisure and fun element of the experience which is also linked to social interaction was romance between volunteers which in some cases caused friction, antagonism and bitterness:

“It is also becoming clear that there is tension between two of the volunteers who seem to be competing for the affection of one of the girls. It is quite interesting to see that even though we are all so far away from home, the same rules apply”. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 55)

The above can be explained by using the volunteer-hero conceptualisation (Chapter 6). Campbell’s hero always faces temptation at a certain stage during his/her journey. This stage is ‘woman as temptress’ and is described in detail in Chapter 6.

In other cases, some of the female volunteers engaged in relationships with locals. It could be argued that it was inevitable that the mix of young people, alcohol and pleasant surroundings would prove a good breeding ground for romance.

It is necessary to put the leisure element of the volunteering experience into perspective as an implicit motivating factor, despite people’s reluctance from openly admitting this (Schlenker, 1980). Making volunteering fun seems to be one of the main priorities of most volunteer organizations who offer such opportunities (see market analysis). The benefits are two fold; on the one hand, satisfied ‘customers’ and on the other hand, increased margins for profit through diversification.

In terms of the motivation continuum, the implicit motivation of relaxation and fun has to be positioned at the far right on the spectrum towards selfishness (see figure 9.9)

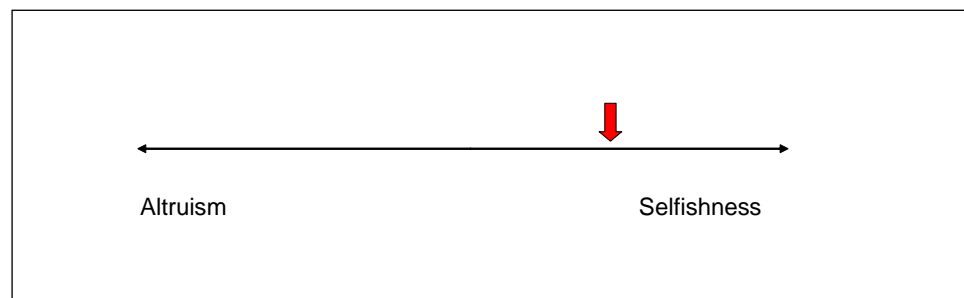
“A topic that usually comes up in the discussions with the volunteers is the issue of timing. They all say the timing was right and so they chose to volunteer. When asked to elaborate, they could not say with any certainty why the time was right. The girls especially vaguely suggest that if not now that I am young, then when? Next year I may be home with a mortgage and a partner etc”. (Research Diary, Excerpt: 79)

The above statement underlines the importance of being at the right place at the right time and it projects the hopes and expectations of many of the young volunteers. For the younger volunteers volunteering seemed like a last chance saloon before life got too serious. This almost fatalistic attitude sees time as ticking away and is inexorably linked with the industrial notion of ‘mechanical time’; time that flows irresistibly away as a finite source which modern individuals have to invest wisely (Godbey, 1999). An individual is anxious to get the right balance between making sacrifices in his free time and making selfish, ego-centred choices.

This balancing act evolves as the individual matures. Different types of activity selection in different stages of the life cycle is presented in the work of Dubois (2000). According to him, young people gradually have less time to devote to themselves, and others become the priority (e.g. spouse, children) (see Chapter 4). Volunteering abroad can be categorised as a ‘free from commitment’ activity. None of the volunteers encountered were held down by any commitment. They were either single, divorced or widowed (see profile of participants). Of the two volunteers who had children, one of them brought her daughter with her, while the other one had just lost custody of his young boys. This trend has not been missed by volunteer organizations who have started to offer family oriented volunteer opportunities in an attempt to expand their market (see section 5.9).

In terms of the continuum, it is difficult to accurately position timing as a motivating factor. However, having accepted volunteering abroad as a ‘free from commitment activity’ or an individual’s ‘me time’, timing is positioned away from altruism towards selfishness.

Figure 9.10: Timing



9.2.8 ‘Altruism’

Five of the participants (see Table 10, Appendix 4) suggested that they had some altruistic or idealistic underlined motivation to participate. As seen in Chapter 3 altruism, just like any other form of motivation, can be manifested in actions, and as such the volunteers’ answers are taken only as statements of intent. ‘Altruism’ is a very elusive concept and the questions and uncertainty that have risen about its existence outnumber the answers (Chapter 3).

G is a 37 year old teacher from London and while in Mexico she opted to also volunteer at the local female prison because she felt that she could make a difference:

“G has come out of a very long engagement and she has broken up recently. She opted to volunteer at the local prison because she wants to help women who have nothing. As she put it “....those women

deserve better because they have been abused and exploited for their whole lives". (Research Diary, Excerpt: 13)

Looking into the context of her willingness to help abused women, it is interesting to mention that she had just emerged from a very long but broken engagement (8 years) which obviously had caused her some trauma. It could be possible that she felt abused or exploited by a man who promised her several things and then went back on his promises. From a social constructivist point of view, it may be instrumental in order to start thinking that the lens and individual 'gaze' of each of the participants could be subject to different paradigms. Does this 'healing' she sought by travelling to Mexico, like the others who were 'escaping' (see earlier), make her actions more empathetic than altruistic?

K, a 54 year old property developer had just finished a very unpleasant divorce battle, as a result of which he had lost custody of his two children and he was in Mexico helping other children:

"I did not know what that meant exactly but later while chatting he confided in me that he just came out of an acrimonious divorce. He says he has two young sons which he rarely sees now. At this point assumptions about K and his own children cannot be made, but indeed it is fascinating how he has left his own children behind and seeks fulfilment by helping others". (Research Diary, Excerpt: 22)

Could it be that K was using the children of Mexico as substitutes for his own? It is impossible to determine empirically, what his real motivation for volunteering was, but it also adds to the lens argument which shows that his 'lens' was altered somehow and it affected his 'gaze', but this unclear lens might not make K less of an altruist.

The question that arises then in relation to the altruism of the volunteers is whether reciprocity dilutes this altruism. The answer to this researcher is no, as reciprocal altruism has long been established as a phenomenon, both in human societies and also in the animal kingdom (Batson, 1991; Boehm, 2000). The fact that the volunteers receive something in return should not affect their altruistic credentials.

This spirit of reciprocity is reflected in H, a 27 year old teacher, who felt that she could achieve two goals while volunteering:

“In our first meeting H said that she loves her job and children and that she thought that she could combine a holiday with doing something worthwhile. She thinks that it is a real disgrace that orphanages in Mexico got so little support from the government and they had to rely on the good intentions of people in order to keep going.” (Research Diary, Excerpt: 21)

Having a good time while doing something worthwhile should not be frowned upon and gaining some kind of benefit whether tangible or intangible should not denigrate volunteers. The fact that volunteer participation can be positive to somebody's career, or a key moment, that changes their lives, should not be the acid test for the value of volunteer motivation.

The concept of enlightened interest (Alexis de Tocqueville, 1805-1859) prescribes that an individual or organization should be ethically sound while benefiting from benefiting others. One of the volunteers, D, who was always involved with charities, admitted that he was addicted to the feeling he got when he told people about his good work:

“They also do not think themselves as altruists. They like reciprocity and they think there is nothing wrong with advertising the fact that they do volunteer work.

*One of the volunteers D, who is always involved with in charity says that he is addicted to the feeling he gets when he tells people about his good work. As he put it: **“I get high on volunteering”.**”*

(Research Diary, Excerpt: 59)

D is not hiding his feelings and he openly admits to getting satisfaction or validation from his volunteering efforts. If such a feeling of gratification makes him more committed to his effort; so be it. From a purely utilitarian scope, perhaps it is better to have ‘altruists’ like D and others who get something out of volunteering, than having no ‘altruists’ at all. If this ‘altruism’ can be translated into input that benefits a cause, in this case the orphanage, then the debate on pure ‘altruism’ becomes a moot point.

A determinant of ‘altruism’ could be both tangible and intangible. While it was easy to quantify and measure monetary donations and gifts brought by the volunteers, it would require a longitudinal study to assess the intangible input of the volunteers in terms of raising awareness and perhaps adding a little colour to the lives of the children.

In tangible terms, some of the volunteers arrived at the orphanage bearing gifts; a cheque, toys or stationery:

“J has also brought a bag with toys for the children and as I found out he will be my roommate for the next few weeks”. **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 19)**

“She has also brought a cheque from her bosses for the orphanage which she wanted to keep a secret but the orphanage chose to make an announcement. Perhaps they thought that they had to.” **(Research**

Diary, Excerpt: 20)

“N is just about to start her studies in Law. She volunteers in the local prison teaching English. She seems to come from a very affluent background and she has brought presents for the children”

(Research Diary, Excerpt: 36)

“P seems to be very good with children and she has come here on her own accord. As she put it, instead of paying a go between to arrange her volunteering, she just brought with her a \$ 2,000 cheque which she promptly donated to the orphanage.” **(Research Diary, Excerpt: 42)**

The participants’ input can also be measured in terms of meals cooked, plates washed, nappies changed, and through a variety of other tasks that the volunteers completed during their shifts and which otherwise might have required hired assistance that would have resulted in financial expenditure by the orphanage. Provided that the volunteers contributed to the orphanage and its operations, it did not matter if they had other hopes, expectations or distractions while being there, as long as these did not clash with their duties or compromised their input.

9.2.9 Summary of Motivations

Summing up motivations it appears that they were diverse and subject to the individual ‘lens’ of each of the volunteers. Each of them saw their participation differently and they behaved as such while at the destination. To some, volunteering was a ‘healing’ process. In some instances people arrived in Mexico trying to come to terms with a broken relationship or even an acrimonious divorce. These individuals were seeking to escape from it all and they did, if only temporarily. For others, a visit to Mexico to volunteer was an expression of gratitude for the life they were lucky enough to lead back home. Personal development also played a big part. Having the experience of a lifetime seems to play the role of a threshold before taking on serious

commitments. Leisure inevitably features heavily, taking into context the location in which the volunteers had chosen to do their work. Cost is also another factor, since the arrangement with Original Volunteers was better value for money than, even the Youth hostel. Special interest in children and wanting to make their lives better was another factor which seems to drive the efforts of the volunteers. Finally, altruism, not as a state of mind but as actions, in many cases, was the main motivating factor of some of the volunteers.

9.3 Towards the Concluding Chapter

Before moving on to the concluding chapter of this thesis it is important to review how the findings of the study reinforce or have added to the literature. In terms of the motivation of the volunteers some of their motivations along with their actions mirrored the literature. Table 9.1 is an illustration of how this study has brought together theories on volunteering and tourism and how these theories came to life through this research work.

As presented in the table, escape which is prominent in the tourism literature, does not feature in the volunteer motivation literature, but it does as a volunteer tourist motivation in this study. Special interest features in both tourist motivation and volunteer motivation literature, while it also features in the findings of this study as love for children. Social facilitation or social interaction follows a similar pattern by featuring in all three columns of the table as does the search for experiences. Relaxation and fun along with the search for a cheap holiday, are present in the literature of tourist motivation, but not in the literature on volunteer motivation,

however they are both prominent in the findings of this study. The motivations of timing features in the findings of this study but not in either tourist or volunteer motivation literature. The unique motivation of ‘getting high on volunteering’ as expressed in the findings of this study, could be linked with the feeling of gratification or warm glow in volunteer motivation literature, but not with tourist motivation literature.

Table 9.1: The Literature and the Findings of this Study

Tourist Motivation in the Literature	Volunteer Motivation in the Literature	Participant Motivation in the Study
Escape	_____	✓
Special Interest	Special Interest	✓
Social Facilitation	Social Facilitation	✓
Experience	Experience	✓
Personal Development	Personal Development	✓
Relaxation/Fun	_____	✓
Cheap Holiday	_____	✓
_____	_____	Timing
_____	Warm Glow	High on Volunteering
_____	altruism	✓

Altruism and the existence or absence of it has been the main thrust of this study. This study has set out to uncover the motivations of participants but the final realisation for this author is that actions speak louder than words. Inevitably, the extent to which the presence of the volunteers and their ‘altruism’ benefits the orphanage comes down to

the level of their commitment and to the setting of their priorities; commitment being, honouring the ‘gentleman’s agreement’ with the orphanage and following the rules. Unfortunately, not every one played by the rules and breaking the trust ranged from ‘convenient volunteering’ to cheating the orphanage out of money (see earlier):

‘Altruism’ is not a state of mind, or a badge to wear, but it should be what is left behind. It may be inappropriate to be judgemental towards a group of mostly young volunteers. At times the temptation to skip a shift, leave early, take advantage of a promotion or even cheat the orphanage out of money might have proven irresistible taking into account the continuing ‘torment’ of choosing responsibility over having a good time. Hence it becomes important to understand that bad acts do not invalidate the original ‘altruism’ of participant, since altruism is an ideal or a mindset. Given also the tendency of the volunteers to give into temptation, this raises questions of leadership and discipline as a means of keeping the volunteers in line. The feasibility of disciplining the volunteers and the implications it may have are further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 10

Conclusions and Recommendations

10.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates the achievement of the thesis objectives as stated in Section (1.3) and comments on the implications of the research findings in the light of existing knowledge. They are presented in such a way as to address the: motivation of volunteer tourists, the challenges of being a volunteer tourist and its implications for different stakeholders; the rapid expansion of volunteer tourism and its effect on its ethos; and recommendations for maximising the benefit of volunteer tourism in terms of the organisations, the projects and the participants. The contribution of the research to the study of volunteer tourism is also presented along with the identified limitations of the research, before recommendations for future research are offered. This thesis ends with some final thoughts of the researcher.

10.2 Putting the Experience into Context

This research concludes that the motivations of the participants were somewhat more diverse than current literature indicated, and were subject to a variety of factors. Using covert observation proved to be an appropriate and novel way to determine motivation by observing volunteers' motivations as they were manifested in their actions while en situ. The volunteers arrived at the destination with different mindsets, but with the single common denominator of a will to do volunteer work. This work was in general relatively simple, enjoyable and did not require any special skills. The volunteers provided valuable output in a children's home that would have otherwise been understaffed and underfunded.

10.3 Participants' Motivation

The nature of the concept of volunteer tourism and relatively limited study on volunteer tourist motivation as a specific genre (Chapter 2) meant that the researcher had to combine two research traditions, tourism research and research on

volunteering. As such a synthesis of tourist motivation and volunteer motivation was constructed based on the findings of this study and the existing literature. This is illustrated in table 9.1 which shows how this study fuses these two areas of research together. The combining of motivations from both leisure and volunteering in this study represents an innovation in the volunteer tourism literature, which has been dominated by well established motivational studies from the 1970s onwards in conventional tourism and more recent writings on volunteer tourism, some of which have been based on rather limited academic research.

It is concluded that the motivations of the participants encountered were as following:

(i) Escape

Escape in this study has been revealed to be two-fold; escape from within and escape from without. Volunteers were either escaping from a stressful routine or situation which brought forth the recuperative nature or even healing properties of volunteering. Others were attempting to escape their own selves, viewing their experience as a character building exercise on the road to self actualisation (as noted by Dann, 1981 and Krippendorf, 1999 discussed in Chapter 4). The tendency of escaping daily routines and environments is well documented in the literature as 'sun-lust' (Mansfeld, 1992), and it can also be viewed as escaping one's reality as 'anomie' (Dann, 1981). The drive to escape one's self has been a constant theme of human behaviour in different societies and historical periods, from the Mysteries of Eleusis in ancient Greece, the Saturnalia of the Romans, the festivals of the Fool in Medieval Europe, to Carnival and other more modern expressions of human escapism. What this research has found reinforces what the literature has presented. It appears that escapism is an inescapable trend of human nature which is paramount in tourism studies, but it has not featured much in the volunteer tourism literature

(ii) Experience

Some volunteers saw their participation as an experience of a lifetime. This search for experiences can be linked both with wanderlust theories, and with a turn towards experiential leisure (as first noted by Cohen, 1979 and MacCannel, 1989 discussed in Chapter 4). Experience as a motivating factor can be inexorably linked with achieving leisure satisfaction as the ultimate 'flow' experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). This flow is paramount to the study of volunteer tourism since flow can only be achieved under the condition of free choice (Mannel et al, 1988). The volunteers encountered

appeared to really enjoy their experience. With no brain scanning equipment it is difficult to ascertain whether the volunteers were in a flow state or not, but given the non-obligatory nature of the tasks, the relaxed atmosphere and the way time flew, the possibility of flow cannot be discounted. This study in many ways echoes findings in the literature (Cohen, 1979; Mannel and Iso-Ahola, 1987; Boomars, 2000; Ryan, 2000; Li, 2000) in terms of experience being a motivating factor to participation. The volunteers genuinely appeared to gratify intrinsic and extrinsic needs to gather experiences and transcend themselves as discussed below in achieving their personal development.

(iii) Personal Development

Linked with experience, personal development highlights the power of the volunteer experience to contribute to the human capital of the volunteers. This can be either in the form of personal maturing or in the form of an addition to a participant's employment credentials. The volunteers encountered were found to be very pragmatic and to understand the potential impact of the experience on their career prospects (as noted by Kuhn, 1998; Wearing, 2001; and Stebbins, 2005, as discussed in Chapter 6). The drive to grow as individuals and to test one's limits is reflected in the human drive of achievement motivation (McClelland, 1953) as documented in the 'tourism expectancy theory' (Witt and Wright, 1992). The volunteers indicated they enjoyed the challenge that their volunteering in a new environment presented them with. A person's ambition of making an achievement is determined by a combination of the person's need and the perceived probability of a desirable outcome. In the case of the volunteers the desired outcome varied according to the priority set by different volunteers. For a more hedonistically focused participant the desirable outcome would in general be relaxation and social interaction, while for a more altruism driven participant the desirable outcome would in general be making a difference or experiencing spiritual growth. Both types of outcomes can be linked to Maslovian theory (1953) and the higher needs of acceptance and self-actualisation. This research echoes much of the literature on personal development (Wearing, 2001) but poses the possibility that the desirable outcomes could change from time to time. As seen in the 'Hero' analogy (Chapter 6) humans are capable of the best and the worst of human nature. Once the desirable outcome changes, the lens of the volunteer is bound to shift, bringing about a change in behaviour.

(iv) Love of Children

Related with special interest tourism pursuits, the love of children and the enjoyment participants derived from spending time with them seemed to fuel the volunteer efforts of some of the participants. This love of children was sometimes manifested as a commitment to the home's needs, or as a desire to adopt a child and give him/her the opportunity of a better life. This love of children is inexorably linked with special interest tourism (as noted in Rojeck, 1993; Stenberg, 1999; Urry, 1990 and discussed in Chapter 9). Volunteering in a children's home cannot be compared with a culinary tour of Tuscany or a visit to a museum, yet the focus of the project chosen by volunteers can be analogous to a point of interest. If the expected outcome of satisfying a common interest or acting according to set cognitions is not met, then the individual experiences cognitive dissonance. This is documented in the work of Brehm and Lohren (1962) and Festinger, 1957 and applied in tourism as 'theory of tourist planned behaviour' (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980). This research does support that literature in terms of recognising that for the participants encountered, volunteering was a form of self-expression which reflected their beliefs, expectations and ideals.

(v) Relaxation and Leisure

Taking into account the setting of the research (an attractive tourist destination in Mexico), it does not come as a surprise that leisure and relaxation were found to be underlying motivators for participants. Even though not specifically expressed, for presumably self image management reasons, the participants, through their actions, gave leisure a very prominent place in their priorities. Of course the destination with its charms and hedonistic setup facilitated such endeavours, and the fact remains that this destination was chosen by the participants (as noted by Gray, 1970; Wagner, 1999; Kaplan, 2004 discussed in Chapter 9). Returning to the argument of desirable outcomes, it became obvious to the researcher that some of the volunteers were more hedonistically minded than others and they strived to make the most of the pleasant surroundings. This should not be the acid test of their 'quality' or value as volunteers. As shown, the volunteers operated within a continuum dimension and their ability to switch from tourist mode to volunteering mode cannot be ignored. Even the vacation minded volunteers made some contribution to the children's home.

(vi) Social Interaction

Social interaction features in the motivation of participants as peer pressure or as a feature of the relationships between participants given the interactive nature of the experience and the effect of living, working and sharing a small space with a group of different individuals, while on holiday(as noted by Becker, 1974 discussed in Chapter 4). It does not come as a surprise that the presence and behaviour of other participants affected the experience of the participants and thus the findings of this study (Chapter 7). Sexual encounters, and also the strain of living in close quarters with hitherto strangers, were inevitably part of the volunteers' experience. In this situation the researcher had to ensure to keep a distance and retain the role of the objective observer.

(vii) Timing

Timing also featured as a motivator with some of the participants viewing the experience as a threshold, or a 'last chance saloon' before life gets too serious. Timing was also related to certain events in the life of participants which coincided with their decision to volunteer abroad (as noted by Godbey, 1999 discussed in Chapter 9). Time in its modern linear nature was viewed as a finite resource which the volunteers wanted to make good use of. As such gathering 'once in a lifetime' experiences became an inseparable part of the volunteers' modus operandi. The general sentiment was that life is too short to spend one's youth trapped in a routine and predictable environment. This can be linked to theories of wanderlust, and sunlust as noted above. but it also reflects the nature of new forms of leisure which are more centred on experience and the notion of throwing caution to the wind in trying different things (Ryan, 2000). This research found that most of the volunteers encountered were in the same life stage (before serious commitments) and thus viewed that stage as the time for experience gathering and risk taking.

(viii) 'Altruism'

Altruism as a state of mind, but also as manifested in actions, featured in the motivations of many volunteers. Some of the volunteers desired to contribute to a good cause, while others felt over privileged. A single volunteer suggested that he needed to volunteer in order to get some sort of intrinsic gratification. Altruism is

placed in quotation marks due to the understanding that it cannot exist in its pure form, due to the perceived and actual benefits available to the volunteers (as noted by Pearce, 1993; Wearing, 2001 discussed in Chapter 9). The participants themselves were found to be very comfortable with the reciprocal nature of their participation and they were under no illusions about the magnitude or importance of their volunteering efforts. They were acting on their cognition reflecting their beliefs and worldviews. It is impossible to ascertain the existence of altruism, and while the literature on volunteer tourism is dominated by references to altruism (Wearing, 2001; 2004), perhaps the focus should be shifting to a focus on the impact and outcomes of volunteer tourism, if volunteer tourism is to be assessed fully as to whether it is really beneficial to both participants and destination communities.

10.4 Volunteer Tourism as a balancing act

With the use of a construct from anthropology, 'The Hero's Journey' (Campbell, 1968) this study has succeeded in creating a new conceptualisation of volunteer participation. Central to this is a balancing act between commitment to a cause or project and hedonistic pursuits. This was illustrated with the motivational see-saw which shows that every participant despite their initial motivations or intentions, when presented with temptation, linked to the leisure/fun element of the experience, is often susceptible to giving in. Just like the 'hero' who is tempted, the volunteer also has to face and overcome temptation. Volunteer tourists have to strike the right balance between commitment to the project and giving in to the hedonistic allure of the destination visited. This is not a problem faced by either volunteers or tourists, but unique to volunteer tourists.

This balancing act becomes even more difficult when taking into account certain challenges the volunteers had to overcome during their participation. These challenges were both foreseen (language barrier, adapting to a new environment, financial worries) and unforeseen (illness, extreme weather). This side of the volunteers' experience raises several questions in terms of the role and importance of the volunteer tourism organisations involved as facilitators of the experience. Such incidents or challenges could have an adverse effect on the morale and commitment of the participants and perhaps this is an area where the organisers need to intervene.

‘The volunteers appreciation day’, as presented in this study may have served as a morale and resolve booster by reinforcing the volunteer identity. Yet in terms of upholding commitment, the projects involved and the organisers may be facing a dilemma. They need to consider whether they should increase the levels of discipline by monitoring and exercising higher control on the volunteers and thus diluting the ‘fun’ element of volunteering; or keep their model intact and rely on the same implicit gentleman’s agreement they have traditionally relied on. The latter may leave a lot to be desired in terms of output, but it will have no effect on the appeal of the project, while the former, may increase output but it may reduce the pleasure of the experience. Going to the roots of volunteer tourism as leisure, it is paramount to put no pressure on the participants. Once an obligatory element is introduced, then volunteer tourism ceases to be tourism (leisure) and it becomes ‘demi-leisure’ or volunteering (work).

10.5 Rapid Expansion and the Ethos of Volunteer Tourism

This study concludes that partly due to the internet based marketing of volunteer tourism, the market has expanded rapidly in the 2000s and there are no signs of it slowing down (it remains to be seen how the current financial crisis will affect the market). The organisations involved, in their majority are registered as non-profit organisations and as it is natural numbers have increased in response to demand. They have created social goods, where the public sector has failed to do so, or has difficulties doing so. While the specific orphanage examined experienced a lack of sufficient government support, and thus benefited from the relationship with Original Volunteers, an extensive market analysis of countries used and relative need (Chapter 5), showed no direct relationship between destinations in need and expansion of volunteer tourism opportunities in such areas. The main reason for this appears to be that volunteer organisations choose destinations for their involvement on the basis of similar criteria to the ones used by conventional tourism operators. As such, high risk destinations are avoided and low risk ones are preferred, especially those with positive images for nature based tourism, adventure tourism and as exotic destinations.

In terms of their business model, several organisations operate commercially with their bottom line in mind, since they have certain costs to meet, such as overheads and staff salaries. In terms of price, organisations vary from charging a small one-off registration fee to offering a variety of different options to supplement the volunteer tourism experience. Several organisations claim to make direct contributions to some projects in the form of money or equipment; however, it is very difficult to establish the validity and value of such claims.

The motivations or expectations of the organisations involved can be put on a continuum, between making a profit and serving a cause. Despite their motivations or expectations, it must be accepted that volunteer tourism organisations facilitate and contribute to the development of volunteer tourism through providing assistance to many projects. However, the contemporary model of volunteer tourism is a far cry from the ideals of pacifism and selfless contribution that comprised the force behind early international volunteering efforts (Chapter 2). Market forces, diversification and the interplay between supply and demand have shaped volunteer tourism into another holiday market, with the balance shifting from altruism and commitment to hedonism and profit, both in supply and demand.

Both volunteers and the projects supported are trapped in this environment where it is obvious that the organisations exert considerable control over shaping the market. In this predicament the volunteers and the projects try to make the best of their relationship with the organisations. Many volunteers take advantage of the added supplements in order to improve their experience, while the projects want to be associated with organisations because of raising awareness and attaining a constant supply of volunteers (free labour). It must be noted that the role of the volunteer tourism organisation as a broker of experiences, just like the one of the travel agent in contemporary tourism, will inevitably come under threat, once potential volunteers grow in terms of confidence to such extent as to book their own volunteering experience directly. Perhaps, this over-expansion will backfire once more projects have developed their own websites and have organised their own volunteering opportunities. This scenario is not too far away. As seen in the supply chapter, volunteer tourism organisations only facilitate the participation of volunteers. Tourism product elements such as flights and insurance are generally left to the participants to organise and attain. As such, all the projects would need to replace is the

organisations' input, for example with a well designed website and by inspiring confidence, so that the volunteers would entrust themselves into their hands.

10.6 Ambiguity and Confusion

This research has shown that two of the main themes in relation to volunteer tourism are ambiguity and confusion. Volunteer tourism, as neither solely volunteering, nor tourism, stands as a fusion of the two, with the added complexity of the shifting relationship between work and leisure. The predominant model of volunteer tourism expansion also raises questions about the vague relationship between doing good and profiteering. Thus volunteer tourism, being a vague concept by itself, is also subject to several factors which themselves are characterised by ambiguity.

10.7 Recommendations

Based on the conclusions of this study as presented above, it is considered that some aspects of the operation and organisation of volunteer tourism could be improved. Therefore this research proposes the following recommendations for improvement in terms of increasing opportunities to recipients.

(i) Motivation and Commitment

Project managers and organisations providing volunteer opportunities should attempt to find ways to monitor more closely the efforts of volunteers. Increased presence of permanent staff on site could act as a reminder to the volunteers of their duty and the commitment required of them. This may have a limiting effect on the enjoyment of the experience, but if the rules and parameters are set and re-enforced from the very beginning, when volunteers are 'fresh' and do not know what to expect, greater commitment may be easier to achieve with arguably the least effect.

(ii) Contribution of Volunteers

As seen in this study, some volunteers made monetary contributions as one-off payments to the children's home. Many projects would benefit from the development of a website through which volunteers, past and present, could pledge amounts

monthly, for example through direct debit. This should not be difficult to set up and would provide projects with a continuous and reliable source of income.

(iii) Projects and Organisations

It has been shown through this study that these two sets of stakeholders share a symbiotic relationship, with the balance of power at the moment lying with the organisations. Projects and their operators need to gather information and evaluate their options before getting involved with organisations in order to maximise their potential benefits. The ongoing expansion of the volunteer tourism market will provide projects with a greater variety of organisations to choose from and the opportunity to become ‘choosers’ instead of ‘beggars’.

(iv) Monitoring of Organisations

It has been shown that the organisations involved in volunteer tourism can be placed on a continuum in terms of their priorities. Organisations should be monitored and assessed by a watchdog for ethical practices. The IVPA (International Volunteer Program Association) already exists, but their role is restricted to one of a membership group with no power of enforcement. What is needed is an assertive ‘watchdog’ with the power to oversee the market and shame or remove organisations that do not follow a common set of guidelines, much as exists for example with ecotourism operators.

10.8 Contribution of the Research

The researcher is limited by the specific nature of a case study in making any broad generalisations about all forms of volunteer tourism and all volunteers from the findings of this thesis. However, it is believed that at least some of the motivations identified for the participant volunteers are applicable across the spectrum of volunteer tourists as a whole, particularly for destinations similar to the one studied. One significant contribution of the research to the theory related to volunteer tourist motivation is the argument that the ‘Hero’s Journey’ an anthropological construct, can be used as a valid conceptual hook to draw analogies between Campbell’s Hero and contemporary volunteers, and that this can also assist in explaining the eternal appeal

of doing good works (Tomazos and Butler, 2009 in press) The relatively extensive market analysis has provided a review of the market on two different occasions (2005, 2007) and allowed comparisons to be made with earlier data (2003) which established that the market has been growing rapidly and that as it has evolved, it has, to a considerable extent, become a victim of its own success.

The methodology employed in this research, particularly the application of covert participant observation, has allowed a relatively novel (unique in the volunteer tourism literature) research insight into volunteer tourists in a natural setting, with the observed volunteers behaving naturally without their behaviour being ‘contaminated’ or altered by the presence of an overt researcher. The covert observation involved several challenges which were overcome with a combination of good preparation, advice, and some good fortune.

10.9 Research Limitations

The primary limitations of this research include the small population size, and the fact that observations were at only one site and that the research period was only three weeks. The destination chosen by the researcher provided participants with several ‘temptations’ which provided the basis for the commitment vs. hedonism argument to be examined. The data collected are rich and varied and the intensive nature of the fieldwork compensates for the relatively short duration of the project.

10.10 Recommendations for Future Research

The following three areas of research have been identified as worthy of further study in particular.

(i) Motivation and the Choice of Destination

This study focused on the motivations and experiences of volunteers working at a children’s home on the Pacific Coast of Mexico. The volunteers encountered were shown to make a balance between commitment to their duties as volunteers and the temptation of the hedonistic pursuits available to them through the nature of the

location of their participation. Further research is needed using a similar methodology, but in a different setting; i.e. a similar project, but at a destination with no hedonistic temptations at hand. This could provide confirmation of the researcher's hypothesis that the type of destination can influence the motivation of potential volunteers, something not so far reported in the literature. (It is recognised that the motivations of the volunteers may also influence their selection of a specific destination, another aspect that has not yet appeared in the relevant literature).

(ii) The Organisations Involved

This study has succeeded in presenting an examination of the volunteer tourism market by gathering information via the internet. Future research could focus in more depth on the organisations. A qualitative approach involving specific interviews with the manager/owners of successful volunteer tourism organisations could provide new insights on their role, their expectations and motivations, and their views on their involvement in the volunteer tourism market.

(iii) The Volunteers Encountered

This study gave the opportunity to this researcher to meet and interact with a group of very interesting individuals. A useful future study could be to do a follow-up longitudinal study on the same people, and see whether their participation was a one-off event or whether they embarked on a 'career' as volunteer tourists. This would allow some comparisons to be drawn with the 'travel career ladder' of Pearce (1982) and see if the lifetime patterns of experience of volunteer tourists are similar to those of conventional tourists

10.11 Last Thoughts on the Study

When the researcher started his observation he had little idea what to expect. The biggest worry was whether he would get a large enough sample of participants to interact with. As the days passed and the list of the volunteers encountered grew, the next step was to try and understand why these individuals chose to come to Mexico and work at a children's home instead of just pursuing a more typical holiday itinerary.

The people at the home were friendly and the locals understood that volunteers were there to help the children and as such participants enjoyed an elevated status compared to 'ordinary' tourists. The home itself was well administered and the children were well looked after, and the volunteers did their best to follow the rules of the establishment. Some discrepancies were inevitable, but perhaps it is up to the organisation to further uphold discipline and reinforce the rules. Whether or not discipline is something that should feature in a holiday is part of the fusion of work and leisure that characterises volunteer tourism has been discussed earlier.

In terms of motivation, the volunteers were escaping, building their experiences, adding to their work related credentials or just expressing their love and care for children. In terms of whether they were doing something worthwhile or altruistic, they were very pragmatic, understanding the reciprocal nature of their experience, and also had a very good sense of the fact that they were not really changing the world, but just adding colour to the summer of some children. Altruism in this study has proven, as expected, to be a sphinx. Under the assumption that altruism is a disposition for unselfish humanitarian acts for the common good, then it could be argued that the very essence of volunteering is altruism. While any calculated behaviour could not be described as altruistic, under closer scrutiny it would be unfair to accept that there is only black or white- altruism and calculated behaviour.

Under the prism of psychology it becomes apparent that even the most altruistic act has its direct benefits to the actor; these benefits have been described in the literature as 'warm glow' and practically they refer to stress release and improved mood. This should not mean that the volunteers' altruistic motivation should be in doubt.

The volunteers do not ask for anything in exchange, they appear to have no secret agenda. In its practical implementation the essence of volunteering is the provision of services and goods for the benefit of a good cause, and volunteers invest their time and energy to achieve a certain goal. Thus the existence or not of altruistic motivation in its pure form should not be the acid test for volunteer motivation. The volunteers are no angels, they are just human beings who see a need and then choose to act while others do not.

Nevertheless, altruism is the central dynamic and catalyst behind volunteering. It does exist even though some triggers in the human psyche seem to dilute it. The proof of its existence is that every individual at some point or moment in their life at a smaller or larger extent has acted purely for the benefit of others. It could be helping an elderly person cross the street, offer a seat to an infirm person, give money to a beggar or give blood...all of the above are undiluted expressions not of altruism if the psychologist insist to disagree, but just being human. It would be unfair in this modern society where everything is for sale to dismiss such remarkable behaviour as calculated and with ulterior motives just because helping others makes people feel good about themselves or accuse volunteers of selfishness just because in the long term they may gain skills that they may or may not use further down the road. According to Socrates life is a never-ending quest for knowledge and every day is packed with new information which humans absorb like sponges moving on to the next day.

As for volunteer tourism, it has become clear from this research that volunteer tourism is both volunteering and tourism and also work and leisure. This makes volunteer tourism a legitimate, distinctive and unique form of tourism which merits special attention and study.

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Appendix 1

Diary Sample

Today being Sunday I chose to go to the orphanage just to see how many volunteers would be there. Naturally there were only three of us and there were many things to do.

My first task was to help with the washing up of all the plates and cups. It is not an easy task because some of the children tend to hide them and it is the volunteer's job to find them and collect them.

After that I went to the kitchen where I spent a few hours chopping vegetables and skinning chicken. I also got more than I bargained for by having my hands covered by the goo of some unknown to me vegetable. Apparently it takes a lot of effort and scrubbing to remove.

Today after chatting to A I found out that the 'Mother' used to work at another orphanage and one night she left taking with her around thirty children. She said she rescued them from a bad place and she came to this location and established 'Santa Esperanza'

D is a very interesting case. He works as a marketing consultant for a charity organisation that sends 'Patch Adams' style clowns to children hospitals. He says he does a lot of volunteer work and he has coined his organisation's mantra; **"Go tell others what you did today"**. He believes that volunteering is reciprocal and he has no problem saying so.

Being involved with volunteer organisations and charities he had no problem finding the orphanage and offering his services independently.

D is here with his long-term girlfriend and they will be staying for three weeks.

In our first conversation K said that she had been working as a nanny for about two years. She says though that "...I have had enough of children and babies..i need a change of career..something in property development perhaps". When asked how she is planning to make that change she said that she has a relative that would hire her .Before the switch she thought she needed to get away thinking she deserves a break. By first impressions she seems like a lively person. Will be staying for about 3 weeks and she cannot wait to visit the canopy. She also said that she is enjoying single life at the moment and she wished her friends were here with her.

Appendix 2: Photographs as *aid memoir*

1) Volunteers' Accommodation



Bathroom



Shower



Kitchen



Bedroom

2) The Volunteers' Environment



The Promenade



View from Volunteers' Base



The Jungle Canopy

3) The Orphanage



Orphanage Security



Benefactors



The Kitchen



Construction Work

4) The Volunteers



The Researcher and some Children



Proud to be Original



Volunteers' Appreciation Day



Relaxing Moments

5) Work at the Orphanage



Helping with art



Looking after the children



Serving lunch



At the swings

6) **Volunteers at 'Play'**



A toast to Mexico



A night in



The Beach



A night out

Appendix 3

Fieldwork Schedule

Date	Activity
March 2007	i) Review information on Orphanage and fieldwork area ii) Finalising travel details
August 6 th – August 27 th	Conduct Observations
August 30th	Return to UK

Appendix 4: Volunteers

Participants' Profile and Expressed Motivation

Alias	AGE	Nationality	Occupation	Motivation
V1	27	British	Nanny	Escape
V2	19	British	Student	Experience
V3	19	British	Student	altruism
V4	37	British	Teacher	Love of Children
V5	23	British	Trainee Solicitor	Escape
V6	19	British	Student	Personal Development
V7	28	American	Immunologist	Relaxation
V8	25	British	Solicitor	Escape
V9	27	British	Teacher	altruism
V10	54	British	Property Developer	Escape
V11	24	British	Teacher Trainee	Love of Children
V12	23	British	Marketing Consultant	Social Interaction
V13	25	Canadian	Teacher	Social Interaction
V14	22	Swiss	Student	altruism
V15	21	British	Student	Escape
V16	23	British	MOD Office Worker	Escape
V17	20	British	Student	Experience
V18	25	British	Teacher	Experience
V19	21	British	Student	Love of Children
V20	18	British	Student	Experience
V21	29	Australian	Teacher	Love of Children
V22	25	American	Yoga Instructor	Escape
V23	45	Canadian	Teacher	Personal Development
V24	11	Canadian	Pupil	Social Interaction
V25	60	Canadian	Retired/Police Officer	Permanent Resident
V26	25	British	Student	Escape
V27	22	British	Student	Social Interaction
V28	26	Isle of Man	Solicitor	Escape
V29	27	Canadian	Marketing Consultant	Volunteering as a 'high'
V30	24	Canadian	Student	Social Interaction
V31	43	Canadian	Teacher	Love of Children
V32	19	Indian	Student	Experience
V33	20	British	Student	Love of Children
V34	20	Canadian	Student	Relaxation
V35	18	British	Student	Experience
V36	23	British	Between Jobs	Timing
V37	22	Indian	Student	altruism
V38	20	British	Student	Social Interaction
V39	25	British	Teacher	Love of Children
V40	19	British	Trainee Mechanic	Social Interaction

Appendix 6

Volunteer Tourism Market Database

Country	No of Projects in 2007	No of Projects in 2005	No of Projects in 2003	Pure Projects	Type of Project																							
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		
India	241	185	51	186	6	2	24	41	1	37	23		12	5	3	2	4	9	12	1	2	1			1			
Peru	193	122	1	140	12	3	17	28	4	36	13	4	2	2	2	6	2	1	2	1	1	3		1				
Costa Rica	201	133	43	135	22	33	17	26	3	19	8		3	1		3												
Ecuador	188	150	47	134	33	13	15	28	1	18	11	1	4		3	1	2		2	1				1				
Thailand	176	138	3	130	14	12	18	40	4	16	8	1	1	1		4	2	2	3			4						
South Africa	148	135	3	114	16	29	16	16	2	13	10			4	1	1	1		4		1							
Ghana	171	149	37	104	3	2	14	21	1	19	25	3	3	2	1	1	1	5	3									
Kenya	183	102	21	103	8	22	16	24	2		16		1	4	1	2	1		5									
Nepal	144	117	2	100	7		11	33	2	21	19	1	4			1			1									
Brazil	96	91	15	69	5	7	14	15	5	9	4	1		2	1			5										
Argentina	90	57	6	44	4	3	11	11		7	4	1	1			1				1								
China	89	59	23		2	4	5	16		4	3	3				1												
Mexico	89	104	2		5	2	8	9	2	13	4		2		1			4										
Bolivia	74	50	11		6	7	10	15		5	4	1	2	3		1	4											
Tanzania	73	55	2		1	1	6	14		8	11		2	3		1			1									
Guatemala	68	70	26		4		10	11	2	7	4	2			1		1		1									
Honduras	56	63	28		3	2	5	13	3	2	5			2		2				1								
Nicaragua	56	30	1		3		11	6		5	4				2	1			3		1							
Uganda	56	30	2		2	5	10	5	1	7	10		1		2	1			1		2							
Sri Lanka	48	35	2		3	5	5	13	3	5	1			1		4												
United States	47	78	1		6	9	5	4	1			4			2	3		1	1									
Vietnam	46	33	1		1	1	5	11	2	8	2				1		2	1				1	1					

Lithuania	4	3	1			2	1					1		
Micronesia	4	1	1				3			1				
Palestine	4	3	1					2						2
Rwanda	4	2	0	1					1		1		1	
Ukraine	4	5	1	1			1	1	1			1		
Albania	3	2	3			1				2				
Armenia	3	4	4			1		1		1				
Austria	3	2	2	2										
Belarus	3	4	4			1	1							
Belgium	3	5	7			2		1						
Burkina Faso	3	2	4			2	1							
Egypt	3	0	0			1	2							
Finland	3	3	7	2					1					
Hungary	3	3	3				2		1					
Lesotho	3	5	1			1			1	1				
Niger	3	2	0			1			2					
Serbia	3	2	0			1				1				1
Switzerland	3	3	1								1		1	
Trinidad and Tobago	3	2	1	1	1						1			
Uruguay	3	9	0		1				2					
Benin	2	4	4			1	1							
Brunei	2	2	0	1			1							
Cuba	2	2	3	1		1								
Cyprus	2	1	1								1			
Denmark	2	2	5	1									1	
Estonia	2	3	5			1					1			
Guyana	2	2	3			1	1							
Jordan	2	0	0								1			1
Latvia	2	4	1			1			1					
Mali	2	0	0			1			1					

Appendix 6

Coding

Line by line coding directly on research diary

Initiating conversation	<i>When prompted today the volunteer workers with the exception of K and L openly admitted that such an experience would do wonders for their employment prospects. Very interestingly almost all of the volunteers used the same term 'personal development' to explain their rationale. Let's not forget that the volunteers encountered thus far are very well educated who for different reasons did not feel complete with their experiences and decided to do something different and challenging way outside their comfort zone. Perhaps Wearing 2001 is right to suggest that volunteer tourism is 'experiences that make a difference'</i>
Reciprocal Altruism? Quid pro Quo	
Professional Development	
Illuminating Quote	
Reminder/ Realism	
Educational Background	
Motivation/Quest for Fulfilment	
Motivation/ New Experiences	
Motivation/ Challenge	
Link to literature	
Impressions	<i>From what I have seen thus far in terms of shift delegation and organisation the orphanage refrains from putting any pressure on the volunteers. Yes there are structured shifts, but the volunteers can come and go as they see fit. The orphanage relies on the good faith and commitment of the volunteers to uphold discipline and complete their shifts.</i>
Structure and strategy	
Freedom/ Choice	
Good faith	
Commitment/ Dedication Real world elements	<i>As I have mentioned already, it seems that weekend shifts are avoided, so it could be assumed that the people that do the weekend shifts are the more dedicated ones.</i>
Repeat	
Preference	
Different shifts- Different volunteers	<i>To matters at hand now. As it stands, I will be working the toddler shift because as the girls put it I could make a</i>

Delegation

'great monkey bar'

Joke/ Rapport/ Going Native

*I need to remember now which shifts and times I am
doing so that I can meet people I have yet to meet.*

Stage 2

Open Coding

Category	Code	Sub-code
Gender Issues	NG	
Numbers		NG-N
Occupation of Participants		NG-OP
Relationships		NG-R
Motivation		NG-M
Interaction		NG-I
Effect on Children		NG-EC
Children	NC	
Numbers		NC-N
Gender		NC-G
Origins-Story		NC-OS
Life at Orphanage (Summer)		NC-LOS
Life at Orphanage (Winter)		NC-LOW
Relationships		NC-R
Interaction with Volunteers		NC-IV
Participant Volunteers	NPV	
Profile		NPV-P
Explicit Motivation		NPV-EM
Duration of Stay		NPV-D
Organisation		NPV-O
The Orphanage	NO	
Beginnings		NO-B
Management		NO-M
Staff		NO-S
Funding		NO-F
Location		NO-L
Future Development		NO-FD
Volunteer Element	NVE	
Shift-Work		NVE-SW
Responsibility		NVE-R
Trust		NVE-T
Simple Tasks		NVE-ST
Heat		NVE-H
Commitment		NVE-C
Leisure Element	NLE	
Shift-Work		NLE-SW
Excursions		NLE-E

Alcohol		NLE-A
Socializing		NLE-S
Romance		NLE-R
Adaptation	NA	
Weather		NA-W
Accommodation		NA-A
Food/Water		NA-FW
Shift-work		NA-SW
Language		NA-L
Currency		NA-C
Volunteers' Sacrifice	NVS	
Time		NVS-T
Emotions		NVS-E
Opportunity Cost		NVS-OC
Volunteers' Benefits	NVB	
Validation		NVB-V
Cheap Holiday		NVB-CH
Experience		NVB-E
Social Interaction		NVB-SI
Original Volunteers	NOV	
Business Model		NOV-BM
Effect on Orphanage		NOV-EO
Benefits for Volunteers		NOV-BV
Researcher Reflection	NRF	
Cost		NRF-C
Time		NRF-T
Emotions		NRF-E
Role-Strain		NRF-RS
Challenges		NRF-C
Effect of Experience		NRF-EE
Incidents Mentioned		NRF-IM
Free Writing		NRF-FW

**Stage 3
Final Codes**

Code	Theme
NG-N	Method and Numbers
	Timing of Research
	Researcher's duration of stay
NG-OP	Students
	Teachers
	Care Professionals
	Office Workers
	Not Employed/ Retired
	Other
NG-R	Volunteer and Volunteer
	Volunteer and Orphanage
	Volunteer and Children
	Volunteer and Locals
NG-M	Explicit Motivation
NG-I	Living in close quarters
	Sharing
	Working together
	Socialising together
NG-EC	Distraction
	Gifts
	Change
NC-N	Stretching staff
	Need for volunteers
NC-G	Interaction with volunteers
	Volunteers' Tasks
NC-OS	Orphans
	Abandoned
NC-LOS	Distraction
	Play
	Many Young Volunteers
NC-LOW	Focus on Study
	Few, old volunteers

NC-R	Children
	Orphanage
	Volunteers
	Locals
NC-IV	Attention Seeking
	Preference to male volunteers
NPV-P	Gender
	Nationality
	Occupation
	Area of Study (if applicable)
	Marital Status
	Organisation (Affiliation)
NPV-EM	Project (Children)
	Escape from within
	Escape form without
	Wanderlust
	Personal Development/ Education
	Peer pressure/ Social Interaction
	Relaxation
	Timing
	Altruism/Idealism
NPV-D	Part of a longer trip (Gap year)
	Two weeks
	Three weeks
	Four weeks
	Five weeks
	Twelve weeks
	Permanent Residents
NPV-OC	Original Volunteers
	Other
	Independent Travel
	Registration fee
	Flights
	Accommodation
	Other Expenses in situ
NO-B	Individual Initiative
	Seven Years Old
NO-M	Two directors
	Prudent

	Care for children
NO-S	Nuns
	Locals
NO-F	Locals
	American Charities
	Government
	Donations
	Always seeking funds
NO-L	Area
	Locals
	Poverty
	Contrast of two worlds
	Religion
NO-F	Direct Debit Donations
	Website
	Transition home
	Teaching skills
NVE-SW	Three Shifts
	Four Hours long
	Sign in Procedure
NVE-R	Gentleman's agreement
	No pressure on volunteers
	Delicate balance
NVE-T	Working with children
	Taking the children out
NVE-ST	Preparing Food
	Taking care of infants
	Playing with children
	Teach English
	Look after older children
NVE-H	Low Energy
	Need for young volunteers
	Crisis incidents
NVE-C	Resisting Temptation
	Completing shifts
NLE-SW	Early mornings
	Coinciding shifts

NLE-E	Group Discounts
	Days off
NLE-A	Cheap
	Holiday resort nearby
	Booze cruise
NLE-S	Integral part
	Bonding
	Going Native
NLE-R	Volunteer couples
	Antagonism
	Locals
NA-W	Heat
	Tropical Storms
	Humidity
NA-A	Spartan
	Comfortable
	Sharing
	Former tourist accommodation
NA-FW	Cheap
	Advise to avoid tap water
	Advise to avoid street vendors
NA-SW	Getting into a routine
	Taking the bus
	Walking
NA-L	Tourist area
	Colonial presence of the USA
	Some Spanish speaking volunteers
NA-C	Confusion
	Low prices
NVS-T	Duration of volunteering
	Use of holiday with pay
	Timing

NVS-E	Nostalgia
	New Surroundings
	Dose of Reality
NVS-OC	Other holiday for same money
	Long trip
NVB-V	Ethical Off-setting
	Doing something worthwhile
	Sense of self righteousness
NVB-CH	Cheap Accommodation
	Cheap Alcohol
	Cheap food
NVB-E	Personal Development
	CV addition
	Reality Check
NVB-SI	Meeting like minded people
	Identity issues
	Becoming the volunteer
NOV-BM	Contact with Orphanage
	Background checks
	Registration fee
NOV-EO	Volunteer numbers increased
	Awareness increased
NOV-BV	Arranged Accommodation
	Local Representative
	Security
	Project
	Sense of Identity
NRF-C	Flights
	Registration fee
	Accommodation
	Other Expenses
NRF-T	Pressure
	Task at hand
	Time as a friend
	Time as an enemy
NRF-E	Surprise

	Intrigue
	Disturbance
NRF-RS	Covert Observation
	Going Native
	Balancing act
	Practical Difficulties
NRF-C	Note taking
	Diary keeping
	No direct recording
	Daily tasks
	Volunteer 'hunting'
	Volunteer 'shadowing'
NRF-EE	Reality check
	Understanding
	Change

Example of Thematic Charting

THE REALITIES OF VOLUNTEERING	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6		
	Shift work	Time off (L)	Recycling of volunteers	Financial considerations	Coping with change	Life after Volunteering		
	FTP	FTO	FTP	FTO				
<p>Volunteer 1 Gender F Age 27 Nationality British Occupation Nanny</p> <p>Volunteer 2 Gender F Age 19 Nationality British Occupation Student</p> <p>Volunteer 3 Gender F Nationality British Occupation Student</p>	<p>Seems anxious to leave the orphanage and counts the minutes until the end of her shift</p> <p>She follows volunteer 1 around a lot. She comes in with her and leaves with her.</p> <p>Really dedicated volunteer who is actually planning to</p>	<p>Relied on her responsibility to complete her shifts</p> <p>Relied on her responsibility to complete her shifts</p> <p>1- Orphanage could always count on her not to let them down 2- Benefited from the fact that she speaks very good Spanish</p>	<p>Always out partying and avoiding weekend shifts and enjoys excursions</p> <p>Very outgoing person who enjoyed partying and meeting other volunteers</p> <p>1-Very outgoing person, very popular with all volunteers. 2- Chose not to follow</p>	<p>Low numbers of volunteers, difficult to cope</p> <p>Was always careful with her shifts, even though peer pressure always got to her</p> <p>Benefited from her commitment</p>	<p>Here for three weeks</p> <p>Here for 18 days</p> <p>Here for three weeks but might be extending her stay</p>	<p>1-just quit her job and expressed her fear that her money was running out. 2- Paid £300 to OV for registration</p> <p>1-She has maxed her credit card to be here 2-Paid £300 to OV for registration</p> <p>1-Seems from a very affluent background 2-Paid OV £300 registration fee</p>	<p>Enjoying single life at the moment but she wishes her friends were here</p> <p>1-This is the furthest she has ever been away from home 2- She misses her favourite soaps and shows and she has brought a laptop to keep up to date</p> <p>1-Has a very strong relationship with her deaf mother who she has missed a lot 2- Got</p>	<p>She is aiming to get a job in property development and she hopes that a relative could help her towards that</p> <p>Studying modern languages at Edinburgh and aims to visit Japan soon</p> <p>1- Planning to perhaps extend her volunteering stay. 2- Looking forward to her</p>

	extend her stay		volunte ers on their excursi ons if there was a shortag e of hands at the orphan age				food poisoni ng form mushro oms and is scared of the local water- even boiled water	work placeme nt in Madrid
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