Exploring Youth Attitudes about Volunteer Travel and the Potential to Inspire Critical Consciousness and Transformation

By

Ellen Sikorski

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Copyright © 2019 by Ellen Sikorski

The past is inspiring, the present is challenging, but the future is our responsibility

-Shirley Jean McNicol

Abstract

The growing trend of volunteer travel brings people from all over the world to different communities to work on various projects. Currently, literature surrounding this phenomenon has focused on the pros and cons of volunteer travel rather than examining how participants view their participation. The purpose of this dissertation was to explore how volunteer travel abroad influences and inspires participants to think critically about issues of power and privilege. More specifically, it examined the potential impact of a volunteer trip on tourists' ongoing development of critical consciousness and the transformation of their attitudes. Gaining a greater understanding about volunteer travel has been significant, not only to add to the limited body of research surrounding short-term volunteer travel but also to provide insight into how these trips influence constructive attitudes and behaviours towards building a culture of positive peace, even long after a participant has returned home. The research was conducted using autoethnography, where I travelled alongside youth on a volunteer trip to Kenya, as well as semi-structured interviews with past participants. Through the course of my study, I discussed different volunteer travellers' experiences and compared these accounts using critical consciousness and Transformative Learning Theory. The study revealed that the participants, including myself, exhibited changes in both attitudes and behaviours. While the degree of these changes varied, the fact that participants credit their experience abroad for these transformations is significant. Various conditions were identified which could be implemented in each volunteer travel trip to ensure these trips are being optimized to provide an experience which encourages these transformations.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I want to thank the people of the Maasai Mara for opening up their homes, schools, and villages to volunteer travellers. I am taken aback by the beauty of the individuals and community that I experienced while in Kenya. Thank you to Me to We for allowing me to tag along on one of their amazing adventures. To the 26 other participants on the trip, thank you for your friendship, and to those who participated in the interviews, thank you for openly sharing your thoughts, stories and experiences. My advisors Dr. Maureen Flaherty, Dr. Joannie Halas, and Dr. Christine Van Winkle, thank you for all of the feedback, encouragement and inspiration. My external examiner, Dr. Olenka Bilash, thank you for many helpful comments, suggestions and taking the time to review my work. A special thank you to Maureen for always making me feel valued, supported and encouraged, I could not have done this without you by my side. I am extremely grateful to my Winnipeg and Kiwi family for all that they have done for me. My parents, Donna McNicol and Peter Sikorski thank you for your ongoing support, love, and providing me with the courage to always jump right in. To my sister, Sarah Sikorski, for all the advice and humour along the way. Finally, to Nick McKenzie, my partner, my proof reader, my emotional supporter, you are the reason this has all been worth it.

Table of Contents

Abstract	**iii**
Acknowledgements	**iv**
List of Tables	**vii**
Introduction	**8**
Chapter 1: Peace, Tourism, & Volunteer Travel	**12**
How can Volunteer Travel Encourage Peace?	12
Building Positive Peace Through Education	18
Tourism and Volunteer Travel for Education	19
Alternative forms of Tourism	22
Volunteer Travel	25
Criticisms of Volunteer Travel	28
Neocolonialism and imperialism.	28
Commodification.	33
Sustainability and dependence.	34
White savior.	37
Vulnerable populations and environments.	41
Rise of the Volunteer Traveller	43
Motivations	46
Altruism.	47
Self-interest.	50
Social Media and Photography in Volunteer Travel	53
Both Good and Bad?	56
Chapter 2: The White Saviour Complex Theories of Transformation	**58**
Power and Privilege	58
Critical Consciousness and Reflection	64
Transformation	67
Chapter 3: Methodology	**75**
Phases of the Study	75
Qualitative Research	77
Autoethnography	78
Study site.	80
Transparency.	83
Interviews	85
Participants.	85
Interview process.	87
Other considerations.	89
Limitations and delimitations.	90
Interview participants overview.	91

Chapter 4: The Volunteer Travel Experience	**94**
Relationships	95
Relationships with travellers.	95
Relationships with local communities.	101
Eliciting complex emotions	106
Gratitude and good fortune.	109
Anger and frustration.	110
Unsettled and uncomfortable.	111
Self-consciousness: Responsibility in self-representation.	112
Exposure to Local Social Issues	114
Changing their perspective about the host country.	117
Cultural Envy	118
Different kinds of wealth.	120
Community and strength.	121
Compared to values back home.	122
Preserving and sharing culture.	123
Sharing about the Experience	125
Action and Change	127
Changes in everyday consumption.	128
Marked life changes.	129
Personal growth and empathy.	131
Changing conceptions about perfect vacations.	134
Experiences that prepare you for issues back home.	136
Chapter 5: What Volunteer Travel has to do with Peace Building	**140**
Volunteer Travel and Peace Culture	140
Changing Attitudes	141
Transformation	144
The Levels of Consciousness	148
Magical level.	148
Naïve level.	150
Critical consciousness.	153
Conclusion	157
Chapter 6: Cultivating a Culture of Critical Consciousness on Volunteer Trips	**159**
Future Involvement	160
Portrayal of Volunteer Trips	162
The Necessity of Local Interaction and Involvement	163
Critical Reflection	165
Accessibility	167
Recommendations for Further Research	170
Conclusion	172
Appendices	**175**
Bibliography	**179**

List of Tables

Table 1 Interview Participant Overview	**92**
Table 2 Themes Uncovered	**94**
Table 3 Elements of Critical Consciousness and Transformation in Volunteer Travel	**159**

Introduction

Journal date:5/8/2017: *We arrive in Kenya exhausted but excited. We have just spent over 15 hours on two different planes. The last time I slept was for an hour or so on the Amsterdam airport's floor surrounded by a group of strangers, who I hope will become new friends. Arriving in Nairobi we load onto a bus that can fit all 27 of us. It's the biggest bus I have ever been on, with open sides letting the night air come through, the fresh air is a welcome after being stuck on airplanes for the last day and a half. We are greeted by our in-country hosts, one Kenyan and one American. The Kenyan hops on the bus and greets us by saying "Hakuna Matata". We all begin to laugh because for us that is the image we have of Africa, of Kenya, that of the Disney film The Lion King. Exhausted but optimistic we look forward to the month ahead of as we embark on a journey that will extend our thinking beyond the Disney stereotypes, and I am curious to see what changes lay ahead.*[1]

Over the course of my time in Kenya, along with 26 others, I worked hard on laying the foundation for a new boys' dormitory at a local high school. On this trip we had the opportunity to also travel on safari and experience the local Maasai Mara community. While it was my first time in Africa, it was not my first time volunteering abroad. My first experience with volunteer travel was when I was 21, when I travelled alongside students from my university on an *Alternative Spring Break* program to Peru. On that trip we spent our time constructing a reservoir and trench structure to create a watering system for a greenhouse at a local elementary school up in the mountains. After construction, we had the opportunity to travel to Machu Picchu where we spent the day hiking and exploring the ruins. After Peru, I was hooked on this form of travel where I could split my time volunteering on a project in the local community and also

[1] Excerpts from the author's journal are italicized throughout the dissertation.

participating in tourist activities, like sight-seeing. Over the years I have had the opportunity to help with the construction of a school in Guatemala, caring for and bathing elephants in Thailand, building a classroom in India, and now, this work in Kenya.

Throughout my time travelling and working on various projects, I experienced different countries in a way I had never experienced destinations in the past. The only previous exposure I had to other countries was confined to the large beach resorts of tropical destinations with the occasional excursion beyond the hotel gates, or within the colourful park grounds of *Disneyworld.* The local community was only something you drove by to get to the hotel. However, during my volunteer travel trips I was thrust into remote communities off the beaten track, where I spent my days working with, and at times, living with the local people.

Because of the impact volunteer travel made on my own life, I chose to conduct a study on volunteer tourists. Currently, research regarding volunteer travel has focused on the debate surrounding the value/costs of these trips rather than on the influence volunteer travel has on participants from their own perspective. This is the gap in the literature which this study seeks to address.

The guiding research question for this study is how does volunteer travel abroad influence and inspire participants to think critically about issues of power and privilege? More specifically, this study examines the potential impact of a volunteer trip on tourists' ongoing development of critical consciousness and the transformation of their attitudes. Gaining a greater understanding about volunteer travel has been significant by not only adding to the limited body of research surrounding short-term volunteer travel but also providing insight into how these trips can inspire long-term reflexivity after a participant has returned home.

The study begins with an introduction to peace as more than an absence of war and how volunteer travel can be a learning opportunity related to this understanding of peace. This section discusses volunteer travel as an opportunity for cross-cultural experiences, connecting travellers with new communities. This chapter also looks at the literature which currently surrounds volunteer travel including the various criticisms of this form of travel.

The second chapter examines the various theories which have inspired the study. Included in this section are theories surrounding power and privilege, Mezirow (1978 a, b) and Taylor's (2007, 2008) Transformative Learning Theory, and Freire's (1970a, b,1973) theory of critical consciousness.

The third chapter looks at the methodology of the study. In this section I discuss the two different techniques used to collect data, autoethnography and interviews and the reasons for their application. During the autoethnographic segment I discuss travelling as part of a university-age open volunteer trip run through the Canadian organization, Me to We, where I include descriptions of my own behaviours and understandings I have while away. The study also uses semi-structured interviews with past participants of volunteer travel to compare not only a present-day account of volunteer travel but also the experiences of participants who have travelled years prior. By using both a present encounter and interviews with past participants, the study looks at how the impact of these trips are viewed by participants both in the moment and long after they have returned home.

The fourth chapter looks at the various themes that emerged throughout the autoethnography as well as the interviews with past participants. These themes include relationships, emotion, exposure to new issues and understandings of privilege, sharing these experiences, cultural envy, and changing behaviours.

The fifth chapter applies the theories explored in Chapter 2 to analyse these themes and information. In this section I also break down the different levels of consciousness using examples of participants' experiences and use these experiences to look for any transformation in attitudes.

The sixth chapter discusses recommendations for future volunteer travel trips in order for them to be more reflective of the conditions for creating positive peace. Finally, in the conclusion, the main points and observations from the study are summarized.

With the volunteer travel industry rapidly growing, expanding knowledge about volunteer travel and how participants view their experiences may illuminate processes and possibilities for building critical consciousness and transformation related to attitudes about cross-cultural interaction, global inequality, and privilege.

Chapter 1: Peace, Tourism, & Volunteer Travel

This chapter examines the history of volunteer travel and the current literature surrounding the topic. It begins with an exploration of the relationship between travel and peace, differentiating between positive and negative peace as well as constructive and destructive conflicts. The chapter then explores the evolution of travel and alternative approaches to tourism and describes the history and growth of volunteer travel. I then delve into the criticisms of volunteer travel, and the motivations behind participation. The chapter concludes with a summary of the challenges facing volunteer travel, and considers both the positive and negative outcomes of this type of travel experience.

How can Volunteer Travel Encourage Peace?

To understand how volunteer travel can be associated with peace, we must first understand what we mean by the term 'peace'. Peace is used to describe a variety of instances such as a state of mind, a moment of quietness, an absence of war and more (Flaherty et al., 2017). While one absolute definition of peace may be ambiguous, one thing is consistent in the association of the term, and that is the absence of harm and violence. However, it is important to note that harm and violence should not be confused with conflict. Conflicts are naturally occurring and inevitable to all relationships due to human difference and limitations of resources (Boulding, 2000). As such, conflicts should not be automatically associated with the negative for they are a necessary part of life. Through conflict, underlying issues and tensions may be addressed and relationships and structures can be transformed. As Kriesberg and Dayton (2012) argue, without social conflict "exploitive hierarchies would remain unchallenged; organizations would remain stagnant; relationships could not mature and develop; and the problems

confronting groups, organizations, and nations could not be comprehensively considered, debated and solved" (p. 3). While conflict is ever-present, people are active participants, capable of creating positive solutions to these tensions (Lederach, 1995).

While conflict is a necessary part of life, conflicts have the potential to be either destructive or constructive. Rubenstein (2003) describes destructive conflicts as, "conflict that destroys or injures valued lives, psyches, institutions, and possessions" (p. 58). Destructive conflicts cause harm to people, infrastructures, the environment, and more. As previously discussed, while conflicts are natural, destructive conflicts are not. As outlined in the Declaration of Seville on Violence (UNESCO Culture of Peace Program, 1986) humans are not biologically predisposed to be violent and create war, rather violent reactions are shaped by social conditions. Even though war and violence are commonly associated with conflict, these are only examples of destructive conflicts.

Conflict can also be constructive. A constructive conflict is one which maximizes mutual benefits and minimizes harms for all parties involved (Kriesberg 2009; Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012). The goals of constructive conflicts are clearly identified and participants are able to find appropriate and sustainable ways to attain these goals (Galtung, 1996). However, as Kriesberg & Dayton (2012) note, context is vital to ensuring a conflict is constructive, for factors in one context which facilitates constructive practices may lead to destructive outcomes in another. However, if a constructive conflict can be achieved, it can lead to healthy relationship development. As Lederach (2003) notes,

> Conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures,

and respond to real life problems in human relationships. (p. 22)

Conflicts are necessary for transformation which can be beneficial to all actors involved, as long as they remain constructive.

As Galtung (1996) demonstrates with his conflict triangle (p. 72), there are three important elements which determine how conflict is approached. According to Galtung, attitudes/assumptions, behavior, and contradictions can lead to conflict. The first element, attitudes, includes the perceptions or misperceptions of one another. The second element, behavior, is the action taken, and finally, the third element, contradictions are the real or imagined incompatibility of goals. All three aspects influence one another and determine how, if, or when conflict arises, and how that conflict is approached, either constructively or destructively.

Just as there are different types of conflicts, there are also different categories of peace. Galtung (1964) identified two different kinds of peace to organize the complexities of the term. The first, negative peace, describes the absence of something, such as violence, with violence being defined as when an actor or group uses a physical action to create either psychological or physical harm to an identifiable victim (Brunk, 2012). These harms may include not only physical attacks and death but also psychological abuses as well. The actors who commit this violence can be, but are not limited to; state actors (such as military), groups (gangs/terrorism/etc.), interpersonal relationships (bullying/domestic violence/ etc.), and individual (destructive behavior/thoughts, self-harm).

During a time of negative peace, a situation is considered peaceful as long as there is no overt harm inflicted. Negative peace, however, focuses too much on physical damage rather than on long-term sustainability and well-being. The concept of negative peace remains important as

it highlights the direct harm and violence that a deconstructive conflict can commit; however, it ignores the variety of hidden ways to harm people which may not be as obvious as explicit acts of viciousness. For example, a country may be experiencing negative peace if it is not at war with another country. While negative peace focuses on the lack of armed conflict, it does not consider other kinds of violence such as injustice, exclusion, and inequality.

Alternatively, the second category of peace, positive peace, acknowledges the fact that people can harm others not only through direct violence but also through the different structural systems which surround them. When there is an absence of positive peace there may be victims; however, those victims are unable to clearly identify a particular person or action responsible for causing them harm (Fisk and Schellenberg, 2008). Galtung (1969) termed the systems used to inflict harm as structural violence. These structures include economic, political, and social systems. Positive peace is achieved only when the structures that are responsible for limiting human capacity such as poverty, abuse, malnutrition, and loss of life are transformed (Jeong, 2000). Galtung (2012) further argues that in order to build a society reflective of positive peace, the structure must be built on the foundations of "reciprocity, equal rights, benefits and dignity, 'what you want for yourself you should be willing to give the other'; and a culture of peace, confirming and stimulating an equitable economy and an equal polity." (p. 75).

However, there are barriers affecting or impeding positive peace. As previously mentioned, direct/personal violence and structural violence impact positive peace, and there is also a third category -- cultural violence. Galtung (1990) recognized cultural violence as the parts of culture (e.g. religion/ideology, art/language, science) which legitimize direct or structural violence. Cultural violence is used either intentionally or inadvertently as a way to justify viciousness and inequality. Galtung's three categories; direct/personal, structural, and cultural

violence are all interconnected and are barriers to achieving positive peace. For Galtung, any situation is considered non-peaceful if any single person is unable to reach his or her full potential. Simply put, while negative peace is the absence of violence and war, positive peace includes the overall "integration of human society" (Galtung 1964, p. 2) providing just and fair opportunity for all.

Galtung has been criticized, however, by some who argue that his notion of positive peace is only attainable in a utopian society (Fisk and Schellenberg, 2008). Others have added to Galtung's concept. For example, one addition has been the idea that a country is not in a place of positive peace if it is constantly preparing for war. Preparations for warfare include the fostering of millions of dollars into weapons and defense strategies rather than into social services. It is argued that if a country is prepared with all the tools for war, then its people are more likely to use them. This focus of resources becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy where we fight wars because we are prepared to (Werner, 2010). Jeong (2000) argues that only when countries have total disarmament will the potential for armed violence be reduced.

Gandhi (1995) also contributed to the idea of positive peace by adding the idea of passive violence. Passive violence is ignoring the emotional, physical and psychological needs of another as well as pent up anger or hate (Gandhi, 1995). To Gandhi (2010) this kind of violence feeds into physical violence. Therefore, to create peace, we must acknowledge and put an end to passive violence. As Gandhi (2010) further notes, "If we live, breathe, think, act, speak, and behave violently, and our relationships with one another are based on self-interest, how can we build peace?" (p. xvii).

An additional requirement for attaining positive peace is connection. Cady (2010) notes, one of the biggest challenges facing positive peace is to create a sense of community and

participation amongst a society that has many competing interests and differences. Intolerance, fear, and ignorance limit the interconnectedness of society. Working together and having a sense of connectedness is considered to be a necessity in an ever-unpredictable world. As Boulding (2000) notes, if there is a divide between members of a society, then they cannot work together to resolve inevitable conflicts such as resource strain, natural disasters, and more. Divisions or connections amongst one another can determine the way conflicts are approached and by working together to realize our interdependence, constructive win-win approaches to emerging conflicts will be encouraged (Fisher, Ury, Patton, 2011).

This connection needs to also be realized at a global level. Gandhi (2010) notes that a culture of peace is one that believes all nations and all humans are interconnected; the welfare of one country is linked to all others. Jeong (2000) further adds that if a country's social and economic structures are interdependent on others, the use of violent force will be reduced. A globally connected world which realizes its interdependence is less likely to use violence to achieve goals; rather, world inhabitants must work together as global partners.

Attitudes are also an important factor in fostering positive peace. Attitudes are described as the beliefs within society, which influence how people act, and these attitudes are impacted by societal institutions and structures (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015). For example, it is said that societies which encourage aggressive attitudes and fierceness rather than peacefulness, trust, compassion, and solidarity set the conditions to create violence (Boulding, 2000; Galtung, 2006). According to this belief, attitudes shape society and behavior. Those who foster peaceful attitudes filled with tolerance, love, and trust are less likely to engage in violence and destructive conflicts, creating the conditions for positive peace to exist.

Building Positive Peace Through Education

Peace is more than just an absence of violence, rather it includes structures and attitudes which aim to promote societal wellbeing; however, there is a question about how to achieve this peace. One of the ways to work towards promoting positive peace is through education. Education, however is not as simple as learning in a classroom. The learning which occurs in institutional contexts, such as schools, is considered to be formal education (Fisk and Schellenberg, 2008).

Formal education alone, however, has been accused of being unable to promote the conditions needed to reflect positive peace (Freire, 1970a). Freire (1970a) argues that many of the formal educational settings demonstrate a 'banking concept' of teaching where teachers are believed to be the keepers of all knowledge who simply deposit information into the minds of submissive students. In these formal settings, teaching is unilateral from teacher to student. Freire (1985) argues that learning must be bilateral in order to avoid reinforcing oppression, and that students have knowledge which can be passed to their teachers. Therefore, teachers should take the role of a facilitator rather than experts who disseminate knowledge to students. Russell and Ty (2010) further add to Freire's criticisms of typical western education by arguing that formal institutional learning can be too passive. Russell and Ty (2010) state that "education must be contextual, historical, and respond to actual social needs" (p. 173).

In response to these criticisms, there has been some movement to evolve classrooms and incorporate an environment more reflective of positive peace. One example of a more fulsome approach has been called peace education (Reardon 1988, 1995). Peace education has a curriculum that incorporates teachings meant to foster respectful attitudes which value diversity and develop skills such as nonviolent conflict resolution (see Carter, 2010; Harris & Morrison,

2003; Salomon & Nevo, 2002). While peace education is only one example of the evolution of formal education, peace education demonstrates the progress being made to address Freire's critics of institutionalized learning.

Formal learning in institutionalized settings is not the only kind of education. Dewey (1938) argued for expanding education outside the classroom and identified the importance of integrating learning with experience. Dierking and Falk (2003) have further added to Dewey's work noting that individuals are able to learn not only through formal institutions but on their own as well. For example, free-choice learning is described by Dierking and Falk (2003) as the "learning that is guided by learners' needs and interests--- the learning that people engage in through their lives to find out more about what is useful, compelling, or just plain interesting to them" (p.77). This is similar to experiential learning where one learns by doing and reflecting (see Hutchinson & Lawrence, 2011; Illeris, 2007; Kolb, 1984; Weil & McGill, 1989). Both are instances of alternative types of education which occur outside of formal settings. Examples of these non-formal types of education include the knowledge one gains from reading a book, being taught a new skill from friends or family, or even learning about a new place by travelling to it. Van Winkle and Lagay (2012) found that a traveller's learning experience was optimized when they had the freedom to spend as much or as little time as they desired at an attraction. Learning such as this is an alternative form of education and the knowledge acquired in these settings can be as valuable, if not more, than a lesson in a classroom.

Tourism and Volunteer Travel for Education

Some have realized the potential of alternative forms of education and have combined alternative techniques of learning in traditionally formal settings. Take for example, international

service learning trips, where travel experiences are combined with formal classroom teachings. For instance, when I was working towards my undergraduate degree there was a class offered where studies were focused on social issues in South America and for two weeks the class travelled as a group to the Dominican Republic to experience life in the country. These types of classes are not uncommon. Some high-schools and post-secondary institutions offer classes with a travel component built directly into them while others may offer a credit towards a student's degree for their independent time abroad (Bailey & Russell, 2010).

There is an emergence in developing travel for education as it is believed that travel provides unique opportunities for the tourist. Falk et al. (2012) note how learning that occurs when travelling can lead to greater outcomes. For example, Falk et al. (2012) argue:

> Individuals go whale watching in order to see one of the wonders of the natural world and broaden their sense of connection to the planet; in addition, it is hoped that they will also feel a greater commitment to preserving species like whales and protecting natural resources...Retirees visit a foreign country to see and discover new sights, but at the same time they develop an understanding of and personal connection with people from another culture. (p. 922)

Furthermore, authors have discussed the potential of travel for cross-cultural learning between travellers and their hosts (see Broad, 2003; Tomljenovic, 2010; Kirillova et al., 2015; Josefová & Štýrský, 2016). However, others note that there are various barriers to achieving this understanding due to ethnocentrism (which will be discussed further), or when the cross-cultural experiences are one sided -- where travellers gain while the hosts do not (Sherraden, Lough, McBride, 2008). However, as Brown and Morrison (2003) argue, "If through their journeys,

people can better understand and appreciate different cultures, religions, and heritage, this will lead to greater understanding" (p.74).

While travel has been recognized as potentially a valuable learning opportunity, it is important to note that there are a variety of different kinds of travel one can encounter. The first, and most popular type of travel is mass tourism (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Mass travel tourists are most commonly travelling for leisure and this typically includes a trip to a tropical destination with large-scale hotels and resorts close to the beach (Liu, 2003). Mass tourism can also include trips to ski hills, historic landmarks, sports events and much more. While away tourists tend to stay at large hotels, which offer copious amounts of dining options and trained staff to serve the travellers. Cohen (1972) would classify mass tourists as institutionalized tourists, those who are dealt with routinely through the tourism establishment like travel agencies and hotel chains who provide the traveller with cookie cutter vacation packages. While mass tourists are away they seek the luxuries of home, including the use of the dominant spoken language and the availability of Western foods (Brown, 2005).

Mass tourism, however, has been heavily criticized. Some argue that mass tourism limits the tourist experience as being confined within hotel walls and limits host and guest interaction to master-servant relationship, as well as note the environmental impacts associated with such travel (see Becker, 2013; Britton, 1980; Brown, 2005; Lyons, Hanley, Wearing & Neil, 2012; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). As Moufakkir and Kelly (2010) argue mass tourism inspires a greedy lifestyle, encouraging over-consumption, which can be a major threat of using tourism as a tool for peace. However, it is important to note that while there are many criticisms of mass tourism, often associated with power relations and lack of "real" interpersonal communication between visitor and visited, there can still be some benefits for host or destination countries as

this type of travel has the ability to positively impact host countries simply by bringing in tourist dollars (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). As Smith (1989) notes tourist dollars have an economic benefit on the local community through economic leakage, for if the host economy benefits other local businesses will as well, not only those industries directly associated with tourism. It is also important to note that while mass tourism hotels create jobs and income, many times they are owned by international chains and the majority of profits are funneled back to the international owners (McGehee & Andereck, 2009). While mass tourism is the leading form of travel, it is not without criticism and as a result a wide range of travel alternatives have developed.

Alternative forms of Tourism

There are a variety of different types of travel which offer tourists a contrasting experience to that available from mass tourism, the first being alternative tourism. Alternative tourism is defined by Wearing and McGehee (2013) as "forms of tourism that set out to be consistent with natural, social and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences" (p. 27). Alternative tourism was developed in direct response to the consumptive and privileged practices that mass tourism was criticized for (Triarchi, 2017; Weaver, 1991). According to Wearing & McGehee (2013) while mass tourism "characterized tourism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, alternative tourism has characterized the latter part of the 20th century" (p.4). Alternative tourism has been described as a 'strategy' by Weaver (1991) for those tourists who are making a conscious effort to have an experience much different to conventional mass tourism.

An example of alternative tourism is pro-poor tourism (PPT). PPT gained popularity in the late 1990s with the first formal use of the term emerging in a British report from 1999

(Scheyvens, 2012). An essential component of PPT is the focus on alleviation of poverty in a host country by generating net profits for the local poor, providing opportunities through training, capacity building, and participation in decision making to ensure collective benefits (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Pro-poor tourists travel to unique and remote locations and villages which are off the beaten path compared to mass tourism. By travelling to these remote communities, PPT provides an opportunity for people and locals not traditionally included in the tourism industry, the opportunity to gain economically. These local people earn tourism dollars either through providing accommodations to tourists, working as local guides, supplying food and meals, or through artisan sales and more (Gray and Campbell, 2007). All of the profits go directly to these local hosts rather than the big tourism industries which tend to own beach resorts, which is found in mass tourism (Triarchi, 2017).

It is important to note, however, that pro-poor tourism is not without criticism. For example, Harrison (2008) highlights two important critiques of such travel. The first criticism is that PPT has no clear moral or ethical guidelines, meaning something such as exploitative sex tourism, travelling with the specific intention for sex, including with prostitutes, can be considered PPT. Harrison (2008) further argues that PPT can be a band aid solution, only focusing on the economic burden of the poor rather than the structural issues which may be reinforcing poverty. As Harrison (2008) quotes:

> Rather than attending to the need for structural change, redistribution of wealth and resources, and addressing international and national power structures, they tacitly accept a neoliberal approach to development and tinker with the capitalistic international tourism system at the edges, eking out a few resources for small, selected groups of the poor (or relatively poor) in destination areas. (p.858)

While PPT was developed in response to the criticisms of mass tourism, it is not without criticism itself (see King & Dinkoksung, 2012; Trau, 2012).

Another popular form of tourism, developed in response to the criticisms of mass tourism is ecotourism. Ecotourism focuses on long-term sustainability as well as economically benefitting, and being sensitive to, the socio-cultural well-being of a community. Ecotourism has grown rapidly since the 1990s and the United Nations declared 2002 "the International Year of Ecotourism" (West & Carrier, 2004, p.483). Ecotourism has a strong focus on the environmental protection of a destination and also recognizes that the culture of a host community can be at risk due to unsustainable practices linked to mass tourism such as destruction of natural habitats for hotel construction (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). As Herath (2010) further notes, ecotourism works to ensure that travel to natural areas is done in a way that is responsible in order to conserve the natural environment, preserve sacred monuments and ensure the well-being of the local community.

The most popular examples of ecotourism include travel to environmental conservation sites but may also include cultural-ecotourism. Cultural ecotourism is where the tourist explores new cultures by learning traditions and customs taught by local hosts and in turn are sustaining these practices by employing local guides and supporting local businesses (Björk, 2000; Burch, 1997; Butcher & Smith, 2015).

Ecotourism has been under scrutiny for lacking regulations that protect local communities. Some forms of ecotourism do not have local community involvement, and others may uproot local communities in the name of conservation, disrupting traditional ways of life (Das & Chatterjee, 2015; Springer, 2009). For example, Das & Chatterjee (2015) note that at times ecotourism strips Indigenous communities of their access to protected areas in the name of

preservation. While ecotourism has been created to protect natural environments and cultures, at times this form of tourism has been criticized for ignoring the needs of locals and uprooting communities and limiting access in order to preserve ecosystems.

Volunteer Travel

Volunteer travel is a branch of alternative tourism (Wearing & McGehee, 2013) and contains elements of both ecotourism and/or pro-poor tourism (Mowforth & Munt, 2009); however, the definitions of volunteer travel vary. For example, Wearing (2001) describes volunteer tourists as those who:

> for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve the aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment. (p. 1)

Adams and Borland (2013) define volunteer travel as occurring when volunteers travel internationally "with religious, professional, education, and civic organizations for short-term stays that include at least a service component" (p.1), while McGehee and Santos (2005) define volunteer travel as tourists who are "utilizing discretionary time and income to travel out of the sphere of regular activity to assist others in need" (p. 760).

According to Andereck, McGehee, Lee, & Clemmons (2012) "as with tourism in general, there is no universally agreed-upon definition [of volunteer travel]" (p. 130). All definitions of volunteer travel have one common element, and that is volunteer travel is any combination of unpaid work with travel. The projects conducted by volunteer tourists can include medical missions, construction projects; building houses or roads, environmental projects

such as gardening or tree planting, working with children, and teaching English (Adams & Borland, 2013). Similar to ecotourism and pro-poor tourism, in principal, volunteer travel seeks to have a minimal negative impact on host communities and work collaboratively on projects that achieve sustainability, all while developing a connection amongst guests and hosts (Benson, 2011). Coghlan & Noakes (2012) further describe volunteer travel as:

> a type of alternative tourism that seeks to minimize its impacts on local environments (social, cultural as well as natural), bring about personal development in participants through meaningful interactions with hosts and the natural setting, as well as benefit the local setting through volunteer labour. (p. 124).

While volunteer travel has a variety of similarities reflective of alternative tourism, the biggest commonality is the fact that these trips are offered in order to provide a traveller with a very different experience to mass tourism.

To begin, volunteer travel works to set itself apart from mass tourism through the logistics of the trip. As mentioned in Adams and Borland's (2013) definition of volunteer travel, trips can be organized by faith groups, schools, employers, and other organizations. Depending on the sending organization, volunteer tourists acquire their accommodation, food, and transportation from the local community, which is contrary to what typical mass tourists encounter (McGehee & Andereck, 2009). For example, many volunteer travel organizations offer a homestay element to their trips, meaning tourists are paired with local families where they eat, sleep, and live within the local community for some duration of their trip (Diprose, 2012). These homestays are completely opposite to large resorts and hotels since a tourist is not being served and waited on by the locals; rather, they become part of an extended family. Mass tourism has a master/servant element to it which volunteer tourism is attempting to avoid by being

inclusive of locals in all aspects of the trip (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). During a homestay, a tourist becomes completely immersed in the everyday life of a local family, providing an invaluable experience for the traveller that a hotel could never provide.

For those volunteer travel organizations that do not offer homestays, other alternatives are provided. For example, some volunteer travel organization arrange for guests to stay in a residence which houses all the volunteers or in smaller, locally run hostels (Everingham, 2015). These volunteer tourists are reflective of what Smith (1989) calls the "off-beat tourist" (p. 12) or what Cohen (1972, 1979) would describe as an "explorer" or "experimental" tourist. These travellers seek more than recreation on their trips. Rather, the explorer chooses to embark on a trip that requires them to be immersed in a new culture, usually in a smaller, more remote community which requires personal interactions, such as living with or like the host community.

Furthermore, many volunteer travel organizations require that prior to departure, all participants participate in a pre-departure workshop. Workshops can be held in person or online and provide the tourists with an overview about the country they are visiting and the specific communities they will be working with. Some volunteer travel organizations have a well-developed relationship with these local communities and are therefore familiar with appropriate clothing, technology, and behaviours that should be demonstrated at the volunteer site (Wearing & McGeheee, 2013). Due to the nature of volunteer travel which typically includes interactions with local communities, exposure to different parts of the world, and participation in volunteer work, these trips have the potential to expose participants to different ideas. These ideas can be a powerful vessel in creating conditions for positive peace. When peace is more than an absence of violence, and includes both attitudinal and structural reform that promotes social well-being, volunteer travel may be a spark that ignites attitudes promoting positive peace. However, there

are no regulations currently in place to determine consistency between different volunteer travel trips (Smith & Font, 2014) and as a result much like mass tourism, volunteer travel is not without criticisms.

Criticisms of Volunteer Travel

This section looks at some of the criticisms and responses to volunteer travel. It begins by examining the colonial history of volunteer travel and accusations of neocolonialism. The chapter then addresses issues around whether volunteer travel commodifies people and cultures, creates dependency of local communities, and the white saviour complex. Moving on from these criticisms, the chapter looks at the popularity of volunteer travel, regardless of the backlash. The characteristics of volunteer travellers are identified, including a tourist's motivations for participation and a participant's use of social media to document their trip. The chapter concludes with an overview of the volunteer travel debate, noting that while the discussion continues, this research aims to add a new dimension to the conversation.

Neocolonialism and imperialism.

To begin, the roots of volunteer travel have been criticized for having colonial undertones. The earliest instances of volunteer travel can be linked back to the early missionaries and religious groups, or in the mode of short-term reconstruction work camps after World War I (Devereux, 2008). For example, there has been documentation from the 19th century, where missionaries, medical professionals, and educators traveled to volunteer and provide aide in various remote parts of the world (Benson, 2011).

The modern phenomena only emerged within the last half century (Andereck et al., 2012; Devereux, 2008; Kirillova, Lehto & Cai, 2015). Some scholars argue that the first instances of

volunteer travel, as we see it today, was through the establishment of Voluntary Service Overseas and British Trust for Conservation Volunteers in the United Kingdom in 1958 and the Peace Corps in the United States in 1961 (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). The Peace Corp was established after United States' President Kennedy's speech at the University of Michigan where he called upon the young crowd to become international volunteers at a time when people were looking to work with a cause in response to the Cold War (Butcher & Smith, 2015). However, the motivations for establishing such a program have been questioned. Butcher and Smith (2015) argue that the UK and US wanted to send volunteers abroad in order to promote American/British interest and create an altruistic image of the UK and US. Furthermore, during this time, the British were looking to create good relations with formal colonies and the United States was looking to counteract Soviet influence in these newly independent states (Butcher & Smith, 2015). While volunteer travel may be believed to have innocent intentions, the activity has been criticized as being a new form of colonialism to impose Northern ideas, influence and improve Northern images.

Today, many critics of modern volunteer travel view the activity as being a form of neocolonialism. Critics argue these trips harbour colonial undertones where a Global Northern volunteer is coming to the aid of a 'helpless' community of the Global South (Everingham, 2015; Griffin, 2013). Raymond and Hall (2008) further note that neocolonialism is reflected when travellers believe they have the expertise to teach a host community, not based on merit or earned qualification but simply because they are from a 'developed' Northern country (i.e. Canada, United States, United Kingdom). Poorly run volunteer travel organizations may reinforce the idea that volunteers are needed in communities in the Global South, ignoring the capacity of the local community (Rutledge, 2014). As Brondo (2015) further argues, the trouble

with volunteer travel is when Northerners create solutions to local challenges under the assumption that local people are incapable of training their own populations to solve local problems. However, this is not the case for all volunteer travel organizations, since as previously noted, many of these organizations work with local communities on the various volunteer activities (i.e. construction/teaching/environmental projects, etc.) and adapt local techniques which these locals then teach to the volunteers, not vice versa (Kohler, Strible, & Stieger, 2016; Projects Abroad n.d.-b) The involvement of the local community is an important element in ensuring the autonomy of the local people and avoiding reproducing neocolonial attitudes and approaches to volunteer travel; however not all volunteer organizations are created equally.

It is important to note that many volunteer travel trips also send volunteers from countries which have historically colonized many of the host countries; therefore, there is a history of inequality between the travellers and hosts. While participants of volunteer travel were not directly involved in the injustices committed during colonialism, they are not necessarily innocent parties but rather are intertwined within the ever-unfolding legacy of colonialism (Sharpe & Dear, 2013). Some critics go as far as arguing that the relationship between colonizer and colonized may be reproduced during volunteer travel. Pastran (2014) argues, "The discourse that brings volunteers to developing countries is underpinned by a powerful neo-colonial assumption that even inexperienced and unskilled Northerners can 'bring development' to developing countries" (p.49). While volunteers may not be explicitly involved in colonialism, certain mindsets and actions can reflect a neocolonial attitude.

Included in these attitudes is that of ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is described by Laxson (1991) as the "tendency to evaluate other cultures by one's own cultural norms" (p. 388). Under ethnocentric assumptions, all other ways of living and knowing are judged based on how

different they are from a Northern way of life. Ethnocentrism was rampant during colonial times where colonialists believed that by forcing their own values and systems on others, they were providing those who were 'savage' the opportunity to become civilized (Laxson, 1991). Some believe that volunteer trips are guilty of reproducing these ethnocentric beliefs (see Barkham, 2006; Frean, 2006; Kothari, 2005; Palacios, 2010). However, those who criticize volunteer travel for being neocolonial seem to understand volunteer travel as that with participants travelling from the Global North to Global South. This is not always the case. Although tourists are most commonly from the North, there are volunteer trips which offer North-North experiences and also some that offer South-North. For example, Devereux (2008) discusses The British Voluntary Service Organization which through its 'Global Xchange' and 'Southern Volunteer Programme' encourages those from the Global South to volunteer in the United Kingdom. While North-South travel is the most popular, there has been movement to encourage bilateral volunteering.

It is also important to note that while volunteer travellers have a deep-rooted history of colonialism when travelling from the North to South, colonialism can also be experienced at home. In Canada, for example, the Indigenous people were robbed of their land, culture, and had a variety of atrocities committed against them. Historical injustices such as the Indian Act stripped the autonomy of native peoples, as did residential schools which tore children from their families and banned the freedom of these children to practice their language, religion, culture. At times, the children were extremely abused (see Fontaine, 2010; Regan, 2011; Smithers, 2010; Woolford, 2009).

The impacts of these historical atrocities live on today as seen in the poor conditions of reservations, high incarceration rates, addiction, mental health, and suicide rates amongst

Indigenous populations (see Bussidor, Bilgen-Reinart, 1997; Regan, 2011; Stevenson, 2014). As Regan (2011) argues "much of the social dysfunction, violence, and poverty that exists in communities today is part of the intergenerational legacy of Indian residential schools" (p. 3). The Indigenous population in Canada is marginalized from the rest society, excluded and silenced (Douglas & Halas, 2011). As Razack (2011) argues, there continues to be a troubling relationship between settlers and Indigenous populations where settler society has demonstrated indifference toward the Indigenous. The high incarceration and suicide rates of Indigenous groups and low enrollment in University reflects this indifference (Halas, 2014). While tourists are travelling to past colonies and become aware of the history of colonial activity in an overseas location, they must also acknowledge the colonial legacy left in their own home countries. In other words, there needs to be recognition that the impact of colonialism is not just an international phenomenon, but one which can be seen locally as well, should one choose to see it.

It is believed by some that volunteer travel trips are a way for tourists to repress any accountability felt towards colonialism. Sin (2009) argues that volunteer travel relieves participants of the guilt they feel about wealth inequality and injustice since they believe that they are helping those less fortunate. However, Sin further argues that participation does not ensure a change in the systems of privilege which have made this inequality possible. Regan (2011) further adds that colonial guilt, denial, and empathy are all common amongst non-Indigenous Canadians, however these feelings distract from the necessary socio-political transformations needed to eradicate colonialism.

Rather than asking how to change and 'fix' issues within the host community, volunteer tourists must be critical of their role as descendants of settlers and ensure they are not

reproducing colonial attitudes. It is important to note that some tourists who have acknowledged, and are aware of their colonial legacy, view volunteer travel as an opportunity to transform their colonial relationships. Butcher and Smith (2015) believe that volunteer travel creates a space where "former colonizer and former colonized can interact outside of the power structures associated with colonialism" (p. 104). These interactions happen in what are called third spaces. As Butcher and Smith (2015) further argue, "these in-between spaces are argued to have the potential to act as sites of resistance to dominant colonial and oppressive cultures and discourses; spaces where excluded voices can be heard, new identities explored and alternative communities formed" (p. 111). Keenan and Miehls (2008) further note that a third space experience can be critical for one's own examination of their cultural beliefs, power, and identity among others, which can encourage critical reflection. For some travellers who have an awareness about oppressive histories and colonialism, volunteer travel can create a space where they can interact with their hosts and potentially unpack this dark history and the present-day ramifications.

Commodification.

Another criticism of volunteer travel is the idea that it has the possibility of reducing itself to a profit earning business venture, ignoring the needs and wants of local host communities. As Wearing, Benson, and McGehee (2016) explain,

> Unfortunately, volunteer tourism could follow the model of relations between capital and labor in the West, where on-ground activities are out- sourced and capital profit is the main aim. If it does occur volunteer tourism risks becoming a source of cheap labor for the enterprises from the North, where ineffective volunteer tourism projects lack of relevance to host communities and serve only to efficiently move the volunteer through a community and satisfy the promotion brochures. (p. 285)

Callahan and Thomas (2005) further argue that short term volunteer trips that are less than a month have a minimal influence to local development projects. As mentioned previously, alternative tourism which includes volunteer travel was introduced in order to engage in activities which are mutually beneficial to the tourists and hosts alike. However, as critics argue, volunteer travel projects can be superficial and lack legitimacy with the local community.

Furthermore, some authors argue about the commodification of the community as a result of volunteer tourism. Meletis & Campbell (2007) note that local people can be at risk of having their culture commodified. For example, the authors state that "rich and complicated cultures are reduced to snapshots or themes for tourists to consume" (p. 856). When tourists are entering communities for a short amount of time, they may be guilty of reducing local populations to stereotypes, and minimizing the locals to being simply part of their travel experience rather than truly engaging with their hosts (Hernann, 2015).

It is undeniable that volunteer travel can be viewed as a business, with Wearing & McGehee (2013) quoting the volunteer tourism industry as being a billion-dollar industry with an estimated worth between 1.7-2.6 billion USD. Furthermore, an estimated 1.6 million people participate in volunteer travel in a given year (Zeddies & Millei, 2015). Between the demand and the profit to be made, there are concerns from critics that volunteer travel can be reduced to a business, where the host community and volunteer projects are a way to make a profit.

Sustainability and dependence.

Another concern of critics is the sustainability of volunteer travel projects and the dependency on foreign intervention they may cause. Some question the ability of local communities to be able to sustain the project after international volunteers have left. In some communities, the cost to upkeep various volunteer projects is unaffordable due to a lack of

funding or resources. Therefore, if the local community is unable to sustain the initiatives they can become dependent on foreign assistance (Sin, 2009).

Some researchers argue that volunteer travel brings unique opportunities to local communities. Pinto and Dwyer (2010) note that various volunteer projects bring different teaching methods, various new health care resources, and when the tourists spend money on local products they in turn are supporting local businesses. Others question the presence of the volunteers in impacting the local economy. As previously mentioned, it is noted that volunteer travel has the potential to benefit the hosts economically, through providing tourists with local accommodations, food, guides, and more (see Clifton & Benson, 2006; Gray & Campbell, 2007; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). It is also argued that volunteer travel projects also have the ability to take away opportunities from locals. Guttentag (2009) notes, that volunteer travellers are typically performing jobs which could be conducted by local workers, and that these jobs are usually low-skilled, meaning anyone has the potential to do the work regardless of skill-set or education background. As Guttentag (2009) argues,

> The problem when volunteer tourists perform work that could be performed by local community members is that volunteer tourists naturally work for free—and actually pay for the opportunity to perform the work—so they may undercut competing local labourers. (p. 544)

Cho et al. (2012) further add that construction projects completed by volunteer tourists can be mediocre at best, and the hosts are better off hiring actual local experts in construction to ensure a proper job is done. Some critics have gone as far as to argue that rather than spending thousands of dollars to travel in order to volunteer, this money would be better allocated as a

donation, where projects could be run and completed solely by local workers (Biddle, 2014; Kushner, 2016)

Furthermore, critics warn that a dependency on outside intervention may be internalized. Wearing (2001) warns that volunteer tourism organizations which encourage the idea of Northern tourists as experts can promote an understanding that outsiders are needed for growth and therefore result in a limitation of the hosts' self-sufficiency and autonomy.

McGehee and Andereck (2008) provide an example of an instance where one organization wished to donate a load of used clothing in Mexico. The director of development in Mexico responded to the organization that she would gladly take the clothes and donate them to a thrift shop to be sold at an affordable price in order to reduce dependency on outside intervention. Maintaining their position, the potential donor organization was insistent, saying they wanted to "personally hand the clothing to the needy folks" (p. 18). This is an example of how some volunteer travel organizations and participants may have innocent intentions in wanting to donate to a host community, but have no understanding when it comes to the fact that their actions can have negative impacts on their hosts. In response to this, McGehee and Andereck (2008) note that other organizations have created a 'no hand-out rule' where tourists are explicitly told not to bring clothes or other items for the host community.

Other volunteer tourism organizations have addressed sustainability concerns and require tourists to use tools and techniques that are accessible to the local community. The use of local methods is to encourage sustainability after the tourists leave and provide insight into the resources and techniques which are available to this local community (BUNAC, 2017). For example, while away in the Maasai Mara in Kenya, my group of volunteer travellers and I were mixing cement by hand, since this rural community, is very unlikely to see cement trucks.

Furthermore, by using these local techniques, it makes it easier for the community to make any repairs or developments that are needed on past volunteer projects, long after the volunteers have returned home. Other volunteer travel organizations, which work to implement new programs in host communities such as the American Academy of Pediatrics program: Helping Babies Breathe, have training kits available online in a variety of languages. By ensuring online accessibility, anyone with access to the internet can retrieve this information and support sustainability of the project (Brown, Bowles, Childs, Dubin, Henry, Walden, & Stadler, 2015). While volunteer tourists are volunteering their time to work on a project, the quality of the project needs to be considered as well as ensuring local autonomy.

White saviour.

Another criticism of volunteer travel is that when volunteers travel from the Global North to the South, they may be guilty of demonstrating something called 'the white saviour complex'. Harbouring neocolonial attitudes, the white saviour is an individual who assumes they can rescue people of colour from their situations (Aronson, 2017). It is argued that under the veil of the white saviour complex, also known as white saviour industrial complex, one believes that the world is a problem that can easily be solved (Schneider, 2015). Under this assumption, work done in the South is not about creating justice, rather it is about having an experience which is able to validate Northern privilege (Cole, 2012). The white saviour complex has colonial undertones including an attitude where the West (or Global North) knows best and holds absolute truth, while locals are viewed as passive agents who need to be taught. While it is called the 'white' saviour, not only White individuals are capable of demonstrating these views; rather, it can be a mindset of any person from the Global North who assumes that they have the ability and responsibility to save the rest of the world. As Straubhaar (2015) adds, the white saviour

complex is connected to the belief that "we as Westerners have the unique power to uplift, edify and strengthen" (p. 384). Heron (2007) further adds that white saviours strip local populations of their own sense of autonomy and agency, where they are led to believe that the only solutions to local problems are from outside interventions. As Schneider (2015) argues there is much good that can be done from intercultural cooperation and interaction, but those who are entering a host country need to have a supporting role that encourages local agency. Outsiders need to dismiss the patronizing white saviour role where their understanding is that they know everything and that everything can be known.

The white saviour complex is a troubling example of volunteer travel for if one believes they are a saviour they turn local people and communities into objects, stripped of their agency. As Friere (1970a) argues, this dehumanization is a sign of oppression since "the oppressor consciousness tends to transform everything surrounding it into an object of its domination. The earth, property, production, the creations of people, people themselves, time – everything is reduced to the status of objects at its disposal." (p. 58). Other critics argue that it is not only individuals who are oppressive but international volunteer travel projects as a whole. Simpson (2004) argues, "the very legitimacy of such programmes is rooted in a concept of a 'third world', where there is 'need', and where European young people have the ability, and right, to meet this need" (p.682). From this view, people in the host community are simply objects to be guided and 'helped', not real people capable of helping themselves.

Critics add that the roles of oppressor and oppressed that are a result of the white saviour complex can be internalized by both volunteers and hosts. Both actors receive a variety of social cues which justify their status in the hierarchy of saviour and victim making these positions seem natural or earned (Straubhaar, 2015). Nationality and skin colour have become a type of

qualification for doing work in the South, where during a volunteer travel trip, outsiders get to make decisions which they would never have the authority to make in their home country (Brown, 2003; Wallace, 2012). As noted, there is an assumption amongst hosts that since volunteer tourists are travelling from the North, they will have valuable knowledge that will improve the lives of local people (Benson, 2011; Wallace, 2012). Unfortunately, this is only an assumption and tourists are not always qualified, because if they have access to money, almost anyone has the ability to participate on volunteer trips. By simply being from the Global North, volunteer travellers are viewed as qualified to complete various projects without proper training or experience. These assumptions are a direct result of the power of skin colour which contributes to the white saviour complex.

Although white saviour relationships are dehumanizing and patronizing to a host community, it is argued that the status as a white saviour can also be enjoyable to the 'saviour'. As mentioned, white saviours are able to participate in activities in the Global South which they would be considered unqualified to do back home. This includes things like working with children or volunteering in the medical field without previous experience, training, or proper credentials (Brown, 2003; Butcher & Smith, 2015) This privilege is granted on the basis of a tourist's status, and the ability to engage in activities, which would be unheard of back home, is enjoyed by these saviours (Straubhaar, 2015). White saviours are in a position of power, where they can give out direction rather than asking questions and this is an enjoyable position of power for many travellers (Straubhaar, 2015).

A white saviour has no limitations. The Global South is seen as a space where normal rules do not apply, where anyone can travel to the South and be seen as what Cole (2012) describes as 'Godlike' simply based on their status as someone from the Global North. As

Galtung (2006) further describes, the division of saviours of the North versus all the rest, creates a polarization where "the Other is dehumanized as Satan's chosen people and the Self exalted as God's Chosen People and the carrier of supreme values" (p. 269). Under the white saviour complex, it is believed that tourists have been granted special abilities which they must share with the rest of the world, creating a divide of us (superior tourists) and them (inferior hosts).

Critics further note that the white saviour complex is ever present in rhetoric surrounding volunteer travel trips. The trips are prefaced with lines such as 'make a difference' or 'travel with purpose' (Brown, 2005; Simpson, 2004; Wallace, 2012). According to this language used in volunteer travel advertising, a traveller's presence is the only requirement needed to create change in the South, which is true to a white saviour (Heron, 2007). For example, the idea of empowerment and empowering local people is found in media promoting volunteer travel trips (see Me to We, 2016; Projects Abroad, n.d.-b) as if empowerment is a gift which only the North can give to the oppressed.

It is further argued that Africa has become a popular destination for these saviours. As Gebrewold (2009) notes, many African countries are labelled as 'weak' or 'failed' states which require intervention. African children have become the poster image of volunteer travel with the contrast of an African child standing with a white tourist being a popular photo taken by tourists and promoted by volunteer travel organizations (see Me to We, 2016; Projects Abroad, n.d.-b.). These photos help reinforce the image of the North 'saving' the Southern child (Zeddies & Millei, 2015). As Heron (2007) further adds, "The 'third World' or 'developing countries' are presented in Canada as places of 'suffering, starvation, and bloodshed' via persistent magazine and newspaper articles, television programs and news clips…" (p. 2). These media representations are what Heron (2007) describes as, "Africa-in-crisis discourse" (p.39),

portraying Africa as helpless and in need, calling on outside intervention, a call which appeals to white saviours.

Vulnerable populations and environments.

As mentioned, some volunteer travel organizations allow tourists to participate in activities which they would not have the credentials to access back at home. This may include working with vulnerable populations such as children. Some volunteer travel trips offer visits to local orphanages where the tourists are able to go and play with the children (GoAbroad, 2018). However, in places like Cambodia, volunteer orphanage visits have been under fire by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2011) who discovered that many of the children in the orphanages involved in these projects have parents and should be living at home. The Cambodian activist organization Orphanages: Not the Solution (n.d.) note that some people approach families in order to 'rent' their children and put them into these orphanages in order for tourists to visit them. Many families choose to comply with the demand and encourage their children to enter the orphanage system since "there is a common perception amongst the poorest and most vulnerable families that orphanages are a means to provide their children with food and an education." (Orphanages: Not the Solution, n.d.). While many of the parents believe they are doing what is best for their child, it has been shown that children are better off being raised in a family or community setting rather than within an institution and that these kinds of institutions should only be a last resort (UNICEF, 2011). Some volunteer tourism programs which aim to help orphaned children have inadvertently contributed to a rise in children unnecessarily living in institutional settings.

Furthermore, the environmental impacts of travel cannot be ignored. As Bell (2011) explains, "natural areas offer a resource to be marketed, yet overuse (potentially through

tourism) could destroy the natural beauty upon which the tourist experience depends" (p. 494). While the beauty of an area may be a draw for tourists, visiting such a site can result in its demise. As a result, Hamin (2002) argues that an increase in visitor traffic can result in "loving our parks to death" (p. 350) and as a result "highly scenic areas can become environmental sacrifice zones" (p. 350). However as mentioned earlier when discussing ecotourism, at times when conservation efforts are inappropriately taken by tourism organizations, local communities can be disrupted. As Brondo (2015) points out, many times conservation efforts can disturb local ways of life such as fishing or hunting conservation efforts, which may in turn impact local livelihoods. Volunteer tourists may be inadvertently impacting the environment and the communities they visit, although the eager volunteers may be unaware of such consequences.

The most conscientious volunteer travel tries to alleviate the environmental destruction that comes with tourism. In Wearing's (2001) definition of volunteer travel he notes that the best of this kind of travel is "a tourist experience that is mutually beneficial, that will contribute not only to their personal development but also positively and directly to the social, natural and/or economic environments in which they participate" (p. 1). Some trips work to conserve natural environments by working on different conservation projects which may include wildlife research, rehabilitation, education, habitat reconstruction/protection, and more (Broad, 2003; Campbell & Smith, 2006). However, while volunteer travel aims to be conservation focused, there is no denying the impact this sort of travel has. Take for example the greenhouse gas emissions of travel, air travel has the greatest climate impact per passenger kilometers in emitting carbon dioxide compared to cars or trains, which has been argued to be a factor in climate change (Becken & Hay, 2007; Dubois & Ceron, 2005; David Suzuki Foundation, 2017).

Rise of the Volunteer Traveller

Although volunteer travel has been under fire by critics, these criticisms have not impacted the rise in popularity of these trips. As mentioned, according to a 2009 resource, approximately 1.6 million people participate in volunteer travel annually (Zeddies & Millei, 2015). It can be assumed that this number has grown over the last decade as more and more volunteer travel trips are being offered to various locations across the world and popularity continues to grow. For example, Ingram (2011) notes that a 2009 web search of 'volunteer tourism' resulted in over 300,000 hits on Google, and the same search in 2018 has over 3 million results.[2] However Benson (2011) notes that currently "there are no clear statistics to the size of the volunteer tourism market" (p.1).

A variety of age groups have gained an interest in volunteer travel. Andereck et al. (2012) note that the age range of volunteer tourists can be quite diverse, with participation occurring amongst those in their late teens and early 20s to retired senior citizens. While the most popular age range of participants is individuals age 18-25 (Sherraden et al., 2008; Wearing & McGehee, 2013) these volunteer trips appeal to a variety of age groups and volunteer tourism trips have even begun offering family trips which are tailored to adults travelling with young children to appeal to those young and old (Me to We, 2018a).

While the breadth of international volunteer travel is diverse, it is important to note that volunteer trips are not accessible to everyone. Sherraden et al. (2008) argue that, "older adults, people with low incomes, ethnic and racial minorities, people with physical disabilities, and those who cannot take time off their jobs may have less opportunity to volunteer internationally"

[2] 3, 600,000 results in .50 seconds on January 15, 2018 compared to Ingram's (2011) April 22, 2009 search which resulted in 305,000 hits, both searched from http://www.google.com.au

(p.398). Currently, volunteer trips are a privilege with limits as to exactly who can participate in that sort of travel.

The profile of the typical volunteer traveller is not only younger, able bodied, with the ability to afford a vacation, but also female. It is argued that women are more likely to participate in volunteer travel than men (Brown, 2005; Devereux, 2008; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). While currently there is a lack of research focusing on exactly why women are participating in volunteer travel more than males, there has been some inquiry into the gender difference. In an interview with CNN, reporter Susannah Palk (2010) discussed with volunteer travel researcher Nancy McGehee the gender difference in volunteer travel where McGehee argued that "Women are less likely to 'gift' themselves a trip or holiday than men. In some ways, voluntourism is a way of enjoying your break without feeling selfish."

Another argument made for the gender participation gap of volunteer trips is that these trips provide feelings of security which appeals to women. During the typical volunteer travel trip, participants travel in a group where relationships are formed not only amongst the participants but also with the local host community (Devereux, 2008; Sherraden et al., 2008). This sense of solidarity may allow for a tourist to feel more comfortable and at ease in a country where she may not have felt comfortable travelling as a single female (Palk, 2010; Parker, 2014).

Gender aside, volunteer travel trips have been gaining in popularity as seen with the rise of the emergence of different organizations wanting to be part of the growing trend. Organizations offering volunteer trips range from non-profit organizations (charities/churches), non-government organizations, for profit industries (such as those targeting spring break/gap year travel), or can be done through a state sponsored program by either the host or sending country, including exchanges (Sherraden et al., 2008; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). The largest

number of volunteer travel programs are non-profit organizations which include religious groups or other secular organizations (Sherraden et al., 2008). Some research has extensively examined these volunteer tourism organizations (see Sherraden et al., 2008; Wearing, 2004; Wearing, McDonald & Pointing, 2005).

As mentioned, Wearing and McGehee (2013) note that volunteer travel has grown to become a 1.7-2.6 USD billion-dollar industry with the average cost of a trip costing approximately 3,000 USD. However, the cost of a trip is contingent on a tourist's length of stay and the location of the project. The duration of the trips can vary, and can be as short as one week, or as long as one year (Brown, 2005). For example, my first volunteer travel trip to Peru was over a one week-period during my university's reading week, while my most recent trip to Kenya was three weeks. Other volunteer trips may require a longer volunteer travel commitment, depending on the requirements of the organization. Sin (2009) notes that most popular volunteer trips run over a two-week period.

Volunteer tourism typically involves an individual travelling from the Global North such as from countries like Canada, the United States, or Europe to the Global South, (Devereux, 2008). Wearing and McGehee (2013) note that a great majority of volunteer travellers, 90%, travel to South America, Africa, or Asia. While it is currently more popular for volunteer travellers to travel from North to South, there are a variety of different programs emerging to offer a variety of diverse locations (Devereux, 2008).

For example, some volunteer travel organizations offer trips to travellers within their own country. In Canada there are opportunities for those interested to travel within their province or across the country to assist with various issues here in their own backyard. For instance, when I went on my first volunteer travel trip in 2011 through *Alternative Spring Break* at the University

of Western Ontario, I had the choice of where I would like to travel. Potential travellers listed their top three choices which may have included local projects within London, Ontario volunteering in various community programs such as Boys and Girls clubs. We also had the option to travel across the country and volunteer in a different province, such as in Winnipeg Manitoba, to volunteer with *Winnipeg Harvest* and *Siloam Mission*, or our choice of select international destinations.[3] I ultimately ended up travelling to Peru, however, the choice was available to stay local. Other programs have been established to create opportunities for South-South, and South-North volunteer travel (Devereux, 2008). There is also the ability to volunteer virtually online (see Fritz, 2017; UNVolunteers, N.D.). There has also been a growth in what Devereux (2008) calls "diaspora volunteering, whereby volunteers return to their home country in the South to provide specific short-term assistance (p. 359). Since there are a variety of options for volunteer trips, those interested and able can choose a trip which appeals to their interests.

Motivations

Beyond the notion of the 'saviour' as motivation for volunteer travel, current literature surrounding volunteer travel offers a variety of motivations for the tourist (see Broad & Jenkins, 2008; Brown, 2005; Guttentag, 2009; Ooi & Laing, 2010; Sin, 2009; Soderman & Snead, 2008; Wearing, 2001). There are both push and pull factors in drawing volunteer tourists to participate in an experience abroad. Crompton (1979) and Dann (1979) describe push factors as those factors which are internal to an individual such as escaping their everyday life, or enhancing their

[3] See http://www.asb.uwo.ca/locations/index.html for more examples of the locations offered by the program. While the program offered local volunteer opportunities, these were less popular amongst participants than the international destinations. When talking to peers who were applying to the program, all expressed an interested in travelling to a different country.

prestige amongst peer groups by being perceived as worldly. Pull factors are those which draw people to a destination such as historical and cultural attractions and/or a desirable climate. Pull factors may include participants wanting to travel to a far-off destination in search of adventure, seeing the experience as a challenge, and a desire for interactions with the local community (Njagi, Ndivo, & Manyara, 2017). Push factors may include wanting to gain career experience, escape from daily life, enlightenment, a desire to give back, or wanting to meet new people (Pan, 2012). These various factors may explain why international destinations are so popular amongst volunteer travellers. Through interviews and discussions with participants, researchers have classified various push and pull factors into two categories; altruism and self-development (Knollenberg et. all 2014; Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Cho, Edge & Keng, 2012). The two categories are described below.

Altruism.

Many volunteer travellers note altruistic reasons for wanting to participate in a volunteer travel excursion. It is argued that altruism is major motivator for participation since if participants were simply interested in travelling they would participate in another mode of tourism such as mass tourism, or backpack travelling (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Rather, many tourists choose a volunteer trip since they believe that their involvement will benefit the host community. The propaganda surrounding volunteer travel trips is used to appeal to this altruism. Skating close to motivating the saviour impulse, advertisements of volunteer travel includes the rhetoric of "helping those in need", "creating change", "making a difference", and "travelling with a purpose" (Brown, 2005; Simpson, 2004; Wallace, 2012). Since the tourists are volunteering, with no monetary gain, it is argued that the participants partake in these trips simply because they want to help support those less privileged (Brown, 2005). Many volunteer tourists are

inspired by advertisements showing images of people in poverty and believe that by travelling to participate on various projects, they can help change these circumstances.

Volunteer travel trips shape promotional material in a way to appeal to these sympathies of tourists which, in turn, may be a reason why participants choose to travel to volunteer rather than to volunteer within their own communities. Cho et al. (2012) argue that many choose to volunteer abroad since they believe that they will be making a more valuable contribution in a developing country than they would at home. As previously mentioned, participants are inspired by the rhetoric surrounding volunteer trips when they promote the possibility of creating change, however tourists are also motivated by the images produced by media, and volunteer travel organizations. In some instances, media uses poverty/development/famine porn to depict countries in the Global South (Dortonne, 2015; Gius, 2015). Poverty porn depicts host communities as helpless and suffering with images of children with bugs on their face, tears in their eyes, and obvious malnourishment. These images are used in order to gain empathy and elicit feelings of guilt and discomfort from the viewer.

Furthermore, these images highlight the most helpless victims of poverty, children. Children are assumed to be the perfect victim for they are considered to be innocent and are seen as most vulnerable (Manzo, 2008; Malkki, 2015). As Butcher and Smith (2015) note children are seen to experience "passive suffering" (p.124) and argue that "a hungry child has no politics" (p.124). As mentioned, many volunteer trips have the option to engage with local children, whether this be through school construction projects which include interactions with the students, teaching English to youth, orphanage visits, community visits and more (Occhipinti, 2016; Butcher & Smith, 2015; Zeddies &Millei, 2015). Many volunteer travellers are motivated to participate in volunteer travel abroad because they see these images of the host communities

and believe their involvement will help in some way to alleviate the suffering of these helpless victims. However, while these motivations may be considered altruistic, the use of these images, portraying host communities as those which are dirty, impoverished and in need of a saviour create a divide between the Global North and South (Zeddies, & Millei, 2015). The use of poverty porn reinforces the stereotypes of the Global South as helpless, and volunteer organizations and media that use these images are explicitly or inadvertently reinforcing stereotypes about a host nation. While some volunteer travellers are motivated to travel in order to help, the images which inspired their participation may in fact be considered exploitative.

Not all volunteers participate in travel in order to help, rather another motivator noted by researchers is the desire to form a relationship and connection with the host community (see Brown, 2005; Sin, 2009; Wearing, 2001; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). As mentioned, many volunteer travel organizations provide opportunities for tourists to meet, work with, and/or live with the local community (McGehee & Andereck, 2009; Diprose, 2012). As Brown (2005) quotes, "working and interacting with the local people and communities leads to opportunities to become immersed in local culture and connect with the local people in a more profound way" (p.488). To some travellers, the ability to work and live amongst a host community is a draw to participate in volunteer travel.

It is important to note however that these motivations for participation are typically found in people who reflect altruistic values, even prior to travel. Bailey (2012) argues that participants of volunteer travel tend to have some experience in civic engagement, travel experience, and would consider themselves empathetic and open minded. An argument can be formed that a certain group of people are predisposed to wanting to participate in volunteer travel for altruistic reasons.

Self-interest.

Next to altruism, self-interest is another motivation frequently cited by volunteer tourists for participating in travel. McGehee and Andereck (2008) argue that many volunteer tourists desire self-affirmation and seek this through travel. As the authors state, "often quite unwittingly volunteer tourists of all types seek to give, but they also want to receive- they want to be thanked for their efforts and to feel good about what they have done (p. 19). In fact, McGehee and Andereck (2008) give an example of one volunteer travel organization which does not allow the volunteers the opportunity to meet the local community who they are creating construction projects for, since the organization argues that volunteers should hold internal motivations to want to help, rather than be praised for their contributions. However, the authors further argue that the relationship between the volunteers and locals can be one of the most important aspects of any volunteer travel trip and omitting the opportunity to build this relationship is disadvantageous.

Singer (2009) discusses the idea of altruism for self-interest, and argues that while it may be possible for some to act purely for altruistic reasons, there are also times when there is a sense of self-interest. For example, when discussing charitable giving he notes that many donors discuss the fact that giving provides them with a sense of 'meaning' and 'fulfilment' (p.78). Singer does make the point that if motivations are altruistic, either out of self-interest or not, does that matter, since people are still donating their time or working for a cause? Regardless, much of the literature surrounding volunteer travel has examined these self-interest motivations.

To begin, researchers have noted that some volunteer tourists are motivated to participate in volunteer travel for self-development and/or egotistical reasons (Brondo, 2015; Butcher & Smith, 2010; Heath, 2007). One egotistical reason for participation includes bragging rights. As

Urry (1990) argues, the ability to be a tourist is a marker of social status, since tourism is only accessible to certain people and groups. While Urry was originally discussing mass tourism, I believe that the same idea can be applied to volunteer travel as well since, as mentioned, only those who can afford to travel economically, as well as physically participate in volunteer travel.

Furthermore, some volunteer tourists are seeking adventure. As Stoddart and Rogerson (2004) explain in their study of volunteer tourists visiting South Africa, many motivations for participation were linked to adventure, in wanting to explore the unknown, and experience local culture through immersion. Urry (1990) notes that tourists are always searching for something new to cast their gaze upon, and volunteer travel provides these places, especially since volunteer travel provides access to remote communities which are off the beaten path (Gray and Campbell, 2007). Some volunteers see the experience as a challenge to be conquered (Weiler & Richins, 1995). These trips are an opportunity to depict oneself as someone of superior character since the traveller has chosen to encounter hardships while on vacation. As Galley and Clifton (2004) share, some of the motivations of volunteer travellers are "the desire to do something new or be challenged" (p. 73). Rather than laying on a beach in a beautiful location, the tourists are motivated by the idea of working hard and being thrust into a new situation, a unique experience that not many others have done or would choose to do.

Other volunteer tourists credit their participation to wanting to gain new skills and experiences which they can use towards their studies or future employment. Broad and Jenkins (2008) note that career development is a popular motivation behind participation with half of the participants of their research citing their desires to gain relevant experiences to apply to their future studies or career prospects. Volunteer travel has gained such enormous popularity that many high schools and post-secondary institutions offer a credit towards a student's degree for

their time abroad or may even offer a course which has a volunteer trip component built right into it (Bailey & Russell, 2010). Some high schools and post-secondary institutions are also offering volunteer travel trips as an alternative experience during the spring or summer break, as shown through my own personal example to Peru. Since volunteer trips are typically short-term, many students are able to volunteer during these school breaks (Benson, 2011).

In addition to using these trips to enhance their studies, many participants are motivated to travel as a way to enhance their resumes. Volunteer trips are seen as a way for participants to gain certain skills and experiences, such as character building, leadership, organizational skills, adaptability, and inter-cultural skills, which may appeal to future employers (Balfour, 2012; Coghlan & Fennell, 2009; Lyons & Wearing 2008). Bruyere and Rappe (2007) note that other career motivations for participation in volunteer travel include the possibility of networking, the ability to explore possible career paths, and the belief that the experience provides a leg up when trying to get one's foot in the door of where they would like to work. These participants believe that volunteering abroad will provide them with an informal career experience which will help them appeal to future employers.

Others participate because they are seeking something bigger than what they think they can achieve at home. This is seen in what Cohen (1972,1979) described as the existential tourist. Shepherd (2018) summarizes the existential tourist as those who "seek the profoundest and deepest experiences in a place to yet tainted by modernity" (p. 79). Cohen (1979) describes these tourists as "Motivated by the quest for meaning" (p. 192), for the existential tourist is one who does not relate to their own society and are seeking an alternative, looking for meaning in a different culture. Kontogeorgopoulos (2017) further discusses how the motivations and experiences of volunteer tourists are connected to existential authenticity. Such tourists are

seeking an experience in which they will find meaning within, a meaning which they were unable to find at home.

Other volunteer travellers' motivations are not as complex; some credit their participation to wanting to have fun. Many participants are motivated by the idea that the experience of travel and volunteer work would be a good time (Sherraden et al., 2008). Polus and Bidder (2015) note that in their research surrounding the motivations of volunteer travel participants working in the community in the Batu Puteh Village in Kinabatangan, Malaysian Borneo, 'having fun' was a popular response as to why they wanted to participate. This response was followed by other factors such as interest in the program or gaining new skills.

While some participants of volunteer travel are motivated predominantly by egotistical or altruistic reasons, many are motivated by a mix of both selfish and selfless reasons, participants are not homogenous and have varying motives for participating in volunteering abroad.

Social Media and Photography in Volunteer Travel

For some tourists the development of social media has become a perfect platform to share about one's trip. Dinhopl and Gretzel (2016) discuss the use of smartphones and selfies as a way for tourists to immediately share their experiences with those back home. The photos shared online may include images of remarkable landscapes, capture a shot of life inside the host community, as well as photos taken alongside locals. A popular image shared amongst volunteer travellers is the image of the tourist with a local child. Mostafanezhad (2014) explains that posing with a non-white child in an impoverished country is a way to boast to peers about how compassionate one is. These photos are commonly shared by egotistical volunteers who are enhancing their status as adventure seekers accessing the unknown, but also altruistically

motivated participates share images, possibly as a way to enhance their own status as bleeding heart do-gooders.

In 2016, an *Instagram* page was created to mock how some participants are using social media as a platform for their white saviour complex (see Barbie Savior, 2016). Photos are posted of a white doll partaking in various activities that a volunteer traveller typically participates in such as teaching and working in the community and interacting with local children. The public images are paired with sarcastic descriptions such as:

> Who needs a formal education to teach in Africa? Not me! All I need is some chalk and a dose of optimism. It's so sad that they don't have enough trained teachers here. I'm not trained either, but I'm from the West, so it all works out. Good morning, class! (@BarbieSavior, 2016a)

While the account is an obvious satire about volunteer trips, it does highlight the important criticisms of white saviours working in Africa and the use of photography and social media to underline their own importance.

Furthermore, while photographs may reinforce the white saviour complex they may also reinforce harmful stereotypes. For example, the white saviour complex can be ever present in photographs taken by volunteer tourists. For example, the Barbie Savior Instagram page shares a photo which depicts two dolls, one White woman and one black child embracing with the caption "Orphans take the BEST pictures! So. Cute. #whatsyournameagain #orphans #wheredemorphansat #kingdomcome #blackbarbiesarethecutest #strangers2secondsago #attachmentproblemsarentcute #notazoo" (@barbieSavior, 2016b). This photo and caption, while meant to expose the ridiculousness that is volunteer tourists creating bonds with strangers, specifically orphans abroad, represents a common image taken by tourists while away, as shown

on different volunteer travel websites (Me to We, 2016; Projects Abroad n.d.-b). While there are relationships being formed between tourists and their hosts, the authenticity of the relationship needs to be questioned. Rather than a tourist taking a photo with a local as a way to represent their 'do-gooding' abroad, the photos should be about the relationship formed. Interestingly, various volunteer travel organization are aware of this issue and have put actions in place to protect the locals. For example, when I was in Kenya, Me to We (the organization I was travelling with) was adamant that photos should only be taken with local people after you know their name; this is a small attempt by the organization to emphasize the fact that these are people, not props to be photographed beside.

Intentions for taking photos vary, as may the verity of their reflection of daily life in the culture being visited. Many of the photos taken of the local hosts are meant to capture images of their culture. For example, while away in the Kenyan country side many participants were quick to take photos of the Maasai in their traditional shúkàs. A photo such as that is used to capture the raw culture that a tourist is exposed to. However, when people in the Maasai community pull out their cell phones or put on a sweater they are no longer a desired object to be photographed. As Dorsey, Steeves and Porras (2004) explain, this form of cultural tourism, where the people of the host community are central to the tourist experience, can emphasize cultures as they once were, when in present day community members' real lives may be filled with modern technology and clothing, which gets put aside in order to put on a show for tourists.[4]

Sharing photos can have a variety of impacts. Sharing photos on large platforms such as social media may also be a way for volunteer tourists to expand the conversation about what the

[4] This is similar to what Goffman (1959) termed front and back stage where the front stage is what is shown and staged for tourists while the back stage is the community's authentic culture and livelihood, hidden away.

saw and learned while away once they return home. Sontag (2003) argues, photos have a way of making conflict real and have the ability to create awareness that terrible things are happening in different parts of the world. However, Sontag (2003) also notes that it is easy to ignore images and photographs if one feels safe in the comforts of their homes; rather this compassion needs to turn to action. When one is not directly exposed to conflict they may choose to ignore photos and images reflecting violence; for example, turning the channel when a news broadcast is on, or scrolling past images shared on social media. Due to the fact the viewers themselves feel safe in their own home, they may have the privilege to ignore conflict. However, when peers share images and stories from their time abroad, these photos which may depict various conflict come closer to home. No longer is it a stranger reporting on what is happening elsewhere; it is your peer. With the popularity of social media, sharing photos from one's volunteer travel abroad has become standard once returning home, and these photos have the potential to ignite conversations about one's trip. However, the photos may also be a way to reproduce a white saviour complex or stereotypes if not paired with critical dialogue and self-examination.

Both Good and Bad?

Volunteer travel is a recent phenomenon, and therefore the research surrounding the subject is still growing. However, it is apparent that there are mixed reviews about this sort of travel. As demonstrated, currently the majority of research on volunteer travel focuses on the positives and negatives surrounding the impacts on the local community, cross-cultural understanding/learning, sustainability of the projects, the mixed motivations for travel, and more. What the research lacks is a true picture of how volunteer tourists think about their own experiences. Rather than furthering the debate about the good or bad that is volunteer travel

within host communities, this study explores how volunteer tourists view their experiences. Furthermore, the study looks to explore the connection between volunteer travel and positive peace. With peace being more than an absence of violence, this study seeks to determine the connections between experiences with volunteer travel and the fostering of attitudes and actions to create structures and conditions which aim to promote societal wellbeing.

Chapter 2: The White Saviour Complex and Theories of Transformation

A number of theoretical lenses were used in the exploration of how volunteer tourists consider their time abroad. The following section delves into theories around power and privilege, critical consciousness, and transformative learning to offer a valuable framework in attempting to address questions around the volunteer travel experience.

Power and Privilege

Power and privilege are two issues which are present in volunteer travel; however, they are not always easy to identify, especially when one is in a privileged position. During cross-cultural interactions there may be a power imbalance, for example during many volunteer travel trips there is an economic disparity. Many volunteer trips take place in remote, rural areas with high rates of poverty (Gius, 2015; Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Resigner, 2013). Volunteer travellers are able to afford to pay on average $3,000 US dollars to travel, while many of the people in the host community could never afford such a luxury (Wearing & McGehee, 2013).

The ability to access communities through travel is a form of power. Privileged travellers from the North are able to travel to remote communities in the South while the same luxury is not available to their hosts due to financial, physical, or social limitations. As Frye (1983) notes, "total power is unconditional access" (103). In the instance of volunteer travel where there is a clear economic disparity between the two groups, volunteers are granted unconditional access to travel and visit the host communities, while many of their hosts are unable to afford the same luxury.

Furthermore, there is typically an educational disparity between the tourists and hosts. The typical volunteer tourist is someone from the Global North who has some higher education,

for as previously noted, many trips are offered through university programs (Sherraden et al., 2008). While many of the tourists are students of post-secondary education, many of the hosts have challenges accessing education. For example, in Kenya, access to education can be difficult, where an estimated 1.5 million children between the ages of 6-13 are kept from school due to a variety of factors, most notably due to poverty (Educate a Child & UNICEF, 2015). The privilege and opportunity to access higher education is one that is not equally offered around the world.

Proyrungroj (2015) in his study of Thai community members who acted as hosts to Northern volunteer travellers, argues that many hosts were aware of the inequalities between the tourists and themselves but also felt that the tourists were able to share their knowledge and wealth, lessening the gap between the two groups. Through acknowledging the disparities between the two groups, Proyungroj (2015) believes that each group has the ability to learn from one another.

The disparities between tourists and their hosts may not be limited to financial and educational opportunities; racial differences may also be present. As mentioned, the typical volunteer traveller is a young white person from the Global North who travels South (Biddle, 2014; Sherraden et al., 2008; Zeddies & Millei, 2015). While not all participants of volunteer travel are white, they are typically from the Global North, which means they have privileges available to them that are not available to the host communities they are visiting. As Critical Race Theory suggests, there is a socially constructed hierarchy that privileges 'white' (or in this case the Global North's) interests over others (Vass, 2014). To be from the Global North, means to be privileged, especially when compared to host communities which are predominantly non-white people who are living in poverty (Mostafanezhad, 2014; Gius, 2015).

As Johnson (2006) describes, privilege is an inherited legacy where one group has something of value such as opportunities or experiences which are denied to another simply because of the groups to which they belong. Privilege is not something that can be gained through action and merit, rather privilege is granted based on the qualities which are out of one's control such as race or nationality. As Johnson (2006) further notes:

> The trouble around diversity, then, isn't just that people differ from one another. The trouble is produced by a world organized in ways that encourage people to *use* difference to include or exclude, reward or punish, credit or discredit, elevate or oppress, value or devalue, leave alone or harass. (p. 16)

Race and nationality can result in privilege, and when comparing volunteer travellers going from North to South, Northerners are viewed at the top of a privileged hierarchy compared to those in the host community who may view themselves at the bottom of this scale.

When travellers visit host communities in the Global South there are a variety of privileges of which they may be ignorant, but are denied the host community. To begin many people living within the Global South may have experienced oppression, dependent on their own race, social class and other identities, many people from the North may never be able to comprehend. Oppression is described as the inequality a group or individual faces due to factors out of their control such as their belonging to a particular group, such as racial, gender, or nationality and many more (Johnson, 2006). Frye (1983) compares oppression to that of a bird cage, where there are a series of wires all interconnected and reinforcing one another which lock one within the cage. These wires are representative of different oppressive structures. Oppressive structures may not be clearly visible to those locked within their cages, existing in a variety of

systems such as social norms, policies, laws, and institutions, forms also known as structural violence (Galtung, 1969).

Groups and individuals may face oppression based on their age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, level of ability and much more. Furthermore, we belong to multiple social groups at the same time, therefore there is an intersectionality of race, gender, class, etc. For example, I experience privilege being born a white, Canadian. I may also experience oppression as a woman who will have to fight for equal pay and work opportunities compared to my male counterparts, and have dealt with catcalling, assault and feeling unsafe due to my gender. As social beings, all humans belong to different socially constructed groups; however, not all groups are considered socially equal. Rather they are organized in a hierarchy where some receive privileges at the cost of others' oppression.

While those who sit in privilege benefit from their position, they may be oblivious to the advantages they receive, or even in more extreme cases be unaware of their privilege entirely. For example, those who are privileged due to their race tend to view themselves as "racially unmarked" (p.157), with their whiteness being something that they have been led to believe is nothing special (Park, 2017). Mcintosh (2005) argues that people in privileged positions are taught to believe that their lives are the 'norm' and that with a little work, others can work to reach that same position. In the instance of Northern privilege, the assumption that their privilege is achievable has created ethnocentric beliefs. Ethnocentricism is described by Laxson (1991) as the "tendency to evaluate other cultures by one's own cultural norms" (p. 388). Under ethnocentric assumptions, all ways of life are compared to those in the Global North. The more different the livelihood, the worse off these people are believed to be. Individuals in positions of this privilege are socialized to believe that their positions are standards which everyone should,

and can achieve, ignoring the fact that the ethnocentric way of life is not universally desired and for others it is impossible to achieve this privilege.

If volunteer travellers hold this type of ignorance towards their privilege they may be inclined to create a type of empathetic fallacy. Empathetic fallacy is described by Delgado and Stefancic (2012) as "the belief that one can change a narrative by merely offering another, better one—that the reader's or listener's empathy will quickly and reliably take over" (p. 33). For example, volunteer tourists who enter a community where there is extreme poverty experience empathy fallacy if they believe that this poverty is caused by individual merit. The idea that hard work automatically grants success is a completely ethnocentric assumption. This thinking may be a result of being from 'low context' countries (see Augsburger, 1992) such as Europe and North America where merit, individualism, and competition are valued, and therefore it is believed that through education and hard work one is able to be successful. However, hard work is not enough when there are social, political, and economic barriers created to oppress certain groups and privilege others.

Furthermore, minimizing issues, such as poverty, to being the result of a lack of hard work is a way for a privileged group to blame oppression on the oppressed. Placing blame on the victims of oppression lets those who benefit from systems of privilege feel as if they are not responsible for this inequality (Johnson, 2006). According to this assumption, poverty is due to a lack of skills or education and is something that can be fixed if one works hard enough. As a result of these assumptions, beliefs can become internalized by oppressed groups who grow to assume that poverty and wealth inequality is a result of individual failure or poor fortune rather than examining the larger socio/political/economic structures which contribute to inequality. Li (2014) provides an example of such a case when discussing the Indigenous Highlander of

Indonesia who viewed the inaccessibility to own farm land as individual fault. This blame ignores the fact that when the community moved from communally owned to private land only certain groups benefited. Those who could prove land ownership accumulated land at the cost of those who could not. By dismissing inequality as individual misfortune rather than examining the bigger reasons as to why some groups have easier access to opportunities, means that the unequal power dynamics and structures fostering discrimination are left unacknowledged and therefore unchallenged.

Furthermore, the idea that oppression and privilege are due to individual fault enables those who are privileged to view oppression in a simplified way where an individual can be blamed for inequality. For example, some believe that racism, sexism, and more are only perpetuated by 'bad' people and that by exposing those people or avoiding them, one is in turn not contributing to oppression (Johnson, 2006; Mcintosh, 2005). Under this belief, if one does not overtly see themselves as a racist or sexist then they are not oppressive. However, contributing to oppression can be as simple as staying silent in regards to oppressive actions or attitudes, such as laughing at a racist joke. The contention that oppression is perpetrated by bad people ignores the systemic structures which embed privilege. Believing that only individual people can be oppressive shifts the attention away from greater structures that bias those who are not in privileged positions. Furthermore, believing that only bad people are oppressive shifts the blame away from one's own contributions to oppression and faces away from the conditions that encourage inequality in the first place.

Issues surrounding privilege and oppression are not only hard to identify but once exposed, they are considered to be an uncomfortable issue to address. However, being able to reflect on privilege is necessary to change it. As Maclean (2015) argues, "Feeling uncomfortable

is a necessary part of unlearning oppressive behaviours" (par. 5). Identifying and speaking "uncomfortable truths" can provide creative avenues of change that will assist in the path to reconciliation (Halas, 2014). When issues surrounding privilege are brought up, people tend to get defensive or argue that there is no issue. Denial is a common reaction to oppression from those who are privileged (Mcintosh, 2005). People are willing to acknowledge that there are many disadvantaged people, however they refuse to acknowledge how they themselves gain advantage from that relationship (Mcintosh, 2005). By acknowledging our privileges and feeling uneasy about them, we can identify how our privilege is expressed in actions or internalized in thoughts, and work to actively unlearn these behaviours.

Critical Consciousness and Reflection

The awareness one has in regards to their privilege ranges on a scale from a refusal to acknowledge privilege and/or the denial of its existence entirely, to that of critical consciousness (Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009). Critical consciousness is the ultimate way of addressing issues of inequality, power and oppression. According to Freire (1970b) critical consciousness and *conscientization* refers "to the process in which men, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (p. 27). A developed critical consciousness ensures that one is able to critically examine issues of power and privilege as well as the conditions and structures which encourage the oppression and inequality embedded within them. However, a critical consciousness is not something that occurs naturally due to the prevalent and implicitly embedded nature of power and privilege; rather, one must develop it through critical reflection and action.

Freire (1973) describes the development of critical consciousness in three different stages:

1) The semi-intransitive or magical stage

2) The naïve level of consciousness

3) *Conscientization*/critical consciousness

The first stage, known as the semi-intransitive or magic level of consciousness, is the outright denial or ignorance of the existence of privilege and oppression. At this level, there is an accepted belief that some people are simply inferior to others and this is accepted as the status quo (Carlson, Engebretson & Chamberlain, 2006; Freire, 1973; Roberts, 1996). At this magical level of consciousness both the oppressed and the oppressor hold feelings of helplessness, for they believe their roles in the social hierarchy is just 'how things are' (Carlson, Engebretson, & Chamberlain, 2006). This stage is troubling since denying the existence of privilege is a barrier to change, and staying silent and complicit with systems of privilege promotes oppression (Johnson, 2006; Mcintosh, 2005). One of the first steps to creating change is moving beyond a magical level of consciousness by acknowledging that inequality exists and exploring how one benefits from it. Although it may be uncomfortable and feel unnatural, one must look at his or her own privilege and how it has been internalized and incorporated into their everyday life and begin to expose it.

The second level is the naïve level of consciousness (Freire, 1973). At this stage, injustices and privilege have been exposed and recognized; however, instead of understanding the complex relationship of privilege and oppression, explanations are reduced to overly simplified reasoning (Carlson et al., 2006). For example, Straubhaar (2015) discusses their own experience of the naïve level when they travelled within the Global South. Straubhaar explains

that he was "guilty of relying on gross over-simplifications and generalisations of social problems, lacking interest in critical investigation into whether what I taught was really 'working' and relying on emotional feelings of validation rather than empirical evidence of success" (p. 391). While becoming aware of the existence of power and privilege, those at the naïve level still have much to learn in understanding how deep rooted and intertwined inequality can be.

The final stage is when one is able to achieve critical consciousness. At this point not only is one aware of inequality, but they are also able to reflect on the various conditions which shape their understandings in a way that forces them to realize that their decisions can either add to or contest that reality (Calson et al., 2006). Kumagai and Lypson (2009) describe achieving this critical consciousness when one is able to gain,

> A reflective awareness of the differences in power and privilege and the inequities that are embedded in social relationships—an act that Freire calls "reading the world" of a reorientation of perspective towards a commitment to social justice. (p. 783)

When one has attained a critical consciousness, they are no longer able to believe the inexistence of privilege or oppression or deny their own benefits of the system, rather they realize their own role in reinforcing issues of inequality and actively work to combat it. While achieving a critical consciousness is ideal, power relations are deeply rooted and at times invisible, especially to those in privileged positions. One must actively work towards developing a critical consciousness in order to understand one's role in promoting change.

Transformation

The idea of different levels of consciousness and achieving the ultimate level, critical consciousness is similar to Mezirow's Transformative Learning Theory. Both Mezirow and Friere believe critical reflection is necessary for transformation. However, while Friere sees transformation as necessary to gain power in order to shape injustice, Mezirow views transformation as a deeply personal experience, focusing on inner change rather than structural transformation (Taylor, 2007). Mezirow (2000) describes, transformative learning as occurring when an individual is able to change their "taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspectives, habits of mind, mind-sets) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action" (p.7-8). Overall, when a person is able to use critical reflection to become aware of their underlying assumptions about their perceptions and understandings about the world, they are demonstrating a perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1991). This type of realization can occur suddenly or over time (Mezirow, 1997).

Mezirow (1978a, b) describes this transformation in a series of ten steps. The first step is taken when a disorienting dilemma occurs which leads to an internal assessment, usually partnered with feelings of guilt. From there, one is able to critically re-examine their assumptions and expectations, followed by a recognition of wanting to change these assumptions. From here one starts to think about different behaviours, relationships, and attitudes and eventually they create a course of action to attain those new desires. They then try out this new role and build new relationships and confidence around it and eventually it becomes their new perspective.

The most vital step of Mezirow's transformation is the first, which is experiencing a disorienting dilemma (Mezirow, 2000). A disorientating dilemma is described by Herbers and

Mullins Nelson (2009) as when one "is faced with a situation that challenges his or her assumptions" (p.8) and when this occurs "the possibility for transformation arises" (p.8). When one has a disorienting dilemma (experiences which contradict one's expectation), this can be a catalyst which can lead to a process of reflection and transformation. From here one is able to shift their perspective to be more inclusive and make decisions and take actions which reflect this new understanding (Mezirow, 1991).

Coghlan and Gooch (2011) discuss how culture shock or an experience in an unfamiliar social, cultural, or natural environment can be an example of a disorienting dilemma. Culture shock is described by Oberg (1960) as the disorientation which accompanies the loss of familiar social cues including language, gestures and social norms when travelling within an unfamiliar culture. When tourists enter a new community, they attempt to navigate the new environment, however the culture may be much different compared to where they came from and as a result they may experience confusion and at times physical illness (Oberg, 1960).

Culture shock is not limited to only when the traveller is abroad, and in fact, when returning home, they may be at risk of developing reverse culture shock. Gaw (2000) describes reverse culture shock as "the process of readjusting, reacculturating, and reassimilating into one's own home culture after living in a different culture for a significant period of time" (p. 83). When a traveller returns home, they may feel out of place in their home country, for they feel as though their values more align with the host culture than their home culture (Coghlan, 2015). Travellers may feel a disconnect from their friends and family as well as feelings of isolation, anxiety and social withdrawal (Fuoco, 2014; Gaw, 2000). While not all volunteer travellers experience the effects associated with reverse culture shock, those who do may have problems for a couple months or even years (Gaw, 2000). The impacts of reverse culture shock have

become so recognized that many volunteer travel organizations have included material on their websites about the difficulties of 'returning home' and how to cope with these changes (see Go Overseas, 2014; Me to We, n.d; Projects Abroad, n.d.-a).

The experience of a disorienting dilemma, such as culture shock or reverse culture shock, however does not guarantee transformative learning. Rather transformation is argued to be an ongoing process where one is constantly analysing how their social lens influences their interactions, ways of thinking, and behaviour (Boyd, 2008).

Taylor (2008) believes that there are three conditions necessary to encourage transformative learning:

1) intercultural experiences

2) critical reflection about these experiences

3) engaging in discussion with others

The first condition, intercultural experiences, is almost a given when it comes to international volunteer travel. As previously noted, most volunteer travel is in itself an intercultural interaction where tourists are working with the local community or have some sort of interactions with the local people (i.e. homestays). These interactions provide both the tourists and local hosts the opportunity to engage in dialogue. Engaging in dialogue can provide for an opportunity where both tourists and local hosts can challenge the assumptions or misconceptions they have held about one another as well as about their own self and culture (Woosnam, Norman, & Ying, 2009). Simply by leaving their home country, volunteer tourists are bound to have some type of intercultural experience if they allow themselves to engage with community members when they are thrust into the local community and work amongst the locals on various projects.

Adding to the importance of intercultural experiences, Emotional Solidarity Theory has argued that when tourists and hosts interact, participate in similar behaviour, and share similar beliefs they will feel solidarity towards one another (Durkheim, [1915]1995). Under this assumption, finding commonalities between tourists and hosts can develop sympathetic understanding and feelings of unity (see Hasani, Moghavvemi, & Hamzah, 2016; Woosnam & Norman, 2010). The ability for tourists to interact with, and participate in activities with their local hosts, as well as have conversations that expose shared beliefs can lead to emotional solidarity (Woosnam et al., 2009). These conversations not only expose each group to the various similarities they share but also their differences. Goldstein (2004) notes that exploring and appreciating difference can reduce various misunderstandings between people. Furthermore, the opportunity for conversation between the two groups can encourage cultural dialogue which the International Institute for Peace Through Tourism (2008) argues is necessary to reduce conflict. However, this dialogue may not be possible in some instances without the use of a translator.

The challenges of language barriers between groups are also important to note. In many instances, both the tourists and hosts speak different languages. English is considered to be a privileged language (Everingham, 2015). However, in different instances of volunteer travel, tourists may have local language lessons and try to speak the dialect. As Everingham (2015) explains, when tourists speak the local language, English no longer becomes the dominant dialect, and this creates an opportunity for children and other locals to correct any mispronunciations or teach unknown words. Attempting to speak the language turns the locals into experts who are now teaching the tourists. Intercultural experiences are important for Taylor's (2008) transformative learning to occur, regardless of language barriers.

The second component Taylor (2008) discusses as necessary for transformation is reflection. Reflection includes revealing the assumptions which our beliefs and understandings are built on (Mezirow, 1990.) During reflection, one is able to look at how their experiences, attitudes, and relationships have influenced their worldviews. Berman (1997) adds that self-reflection is an imperative aspect in creating attitudinal change. Different volunteer travel experiences have integrated methods to encourage reflection amongst participants such as through suggesting volunteers keep a travel journal while away and/or engaging in discussions or debriefing about the day's activities as a group (Raymond & Hall, 2008; Woosnam et al., 2009). Without reflection, a participant will only comprehend volunteer trips through their existing models of understanding.

Taylor's (2008) final component for transformation is engaging in discussion. Discussion is important at two different points of a volunteer traveller's journey, while they are away and when they return home. While away, participants may engage with locals, peer travellers, or travel organizers. Engaging with different groups is an opportunity for tourists to share their opposing or similar opinions with one another and discuss the various experiences they are having while away. These talks also create an opportunity for critical dialogue to emerge about various social issues witnessed while volunteering, and critical dialogue has the potential to alter attitudes (Berman, 1997).

Furthermore, these discussions can help build social networks. As previously mentioned, one of the main altruistic motivations cited for participating in volunteer travel is wanting to make a difference in social issues. Travel can be an opportunity for young people to come together and discuss what change looks like. Relationships and discussions may continue after the volunteers return home. It is also important to note that many locals who are working with

the volunteers may share similar interests about social issues. This assembly of like-minded tourists and hosts can create an opportunity for all actors to discuss and recognize their similarities and desire for social change, creating social networks near and abroad (McGehee, 2002). However, not all participants share similar values, therefore while some participants may enhance their social networks, others may remain neutral (Sin, 2009).

Discussion around one's experience, however, should not come to a halt as soon as a traveller returns home. As Smith (2002) argues, at times, participants only begin to understand the impact and effect of their experiences on themselves once they return home. A tourist needs to continue to engage in critical thinking and dialogue with friends and peers about the variety of concerns associated with entering a new community. It may be challenging for a volunteer traveller to share their story with those who have never participated in a similar activity. Furthermore, when a volunteer returns home they expect life to remain unchanged since their departure, which is untrue, as peers continued to participate in various social activities while the volunteer was away. While the volunteer may wish to share tales of their trip, their friends also have their own tales to tell (Gaw, 2000). Adjusting to life back home can be a challenge; however, the conversation surrounding what one witnessed and experienced while away should continue with family and peers when they return home.

One way the conversation is continued is through sharing photos and stories with loved ones and friends. Social media makes it easier than ever to share photos from travel experiences and volunteer travel is not an exception to online sharing. However, as noted earlier, volunteer tourists need to be conscious of the photos they are sharing, the cultures they are depicting, and the manner in which they are depicting the cultures in order to avoid reinforcing stereotypes of both the white saviour and of the Global South.

In order to ensure the conversation is conducive to transformation, discussions should be critical and should be personal. Devereux (2008) notes the potential of transformation in traveller stories for he believes that travellers are in a position where they can present the host community in a non-stereotypical and meaningful way, because of their experience living and working in the local conditions. These stories have the capacity to allow not only the story teller to work through their own exposure to various issues, but also teach these issues to listeners back home. Those back home who have never travelled, shape their ideas and opinions of those abroad based on media and other stories. By sharing personal interactions and stories of the relationships volunteer travellers built with those they met in the local community can be important for creating a different rhetoric of the community, one which may be contradictory to that portrayed by popular images and media.

Tourists should be encouraged to share stories and engage in discussions about the various disorienting dilemmas they experienced while away, as well as explore why they believe the experience was so altering and discuss any new perspectives they gained. Ongoing discussions with peers at home ensure that the learning and exposure to various issues one experienced while abroad continues to grow well after they have returned home. However, it is important to note that while the conditions for transformation may be present during volunteer travel, tourism is a deeply personal experience and not all participants will experience a transformation.

The different theories analyzed in this chapter inspired the study. Theories surrounding power and privilege, critical consciousness, reflection, and transformation were all examined to understand how volunteer travel provides the conditions necessary to inspire transformation and consciousness raising. These theories provide a framework for thinking about the potential of a

transformative experience on the part of the volunteer traveller. The following chapters examine and discuss my own experience with volunteer travel, and those of the participants in the study, to consider whether and/or how this change manifests in volunteer tourists.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This study was based on the idea that volunteer travel trips may be more than just a vacation abroad. Rather, the central purpose of the research was *to explore how volunteer travel may influence and inspire participants to think critically about issues of power and privilege. The study also examines the potential provided by a volunteer trip abroad to influence a tourist's ongoing development of critical consciousness and transformation of attitudes.* Using a multi-methods approach, including the use of autoethnography and interviews, the research looks to answer the previously started research question along with the following sub-questions. While the broad research question for this study focuses on the societal implications, several sub-questions with an individual focus were used to guide the researcher into examining the overarching question. The sub-questions included:

1) How do participants, think about or understand the inherent hierarchal structure between themselves and their hosts?

2) In what ways do volunteer travellers become aware of their own privileges over the course of their tour and/or years after they return home?

3) Does or can volunteer travel create a disorienting dilemma for participants, which is a key element to transformative learning, and if so do these changes continue even after a volunteer traveller returns home?

Phases of the Study

The study began when I took the trip to Africa for the autoethnographical section of my research. During the time I was away, I documented my experience in a journal and when I

returned home I transferred the journal into an electronic document. While transferring the stories to my computer I began recording different themes that were emerging.

After I documented my journal into an online format, I began seeking interview participants. Using snowball sampling, I contacted some peers and past participants of volunteer travel and asked them to reach out to their peer networks on my behalf. I chose to do the interviews after the autoethnography in order for a travel trip to be somewhat fresh in my mind. Having just gone on a volunteer trip, I felt that I was more able to understand the experiences participants were sharing with me, since I had just had a similar one.

Interviews were conducted over a 4-month period, at a time and date convenient for the participant. The day following the interview, I transcribed the conversation, noting different themes that stood out in the dialogue. Pseudonyms were used in the transcription and throughout the study and any identifying material was removed to ensure confidentiality. Interviews were also sent back to the participants for review (member checking) to ensure accurate representation. I used this approach with each and every one of the ten interviews. Once all the interviews were completed, and it appeared that the data had reached a point of saturation, where no new themes were emerging, I used thematic analysis where I identified reoccurring issues, language, and events and clustered them together under the label of different themes (Stokes, 2011). Thematic analysis was used to identify the common themes within each of the interviews and my journal. The themes found within the interviews were compared with each other, and then to those of my journal.

Through the use of a multi-method approach, autoethnography and interviews, I was able to gain a stronger sense of the themes that emerged from the volunteer experience. The autoethnographical approach allowed me to reflect deeply on my own time with volunteer travel

which helped me further engage with the salient themes that emerged from the interviews. Both methods complimented one another and the themes that emerged from the interviews gave me confidence that my autoethnographical findings were valid since the same themes emerged from both methods.

Qualitative Research

This research was a muti-method qualitative study. According to Bogdan and Knopp-Biklen (2007) qualitative research is defined as "An approach to social science research that emphasizes collecting descriptive data in natural settings, uses inductive thinking, and emphasizes understanding the subjects' point of view" (p. 274). Qualitative research looks at how people make meaning of their different experiences and the world around them (Bogdan & Knopp-Biklen, 2007) and since volunteer travel is a deeply personal experience, a qualitative approach influenced by a feminist perspective was an appropriate choice when conducting the study. Qualitative research aims to work *with* participants when gathering data and it acknowledges the active role of the researcher. As the researcher, I am working to be critical about my own influence and role in the study and included my own thoughts, reflections, and biases throughout the discussion of this methodology section. This approach has been inspired by an interpretivist view where knowledge is socially constructed, and inspired by feminist perspectives which reject the idea that a researcher can remain completely objective, as well as the importance of addressing the researcher's own positioning within the study (Lather, 1995; Smith & Osborne, 2008; Westmarland, 2001). Furthermore, using a feminist perspective, the goal is to develop a relationship between the researcher and participants that is non-hierarchical, where both are able to openly share feelings or any concerns of the research impacting values

(Duffy, 1985; Seibold, 2000). The study also has an emphasis on the social context of both the researcher and the participants (Seibold, 2000; Smith, 1987,1991).

Autoethnography

The first method used to explore the research question was autoethnography. Autoethnography is a qualitative research method which focuses on the researcher's own experiences. Stanfield (2011) describes autoethnography as a tool to be used when "the primary research instrument is the subjectivity of the researcher" (p.22). Autoethnography uses the researcher's own autobiographical materials as a means to explore their experiences. Reed-Danahay (1997) further adds that the autoethnographer is a "boundary-crosser" (p.3) where they are both an insider participating in the study and also an outsider who is observing the group or event.

Autoethnography is a deeply personal method of studying the self where a first-person narrative is analysed within the broader social context (Pennington & Brock, 2012). While I have participated in other volunteer trips, for the purpose of this study, my approach was more focussed. Prior to commencing work on the other components of this study, I chose to travel on a volunteer trip where I kept a journal while away in order to document events and feelings of the day's activities. I wrote in the journal everyday right before bed. Throughout the study I use excerpts from the journal I kept. Through the use of my journal excerpts, I was able to describe the intimate encounters and acknowledge the powerful emotions I felt while abroad. My autoethnographic reflections were not only designed to capture the emotions and experiences associated when volunteering abroad, but to focus on experiences that will help illuminate our understanding of volunteer travel as potentially transformative, and contributing to building

positive peace. While I wrote, I tried to unpack my emotions as well as explore how my own background and experiences were influencing my time volunteering abroad. As Creswell (2013) describes, a researcher involved in autoethnography critically addresses how their own sociocultural background impacts their involvement in their research.

I chose to include an autoethnographic approach to the research because of my own personal history participating in volunteer travel trips. As previously mentioned I have been on a variety of volunteer experiences across the world and have had my own share of memorable and impactful experiences. While I have recorded elements of different trips in a variety of ways over time, for the purpose of this study, I wanted to fully document a volunteer trip, critically examining my own thoughts and experiences as I participated fully as a volunteer in a country to which I had never been. The purpose of my reflections was to illustrate one's reflexivity in regards to intercultural relationship building, reactions to inequality, as well as any questions and/or behavioural changes which arise as a result of participation in volunteer travel. The decision to be an active participant in the research was influenced by Scarles' (2010) study on tourism in Peru where she travelled the same route as her participants. Scarles believed that by using an autoethnographic approach to her research she was provided with emotionally rich and descriptive data not only from participants but through her own reflections as a participant as well. Furthermore, Scarles noted that sharing the experience made interviews with participants more valuable, since she was viewed as not only a researcher but also as a fellow tourist who understands the unique emotional experience that travel elicits. For my own research, I chose autoethnography in order to not only explore my own experience with volunteer travel but also unlock a relationship between myself and participants where we were both viewed as volunteer travellers.

Study site.

The study site for the autoethnography was my own participation on a volunteer travel trip. Through contacts already established during an unpaid internship held in 2013 with the charitable organization WE (formally known as Free the Children), I gained access to a volunteer trip. The volunteer trip was hosted through WE's sister organization Me to We. Me to We is a social enterprise which filters its product profits, which include clothes, artisanal objects, volunteer trips and more, back into WE in order to offset the expenses of the charity (Me to We, 2018b). Trips offered through Me to We travel to the various communities around the world that the WE charity program, WE Villages, works within. The WE Villages model is described as a strategy to eradicate the barriers to education and end the cycle of poverty through providing rural communities access to clean water/sanitation, ensuring food security, providing healthcare, access to education and by providing various financial opportunities such as animal husbandry (WE, 2018b). By working with both community members and local governments, WE developed a variety of projects in countries such as Ecuador, India, China, and Nicaragua as part of the We Village project (Me to We, 2018b). Projects include things like construction and establishment of schools (both elementary and high school), rehabilitating or drilling wells for clean water, construction of hospital wings, education about sanitation and health, teaching English classes, as well as workshops for economic opportunities (WE, 2018b). Currently the organization offers a variety of different trips based on age, such as youth volunteer trips, university travel, corporate trips, and adult and family focused trips (Me to We, 2018b).

With consent from other participants and the travel company, in 2017, I travelled alongside 26 people between the ages of 18 and 25 on a 19-day university trip to the Maasai Mara in Kenya. The ability to travel with Me to We is significant because I was the first

researcher granted access on a volunteer travel trip with the organization. There is also significance in the fact that my autoethnography gives a first-hand account into what is happening on these trips. Me to We is a popular sending organization within Canada and having the unique opportunity to travel as a researcher on one of their trips provides new insight into Canadian-run volunteer travel trips abroad. This inside position has also proved to be an important component for the for formation of my recommendations into how volunteer travel trips can be improved (Chapter 6).

The group I travelled with was made up of individuals from a variety of different backgrounds. The majority of travellers were on summer break from university with only two participants not being in school. From discussions with the group I learned that for those who were currently in school, many were in programs related to international development, social work, or social sciences. While certain background information about the participants was interesting, the data I collected while away was about my own experience and therefore I focused on my experiences and interactions rather than those of the other travellers who were on my trip.

While away, we split our time between volunteer work and cultural activities. The volunteer project we participated in was construction work, laying the foundation for a new dormitory at a boys' high school in the community. The school had been previously completed by other Me to We trips. However, as enrolment at the school grew, there was a demand for a second dormitory. Our construction work consisted of breaking down rocks with sledge hammers, collecting small rocks, sand, and water to hand turn into cement, and laying this cement over the rocks. The project was overseen by different local supervisors, as well as our trip facilitators. It was hard work, and for the majority of our trip we spent the mornings at the construction site, before it got too hot to work this way. While many of us, including myself, had

limited construction experience, the work was easy to understand and everyone was able to contribute. By the end of our trip we had laid the concrete for what would be the floor of the new dormitory. Future trips will continue to work on the foundation we built and continue construction on the dormitory until completion.

The afternoons were spent doing some sort of cultural activity. This included things such as a water walk with the women in the local community, beading traditional jewellery with these women, learning about traditional weapons with the Maasai warriors, brief Swahili language classes, visiting schools previously constructed by Me to We and spending time with elementary students or high school students, and more. During this time, we were always accompanied by two local Masai Mara warriors along with our trip facilitators, these young men acted as local guides as well as translators when we entered communities. Here we had the opportunity to try out our Swahili with the locals and they in turn tried their English with us.

The evenings were spent discussing the different pillars of the WE Villages model (water/sanitation, food security, healthcare, education and financial opportunities). We would sit down as a large group and have the facilitators lead a conversation and activity about one of the pillars. Each facilitator (the Canadian, American, and Kenyan) guided the evening discussion, reading off pages of notes previously prepared. For example, if we spent the day doing a water walk, that evening we discussed water usage and water diseases. As a team, we were given sheets of paper with various water related statements such as “amount of water required to produce one pound of red meat” or “water required to fill one bathtub”, and it was our job to discuss and decide an order for these scenarios from most water usage to least. The activity was a way for us to think about our own impact on the various pillars but also was a way for the group to talk about what we had seen during the day and discuss these issues. Attendance was

mandatory for the evening discussions, and while much of the dialogue was controlled by the WE Villages model and talking about the different pillars to poverty eradication, it was a good opportunity for the group members to share how they were feeling. Group discussions often inspired other, off-scripted, discussions once the evening module was complete and participants stayed up to socialize more informally.

Transparency.

While I was travelling with the group I was open and honest about my involvement, telling each participant that I was there to fully engage in the trip as a fellow traveller but also that I was planning to include my experiences in my thesis. Therefore, every participant was aware of my status as a PhD student and researcher from the beginning of the trip. I chose to be open with the group because in no way did I want any deception. As mentioned, participants on the trip were aged 18-25 and during the time of travel I was 27. Being a similar age meant that I blended in with the group. Since I did not look out of place overtly, it was important that I identified myself as a researcher in order to ensure transparency. I did not want any participants on the trip to feel misled about my intentions and involvement with the volunteer trip and therefore I was as open and honest as possible. It was also crucial that I was transparent about my research since I wanted the other travellers to be aware that the study was based on *my own* experiences; therefore their trip would not be affected or compromised in any way and they should not feel uncomfortable or awkward by my presence.

Furthermore, I was clear with participants and trip leaders that I had no obligation to WE or Me to We. All findings discovered while away, positive, negative, and in between would be documented and discussed. In no way do I work for the organization and therefore I felt free to be critically honest about my experience and observations while away, and now. It was important

to share this information with both leaders and participants since I did not want them to act differently while around me. While I am sure some participants may have felt wary about my involvement on the trip at first, we all became quick friends.

Due to the language barrier, and limited interactions I had with different community members in the Maasai Mara, I did not disclose the fact that I was conducting research to any of the locals (other than our facilitators and both Maasai warriors who were with our group for the duration of the trip). Since the focus of my project was on volunteer travellers, with an emphasis on myself, I felt that it was not necessary to disclose my research to the numerous and different locals I met. If I had been fluent in Swahili, my interactions with the community may have been different, with my research being a topic of conversation. However, since all of the interactions I had with locals were brief, limited to an hour or two at most, and challenging due to my limited knowledge of Swahili and their limited knowledge of English, it made the most sense to try to engage with the community as best I could. This meant avoiding complicating the relationship further by disclosing and explaining my research project concerning my experience and not locals specifically.

The stories from my journal and autoethnographical research shared throughout this study does not reflect anyone else's opinions about that university trip to Kenya. While some stories mention other participants and local community members anonymously, they are from my standpoint and the focus is not on those other participants but how I interpreted what was happening in the story. In the following chapter I share some of these stories from the journal I kept while in Kenya.

Interviews

The second aspect of my study included semi-structured interviews with participants of previous volunteer travel trips. Prior to conducting interviews, the research proposal for this study, which included the interview questions and consent forms, was approved by the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board ensuring the well-being of all participants involved.

Participants.

Ten different people from various ages and backgrounds were interviewed for this study. Interviews were an important element of the research since they provided information about how volunteer travellers view their experience well after they have returned home. The participants were a mix of both men (3) and women (7). The ages of the participants also ranged from 19- 30, with all the participants having travelled on their respected trips when they were between the ages of 16-25. Originally, I had intended the age bracket of travel to be between 18-25, partially because this age rage is the most common for volunteer travel participants (Sherraden et al., 2008; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). While all participants travelled while they were in the 18-25 age range, many revealed having undertaken multiple volunteer travel experiences, and many of them cited their earlier trips as being significant and chose to additionally discuss times when they travelled in their mid-teens. When participants shared their stories, they talked of past trips (including, in some cases, those taken before they reached the age of majority) and most recent trips interchangeably or in comparison. Since these past experiences overlapped with the trips they took when they were at least 18, I chose to include all the experiences which the participant chose to share, regardless of the age they were when they had travelled.

As noted, while the participants were a mix of both male and female, the majority of the participants were female (70%). It was more of a challenge to find male participants, for when I was requesting referrals, many of the suggestions were for females. Even when reaching out to male participants, much of the time they would recommend female peers who had been on the trip with them rather than other males. This was also apparent while I was on my autoethnographic trip to Kenya; the majority of participants were female with only three males attending (out of 27 participants). This was not a surprise since, as previously discussed, the popularity of volunteer travel trips is greatest amongst females (Devereux, 2008; Palk, 2010; Parker, 2014).

The requirements for participation in the interviews were simply that one had participated in a volunteer trip when they were between the ages of 18-25 (although this age range was modified) and that the trip(s) they were discussing had occurred at least one year prior. I initially believed that having been home for at least one year would allow the participant to be fully able to reflect on any transition issues they may have faced. However, one participant had travelled on a volunteer trip six months prior to their interview. While this was not part of my original criteria, I chose to include this interview since he was a male participant and I wanted more male participants. Furthermore, the interview contained rich data since the proximity in time of that trip provided a lot of detail. Also, including the recent interview gave the study more range, with one participant travelling only six months earlier while another had travelled nine years prior, the longest time between trip and interview amongst the participants.

I gained access to the participants through my own personal networks and snowball sampling. I had open discussions with various peers about my research and from these discussions I was provided with contact information, such as email or Facebook messenger

information, for people who may be interested in discussing their past experience with volunteer travel. I also reached out to people with whom I had gone on previous volunteer travel trips years ago and asked if they wished to participate or would know of anyone who would be interested. Having a mix of both strangers and past peers made the research richer. I wanted a mix of participants to ensure that the interviewees were not simply participating to help me; rather they were participating because they had things to say about volunteer travel. While I thought people with no previous connection to me might be more candid, I found that past peer participants were equally open, knowing that I had no obligation to volunteer travel organizations. All seemed to feel comfortable sharing opinions and stories, even if they were critical of different organizations. As Bogdan & Knopp-Biklen (2007) note, trust is an important element in research in order to gain access to information which may otherwise be withheld. In the case of my interviews, having the participants as peers, friends or friends of friends created that trust.

As noted, the participants had quite varied experiences with volunteer travel. Some had only travelled on a single trip while others have had gone on multiple volunteer travel trips. In terms of location, the only requirement for participation in the study was that the volunteer trip took place abroad. Furthermore, the type of volunteer experience varied not only in the country a participant visited, but also the volunteer project they were working on. Table 1 has a breakdown of the country and volunteer activity of each participant.

Interview process.

Once I was in contact with prospective participants, they were sent a consent form to read and sign (see Appendix A). When that process was completed participants set up a time that worked for their schedule and we proceeded with the interview, either over Skype, phone, Facebook video call or Facebook audio call. Facebook seemed to be the most popular option

since many did not have a Skype account but all were on social media.[5] These audio calls were done privately and confidentially in my home office. Interviews were done electronically since all the participants were based in a variety of locales in Ontario, and I was in Manitoba. Originally being from Ontario, my peers and their peer networks were based in that province. While I would have preferred face to face interviews, the video call option worked out since I was able to watch for body language and facial expression and was the next best thing to meeting in person.

Interview questions included basic background information about the participant including a description of themselves along with a description of the volunteer trip they participated on. Many of the interview questions were created based on my own reflections with volunteer travel and addressed the areas that I was the most curious about. These included seeking more detail about the interview participant's experience, asking them questions about how they viewed the host community prior to visiting, how that has changed over time, in what ways they believe the trip has impacted them, and recommendations for how these trips can be improved. The interview guide which includes the list of questions asked to participants is found in Appendix B.

Ten semi- structured interviews were conducted for the study. After the tenth interview I felt that I had reached a saturation point for data and had a good variety of responses, having achieved a good mix of both male and female participants ranging in age and experiences. After the tenth interview, I was satisfied with the quality and diversity of information collected and stopped seeking additional participants.

[5] At the time of interviews, Facebook Messenger was considered ethically safe for sharing information, but future research should be cognizant of the privacy issues related to the ethics of social media platforms.

Once interviews were completed they were then transcribed. During transcription, the names of participants were changed and any identifying material was left out to ensure confidentiality. I wanted to ensure that the participants felt comfortable sharing their volunteer travel memories and be as critical as they desired of their experience, therefore ensuring confidentiality was important. After the interviews were transcribed they were sent back to the participant for review.

Other considerations.

One issue that became apparent during my seventh interview, conducted with participant Evie, was that the structure of my questions was a bit limiting. When coming up with the questions, I considered my own past experience with volunteer trips which included community projects and cultural interactions. This is why I chose to include certain questions geared towards how each participant thought about the host community they were working with prior to and after their trip. However, these types of questions were not suitable to participants whose trip was not focused on community activities. Evie discussed her volunteer travel experience as working with animals in Africa. The focus on her trip was on wildlife, not community, and therefore the only interactions she really had with the local community was with their lodging and people she met in passing, Therefore, my questions landed flat with that participant and I had to quickly refocus the interview away from her perspectives on the community and more about her own experiences. Since the interviews were semi-structured, there was room to change and modify the questions for that participant. While the interview was very interesting and in fact her opinion of the local community was the only negative opinion shared by interview participants, I should have been aware of how the questions were geared to community projects connecting

directly with people, especially since volunteer projects can be versatile and not just community focused.

Another issue which arose during interviews was memory. While many participants had particular stories they wanted to share during the interviews, when asked more direct, focused questions about their experiences, they were foggy. For example, one participant had a hard time remembering what exactly the project was that he worked on while away in Peru. Or when reflecting about their expectations before they travelled, different participants admitted to not being able to remember. Since some of the participants travelled many years ago, it is not surprising that some details have been lost from their mind and therefore I should have taken that into account when asking questions, perhaps by prodding into why they think those memories no longer stand out in their mind.

Furthermore, prior to interviewing I had anticipated emotional responses from participants when talking about the different memories they had from their travel; however, I did not realize how emotional it could be. During one interview, the participant, Sutton, became overwhelmed when talking about her interactions with different high school girls in Kenya. At one-point during the discussion, Sutton was in tears and we had to take a break from the interview. While hers was the only instance where a participant asked to take a break because of emotion, I did not anticipate how sensitive the memories of volunteer travel could be. Emotions are an important element of volunteer travel and I am glad that they were shared in safe ways during the interviews.

Limitations and delimitations.

Further issues to consider with the data included the limitations and delimitations of collection. Certain limitations, such as the fact that much of my data was self-reported, via the

journal entries, limited this collection method to my own opinions. This weakness, however, was considered outside of the researcher's control, and I attempted to make up for this possibility by including as much rich and detailed description in my entries as possible. The delimitation of the study included the scope of the research. The interview participants were limited to those who travelled when they were between the ages of 16-25, therefore my data did not reflect the experience of senior or juvenile travellers. Furthermore, the sample group for the interviews were 10 people from North America, limiting the interviews to the experience of travellers from the Global North. Future studies could be conducted to include a variety of age ranges as well as globally diverse participants.

Although there are limitations of the study, steps were taken to increase trustworthiness. As mentioned, interviews were conducted until a point of saturation, and transcripts were sent to the participants as a way of member checking. Additionally, during the autoethnography portion, the journal entries were written with as much detail and thick description as possible. Furthermore, by using two data methods, autoethnography and interviews, the study demonstrated a triangulation of themes; the themes were discovered in both interview transcripts as well as journal entries. These measures increased the trustworthiness of the study and helped to reduce the impact of existing limitations and delimitations.

Interview participants overview.

While Table 1 below represents a summary or overview of the demography and experiences of the interview participants, the following chapter explores the themes that were discovered in both my autoethnography while abroad in Kenya as well as interviews with past participants of volunteer travel.

Table 1

Interview Participant Overview

Participant*	Age	Current Occupation	Gender	Age when travelled	Country visited	Volunteer activity	Duration of Trip
Claire	26	Teacher/ Entrepreneur/ motivational speaker	Female	First trip at 19, ongoing since then	Dominican Republic Peru Costa Rica Bolivia Ghana Kenya India China	Various Also acted as a facilitator for volunteer travel trips	Ranging from 1 week to 4 weeks
Julie	21	Student	Female	16 And again when 18 20	Nicaragua Kenya	Literacy Programs- teaching English Me to We volunteer trip- School building	10 Days 3 weeks
Sutton	27	Teacher	Female	22	Kenya	Me to We volunteer trip- School Building and Teaching Activities	3 weeks
Trey	19	Student	Male	18	Kenya	Me to We volunteer trip- School Building	3 weeks
Simon	26	Resident in Family Medicine	Male	21	Peru	Alternative Spring Break construction at elementary school	1 week

Mia	27	Graphic designer at a rehab facility	Female	20	Dominican Republic	Delegation Trip (awareness trip)	10 days
Evie	30	Registered Veterinarian Technician at the Toronto Humane Society	Female	25	South Africa	Working with a local organization to help animals	3-4 weeks
Jess	27	Teacher	Female	18	Dominican Republic	Awareness trip	10 days
John	30	Teacher	Male	22	United States (Texas)	Habitat for Humanity-building homes	Roughly 7 days
Kelsey	26	Registered Nurse	Female	24	Haiti	Medical Mission	7 days

*Names of participants have been changed to ensure confidentiality

Table 1

Chapter 4: The Volunteer Travel Experience

This chapter discusses themes that were discovered in both my autoethnographical experience on a volunteer travel trip to Kenya as well as interviews with ten past participants of similar voluntourism trips. Each theme begins with an excerpt from my journal and continues with quotes from the interview participants. These themes are outlined in Table 2 below:

Table 2

Themes Uncovered

Theme	Points of interest
Relationships	Relationships developing with fellow travellers Relationships developing with local communities
Emotions	Overwhelming emotions after community interactions Controlling emotions and self-representation while away Feelings of: • Gratitude for their privileges back home • Anger and frustration with others or themselves after returning home • Discomfort in new communities
Exposure to local social issues	Learning about different issues that plague the local community Changing perspectives about the host country
Cultural envy	Appreciating and admiring the host community's values and comparing these values to those back home Witnessing the strength of the local community Preserving and sharing culture
Sharing about the Experience	Sharing stories with family and peers Use of social media
Action and Change	Changes in everyday consumption Getting more involved in their own community back home Personal growth and growing empathy Changing conceptions about perfect vacations Applying what they learned abroad back at home

Table 2

Relationships

Relationships were a common theme that emerged throughout the study. Two different types of relationships were explored: relationships with fellow travellers, and relationships built between travellers and local community members.

Relationships with travellers.

One important and popular theme that emerged within the study was related to the relationships built amongst travellers. I discuss my own experience with these relationships in my journal. I wrote:

Tonight, we did an activity where we were to write [reflecting on] two fears about being on the trip; either your own or what others have voiced to you. I was surprised by how many fears revolved around friendship. Many discussed the fear of not being accepted by the group they were travelling with, feeling lonely, and not making new friends. I completely understand these fears, in fact I share these concerns. As an older participant, I worry the group will see me as an outsider. I have been happily surprised with how easy it has been to connect to my fellow travellers. In fact, I think everyone has been surprised with how easy we have all gotten along. Everyone seems to have such an optimistic attitude about the trip and are warm and inviting. Something like finding a seat at meal time is not awkward like I had worried it would be, everyone has been welcoming and sitting at any table is a chance to engage with new people. So far, I have formed a bond with another participant, who, like me, is older than the majority of other travellers. She is also coincidentally, from the same town as me. I hope we will continue to build this friendship even after we return back to Canada. We have a lot in common and she has made this trip more enjoyable, especially as I am missing home already.

As previously mentioned, many volunteer trips, like the one I took to Kenya, organizes trips by age group. The trips bring together a group of similarly aged individuals who then spend 12-24 hours a day together for the duration of their trip. I experienced these fast-built relationships first-hand while away in Kenya. We were a group of strangers when we first arrived, but after almost three weeks together, close friendships were formed.

One interview participant, Claire, describes the quick relationship formation that occurs on volunteer trips when she said:

> You get to know people quicker just cause you're around them for so long but you also see people at their best and their worst. There's no luxuries on most of these trips so you get to see people stripped down both in terms of the physical materialistic sense of the word as well as the emotional sense. Our days are long and tiring and you get to see the best and the worst. You get to bond with a group of people who you might not have otherwise, which is really neat.

Meeting new people and creating new friends was even noted as a motivation for some to participate in a volunteer travel trip in the first place. As Claire noted:

> I was looking for a way to meet new people in an organized place that would be something that I was interested in anyway, so the trip kind of seemed like a natural fit. I knew I liked to travel and I knew I wanted to travel with people from [my university] who weren't necessarily just going to get drunk [referring to the stereotypical university break partying], and I didn't know too many people, so it worked out.

Claire also noted that volunteer trips bring together a diverse group of people. She said:

> You get to bond with a group of people who you might not have otherwise which is really neat. One thing that I really liked about these trips was they really collected a good

> diverse group of people whether it was from [differing] socioeconomic status or educational stand point or whatever it is. Granted, our [University] ones were a little bit different since we were all clearly university students but for the most part we were all from different departments, different areas, different backgrounds different genetics, whatever it may be. So, it was a great way to meet new people and step outside of your proverbially friend bubble, and you get to see the world!

Furthermore, not only were these trips an opportunity to make new friends, but they were an opportunity to meet like-minded people. As Julie discussed:

> I feel like me personally, my personality, I am someone who likes to talk about this stuff [global issues], not always do I run into people in my everyday life or in school or my friends who like to talk about it so going on these trips with people -- like going on the Kenya trip-- was a big step for me because I didn't know anybody going into it. So, when I got there, I realized there were a lot of like-minded people like me that I could talk to about the stuff that I'd never been able to talk to my friends about before and have conversations that I've never had before, and it was really nice to meet people who had similar viewpoints as me and just very positive outlooks.

The idea that volunteer travel trips are an opportunity for like-minded individuals to come together has been discussed by McGehee (2002). McGehee states that volunteer trips have the ability to "draw together like-minded individuals from far-flung geographical areas, enabling the establishment of network ties and idea exchange. In turn, new network ties may encourage social movement participation." (p.129). McGehee notes the potential of volunteer travel trips to bring together young people who have an interest in activism and/or social issues and argues that participation can create new social networks which lead tourists to become active in various

causes. The participants in this study also discussed the importance of the relationships they built with fellow travellers, not simply for a new social network, but also as a support system.

While away on their volunteer trip, travellers looked to their peers for support when facing the challenges that came with volunteering abroad. When discussing the sexism Evie witnessed on her trip to South Africa, she discussed how the group she was travelling with had to intervene when their host became inappropriate towards a traveller. Evie said:

> I spoke to the women I came over there with about it [sexism], just because it was so—we were all kind of shocked by it! At one point we actually did say something because we were in a situation where our hosts were drinking and they were making openly sexist comments to my peers, so we felt the need -- that we had to stand up and say something to support and protect one another.

For most, the relationships made while away were a support system on the trip to discuss the challenges of the trip. As interview participant Kelsey noted:

> We would have sit down meetings every night after dinner where we would reflect on our day and we would go around and say things that we saw, things that may have been new for us or had made us feel uncomfortable or that we kind of wanted to discuss because … Either people in the group… some had been there for 4 years [or for] some it was their first trip, some it was their second trip. It was interesting to share those initial thoughts or reflections and get the feedback from one another. We definitely did talk about global issues, and domestic violence and gender inequality were probably the bigger ones. And we did see a lot of poverty while we were there so we had—we did have a lot of talks on that as well, especially seeing the difference the girls [fellow travellers] had seen in their previous years travelling there.

This support system was important for participants both while away and even after they returned home from their volunteer experience. While on her trip to Kenya participant Sutton said she:

> felt a little bit like a mom for everyone who was having those hard times. There's a culture shock! All of us were having huge culture shock but we became a very close group of 30 people. We still talk to each other today [five years later] and talk about some of our experiences and stuff, [since] we were there for each other.

Furthermore, the involvement on volunteer trips has become somewhat of a subculture. As Sutton shares:

> I know that you [referring to researchers] have done these trips and you get where I'm coming from. It's hard to talk to people who have never done volunteer trips and have never experienced that. I still talk to some of my Kenya friends which is awesome, and they will always be like [my] 'Kenya friends'.

The fact that Sutton relied on my being a trip participant as a way to understand the bond between participants was interesting and understandable. Only those who have experienced spending 24/7 with the same group of people in a unique setting, experiencing a new culture or travelling abroad for the first time is an interesting experience. I have found it hard at times to explain my time abroad to peers who have not been on such a trip.

Sutton further explains this lack of understanding by outsiders who have never been on a volunteer trip. She shares:

> It was hard coming home and I feel like even my parents didn't really know how to talk to me. They [would ask] 'Oh how was your trip?'… 'Good!' But it was more than a trip. People had a hard time grasping that. Like I said, all my friends were just interested if I

had seen [the wildlife]—'Did you go on a safari?', Well yeah that was one day out of the thirty but, yes, we went, [and they would ask] 'Oh well did you see this?' 'Yeah' and 'What else did you do?', 'We taught and we built schools.' There was just no connection with that [building and working in the community] and no desire to know more and that's something that really struck me as a part of our society and how self-centered we can be and it probably took me a week or two to actually get back into being myself and being able to talk openly [about the trip] without just being frustrated that nobody understands.

The idea that volunteer travel is a unique experience, where only those who have gone on a trip can truly understand, validates my choice to participate in an autoethnographical study prior to doing these interviews. While Sutton had travelled to Kenya 5 years ago, I had recently travelled to the same community she had gone to. This made our conversation flow in a particular way where she wanted updates about different communities and different projects that Me to We had been working on. Also, since I had experienced the emotional complexity of a trip myself, Sutton seemed to feel reassured when she could not find the words to describe her memories. For example, when describing a memory that stood out, Sutton began describing her visit to an all-girls high school. I had also visited that high school on my own trip. When I asked if what she was describing was Kisaruni girls' high school she was ecstatic that I knew the school and had visited it myself, and she seemed to then find it easier to explain her own experience.

Not only were relationships with fellow travellers mentioned but interview participant John brought up the bond between travellers, organizers, and leaders of the trip. He shared:

I remember some of the people that I met there. I couldn't tell you their names or anything but just how happy they were and how much they loved doing this [working for

Habitat for Humanity]. When we were working we would sing songs… It was hard work… Especially in Laredo, it's very hot and you would take a lot of breaks, [and need to] drink a lot of water but none of that ever got them down, and just overall [the] happiness and the feelings about the project really stuck with me throughout the years.

Similarly, participant Trey talked about how one of the memories which most stands out when he reflects on his experience volunteering abroad is, "all the relationships you built with the people we went with, the group of people we went with, and also the different community members and the facilitators we went with and stuff like that."

Relationships with local communities.

As Trey said, relationships were not only built amongst the travellers on volunteer trips but also with the community members with whom they were working. During my time with Me to We, I learned that in Kenya women in the community are commonly referred to as 'Mama', which reflects respect towards the matriarchs in the area. In my journal I discuss a bond I made with a local Mama:

I really loved the experience of beading with the women in the community. One of the Mamas, Mama Judy, taught me her technique to make a random coloured Rafiki [beaded friendship bracelet inspired by Maasai traditions]. She took a shining to me and encouraged me in Swahili to be 'moja', aka number one, and when I finished she encouraged me to announce that I finished first and laughed with the other Mamas when I did.

A few days later: *Saw Mama Judy at beading today, my heart melted when she asked me questions about my upcoming wedding and when she found out I was leaving tomorrow she said to take care of my own Mama and to tell her about her and to always remember her. Another Mama asked if I remembered her, I said "yes from beading" and Judy said "chai" as she was*

the one who made the chai tea at beading. It made me emotional thinking about how much sharing and remembering means to the Mama and to me. When they know minimal English and I minimal Swahili, we still wanted so bad[ly] to communicate but ended up laughing. She called me 'moja', Number 1, and the other girls I was with two and three which I loved.

When asked about a memory that stood out for them when reflecting on their volunteering experience, half of the ten participants brought up the relationships they built with the community. For example, Sutton brought up conversations she had with girls at Kisaruni high-school as her most vivid memory of her trip to Kenya. While Claire shared, "the general kind of gist of what stands out is the interactions with the community and like the actual integration that you can create and be a part of." Claire added:

> those one-off community moments where you're holding children's hands or actually being welcomed into a home for dinner. Singing songs on a school bus with kindergarteners who don't speak the same language as you. Those are the moments that make these trips, and that bring people coming back for more, because those are the human moments.

Participant Julie describes her relationship with one of the children in the local community:

> The first time I went to Nicaragua I met this little boy named Ronaldo. I actually have a picture of him on my desk that I'm looking at. He was really tiny and just seemed really weak and he wore the same football jersey every day and you could tell he had been wearing it for years so he had cuts in it to make it fit better while he got older. It resonated with me watching him and he was such a jokester and he would joke with all the kids and seemed like one of those students I would see in my classroom when I was

> in public school, being destructive and getting in the way of everyone's learning and just making jokes all the time. But then I'd watch him as we started our lessons and he would quiet right down and became a very attentive listener and wanted to hear everything that everyone was saying and wanted to absorb as much knowledge as he could because unfortunately, he was one of the students who couldn't get into a literacy camp because they were all full and his parents couldn't afford to send him to one of the higher end ones. It was sad to see that [he was unable to get into other literacy camps], but he was so eager to learn, [and] by the end of the week we created this bond where we would joke with each other every time we saw each other. Even though there was such a language barrier, it was just interesting to observe him and see how he did.

Treasuring photos of people in the local community, like Ronaldo, were brought up by other interview participants as well. Trey shared that he keeps all of his photos from his trip to Kenya, "on my laptop and my phone that I show people." He added, "the pictures are of the kids at the school and stuff, how we played games with them, especially soccer and stuff, I have photos with them playing soccer, and just all that stuff." One participant discussed how photos became a way to watch the local community grow. Kelsey shared:

> One of my girlfriends actually has a photo of her with a little boy, I believe his name was Joseph. Every [of the] 4 years she took a photo with him and it was kind of interesting to see that he was exactly the same, like his face is the same, but he's grown each year and he recognizes her every year which is nice.

Other mentions of the relationship between tourists and the local community however, were the contrast between the two groups. For example, memories that stood out to the other five participants were focused on shocking realizations rather than personal connections. For

example, Simon discussed a memory which stood out to him being "how they [the children in the community] had to walk down this huge mountain every day and then walk up just to get to school every day, it would take them like hours, and I was just like—It was pretty shocking just seeing that that's just a normal thing."

For Mia, what stood out was travelling to the Haitian border two weeks after a devastating earthquake (7.0 magnitude) destroyed much of the country. Evie discussed visiting a shanty town in South Africa where "basically people's houses were three sheets of metal put together." Jess described her shock when visiting a clothing factory while in Dominican and the conditions the people were working in.

Participants also touched upon the relationship between the host community and the organization which they were travelling with. As Claire shared:

> Some of the best trips that I was ever on were ones where the community was integrated in such a way they felt that they themselves were facilitating the trip a little bit. So for example when we were in Kenya we each got a Maasai warrior as our guide who then in himself became a facilitator, who then got his friends to facilitate experiences… [having] the community [be] as involved as possible as opposed to having stuff done for them that's the best way when both sides feel like they are teaching.

Julie had a similar experience when sharing about her time abroad, adding that in Nicaragua:

> The organization I went with [to Nicaragua] was a very respected organization in the community we were in. They had established themselves in the community and they were known for being there to help the children so the parents and the adults in the community

were really respectful of them and every time we would be seen in the streets we were very welcomed… They'd come up to us and try to practice their English with us.

Not all communities were happy with the presence of international volunteers, however only one participant, Claire, discussed this. Claire shared:

> I worked in communities where the embrace has been really warm and the volunteer presence has been very welcomed and I've worked in communities where it has not. For instance, in Ghana it was the happiest place in the world and it was wonderful and in our small community where we had actually developed proper community relations. [Our involvement] was really well received, but if you branched out of that small community, there was a lot of resentment and overt racism towards Caucasian volunteers. [To these outside communities we were viewed as] these saviour people trying to make some sort of something while taking resources, which wasn't the case.

Some participants spoke about longing to have a closer connection to the local community and their culture. For instance, Sutton described how she felt a little too sheltered while in Kenya. She shared:

> I feel like I wanted to experience the food a little bit more. [While] we had goat and we had different spinach dishes and everything, but I think it would have been a little bit more festive if we spent, even a night or two, outside of the camp. But I know that's a hard liability with parents, so I think, as more of an adult now, if it was something else I would go back to, I would look for that sort of alternative [being more connected to the community], if it was an option.

Jess discussed her regrets not learning the local language when she was in the Dominican Republic. Jess said, "as a volunteer, I wish I learned some Spanish before going so that I could

have more authentic conversations with the people I met." By not learning the local language, Jess felt that she was unable to build proper relationships with the local community. However, as mentioned by Claire who sang songs with Kindergarten children who did not speak English, or Julie who bonded with the little boy, Ronaldo in Nicaragua, when neither spoke the same language, sometimes relationships can be developed despite having no shared language.

Relationships were shown to be a prominent theme amongst volunteer travel participants. Whether amongst the peers travelling together or with people in the local community, these interactions were noted as being an important memory that stands out to those participating in volunteer travel trips.

Eliciting complex emotions

Volunteer travel trips can be emotional. For some people, they are being exposed to a different part of the world, a new culture, meeting new people, and being away from home. Emotion came up in both my own experience while volunteering in Kenya, as well as with past participants during interviews.

In my journal I shared what I consider to be my favourite memory of Kenya and also my most emotional one:

Today we visited the girl's high school, Kisaruni. The school has approximately 150 girls. We had a tour of the school and throughout the whole time I felt very emotional. One thing though that stuck out about the school was cultural Fridays where parents and community members are welcomed into the school to teach the learners and keep up local traditions.

The girls took us to the computer lab and science lab and I was completely inspired by them and what they could do. We also learned about their favourite books in the library. We also got to

play soccer with the girls [and] I loved it. It was so much fun to just play with them and we had a whole cheering section on the sidelines.

One girl was so quick to learn and know my name, while I had to ask her a couple times for hers. She loves soccer and is in grade eleven, loves girlie fictional stories and when she is done school she wants to be a journalist or a musician since she plays the guitar. She was so curious about my life asking about what I want to do and what I like about school. It was really nice to be able to just talk to her and ask about her life and her love for school.

The experience was completely emotional and overwhelming. From highs, like the fun conversation when myself and a big group of girls got talking about boys and who is in a relationship, to lows, feeling guilt at the opportunities I have and don't optimize. These girls work so hard, they are up at 4:30 am each day since they want to optimize their study time and are in charge of cleaning and keeping their school clean. In my own life I am at the top of my education and it was not done so without complaints and wanting to drop out. I have been given everything and for some reason it's never enough. I feel very emotional and its even hard to write about.

For me, meeting and talking with girls who were actually attending a school that was built by Me to We and WE Charity was amazing. I was overwhelmed when thinking about how this opportunity to attend school was a gift to many of the girls. Many of them would not have had the chance to go to high school since many are too far to walk to; however Kisaruni has dorms for all the students. Being able to talk to the girls and learn the impact of having a chance to go to school was inspiring. I never realized how much I have taken education for granted until I had the chance to talk to girls who worked tooth and nail to get into Kisaruni and how passionate they are about learning.

As mentioned previously, Sutton and I had an interesting interview where we bonded over having gone on a similar trip through Me to We to Kenya, and although years apart, she had a comparable experience at Kisaruni. When discussing her memory of talking with the girls at Kisaruni and about their future ambitions Sutton found it hard to put into words how she was feeling:

> One of my best memories I think, was probably the most emotional one. We were originally working with elementary schools and one day we got to work with a girls' high school. [The school had] only been open for two years and they were just grade nine and ten students. Being able to talk to them about their future ambitions as women in Africa and wanting to be lawyers and doctors and teachers. Having absolutely nothing and seeing how amazing and dedicated they were to their school [was emotional]. As a teacher coming from our education system where kids don't care about anything like that and maybe ten percent actually have aspirations to be something other than a hockey player, it was that was a very cool moment being able to hang out with them for the day.

She later added:

> On Facebook the other day I saw a video of Kisaruni and some of the girls there and how much bigger the school is and I was almost in tears 'cause I was like 'Oh I did that!' Oh Ellen stop! [We took a break here since she was tearing up.]

Both Sutton and I felt overwhelmed when meeting with the girls from Kisaruni. This could be both because we felt frustrated with how back home we take our educational system for granted and also because we were physically present, working to construct various projects to give students like these girls the opportunity to go to school. By being physically present, we were part of something important in these girls' lives. We became intertwined with them. When I

reflect back on my time in Kenya, my mind immediately goes back to the girls and how they are doing and I wonder if they are keeping up with their studies. Seeing the work that Me to We had already done first-hand, and personally meeting with the girls put a face to the construction project we were working on. Meeting the students made me want to work hard for them since I saw how much the opportunity to attend school meant to them, and to also take that work ethic home and put as much effort into my everyday as those girls put into their studies.

Gratitude and good fortune.

Participants also discussed how fortunate they felt. Simon shared:

> I guess I just see myself as somewhat fortunate. I mean, every person has their own experience of things but I definitely view myself as fortunate in terms of [being] born and raised in Canada, having access to basic things: health care, nutrition, education, growing up with parents who pretty much provided any opportunity as needed. So, I doubt that if I grew up in Peru would I have been able to go to high school even, undergrad, medical school and things like that? So definitely I feel fortunate for sure.

For some, it was not until they returned home that they experienced these feelings. John discussed how he felt fortunate after coming home from his trip to Texas:

> You feel better about yourself, you know you've actually done something physical to help people but especially living—or doing this job in Laredo. It kind of really does make you feel appreciative of the life you have, not just because of the Habitat for Humanity, 'cause you know these people struggle all of their lives and they finally get this opportunity to get this house, but also the area it is in it is a poor socio-economic area so you kind of see what kind of amenities [they have and compare that to] what you have and it can be from education to health care. It's really eye-opening and it definitely did

> make me more appreciative of the life that I was leading in the GTA [Greater Toronto Area].

Evie had a similar experience returning home from South Africa:

> I think I was just so grateful for my day to day life when I got home. I realized that I would never have to be forced to live in that situation under any possible circumstance and even I think the poorest people in my community wouldn't have to live in the circumstances that I saw, so I was definitely very grateful for Canada as a whole.

Anger and frustration.

Frustration and anger were experienced in different ways and times. For some, like Kelsey, it was related to culture shock when they returned home:

> I had a bigger culture shock coming home and seeing the culture that we live in here [in Canada] I mean, I found it very hard to be around people who had petty complaints, and I wasn't scared to say that. It definitely changed my attitude towards people. I'm not saying I'm going to be rude but if people are going to complain about silly things I'm going to let them know that there are bigger things out there to complain about.

Others felt frustrated at themselves. Mia shared*:*

> It's hard to come back to all the amenities that we have here [in Canada]. So yeah, there was a little bit of a struggle for sure. I think a lot of people on the trip came back and just felt like huge assholes 'cause we just waltzed back into our perfect lives in a way, kind of leave it all behind.

Julie added that she felt frustrated due to the fact that she was exposed to this new part of the world which people back home had no idea about. She shared:

> Every trip I go on I come home with the same sort of anger in a way, where it's like all this stuff is happening and people need to know about it and the word needs to be spread not only in a negative way but to talk about the positive things that are happening in [the host countries].

Participants who were feeling extremely angry and frustrated once they returned home may have been experiencing reverse culture shock. As mentioned, reverse culture shock is the difficulty adjusting to home life after being away (Gaw, 2000). Claire directly discussed feeling reverse culture shock:

> Reverse culture shock is a huge thing. I have been pretty fortunate with it, I haven't experienced too much of it myself. I mean, with a couple exceptions here or there, but it is a real thing, and it's hard for especially kids to process I think, especially being at such a young age where they're learning so much and they are starting to find their voice and their social conscious… Seeing people not being empathetic towards social justice issues, or wasting food, or just taking resources for granted in any way shape or form is a huge thing and I think it can lead to a lot of anger with participants, because they feel frustrated that not everyone else understands that.

For some participants, returning home after volunteering abroad ignited a variety of different feelings towards their home community and concerns about changing the way they view various lifestyles back home in the Global North.

Unsettled and uncomfortable.

Participant Mia, discussed feeling out of place and uncomfortable while she was in Dominican Republic when travelling to the Haitian boarder. She shared that she felt uncomfortable:

> When we went to the Haitian boarder, because it was two weeks after the earthquake in Haiti, it devastated everything… I remember we went there and it just felt a little bit—it was very tense, but it also felt a little inappropriate to just go and see the Haitian boarder after all the crap that had just happened…

Interestingly, one participant discussed the need to control emotions while away on her trip. Kelsey shared when asked about what she learned from the local community in Haiti:

> The things that I would have learned from them would be more regarding emotions and how to be compassionate but also be reserved. Well, I mean you don't want to be overly compassionate with people you don't know. You can only give so much before you're too emotionally invested and then that makes it harder for you to step away from the experience or kind of reflect positively on it, I would think.

With how emotionally tolling these trips can be, I am not surprised that Kelsey felt it was important to control her feelings and tried not to get too emotionally invested in the local community. I also felt the need to suppress how I was feeling while away in Kenya by trying not to openly cry; I repressed tears because I did not want to appear as if I was feeling bad or pity for the girls at the high school since that was not the case. Rather I was feeling frustrated about the inequity – the contrast in our lives, for all that I had taken for granted at home.

Self-consciousness: Responsibility in self-representation.

Claire also discussed the emotional toll of her trip, feeling as if she had to act a certain way while volunteering. She shared:

> When you have a limited amount of time in any place what so ever, you want to make the most of it, especially when you're travelling and also when you're acting and aware that you're acting as an ambassador for a community in any way shape or form. I think you

always want to be on your best behaviour and you want to make the most of it and present yourself in the best light and I think that's incredible because it can bring out the best parts of everyone all the time but it can be emotionally draining.

It seems that emotional encounters may be an important aspect of volunteer travel trips. When volunteer travel trips make you emotional they take you out of your comfort zone which is important for personal growth. Ogden (2008) argues travel that encourages participants to want to break free of their comfort zones can be the most rewarding. As participant Sutton shared, it was important for her to experience these emotions. As to whether she would encourage others to go on a volunteer trip she answered:

> I would encourage it [volunteer travel] to anybody and everybody who wanted to do something like that. It literally changes your life. Sometimes you don't realize it until you get home and you're just mad at everybody, but those emotions are for a reason.

Claire, when asked if she wanted to expand on the emotionality of her trips, described:

> As someone who experienced many break downs on trips, yes [volunteer travel trips are emotional]… They are emotionally tiring, they're tolling—whether you are the participant or you're the facilitator, you want to give it your all… It can be emotionally draining and then you top it with the fact that you're not only trying a whole bunch of new things; whether its new experiences, new foods, new sounds, new flavours, new sights. Also dealing with a whole bunch of new things, whether its new revelations about yourself, the world, the community, the society, x, y and z, I mean it's a recipe for growth and it can also be a recipe for disaster, but if done correctly it can be a phenomenal recipe for growth.

Claire believed the fact that volunteer trips could ignite emotions was a positive component that encouraged personal growth and reflection. In Chapter 2, I discussed the first stage of transformation as a disorienting dilemma, an experience which contradicts one's assumptions, usually coupled with uncomfortable emotions (Mezirow 1978a, b). The growth and reflection Claire discussed during the interviews is reflective of the internal assessment which follows a disorienting dilemma. For Claire, emotions were a trigger which allowed her to reflect and eventually grow as a person. Emotional challenges are an important element of a disorienting dilemma, the first step to transformation, and these emotions were a common theme discussed by volunteer travel participants.

Exposure to Local Social Issues

Volunteer travel trips provide an opportunity for participants to see a new community, and with visiting a new community, various issues may be exposed. When I travelled to Kenya I had no idea how predominate female genital mutation (FGM) is amongst rural communities and how engrained the belief is of its cultural importance. As I shared in my journal:

There was a great example of the power of storytelling and education tonight. We were told by our facilitators the story of a 14-year-old girl who ran away from an arranged marriage and FGM which was set up by her family. For weeks she lived in the bush, she left everything she knew. She got into a Me to We high school and eventually gained her parent's support. There were a lot of tears in the crowd, including my own. I wish we would have heard this story from the girl herself rather than the American facilitator but regardless it was powerful and really made me think about how many girls have either the option to be cut or run away.

A few days later: *Tonight, we had a Maasai story telling by the fire where we sat with the two Maasai warriors leading our group. We got to ask them questions and they got to ask us about our lives as well. A couple of things stood out, such as how things are changing - such as the idea of conservation of the lions and how they bring tourists. Warriors claimed that education is starting to become the new version of lion killing since you get a better job. There is still some negative connotation with school since it takes kids from the community and then they get jobs and don't return to their village. Also, the idea of FGM and how it is illegal now, one warrior when I asked what Maasai traditions they would not do with their own kids he said FGM. However, he shared that FGM is a rite of passage to womanhood and it seems like there is no alternative, for a girl to be a woman. She requires FGM in order to get married in different communities and then have children.*

While I had some knowledge about FGM prior to travelling, I did not realize how engrained it was in rural communities. Furthermore, I had no idea how far reaching the issue is. After listening to the stories involving FGM I was inspired to look more into it when I returned home to internet access. I had no idea that FGM impacts people all over the world. I could not believe that African-Canadian women are taken overseas to undergo FGM (Koukoui, Hassan, & Guzder, 2017; Poisson, 2017). This issue seemed like something that was so unique and contained to rural Africa; however, the cultural impacts of it are extending far beyond to women here in Canada. By listening to stories of FGM in Africa, I became more aware of the topic, although not an expert, and the exposure to these stories taught me how complicated and global the issue is.

Other past participants of volunteer travel had similar experiences. John shared what he learned regarding illegal border crossing from Mexico to the United States. He said:

> We got the chance to talk to Border Patrol because they were stationed outside of our compound and we would talk to them every night almost and they would say how their job was pretty much hide and go seek. They would see someone running and if they saw someone running with a certain kind of complexion, they would have to chase them down and find out who they were and what they were doing. They would have camo[camouflage] nets everywhere in the forest and ATVs and SUVs constantly running around, and unfortunately, they would say that a lot of people would just kind of hide in houses of strangers and that would be it. [The Border Patrol] would also have stories about how people would come across the border and almost injure themselves on purpose because if they are injured in the States they're allowed—they go to jail but they get the hospital treatment beforehand. Or if they're in jail they will get food at least. So, it shows you the dire circumstances of some of the people living in those border towns.

Participant Evie discussed learning more about racism during her experience in South Africa. She shared:

> I have to say I don't think positively about South Africa now. I'd say 98% of that reason is because of the divide between the white and black populations there. My hosts were white individuals and pretty much everyone that did host me there was white, and there's like definitely a very racist outlook there still. I would say the black community primarily hold positions that— Like they are seen and not heard, and they are support staff, basically. So that was kind of difficult to see. Because I feel like it's a cycle of poverty that they're not able to get out of. I think the best example is the shanty town we visited that was not even a kilometre away from a gated community of mansions.

When probed about this racism Evie added:

> No, I was blatantly seeing it [the racism] as well. It was the way they spoke to the support staff, it was the way that they treated them and, yeah, there was also like blatant sexism as well. So yeah, I think I'd never been in a country where the culture is so centred on the white male before, so it was definitely eye opening! And I can't say I see it changing anytime soon, it's so engrained in their day-to-day that it was quite dramatic.

Changing their perspective about the host country.

Participants were not only exposed to things that shifted their views or opened their eyes to social issues like poverty; they also had experiences that moved the way they saw or experienced the countries they were visiting, often in complex ways. As Claire noted:

> I think I went in thinking I would experience a lot more poverty in like the overall sense than I actually did and then you get to places like Ghana where you realize all the kids have cell phones and Facebook and you're just like 'what?'

Similarly, Jess discussed her previous conceptions of Dominican Republic prior to her volunteer trip. She shared:

> Prior to my visit, I viewed the Dominican Republic as a tourist destination. I thought of resorts, beaches and unlimited food. I knew my trip wasn't going to be like that; however, I wasn't aware of the political and social injustices that the people deal with daily. This was clear as our bus travelled deeper and deeper into the heart of the city and the level of poverty could be viewed just outside of the bus window. I remember seeing political posters lining the streets as an election was just around the corner. Our trip leader explained that the photos of the running politicians were inaccurate. He explained that they are often photoshopped and the skin colour is often made lighter. This goes back to

the inherent racism and distaste for Haitian people in The Dominican Republic. The lighter the skin, the more desirable and worthy the political opponent was.

Participant Mia also learned a different side of the Dominican Republic and Haiti while away on her trip. She shared:

> I had never been on a trip like that before, I knew it was probably going to be some heavy shit going on but to the magnitude that it actually was like the poverty and stuff, you don't really prepare for that… I knew that it was obviously considered more of like a third world country in a way but I didn't know to what extent and there's so much politics going on even on just that island between the Dominican and Haiti that like I had no idea about. The black racism and stuff, it was very different from what I thought it would be… It was interesting because they pay Haitians basically nothing to work there so that was really interesting because there's a whole dynamic in the community and no one ever talked to the Haitian people. They were just there and they were treated like garbage, so it does sway your view a little bit of the Dominican people because the way they treat people, but at the same time we in North America do that all the time.

Although she was exposed to new issues, in no way did Mia feel as if she had learned everything about the complex problems that plague the Dominican and Haiti, for she shared that she views herself as "ignorant" in regards to understanding the country she visited.

Cultural Envy

Another common theme that emerged amongst past participants of volunteer travel trips was their appreciation and admiration of the local community. While this was not the case in all instances, i.e. Evie's trip to South Africa where she ended her trip viewing her hosts negatively

due to racism and sexism, many others had positive experiences with their hosts. For myself, animal lover and carer that I am, in Kenya I found myself especially appreciative, and at times even envious of the wildlife. I wrote:

This morning we had the opportunity to go for a hike just outside the compound. Funnily enough last night I had a dream about zebras and we were lucky enough to see some on the walk today! We also saw a ground horn bill which apparently is a good omen and means rain is on the way. I love hearing stories and myths like that and hearing them from the Maasai warrior was even better. I love seeing the wildlife that is everywhere, having zebras just outside the compound is incredible. At night we hear the hyenas which is really neat and bush babies as well as monkeys howling to wake us up. The animals are incredible here, being in their natural element is so much better than the suburbia I am used to.

Other past participants of volunteer travel shared how the culture of a country was one of their motivations for participating in their experience. Sutton spoke about the uniqueness of Africa:

> In our fourth year for the concurrent Ed program… The fourth year is a placement that is outside of a traditional schooling program, so they always have two different trips that you can go to, one of them being Italy and the other one is usually Kenya and I have loved Africa like since I was little and so that was one of my big goals, going to that school. I was like 'I want to teach in Africa' I've kind of always wanted that. [In] Italy, they're the same kids that are here [in Canada], it's the same culture, it's same privileges, same technology and I wanted to experience a whole other world that I'll probably never experience in the near future again unless I have some spare time to go do some volunteering in another country.

Julie shared similar feelings about visiting Kenya:

> I was super interested in the African culture and wanted to go there and learn more about that so—through Me to We it had not only the volunteer aspect of it but the aspect of learning about the local culture and some of the struggles they face there and so I felt like not only would I get a new perspective from meeting just the kids but also listening to some of the adults that live in the community and their perspectives would also help me come on and sort of fuel that passion to move on to my next project.

Different kinds of wealth.

Many interviewees discussed how although poor in material possessions, the local community was wealthy in other aspects. As Julie shared: "I do see them as a country that is still affected by so much by poverty but they are also very rich in happiness and appreciating each other and being like one big community."

Sutton had a similar view, comparing the image of how Africa is depicted in the media versus the people she got to know while in Kenya. She shared:

> You see those stupid commercials on tv with the flies on kid's faces and making you want to—making you want to adopt and want to donate but then you actually meet people in these villages who are happy …, like they so happy to have the life that they have.

Similarly, Julie also discussed the misconceptions about Africa's happiness, stating:

> People associated Africa with being such a poor place and saying that people aren't happy when really that not the case in talking about all these children I met there who have all these hopes and dreams like everyone here. Like some girls I met at the school there who have dreams to become pilots and to become surgeons. And I think that's such

an important thing to talk about is, like, children there have dreams just as much as children here do and they are just as much possible and we need to eliminate the barriers they have in the way.

Jess talked about a similar experience in the Dominican Republic, noting:

I didn't know what to expect before going to the Dominican Republic as my travelling experiences were very limited and I was a young adult. I knew it was a poor country so I partly expected the people to be sad and desperate; yet, they were the happiest people I have ever met and so generous and welcoming.

Kelsey, also surprised by the happiness of the people in Haiti, noted, "I was blown away about how compassionate they are and how happy they are, I mean their lives are very different but their lives are a lot more simple and they're just genuine people."

Community and strength.

Participants also discussed their admiration for the sense of community in the countries that they visited. As Julie shared about Nicaragua: *"*I feel like their whole country, even though they're small villages broken up, they're very together when it comes to bigger things that happen in their country."

Similarly, Simon commented on how community was present in Peru and the significance of this for the projects that his volunteer group was working on. He said:

I talked to some locals there, I think it was someone from Peru who was managing us, too, so you know they're sort of a familial community, it seems like everyone sort of looks out for each other...They have a lot of resilience and whatever challenges that come their way, they are sort of able to deal with them so I think that's sort of another

thing I learned, which is kind of something you have to evolve in a sort of setting like that too.

Jess also admired the strength of the community she visited in Dominican Republic noting:

> After my visit, my westernized and ignorant view was replaced with a deeper understanding and appreciation for my hosts' culture, language and history. The people we talked to radiated pride, happiness and strength. I believe they appreciate outside help, but they are still independent, strong and capable. They want change and were working for it everyday. Looking back, I think they were more interested in learning about how to make health and educational services better and more sustainable with the hopes of being more self-sufficient.

Rather than feeling sorry for their hosts for living in countries considered to be in poverty and developing, participants saw the strength that the local hosts held as a community and as independent individuals.

Compared to values back home.

The interview participants who spoke with admiration about the culture of community and the host country they visited also compared the lifestyle to the one they know back home. Jess shared:

> I see myself as rich in many aspects; but poor in more. I have more material possessions, but I don't think I am any happier than they are. I learned the importance of community, dedication and inner strength from the Dominican people and that cannot be bought or truly appreciated when you are a privileged white middle-class woman.

Similarly, Sutton added when asked about what stood out to her while away on her volunteer trip, "Just like learning how happy they are… and family means the world to them and that was very hard because I know family isn't necessarily always peoples' favourite thing here, we kind of take family for granted."

Mia added that community and family are more valued in other parts of the world than in Canada, saying, "I think there are things that people do in third world countries that are probably actually better than the way we do things. There is definitely more of a communal vibe going on down there, where here it's kind of like each man for themselves."

Trey also spoke about the community he witnessed in Kenya, saying "if you're comparing their community to our community I think they value family a little bit more than what we do, they are kind of a lot closer to each other than we are in Canada."

Preserving and sharing culture.

An interesting conversation that emerged between Claire and me during her interview was her idea that volunteer travel trips can be a way for local communities to embrace and encourage the young people in the community to continue cultural traditions. She shared:

> What I noticed was… having the volunteer programs come to them [the kids in the host community] allowed them to celebrate their culture, because part of what kind of comes in parcel with these voluntourists and these trips is the fact that you are not only giving back but you are getting some sort of cultural experience. It forces the community to create these cultural experiences, or to embrace or to showcase whatever it may be. So I think in a lot of the communities we found, or I found, that the kids were much more in tune with their own heritage and in tune with their own traditions and customs that they probably- I mean I'm sure they would have been in some sense - but I kind of feel like if

someone was coming to my school and they said, "show them something Canadian", I would be way more aware of the Canadian traditions than I would be if you just kind of lived your day by day. And I think that was something they all had in every country that I went to because they were trying so hard to showcase what they had to offer and to give back in some way.

The idea of preserving culture through tourism has been discussed by Smith (1978) and it was interesting to see it demonstrated in Claire's volunteer travel experience. Claire also spoke about the authenticity of these performances saying:

> In every community I went to there was always a moment, and again it's tough with these things, I do recognize having been on the other side having facilitated for years now, I see kind of the performance aspect of a lot of it… But that being said, I don't necessarily think that that performance aspect has to be a bad thing, and in a lot of cases I really saw the benefits of it, seeing little Ghanaian children doing traditional African dancing from 300 years ago, you know, on a Sunday. These kids don't really want to do that but the fact is that they are taking the time, they are doing it, they are embracing it, they're celebrating it and they are getting more excited about it because the volunteers are getting more excited about it. Because at the end of the day when you live something through someone else's eyes for the first time it's always going to reignite your passion for whatever it is. So, seeing so many volunteers get so excited about something that is a part of who they are, I feel like that would probably be a good thing to take away.

Sharing about the Experience

Volunteer trips do not happen in isolation and the use of social media has become a growing trend in travellers' lives. Social media platforms are used for researching trips, documenting people's experiences while away, and sharing their experiences with the online community (Leung, Law, van Hoof, & Buhalis, 2013). Travellers return home with photos and stories and share them with their families and friends, and many of the participants from the interviews discussed their experiences returning home and sharing about their trip abroad. As Jess said, "When I returned home, I was more appreciative of what I had and I shared what I learned with my family and friends."

One of the first things I did when I returned home was discuss my experience with my family and friends. Next, I shared a couple of photos on social media. In the first, I was on safari in Kenya and the second was of a water walk. Upon reflection, I realize I have always shared my experiences volunteering abroad online. On my social media accounts, I have photos with a family in Peru and building the water reservoir, building schools in Guatemala and India, and others standing beside elephants after having given them a bath in a Thai river. As previously mentioned, social media has become a popular mode of sharing photos and experiences of volunteer trips to peers online. I continue this kind of sharing as a way of making the experience real, broadcasting to peers that I have travelled and worked in different countries. I feel validated. Having others view my travel photos and comment on the images allows me to engage in more conversation about aspects of my trip while also being a public reminder of my memories abroad.

The blessings and challenges of social media was a common topic of conversation amongst travellers interviewed and while I was participating on the trip to Kenya. As was typical

of any trip abroad, many of us took photos and videos of what we were doing while in Kenya. Many times, peers would say that they were taking the photos to share on platforms like *Instagram.*

Interestingly I had a conversation with a peer on the trip about how rampant social media has become and I wrote:

After the market visit today I had an interesting conversation about social media with a participant while we were sitting on the bus. She discussed how the absence of Wi-Fi and internet was a blessing since we all need a cleanse. I couldn't agree more since the internet has become somewhat of an addiction to a lot of us including myself.

One participant spoke about how social media has become so dominant in our lives and how volunteer trips can be an alternative to believing everything you see. Kelsey shared:

> It's such an eye-opening experience, it's a shame that children don't get to see this. I feel that it would change their outlooks and how they treat people and their day to day life, but for a good reason. I mean we're constantly comparing ourselves to our friends through social media. But there's a difference between what people want you to see and what's the truth.

Social media is a popular tool for volunteer travellers, whether that be as a way to post about different destinations visited (Chapter 1), or as a means to share their stories about time abroad; regardless, these photos are used to share one's volunteer trip and broadcast it to the public.

Action and Change

While I was in Kenya, I assumed that I would be learning about the variety of issues that impact the local host community such as poverty, gender inequality, water access, etc. I had no idea that the experience would not only be an exposure to those local issues, but also expose issues of my own. From my journal:

Today we did a home visit with two Mamas who showed us around their homestead. Here they discussed all the positive changes which have been a result of Me to We's influence. This included things like an outdoor toilet which had a hand wash station (water bottle with soap and a bucket which sprinkles water when you step on a stick) really utilizing everyday tools that the community has access to. Also, things like a clothes line were introduced so that bugs no longer get into clothes/cuts causing infection, as well as chimneys for the stoves, to prevent smoke inhalation in the shelter.

The biggest change, the Mamas said, was having access to groundwater through a Me to We sponsored well. To demonstrate how impactful this well has been, the Mamas took us on a water walk, the route which they had to take before the well was introduced.

On the water walk I was carrying 50 pounds of water by a string on my head attached to jony cans down my back. The women would do this five times a day - now they only have to do it for laundry or drinking water for the animals. I couldn't even carry it the entire distance. We also didn't even fill our own jugs with water since there were concerns over allowing us near the water.

When one Mama was helping a person in my group, the individual said "I don't know how you do this, I'm dying" and the Mama immediately said "No, tired, you are tired." This really hit me about how disgusting our language can be. We say things without any concept of

their realities. This applies to not only saying "I'm dying" but also things like "I'm starving" when waiting for a meal at a nice restaurant, when the reality is, no, I'm not starving. Starving is famine. Starving is poverty.

I need to start to be more conscious of ignorant language not only for my own sake but to ensure I am not offending others by my ignorance.

Since returning from my trip I am still very conscious of not using phrases that include words like dying or starving. Moreover, I have shared this story with many peers in order for them to start thinking about their own language. I am not the only one who has had an experience on a volunteer trip which caused an alteration in behaviour, and during the interviews a variety of changes were discussed, some small and some large.

Changes in everyday consumption.

Different participants in the interviews discussed how their experience volunteering abroad impacted their lives when they returned home. Sutton shared about her experience on a water walk in Kenya and how that changed her water use at home, saying:

> I am very aware of my water usage, like I still—my mom always says 'whenever [Sutton] came back her water issues went away' because you know I loved 20-minute showers, I mean who doesn't? But now I'm a two minute shower person, don't leave the water—and I always try to stress that when I'm teaching too because you have water systems and hygiene, and there are so many things that have to be taught in schools but it's hard to understand, 'Oh saving water, what's saving water?' You don't understand that if you have it coming out of a tap. It's very hard to connect, especially when you are a kid. So yeah, that has impacted me, impacted me a lot.

Similarly, Claire had her own issues with water consumption after her experience with volunteer travel: “Seeing things like people take baths, I remember that being a thing, like ‘wait what? You use all these litres of water for a bath when I just saw Mamas in Kenya walk 5 miles [for a smaller amount]?’”

For Evie, her volunteer experience in South Africa and exposure to poverty made her more aware of her own spending. Speaking about her mindset upon returning home after her trip she shared: “I was definitely very grateful for Canada as a whole, but also I didn’t care about things like name brands and just having access to the luxuries I think was definitely not important to me after that.”

Not every participant discussed changes as a result of their trip. For example, Trey said, “I felt that even before my trip I was conscious of different things like not wasting food and trying not to waste water and stuff like that, so even when I came back it was the same things that I was aware of before.” Mia also talked about perhaps already knowing something, but having to make an effort to keep issues that were brought to the forefront by her experience, fresh in her mind. She said she still finds herself very ignorant to issues in the Dominican Republic, “just ‘cause it’s been so long too, that you know you kind of slip back into your old ways a little bit.”

Marked life changes.

Their experience with volunteer travel influenced some participants lives in big ways. For instance, Julie talked about how she decided to go into non-profit work when choosing an internship:

> I just got my Event Management diploma in April. For my diploma I had to do an internship, so I chose to do my internship with a company called Beautiful World Canada

which is a nonprofit organization that gives scholarships to girls in sub-Saharan Africa to go to secondary or post-secondary school. For me, it was really cool to be involved in that process, not only to see behind the scenes for scholarships but also, I got to plan events for them that raised thousands of dollars for these girls to go to school.

Jess's experience in the Dominican Republic had the opposite effect: she felt the need to quit the job she was at as a result of her experience. Jess shared:

A memory that stands out is when we visited a clothing factory. We weren't allowed to bring in our cameras or talk to the workers. It was a silver dome-type building and once inside, the heat overwhelmed you. Employees were paid a few dollars a day for a ten-hour shift without proper breaks. Inside, there was about 75 workers and they were set up in an assembly line. One area was responsible for the seams, the other the buttons and zippers and so forth. We were there a short amount of time but I was able to see the clothing labels that were being sewed in. It was the "George" clothing label. At the time, I was working at Walmart part-time and George is their clothing brand. That took me aback because I sell it at home and here I was seeing how it was made and the working conditions these people endured. The manager of the factory repeatedly said that the workers were very grateful for the work because otherwise, they would likely be unemployed. I had a hard time with this because their days were long, hot, and uninspiring and the company that employed them had the means to pay them more. However, it was cheap labor which most likely ensures the low prices back home.

Jess continued:

When I returned home, I had a difficult time returning to my part-time job at Walmart. I thought they were a great employer before, but after my trip and seeing a George clothing

> sweatshop, I had a bad taste in my mouth. They can offer people 'great low prices' at the expense of others' right to fair pay and safe working conditions. It didn't take me long to quit.

For Simon, his volunteer travel trip to Peru inspired him to get more involved at home. Simon shared:

> So when I returned home [I was] thinking more about others and sort of other situations in the community so you know trying to get more involved in that sort of way. Like there's the Boys and Girls club… So I got involved in the reading club there to help with literacy there. And when I was in Vancouver I got involved with a sort of kitchen, almost, for people in another low socioeconomic area and just providing dinner for these people… and there is a clinic right next to it so the hope is that they sort of get this dinner and also go to the clinic to make sure they are up to date in terms of their health status. Just things like that I think are… kind of stem from the Peru trip, I think, or stem from the thought process that sort of precipitated [from it].

Personal growth and empathy.

Participants also discussed the idea that volunteer trips pushed them outside of their comfort zone and as a result, they have grown. Claire shared about her humbling experiences through volunteer travel:

> I think they made me a better person. You experience really eye-opening things and it forces you to really critically analyze who you are as a person and who you want to be. It pushes you outside of your comfort zone and I think that's a really important thing for everyone to do at some point in time during their life, and continue to do throughout the course of their lives. By constantly being pushed outside of your comfort zone on these

trips, you're constantly in a state of growth and progression… It's just so important to see the world and open your mind and learn to give back and do something you're not good at. Most kids I know have never laid a brick before or sifted sand (in Peru) or all these things - even these menial skills where you might not actually be doing much. But the fact that you're willing to learn every—I think every young adult needs to have some sort of experience where they are pushed outside of their comfort zone to that level.

Similarly, Simon spoke about how his experience in Peru got him out of his comfort zone and that is something that he will pass along to later generations. He shared:

I think again, a lot of people get trapped in a bubble and if you get trapped in that bubble for too long it can really disillusion you, I think. You know, it becomes harder to empathize with certain groups and people who don't have the same advantages that you might have had. So I think it's, it's really, it really opens up your eyes and I think that it's really important when it comes to, you know, when you're working and when you're—have kids of your own and the values you pass on in that sort of way.

The idea that trips can open one's eyes and make them grow to be more appreciative of what they already have was seen in other interviews. John shared:

People from our society sometimes, you don't understand what's going on in other parts of the world, and we know that once you see what other people are going through and actively kind of help you further your understanding of how you can be more appreciative in the world. But also, it just allows you to be more open and understanding of issues that people have around you. So, if you are frustrated about something and you go and see what the people live like or have to deal with you may be less frustrated by

that thing like 'Oh, things could be a lot worse'. It just opens your eyes and you become more of an accepting person, I think.

Kelsey felt similarly in building her own sense of empathy when she shared:

I mean it's definitely changed my outlook on the world and on people in general it's easier to get stuck in the moment-- not the moment, but the area that you live in and especially with your busy lives and stuff. It's easier to not be conscience about those around you… So it's definitely an eye opening experience, one that makes you look at other people's lives but also put your feet in their shoes.

Trey believed his experience volunteering in Kenya was a necessary eye opener, saying:

You kind of know what to expect but it's different seeing it first hand and obviously you appreciate things more. I would encourage it, everything about it was very positive. I think a lot of people, especially here in North America, that [a volunteer trip] would be something really cool for them and a lot of people almost need to see a different point of view.

Julie talked about how her involvement not only changed her life but also the volunteer construction she participated in would change the lives of the people in the host community. Julie shared:

I think it changes the lives of the people you work with and it changes yours for sure, it changes your perspective on everything and it changes—it definitely changed me, who I am as a person and I think I'd hope it has changed the lives of some of the people I've worked with like the school that I worked on in Kenya. I feel like there were volunteers before me that built the schools that people are actually learning in.

These participants viewed their participation in volunteer travel as one that not only contributed to the needs of the local community but also contributed to their own growth, not only in getting out of their comfort zone and challenging themselves but also in challenging their ideas and perspectives about different communities, helping the volunteers to be more appreciative and aware of global issues.

Changing conceptions about perfect vacations.

In addition to discussing the way their particular trips changed them and impacted their lives, participants also discussed how their experience volunteering while travelling has changed their ideas of travel in general. Many participants discussed developing a more critical view about different types of conventional travel. For example, Mia shared:

> It makes me rethink those so-called amazing trips that you do go on and you stay in those resorts. You kind of think about the people who actually work there and how much they are actually making and what their lives are actually like.

Similarly, after his time in Texas, John discussed how he would only consider future travel if it had a volunteer element within it:

> After doing something like that… Not that I've ever been nervous to travel, I've always been someone who loved to travel and get around. But it really showed that if you're going to travel, there should—or there can be, something you can do to impact the local population and there is a lot out there that you can do. I knew going forward that maybe—I might not be able to get the opportunity to do that [all the time], but I knew that I could spread that word to people and say 'Hey you could think about working at this school or working at an orphanage while you're overseas.' And I know I've had many conversations with friends about doing volunteer work overseas, because of our

status in life, there is something you can do to give back to another community and its always more worthwhile to do that.

Pressing further, I asked John if he would ever consider going to an all-inclusive beach location. He responded:

> I've never done that so far! Every time we've gone somewhere we've gone out and seen the city. I know of friends that went on that trip [an all-inclusive trip] and they would say to themselves, 'You know what? I can't just go and [do nothing]'. And I know someone who worked at a Filipino school, helped to open up a Filipino school in a poor area in Boracay, because they felt, 'There's so much more that I can be doing with my life.'

Other participants continued to engage in a combination of both luxurious beach vacations and volunteer travel. Kelsey shared that after getting married she had gone on a romantic getaway; however, she said, "I recently got married in September and we are kind of regretting that we didn't go on a volunteer honeymoon." She also shared that she and her partner had plans to continue with volunteer travel noting, "We are going to do a volunteer trip in September or October and go down to Peru and try to find a sanctuary down there to volunteer in, not with people but with animals." While some participants view volunteer travel as the only modes they will travel, others have integrated both volunteer and other types of travel into their lives.

Interestingly, for participant Julie, her volunteer trip to Nicaragua made her more critical not of beach vacations but of future volunteer trips. She shared:

> Now I more focus on the sustainability aspect of what I'm doing there, so with Kenya I was very concerned with how sustainable what we were doing was and that was a big thought in the back of my head the whole time we were there but when I was in

> Nicaragua the first time when I was 16, sustainability wasn't on my mind, it was just we're going to teach these kids and it's going to help them, so I feel as I've grown and matured I've been able to look at it at the negative parts of it and at the positive and be able to outweigh them.

In Chapter 1, I discussed the negative and positive critiques of volunteer travel and Julie's discussion shows that participants of volunteer travel are often aware of these pros and cons. Furthermore, Julie shared that many volunteer travellers are concerned about the sustainability of their activities and consciously decide to either participate or not based on these concerns.

Experiences that prepare you for issues back home.

Participants also talked about how their volunteer travel trips prepared them for different experiences back home. For example, even though at the time she questioned the value of her involvement in a particular trip, Claire reflected on how, during her time in Ghana, learned a quick lesson in trying to understand the bigger picture, and be creative with the resources or lack of resources available while abroad. Claire said:

> One time we were in Ghana we, I was leading a group of pre-service teachers who were going there to go teach and we were given by the headmaster of the school our curriculum to teach for the day and one of the subjects we were told to teach was technology and I was like, we were sitting here in like a tin roof hut and how do I ex— yeah like a tin roof hut dirt floors there's nothing, and we are given these computer manuals from like Windows, Microsoft Word 1993 or something. It was stupid old! And I remember looking at this saying, "What do we do with this?" And he's, like, "Teach them about a computer." And I'm like, "What do you mean?" He's like, "Well one day

these kids are going to leave Eguafo, and if they see a computer they need to know what it is." And like, little moments like this… At the moment you're like, "Okay, we will teach them about a computer…" You stand up in front of the class and you're like, "This is a mouse, this is a screen, this is a key board," and you kind of go through the waves - you go through the motions really excitedly… but, I mean that's what you do! That's what you have to do. There's no chance to breathe or anything else. But when you get home at the end of the night to just reflect and think about the fact that these children have never seen a piece of technology that's such a pivotal part of our lives back home, that's such and like, it's hard to articulate.

Sutton, who travelled to Kenya back when she was in teacher's college, said that she uses her volunteer travel experience to teach her current students about Africa. Sutton shared:

> If I'm [supply teaching] in a class and I know if I have been there a few times I will do a presentation for them about Kenya. With a lot of grade sevens and eights it's curriculum based -- it's part of their life -- they're learning that kind of stuff [about communities abroad]. And being able to reflect on that and connect with kids from Ontario about the same age kids who were in Kenya and my experiences… and I have pictures that I show them…
>
> I start out with basically describing the fact that Africa is not a country, because that is a very hard concept for kids, and that it's a huge continent with individual countries. And then I go into Kenya, Nairobi versus Toronto, and do like a comparison for that, because it's extremely similar—Nairobi is larger than Toronto, just like the size of the country is smaller and they didn't—the fact that they don't understand that Africa has electricity, images of it are so skewed right? And you're like, 'No, in Nairobi people

are walking around. There's cars and they're just like us.' And then looking at the other side of Africa and talking about education and some of their cultural differences and that kind of stuff.

John, who is also a teacher, said he brings up his experience working for Habitat for Humanity with his students regularly, as well, saying:

> I bring in community service and volunteering into my practice as a professional as well. It's always been something I love to do and so continuously bringing up stories about that experience [with Habitat for Humanity] I had with students I have currently. And [I] tell them about how worthwhile it can be and it's something they should apply in their everyday life going forward, even out of school.

Similarly, Evie used her experience in South Africa to help in her career back home. Evie shared:

> Now [I'm] working in Toronto, and I deal with a lot of homeless populations or low income populations at my workplace [helping with their pets]. I think it's easier for me to put myself in their shoes when I'm dealing with them, having dealt with that situation [in South Africa], just because I was able to see it, first hand. So, yeah, I would say it's easier having them come in and, not being able to see their houses, but being able to understand where they are coming from in their situation.
>
> I think, it has definitely carried over into my work—career, because I do treat animals that are not from wealthy homes on the daily [basis], so I think that caring for animals that you know are underweight, skinny, malnourished, don't have proper care as a whole is an experience that most people in my career aren't used to. Most people are used to treating French Bulldogs and dogs that have the absolute top tier of care where as

the animals that I deal with are like they are lucky if they get spayed or neutered. Which is just such a standard level for most animals in private practice, so I think having that background did help for my career, for the career that I chose anyway.

As mentioned previously in the chapter on methodology (see Table 1), those participants who have entered the workforce seem to have careers which are focused around people in caring or service fields. For example, Claire, Sutton, Jess and John are teachers while Kelsey, Simon and Evie work in people or pet medicine. While the correlation between career and experience with volunteer travel is undetermined, it is an interesting observation in this population and worthy of future exploration. For now, it was interesting to hear how past participants of volunteer travel think about their experiences after time has passed and how some of the participants are using their time away in their careers today.

Chapter 5: What Volunteer Travel has to do with Peacebuilding

This chapter revisits the relationship between positive peace and volunteer travel. Using information from the interviews and autoethnography, the study uses Transformative Learning Theory and critical consciousness to explore any changes and revelations in the participants.

Volunteer Travel and Peace Culture

This study was conducted in order to explore how participants of volunteer travel think about their own time abroad and how that trip has impacted them over time. Since the focus of the study was on the participants of volunteer travel, the cultural context of the participants needs to be considered. The interview participants were all from Canada, where currently, there is no armed conflict or war and none of the participants revealed that they had ever experienced such a conflict first hand. However, as mentioned previously, peace is more than just an absence of war. Therefore, while the participants of the study may not have experienced violent conflict, they have a role to play in creating a culture of positive peace. As Boulding (2000) describes:

> a peace culture is a culture that promotes peaceable diversity. Such a culture includes life ways, patterns of belief, values, behaviour, and accompanying institutional arrangements that promote mutual caring and well-being as well as an equality that includes appreciation of difference, stewardship, and equitable sharing of the world's resources among all its members and with all living things. (p. 1)

Creating a culture of positive peace starts with an awareness that change needs to be made to build the kind of world Boulding describes. This awareness can come about when one experiences transformation of their attitudes, values, and overall becomes aware of their own

critical consciousness (de Rivera, 2009; Brenes, 2009; Freire, 1970b, 1973; Galtung,1996). The following section discusses the different elements which contribute to the building of positive peace, including the change and transformation of attitudes, and attaining a critical consciousness by focusing on how volunteer travel can inspire these changes.

Changing Attitudes

Throughout both the interviews and autoethnographic portion of the study, participants discussed and demonstrated different changes in attitudes. The influences volunteer travel trips have on participants' attitudes are not only necessary for personal transformation but also in relation to how they may handle conflict. Referring back to Galtung (1996) and his conflict triangle (p. 72), attitudes/assumptions, behaviour, and contradictions all influence conflicts and determining if they will be either constructive or destructive (Chapter 1). Through my own experience participating in volunteer travel as well as through the interviews, it was apparent that volunteer travel trips have the potential to influence attitudes, an important point of the conflict triangle.

Attitudes, when developed destructively, can result in negative stereotypes which are created by fear, hatred or ignorance (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011). Attitudes were discussed and exhibited by participants throughout this study. Attitudes were formed and shared about the country that the tourists visited, communities they entered, and also attitudes about their own identity and home country. As discussed in the previous chapter, one theme that emerged from the study was the volunteer travellers' changing perspectives of their host country upon travelling there.

Many discussed how prior to their visit what they knew about their hosts was mainly that they were poor or some small cultural details learned through media depictions. However, after their trips, different participants shared personal stories about relationships they had established with some of their hosts; such as Julie and Ronaldo in Nicaragua or Sutton and the girls at a high school in Kenya. Seeing different countries and meeting new people became an opportunity for volunteer travellers to gain a new perspective. Rather than referring to the host country through stereotypes of the people, they now share individual stories of relationships built.

Furthermore, while many interview participants believed that they would be entering a poverty-stricken community needing help, many left in some ways envious of their hosts and the happiness and community they witnessed while visiting. As Claire shared during her interview,

> In general, most Western kids, myself included, tend to think of going to developing countries as going to someplace where they have less. In a lot of senses you think less clothes, less food, less resources, less structure, less development but you don't always think of the more they actually have in a lot of other realms such as community development, community relations, passion, sense of self, actual presence -- all these other things.

Others including Sutton, Mia and Jess, had similar realizations and they talked about the happiness they witnessed and strong community abroad both which were lacking back home in their experiences of Canada. This changing perspective of their own country was an important element in shifting attitudes, for different interview participants looked at their hosts as the ones who have something to teach in terms of community, which is contrary to the white saviour complex.

This awareness has a ripple effect. The interview participants also discussed how they share these perspectives with people back home. For example, as previously mentioned, Sutton uses her trip to Kenya to teach her students about the country, and break down stereotypes about Nairobi. Not only were travel trips valuable for shifting attitudes and misconceptions that volunteer travellers had, but also when they return home participants share their experience with peers, meaning they may also influence their peer groups' perceptions of different countries and communities.

Having a volunteer travel experience which impacts attitudes is important for influencing the other sections of Gatung's triangle; behaviour and contradictions. As mentioned, it was interesting to hear from interview participants about how their behaviours were impacted by their volunteer experiences. Participants discussed behaviour changes such as altering consumption, acknowledged material privileges and opportunities and more. However, behaviour according to Galtung, is the action taken when conflict arises. If conflict were to arise, it is not unimaginable to think that the experience tourists had while away, which has impacted their attitudes, would also impact how they behave during conflict and how they view contradictions. Currently there is no overt conflict between Canada and any of the countries visited; however, if an issue were to arise in the future, it would be interesting to see how volunteer tourists who have visited the conflicting country might view the situation.

It is important to note that not all volunteer travel trips are guaranteed to influence a participant's attitudes, behaviours, and in turn contradictions. Since travel is a deeply personal experience, each participant will have an experience unique to them. While this chapter looks at the different levels of transformation and critical consciousness found in the participants of the study, the following chapter, Chapter 6: Cultivating a Culture of Critical Consciousness on

Volunteer Trips, will discuss suggestions for how volunteer travel trips can better create the conditions required to optimize trips in a way that encourages experiences that are reflective of positive peace.

Transformation

One of the most interesting discussions that emerged from the interviews and my own experience, was related to how volunteer travel can be an eye-opening experience. This includes my own experience where I became conscious of word choice after completing the water walk in Kenya. Earlier, I mentioned how after my trip I actively avoid using the phrases "I'm dying" when I am tired, or "I'm staring" when I am hungry. I credit this to my trip where the reality of those phrases was made apparent when one of the Mama's called out my peers for using such troubling language, not having experienced themselves what it really means to be dying or starving. Other participants of volunteer travel had similar experiences including those who discussed their reduction of water usage after participating on similar water walks, or those who revealed their changing perspectives about what it means to be 'happy', when happiness can be found in the poorest parts of the world. While actions such as reducing water usage in Canada may not have that great of an impact on the water issues in the South, these personally taken actions indicate that participants want, and are prepared to, make at least some small changes in their life, shifting away from the over-consumption of resources which they once were accustomed to.

Changes in behaviour and outlooks can be rooted back to the fact that while away on a volunteer travel trip, participants may experience a disorienting dilemma. As previously discussed, Transformative Learning Theory argues that a disorienting dilemma is an experience

which contradicts expectations, contests assumptions, and is the triggering element for transformation (Herbers & Mullins Nelson, 2009; Mezirow, 1991). Many participants shared stories which reflected a disorienting dilemma. For example, as Sutton shared about media depictions of Africa as poor compared to her own experience she said:

> Seeing those commercials and just thinking of what Africa is because that's all it's portrayed as and then meeting these people and meeting the Mamas who are working so hard for their families and working with Me to We and doing their beading and cooking for their communities and just so loving and giving you literally the clothes off of their back… My views were so skewed but they are very different now.

Sutton's view of Kenya was changed after her volunteer trip, since her experience did not reflect that of the poor depiction she learned from media. Jess had a similar experience where the local people in Dominican were not as she had expected:

> I knew it was a poor country, so I partly expected the people to be sad and desperate; yet, they were the happiest people I have ever met and so generous and welcoming. When we were there, they welcomed us with songs and dances and prepared food for us that we would be accustomed to. They didn't have much but they acted like they had everything. Their sense of family and community was so strong and if you were willing to learn and listen, they welcomed you with open arms.

This is significant because disorienting dilemmas transformed how the participants think about issues that they were exposed to while away, even years after they returned home. Some had more extreme reactions than others. As mentioned, Jess felt the need to quit her job at

Walmart after visiting the garment factory in Dominican Republic, while others such as Evie, Simon and John have a greater appreciation of material wealth and opportunities they have.

Another important element for transformation, shown in the interviews, was the relationships created. Both Taylor (2008) and Mezirow (1978a, b) discuss relationships and engaging with others as a key aspect for transformation. As was shown in the previous chapter, relationships were a common theme where interview participants discussed how their fellow travellers became fast friends, providing an opportunity for like-minded individuals to come together, and peers were a support system while away and after returning home.

Relationships were built not only between the tourists travelling together but also with the hosts they were visiting. Different interviews brought up the bond that was created between the tourists and their hosts, especially the children in the communities. Relationships are important because meeting new people is an opportunity to get the tourists out of their comfort zones. As Zahra & Mcintosh (2007) discuss, removing someone from their everyday relationships and cultural settings can create opportunity for critical reflection about one's life. As Wang (1999) further notes "For many individuals, work and everyday roles impose constraining and monotonous routine in which individuals find it difficult to pursue their self-realization" (p. 363). When volunteer travellers are put in a new environment with new people, they may create bonds different from the ones they have at home, and change from their routine creates opportunity for introspection.

For example, Sutton discussed in her interview about how she created relationships with the peers who she travelled to Kenya with and felt that they were the only ones who truly understood her experience in Kenya. Sutton also discussed the importance of meeting girls from a local Kenyan high school, how that interaction made her realize how important education is

and that she believes it is taken for granted in other parts of the world. The volunteer travel experience encouraged Sutton to create new relationships with fellow travellers with whom she still maintains contact, and although brief, a relationship with the high-schoolers who made her realize the gift of education.

Relationships are also an important element in continuing transformation. As Mezirow (1978 a, b) discussed in his ten steps of transformation, when one is experiencing transformation they consider their relationships and how those relationships are compatible with their new perspective. As many participants discussed, when they returned, they had various feelings of frustration with their peers at home. In the previous chapter, Kelsey discussed her frustration being surrounding by people who frequently complained when she believed these were petty complaints. For some, like Kelsey, their volunteer trip has impacted who they build relationships with, looking to avoid people who are ignorant to how privileged they are.

Furthermore, emotion was another important element for transformation. The powerful emotions felt while travelling can lead to reflection (Van Winkle & Lagay, 2012). As discussed, Mezirow (1978a, b) argues that emotions are a key element when conducting a self-examination of assumptions and expectations, and usually these emotions are uncomfortable feelings of shame and guilt. During the interviews, participants talked about volunteer travel as being an emotional experience and some provided examples of when they felt strong emotions. For example, many participants talked about feeling bad for taking so much for granted, such as education (Sutton after her visit to the girls' high school in Kenya), health care and nutrition (Simon's experiences in Peru) or living in the conditions we do (Evie after her visit to a shanty town in South Africa). Feeling bad and uneasy is a necessary component for self-examination leading to transformation (Maclean, 2015; Mezirow,1978a, b). If volunteer travellers felt

comfortable in witnessing the inequality they are exposed to while away, they may not realize their own privilege. Therefore, feeling uncomfortable is necessary in order to recognize the privileges which many North Americans inherently possess, but do not, perhaps, acknowledge and recognize on a daily basis. In my own experience in Kenya I believe more can be done to ignite these uncomfortable emotions, recommendations for which will be discussed later.

The Levels of Consciousness

Throughout this study it has been shown that participants of volunteer travel reflect various elements of critical consciousness. However, travel is deeply personal, and not all participants had the same experience. The evidence gained via the interviews indicates that not all participants have reached the same level of consciousness. Below I discuss the different levels of Freire's consciousness (1973) shown during the study.

Magical level.

Returning to the various stages of critical consciousness as discussed in Chapter 2, it appears there were instances of participants at each stage of consciousness. The first level, the magical level, also known as the semi-intransitive stage, is the denial of privilege and existence of structural oppression. Ignoring the existence of inequality keeps participants in this stage. Although I did not witness these types of travellers while on my own journey in Kenya, one participant discussed being on a trip with people who thought this way. Talking about her experience in South Africa, Evie shared:

> It's difficult if you genuinely want to go and volunteer and make a difference and you're on a trip with someone who really just wanted to go on vacation. It's really difficult to be in the same group as that person and you're trying to have a completely different

> experience than them and they are trying to have a completely different experience than you… They weren't interested in doing any of the actual work - it didn't seem like they took anything away from it. The day we had the shanty town experience we went out for dinner afterwards and the restaurant didn't have Heinz ketchup and one of them threw a hissy fit about it and I was like, 'This is just the worst—like okay if you're going to have a hissy fit about that on a regular day that's your thing, but after the day we just had, I can't believe you're doing this right now!'

The fact that one of the participants on her volunteer trip was not interested in learning about South Africa and did not express any concern after visiting the extreme poverty in the shanty towns frustrated Evie. Evie spoke about someone who may be considered to be at the magical level, a place where the individual did not want to address inequality or unpack their own privilege. From what Evie shared, the participant was simply with the group in order to travel.

The magical level of consciousness may be a common issue for volunteer travellers who are motivated to participate merely as a way to have a vacation. As discussed in Chapter 1, there are a variety of motivations for participating in volunteer travel, and these motivations can be categorized into altruistic or self-interest. While being motivated by self-interest does not necessarily mean that one is only participating for a vacation, those who are more interested in travelling than working on the volunteer project or interacting with the locals, may be more at risk for demonstrating a magical level of consciousness, which was the case in Evie's example. As discussed, critical consciousness is something that takes work and can be uncomfortable when identifying how one benefits from others' oppressions, and Evie learned that not everyone

participating in volunteer travel is willing to move past a magical level of consciousness and in turn that can impact other travellers' experiences negatively.

Naïve level.

The second level, the naïve level of consciousness, is where one begins to address inequality. However, an individuals' understanding may be over-simplified or lack the connection between what they witness and their responsibility in creating change (Carlson et al., 2006; Freire, 1973). Most of the participants in the study, both interview participants and me, demonstrated thinking related to this second level of consciousness.

While away in Kenya I demonstrated the naïve level of consciousness while discussing my role in volunteering. As a group we discussed what we would be doing while in the community and what our expectations of our trip were. When sharing why I had an interest in volunteer travel and what I wanted to get out of the experience I said that I was hoping to visit Kenya, a place I had never been before, and have the opportunity to "help the local community". Using the word 'help', I believe reinforces the white saviour complex for it positions the local community as helpless needing outside intervention. While I was aware of the inequalities between myself and my hosts, I also recreated this division by viewing my role as a helper. Upon reflection, more appropriate phrasing would be something along the lines of "to work with the local community" or "to learn to assist with a local volunteer project". By simply changing my language I shift the power back to the hosts, since I am not there to "help them"; I am there to learn, volunteer my time, meet new people and experience a new community. By using dividing language, I am in turn recreating inequality. While my intentions were pure, I was unaware of the role I have to play in changing this inequality, and one of the first steps I can take is by changing the way I use language - not using dividing language.

This second level of consciousness was also seen when participants identified various privileges they have coming from the Global North. While awareness of privilege is the first step, it does not automatically develop into the final level of critical consciousness because in many instances this privilege was described as being a result of luck. In the interviews luck was brought up by different participants. Claire said, "at the end of the day it's a crap shoot where you were born and how you were born and where or why so I came back feeling very grateful and I saw myself as being very fortunate." Simon also brought up luck when he said:

> [It's] the various sort of advantages and disadvantages people grow up with and you know a lot of it's uncontrollable, it's just, you know, luck of the draw in terms of what sort of situation you are born into. A lot of people get a raw deal on life so [I found myself] reflecting on that.

Luck is reflective of the second level of consciousness since it directs responsibility of oppression and inequality off of those who benefit from oppression. Luck is something that cannot be changed, you are either born privileged or you are not; it shifts attention from the structural injustices that reinforce oppression.

Furthermore, at this level, participants diffuse responsibility away from their own actions; instead, they place blame for inequality and injustice on peers rather than analyzing the bigger social structures (Freire, 1970a; Carlson et al., 2006). An example of this was when, in Kenya, we were having our nightly module about water usage and the reality of our water over-consumption was brought up. Participants were quick to shift responsibility to others to fix the problem. A conversation arose where one member of the group discussed how multi-millionaires and billionaires should be spending their money to pay for global clean water. However, when I asked her about whether she would change her own consumption related to something like

consuming meat, which requires copious amounts of fresh water, she said, “No, because doing something that small would not impact the issue here in Kenya”. I was surprised by this reaction since participants were quick to place the responsibility to fix water issues on “people who can afford to do so”, rather than taking some responsibility and monitoring their own use. This could be due to the fact that these individuals have yet to think about water issues through deeper reflection. Assuming that water issues can be fixed with millionaires affording clean water ignores the various kinds of structural violence in place to keep those without clean water without it. However, during the interviews with past participants, different people spoke about how they are taking small steps in changing their own water consumption. It was interesting to see how some participants did not view global issues as their responsibility; rather they believed others should be acting to create change, while others have acknowledged their role to change their consumption, no matter how small those changes are. Important to note however, is that while changing behaviours are a necessary first step to creating change, greater attention needs to be given to policy reform as well in order to transform structural systems that reinforce structural violence.

Language was another identifier of the naïve level of consciousness. As mentioned, while on the water walk in Kenya I was exposed to the ignorant language we tend to use on a daily basis, such as saying we are dying when we are actually tired. In the interviews, some participants used similar questionable language. For example, I was surprised to hear interview subjects referring to the host country they visited as a “third world country”. This phrasing is challenging and dated. While initially used to identify global alliances, it has more recently been used as another example of hierarchy separating separate the Global North and South (Dubinsky, Mills, & Rutherford, 2016; Silver, 2015).

It is important to note that many are unaware of how referring to the Global South as the 'third world' is dated, since that was likely the language used around them while growing up. For example, the participants who used this terminology were the older participants in the study, the younger ones did not use this language. However, there is movement to bring awareness to the trouble of using the term. Interestingly, when someone referred to Kenya as a third world country while we were away, one of the facilitators quickly commented on the fact that she does not support that definition since there is only one world. While some are working to change their language to reflect the world as being global rather than separated by first and third world titles, our language is deeply engrained and during the interviews some participants used the phrase without realizing the dividing power of it.

The second level of consciousness was the most prominent level seen in my own journey to Kenya and during the interviews. At this level, many participants, including myself, were aware of the existence of inequality and injustice. However, we were ignorant to the larger structural issues that reinforce this inequality. At this naïve level of consciousness, we are guilty of reinforcing these structures by oversimplifying poverty to a count of bad luck or using dividing language. While at this stage, participants have demonstrated an awareness surrounding oppression, there is still work to be done in order to achieve *conscientization*.

Critical consciousness.

Freire's final level is the ability to achieve critical consciousness (*conscientization).* Freire (1970a, 1973) does not give a clear identifier for knowing when critical consciousness is attained; rather it is a mix of both critical reflection and action to create change. When determining the degree of critical consciousness in this study, I was looking for instances when participants were both reflective and critical of the various inequalities and injustices which are

connected to the social conditions they witness away and at home, and also action they have taken to change these conditions.

Achieving a critical consciousness is an important element for encouraging positive peace. As previously discussed, positive peace means the removal of oppressive structures and systems to ensure equal rights and opportunity (Galtung, 2012). Those who exhibit critical consciousness are able to critically analyze the oppressive systems around them and take-action to transform these systems and therefore are working to create positive peace.

As Campbell and MacPhail (2002) note, one aspect of achieving critical consciousness is the understanding that different conditions have shaped people's lives towards disadvantage. Most participants' understanding of poverty and inequality acknowledged that it is influenced by a variety of things such as a deep-rooted history of injustice, or structures which reproduce inequality. But none of the participants in Kenya or during the interviews discussed colonialism and the impact of colonialism on the host country. This could be because I never explicitly asked during the interviews. However, many discussed poverty and inequality which I also never asked directly about. Although structural violence was not discussed by participants, I was intrigued with other realizations that they had. For example, many highlighted their privilege not only when comparing the opportunities they have compared to their hosts, but also in relating this privilege to inequalities back at home. As Simon shared:

> When I left Peru, it kind of stays with you and makes you think about other sort of situations that are similar even in the local communities and situations like that, so, just various pockets in various cities. For example, there are children who aren't able to access basic things like books or get good nutrition just because of the income of their families.

Simon's experience in Peru made him analyze the social system at home in Canada, where due to economic disparity, some have access to health and education while others do not. However, as mentioned, this is only the beginning of achieving critical consciousness; there also needs to be action to create change.

Participants who have achieved critical consciousness not only experience critical reflection but also demonstrate action towards social injustice and an awareness of how their choices can contribute to conditions of inequality (Carlson et al., 2006; Kumagai and Lypson, 2009). As Christens, Winn, & Duke (2016) note, "Development of critical consciousness is a complex process that involves changes in knowledge and perspectives as well as behaviors" (p. 17). I was impressed when talking to participants with how many took action and made changes, both large and small when they returned home. Some became aware of their values and put less emphases on material goods like Evie did, or became mindful of their water usage like Sutton and Claire, while others made big changes like Jess who quit her job at Walmart after visiting one of their partner garment factories.

For myself, I have discussed how my experience in Kenya on the water walk demonstrated the power of our language. Since that experience I have been more sensitive with my language and I am also trying to help others be aware of their use of these terms by sharing my experiences. While in Kenya the trip facilitators encouraged participants to think about issues they are passionate about and create action plans to address these issues. For example, one participant talked about her interest in water issues in Kenya and walking a marathon while at home to raise awareness and money for clean water in Africa. However, I am unsure if she actually went through with this activity when she returned home.

While action like changing language, raising awareness, or as some discussed, reducing consumption, are only small changes which will not necessarily transform social structures, they are a start. Small actions can influence others and in turn have the potential to have a ripple effect. With the Global North over-consuming the planet's natural resources, (Evans, Bullard & Agyeman, 2003: Gonzalez. 2015), we need to start working towards conservation and sustainability somewhere, and personal consumption and creating dialogue could be that starting point. While Freire's concept of critical consciousness and critical action was more reflective of activism or political reform, I argue that these small actions are reflective of critical consciousness, even if they are not the grand strategies as envisioned by Freire.

I was also inspired to hear from interview participants about how their experience during a short-term volunteer travel trip inspired a longer-term interest in various volunteering projects. Of the ten participants, eight spoke about their volunteer experiences back home. The volunteer projects ranged from Claire working with homeless youth, Jess who does food drives and after school programs, and Kelsey and Simon who brought up their work in soup kitchens. Others did not specify their involvement but rather just said they volunteer in their communities. More research would be necessary to determine the correlation between long-term volunteering and volunteer travel but it does highlight how participants have continued to take action and be involved in different issues back at home.

Participants also demonstrated, however, that it is easy to fall back into a previous level of consciousness; once critical consciousness is demonstrated it does not mean that one is done growing and working. While many of the participants of interviews discussed how they still think about their volunteer trips, many noted that the interview was a nice refresher, bringing the feelings, thoughts, and values they had while away back to the front of their mind. As previously

mentioned, Mia summed this up when she said: "Just 'cause it's been so long too, that you know you kind of slip back into your old ways a little bit".

While I was impressed with how many volunteer travel participants have changed their behavior and thinking due to the realization of their own contribution to injustice, critical consciousness takes work. A transformative learning experience does not always alter critical consciousness, rather it only has the possibility of doing so. A volunteer trip may provide the exposure participants need to rethink their global cognition, it is the traveller's ongoing effort to continue this thinking long after they have returned from their trips.

Conclusion

The stated research question for the study was to explore how volunteer travel may influence and inspire participants to think critically about issues of power and privilege. The study also examined the potential of a volunteer trip to influence a tourist's ongoing development of critical consciousness and transformation of attitudes. This chapter discussed the findings that relate to this question, specifically the section broke down how volunteer travel relates to transformation in attitudes and/or behaviour, and the different stages of critical consciousness. It was found that all participants in the study, including myself, demonstrated different forms of transformation, such as a change in attitudes about the host country, their hosts, or even their home country. It was further shown throughout the chapter that this self-awareness continued after participants returned home. After their trips, participants took various action, whether that was through sharing about their experience to dismiss stereotypes, changing their values or behaviours, getting involved in local volunteer activities or changing their everyday language.

It was also discovered that volunteer travel was a disorienting dilemma for different participants when their experience volunteering abroad contested with their assumptions and expectations they had of their hosts prior to travel. While many participants talked about the privileges granted to them but excluded from their hosts, things like running water, or access to healthy food, they also discussed how they became envious of their hosts due to the sense of community that was found abroad but is lacking at home. While it was shown that many of the participants have demonstrated an awareness of their privilege and engaged in some levels of transformation, volunteer travel is a deeply personal experience, and not every traveller will be moved to critical consciousness. The following chapter includes my own recommendations to create the conditions necessary to encourage consciousness building.

Chapter 6: Cultivating a Culture of Critical Consciousness on Volunteer Trips

This chapter, building on the previous section which focused on peacebuilding and volunteer travel, makes recommendations for trip organizers to ensure the volunteer travel experience is optimized to create the conditions necessary for transformation amongst participants. The recommendations include: ensuring fair portrayals of trips, collaborating with local communities, encouraging reflection and investing in accessibility to allow for diversity in travellers. Table 3 outlines the present elements found in volunteer travel that promote the development of critical consciousness and encourage transformation as well as recommendations needed to improve these trips.

Table 3

Elements of Critical Consciousness and Transformation in Volunteer Travel

Present Situation*	Recommended
Building relationships with both travellers and the local community	Encouraging long-term relationships amongst travellers with organized meet-ups or phone calls
Changing perspectives about host country and home country (disorienting dilemma)	More community interaction
A powerful emotional journey	Encourage travellers to explore their emotions, even if these feelings are uncomfortable
Exposure to different social issues	Ensure there is appropriate time allotted for both personal reflection as well as informal dialogue amongst peers about what they are witnessing on their trip
Engaging in dialogue with friends and peers after their trip	Transformation of trip rhetoric from 'helping' host communities to 'working with communities'
Small changes in traveller lifestyle	Guided critical discussions about the idea of 'luck' to describe circumstances of privilege or oppression
	Regulations to ensure protection of travellers and host communities

	Ensure the local community is involved in the development, planning, and facilitation of the trip Accessibility (both financial and physically)
*Findings are based on study participants and their experience, not all volunteer travel trips with have these exact elements	

Table 3

Future Involvement

When asked if they would encourage or discourage future participation in volunteer travel, every single participant of this study said they would fully encourage it. I have gone on multiple volunteer travel trips and am still interested in participating. All of us directly involved as participants in this study agree on their value, will go on another trip if the opportunity arises, and encourage peers to participate. More conscious steps need to be taken to ensure that volunteer travel trips are structured in a way that they encourage the conditions for transforming attitudes and critical consciousness rather than enabling the white saviour complex.

Volunteer travel trips are not regulated: what one organization does may not be the same as another (Smith & Font, 2014). Participants referred to their volunteer trips by different names, highlighting the inconsistency amongst various organizations. While many referred to their experience as 'volunteer travel', others discussed their experiences by the more specific title advertised by the trip's organizers. For example, Jess's trip to the Dominican was labelled as an 'awareness trip'. She shared that "The awareness trip is meant to educate people on global issues and to encourage people to donate in either time, money, or goods." This was similar to participant Mia whose trip to the Dominican was called a 'delegation trip'. Mia said:

> It wasn't like a mission trip, it was like a delegation is what they like to call it… Well, it's all the same thing: it's white people going in seeing what it's really like and then going home and maybe having a fundraiser you know?

It seems as if the rhetoric surrounding volunteer trips can differ depending on the focus of the trip. As Jess and Mia shared, the focus of their trips to the Dominican Republic was to expose and educate participants on life in that country. However, others identified their trips with more action-based explanations. For example, Kelsey talked about her trip to Haiti as being a "Medical Mission." John's trip to Texas was also action centered being a *Habitat for Humanity* project. While the title of the trip may simply be used to reflect the goal or purpose of the excursion, it demonstrates just how volunteer travel varies from organization to organization.

Therefore, the first step in ensuring that these types of trips are reflective of conditions necessary for transformation and overall reflect the values of positive peace, should be the implementation of certain regulations. These regulations should be part of an auditing process, whether that be internally or externally reviewed, and the conditions of which should reflect the protection of both the travellers and host community. Another possibility is regulating these trips through certification. By following certain protocols and sensitivity training, volunteer trips could be granted a certification, similar to that of Fair-Trade Certifications, or something similar. More work needs to be done to determine a proper method for regulation. The following recommendations are drawn from reflecting on the study and, I believe, should be implemented in all volunteer travel trips to ensure they are optimizing the conditions for participants and hosts alike to get the most out of volunteer trips.

Portrayal of Volunteer Trips

My original inspiration to conduct this study was connected to the lack of information surrounding the impact of volunteer trips on the volunteer travellers. As previously discussed, these trips tend to be advertised as a way to "change the world" or "have an impact on a host community". However, little attention is directed to how these trips can inspire and positively influence change in the travellers themselves. As discussed earlier, the rhetoric surrounding volunteer travel as 'travelling to create change', can be viewed as encouraging the white saviour complex (Schneider, 2015; Simpson, 2004). In this type of portrayal, it is assumed that host communities are dependent on external assistance in order to thrive. However, that has been shown to not be the case. As demonstrated throughout the study, many travellers discussed how the communities they visited were already thriving or talked about their awareness of the white saviour complex. For example, Mia said in regards to the future of volunteer trips:

> I think that people do need to be educated on sensitivity in a way, and going back to that whole white people going in, they can't go in thinking that they are going to be the ones teaching everything. It kind of goes both ways.

Mia viewed her role on a volunteer trip as that of someone who is going to a place not only to help in terms of a volunteer project but also to learn. While on my own autoethnograpic trip in Kenya I also witnessed how valuable volunteer trips are for learning from hosts. I learned about a variety of different cultural practices such as beading, weapons, and more, and learned the reality of the difficulty of a water walk and the strength and determination it takes every day for people to make that walk. At no point on my trip was I feeling that I was there to be an expert and teach the Kenyans, rather I viewed my involvement as a way to volunteer my time on a project meant to assist a community while also learning from, and about, the community.

Furthermore, participants talked about being envious of certain characteristics found in these communities with many of them wishing Canadian culture more overtly supported strong relationships with community and family. Those with a white saviour complex view their role as an expert, their lifestyle as ideal and believe anything different should be corrected (Straubhaar, 2015). However, the interview participants who discussed being envious of their hosts believed that their own lifestyle and culture needs improvement, and is not necessarily a model to be followed.

Rather than portraying trips as those which can change the world, organizers should highlight the importance of intercultural experiences, creating a new peer network, inspiring engagement in volunteer activity, and an opportunity to change perspectives. While volunteering and engaging with the local community is part of the trip, involvement will not guarantee a change in the world, but it may be an experience which inspires change and transformation in the people who volunteer.

The Necessity of Local Interaction and Involvement

While many volunteer travel organizations integrate the host community as facilitators, planners, and organizers of the trips and projects the tourists participate in, not all volunteer travel trips are created equal. When the local community is fully involved in volunteer travel trips this partnership can be conducive to combating the white saviour complex, which is a major criticism of volunteer travel. Collaborating with the local people in planning and facilitating trips is reflective of an elicitive approach, one where an outsider does not come in and tell the community what needs to be done, rather, encourages and invites that community to identify issues and to discover their own creative solutions to these problems (Lederach, 1995).

While I was away with Me to We, I was impressed by the local involvement. I liked that the camp we were staying at was run by all local people, and the trip was facilitated by a Canadian, an American, and a Kenyan. As well, wherever we went we were accompanied by two Maasai Mara guides. Every day, we spent some time interacting with the community members, whether at the build site, visits to local elementary schools or high schools, or different community experiences such as the water walk or beading with the Mamas.

While I thought my experience travelling to Kenya was great with a perfect amount of local community exposure, others on my trip discussed how they wish there was more. When talking with my bunk mates, some discussed how valuable and interesting it would be if instead of bunking with others from North America, they had the opportunity to do a homestay, living with a local Kenyan family. Interview participants further related either contentment with local exposure or desire for more. For example, Kelsey discussed how she wanted to do more in terms of helping out with meals and such. She said:

> Where we stayed the pastor had people who would cook our meals… but I would think that having the volunteers working with them and learning the cuisine and being involved in the preparation would've been a good thing to have done as well.

However, others such as Simon said:

> I don't think there was much to do differently. I think we had a good balance in terms of the sort of labour aspect but also interacting with the community. I think that's two key components: it's nice to sort of do the labour aspect but I think integrating oneself in the community is really important to get a true sense of where they [tourists] come from, and what they're doing there.

Behind the scenes, one volunteer trip participant who also had the chance to facilitate

these types of trips discussed the importance of local support and involvement. Claire shared:

> The ones where there was proper community integration and proper consultation and inclusion, and respect towards the communities that you were going into where you lost the saviour complex and actually just said 'okay what can we actually do to help what do you need?' Rather than 'this is what you need', those were the ones that worked out the best.

The insight into the importance of local involvement was also noted by Julie who said:

> There needs to be research done, there needs to be the locals involved in the project. It can't just be something that you're coming in and thinking you're doing such a great job. You need to do your research, you need to be knowledgeable about what you're doing and not be ignorant to the culture and know where you're working and who you're working with because, bottom line, you're not always going to be there and there needs to be people there to sustain the project.

All volunteer trips should ensure that the local community is involved in order to ensure these trips are encouraging local autonomy and ownership of the volunteer projects and that volunteers are having the most time to be able to form relationships and networks with their hosts. Interestingly, participants of volunteer travel discussed this importance and noted the need for these trips to do as much as possible to include local involvement and responsibility.

Critical Reflection

As I mentioned in my journal, one of the issues brought up over the course of my time in Kenya was FGM: while it was talked about briefly by the Maasai warriors and told in stories by the trip organizers, the issue was never fully discussed. One peer had asked the guides of the trip

if FGM was a topic which would be discussed during our evening modules where we discussed various challenges the local community faces such as poverty, access to education, healthcare, water, food and financial opportunities. However, at no point during our evening discussion did the facilitators delve into the topic of FGM. This could be because they had somewhat of a script, where each night was dedicated to a pillar of the We Villages model, and FGM did not fit that script. Regardless, when tough issues are brought up on volunteer trips, facilitators should incorporate them into discussion the best they can, rather than avoiding what does not fit into their predetermined evening activities.

This same type of avoidance of big issues was also demonstrated when we had an evening module and group conversation about water issues in Kenya and our own water usage at home. During the conversation we were shown exactly how much water we use in our lives back home. Certain things like a washing machine, a bath, or consuming coffee or beef requires water. The amount of water was shocking, especially since that day we had just participated on the water walk with the Mamas in the local community. The reality of how much water we use without even understanding how privileged we are to have it, created a stir in the group. In response to this shock, one of the North American facilitators of the trip said "this isn't an activity made to make you feel bad." I left that conversation being annoyed because I believe it would be more helpful, rather than saying it is not our fault, to allow us to feel uncomfortable about our water usage, especially after learning how inaccessible water is in other parts of the world. Rather than exposing participants to the reality of their water use but then saying not to feel bad, we should explore these feelings more. If there are upset feelings we should unpack them and discover what needs to be done in order to do better. Maybe then we will earn feeling a bit better.

During the interviews each participant said that reflection in either group or individual settings was encouraged while they were away on their trip. Having time for critical reflection is a necessary element for transformation. As Berman (1997) argues, this type of self-reflection, one that challenges one's existing way of understanding, is critical for shifting attitudes. However, this group reflection and formal discussions usually come to a halt when travellers return home. As participants discussed, it can be easy to fall back into the routine of being home. Arranging activities such as group meet ups or video calls where participants talk about their experience since returning home and have the opportunity to discuss their past trip may be the opportunity needed to keep these memories fresh in their mind, regardless of how much time has passed since their trip. The value of the peer groups established while on the trip was brought up by various interview participants. Some still keep in contact with their fellow travellers while others fondly reflect on the relationships they built, even though time and space has now distanced them. Organizing opportunities for peers to meet up again, even years later, could be an important aspect in reigniting the passion each person may have felt when they travelled initially. Opportunity for volunteer travellers to participate in reflection both internally and with peers was shown to be a key aspect in transforming thoughts and attitudes (Taylor, 2008; Smith, 2002) and these opportunities should continue well after a tourist has returned home.

Accessibility

In order for trips to be more inclusive and reflective of values pertaining to positive peace they must be more accessible, physically and financially. To begin, these trips are aimed at people who are able bodied. No one on my trip to Kenya had a physical challenge and between climbing in and out of the large lorry trucks, the uneven and physical demanding work site, and

the lodging being bunk beds, it would be a challenge to accommodate any physical special needs on the trip I went on. A quick google search for a volunteer travel trip tailored for people with a disability shows the top suggestions being trips to work with those with special needs, rather than a trip to accommodate the traveller. However, deeper researcher shows that there are options such as Transitions Abroad (2018), which lists various programs that are accommodating for travel for people with disabilities. There are also resources for volunteer organizations on how to support people with disabilities (Mobility International USA, 2017). While these trips do exist, they are still in the minority and more must be done to ensure accessibility to volunteer travel trips for people of all abilities.

Finding volunteer trips can also be a challenge. As John mentioned in his interview, he wishes there was more marketing for volunteer travel in order to increase the visibility of alternative travel. He shared:

> I really feel that there needs to be more out there for people to see, especially in high schools for students to see not just that you can go volunteer but travel and volunteer. Some students always think about taking time off to kind of gather themselves before they go off to university or college, but I mean it's so much more beneficial if you take some time off and go on a trip but also go on a trip where you can help people through volunteer travel. I think there needs to be more information out there, I mean I work in a school and I don't even see that [information about volunteer travel]. I just wish there was more of that apparent for people to see so that they could get involved in as much as possible.

Participants like John believe that volunteer travel trips should be as visible as mass tourism trips. If volunteer trips have as much advertising as other forms of travel, maybe they will become as popular.

Furthermore, even if one is able to track down a trip which interests them, the cost of these trips can be a barrier. Kelsey shared that she believed the one thing that these trips should be doing differently is:

> Accessibility…it should be more accessible for people to go experience a volunteer trip. The company should be advertising it to a point that they're going to basically pay for half the trip or have more money invested to help fund trips and help fund people to go and have that experience, make the connections with the community.

While many volunteer organizations have fundraising guides or even financial aid (Me to We, 2018c) the cost of volunteer trips is still out of reach for many people. Travel is expensive, and volunteer travel trips are no exception. More needs to be done to ensure that the financial burden of travel is not what limits people from participating.

Furthermore, the majority of trips include people from the Global North travelling South (Devereux, 2008). While there has been an increase in volunteer travelling from South-North, North-North, and South-South, the majority of trips target North travelling South (Devereux, 2008). An option for encouraging a bilateral flow of volunteer travel could be to form trips where people take turns hosting and travelling. By making these trips more accessible, they would allow for a potentially more diverse group of volunteer travellers, given the diversity that already exists in sending countries, accessibility to all different groups can change the image of the typical volunteer tourist so that it reflects a more inclusive profile.

As mentioned, a culture of peace is one which encourages diversity. Elise Boulding, (2000) and Johan Galtung (1996) add that positive peace is when the conditions are created to ensure equal opportunity to reach one's full potential. When volunteer travel trips become more accessible, engage participants in critical reflection, are rooted in local ownership and involvement, and portray themselves in ways which promote equality rather than the white saviour complex, these trips will be more reflective of the values in positive peace.

Recommendations for Further Research

Further research is required to delve deeper into the complexities of volunteer travel and the various issues of power and privilege which are embedded within the activity. Such research should be directed at the power dynamics within volunteer travel organizations. As mentioned, the facilitators of my trip to Kenya were an American, a Canadian and a Kenyan. It would be interesting to discover the power relations between the facilitators, if the local knowledge of the Kenyan is respected and valued as it should be, or if the volunteer organization is reproducing hierarchal power relations.

Other areas to explore would include the power dynamics that exist within national volunteer travel experiences. Are participants who participate in volunteer travel trips domestically more likely to note an acute difference in issues of power and privilege? Since the participants are not travelling globally, rather within their own country, how does that differentiate from the power inequalities found in international volunteer travel?

Research should also be conducted to explore the changing nature of volunteer travel. As I discussed earlier, one of the criticisms of volunteer travel is the white saviour complex, however many participants of volunteer travel do not identify as White. How does the experience

of travellers of different cultural backgrounds impact their experience participating in international volunteer travel? How does this experience compare to their peers?

Further research in the areas discussed would help inform the literature and also provide insight into how volunteer travel can be maximized to ensure equality and avoid reproducing power imbalances between visitors and hosts.

Conclusion

This study has been an exploration of how volunteer travellers view their experience abroad in relation to power and privilege while also examining the participants' transformations of attitude and levels of consciousness. Through the use of Transformative Learning Theory, it was discovered that volunteer travel can be a disorienting dilemma, leading travellers to change their worldviews. However, change is not guaranteed in all participants.

Furthermore, the research used Freire's levels of consciousness to identify travellers at, and moving through, the different levels of *conscientization*. While the majority of participants remained in Freire's naïve level of consciousness, some have taken actions, both large and small, to address structural oppression, which is reflective of critical consciousness. This is significant in building a culture of peace and positive peace, where equality is emphasized and oppressive structures are eliminated. However, there is still much work to be done for volunteer trips to ensure they are reflective of the values of peace. Recommendations were made, including the importance of regulations for all organizations to follow that take into account the necessity of local involvement, critical reflection, and accessibility.

This study has shown that the current information surrounding volunteer travel has focused on the debate about volunteer travel rather than on how participants view their involvement. However, as demonstrated, volunteer travel is a unique, informal learning opportunity, which has the power to change attitudes and behaviours. By addressing this gap in the literature, the study has been significant in discovering the influence of volunteer travel on Canadian volunteer participants from their perspective, shifting the research focus from debates about the value/costs of volunteer travel to the influence of volunteer travel on participants. Furthermore, the study's contributions included a unique insight into the popular volunteer travel

organization Me to We as this is the first academic research conducted about the program from the view point of a participant. As volunteer travel has been shown to be a growing trend in the tourism industry, if these trips are optimized to take into greater consideration, and are more conscious of elements of positive peace, they can be a useful tool for encouraging people of all ages to achieve greater levels of critical consciousness, and in turn help build the conditions reflective of positive peace.

On the plane ride home, I look around and I am surrounded by 26 new friends. After spending three weeks together in the Maasai Mara I am exhausted, physically from all of the construction work and emotionally after meeting the inspiring girls at Kisaruni and the extraordinary Mamas in the community. While I went on this trip expecting to see beautiful landscapes, meet new people, and work hard on a project, I never realized how draining it would be. As much as I long for my own bed, a piece of me is staying behind in Kenya. Over the course of 20 days, I have become witness to things I will not forget. I am a different version of myself, I will think of the Kisaruni girls when I am frustrated with school, I will think of the Mamas when I turn on the tap to get drinking water, and I will think of Mama Judy whenever I look at my own mother. Although I know I could do more to honour this trip and everything I experienced while away, I am going to start by holding myself accountable. If it was not for this experience, I would still be saying "I'm starving" or "dying" when I have no concept of those terms. Travelling to Kenya was a push outside of my comfort zone, and a well needed step away from the familiarities of what awaits me back home in Canada. The trip taught me it's not necessarily big changes that are needed for transformation, but small ripples that can create a wave. I leave behind someone who was ignorant to her language but arriving as someone with new stories to share, and while I still have much more growing to do, I thank my volunteer experience for encouraging my

progress. I will never forget my time in Kenya and as I relax into my plane seat I look out the window towards the clouds and I start to think "where to next?".

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (on UM letterhead)
Research Project: Exploring Youth Attitudes about Volunteer Travel and Volunteer Travel's Potential to Inspire Critical Consciousness

Researcher: Ellen Sikorski, Ph.D. Candidate, Peace and Conflict Studies **Contact Information:** email: sikorske@myumanitoba.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Maureen Flaherty email: maureen.flaherty@umanitoba.ca

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your role as a participant will involve. Informed consent is a process and will continue throughout your participation, if at anytime you have any questions please feel free to contact me, or my advisor. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

I am conducting this research because I am interested in volunteer travel and how that experience can shape the lives of participants and how they think about their relation to the people they visited. This research explores how volunteer travel abroad may influence and inspire participants to think critically about issues of power and privilege. Although I have been on a variety of volunteer travel trips including a trip with Me to We, I am in no way affiliated with volunteer travel organizations and my research is being conducted independently with no obligation to these types of organizations in any way.

With the signing of this form you are agreeing to be part of a qualitative study where you will meet with me individually where you will be asked questions about your experiences participating in volunteer travel and general background questions. These interviews will take anywhere from 45 minutes to 2 hours depending on how much or how little you want to share. The interview will be audio taped and transcribed, however your anonymity is important and at no time will your name or any other identifiers be used in the course of study or in any write-ups following. Any notes and data will be destroyed at the end of the study, no later than April 2020. You will be provided with a written transcript of the interview sent to the email address you provide at a later date to ensure that your perspectives have been accurately represented, this is also an opportunity to ask the researcher to remove any details you feel could threaten your anonymity. You will have up to 2 months after receiving the transcript to modify or withdraw any of your contributions, you can do this by contacting me by phone or email.

However, once the dissertation has been submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies or published, information can no longer be removed.

I will be happy to provide participants with a summary copy of the final work if interested.

Participation is voluntary and will be at no cost to you and there will be no compensation. If at any time you have questions or concerns please contact me, Ellen Sikorski, through email, sikorske@myumanitoba.ca

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

I understand that this research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba. If I have any concerns or complaints about the project, I may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 204-474-7122, humanethics@umanitoba.ca. A Copy of this form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

_____

Participant's Signature Date

_____

Researcher's Signature Date

Please provide your email below which will be used to send the interview transcript as well as a final summary of the project

Email: _____

__ no I would not like to be contacted for future studies

__ yes the researcher can contact me for future studies

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this research project, I am a PhD Candidate working on my thesis entitled, "Exploring Youth Attitudes about Volunteer Travel and the Potential to Inspire Critical Consciousness ". It is being conducted through the University of Manitoba Peace and Conflict Studies program and I am interested in hearing about your experiences on volunteer travel trips and how you have reflected on these experiences after time has passed. I would just like to remind you that all that you share with me today will be confidential and I will be using an audio recorder to capture all that you share with me, is that okay?

1) Please describe yourself in as much detail as you would like
2) Please describe the trips you have taken as a volunteer. Where did you go? How old were you?
3) Reflecting on your time participating in volunteer travel, what is a memory that stands out?
   a) Do you think back on the experience volunteering abroad regularly? What do you think about?
4) Why did you choose to go on a volunteer trip in the first place?
5) What do you think your role was while volunteering within the local community while on your trip?
   a) What were your expectations? Did these expectations change or shift in any way over time?
6) What were some of the views you had about the host community prior to your visit?
   a) Did this change over time? if so, how, in what ways? How do you view your hosts now?
   b) How do you see yourself in comparison to the people from the host community?
   c) How do you think the host community perceived or experienced the presence of your group?
   c) What did you learn from/about members of your host community? What, if anything do you think they learned from/about you and your group?
   d) Did you have any experiences that contradicted your expectation of the host community?
   e) Do you think the host community had experiences that contradicted their own expectations of you or your group? If so can you give can example?
7) These trips tend to expose people to conversations around global issues, during your trip were you encouraged to discuss these issues while away? If yes, how so? Can you provide an example?
8) Can you tell me what it was like for you when you returned home?
   a) Did you experience any transition issues, if yes what were they?
9) In what ways has the trip impacted you?
   a) Given volunteer travel involves giving of your time and energy to a particular community and its projects, have you been involved in any similar projects since coming home? e.g., Have you been involved in any social justice issues?
   b) How do you see yourself now? Has this in any way changed since your trip?
10) Has your understanding of your volunteer experience changed over the years?
11) What, if anything, do you think these types of trips should do differently?
   b) How about the volunteers- do you think they should do things differently?

c) Would you encourage or discourage future participation? Why?
12) How have you experienced participating in this research?
13) Is there anything else you would like to add about your experience with volunteer tourism or about how you feel about the topic?

Bibliography

Adams, A.E., & K. Borland (Eds.). (2013). *International Volunteer Tourism.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Andereck, K, N.G. McGehee, S. Lee, & D. Clemmons. (2012). Experience Expectations of Prospective Volunteer Tourists. *Journal of Travel Research,* 51(2), 130-141.

Aronson, B.A. (2017). The White Savior Industrial Complex: A Cultural Studies Analysis of a Teacher Educator, Savior Film, and Future Teachers. *Journal of Critical Thought and Praxis*, 6(3), 36-54.

Augsburger, D. W. (1992*). Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*. Louisville: John Know Press.

Bailey, A. (2012). Volunteer Tourism: Powerful Programs or Predisposed Participants? *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 19 (1), 123-132.

Bailey, A. W., & K. C. Russell. (2010). Predictors of Interpersonal Growth in Volunteer Tourism: A Latent Curve Approach. *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* 32(4), 352-368.

Balfour, B. (2012, June 18). Have Your Passport Ready: a Look at Voluntourism. *Charity Village*. Retrieved from, https://charityvillage.com/Content.aspx?topic=Have_your_passport_ready_A_look_at_voluntourism&last=166#.VNQpn0IYS0s

Barbie Savior. (2016). The Doll That Saved Africa. Retrieved from http://www.barbiesaviour.com

Barbie Savior [@BarbieSaviour]. (2016a, April 16). [Photograph of Doll at Chalk Board]. Retrieved from https://www.instagram.com/p/BERW7Vvsffu/?taken-by=barbiesaviour

Barbie Savior [@BarbieSaviour]. (2016b, March 29). [Photograph of Doll with Small Doll]. Retrieved from https://www.instagram.com/p/BDivxtLsfX8/?taken-by=barbiesavior

Barkham, P. (2006, August 18). Are these the New Colonialists? *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/society/2006/aug/18/internationalaidanddevelopment.education

Becken, S., & J. E. Hay. (2007). *Tourism and Climate Change: Risks and Opportunities*. Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications.

Becker, E. (2013). O*verbooked: The Exploding Business of Travel and Tourism.* New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Bell, J.P.W. (2011). A National Parkless Northern Ireland: The Tourism Resource Paradox and the Implications for Sustainability. In C.A Brebbia & E. Beriatos (Eds.), *Sustainable Development and Planning* V (pp. 491-504). UK: WIT Press.

Benson, A. (Ed.). (2011). *Volunteer Tourism: Theory Framework to Practical Applications*. London: Routledge.

Berman, S. (1997). *Children's Social Consciousness and the Development of Social Responsibility.* New York, NY*:* State University of New York Press

Biddle. P. (2014, February 23). The Problem with Little White Girls, Boys and Voluntourism. Huffington Post. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/pippa-biddle/little- white-girlsvoluntourism_b_4834574.html.

Björk, P. (2000). Ecotourism from a Conceptual Perspective, an Extended Definition of a Unique Tourism Form. *International Journal of Tourism Research,* 2, 189-202.

Bogdan, R., & S. Knopp-Biklen. (2007). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods.* 5th edition. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Boulding, E. (2000). *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History.* New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Boyd, D. (2008). Autoethnography as a tool for Transformative Learning about White Privilege. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 6, 212-225.

Brenes, A. (2009). Personal Transformations Needed for Cultures of Peace. In J. de Rivera (Ed.), *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace* (pp. 305-317). New York, NY: Springer.

Britton, R. (1980). Shortcomings in Third World Tourism. In I. Vogeler and A. De Souza (Eds.), *Dialectics of Third World Development* (pp. 241-248). Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allan Held.

Broad, S. (2003). Living the Thai Life—A case Study of Volunteer Tourism at the Gibbon Rehabilitation Project, Thailand. *Tourism Recreation Research,* 28(3), 63-72.

Broad, S., & J. Jenkins. (2008). Gibbons in their Midst? Conservation Volunteers' Motivations at the Gibbon Rehabilitation Project, Phuket, Thailand. In K. Lyon & S. Wearing (Eds.), Journeys of discovery in volunteer tourism (pp. 72 85). Cambridge, MA: CABI.

Broad, S., & J. Jenkins. (2008). Gibbons in their Midst? Conservation Volunteers' Motivations at the Gibbon Rehabilitation Project, Phuket, Thailand. In K. Lyon & S. Wearing (Eds.), Journeys of discovery in volunteer tourism (pp. 72-85). Cambridge, MA: CABI.

Brondo, K. V. (2015). The Spectacle of Saving: Conservation Voluntourism and the New Neoliberal Economy on Utila, Honduras. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 5(1), 1- 21.

Brown, S. (2005). Travelling with a Purpose: Understanding the Motives and Benefits of Volunteer Vacationers. *Current Issues in Tourism,* 8(6), 479-496.

Brown, S., & A. M. Morrison. (2003). Expanding Volunteer Vacation Participation an Exploratory Study on the Mini-Mission Concept. *Tourism Recreation Research,* 28(3), 73-82.

Brown, S., L. Bowles, R. Childs, S. Dubin, K. Henry, J. Walden, & C. Stadler. (2015). "Voluntourism" and Helping Babies Breathe: Capacity Building in Rwanda. *Newborn and Infant Nursing Reviews,* 15.4, 159-162.

Brunk, C. G. (2012). Shaping a Vision- the Nature of Peace Studies. In C. P Webel & J. Johansen (Eds.), *Shaping a Vision- The Nature of Peace Studies in Peace and Conflict Studies a Reader* (pp.10-24). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bruyere, B., & S. Rappe. (2007). Identifying the Motivations of Environmental Volunteers. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management,* 50(4), 503-516.

BUNAC. (2017). *Volunteer Nepal.* Retrieved from https://www.bunac.org/uk/volunteer-abroad/construction/manual-work/construction-project.

Burch, B. (1997). Ghana: Ecotourist's Paradise. *African Business,* 225, 23-27.

Bussidor, I., & U. Bilgen-Reinart. (1997). *Night Spirits: The Story of Relocation of the Sayisi Dene.* Winnipeg, MB*:* University of Manitoba Press

Butcher, J., & Smith, P. (2010). "Making a Difference": Volunteer Tourism and Development. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 35(1), 27 36.

Butcher, J., & P. Smith. (2015). *Volunteer Tourism: The Lifestyle Politics of International Development Book.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Cady, D. (2010) From Warism to Pacifism: A Moral Continuum. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Callahan, M., & S. Thomas. (2005). Volunteer Tourism: Deconstructing Volunteer Activities Within a Dynamic Environment. In Marina Novelli (Ed.), *Niche tourism Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases,* (pp. 183-200). New York: Routledge.

Campbell, C., & C. MacPhail. (2002). Peer Education, Gender and the Development of Critical Consciousness: Participatory HIV Prevention by South African Youth. Social Science & Medicine, 55(2), 331-345.

Campbell, L.M., & C. Smith. (2006). What Makes Them Pay? Values of Volunteer Tourists Working for Sea Turtle Conservation. *Environmental Management*, 38(1), 84-98.

Carlson, E.D., J. Engebretson & R.M Chamberlain. (2006). Photovoice as a Social Process of Critical Consciousness. *Qualitative Health Research* 16(6): 836-852.

Carter, C.C. (2010). Teacher Preparation For Peace Education. In C. Carter (Ed.), *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education: Transformations across Disciplines* (pp. 187-205). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cho, R., J. Edge, & A. Keng. (2012). Crossing Borders and Pushing Boundaries: The Ethics of International Volunteering. *The Meducator*, 1(17), 19-21.

Christens, B.D., L.T. Winn, & A.M. Duke. (2016). Empowerment and Critical Consciousness: a Conceptual Cross-Fertilization. *Adolescent Res Rev,* 1, 15-27.

Clifton, J., & A. Benson. (2006). Planning for Sustainable Ecotourism: the Case for Research Ecotourism in Developing Country Destinations. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 14(3): 238-254.

Coghlan, A. (2015). Prosocial Behaviour in Volunteer Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 55, 46-60.

Coghlan, A. & D. Fennell. (2009). Myth or Substance: An Examination of Altruism as the Basis of Volunteer Tourism. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 12(3-4), 377-402.

Coghlan, A., & M. Gooch, (2011). Applying a transformative learning framework to volunteer tour-ism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(6), 713–728.

Coghlan, A., & S. Noakes. (2012). Towards an Understanding of the Drivers of Commercialization in the Volunteer Tourism Sector. *Tourism Recreation Research,* 37(2), 123-131.

Cohen, E. (1972). Toward a Sociology of International Tourism. *Social Research*, 39(1), 164-182.

Cohen, E. (1979). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology,* 13, 179-201.

Cole, T. (2012, March 21). The White-Saviour Industrial Complex. *The Atlantic.* Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-saviour-industrial-complex/254843/

Creswell, J. W. (2013). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Crompton, J. L. (1979). Motivations for pleasure vacation. Annals of Tourism Research, 6, 408 – 424.

Dann, G. M.S. (1979). Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4(4), 184-194

Das, M., & B. Chatterjee. (2015). Ecotourism: A Panacea or a Predicament? *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 14, 3-16.

David Suzuki Foundation. (2017, October 5). Air Travel and Climate Change. Retrieved from https://davidsuzuki.org/what-you-can-do/air-travel-climate-change/

De Rivera, J. (2009). Assessing the Peacefulness of Cultures. In J. de Rivera (Ed.), *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace* (pp. 89-103). New York, NY: Springer.

Delgado, R., & Jean Stefancic. (2012) *Critical Race Theory an Introduction.* New York, NY: NYU Press.

Devereux, P. (2008). International Volunteering for Development and Sustainability: Outdated Paternalism or a Radical Response to Globalisation?. *Development in Practice*, 18(3), 357-370.

Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and Education*. New York, NY: Collier.

Dierking, L. D., & J. H. Falk. (2003). Optimizing Out-of-School time: The Role of Free-Choice Learning. *New Directions for Youth Development,* 97, 75- 88.

Dinhopl, A., & U. Gretzel. (2016). Selfie-Taking as Touristic Looking. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 57, 126-139.

Diprose, K. (2012). Critical Distance: Doing Development Education through International Volunteering. *Area,* 44 (2), 186–192.

Dorsey, E.R., H.L. Steeves, & L.E. Porras. (2004). Advertising Ecotourism on the Internet: Commodifying Environment and Culture. *New Media & Society*, 6(6), 753-779.

Douglas, D., & J. Halas (2011). The Wages of Whiteness: Confronting the Nature of Ivory Tower Racism and the Implications for Physical Education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 18(4), 453-474,

Duffy, M. (1985). A Critique of Research: a Feminist Perspective. *Health Care for Women International,* 6, 341-352.

Durkheim, E. ([1915]1995). *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* New York: Free Press.

Diprose, K. (2012). Critical Distance: Doing Development Education through International Volunteering. *Area,* 44 (2), 186–192.

Dortonne, N. (2015, December 24). The Dangers of Poverty Porn. *CNN.* Retrieved from http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/24/living/poverty-porn-danger-feat/

Dubinsky, K., S. Mills, & S. Rutherford (Eds.). (2016). *Canada and the Third World: Overlapping* Histories. North York, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Dubois, G., & J.P. Ceron. (2005). Greenhouse Gas Emissions from Tourismunder the Light of Equity Issues. In C.M. Hall & J. Higham (Eds). *Tourism, Recreation and Climate Change (pp*. 97-114). Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications

Educate a Child & UNICEF. (2015). *Remote, but not Forgotten: UNICEF & Educate A Child Launch Education Campaign in Kenya.* Retrieved from, https://www.unicef.org/kenya/EAC_UNICEF_KENYA_OCT_2015_FINAL.pdf

Evans, B., R.D. Bullard., & J. Agyeman. (Eds.). (2003). *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal world.* London: Rutledge.

Everingham, P. (2015). Intercultural Exchange and Mutuality in Volunteer Tourism: The Case of Intercambio in Ecuador. *8300 Defect for UNSW,* 15(2), 175-190.

Falk, J.H., R. Ballantyne, J. Packer, & P. Benckendorff. (2012). Travel and Learning: A Neglected Tourism Research Area. *Annals of tourism Research,* 39(2), 908-927.

Fisher, R., W. Ury., & B Patton. (2011). *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (3rd ed.). New York NY: Penguin Books.

Fisk, L. J., & J. L. Schellenberg. (2008). *Patterns of Conflict Paths to Peace*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Flaherty, M., Sikorksi, E., McKenzie, N., Bell, J., Clarke, M., Kuznetsova, A., . . . Zhou, W. (2017). Creating a Collage of Many Peaces. *Peace Studies Journal, 10*(3), 4-14.

Fontaine, T. (2010). *Broken Circle: The Dark Legacy of Indian Residential Schools*. Victoria, Vancouver & Calgary: Heritage.

Freire, P. (1970a). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* London, UK & New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Freire, P. (1970b). *Cultural Action for Freedom*. Cambridge: Center for the Study of Development and Social Change.

Freire, P. (1973). Education for Critical Consciousness. New York: Continuum.

Freire, P. (1985). The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Frean, A. (2006, August 15). Gap Years Create "New Colonialists": According to a Leading Charity, Gap Year Volunteers may do more Harm than Good. *The Times.* Retrieved from http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/travel/holidays/gapyear/article1739027.ece .

Fritz, J. (10 November, 2017). How to Become a Virtual Volunteer: Use your Tech Skills to Make the World Better. *The Balance.* Retrieved from https://www.thebalance.com/becoming-a-virtual-volunteer-4138357

Frye, E. (1983). *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.

Fuoco, K. (2014, May 9). 7 Signs of Reverse Culture Shock and how to Deal. *Vancouver Sun*. Retrieved from http://vancouversun.com/news/community-blogs/7-signs-of-reverse-culture-shock-and-how-to-deal.

Galley, G., & J. Clifton. (2004). The Motivational and Demographic Characteristics of Research Ecotourists: Operation Wallacea Volunteers in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Journal of Ecotourism,* 3(1), 69-82.

Galtung, J. (1964). An Editorial. Journal of Peace Research, 1(1), 1- 4.

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence Peace and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research,* 6 (3), 197-91.

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. In Journal of Peace Research, 27(3), 291-305.

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization.* Oslo: Sage Publications Ltd.

Galtung, J. (2006). Theoretical Challenges of Peace Building With and for Youth. In S. McEvoy-Levy (Ed.), *Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post Accord Peace Building* (pp. 259-280). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Galtung, J. (2012). Positive and Negative Peace. In C. P. Webel & J. Johansen (Eds.), *Shaping a Vision- The Nature of Peace Studies in Peace and Conflict Studies a Reader* (pp. 75-78). New York, NY: Routledge.

Gandhi, A. (1995). Nonviolence and Us. *Business Horizons,* 38(2), 1-2.

Gandhi, A. (2010). Guest Forward: Why is Peace Elusive. In A. Fitz-Gibbon (Ed.), *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change* (pp. xvii-1). Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi.

Gaw, K. F. (2000). Reverse Culture Shock in Students Returning from Overseas. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 24(1), 83-104

Gebrewold, B. (2009). The Epistemic Violence of the International Security System in Africa. In M. Frick and A. Oberprantacher (Eds.), *Power and Justice in International Relations:*

Interdisciplinary Approaches to Global Challenges (pp 149-172). Surrey & Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Gius, C. (2015). Facing the Pain of Others: Perspectives on International Volunteer Tourism between Agency and Spectatorship. *Current Issues in Tourism,* 1-13.

GoAbroad. (2018). Volunteer with Orphans Abroad. Retrieved from https://www.goabroad.com/volunteer-abroad/search/orphans/volunteer-abroad-1

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Goldstein, L.S. (2004) Emphasizing Variety Rather than Commonality: Educating Young Children for a Culture of Peace. In R. Eisler & R. Miller (Eds.), Educating for Culture of Peace (pp. 127-135). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Gonzalez, C. (2015). Bridging the North-South Divide: International Environmental Law in the Anthropocene. *Pace Environmental Law Review,* 32: 407-434.

Go Overseas. (2014, June 25). *Guide to Coming Home After Volunteering Abroad.* Retrieved from https://www.gooverseas.com/blog/guide-to-coming-home-after-volunteering-abroad

Gray, N., & L. Campbell. (2007). A Decommodified Experience? Exploring Aesthetic, Economic and Ethical Values for Volunteer Ecotourism in Costa Rica. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 15(5): 463- 482.

Griffin, T. (2013). Gap Year Volunteer Tourism Stories: Sharing More than Memories. *Journal of Hospital Marketing & Management*, 22(8), 851-874.

Guttentag, D.A. (2009). The Possible Negative Impacts of Volunteer Tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 11, 537-551.

Halas, J. (2014). R. Tait McKenzie Scholar's Address: Physical and Health Education as a Transformative Pathway to Truth and Reconciliation with Aboriginal Peoples. *Physical and Health Education Journal*, 79(3), 41-49.

Hamin, E. (2002). Western European Approaches to Landscape Protection: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of Planning Literature,* 16(3), 339- 358.

Harris, I.M., & M.L. Morrison. (2003). *Peace Education* (2nd ed.). Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland.

Harrison, D. (2008). Pro-poor Tourism: a Critique. *Third World Quarterly,* 29(5), 851-868.

Hasani, A., S. Moghavvemi, & A. Hamzah. (2016). The Impact of Emotional Solidarity on Residents' Attitude and Tourism Development. *PLoSONE* 11(6), 1-14.

Heath, S. (2007). Widening the gap: Pre-university gap years and the "economy of experience". British Journal of Sociology of Education, 28(1), 89 103.

Herbers, M.S., & B. Mullins Nelson. (2009). Using the Disorienting Dilemma to Promote Transformative Learning. *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching,* 20(1), 5-34.

Hernann, A. (2015, October 18). "4 Ways Humanitarian Work Abroad Reinforces the Oppression it Should be Fighting." *Everyday Feminism*. Retrieved from http://everydayfeminism.com/2015/10/humanitarianism-oppression/

Heron, B. (2007). Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender and the Helping Imperative. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Herath, N. (2010) Peace Through Tourism. *Beyond Intractability.* Retrieved from http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peace-through-tourism

Hutchinson, S., & H. Lawrence. (2011). *Playing with Purpose: How Experiential Learning Can be More Than a Game.* Surrey, England: Gowler Publishing Limited.

Illeris, K. (2007). What Do We Actually Mean by Experiential Learning? *Human Resource Development Review,* 6(1), 84-95.

Ingram, J. (2011). Volunteer Tourism: How do we Know it is 'Making a Difference'?. In A. M. Benson (Eds.), *Volunteer Tourism: Theory Framework to Practical Applications* (pp. 211-22). London: Routledge.

Institute for Economics and Peace. (2015). *Positive Peace Report 2015.* Retrieved from http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Positive-Peace-Report-2015.pdf.

International Institute for Peace Through Tourism. (2008). Retrieved from http://www.iipt.org

Jeong, H.W. (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies: an Introduction*. Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Johnson, A.G. (2006). Privilege, Power, and Difference (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Josefová, A., & J. Štýrský. (2016). Multiculturalism in Current Tourism: Can Tourism and Travelling Help to Improve Tolerance and Understanding? *SHS Web of Conferences*, 26, 1-4.

Keenan, E.K., & D. Miehls. (2008). Third Space Activities and Change Processes: An Exploration of Ideas from Social and Psychodynamic Theories. *Clin Soc Work J,* 36, 165-175.

King, R., & S. Dinkoksung. (2012). Ban Pa-Ao, Pro-Poor Tourism and Uneven Development. *Tourism Geographies,* 16(4), 687-703.

Kirillova, K., Xinran L., & L. Cai. (2015). Volunteer Tourism and Intercultural Sensitivity: The Role of Interaction with Host Communities. *8300 Defect for UNSW Journal*

of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 32(4), 382-400.

Knollenberg, W., N. G., McGehee, B. Bynum Boley., & D. Clemmons. (2014). Motivation-based Trans-formative Learning and Potential Volunteer Tourists: Facilitating more Sustainable Outcomes. Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 22(6), 922-941.

Kohler, T, A. Strible, & D. Stieger. (2016). Innovation for Volunteer Travel: Using Crowdsourcing to Create Change. In R. Egger, I. Gula. & D. Walcher (Eds.), *Open Tourism: Open Innovation, Crowdsourcing and Co-Creation Challenging the Tourism Industry* (pp. 435-446). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential Learning.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (2017). Finding Oneself While Discovering Others: An Existential Perspective on Volunteer Tourism in Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 65, 1-12.

Kothari, U. (2005). From Colonial Administration to Development studies: A Post-Colonial Critique of the History of Development Studies. In U. Kothari (Ed.), *A Radical History of Development Studies: Individuals, Institutions and Ideologies* (pp. 47–66). London: Zed books.

Koukoui, S., G. Hassan., & J. Guzder. (2017). The Mothering Experience of Women with FGM/C raising 'uncut' daughters, in Ivory Coast and in Canada. *Reproductive Health,* 14(51), pp. 1-11.

Kriesberg, L., & B.W. Dayton (Eds.). (2012). *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Kriesberg, L. (2009). Waging Conflicts Constructively. In D. J.D Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution* (pp 157- 169). New York, NY: Routledge.

Kumagai, A.K., & M. L. Lypson. (2009). Beyond Cultural Competence: Critical Consciousness, Social Justice, and Multicultural Education. *Academic Medicine,* 84(6), 782-787.

Kushner, J. (2016, March 22). The Voluntourist's Dilemma, The New York Times Magazine Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/22/magazine/thevoluntourists- dilemma.html?_r=1

Lather, P. (1995). Feminist Perspectives on Empowering Research Methodologies. In J. Homlland, M. Blair, and S. Sheldon (Eds), Debates and Issues in Feminist research and Pedagogy (pp. 292-307). Clevedon, Philadelphia, & Adelaide: The Open University.

Laxson, J.D. (1991). How 'We' See 'Them' Tourism and Native Americans. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 18, 365-391.

Lederach, J. P. (1995). *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures.* New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Ledearch, J.P. (2003). The Little Book of Conflict Transformation. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Leung, D., R. Law, H. van Hoof, & D. Buhalis. (2013). Social Media in Tourism and Hospitality: a Literature Review. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing,* 30, 3-22.

Li. T.M. (2014). *Lands End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier.* Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Liu, Z. (2003). Sustainable Tourism Development: A Critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 11(6), 459-475.

Lyons, K., J. Hanley, S. Wearing, & J. Neil. (2012). Gap Year Volunteer Tourism: Myths of Global Citizenship? *Annals of Tourism Research,* 39(1), 361-378.

Lyons, K., & S. Wearing. (2008). All for a Good Cause? The Blurred Boundaries of Volunteering and Tourism. In Kevin D. Lyons, and S. Wearing (Eds.), *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism: International Case Study Perspectives.* (pp.147-154). Oxfordshire UK: CABI.

Maclean, E. (2015). Privilege and What it Means to Have it. *Feministing.* Retrieved from http://feministing.com/2015/10/19/privilege-and-what-it-means-to-have-it/

Malkki, L. (2015). *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism.* London & Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Manzo, K. (2008). Imaging Humanitarianism: NGO Identity and the Iconography of Childhood. *Antipode,* 40 (4), 632-657.

McGehee, N. G. (2002): "Alternative Tourism and Social Movements." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), 124–143.

McGehee, N.G & C.A. Santos. (2005). Social Change, Discourse and Volunteer Tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 32, (3), 760-779.

McGehee, N.G., & K. Andereck. (2008). 'Pettin' the Critters': Exploring the Complex Relationship Between Volunteers and the Voluntoured in McDowell County, West Virginia, USA, and Tijuana, Mexico. In Kevin D. Lyons, and S. Wearing (Eds.), *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism: International Case Study Perspectives.* (pp.12-24). Oxfordshire UK: CABI.

McGehee, N. G., & K. Andereck. (2009). Volunteer Tourism and the "Voluntoured": the Case of Tijuana, Mexico. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 17(1), 39-51.

Mcintosh, P. (2005). White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. In M. Baca Zinn, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo, M.A. Messner (Eds.), Gender Through the Prism of Difference (3rd ed.) (pp. 278- 282) Oxford & New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Meletis, Z. A., & L. M. Campbell. (2007). Call it Consumption! Re-Conceptualizing Ecotourism as Consumption and Consumptive. *Geography Compass,* 1(4), 850-870.

Me to We. (2018a). *Adult and Family: Immersive Volunteer Trips*. Retrieved from https://www.metowe.com/volunteer-travel/adult-family-trips/

Me to We. (2018b) "About Me to We". Retrieved from http://www.metowe.com/

Me to We. (2018c). Financial Aid. https://www.metowe.com/volunteer-travel/financial-aid/

Me to We. (2016). *Kenya*. Retrieved from https://www.metowe.com/volunteertravel/youth-trips/kenya/

Me to We. (n.d.). *Reintegration 101,* Retrieved from https://portal.metowe.com/admin/server/files/a0YF0000008qOfUMAU/Post_Trip_Resources.pdf

Mezirow, J. (1978a). *Education for perspective transformation: Women's re-entry programs in community colleges*. New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University.

Mezirow, J. (1978b). Perspective transformation. *Adult Education*, *28*, 100-110.

Mezirow, J. (1990). *Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood: A guide to Transformative and Emancipatory Learning.* San Francisco, CA: Joseey-Bass.

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mezirow, J. (1997), Transformative Learning: Theory to Practice. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education,* 74, 5–12.

Mezirow, J. (2000). Learning as Transformation: Critical Perspectives on a Theory in Progress. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mobility International USA. 2017. Support Volunteers with Disabilities in International Programs. http://www.miusa.org/resource/tipsheet/volunteeradvisors

Mostafanezhad, M. (2014). Volunteer Tourism and the Popular Humanitarian Gaze. *Geoforum* 54: 111-118.

Moufakkir, O., & I. Kelly. (2010). "Introduction Peace and Tourism: Friends not Foes." in O. Moufakkir, & I. Kelly (Eds.), *Tourism, Progress, and Peace* (pp. xvi-xxx). London: CABI Publishing.

Mowforth, M., & I. Munt. (2009). *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalization and New Tourism in the Third World* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Njagi, C. W., R.M. Ndivo, & G. Manyara. Understanding the Travel Motivation Among Youth Travellers in Kenya: the 'Push' and 'Pull' Paradigm. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure,* 6(1), 1-16.

Oberg K. (1960). Culture shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments *Practical Anthropology*, 7: 177–182.

Occhipinti, L. (2016). Not Just Tourists: Short-Term Missionaries and Voluntourism. *Human Organization*, 75(3), 258-268.

Ogden, A. (2008). The View from the Veranda: Understanding Today's Colonial Student. *The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad,* 15, pp. 35-55.

Ooi, N., & J.H. Laing. (2010). Backpacker Tourism: Sustainable and Purposeful? Investigating the Overlap between Backpacker Tourism and Volunteer Tourism Motivations. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 18(2), 191-206.

Orphanages: Not the Solution. (n.d.) Growing Orphanage Sector. Retrieved from http://orphanages.no/index-3.html

Palacios, C. (2010). Volunteer Tourism, Development and Education in a Postcolonial World: Conceiving Global Connections Beyond Aid. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 18(7), 861-878.

Palk, S. (2010, June 2). Why do so many Women go on Volunteer Vacations? CNN. Retrieved from http://www.cnn.com/2010/TRAVEL/06/02/more.women.in.voluntourism/

Pan, T. (2012). Motivations of Volunteer Overseas and What we Have Learned—The Experience of Taiwanese Students. *Tourism Management,* 33, 1493-1501.

Park, J.H. (2017). Cultural Implications of International Volunteer Tourism: US Students' Experiences in Cameroon. *Tourism Geographies,* 20(1), 144-162.

Parker, Y. (2014, June 11). Why Do More Women Volunteer Abroad Than Men? The Huffington Post. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/yelenaparker/why-do-more-women-volunte_b_5483375.html.

Pastran, S.H. (2014). Volunteer Tourism: A Postcolonial Approach. *University of Saskatchewan Undergraduate Research Journal,* 1(1), 45-57.

Pennington, J.L., & C. H. Brock. (2012). Constructing Critical Autoethnographic Self-studies With White Educators. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 25(3), pp. 225-250.

Pinterits, E.J., V.P. Poteat, & L.B. Spanierman. (2009). The White Privilege Attitudes Scale:

Development and Initial Validation. *Journal of Counselling Psychology,* 56(3), pp. 417-429.

Pinto, A., & J. Dwyer. (2010). Crossing Borders and Pushing Boundaries: The Ethics of International Volunteering. *The Meducator*, 17, 19-21.

Posisson, J. (2017, July 14). Canadian girls are being taken 1broad to undergo female genital mutilation, documents reveal. *The Toronto Star.* Retrieved from https://www.thestar.com/news/fgm/2017/07/14/canadian-girls-are-being-taken-abroad-to-undergo-female-genital-mutilation-documents-reveal.html

Polus, R. C., & C. Bidder. (2015). Volunteer Tourists' Motivation and Satisfaction: A Case of Batu Puteh Village Kinabatangan Borneo. *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 224, 308-316.

Projects Abroad. (n.d.-a). *Returning Home: Reverse Culture Shock.* Retrieved from https://www.projects-abroad.org/about-us/alumni/reverse-culture-shock/

Projects Abroad (n.d.-b). Volunteer and Intern in Medicine in Africa. Retrieved from https://www.projects-abroad.ca/volunteer-destinations/intern-in-africa/medicine-and-healthcare/

Proyrungroj, R. (2015). The Attitudes of Thai Hosts Towards Western Volunteer Tourists. *European Journal of Tourism Research,* 11, 102-124.

Ramsbotham, O., T. Woodhouse, & H. Miall. (2011). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge, UK & Malden, Massachusetts: Polity Press.

Raymond, E. M., & C.M. Hall. (2008). The Development of Cross-Cultural (Mis)Understanding Through Volunteer Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 16(5), 530-543.

Razack, S. (2011). Timely Deaths: Medicalizing the Deaths of Aboriginal People in Police Custody *Law, Culture and the Humanities,* 9(2), 352-374.

Reardon, B. (1988). Comprehensive Peace Education: Educating for Global Responsibility. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Reardon, B. (1995). Educating for Human Dignity: Learning about Rights and Responsibilities. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Reed-Danahay, D. (1997). Introduction. In Reed-Danahay, D. (Ed.), Auto/ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social (pp. 1-20). Oxford, UK: Berg.

Regan, P. (2011). *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada.* Vancouver: UBC Press.

Resigner, Y. (2013). Connection Between Travel, Tourism and Transformation. In Y. Resigner (Ed), *Transformational Tourism: Tourist Perspectives* (pp 27-32). Oxfordshire UK & Boston Ma: CABI.

Roberts, P. (1996). Rethinking Conscientisation. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 30(2), 179-196.

Rubenstein, R.E. (2003). Sources. In S. Cheldelin, D. Druckman, & L. Fast (Eds.), *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention* (2nd ed). (pp 58-70). London, UK & New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Russell, S.D., & R. Ty. (2010). Conflict Transformation Efforts in the Southern Philippines. In C. Carter (Ed.), *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education: Transformations across Disciplines* (pp. 157-186). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rutledge, D. (2014, March 24). Is 'Voluntourism' the New Colonialism? *ABC*. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/encounter/5341384

Salomon, G., & B. Nevo. (Eds.). (2002). *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices around the World.* Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Scarles, C. (2010). Where Words Fail, Visuals Ignite: Opportunities for Visual Autoethnography in Tourism Research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(4), 905-926.

Scheyvens, R. (2012). Pro-Poor Tourism: Is There Value Beyond the Rhetoric? In T. V. Singh (Ed.), *Critical Debates in Tourism* (pp.124-131). Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications.

Schneider, J. (2015). Inside the White Saviour Industrial Complex. *New African*, 546, 8-9.

Seibold, C. (2000). Qualitative Research from a Feminist Perspective in the Postmodern Era: Methodological, Ethical and Reflexive Concerns. *Nursing Inquiry,* 7, 147-155.

Sharpe, E.K., & S. Dear. (2013). Points of Discomfort: Reflection on Power and Partnerships in International Service Learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning,* 19(2), 49-57.

Shepherd, R. (2018). Making the Strange Familiar, but not Necessarily the Familiar Strange: On Tour in China. In R. Shepherd (Ed.), *Cosmopolitanism and Tourism: Rethinking Theory and Practice* (pp. 75-94). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Sherraden, M. S., B.J., Lough, & A.M., Moore McBride. (2008). Impacts of International Volunteering and Service: Individual and Institutional Predictors. *Voluntas.* 19, 395-421.

Silver, M. (2015, January 4). If You Shouldn't Call it the third World, What Should you Call it?. *National Public Radio*. Retrieved from

https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2015/01/04/372684438/if-you-shouldnt-call-it-the-third-world-what-should-you-call-it.

Simpson, K. (2004). Doing development: The Gap Year: Volunteer-Tourists and a Popular Practice of Development. *Journal of International Development, 16*, 681–692.

Sin, H.L. (2009). Volunteer Tourism- Involve Me and I will Learn? *Annals of Tourism Research,* 36(3), 480-501.

Singer, P. (2009). *The Life You Can Save.* New York: Random House.

Smith, D.E. (1987). Women's Perspective on a Radical Critique of Sociology. In S. Harding (Ed.), *Feminism and Methodology,* (84-96). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Smith, D.E. (1991). *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling.* London: Routledge.

Smith., J.A., & M. Osborne. (2008). Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis. In John. A. Smith (Ed.), Qualitative Psychology: a Practical Guide to Research Methods. (pp. 53-80). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Smith, S. L. (2002). The Cycle of Cross-Cultural Adaptation and Reentry. In J. N. Martin, T. K. Nakayama, & L. A. Flores (Eds.), *Readings in Intercultural Communication: Experiences and Contexts* (2nd ed., pp. 246–258). Boston: McGraw Hill.

Smith, V.L. (1978). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Smith, V.L. (1989). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Smith, V.L., & X. Font. (2014). Volunteer Tourism, Greenwashing and Understanding Responsible Marketing using Market Signalling Theory. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 22(6), 942-963.

Smithers, G. (2010). Rethinking Genocide in North America. In Bloxham, D. & Moses, A. D. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (pp. 322-341). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Soderman, N., & S. Snead, (2008). Opening the Gap: The Motivation of Gap Year Travellers to Volun- teer in Latin America. In K. Lyons & S. Wearing (Eds.), *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism* (pp. 118 129). Wallingford: CABI.

Solomon, G., & B. Nevo (Eds.). (2002). *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the Pain of Others.* New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.

Springer, J. (2009). Addressing the Social Impacts of Conservation: Lessons from Experience and Further Directions. *Conservation ad Society,* 7(1), 26-29.

Stanfield, J.H II. (2011). *Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press INC.

Stevenson, L. (2014). *Life Beside Itself: Imagining Care in the Canadian Arctic.* Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Stokes, P. (2011). Thematic Analysis. In P. Stokes, *Palgrave Key concepts: Key concepts in business and management research methods*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

Stoddart, H.. & C.M. Rogerson. (2004). Volunteer Tourism: The Case of Habitat for Humanity South Africa. *GeoJournal,* 60, 311-318.

Straubhaar, R. (2015). The Stark Reality of the 'White Saviour' Complex and the Need for Critical Consciousness: a Documented Analysis of the Early Journals of a Freirean Educator. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education,* 45(3), 381-400.

Taylor, E. (2007). Transformative Learning: Developing a Critical Worldview. In J.L. Kincheloe & R.A. Horn Jr. (Eds.), *The Praeger Handbook of Education and Psychology*: *Volume 1 (*pp. 354- 363). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Taylor, E. (2008). Transformative Learning Theory. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* 119, 5-15.

Tomlejenovic, J. (2010). "Tourism and Intercultural Understanding or Contact Hypothesis Revisited." In O. Moufakkir, & I. Kelly (Eds.), *Tourism, Progress, and Peace* (pp. 17-34). London: CABI Publishing.

Transitions Abroad. (2018) International Programs for Disability Travel. http://www.transitionsabroad.com/listings/travel/disability/internationalprograms.shtml

Trau, A.M. (2012). Beyond Pro-Poor Tourism: (Re)Interpreting Tourism-Based Approaches to Poverty Alleviation in Vanuatu. *Tourism Planning & Development,* 9(2), 149-164.

Triarchi, E. (2017). Alternative Tourism Development: A Theoretical Background. *World Journal of Business and Management,* 3(1), 35-54.

UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme. (1986) *The Seville Statement.* Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/seville.pdf.

UNICEF. (2011). With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/eapro/Study_Attitudes_towards_RC.pdf

UNVolunteers. (N.D.). Change the World Through Online Volunteering. *Online Volunteering.* Retrieved from https://www.onlinevolunteering.org/en.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies.* London, New York, & New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Van Winkle, C. & K. Lagay. (2012). Learning During Tourism: the Experience of Learning from the Tourist's Perspective. *Studies in Continuing Education,* 34(3), 339-355.

Vass, G. (2014). Putting Critical Race Theory to Work in Australian Education Research: 'We are With the Garden Hose here'. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 42(3), 371-394.

Wallace, L. J. (2012). Does Pre-Medical 'Voluntourism' Improve the Health of Communities Abroad. *Journal of Global Health Perspectives.* Retrieved from http://jglobalhealth.org/article/does-pre-medical-voluntourismimprove-the-health- of-communities-abroad-3/

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 26(2), 349-370.

Wearing, S. (2001). *Volunteer Tourism: Experiences that Make a Difference.* CABI Publishing: New York.

Wearing, S. (2004). Examining Best Practice in Volunteer Tourism. In R. Stebbins & M. Graham (Eds.), *Volunteering as Leisure/Leisure as Volunteering: an International Assessment* (209-224). Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Wearing, S., A.M. Benson, & N. McGehee. (2016). Volunteer Tourism and Travel Volunteering. In D.H. Smith, R.A Stebbins, & J. Grotz (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Volunteering, Civic Participation, and Nonprofit Associations* (275-289). UK: Palgrave

Macmillan.

Wearing, S., M. McDonald, & J. Pointing. (2005). Building a Decommodified Research Paradigm in Tourism: the Contribution of NGOs. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 13(5), 424-439.

Wearing, S., & N. McGehee. (2013). *International Volunteer Tourism: Integrating Travellers and Communities.* UK: CABI.

Weil, S. W., & I. McGill. (1989). A Framework for Making Sense of Experiential Learning. In S. W. Weil & I. McGill (Eds.), *Making sense of experiential learning: Diversity in theory and practice* (pp. 3–24). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Weaver, D.B. (1991). Alternative to Mass Tourism in Dominica. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 18, 414-432.

Weiler, B., & Richins, H. (1995). Extreme, Extravagant and Elite: a Profile of Ecotourists on Earthwatch Expeditions. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 20(1), 29–36.

WE. (2018a). "Our Development Model". Retrieved from https://www.we.org/we-villages/our-development-model/

WE. (2018b). "What We Do: Sustainable International Development." Retrieved from https://www.we.org/we-villages/our-impact/

Werner, R. (2010). Hope and Ethics of Belief. In A. Fitz-Gibbon (Ed.), *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change.* Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi.

West, P., & J.G. Carrier. (2004). Ecotourism and Authenticity. *Current Anthropology*, 45(4), 483-498.

Westmarland, N. (2001) The Quantitative/Qualitative Debate and Feminist Research: A

Subjective View of Objectivity. *Qualitative Social Research*, 2(1).

Woolford, A. (2009). Ontological Destruction: Genocide and Canadian Aboriginal Peoples. *Genocide Studies and Prevention,* 4(1), 81-97.

Woosnam, KM, W.C. Norman, & T. Ying. (2009). Exploring the Theoretical Framework of Emotional Solidarity between Residents and Tourists. *Journal of Travel Research,* 48(2), pp. 245-258.

Woosnam, K.M., & W.C Norman. (2010). Measuring Residents' Emotional Solidarity with Tourists: Scale Development of Durkheim's Theoretical Constructs. *Journal of Travel Research,* 49(3), 365-380.

Zahra, A., & A. J. Mcintosh (2007). Volunteer Tourism: Evidence of Cathartic Tourist Experiences. *Tourism Recreation Research,* 32(1), 115-119.

Zeddies, M., & Z. Millei. (2015). It Takes a Global Village": Troubling Discourses of Global Citizenship in United Planet's Voluntourism. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 5(1), 100-111.