

The ‘volunteer tourist gaze’: Commercial volunteer tourists’ interactions with, and perceptions of, the host community in Cusco, Peru

Abstract

This paper presents the commodified volunteer tourist gaze through the use of a case study which contextualises commercial volunteer tourism. Interviews undertaken with volunteer tourists in Cusco, Peru, and on-the-ground participant observation, provide insights into what we term a ‘volunteer tourist gaze’ underpinned by neo-colonial tendencies. The findings demonstrate that volunteer tourists are not passive consumers of a destination, but actively engaged in a multi-sensory, embodied experience. This is evidenced in the way they describe their interactions with local people, and their views and perceptions of poverty in Cusco. However, the findings suggest that the volunteer-host interactions and experiences do little to foster cross-cultural understanding, particularly given the limitations to these interactions imposed by a significant language barrier. Instead, the commodified volunteer tourist gaze perpetuates neo-colonial discourses by emphasising the differences between volunteer tourists from the developed world (the haves) and host communities in the Global South (the have nots).

Keywords: host community; neo-colonialism; Peru; tourist gaze; tourist perceptions; volunteer tourism

Introduction

Volunteer tourism was traditionally considered a form of sustainable alternative tourism (McGehee, 2002; Raymond & Hall, 2008). Volunteer tourists can be defined as those who, for various reasons, choose to volunteer while travelling overseas. Wearing (2001, p. 1) argues that this volunteering is generally organised and “might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment”. Originally, volunteer tourism was predominantly organised by non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations that had direct relationships with the host communities (Lyons, Hanley, Wearing, & Neil, 2012). (Note that this contrasts with longer-term, state run international development volunteering programmes, such as the United States Peace Corps (Chen, 2018; Schech, Skelton, & Mundkur, 2018).) However, as volunteer tourism has become increasingly popular – and as the potential for profit has increased – commercial companies have moved into this particular market and volunteer tourism now presents a growing proportion of the global tourism industry (McGehee, 2014; Tomazos & Butler, 2008; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012; Tourism Research and Marketing (TRAM), 2008). According to an investigation by Purvis and Kennedy (2016), the majority of organisations that place volunteers overseas every year are now commercial travel agencies who charge a premium fee to their customers. As a result, the labelling of volunteer tourism as sustainable, responsible, and indeed a ‘niche’ form of tourism, has been increasingly criticised (Burrai & Hannam, 2018; Butcher, 2011; Stainton, 2016). This reflects a similar trajectory followed by ecotourism in the 1980s and 1990s (McGehee, 2014; Tomazos & Butler, 2009)

In this paper we examine the increasing commercialisation of volunteer tourism and its negative effect on local communities. We use the concept of the ‘volunteer

tourist gaze', an extension to Urry's (1990, 2002) 'tourist gaze', to navigate the case of a large commercial volunteer tourism organisation in Cusco, Peru. Since 2001, the Peruvian economy has grown at its most sustained pace since the 1950s. The city of Cusco is the gateway city to Machu Picchu and is an extremely popular tourism destination with approximately 1.5 million tourists visiting each year, more than four times the population of the city itself (Discover Peru, 2018). However, this growth has not benefitted all Peruvians equally and established inequalities remain entrenched (Burrai, Mostafanezhad, & Hannam, 2017; Turner, 2013). According to the latest World Bank (2019) figures, around 22% of Peruvians live in poverty, and in rural areas this rate is much higher (Turner, 2013). As a result there is an increasing resentment by local people towards tourists fuelling violence and government restrictions (Burrai, Font, & Cochrane, 2015; Burrai et al., 2017). Cusco is therefore a worthwhile and intriguing case to explore the volunteer tourist gaze.

Volunteer tourism has been framed as an altruistic form of tourism by which tourists can 'give back' to the host community while simultaneously accessing a more authentic travel experience through increased interaction with the host community (Wearing, 2001; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). However, this is not necessarily the reality of volunteer tourism 'on the ground'. In Cusco, much like other popular volunteer tourism destinations, this desire to 'give back' has arguably been superseded by volunteer tourists' desire for a specific type of experience. This experience is one that might appear to have all the elements of an authentic cross-cultural experience; however, is produced and packaged much like other mainstream tourism experiences in circumstances that focus on providing a safe and familiar tourism experience (see also Burrai et al., 2017).

The specific aim of this paper is to explore how the shift of traditional volunteer tourism to an increasingly commercialised mainstream experience has influenced the ‘gaze’ of contemporary volunteer tourists. We discuss how traditional neo-colonial mass tourism perspectives have resurfaced within the more large-scale commercial volunteer tourism sector (see for example Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017; Everingham, 2015, 2016) and contrast this with the early views which promoted volunteer tourism as providing a more authentic and reciprocal tourist-host relationship (cf. Wearing & Neil, 2000). This argument is framed using a neo-colonialism lens. We also draw on Urry’s (1990, 2002) ‘tourist gaze’ which allows us to explore how volunteer tourists at a commercial organisation construct their view (or gaze) of the host community. Through the ‘volunteer tourist gaze’ we show how a more nuanced idea of the volunteer tourist’s view of the ‘other’ might be both constructed and also compared to mainstream tourism experiences.

Literature Review

Volunteer tourism

Volunteer tourism developed as a means for tourists to give back to the local community. It can be categorised as a form of responsible, ethical, or more meaningful tourism (Butcher, 2011; Callanan & Thomas, 2005) and is often promoted as fostering cultural understanding and closer relationships between volunteer tourists and the host community (Sin, 2009; Wearing, 2001; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). In the early literature, volunteer tourism was heralded as providing “a direct interactive experience that causes value change and changed consciousness in the individual” (Wearing, 2001, p. x) as it allowed volunteer tourists “to go beyond the superficial interactions that travel is often restricted to” (Broad, 2003, p. 63). In other words, volunteer tourism was

regarded as a means for tourists to access a more authentic experience and become more embedded within the host community than is possible within conventional mass tourism. These themes continue in recent literature. For example, Mostafanezhad (2014b, p. 94) quotes a 17-year-old South African volunteer tourist who stated that:

Traveling you are just kind of watching it like window shopping in a way. But by volunteering... you get to, like I am doing, go to the schools, see the children, see the villages, see the rural life and also meet the people and get involved with the people... you actually get to participate in the children's lives.

Volunteering therefore supposedly provides opportunities for genuine exchange between volunteer tourists and the host community (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011; Wearing, McDonald, & Ponting, 2005), particularly for longer-term volunteer tourists who become "immersed in the local culture... The overall experience is much more intimate, with the volunteer becoming a member of the community" (TRAM, 2008, p. 18).

Wearing and McGehee's (2013) review of volunteer tourism found that there are a number of debates emerging from the literature. One of these is whether volunteer tourism organisations are agents of change or simply a new version of commodification. This has also been recently discussed by Steele, Dredge, and Scherrer (2017). A second is the question of whether volunteer tourism creates a new paradigm in tourism that places the community at the centre. Recent literature in volunteer tourism has examined the host-guest relationship (Prince, 2017; Proyrungroj, 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Steele et al., 2017) and suggests it has been mutually beneficial (Everingham, 2015; Griffiths, 2018). Through intimate encounters with local people, volunteer tourists are assumed to be able to escape the 'tourist bubble' (Mostafanezhad, 2014b; Mostafanezhad, Azizi, & Johansen, 2016) and access a deeper relationship with the host community, essentially

moving into what MacCannell (1973) terms the 'backstage'. A number of empirical studies support this view. For instance, Alexander and Bakir's (2011, p. 14) study on cultural immersion highlights "the 'need' of the voluntourist to be involved, to engage, characterizes the modern tourist's desire to experience a place and its culture rather than merely stand back and gaze" (see also Cousins, Evans, & Sadler, 2009; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017; Mostafanezhad, 2014b; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). Similarly, Fee and Mdee (2011, p. 229) argue that through volunteering, volunteer tourists gain an understanding of life in developing countries which can ultimately help "society to move beyond the neo-colonial myths" inherent in other forms of tourism, such as mass tourism. However, the assumption that volunteer tourism is superior to mass tourism has been criticised (Butcher, 2011; Gray & Campbell, 2007; Guttentag, 2009; Sin, 2010; Stainton, 2016), particularly as volunteer tourism becomes increasingly large-scale and potentially similar to mass tourism, albeit differentiated by some form of volunteering component. Criticisms extend to smaller niches of volunteering such as orphanage tourism which is said to have commodified orphan (or even non-orphaned) children (see for example Guiney, 2018).

Neo-colonialism

Volunteer tourism has been critiqued on multiple fronts but one of the most pervasive is the accusation that it perpetuates neo-colonialist actions and discourses (Guttentag, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Palacios, 2010; Park, 2018; Simpson, 2005; Vrasti, 2013). For example, Zavitz and Butz (2011, p. 417) state that:

Well-meaning young volunteers from the North... expect over the course of a few weeks to provide meaningful benefit to Southern populations. Such a strong presumption of Northern agency and Southern need prevails that the impediments of skill, knowledge, duration, familiarity, and language escape consideration.

Volunteer tourists have been referred to as the ‘new colonialists’ (Barkham, 2006), continuing several centuries of history where rich, white, well-educated, young people from developed countries travel to ‘help’ poor, usually non-white people in developing countries (Lyons, 2015; Quenville, 2005). Criticising recent developments around the often idealistic if not simplistic engagement of volunteer tourists in the developing world, Mostafanezhad (2014b, p. 74) states that:

Western humanitarian interventions have a long, sordid history in non-Western countries. The historical legacy of missionaries, colonialism, war and pillage are not easily forgotten, and today moral interventions are often met with scepticism by local people.

This is not a new criticism; at its development, Peace Corps volunteers were criticised for being ‘neo-colonial patsies’ (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p. 29). In fact, these sentiments are important given the well-meaning attitudes yet limited effects and, at times, negative consequences of volunteer tourism involvement in development contexts (Devereux, 2008; Guttentag, 2009; McGehee & Andereck, 2009).

The way volunteer tourism is advertised also reflects these neo-colonial ideas (or myths) of a homogeneous, ‘undeveloped’, ‘third world’ that ‘needs’ Western volunteer tourists to come and help (Fee & Mdee, 2011; Simpson, 2004b). Often, volunteer tourism is justified by the assumption that those from the developed world are in some way “responsible for the wellbeing” (Sin, 2010, p. 988) of those in the developing world. For example, marketing material from Leap (2009, as cited in Fee & Mdee, 2011, p. 225) invites would-be volunteer tourists to “soak up jaw-dropping ancient culture, vibrant colours and the many flavours of Asia whilst contributing to vital community and conservation projects helping this beautiful country recover from a turbulent past”. While volunteer tourist-host interactions are premised on a ‘caring

relationship', there is ultimately an unequal power balance. This is often manifest in the volunteer tourists' perceptions of the host community as being 'poor but happy' where the volunteer tourists construct poverty as exotic, thereby emphasising the differences rather than the commonalities between the volunteer tourists and the host community (Crossley, 2012; Grabowski, 2014; Simpson, 2004b).

Overall, it has been shown that volunteer tourism can foster a culture of dependency within host communities which can result in (further) local disempowerment (Guttentag, 2009; Lyons & Wearing, 2008; Simpson, 2005; Wearing, 2004). Likewise, volunteer tourism arguably reinforces power differences between those from developed countries (the Global North) and those from developing countries (the Global South). In other words, Ingram (2011, p. 219) proposes that volunteer tourism reduces development to an act of 'doing' and objectifies host communities in developing countries as "the benefit-receiving other", thus perpetuating colonial attitudes. As Simpson (2004b, p. 688) argues, poverty becomes a 'definer of difference' between the volunteer tourists and the host community; it "becomes an issue for 'out there', which can be passively gazed upon, rather than actively interacted with".

The tourist gaze

In his seminal work *The Tourist Gaze*, Urry (1990, 2002) proposed that rather than tourists viewing a destination objectively, the tourist experience is instead highly subjective and socially constructed. That is, tourist gazes "are constructed through difference" Urry (2002, p. 1). This conceptualisation was furthered by Urry and Larsen (2011, p. 2) who wrote that "people gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education". Cohen (1988) also challenged the idea of a single tourist gaze, maintaining that instead there is a range of tourist experiences. He assigned the tourist

virtually total free will, while Boorstin (1964) portrayed the tourist simply as a dupe of the establishment. Urry's original phrase 'the tourist gaze', which was meant to describe the tourist's near acquiescence to what he or she is offered, has become under Bruner (2005, p. 95) the questioning gaze in recognition of the "tourists' doubt about the credibility, authenticity, and accuracy of what is presented to them".

Recent studies have re-conceptualised the tourist gaze specifically in the context of volunteer tourism, for example, the 'gutsy gaze' (Schwarz, 2016), 'selfie gaze' (Koffman, Orgad, & Gill, 2015), 'humanitarian gaze' (Mostafanezhad, 2014a), 'demanding gaze' (Crossley, 2013), 'scrutinising gaze' (Vrasti, 2013), and 'colonial gaze' (Simpson, 2004a). These various gazes position the host as 'other' while the volunteer assumes the dominant neo-colonial position. These reframe the decades-long discourse around culture and imperialism (Said, 1978, 1993) and the volunteer tourist gaze becomes contextualised in Smith's (1977, 1989) tourist-host cultural exchange which may not be all that beneficial for the host. It is this gaze that is the subject of further interrogation in this paper.

Methodology

Our research employed a qualitative case study of a commercial volunteer tourism organisation in Cusco, Peru. A case study is not simply a single, coherent form of research, rather it is an 'approach' to research which is supported by a theoretical base consisting of social interaction and social construction of meaning (Stark & Torrance, 2006). We employed a constructionist epistemology and an interpretivist ontological viewpoint. Within constructionism, objects have no inherent meaning; rather, meaning is constructed through people's interpretations and representations of the world (Crotty, 1998; King & Horrocks, 2010). Interpretivism 'looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world' (Crotty, 1998,

p. 67) and stipulates that the social world can be understood only by those who live and operate within it. This makes interviews and participant observation a logical choice of data collection method since social phenomena require studying from within (Blaikie, 2007).

The commercial volunteer tourism organisation chosen for this study was one of the largest and well-known in Cusco. It was established in 2003 in central Cusco by an American man and his Peruvian wife as a small English language school but has since expanded to include Spanish lessons, teacher training, and, since 2005, volunteer tourism programmes. In 2012 the lead author spent fifteen weeks volunteering teaching English through the case study organisation and living with other volunteer tourists in a guest house in Cusco. During this time, she also kept a research diary/journal where she recorded her observations and memos relating to data analysis, as well as reflections on her own experiences as a volunteer tourist.

In addition to participant observation, the lead author conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with 33 volunteer tourists (12 male and 21 female) at the case study organisation. Each volunteer tourist was interviewed twice. Entry interviews covered the volunteer tourists' motivations for volunteering and what they expected of their experiences, while exit interviews focused on their experiences in Cusco and their thoughts on the commercial aspect of the case study organisation. Interviews were also conducted with three staff members of the case study organisation; these interviews focused primarily on determining how typical the experiences of the interviewees were (compared to the wider volunteer tourist group), and further detail about how the organisation operated.

Overall, interviewees ranged in age from 18 to 64 years with an average age of just over 29 years. All were either from, or currently residing in, an English-speaking

country. The volunteer tourists' Spanish language skills ranged from non-existent to fluent, with the majority speaking basic to pre-intermediate Spanish on arrival in Cusco. Table 1 outlines the characteristics of the participants. Interview participants' identities have been kept confidential through pseudonyms.

Table 1. Participant characteristics

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

At the time of data collection, the volunteer tourism organisation offered medical, teaching, childcare, and construction volunteer placements. Volunteer tourists' length of stay varied widely from one to 14 weeks. From a research process perspective, the lead author attended the orientation session for each new intake of volunteer tourists at the beginning of each week in Cusco. The staff member running the orientation session introduced the lead author (interviewer) and informed the incoming volunteer tourists about the research project. All of the incoming volunteer tourists who would be staying in Cusco during the period the lead author was in country – and who therefore would also be available for an exit interview prior to her departure – were invited to be interviewed. In the first months of data collection, it was very rare that an incoming volunteer tourist was staying longer than the lead author and therefore almost all of the incoming volunteer tourists were invited to be involved in the research project; there were fewer volunteer tourists recruited in the final weeks of data collection. In this context, we suggest that even during a short period of time, volunteer tourists are forming views of the (engagement with a) host community which should form part of a holistic investigation.

All interviews were digitally audio-recorded and transcribed. Interview transcripts and research diary notes were then analysed in NVivo using a Charmazian

grounded theory approach (see Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2014). Essentially, Charmaz promotes a somewhat compromised version of grounded theory, one which emphasises the iterative and flexible nature of grounded theory from a constructionist viewpoint, rather than the more prescriptive and restrictive model initially described by her predecessors Glaser and Strauss (1967). While traditional grounded theory has been criticised for being overly positivistic, Charmaz (2014, p. 14) acknowledges that the ‘researcher’s involvement in the construction and interpretation of data’ is critical. The extensive coding process adapted from Charmaz (2014) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) resulted in a number of emerging core categories and themes. These included: volunteers as consumers, altruistic-related motivations, the volunteers’ perceived contribution to the host community, the sense that volunteer tourism provided ‘the best of both worlds’ (that is, access to both tourism and volunteer experiences), volunteers’ views of paying to volunteer, and the ethics of commercial volunteer tourism. For the purpose of this paper, the core category ‘volunteers as consumers’ was most relevant. It featured several axial codes and themes, including: ‘interactions with the host community’, ‘language barrier’, and ‘perceptions of poverty’, which are explored in detail in this paper.

Findings

At the time of data collection in 2012, the case study organisation hosted between 75 and 250 volunteer tourists at any one time. Rather than organising accommodation and volunteer projects themselves, volunteer tourists paid a lump-sum to the volunteer tourism organisation for a ‘volunteer tourism package’ which included a payment to the volunteering project, accommodation in Cusco including three meals per day (either in a guesthouse or local homestay), access to 24/7 assistance from staff at the volunteer tourism organisation, and in some cases, Spanish lessons. What

proportion of this payment went to the volunteer programme and/or the accommodation provider compared to how much was retained by the volunteer tourism organisation, was commercially sensitive and is unable to be shared as part of the research process.

Upon arrival in Cusco, volunteer tourists were met at the airport by a local staff member and driven to their accommodation. Two guest houses accommodated 18 volunteer tourists each with the remaining volunteer tourists placed at homestays. On the first day of volunteering, a staff member accompanied new volunteer tourists to introduce them to other volunteers and local staff. Volunteer tourists volunteered for around four hours every morning or afternoon and spent the rest of the day studying Spanish, participating in a tandem language exchange, sight-seeing, or simply relaxing.

Volunteer tourists' interactions with the host community

Entry interviews suggested many of the volunteer tourists knew little about Cusco prior to arriving in Peru. Many of the volunteer tourists said they had expected to arrive in a small village but were surprised to find Cusco is in fact a large town with several Western-style shops and eateries including a Starbucks and McDonalds. Volunteer tourists noted in interviews that they were surprised to find the guesthouses had electricity, running water, and Wi-Fi – all amenities that they were not necessarily expecting. While the volunteer tourists knew of Machu Picchu and that Peru was a former Spanish colony, few had further details about the local culture and history. Nonetheless, all the volunteer tourists interviewed appeared to respect the local culture and be genuinely interested in learning more about the Cusqueño way of life.

Many of the volunteer tourists chose to volunteer rather than just travel because they believed volunteering would allow them to develop relationships with locals and gain a deeper understanding of life in Cusco. For example, Dawson said he chose to

volunteer because he wanted to “stay in one place for a long time and... get to know the culture” and thought “volunteering seemed like... a good chance to get to know a place”.

Most of the volunteer tourists did interact with locals as part of their volunteering projects, although the extent of this interaction depended somewhat on what type of volunteer project the volunteer tourists were engaging in. For example, Sarah felt that she “maintained a relationship” with the adults she taught English to at the local community centre. Terry was volunteering at a local medical clinic and spoke of visiting some patients in their homes. He said it was “interesting to see how people actually lived”. Volunteer tourists at the orphanages and those teaching English to school children interacted with the children on a daily basis. In this sense the volunteer tourists did most likely have more interaction with local Cusqueños (people of Cusco) than mass tourists who typically rarely venture outside of the tourist areas.

Construction volunteers typically had less interaction with local people as the only people working at the construction site were other volunteer tourists. For example, Joseph stated that the most interaction he had with local Cusqueños was one day at the construction site when:

I was the only one that showed up for some reason... the fathers were, they usually work on weekends [rather than during the week], but they were there that day, so I was hanging out with all of them and they thought it was hilarious that I didn't... know Spanish... They were teaching me like all the words, like what the tools were, and, it was a really fun time.

One construction volunteer explained he was somewhat envious that the lead author (interviewer) was teaching English to adults and therefore interacted with local adults and learned more about the local culture, while he was at the construction site and rarely interacted with local Cusqueños outside of a service transaction (for example,

buying something in a shop, tour guides). He was also staying at one of the volunteer tourist guesthouses and therefore potentially had less interaction with local people than if he had stayed in a homestay with a local family.

Volunteer tourists do not belong to a homogeneous group and the extent of interaction the volunteer tourists had with the host community varied widely. For example, the first author recorded in her field notes about one young English volunteer tourist who lived in a homestay. She had a local Peruvian boyfriend and volunteered at a small orphanage with only one or two other volunteer tourists in a rural village approximately 40 minutes' drive outside of Cusco. This volunteer spent three months in Cusco and spoke almost fluent Spanish by the time she left. However, the majority of volunteer tourists interviewed, particularly those living in a volunteer tourist guesthouse rather than a homestay, had very different experiences and admitted that ultimately they had little real interaction with local Cusqueños. Daniel had "less interaction" with locals than he expected, while Thomas commented that he had not "really had much contact with locals". Importantly, in both cases, it was not that they had no interest in engaging, or a personal inability to engage, but rather these statements reflected disappointment in the level of interaction achieved compared to pre-defined expectations of a more intimate engagement.

Some of the volunteer tourists believed many locals did not like gringos (foreigners). Sarah stated that "obviously the tourists help their economy and buys [sic] their things but some of them [Cusqueños] seem very bitter about the tourists here". Similarly, Thomas believed volunteer tourists were more willing than the locals to "integrate" but believed that locals were "not willing... in a lot of cases, especially when you go to the tourist areas". He believed there was a "large minority, or maybe the majority... of Peruvians that aren't particularly fond of tourists". He referred to the

influx of Western-style eateries in Cusco's main square and commented that "there were no Peruvians in there, it was all tourists" (although this is also because these Western-style eateries also tended to be much more expensive than local eateries). Sonan acknowledged that Cusco was the Cusqueños' home and they may not necessarily want to interact with the volunteer tourists and give the volunteer tourists the 'authentic' experience they sought. Sonan said that she appreciated that while she wanted to interact with local people that did not necessarily mean they wanted to interact with her.

Valentine (1992) suggests that local people may begin to resent tourists who are more affluent than they are. This resentment also stems from a long tradition of colonisation where local communities have become wary of foreigners (particularly those who may look like the Spanish conquistadors, missionaries and colonisers) imposing themselves, their customs and their capital (cf. Brohman, 1996). This may partly explain the high levels of petty theft and common 'scams' against tourists in Cusco (for example, overcharging in shops and taxis). The volunteer tourists in Cusco perceived themselves as different to mass tourists and became annoyed or offended when locals attempted to over-charge them the same way they would other tourists. For example, Thomas stated that:

There's a lot of gringo-ing [sic]... I just imagine that if you leave a store and a Peruvian comes in, he's going to get whatever you just got for two to three soles cheaper than what you just paid... It's the principle of the thing, it's like you want to get a fair deal, you don't want to get scammed. It feels crap to be scammed, regardless of the fact that you're getting scammed over fifty cents.

In this sense how the volunteer tourists perceived themselves conflicted with how they were perceived by the host community, who tended not to differentiate between volunteer tourists and tourists more generally.

Language barrier

Some of the volunteer tourists interviewed would have preferred to have had more interaction with local people, although they acknowledged this lack of deeper contact was often due to a language barrier (see also Otoo, 2014). Sonan stated that “it’s really hard when you don’t speak Spanish... no-one really accepts you”. Terry described trying to speak Spanish at placement as “challenging” while Frances thought being able to speak at least some Spanish was “necessary, definitely” and Matt described it as a “fundamental” requirement when volunteering. One of the case study organisation staff members estimated only 5-10% of volunteer tourists spoke passable Spanish. The staff member described speaking at least “a little bit” of Spanish as “an extremely crucial part of volunteering here” and stated that volunteer tourists who did not speak Spanish did not “have nearly as good of an experience”.

The case study organisation also ran a language school and some volunteer tourists took advantage of the tandem programme on offer whereby volunteer tourists (and other Spanish language students) were matched with local students studying English. The tandem partners were expected to meet on a regular basis and practise each other’s language, generally speaking English for half the time and Spanish for the other half. This was one way for the volunteer tourists to develop a relationship (or even friendship) with a member of the host community, and thus move beyond the tourist space and instead be invited to enter the locals’ ‘backstage’ by visiting parts of Cusco tourists did not generally visit such as local (non-touristy) cafés and family homes. However, very few of the volunteer tourists took part in these types of arrangements. This suggests that even when these types of experiences were offered, the volunteer tourists did not necessarily want to move beyond the volunteer tourism enclave.

Volunteer tourists' perceptions of poverty in Cusco

Entry interviews suggested many of the volunteer tourists knew little about Cusco prior to arriving in Peru and it was somewhat of a shock for some who had not previously visited a developing country. For example, Thomas described Cusco as “bare bones” and much less developed than he had expected for a city of its size. Similarly, Joseph said that his initial impression when he arrived in Cusco was that it looked like “an earthquake had just gone... through”.

Walking around Cusco especially, you get a perspective of what a city in the third-world is actually like... it really isn't anything like Western cities... There's [sic] areas where there's no running water, no electricity. (Thomas)

Margaret said while she was aware of poverty in developing countries “until you actually come face to face it does not register”. Many volunteer tourists mentioned the frequent power outages in Cusco and the inability to flush toilet paper (although this is common throughout South America) as evidence of Peru's lack of development. The volunteer tourists in Cusco tended to speak about ‘the poor’ and ‘the other half’, thus differentiating themselves from the local Peruvians. There was very little mention or acknowledgement of poverty in the volunteer tourists' home countries and instead a strong emphasis on the poor “other half” that live in developing countries. Although some volunteer tourists mentioned poverty at home, they all emphasised that this was not on the ‘same scale’ as poverty in Peru. For example, John stated that during his time in Cusco he had learned “that even the worst parts of the United States are still not that bad” compared to poverty in Peru. The volunteer tourists said their own perceptions of poverty and what it means to be ‘poor’ had changed because of their experiences volunteering in Cusco. For example, after several weeks volunteering at the orphanage, Margaret said that “you realise it could be a lot worse... and you kind of get used to it”.

Many of the volunteer tourists attributed their lack of poverty to “luck”. For example, Fiona commented that “you know you’re lucky but I guess until you actually see or experience it first-hand you don’t realise”. Similarly, Margaret stated that “I know I’m lucky and I’m very grateful that I was born in America... And it all has to do with the luck of the draw, where you get born”. The poverty many Cusqueños live in was minimised and sanitized, and ultimately separated from the volunteer tourists and any sense of global responsibility.

A small number of the volunteer tourists were more aware of systemic issues around poverty. For example, Sarah was studying international development and had previously worked in development and micro-loans for women in Latin America:

I have some experience kind of understanding... that poverty... literally it’s something that is man-made... If you grow up in a family that makes a dollar a day and is living in these conditions, I feel like people have a misconception of like “oh well, it’s their fault” or you know “they could do this and they could be living in... a better environment” but it’s more complicated than that.

She came to Peru because she wanted “to learn about the poverty here, what are the roots of the poverty, what are the solutions?” Somewhat unsurprisingly, the volunteer tourists who were university students, particularly those studying international development or medicine, tended to have a more nuanced understanding of poverty and the roots of developmental differences between countries.

The volunteer tourists tended to romanticise the poverty they saw in Cusco. For example, Joseph stated that “I’m always surprised by like how happy they [locals] are, or how happy they seem with like so little” while Georgia (42, USA) said “you see the houses and everything, the adobe houses, and it’s just unbelievable. And yet they’re happy! You don’t need much”. Sonan spoke of Peru as being “a really hopeful place, like despite not having a lot” while Katie said that “it’s good to learn from those sorts of

people, even if you have things in your past you can still be happy”. Children in particular were viewed as being happy because they did not know any differently. Before starting volunteering at the orphanage, Fiona stated at her entry interview:

There are so many people who are less fortunate. But they don't consider themselves to be less fortunate. Like they're probably going to be the happiest kids in the world because they don't know any different.

Similarly, Matt said he came to Peru to volunteer because he had heard that children in South America were “so much different to kids in the Western world... They have a more positive attitude... but they have very little... they're just always happy and I want to see that”.

The volunteer tourists also focussed on taking photographs of themselves with the children. As the lead author recorded in her research diary, one day one of the volunteer tourists was showing other volunteers a photograph of her holding one of the children from the orphanage:

The little girl was new and [the volunteer tourist] and one of the other girls helped give her a shower, then wrapped her in a towel & just ended up sitting there holding her... [The volunteer tourist said that] that was why she had come to Cusco, that was the kind of experience she wanted. (Research diary, 21 November 2012)

Some of the volunteer tourists, particularly those who volunteered for more than one month, were cynical of this type of behaviour. For example, Sarah spoke about the volunteer tourists who pose for photographs with groups of local children:

Some people have been there for two weeks and they're like “oh come here, come take a photo” and [the children] love to take photos because they love to see themselves afterwards... but it makes me kind of “eargh”, it's almost kind of poverty tourism... It's like “oh, I'll put these on Facebook”.

Using imagery to describe a host community as poor but happy is a discourse now wide-spread in popular media (Hariharan, 2016) and photograph-taking has been found by numerous academic studies to be a common activity which reinforces neo-colonial stereotypes (Coghlan, 2005; Crossley, 2013; Mostafanezhad, 2014b).

Discussion

This paper set out to explore how the shift towards commercialised volunteer tourism has influenced the gaze of contemporary volunteer tourists. As such, while the volunteer tourists interviewed in this project believed they gained a deeper understanding of local culture than mass tourists, this depth of understanding and level of cross-cultural interaction was perhaps less than the early volunteer tourism literature might suggest (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). Early volunteer tourism literature focussed on volunteer tourism as being a more ‘moral’ way to travel and a means to promote real authentic interaction between volunteer tourists and the host community (Wearing, 2001). While this may still be applicable to small grass-roots community-led projects, our study indicates that it is perhaps less applicable to volunteer tourists volunteering with large commercial volunteer tourism organisations (see also Zavitz & Butz, 2011).

In our study, a volunteer tourism enclave existed which operated separate from, but parallel to, the host community. As a result of cultural and physical separations, the volunteer tourist guesthouses were essentially spaces of Anglo-American culture within Cusco. As well as speaking English, the volunteer tourists were more likely to dress to their own cultural norms within the privacy of the volunteer tourist guesthouse. For example, wearing a bikini to sunbathe in the back garden, and watching American television and pirated Hollywood DVDs purchased from the local markets was a common past-time. Previous research has highlighted a similar phenomenon within

backpacking; for example, Negro and Oostenrijk (2013, p. 40) quote a backpacker in Guatemala as saying; ‘I don’t think San Pedro [hostel] has much to do with Guatemala anymore’ (see also Cohen, 2011). The separation described here between the volunteer tourists and the Cusqueños is similar to the backpacker enclaves which have been described in multiple backpacker destinations where there exists a well-established backpacker infrastructure (e.g. backpacker bars, Australian-themed cafes) that the volunteer tourist can also take advantage of (Godfrey, 2012). The development of such enclaves contradicts one of the assumptions of volunteer tourism: that by volunteering volunteer tourists are able to ‘escape the ‘tourist bubble’ through intimate encounters with local people’ (Mostafanezhad, 2014b, p. 2).

Like other post-colonial countries, racial inequalities and tensions remain entrenched in Peru (Ñopo, Chong, & Moro, 2010) and add another layer of complexity to the relationship between the mostly white (European heritage) volunteer tourists and the predominantly mestizo (mixed Spanish-indigenous heritage) Cusqueños. The findings reinforce the ‘narratives and images of the pale skinned volunteer encompassed by darker skinned children’ (Mostafanezhad, 2014b, pp. 7-8) that have become ubiquitous within volunteer tourism (Biddle, 2014; Mostafanezhad, 2014a). Similarly the findings support Bandyopadhyay and Patil’s (2017) work which demonstrates that racialised, gendered logics of colonial thought exist in volunteer tourism. Racial and gendered issues, both internal to host communities and between host and volunteer tourist, add to the complexity in understanding the volunteer tourist gaze.

Cultural and language barriers also separated the volunteer tourists from the host community. These barriers are common in volunteer tourism (Otoo, 2014) and in tourist-host interactions more generally. While volunteer tourism is promoted as a means of facilitating real cross-cultural interaction, this research highlighted some of

the complexities in this relationship. Like all tourists, volunteer tourists in Cusco do not simply 'see' Cusco and Cusqueños, rather they 'gaze upon' them and what they perceive is subjective and culturally constructed. How the volunteer tourists' perceive the host community depends on the volunteer tourists' own 'ideas, skills, desires and expectations... personal experiences and memories' (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 2). For example, how much knowledge the volunteer tourists had of local Cusqueño culture, Peruvian history or Spanish language upon arrival influenced their perceptions of both Cusco and Cusqueños and the extent to which they meaningfully interacted with local people.

This cross-cultural connection was also dependent on the specific volunteer tourism project they took part in. For example, volunteer tourists volunteering at the construction site had much less contact with local people than those teaching English. Similarly, those volunteering at projects where they were the only foreigner ultimately had more interaction with local people (especially as their Spanish language skills improved). This contrasted those volunteering at projects with many volunteer tourists where the volunteers may end up spending more time with each other than with either the children at the orphanage or the local staff. These findings extend those of Otoo, Agyeiwaah, Dayour, and Wireko-Gyebi (2016) who found various correlations between socio-demographic factors and travel characteristics with volunteers' length of stay. In the case of this study, it was the type of project as well as the length of stay which had an impact on the nature of cross-cultural connections experienced.

As in slum tourism, poverty functions as an attraction within volunteer tourism (Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink, & Rogerson, 2015). Mostafanezhad (2014b, p. 40) argues that volunteer tourists are motivated by 'a widespread romanticisation of peoples and places perceived to be beyond the realm of capitalist modernity and therefore living

more authentic and community oriented lives' (see also Schott, 2011). In this sense volunteer tourists explore different attitudes to happiness (and materialism) to understand what makes people happy and, by extension, how they too can become less materialistic. This reflects the romanticisation of the developing world as 'poor but happy', where people are viewed as being happy because of their lack of material wealth, rather than in spite of it (Crossley, 2012; Hariharan, 2016; Mostafanezhad, 2014a, 2014b; Muzaini, 2006; Vrasti, 2013). This was a key finding in our study where the volunteer tourists romanticised the poverty they saw in Cusco. In fact they saw themselves as 'lucky'. However, this emphasis on luck ignores many of the systemic and post-colonial causes of poverty in the developing world (Mostafanezhad, 2014a; Simpson, 2005) and reflects neoliberal ideas that social problems including poverty, unemployment and inequality can be viewed as the fault of an individual's (or, in this case, an individual country's) behaviour rather than the result of (global) structural issues. Because of their romanticisation of the destination and poverty, volunteer tourists are often concerned that 'development' is synonymous with 'Westernisation' (Mostafanezhad, 2014b). By extension, a lack of development is therefore perceived as being more 'authentic' (Gray & Campbell, 2007; Mostafanezhad, 2013).

While travel has become more common internationally, it is not equally accessible or available to everyone (Gogia, 2006). As Bell (2005, p. 424) writes, 'it is a fundamental irony that tourists are people wealthy enough to go to remote places and look at poor people'. Foreigners in Cusco (especially white foreigners as most of the volunteer tourists were) are often assumed to be wealthy (Luxford, 2010) and therefore presumed to be willing, or at least able, to pay more than locals. Many volunteer tourists resented this fact. Many of them were students or unemployed and therefore perceived themselves as poor (although acknowledged they were relatively wealthy compared to

local incomes). However, by having the resources and freedom to travel, the volunteer tourists held a position of power within the host community.

Volunteer tourism is heavily criticised for perpetuating neo-colonialist discourses (Espinoza, n.d; Guttentag, 2011; Mostafanezhad, 2014b) and for reinforcing power differences between tourists from developed countries (i.e. able to help) and hosts in developing countries (i.e. 'requiring' help). Volunteer tourism is based on the assumption that those from the developed world automatically have something to offer (teach) those in the developing world (Zavitz & Butz, 2011). The findings presented in this paper support the literature. Overall, within highly commercial, pre-paid, packaged volunteer tourism, the volunteer tourist gaze may reflect neo-colonial perspectives by implying the host community 'needs' the volunteer tourists, while simultaneously reinforcing differences between the volunteer tourism 'us' and the local 'them'.

Conclusion

Unlike early volunteer tourism research which suggested volunteer tourism could provide an alternative gaze, we suggest that the gaze created by contemporary commercial large-scale volunteer tourism reflects neo-colonial perspectives that tend to reinforce differences rather than similarities between volunteer tourists and the host community. While volunteer tourism originated as an alternative to mass tourism, this paper argues that as volunteer tourism has become increasingly commercial and more like mass tourism, subsequently, the volunteer tourist gaze has also shifted. Rather than fostering cross-cultural understanding, the volunteer tourist gaze reflects and perpetuates neo-colonial discourses by emphasising the differences between volunteer tourists from the developed world (the haves) and the host communities in the developing world (the have nots). This shifting nature of the delivery of volunteer tourism has impacted the relationship between volunteer tourists and the host

community. This extends Everingham's (2015) and Palacios' (2010) work on neo-colonial volunteer tourism and offers an avenue for further research; to understand the effects of certain variables such as, but not limited to, volunteer tourist motivations and volunteer tourism program financing, on the volunteer tourist gaze.

Volunteer tourism was originally developed as an alternative to conventional mass tourism by providing an opportunity for the volunteer tourists to access more 'authentic' interactions with the host community. However, within commodified volunteer tourism this is no longer necessarily the case and instead the volunteer tourists may instead remain within a volunteer tourist enclave or bubble separate from the host community – particularly if they do not speak the local language(s) and are living and volunteering with other volunteer tourists. The development of this enclave may be more likely to occur at destinations with large numbers of volunteer tourists and a well-established tourism infrastructure that the volunteer tourists can 'link in' to. Rather than promoting cross-cultural interactions, the host community largely becomes part of the backdrop to the volunteer tourist experience.

The volunteer tourist-host relationship is further complicated by the fact that unlike conventional mass tourism, volunteer tourism only exists because the host community is perceived and portrayed as 'needing' the volunteer tourists. While volunteer tourists volunteer at a destination ostensibly to improve the local environment and/or the lives of the local people, if the host community/environment becomes just as 'developed' as the volunteer tourists' home countries, the volunteer tourists' presence at the destination would no longer be justified (Gray & Campbell, 2007; Sin, 2010). If the volunteer tourists no longer feel needed, they will move on to newer, less developed destinations. For these reasons, volunteer tourists may focus on the differences between

themselves and the host community, rather than the similarities, since acknowledging their similarities calls into question their role and purpose in volunteering.

This paper focused specifically on how the volunteer tourists perceived Cusco and Cusqueños. However, like others before us (see for example Gray & Campbell, 2007; Sin, 2010), we acknowledge the need for further research that explores the perceptions and experiences of the communities hosting these volunteer tourists. While some work has been published examining how Cusqueños perceive volunteer tourists (Burrai, 2012; Burrai et al., 2015), further research is required to develop a deeper understanding of the volunteer tourist-host relationship in Cusco, and in popular volunteer tourism destinations more generally.

CONFIDENTIAL

References

- Alexander, Z., & Bakir, A. (2011). Understanding voluntourism: A Glaserian grounded theory study. In A. M. Benson (Ed.), *Volunteer Tourism: Theoretical Frameworks and Practical Application* (pp. 9-29). Oxon: Routledge.
- Bandyopadhyay, R., & Patil, V. (2017). 'The white woman's burden'—the racialized, gendered politics of volunteer tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 19(4), 644-657. doi:10.1080/14616688.2017.1298150
- Barkham, P. (2006, 18 August). Are these the new colonialists? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2006/aug/18/internationalaidanddevelopment.education>
- Bell, C. (2005). The nervous gaze: Backpacking in Africa. In M. Romero & E. Margolis (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Inequalities* (pp. 424-440). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Biddle, P. (2014, 23 February). The Problem With Little White Girls, Boys and Voluntourism. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.com/pippa-biddle/little-white-girls-voluntourism_b_4834574.html
- Blaikie, N. (2007). *Approaches to Social Enquiry: Advancing Knowledge* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boorstin, D. J. (1964). *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Atheneum.
- 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.
- Brohman, J. (1996). New directions in tourism for third world development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(1), 48-70. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(95\)00043-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(95)00043-7)
- Bruner, E. M. (2005). *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Burrai, E. (2012). *Residents' Perceptions of Volunteer Tourism in Cusco, Peru*. (PhD Thesis), Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds, England.
- Burrai, E., Font, X., & Cochrane, J. (2015). Destination stakeholders' perceptions of volunteer tourism: An equity theory approach. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 17(5), 451-459.
- Burrai, E., & Hannam, K. (2018). Challenging the responsibility of 'responsible volunteer tourism'. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 10(1), 90-95. doi:10.1080/19407963.2017.1362809
- Burrai, E., Mostafanezhad, M., & Hannam, K. (2017). Moral assemblages of volunteer tourism development in Cusco, Peru. *Tourism Geographies*, 19(3), 362-377. doi:10.1080/14616688.2016.1236145
- Butcher, J. (2011). Volunteer tourism may not be as good as it seems. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36(1), 75-76.
- Butcher, J., & Smith, P. (2015). *Volunteer Tourism: The Lifestyle Politics of International Development*. London: Routledge.
- Callanan, M., & Thomas, S. (2005). Volunteer tourism: Deconstructing volunteer activities within a dynamic environment. In M. Novelli (Ed.), *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases* (pp. 183-200). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Chen, J. (2018). Understanding development impact in international development volunteering: A relational approach. *The Geographical Journal*, 184(2), 138-147.
- Coghlan, A. (2005). *Towards an Understanding of the Volunteer Tourism Experience*. (PhD), James Cook University, Queensland.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15(3), 371-386.

- Cohen, S. A. (2011). Lifestyle travellers: Backpacking as a Way of Life. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1535-1555. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.02.002>
- Cousins, J. A., Evans, J., & Sadler, J. P. (2009). 'I've paid to observe lions, not map roads!' - An emotional journey with conservation volunteers in South Africa. *Geoforum*, 40(6), 1069-1080. doi:DOI: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.09.001
- Crossley, É. (2012). Poor but happy: Volunteer tourists' encounters with poverty. *tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, 14(2), 235-253.
- Crossley, É. (2013). *Volunteer Tourism, Subjectivity and the Psychosocial*. (PhD Thesis), Cardiff University, Cardiff.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Devereux, P. (2008). International volunteering for development and sustainability: Outdated paternalism or a radical response to globalisation? *Development in Practice*, 18(3), 357 - 370.
- Discover Peru. (2018). Facts about Cusco. Retrieved from <http://www.discover-peru.org/facts-about-cusco/>
- Espinoza, A. R. R. (n.d). Motivation of Nature Tourism. Retrieved from <http://vidasilvestre.org.uy/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Motivation-of-Nature-Tourism.pdf>
- Everingham, P. (2015). Intercultural exchange and mutuality in volunteer tourism: The case of intercambio in Ecuador. *Tourist Studies*, 15(2), 175-190. doi:10.1177/1468797614563435
- Everingham, P. (2016). Hopeful possibilities in spaces of 'the-not-yet-become': relational encounters in volunteer tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 18(5), 520-538. doi:10.1080/14616688.2016.1220974
- Fee, L., & Mdee, A. (2011). How does it make a difference? Towards 'accreditation' of the development impact of volunteer tourism. In A. M. Benson (Ed.), *Volunteer Tourism: Theoretical Frameworks and Practical Application* (pp. 223-239). Oxon: Routledge.
- Frenzel, F., Koens, K., Steinbrink, M., & Rogerson, C. M. (2015). Slum tourism: State of the art. *Tourism Review International*, 18(4), 237-252.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Theory*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction.
- Godfrey, J. (2012). *From backpacking to volunteer tourism: Exploring the changing role of adventure*. Paper presented at the 22nd Annual CAUTHE Conference, Melbourne.
- Gogia, N. (2006). Unpacking corporeal mobilities: The global voyages of labour and leisure. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), 359-375.
- Grabowski, S. (2014). *Tourism and Acculturation: Exploring the Experiences of Volunteer Tourists*. (PhD Thesis), University of Technology Sydney,
- Gray, N. J., & Campbell, L. M. (2007). A de-commodified experience? Exploring aesthetic, economic and ethical values for volunteer ecotourism in Costa Rica. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 15(5), 463-482.
- Griffiths, M. (2018). Writing the body, writing others: A story of transcendence and potential in volunteering for development. *The Geographical Journal*, 184(2), 115-124.
- Guiney, T. (2018). "Hug-an-orphan vacations": "Love" and emotion in orphanage tourism. *Geographical Journal*, 184(2), 125-137. doi:10.1111/geoj.12218
- Guttentag, D. (2009). The possible negative impacts of volunteer tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 11(6), 537-551.
- Guttentag, D. (2011). Volunteer tourism: As good as it seems? *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36(1), 69-74.
- Hariharan, A. (2016, 4 February). Poor People Are Not Props For Our Philanthropic Photos. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.com/annie-hariharan/poor-people-are-not-props-for-our-philanthropic-photos_b_9136464.html

- Ingram, J. (2011). Volunteer tourism: How do we know it is 'making a difference'. In A. M. Benson (Ed.), *Volunteer Tourism: Theoretical Frameworks and Practical Application* (pp. 211-222). London: Routledge.
- King, N., & Horrocks, C. (2010). *Interviews in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Koffman, O., Orgad, S., & Gill, R. (2015). Girl power and 'selfie humanitarianism'. *Continuum*, 29(2), 157-168.
- Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (2017). Forays into the backstage: volunteer tourism and the pursuit of object authenticity. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 15(5), 455-475. doi:10.1080/14766825.2016.1184673
- Luxford, C. (2010, 16 August). Tales from the frontier of expat life: A white Western woman in Peru. *Matador Network*. Retrieved from <https://matadornetwork.com/abroad/tales-from-the-frontier-of-expat-life-a-white-western-woman-in-peru/>
- Lyons, K. D. (2015). Reciprocity in volunteer tourism and travelism. In T. V. Singh (Ed.), *Challenges in Tourism Research* (pp. 106-111). Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Lyons, K. D., Hanley, J., Wearing, S., & Neil, J. (2012). Gap year volunteer tourism: Myths of Global Citizenship? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), 361-378. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2011.04.016
- Lyons, K. D., & Wearing, S. (2008). Volunteer tourism as alternative tourism: Journeys beyond otherness. In K. Lyons & S. Wearing (Eds.), *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism: International Case Study Perspectives* (pp. 3-11). Wallingford, UK: CABI.
- MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: On arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79(3), 589-603.
- McGehee, N. G. (2002). Alternative tourism and social movements. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), 124-143.
- McGehee, N. G. (2014). Volunteer tourism: Evolution, issues and futures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 22(6), 847-854. doi:10.1080/09669582.2014.907299
- McGehee, N. G., & Andereck, K. (2009). Volunteer tourism and the "voluntoured": The case of Tijuana, Mexico. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17(1), 39 - 51.
- McIntosh, A. J., & Zahra, A. (2007). A cultural encounter through volunteer tourism: Towards the ideals of sustainable tourism? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 15(5), 541-556.
- Mostafanezhad, M. (2013). Locating the tourist in volunteer tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 17(4), 381-384. doi:10.1080/13683500.2013.793301
- Mostafanezhad, M. (2014a). Volunteer tourism and the popular humanitarian gaze. *Geoforum*, 54(0), 111-118. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.04.004>
- Mostafanezhad, M. (2014b). *Volunteer Tourism: Popular Humanitarianism in Neoliberal Times*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Mostafanezhad, M., Azizi, S., & Johansen, K. (2016). Valuing organic farm volunteer tourists in Hawai'i: farm host perspectives. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 19(6), 613-617. doi:10.1080/13683500.2014.961904
- Muzaini, H. (2006). Backpacking Southeast Asia: Strategies of "looking local". *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(1), 144-161.
- Negro, K., & Oostenrijk, M. (2013). *Between Vacation and Lifestyle: An Exploration of the Diversity within Contemporary Backpacking Practice and Ideals*. (Bachelor Thesis), Utrecht University, The Netherlands.
- Ñopo, H., Chong, A., & Moro, A. (2010). What do we know about discrimination in Latin America? Very Little! In H. Ñopo, A. Chong, & A. Moro (Eds.), *Discrimination in Latin America, an Economic Perspective*, Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, Washington DC (pp. 1-12). Washington: Inter-American Development Bank and The World Bank.
- Otoo, F. E. (2014). Constraints of international volunteering: A study of volunteer tourists to Ghana. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 12, 15-22. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2014.07.002>
- Otoo, F. E., Agyeiwaah, E., Dayour, F., & Wireko-Gyebi, S. (2016). Volunteer tourists' length of stay in Ghana: influence of socio-demographic and trip attributes. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 13(4), 409-426. doi:10.1080/21568316.2015.1136834

- Palacios, C. M. (2010). Volunteer tourism, development and education in a postcolonial world: Conceiving global connections beyond aid. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18(7), 861-878. doi:10.1080/09669581003782739
- Park, J. H. (2018). Cultural implications of international volunteer tourism: US students' experiences in Cameroon. *Tourism Geographies*, 20(1), 144-162. doi:10.1080/14616688.2017.1387810
- Prince, S. (2017). Working towards sincere encounters in volunteer tourism: an ethnographic examination of key management issues at a Nordic eco-village. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(11), 1617-1632. doi:10.1080/09669582.2017.1297450
- Proyrungroj, R. (2015). The attitudes of Thai hosts towards western volunteer tourists. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 11, 102-124.
- Proyrungroj, R. (2017a). Host-guest relationship in the context of volunteer tourism. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 16, 177-200.
- Proyrungroj, R. (2017b). Orphan Volunteer Tourism in Thailand: Volunteer Tourists' Motivations And On-Site Experiences. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research*, 41(5), 560-584. doi:10.1177/1096348014525639
- Purvis, K., & Kennedy, L. (2016, 14 January). Volunteer travel: Experts raise concerns over unregulated industry. *The Guardian*.
- Quenville, B. (Writer). (2005). Volunteers Unleashed. In Q Camera Productions Ltd (Producer), *Doc Zone: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*.
- Raymond, E. M., & Hall, C. M. (2008). The development of cross-cultural (mis)understanding through volunteer tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(5), 530-543.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. London: Routledge.
- Said, E. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. Toronto: Random House.
- Schech, S., Skelton, T., & Mundkur, A. (2018). Building relationships and negotiating difference in international development volunteerism. *The Geographical Journal*, 184(2), 148-157.
- Schott, C. (2011). Young non-institutionalised volunteer tourists in Guatemala: Exploring youth and self-development. In A. M. Benson (Ed.), *Volunteer Tourism: Theoretical Frameworks and Practical Application* (pp. 53-70). Oxon: Routledge.
- Schwarz, K. (2016). *"It's not voluntourism": Unpacking young people's narrative claims to authenticity and differentiation in the international volunteer experience*. (PhD Thesis), University of Cambridge, Cambridge.
- Simpson, K. (2004a). *Broad Horizons? Geographies and Pedagogies of the Gap Year*. (PhD Thesis), University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.
- Simpson, K. (2004b). 'Doing development': the gap year, volunteer-tourists and a popular practice of development. *Journal of International Development*, 16(5), 681-692.
- Simpson, K. (2005). Dropping out or signing up? The professionalisation of youth travel. *Antipode*, 37(3), 447-469. doi:10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00506.x
- Sin, H. L. (2009). Volunteer tourism: "Involve me and I will learn"? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36(3), 480-501.
- Sin, H. L. (2010). Who are we responsible to? Locals' tales of volunteer tourism. *Geoforum*, 41(6), 983-992. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.08.007
- Smith, V. (1977). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Smith, V. (1989). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (2 ed.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stainton, H. (2016). A segmented volunteer tourism industry. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 61, 256-258. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2016.09.011>
- Stark, S., & Torrance, H. (2006). Case study. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.), *Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (pp. 33-40). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Steele, J., Dredge, D., & Scherrer, P. (2017). Monitoring and evaluation practices of volunteer tourism organisations. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(11), 1674-1690. doi:10.1080/09669582.2017.1306067

- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Tomazos, K., & Butler, R. (2008). *Volunteer Tourism: Tourism, Serious Leisure, Altruism or Self Enhancement*. Paper presented at the CAUTHE, Proceedings of the 18th Annual Conference, 11-14 February, Gold Coast.
- Tomazos, K., & Butler, R. (2009). Volunteer tourism: The new ecotourism? *Anatolia*, 20(1), 196-211.
- Tomazos, K., & Cooper, W. (2012). Volunteer tourism: at the crossroads of commercialisation and service? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 15(5), 405-423.
doi:10.1080/13683500.2011.605112
- Tourism Research and Marketing (TRAM). (2008). *Volunteer Tourism: A Global Analysis*. Retrieved from The Netherlands:
- Turner, B. (Ed.) (2013). *The Statesman's Yearbook 2014: The politics, cultures and economies of the world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.
- Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage.
- Urry, J., & Larsen, J. (2011). *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Valentine, P. (1992). Review: Nature-based tourism. In B. Weiler & C. M. Hall (Eds.), *Special Interest Tourism* (pp. 105-127). London: Belhaven Press.
- Vrasti, W. (2013). *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South: Giving Back in Neo-liberal Times*. London: Routledge.
- Wearing, S. (2001). *Volunteer Tourism: Experiences that Make a Difference*. New York: CABI Publishing.
- Wearing, S. (2004). Examining best practice in volunteer tourism. In R. A. Stebbins & M. Graham (Eds.), *Volunteering as Leisure/Leisure as Volunteering: An International Assessment* (pp. 209-224). Oxon, UK: CABI Publishing.
- Wearing, S., & Grabowski, S. (2011). Volunteer tourism and intercultural exchange: Exploring the 'Other' in this experience. In A. M. Benson (Ed.), *Volunteer Tourism: Theoretical Frameworks and Practical Application* (pp. 193-210). Oxon: Routledge.
- Wearing, S., McDonald, M., & Ponting, J. (2005). Building a decommodified research paradigm in tourism: The contribution of NGOs. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 13(5), 424-439.
- Wearing, S., & McGehee, N. G. (2013). Volunteer tourism: A review. *Tourism Management*, 38, 120-130. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2013.03.002
- Wearing, S., & Neil, J. (2000). Refiguring self and identity through volunteer tourism. *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure*, 23(2), 389-419.
- World Bank. (2019). Peru. Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/country/PERU>
- Zavitz, K. J., & Butz, D. (2011). Not that alternative: Short-term volunteer tourism at an organic farming project in Costa Rica. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 10(3), 412-441.