Volunteer Tourism

– *Who does it benefit?*

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ABSTRACT

Title: Volunteer tourism – Who does it benefit?

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Purpose: The purpose with this study is to examine (1) how altruism and egoism act as motivating factors for individuals to practise volunteer tourism; (2) how the volunteer, both as a tourist and as a worker, gains benefits from their experience and (3), from the perspective of the volunteer tourist, how their presence affect the community.

Methodology: A qualitative research method has been used for this study, where a volunteer organization in Brazil, and specifically two projects within it, has been studied as a case. An ethnographic observation was done both at the projects while collecting information about the volunteers. Further, eight volunteers were interviewed regarding their background, motivation, expectations and perceived gain as well as how they contribute to their projects. The interviews were semi-structured and the answers, together with the findings from the ethnography, were compared to several theories regarding volunteer tourism, volunteer tourists' motivation and perceived gain and influence.

Findings: Although altruism is known to be a typical volunteer-trait, our respondents were motivated more or less by self-interest as well, adding to the discussion regarding whether altruism or self-interest is the main motivator for volunteer tourists. Second, the outcome of the volunteer experience is not necessarily as dependent on the motives as it is on what the volunteer makes of it. Something we believe needs further research in literature concerning volunteer tourists. Third, the rewards mainly derived from the free time and the relationships developed between volunteers, and the costs mainly from the projects due to social distance. However, the rewards were generally perceived as greater than the costs considering the total experience, implying that the free time during volunteer experiences is of greater importance than what can be understood from current literature. Forth, the low level of commitment among volunteers leads us to question if it should be considered as a form of pro-poor tourism. Fifth, communication is of great importance in order to achieve cultural interaction, a vital component of volunteer tourism and finally, we found that volunteer tourism can indeed be beneficial, as long as organizations focus on the "right kind" of projects.

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INTRODUCTION

> ”*Volunteering with Iko Poran provides a unique opportunity to:
> experience real life in one of the world's most exciting cities, Rio de
> Janeiro, while picking up some Portuguese, help local communities
> build a better life and put your skills and experience to good use,
> and develop new ones*” (Iko Poran, 2013-01-02).

The quote above is taken from the website of the Brazilian volunteer organization Iko Poran, which is used as a case in this study, and the quote is quite typical for such an organization. It implies that working as a volunteer with them will allow one to (1) experience a major city in an authentic way, (2) learn some of the language spoken in the country, (3) help the local communities to build a better life, (4) use one's skills and (5) learn new ones. Most volunteer organizations advertise themselves using this two-sided approach; appealing to people's altruistic side through the opportunity to help other people and to their selfish wish for an adventurous and personally developing tourism experience. The approach comports with the generally agreed upon fact that volunteer tourists are motivated by altruistic reasons but also have a wish to develop personally and to have a good experience (Stebbins, 1992). The motives to volunteer and the promises given by volunteer organizations thus create expectations to gain something from the tourism experience.

According to Wearing (2004), it is only recently that volunteering, and especially international volunteering, has been considered a form of tourism. Volunteer tourism has grown considerably during the last few years with an increase of 400% from 1976 to 1986 (Wearing, 2004) and still continues to grow (Lyons & Wearing, 2008). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates that over 33,000 overseas volunteers were engaged in projects, primarily situated in developing countries, in 1990 (Wearing, 2004). According to Wearing (2001:1) volunteer tourism is a term that "[…] applies to tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty in some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment". International volunteering usually involves some sort of travel and a degree of overlap between organizational volunteering and alternative tourism. Thus it falls outside the concept of mass tourism with an altruistic motivator to travel (Wearing, 2001) but is ultimately a form of leisure behaviour (Wearing, Deville & Lyons, 2008). Wearing (2001) continues to explain that volunteer tourism can take place in various different locations, but Africa and Latin America are among the most popular. Volunteer tourism activities may include scientific research, conservation projects, medical assistance, economic and social development and cultural restoration (Wearing, 2001).

Even though volunteering as a type of tourism is a new phenomenon, volunteer work has been around for a long time, dating all the way back to the pre-industrial period in Great Britain when volunteering emerged as a kind of selfless duty carried out in the name of the church in order to relieve poverty (Graham, 2004). According to Graham (2004) volunteering has since its beginning been, and still is, connected with respectability. Volunteering quickly spread through the church and became accepted as one of the few occupations suitable for middle-aged women. During this time gendered stereotypes emerged, which still exist in some organizations. The more serious volunteering started in the 18th and 19th centuries, during

which time volunteering went from being all about selflessness and helping others and also about individual development. In that way, volunteering can be viewed from two perspectives, either as privileged people with too much free time who volunteer as a duty to "support worthy causes", or as a pursuit to further enhance privilege and social status (Graham, 2004). The 1997 National survey of volunteering defines volunteer work as "any activity which involves spending time, unpaid, doing something which aims to benefit someone (individuals or groups) other than, or in addition to, close relatives, or to benefit the environment" (Davis Smith, 1998, quoted in Nichols, 2004:198). Musick and Wilson (2008) use the net-cost definition to define volunteer work, which is based on the fact that volunteering is associated with a sacrificial to help another person, organization or cause. People always think in practical terms and assume that an activity will only take place if the rewards exceed the costs; volunteering is defined as an activity that defies this rule. Musick and Wilson (2008) also describe how motives can define volunteering. Here, the argument is that volunteer work is not simply unpaid labour, it is unpaid labour done because of the appropriate motivations. Such motivations may include personal benefits; however, such benefits should not be the primary reason for volunteering (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

Volunteer tourism "originated from tourists' demands of a holiday that fulfils the satisfaction of social needs: contact with other people and self-satisfaction through creative activities, knowledge and exploration" (Krippendorf, 1987, quoted in Sin, 2010:984). From this point of view, the tourist as a consumer plays an important role in making the industry offer more responsible tourism options (Sin, 2010). Graham (2004) explains that the motivations to volunteer in a certain project in Glasgow, Scotland included a desire to interact with like-minded people, to further education and knowledge, to provide enjoyment and entertainment, to improve environment and control society. This shows that volunteer motivation is as diverse today as it was in the religious 18th and 19th centuries (Graham, 2004). According to Jonsson (2012), the religious volunteer organizations today receive competition from profit-driven organizations. These commercial volunteer travel agencies attract volunteers thanks to their policy of charging for volunteer work instead of having complicated sampling processes. In this way, everyone who can afford the fee can work as a volunteer (Jonsson, 2012). Iko Poran is a volunteer organization of the "new" kind, which charges for volunteer work.

A country that receives volunteers from several different national and international organizations is Brazil. According to Lindahl (2011), Brazil, and especially Rio de Janeiro, are laden with class differences and inequalities (Lindahl, 2011). About ten percent of the richest citizens receive 44 % of the country's income, whereas the poorest ten percent only receive one percent (Lindahl, 2012). Lindahl (2012) writes that the crime rate in some places in Rio de Janeiro is worse than in some of the world's war zones; tens of thousands of people get shot to death every year, and the favelas (slum areas in Rio de Janeiro) are usually ruled by gangs and are characterized by crime, unemployment, poverty, housing shortages and terrible sanitary circumstances (Lindahl, 2012). The combination of thriving big city and worn down and distressed favelas has turned out to be ideal conditions to attract young volunteers from western communities.

Problem discussion

The aim for volunteer tourism is to provide a touristic experience to the volunteer as well as a benefit to the community through the work they do (Wearing, 2001). In Brazil, where the need for help is great, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) play an important part in the work to reduce poverty. The volunteer organization Iko Poran is one of these NGOs. The organization operates in partnership with other local NGOs and supports them with volunteers and financial contributions in order for them to better serve their communities. The aim of Iko Poran is to help local communities as well as to give the volunteer an enriching experience (Iko Poran, 2012-12-14).

Iko Poran offers projects in several areas of interest, such as the environment, education, health, the arts, culture and science. As seen, some projects focus on the environmental aspects of the community while others focus on the social. The organization also offers projects that focus less on volunteer aid and more the touristic side of volunteer tourism, which is to give the volunteer an enjoyable experience. For example, projects that involves football or surfing appeal to people who want to be tourists rather than volunteer workers (Iko Poran, 2012-12-14). Like so, there are two sides of volunteer tourism; one that focuses more on the benefits given to the community through volunteer workers, and another that focuses more on the benefits given to volunteers as tourists. This notion is reflected in the contribution of volunteer tourism. On one hand, volunteer tourism benefits to society through a sustainable solution to poverty-related problems (Alexander, 2012). On the other, the volunteer gains benefits through personal development, empowerment and increased confidence through helping others and knowing that they can make a difference (Wearing, 2004). According to Stebbins (1992), volunteers also gain both personal and social rewards through engagement in volunteer tourism.

According to Mowforth and Munt (2009), volunteer tourism is a form of the "new" tourism. It is defined as sustainable, responsible, low impact, green, or environmentally friendly tourism. In order for tourism to be sustainable it has to be environmentally, socially, culturally and economically sustainable. *Environmental*, or ecological, sustainability pertain to the need to minimize or avoid the environmental impact of tourist activities. *Social* sustainability refers to the ability of a community to absorb inputs, such as extra people, during long or short periods of time. By *cultural* sustainability, Mowforth and Munt (2009) refer to the fact that visitors with different habits, style, customs and means of exchange will always affect a community's culture. Responsible visitors and prevention of local culture distortion are essential elements of sustainable tourism in order for local culture not to be completely destroyed. Economic sustainability refers to the level of economic gain from the activity sufficient either to cover any costs of special measures taken to cater for the tourist, to relieve the effects of the tourist's presence or to offer an income proportionate to the inconvenience caused to the destination (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). According to Iko Poran, the purpose of the organization is to fight against all forms of social exclusion. The organization's programs help, in one way or another, to improve the lives of children, young adults and social groups at risk of exclusion. These programs also help to generate income and employment and enhance cultural understanding through cultural exchange (Iko Poran, 2012-10-31).

Mowforth and Munt (2009) discuss the pros and cons of volunteer tourism. It is often a convenient way for people of university age from the western part of the world to "do good" in other, less developed, parts of the world. However, Mowforth and Munt (2009) point out that there is no control or regulation over the companies that cater for volunteer tourists,

which sometimes leads to the experiences offered not resulting in the benefits expected by the volunteer tourists. Further, an increasing number of reports tell of volunteer projects that take jobs from locals, construct unwanted buildings, plant saplings which will not be tended, and leave un-manageable buildings or solutions which cannot be sustained by the locals (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). According to Wearing (2001), volunteer tourists differ from "regular" tourists in the sense that they pay to work, as opposed to paying to relax and get away from work. Further, the amount paid by volunteers is often notably larger than the amount paid by holiday-goers (Wearing, 2001). Another difference between these two kinds of tourisms is that volunteer tourism is said to affect the volunteer in personality and traits. However, volunteer tourists are tourists and do not only go abroad to help other people but want to have a rewarding experience for themselves as well (Graham, 2004). Iko Poran is well aware about this fact, thus, volunteers usually work part time in order to have time to travel and "be tourists" (Iko Poran, 2012-12-14).

According to Wearing, DeVille and Lyons (2008), volunteer tourism, as a form of leisure, has the potential to change individuals. Interaction with new environments, people and activities allow for experimentation and remaking's of the "self". The experience can for example teach an individual to be more independent and to cope better with unfamiliar situations. Lyons and Wearing (2008) point out that volunteer tourists wish to give, but also want to receive something for their efforts. Today, it is generally agreed upon that volunteers are motivated both by altruism, e.g. the wish to help others, but also by egoistic self-interest needs, such as personal development and the wish for a good experience (Wearing, 2004). According to Musick & Wilson (2008) volunteers are also motivated by values, enhancement, social, career, protection and understanding.

Purpose

The purpose with this study is to examine (1) how altruism and egoism act as motivating factors for individuals to practise volunteer tourism; (2) how the volunteer, both as a tourist and as a worker, gains benefits from their experience and (3), from the perspective of the volunteer tourist, how their presence affect the community.

The research for this essay was carried out partly by interviewing people involved as volunteers within the volunteer organization Iko Poran and partly as an ethnographic study of two volunteer projects set up by the same organization. The volunteer projects we have studied during a period of four weeks differ a lot from each other: One of them is a so called environmental project, meaning that it is a garden focused on preserving nature and trying to find sustainable ways of for example preserving rainwater. The other project is a so called child development project, which is a community centre where children from a nearby favela can come and learn about cooking, gardening and playing music instead of messing around on the streets.

Iko Poran describes their organization as follows: "Iko Poran is a non-profit organization, with no political or religious affiliation. We are founded on the principles of democracy, peace, citizen's rights, human rights, and non-discrimination on the basis of belief, race, colour, age, sexual orientation or gender" (Iko Poran, 2012-10-31). They cooperate with several different Brazilian NGOs in which the volunteers are placed according to their interests and skills.

METHOD

Working conditions

When we decided to write our thesis about volunteer tourism, we immediately thought that the best way to find out about what it is and how it affects people and communities was to do it ourselves. That is just what we did, and it turned out to be a great success, providing us with plenty of useful information necessary for our study.

We started our search for a suitable volunteer organization and soon found out about Iko Poran, which we chose because it was based in Brazil as well as affordable. We first e-mailed Iko Poran to make sure we would be able to conduct interviews while volunteering. When that was confirmed we made our application at Iko Poran's website. We then participated as volunteers in the Iko Poran organization, and acted like any other volunteer involved in the organization. The only exception being that we had done a lot more research about volunteering than the other volunteers before arrival and the fact that we conducted a few interviews whilst involved in the organization.

Iko Poran hosts all their volunteers in a guesthouse that accommodates about 25 people. Usually about two thirds of the volunteers are female and one third male. The organization provides the volunteers with breakfast and house cleaning. On each arrival date (every other Saturday), the volunteers are picked up from the airport by Iko Poran's driver and given an introduction and orientation the following two days. As we acted like the other volunteers, we also lived in the guesthouse. This gave us a great opportunity to observe as well as interview the volunteers, and in that way find out who they were.

Research strategy

The purpose formulated for this study does not have a definitive, factual answer; the data needs to be interpreted in order to find answers. Therefore, we decided to use a qualitative research strategy. The qualitative research strategy is, according to Bryman (2012), characterized by the focus being on generating theories. However, Nylén (2005) concludes that not all qualitative research has a goal of generating theories; sometimes the empirical description alone creates the finished result. This is the case with this study, the aim is to examine and analyse, not generate new theories. According to Bryman (2012), a qualitative strategy is primarily focused on words, and is more penetrating and process-based than the quantitative strategy. Observations and interviews are the most common ways of collecting empirical data when using a qualitative strategy. According to Eliasson (2010), quantitative research is primarily based on numbers and statistics, and is usually very structured. We decided to conduct this study with a qualitative research strategy since our study focuses more on motivation and personal feelings of contribution, which would be very difficult, if not impossible, to research while using a quantitative strategy.

Research design

The research objects in this study are two of the projects offered by the volunteer organization Iko Poran and the volunteers involved within the organization. In order to achieve an inside perspective of Iko Poran and to better understand what it is like to be a volunteer tourist, we chose to volunteer ourselves. The two projects we volunteered at are both at a specific location, one at a community garden and one in a community centre. They are seen as two separate cases that are to answer our purpose and research questions, in combination with the interviews conducted with other volunteers. This corresponds with Bryman's (2012) definition of a case study, which is why the method of case study is applied.

Case study

To use a case study as a method is a relatively new phenomenon and there is not yet a common definition (Merriam, 2009). Bryman (2012) implies that the term "case study" should be used when the "case" itself is the main focus, object of interest and the source to the researchers' findings and explanations. This definitely coincides with our research. The two projects being observed are not necessarily the main focus, but they are a big part of the study and have provided us with plenty of very useful information. Our main focus is the volunteers and their experience of volunteering, but our own observation of the projects and how we as volunteers perceived the experience contributed greatly to our notion of how volunteers feel and think. Further, Bryman (2012) describes case studies as a longitudinal kind of research where the researcher acts as a participant in an organization or a member of a community, which, as mentioned above, we have done.

Yin (2009), as opposed to Bryman (2012), defines a case study through its research process. "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009:18). This definition too comports with our research, since Iko Poran is indeed a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context. According to Bryman (2012), the term case study tends to be associated with a location, such as a school, an organization or a community, and emphasis is usually on intense examination of the setting. Unless limitations of this or some other kind is drawn, it is impossible to distinguish a case study as a research design of its own, because then, most research can be identified as a case study. Finally, even though features of more than one research design are possible, what is special for a case study is the researchers' concern to illuminate the specialness of the case, also called an idiographic approach (Bryman, 2012). We see our case as special since the context in which the organization exists and the people whom are involved in it are exclusive to Iko Poran.

Yin (2009) identifies four types of research designs in case studies. These are: (1) single-case holistic designs, (2) single case embedded designs, (3) multiple case holistic designs and (4) multiple case embedded designs. The primary distinction is between single and multiple case designs, e.g. the decision about whether to research a single case or multiple cases in order to answer the research question (Yin, 2009). Our case is a single case design since we solely researched one organization, Iko Poran. Further, for our research, we have examined two units within the same organization and context, as well as the organization itself. This corresponds with the single case embedded design, also called embedded design, where attention is given to subunits within a single case. Even though a case study entails a single

organization, in our case a volunteer organization, the analysis will include outcomes about two different projects mediated by the organization and volunteers involved in it.

However, an embedded case-design has weaknesses. The major one occurs when the case study is too focused on the subunits and does not include the larger unit, and thus becomes a project study (i.e. a multiple case study). Another weakness occurs if too much focus is put on single individuals, e.g. volunteers; the study will become a study about volunteers and not a volunteer tourism study. What both of these weaknesses have in common is that the original phenomenon becomes a context and not the main study (Yin, 2009). We have strived to counteract these weaknesses by focusing equally on the volunteer organization, the projects and the volunteers.

Within the single-case designs there are several types of cases. Yin (2009) distinguishes five different types: (1) the critical case, (2) the extreme or unique case, (3) the representative or typical case, (4) the revelatory case and (5) the longitudinal case. Our case is similar to the representative or typical case and the longitudinal case. The representative or typical case is what Bryman (2012) refers to as an exemplifying case. To describe this type of case, he states that "the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation" (Bryman, 2012:70), meaning that a case is chosen because it acts as an example of the wider category it is a member of. The case is a part of a broader category of cases and provides a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered. The two projects we volunteered at and the volunteers within the organization corresponds with the representative or typical case because the volunteer projects are examples of other similar ones in Iko Poran and the volunteers are members of the organization. Exemplifying cases also allow the researcher to examine key social processes, which we did during our observation of the volunteers. Yin (2009) describes the second, longitudinal case as one that occurs when the case is chosen on the grounds that it is suitable to the research questions and because it can be studied over time (Yin, 2009). We indeed chose Iko Poran because the organization was suitable for our purpose and we could be involved in it over a longer period of time.

Primary data

According to Bryman and Bell (2005), primary data is eye witness-reports and first hand-reports, and includes interviews. Primary data is data that is collected by the researcher for the on-going research, and is therefore not affected by other researchers' values and research goals, as often is the case with secondary data (Bryman & Bell, 2005). Listed below are our primary data sources, ethnography and interviews.

Ethnography

In order to gather information about the volunteers, two of the projects offered by Iko Poran and the organization itself, we, as mentioned, acted as volunteers ourselves and lived in the house provided for the volunteers. This gave us a possibility to participate and observe the behaviour of the volunteers as well as two of their projects and in that way gather data for our research.

According to Kothari (2004), observation as a method is mainly used in studies of behavioural sciences as a tool of data collection for the researcher. The observation method occurs when information is obtained through the investigators own direct observation without interference with the respondents (Kothari, 2004). Although the volunteers knew we were researching volunteer tourism, it did not affect either them or their behaviour. Bryman (2012) highlights five major forms of observational research; (1) structured or systematic, (2) participant observation, (3) non-participant observation, (4) unstructured observation and (5) simple and contrived observation. Participant observation is also called ethnography by many methodologists. As we were engaged in Iko Poran as volunteers ourselves and interacted with other volunteers we have obtained an inside perspective of the organization and have thus conducted what Bryman and Bell (2005) describes as participant observation, or ethnography. According to Bryman (2012), participant observation is one of the most well-known methods. It is associated with qualitative research in which the researcher interacts in a social setting in order to observe the behaviour of members. In other words, the observer more or less becomes a member of the group under observation in order to obtain the same experiences (Bryman, 2012).

An ethnographic approach requires great engagement in the organization's routines and activities in order to obtain an image of the organization through an inside perspective. This obliges the researcher to spend a considerable amount of time in the organization's environment. Since we were not able to spend a very long period involved in Iko Poran, we conducted a smaller form of ethnography called micro-ethnography. These are commonly used by students since they don't have enough time to undertake a full ethnographical observation. A micro-ethnography is when the researcher focuses on a certain aspect of an organizations culture, in our case the motivation factors and benefits gained by the volunteers. It is then enough to spend a shorter period of about a few weeks in the organization (Bryman & Bell, 2005). In order to gather data from our observations, we did not use any special instruments or followed any sort of schedule; we simply participated in a natural setting. So to some extent, we also conducted unstructured observation. In an unstructured observation, the aim is to record as much detail about the participants as possible without the help of observation schedule in order to develop a narrative of the behaviour (Bryman, 2012).

We are well aware of the notion of "going native", which sometimes happens to ethnographers who spends a long time at the site of research. This occurs when the researcher loses his/her role as a researcher and identifies him/herself too much with the people he/she is researching and adapts to their view of the world. Going native makes it difficult for the researcher to keep a scientific approach angle during the gathering and analysis of data. Since we were aware of the possibility that this might happen, we believe we managed to avoid it. However, we argue that going native to some extent was necessary in this particular study, since we needed to gain the volunteers' trust. If we had not, we would not have been given as much information and opinions by the volunteers during our observation and our research would have been less thorough.

Sampling

The population relevant to our research was all volunteers involved with Iko Poran. In total, there were about thirty volunteers involved in different projects. However, it was not possible for us to interview all of them because we neither had the time for it, nor were we sure to get everyone's consent. So instead, we selected our respondents among the volunteers and tried to obtain a representative sample of the population. According to Bryman and Bell (2005) the need to make a selection is practically always necessary in qualitative research and in order to generalize the result of the sample to the whole population it has to be representative. We therefore consciously chose and interviewed our eight respondents of different ages, nationalities and volunteer projects in numbers equal to the population. We also tried to get respondents with different views and opinions to acquire more varied answers. By doing this, we hoped to obtain more extreme findings that would make our research more interesting and also represent the many views of the volunteers. We chose not to interview the people at our projects since we believe that our observations are a sufficient source of information concerning them.

Since we chose our respondents in order to obtain an as diversified sample as possible, our sampling strategy is similar to two types of non-probability sampling; convenience sampling and quota sampling. According to Bryman and Bell (2005), with these methods, the respondents are chosen with a purpose and to make sure they differ when it comes to traits or skills. Convenience sampling is when the respondents are chosen because they happen to be available for the researcher, which coincides with our case since the volunteers in the organization all lived in the same house as us and thus happened to be available. Quota sampling is used when the researcher wants to get probability sample that reflects the population in terms of the relative distribution of individuals in different categories and actively chooses the respondents (Bryman & Bell, 2005).

Interview methods

For this study, we decided to conduct face-to-face interviews with all of our respondents, primarily because we had access to them but also because we found that face-to-face interviews have many advantages compared to other types of interviews. According to Bryman and Bell (2005), face-to-face interviews allow the interviewer to see the respondent's reactions, facial expressions and body language, which decreases the risk of misunderstandings (Bryman & Bell, 2005).

We decided that semi-structured interviews were most appropriate for this study because we wanted to know about the volunteers' motives for traveling as well as how they felt that they contributed to their respective projects. According to Bryman and Bell (2005), qualitative interviews, including both unstructured and semi-structured interviews, focus on receiving detailed answers that mirror the respondent's feelings and beliefs. Unstructured interviews, on the other hand, are based on a few themes and notes with follow-up questions on points that seem interesting. This interview technique is good if the researcher wishes to allow the respondent to decide what to focus on, but it demands that the researcher has some prior experience in interviewing since it helps if he or she can steer the respondent towards processes instead of plain statements (Bryman & Bell, 2005). Considering the fact that we did not have very much experience in interviewing, we decided we could not trust that we would get the information we want out of an unstructured interview, which led us to decide on semi-

structured interviews. According to Bryman and Bell (2005), such interviews are based on specific themes in an interview guide, but the interviewer has the freedom to ask the questions in a different order as well as asking follow-up questions (Bryman & Bell, 2005). The interview guide can be found in Appendix 1. Having an interview guide gave us the opportunity to think of new questions while interviewing, which also led to answers we would not have received if we had used a structured interview method.

Reliability and validity

Just like Merriam (2009), we believe that the quality of a research and its outcome is important. Two criteria that are highly responsible for the image of quality are reliability and validity. Reliability is mostly concerned with quantitative studies and is used to avoid measurement problems (Merriam, 2009). Since our study is based on qualitative research that is not very concerned with measurement, reliability is not relevant. However, validity is indeed relevant in our study. Our opinion has high value in this research because we have adapted the empirical investigation according to the theories we have chosen. These have later been complemented with more theories suitable to the empirical findings. Since we had knowledge about volunteer tourism we could ask relevant questions in our interviews. This is why our empirical data is suitable for this study. According to Bryman and Bell (2005) validity is one of the most important research criteria. Validity pertains to whether the conclusions are connected or not. According to Andersen (1998) validity has three different concepts: definition validity, coherence and relevancy. Definition validity is about the degree of conformity between the theoretical concepts and the empirical variables. Coherence pertains whether the theoretical and empirical concepts comport with each other. Finally, relevancy pertains how relevant the chosen theory and empirical data is to the research questions (Andersen, 1998).

Our values

We realize that some aspects of our research may have been affected by us. According to Bryman and Bell (2005), it is impossible to have complete control of ones values, and they may affect ones choice of subject, respondents and the analysis of the data. We are aware that our values have affected our choice of research field as well as our choice of respondents. We also believe that our presence at the interviews may have affected the respondents' answers. Since we lived in the same house and got to know our respondents as friends there is a risk that they were reluctant to honestly tell us about for example their motivations, as they would not want to sound selfish in front of us. We do, however, believe that the fact that we knew our respondents as friends may also have resulted in them opening up more to us, both in interviews and during regular day-to-day-conversations.

STUDY

Volunteer tourism

The history of volunteer tourism

According to Graham (2004), volunteer work has been a part of the world for a long time, dating all the way back to the pre-industrial period in Great Britain, when volunteering emerged as a kind of selfless duty usually carried out in the name of the church. Later, during the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the 18th and 19th centuries, volunteering was further developed and institutionalized, as it became a distinct and valued tradition. The actions carried out by volunteers were widened during this time in order to address a broader set of social problems, such as cultural deviance, deprivation and poverty. Volunteers would give their time, skills and money or possessions as an attempt to help others and reduce the previously mentioned problems of society. Since volunteering at first was a practice suitable for women, stereotyped gender roles evolved that resembled volunteer work to women and women's work. Although these gender roles still exist to some extent, especially in public service organizations with tasks associated with women's traditional domestic role, they are not as evident anymore (Graham, 2004).

It is only recently that volunteer work has evolved and become a form of tourism. Lately, volunteer tourism has received more attention, as Alexander (2012:780) states: "During the last decade, consumers, governments, destinations, and volunteer tourism providers have all shown a growing interest in volunteer tourism…". This interest from agencies and organizations derive from the demand of consumers to experience a different way of tourism with authenticity in culture by interaction with "the other" during their stay. At the same time consumers want to please their altruistic side by "helping" or "giving back". There are many benefits to be gained from volunteer tourism. For governments, it can be benefits to society, such as good citizenship. Destinations gain financial benefits from foreign exchange and a sustainable solution to poverty-related problems. However, the benefits are potential impacts of volunteer tourism, not inevitable. Thus, volunteer tourism can also create negative impacts on individuals and communities (Alexander, 2012).

Nichols (2004) makes a difference between formal and informal volunteering. Informal volunteer work occurs outside an organizational boundary and on individual basis; it may for example be to help a friend or neighbour. Formal volunteer work is characterized by a context of an organizational boundary where the work is carried out for, or through, an organization. This could be either a formal entity, such as a national volunteer organization, or a loose-knit group such as a sports club (Nichols, 2004). The increase of interest in volunteer tourism has, according to Graham (2004), put pressure on non-profit organizations to be efficient in their organization of volunteers as well as being more responsible towards the communities they operate in. However, volunteering has experienced a notion of inconsistent delivery for more than a century. This, combined with the fact that the motives to work as a volunteer usually are informal, means that volunteers cannot be controlled the same way as paid staff can be. From a management point of view, volunteering is thus seen as an unstructured part of the labour market without long-term dependability and a notion of ineffective management control. This economic perspective on volunteering values the low cost of volunteers, the

amount of work done, the development of human capital and its contribution to communities. However, this view underestimates the worth of social capital gained from volunteering as leisure, as well as the lifestyle benefits gained from it (Graham, 2004).

Voluntary work is generally not included in the gross domestic product since, according to Oppenheimer (2008), its "primary production and the consumption of produce by non-primary is of little or no importance" (Oppenheimer, 2008:7). If the voluntary and unpaid work were given more value, it would become more visible and seriously taken (Oppenheimer, 2008). However, Graham (2004) writes that with the widening demand there has been shifts from an informal to a more formal action of management, with a strong strive to raise the status of voluntary work by the creation of standards and best practice. Further, because of the increase in popularity and number of organizations, it is becoming more important for organizations to obtain a competitive advantage over other kinds of alternative leisure pursuits in order to attract good volunteers. As a result from this development, e.g. the rise in demand of volunteering experiences, volunteer organizations can be more selective and ensure they recruit the right people for the task (Graham, 2004).

Pro-poor tourism

According to Mowforth and Munt (2009) tourism has traditionally been viewed as a frivolous or elitist industry and not a serious development-related activity. However, by the end of the 1990's, new approaches, focused on the poor, got development practitioners thinking about the possibility of applying poverty elimination goals to tourism. According to Ashley, Roe and Goodwin (2001), pro-poor tourism is defined as:

> "Tourism that generates net benefits for the poor… [it] is not a specific product or sector of tourism, but an overall approach. Rather than aiming to expand the size of the sector, pro-poor tourism strategies aim to unlock opportunities – for economic gain, other livelihood benefits, or engagement in decision-making – for the poor" (Ashley, Roe & Goodwin 2001).

Pro-poor tourism is also called "new tourism" and includes several different types of tourism, including volunteer tourism. Mowforth and Munt (2009) describe pro-poor tourism as an intervention in the debate between people who are for and people who are against tourism. Those who advocate tourism point out four possible benefits of pro-poor tourism: the high potential of relationship-building, more job-opportunities, tourism's potential in poor countries, and the possibility to build tourism on natural and cultural resources. Those who detract tourism talk of the risk of revenue leaking out of the country, possible negative impacts on the poor, as well as displacement and socio-cultural disruption (Mowforth & Munt, 2009).

About Iko Poran, IVHQ and WorkingAbroad

This study is of a non-profit Brazilian volunteer organization, Iko Poran. Their goals are "to make a significant contribution to society by helping all Brazilians enjoy the right to live in a fair and equal society and share a part of Brazil's social heritage" (Iko Poran, 2012-10-31). According to their website, Iko Poran cooperates with NGOs by providing them with

volunteer work, financial resources and technical support in management and marketing. The organization's volunteer programs are developed to help other NGOs, which provide different services to communities. They also offer memorable experiences to volunteers, including the possibility to see the social and environmental impact they have (Iko Poran, 2013-01-03). Iko Poran states their mission as "To implement development projects and international volunteer programs that make a positive impact on local organizations, promoting intercultural exchanges and strengthening a constant and growing number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Brazil" (Iko Poran, 2012-10-31). NGOs are viewed as a third sector in Brazil (after the public and private sectors) and there are about 220 000 of them. Unfortunately many of them lack resources in marketing and management, which is stressed as necessary in order to increase their effectiveness, attract the best professionals and to establish higher creditability with stakeholders (Iko Poran, 2013-01-03).

Iko Poran offers individual placements according to the volunteers' interests and abilities and clearly informs that the organization's role is to act as a facilitator in the placement process. Iko Poran encourages volunteers to have a positive and flexible attitude and take interest to be engaged with their partner organization, even if they do not end up where they had planned (Iko Poran, 2012-10-31). According to Söderman and Snead (2008), it is becoming more and more important for volunteer organizations to offer individually tailored tasks that match the needs and wants of the volunteers.

Most of the respondents in this study went through the New Zealand based organization International Volunteer Head Quarters (abbreviated IVHQ). IVHQ was initially started because someone saw that there was a need for good quality and affordable short-term volunteer-experiences. The statement of intent published on their website states:

> "International Volunteer HQ (IVHQ) aims to provide volunteer travellers with quality, flexible, safe and highly affordable volunteering placements in developing countries. In addition to providing aid and assistance to these countries, IVHQ endeavours to increase education and heighten awareness through not only the skills and expertise taken by volunteers to their host communities and institutions, but also through the experiences and lessons volunteers will in turn take back to their own countries and cultures" (IVHQ, 2012-12-15).

IVHQ offers volunteer programs in 20 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their only cooperation partner in Brazil is Iko Poran, which offers projects exclusively in Rio de Janeiro. The shortest period of time available to volunteer in Brazil through IVHQ is two weeks, and the longest is six months (IVHQ, 2012-12-10).

The other volunteer organization that some of our respondents went through is the British organization WorkingAbroad. Two ex-volunteers who, after having volunteered in the USA and India, felt the need to communicate to others how many opportunities there are to do volunteer work around the globe founded WorkingAbroad (WorkingAbroad, 2012-12-20). Today, WorkingAbroad is a non-profit independent organization, which offers volunteer placements as well as paid work in over 150 countries (WorkingAbroad, 2012-12-13). Just like IVHQ, WorkingAbroad has Iko Poran as their sole cooperation partner in Brazil, and they offer volunteers to go there for anywhere from three to 24 weeks (WorkingAbroad, 2012-12-15).

The projects

When conducting our interviews we asked the respondents to tell us about the projects they volunteer at. The projects are all different and all the volunteers have different experiences from their respective projects, which is why we think it is important to describe the projects. All of the projects are located in or near favelas, some of them pacified by the Brazilian government, and some of them not.

Two of the projects are community centres, whose objectives are to keep the children of the favelas off the streets and out of trouble. One of the community centres, IASESPE (Institute of Social Action, Sport and Education), is run by a Brazilian woman. Three young girls, aged 14 to 21, from the favela, help her. The children who attend the community centre are between two and 14 years of age, and they spend some of their free time there. The volunteer at this project said that he mainly acted as a friend of the children and that he was there to give them better self-confidence. He also helped them with their homework, tried to teach them some English and played football and other games with them. He was at the project four days a week. Another community centre is called Iraja and is situated in a church in a favela. The children who attend the centre in the mornings are between two and 14 years old, whereas the teens attending in the afternoon are 15-16 years old. The volunteers watched over the kids and played with them, but one of the respondents at this project noted that there were not many toys and such for the children to play with; the children had nothing to do and it fell to the volunteers to keep them preoccupied. The other respondent at this project taught English, mainly to the older group of children. The younger children were also taught some English, but in a more basic way. These respondents volunteered only two days a week, when asked why, they replied that they didn't know.

Similar to the community centres are the kindergartens, also known as "crèches". One of our respondents volunteered at one of these crèches, together with three "tias", or "aunties". There are about 25 to 30 children between the ages of six months and 12 years there every day and our respondent was there about five hours a day. The respondent mentioned feeling confused since the crèche received a lot of donations; toys, computers, games etc., but the children were not allowed to play with them. She also mentioned that the tias were very concerned with the hygiene of the children, which is why they all had to shower twice a day. The premises are very limited, and the children are cramped in a small room all day, except when they are outside playing for about two hours a day.

One of the volunteers taught English at a project called Tatiame Lima. It is an educational centre in the middle of a favela, where volunteers and locals teach English, Spanish and computer science. The centre is sponsored by Coca Cola, but the respondent mentioned that despite this, there barely were pens for the students to use. The respondent taught English alongside another volunteer to different groups of children, teens and adults at different times of the day, four days a week. Our respondent taught two one-hour classes a day four days a week, and was sometimes asked to help maintain the house that the centre is located in, by painting walls etc.

Another one of our respondents volunteered at a football project. A non-profit organization in the favela where the project is located runs it, and it is basically a football pitch where children can come and play football when they are not in school. Our respondent had coached football at home, but at the project mainly played with the children about five hours a day,

four days a week. The respondent at this project is female, and she mentioned that the children were very impressed when they saw a girl who can play football. Women's football is not very prioritized in Brazil, but she was hoping that she could make a small difference by showing that girls can play football as well.

One of the respondents volunteered at a community garden called Hortas Cariocas. It is a garden built on an old dumpsite in a favela and it is run by a couple that lives in the favela. There is also one person who is employed at the garden, and they all get their wages from the government. Our respondent volunteered at the garden about three hours a day, four days a week, and she helped with weeding, planting and watering. The community garden also sells and gives vegetables and fruit to the people in the favela, who might not afford it otherwise.

The last one of our respondent's volunteered at a project called Mangueira, which prepares costumes for the big carnival that takes place in Rio de Janeiro in February every year. The project is located at a large building in a favela where different samba schools have their own departments, where they create costumes and floats for the carnival. It is all very secretive; no one can know what is being created until the actual carnival starts. Our respondent volunteered about six hours a day, five days a week, and spent her days cutting out pieces for different costumes.

Our own experience of volunteering occurred in two different projects, one in the field of child development at a community centre and one in the environmental field at a community garden. The community centre, Edugente, is located in a favela in the district Vincente de Carvalho in the northern part of Rio de Janeiro. It took about an hour to get there from the guesthouse, including two shorter walks and a subway ride in between. The centre's purpose is to keep children out of the streets and provide them with a safe place to go, as there are no parks or playgrounds in the favelas, and also to give them valuable skills to use now and in the future. It is open during mornings and afternoons as children in Brazil attend school either in the morning or in the afternoon. The children attending this centre are between six and 16 years old. There are around one hundred children enrolled and the teachers give lessons in the martial arts capoeira and judo, music, chess, gardening and cooking. The centre has its own garden where they grow vegetables, which are later used in cooking. There are also computers and books at the children's disposal.

The community garden, Verdejar, is also located in the north of Rio de Janeiro, in a district called Engenho da Rainha, about a 40-minute subway ride from the volunteer guesthouse. Three people work at this project in two shifts; morning and afternoon. The garden started as an environmental project in order to save parts of the rainforest from an electric company that wanted to tear it down. One corner of that rainforest is now a vegetable garden and orchard where people from the favela can buy vegetables and fruits, which they cannot afford otherwise. The tasks were concerned with about planting and handling a garden, such as planting various vegetables, watering, weeding and taking care of the compost.

The individual volunteer tourist

The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) offers the following definition of tourism: "The activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment or not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited" (UNWTO, quoted in Becken & Hay, 2007:10). According to Wearing (2001), the term *volunteer tourism* on the other hand applies to tourists who undertake holidays that involve aiding or alleviating material poverty, restoring certain environments or research in aspects of environment or economy without getting paid. Such tourists seek an experience that will both contribute to their own personal development as well as directly or indirectly to the social and/or economic environments in which they volunteer. Wearing (2001) continues to explain that there usually is an opportunity for the volunteers to interact with the local community as well as take part in activities with locals. In that way the contribution of volunteering is two-sided; the volunteer gains a greater awareness of self while helping others. Volunteers generally feel empowered when they know that they have made a difference, and they feel a lot more confident in their ideas and beliefs and that they can contribute to society. Furthermore, volunteering gives an opportunity to explore the "self". There is a belief that learning about and living in other cultures while mutually benefiting from and cooperating with other people can lead to a transformation and development of the self (Wearing, 2001).

According to Wearing (2004), research has shown that when people work and live together in social occupations it usually results in understanding and friendship that is seen as a lot more important than the work itself. Whatever the volunteer work is, the emphasis is on the personal meeting between the volunteer and the local community. Further, research on international volunteer organizations has shown that personal development is of essential importance to people who engage in volunteer work. Volunteers want to learn new skills and change or improve themselves. Learning comes from the interaction with the community, its culture and its environment. It also includes greater personal knowledge, independence, self-confidence, cultural awareness and social abilities. The personal development is connected to greater tolerance, better understanding of other people and the differences between them, the acquisition of a more global view of the world and insight into new values, beliefs and ways of life. It is also noted that volunteers who live together while volunteering, beyond their own personal development also gained a better understanding of what role their own developed countries play in the world (Wearing, 2004).

Stebbins (1992) highlights the difference between voluntary actions and volunteering. A voluntary action is an individual action that is unforced and not primarily aimed toward financial gain, whereas volunteering is an individual or group action that is voluntary and oriented toward helping others or oneself. In one way, all kinds of leisure and non-leisure activities can be seen as voluntary action at individual level, assuming they are undertaken by the person's own choice. According to Stebbins (1992) volunteering is never carried out because of expected economic benefits or personal needs, but because of the wish to serve others as an important leisure pursuit (Stebbins, 1992).

Presentation

The empirical data was gathered through eight semi-structured interviews and continued observation during eight weeks. As we tried to get respondents as representative as possible, they all differed in terms of origin and age. Two of them were Canadian, two American, one Irish, one British, one Japanese and one Australian. One was 18, one 19, two 22, one 23, one 25, one 26 and one 37 years old. Out of these eight, five were female and three were male. We considered these chosen respondents to be representative of the total volunteers of Iko Poran. Thus, our chosen respondents represent a sample of the total number of volunteers involved with Iko Poran at the juncture of our study. Our respondents are presented in Table 1 below.

Name	Age	Origin	Occupation
Brittany	19	Canada	Waitress
Conor	37	Ireland	IT-analyst
Daniel	25	UK	IT-consultant
Erica	23	USA	Consultant
Jilly	26	Australia	Hairdresser
Kayla	22	Canada	Student
Susannah	18	USA	Student
Takuya	22	Japan	Student

Table 1. Presentation of the respondents

Our respondents all came from different backgrounds and for three of them it was their first time travelling alone. What they had in common though, was that all of them came from the western part of world and thus received all the benefits that come with it. They had all had a good upbringing where in most cases both parents have had average or very well paid jobs. For example, Daniels parents both had average income jobs, his mother was a support coordinator at a school and his father worked in the insurance business. On the other hand, Susannah's parents both had high-income jobs. Her mother was a professor and her father owned a building company. Two of the respondents, Conor and Jilly had only one working parent.

As far as education goes, they had all attended primary school, middle school and high school. This is a contradictory situation compared to the fact that barely one percent of teens in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro finish high school (Indiegogo, 2012-12-14). All of the respondents had had the opportunity to study at university level and most of them had, or was going to go to university. Only three respondents had not attended university. One of them was Jilly who was a trained hairdresser. The others were Brittany, who was currently working as a waitress at her parents' restaurant, but had the intention to attend university in the future, and Susannah who too planned to start university soon. Our respondents also had varied occupations. Three of them were students, studying business, education and law. Two of the students had worked part time while they were studying and all of them had worked during their summer holidays since a few years back. Four of the respondents had average income jobs. One worked with IT at a multimedia company and another was a consultant within the field of energy efficiency. The third and fourth were Jilly and Brittany who, as mentioned

above, worked as a hairdresser respectively a waitress. Only one person, Conor, normally had a high-income job. He was a freelancer and worked as an IT-analyst for banks.

During the time of this study, the shortest possible time to be involved as a volunteer n the Iko Poran organization is three weeks and the longest period possible is six months. Out of our eight respondents, one was involved for the shortest period possible, three weeks, one was involved for four weeks, two for six weeks, two for five months and two of them chose to do volunteering for the full six months. Three of the volunteers stayed in Brazil for some time to travel around after they were finished with their volunteering. The one who was involved for three weeks stayed another week, and the two who did volunteering for six weeks stayed another two weeks.

The program fee for a three to four week period of volunteering was R$2 300 (Brazilian reais). Each additional week was R$210 to cover accommodation expenses. Up to 50 percent of the initial fee went to the project at which the volunteer was placed and the other 50 percent goes to the Iko Poran organization. Included in this fee is also an administration fee, airport pick-up, orientation around Rio de Janeiro, 24/7 assistance in case of emergencies and a 20 hour intensive Portuguese course (Iko Poran, 2012-12-14).

Most volunteers funded their volunteering themselves. Actually, only two of the volunteers were fully supported by their parents and one partly supported as she paid for some of it herself. Out of the five who paid the fee themselves, three had average income jobs, one had a high-income job and one was a student. The student had been working all summer, living with her parents to save money and be able to pay herself. The three who had average income jobs had all been saving for quite a long time to afford the fee, especially the ones who were volunteering for five and six months. The two of them had been saving up for about six months each. The two volunteers who were fully supported by parents were both students and the one who was partly supported by her parents and partly paid for herself have been working full time with an average income job for about a year.

Expectations

Since all volunteers had different reasons, or a combination of reasons, to embark on this adventure, their expectations differed a lot. Some of the respondents' replies to our question about expectations were very contradictory; one respondent would say one thing and another the opposite. Further, some had personal expectations, such as being nervous about the country being dangerous or not knowing anyone there, whereas others were wider and covered for example expecting a more (or less) developed country. The reason for the scattered answers to this question is that we did not want to specify exactly what the volunteers might have had expectations about, we wanted them to tell us the first thing that came to mind. We believe that makes the answers more honest and reliable. Table 2 below shows the reasons that were mentioned by at least two respondents (some respondents mentioned several reasons).

Expectations	No.
Expected to work more	3
Expected a more developed country	2
Expected a less developed country	2
Expected it to be more organized	2
Was nervous and anxious	2
Thought it would be dangerous	2
Low expectations	2
Expected more support to execute their task	2

Table 2. The respondents' expectations on volunteering

The expectations about Brazil as a country were very contradictory. Two of our respondents had expected the country to be less developed than it actually was and two people had expected the opposite; that Brazil would be more developed than it actually was, as Daniel said, "It is a lot poorer than I thought". The reason for these varied expectations may be several different things, such as prior experience of travelling to less developed countries, education or even if one watches or reads the news regularly or not. Further, many people expressed concerns about how Brazil would do with the World Cup in football 2014 and the Olympics 2016 coming up, meaning that the country was not developed enough to handle such big events. Some thought the country was too dangerous, with muggings and robberies being a big issue, especially in Rio de Janeiro and other large cities. Others mentioned that the country was not tourist friendly enough, since far too few working in the service industry speak English. Our observations verify this; it was sometimes difficult to get by due to language issues. Besides, many of the Brazilians we met were reluctant to try to speak English, even if they knew some. This usually resulted in a feeling of resignation on our part, since it made it even more difficult for us to do what we were trying to do. For example, we wanted to get Brazilian SIM cards for our cell phones. We went to several different resellers and tried to communicate what we wanted, first in English and when nobody understood, in extremely limited Portuguese. However, we never managed to express what we wanted.

Three respondents, the ones who worked the least, had expected that the working hours would be longer. Brittany, who did volunteering for merely three weeks, volunteered two days a week, about four hours at a time. A reason for this was never really given; it was simply the way it was at that specific project. Adding on to this, a lot of public holidays occurred during Brittany's volunteering period, which resulted in her working even less than she was supposed to. She mentioned that she had expected to work normal working hours and felt like she could, and should, be doing more. Further, she had expected having more tasks at the project, which also added to her sense of not doing as much as she could. In general, many volunteers involved with Iko Poran said that they had expected to and wanted to work more than they were. However, there were some volunteers who did not mind that they were not volunteering as much as they had expected, since it resulted in more free time to explore the city and travel. For example, one of our respondents was quite happy about the few working hours even though it meant working less than she had expected. She said that the few hours of volunteering gave her the opportunity to see the city and so on, which she enjoyed. Through our observations we found that even more volunteers than the ones we interviewed appreciated their free time and even took time off from work to explore and travel.

Our observation gave us plenty of insight in how working hours could vary at different projects and for different volunteers. One of us was supposed to work three hours a day, four days a week but ended up only working a total of four days in the four week volunteering period. However, we found out from conversations with other volunteers that a majority of them had worked as much as they were supposed to, even if it in some cases was less than they had expected.

Three out of the eight respondents mentioned that they had expected both Iko Poran and the projects to be more organized, and other volunteers concurred. In many projects there was no clear structure or schedule to follow, which led to the volunteers feeling confused about what needed to be done. Brittany, who was volunteering at a community centre for children, was supposed to entertain and play with the children. However, there were no toys for the children to play with, just an empty, quite small room to be in, which lead to Brittany finding it difficult to think of interesting things for the children to do. The community centre itself did not organize anything for the children. Another volunteer, Erica, who volunteered playing football with children, did not think her project was very organized. This was mainly because she could not contribute very much even though she had the skills for it. Although she had been coaching football teams before, she did not get to do any coaching at her project. Also, due to the football pitch not being drained properly, the football pitch got flooded every time it rained, resulting in Erica and the other volunteers at that project not getting to work.

The volunteers who taught English also felt like they didn't have any organized structure to follow. Nobody told them what the students had learned before or what level of English they were at, the volunteers had to ask the students themselves. Takuya thought he would be teaching grammar like at a proper English lesson, but instead found himself teaching simple things like numbers, words and introductions in English. Daniel felt like he had been "chucked into a room to teach English to a bunch of kids he didn't know", without any curriculum or teaching method to follow. Further, Conor shared his own theory about the projects being unorganized. He believed that being unorganized is typical for the Brazilian culture, that Brazilians in general are more relaxed regarding being on time and schedules than people in most western countries. As all the volunteers came from the western world, they were used to things being more organized and was thus expecting it to be so in Brazil as well. This theory corresponds well with our own observations, and several of the volunteers agreed.

Two volunteers told us that they were very nervous prior to their arrival, but for different reasons. One of them was Susannah, who was travelling alone for the first time. She was very anxious about not knowing anybody and living with people she didn't know. Besides, she would be living away from her parents for the very first time. Daniel, on the other hand, was nervous about the fact that he would be living in Rio de Janeiro, which he thought to be a dangerous city. However, neither found that they had any reason for their worry. Susannah said that her expectations were completely wrong; she felt welcomed by the other volunteers and thought they all were nice and friendly. Daniel soon realized that Rio de Janeiro was like any other big city and did not feel nervous at all about walking around.

Two of our respondents explained that they deliberately had tried to lower their expectations before their arrival in order not to get disappointed. Because of this, their experience turned out much better than they had expected; both considering the volunteer work and the life in Rio de Janeiro. Finally, two other respondents mentioned that they had expected more support from Iko Poran, such as some kind of introduction or a method to follow. The sole

introduction to the project the volunteers get is that someone comes with them to their project on the first day. If they are the only volunteers at their project, someone from the organization will come with them, introduce them and tell them what they are expected to do. If there are other volunteers already at their project, they take the new volunteers on their first day and the new volunteers start straight away without much introduction or explanation. Since there is usually nobody who speaks English at the projects, most volunteers, including us, expressed a greater need for a more throw-out introduction at their projects.

In our observation we were the only volunteers at our projects and were thus accompanied by a coordinator from Iko Poran on our first day. We were showed around at our respective project and given a short explanation of what we might get to do there. This first day was the only time we had company going to and from the projects, meaning that we had to remember which subway extension to take and how to walk from the subway station to our projects after that. The walk from the subway included walking into the favela where the project was located. In both our cases the projects were located in the outskirts of the favela, and neither of us thought it was frightening going there. One thing that bothered us, however, was the fact that we didn't have any way of contacting anyone if we got lost or if something happened. We had the phone number to one of the coordinators at Iko Poran, but no cell phones because of the risk of getting mugged. One of our respondents, Jilly, pointed out that no volunteer should have to be alone at their project, nor walk into a favela alone.

All of the respondents experienced that the volunteer work and the life outside of it didn't turn out as they had expected. Even though their experience turned out different than what they had expected, it was rather for better than for worse considering the total experience. At the time of the interviews the volunteers were very happy about the free time they had spent in Brazil. However, when solely considering the volunteer work, some would have wanted it to be different. Six out of the eight respondents even experienced some aspects they did not like. The most mentioned reason of why the volunteers were unhappy about their projects was that it was not organized well enough. Some were not occupied to the extent they had anticipated and thus felt like they were not wanted or needed. Others didn't perceive that their work made any positive difference.

Our expectations were in some ways different from our respondents', but in some ways very similar. As mentioned above, we had expected not to be the lone volunteers at our projects, and we had expected working hours to be longer. However, we had not expected the volunteers to spend as much time together as they did. They didn't only live together, the volunteers also spent most of their free time together, exploring Rio de Janeiro, going to the beach or just hanging out. Some of the volunteers greatly enjoyed the nightlife that Rio de Janeiro is known for, and many spent their free time travelling in South America with their newfound friends. This contributed to most of the volunteers finding new friends and feeling a strong group unity.

Social distance

All of the respondents in this study mentioned the difficulty they had experienced at their projects due to the fact that they did not speak Portuguese. This created a perceived distance between the volunteer tourists and the employees at the projects they were working at. Such social distance may also be created by cultural differences, religious diverseness or living arrangements. Neither Iko Poran, IVHQ nor WorkingAbroad require that volunteers coming

to Brazil know Portuguese, but they mention that it helps (Iko Poran, 2012-12-14; IVHQ, 2012-12-10; WorkingAbroad, 2012-12-15). Iko Poran offers a 20 hour language course spread out over two weeks to all volunteers in order for them to easier adapt to Brazil and its language (Iko Poran, 2012-12-14), but the volunteers staying short-term (less than a month) usually choose not to take the course since it is time consuming and they rather want to spend their time exploring Rio de Janeiro. However, our observation has shown that those who have chosen to take the course have found that it is not enough; they have to keep studying and applying themself in order to actually be able to speak the language.

All respondents mentioned the language barrier as a limiting factor; they thought they could have done more at their projects if they had known more Portuguese. They would also have been able to interact socially with the people at the projects if they could communicate in their language. Many of the respondents blamed themselves for not learning more of the language since they were well aware of how much more they could do at their projects if they had more of a grasp of the Portuguese language. Jilly mentioned feeling lonely, being the only English speaker and not being able to communicate with the others at her project. Two of the respondents took some Portuguese classes in their home country before travelling. They were both staying in Brazil for six months and one of them mentioned that one of his reasons for volunteering in a different country was the fact that he wanted to learn a new language.

There are very few English-speaking people at the NGOs cooperating with Iko Poran, mainly because the people working there come from poor conditions and do not have access to such education. Several respondents mentioned that it would have helped a lot if there had been a person at their project who could speak both English and Portuguese, that way it would have been easier to find out what needed to be done, how to do it and other similar things that are difficult when one does not understand the language. Our own experience also includes some problems caused by the language barrier. There were several cases of information getting "lost in translation", which caused difficulties for us in our pursuit of a volunteer experience.

Tourism and serious leisure

Kleiber (1999) defines leisure as "*the combination of free time and preferred experiences*"(Kleiber, 1999:3). According to Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2009), leisure is becoming more acknowledged as a facilitator for identity construction, it is experienced as a change of perspective where time is really felt as free. Leisure is the separation from commitment and obligation and a sense of opportunity (Wearing, Stevenson & Young, 2009). Kleiber (1999) argues that it is during our leisure time that we truly let our minds think freely and thus develop our own identity and form our personality. Leisure time is a place to develop an identity in relation to others, to differentiate from others and become an individual. Tourism is defined by Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2009) as "*distinctiveness from everyday life*" (Wearing, Stevenson & Young, 2009:21) and is seen as a way to escape. This inevitably involves cultural interactions with people, places and cultures.

How we decide to use our leisure time is primarily governed by intrinsic needs to grow. Examples of intrinsic needs are relatedness (the need for social involvement) and personal expressiveness (the need for personal purpose and one's "true calling") (Kleiber, 1999). Leisure can be rewarding for both the individual and the society at large, whether the nature of it is gardening or volunteer work; the principle remains the same (Wearing, Stevenson & Young, 2009). When people truly identify themselves and commit to a certain interest,

Kleiber (1999) names it serious leisure. Stebbins (1992:20) defines serious leisure as *the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there…"*

Volunteering is one kind of serious leisure mentioned by Stebbins (1992). Volunteers find their volunteering experience engaging and satisfactory since it provides both themselves and the host community with wellbeing. However, even if volunteers see their involvement as pleasant because of its outcome, it is likely that there will be challenges along the way. For example, volunteers who teach English must constantly try to find new ways of teaching. According to Stebbins (1992), the volunteers are given tasks that supervisors judge to be suitable according to the volunteers' skills and experience. This may however turn the volunteers into "helpers" in someone else's occupational world; they become outsiders in the organization.

Motivation

As stated before, Graham (2004) argues that volunteering can be seen from two perspectives, either where privileged people can "support a worthy cause" or as a pursuit to enhance social status. Graham (2004), Wearing (2004) and Stebbins (1992) agree that while volunteering may seem to be an act fulfilled out of pure altruism, many suggest the contrary; that it is in fact driven as much by a person's self-interest as by altruism. Söderman and Snead (2008) even argue that regarding young travellers, volunteer tourism is less about altruism and more about self-fulfilment. Stebbins (1992) argues that some people view volunteering as regular work, and do it simply because they want to put it on their CV in order to get benefits in their future career. Graham (2004) agrees that since most volunteers choose to work without expectation of any payment, and rather because they wish to support a worthy cause, many volunteer organizations have changed their values towards a self-interest performance.

Stebbins (1992) argues that motivation for serious leisure (e.g. volunteer tourism) can be explained through simple common sense: "the greater the profit [excess of reward over cost] a person receives as a result of his action, the more likely he is to perform the action"(Stebbins, 1992:110). If the endured costs experienced by the volunteers are great, it requires compensation through a noticeable profit for a person to voluntarily keep engaging in such activities. However, as volunteering may offer several experiences in one excursion, it is seen a good way for travellers to satisfy their wish for the novelty constantly changing environment (Söderman & Snead, 2008).

According to Musick and Wilson (2008), one theory on motivation is the functional theory, which is based on all people having the same set of basic psychological needs. The theory assumes that the needs are universal, and all people have them, but do not necessarily choose the same means for satisfying them. The Volunteer Functions Inventory includes six different motivations for volunteering, each of which will be explained below. According to the functional theory, the same act can serve different needs for different people, and the same act can also help meet several different needs. The motives are: values, enhancement, social, career, protection and understanding (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

Musick and Wilson (2008) state that when people work toward certain goals, or *values*, they try to remain true to an ideal conception of themselves. For example, people who act on altruism and volunteer because they "care about the community" are value motivated. The

second function is *enhancement*, which means that it gives the volunteer an opportunity to learn new things through direct, hands-on experience. This can, for example be a person who volunteers in an underdeveloped county in order to learn more about its culture and the people who live there. Volunteer work may also enhance experience by its physical and mental challenges, where "living on the edge" acts as an enhancement (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

The third function that Musick and Wilson (2008) mention for volunteering is *social*, which is the need to fit in and be part of social groups who matter to us. People who volunteer in order to "be with people whose company they enjoy" or "be with people who share their ideals" are fuelled by this function. The fourth motive is to obtain *career-related* benefits, such as business contacts or work skills. Young people in the USA often volunteer because they think it will look better on their college application and allow them to get into a higher status university. This is called "resume-padding", and is very common. Young adults may also see volunteer work as a substitute for paid work during times when they are unemployed (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

The fifth function mentioned by Musick and Wilson (2008) is called *protective* because it enables people to work through their own problems. People who say "volunteering is a good way to escape my own troubles" or "volunteering helps me work through my own personal problems" are fuelled by the protective function. It may also be people who travel to a faraway country to volunteer when everything seems too hard at home. The sixth and final function is *understanding,* which refers to personal growth and ego-enhancement. Some may say, "Volunteering makes me feel important" or "volunteering allows me to gain a new perspective on things". Volunteering can make some people explore their own strengths and make them feel more confident, as well as going from feeling like they have nothing to offer, to feeling quite accomplished (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

Volunteers' reasons for volunteering

During our interviews, we asked our respondents why they wanted to work as volunteers. We received varied replies, from which we identified five of Musick and Wilson's (2008) motives; these are compiled in Table 3 below (some respondents mentioned several reasons):

Reason for volunteering	No.
Values	5
Enhancement	5
Protective	2
Understanding	2
Career-related	2

Table 3. The respondents' reasons for volunteering

For five volunteers, the intrinsic wish of helping people in need was mentioned as a major motivator; they wanted to stay true to a conception of themselves. They felt that helping other people who had less than they do would give them satisfaction, and they wanted to contribute and make a positive difference for the people in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Brittany said, "Travelling is more fulfilling when you can make a difference". Erica mentioned that after four years of studying, she wanted to go travelling, but also do something for someone other than herself, and Kayla thought of volunteering as meaningful and an opportunity to give

back. As seen in Table 3, five volunteers stated that the enhancement acquired through the authenticity you see and the great cultural experience you get from doing volunteer work played a big part in their decision. These volunteers wanted to see "the real" Rio de Janeiro and be immersed in the festive culture of Brazil; they believed that volunteering would help them achieve this. Daniel, who quit his job in order to do volunteer work in Brazil, said that he had realized that money was not very important; he simply wanted to be like a local in a different country. Jilly also saw volunteering as "an opportunity to stay somewhere a long time and absorb the culture". A few volunteers also mentioned that doing volunteer work is a good way of travelling and seeing a city/country since you really have time to explore all parts of it.

To "get away" was mentioned as a reason to do volunteering by two of our respondents, meaning they were motivated by the protective function. Daniel was bored with his usual life at home and wanted to get away and experience something new and different. He said "I'm going to do the same train ride to the same job every day for the next 25 years of my life; I might as well do something different now, when I'm young and can do it". He originally wanted to move to Brazil permanently and teach English, but decided to try it for six months as an English-teaching volunteer instead. The other volunteer, Conor, had recently broken up with his fiancée and wanted to get away to another environment and do something different for a while to clear his thoughts and keep his mind occupied. He said, "I was going through the darkest year of my life, but I'm feeling so much better now". The reason for this was because he realized how much worse other people have it when he had seen the favelas and the conditions the poor people of Brazil live under. This made him realize how good he actually has it and that his problems do not matter compared to the ones the poor people in the favelas have. Both of them also viewed volunteering as a good way to get away somewhere and stay there during a long period of time.

Two volunteers, Brittany and Susannah, said that they thought volunteering would allow them to appreciate what they had and how privileged they really were, which is similar to what the motive understanding points to. They thought that if they saw how much less privileged other people are, they would learn to understand how much they actually have and how lucky they are to be so fortunate. They both figured that volunteering would be a good way to get in touch with the poor parts of Brazil and learn how the underprivileged people live. As Brittany said "I will appreciate everything more when I come home" meaning she would not take things for granted and not complain as much because she knows how fortunate she is. Jilly mentioned that she wanted to see how people with very little money cope with their everyday life.

Finally, two volunteers, Susannah and Takuya, said that they did volunteering partly because of selfish reasons, mainly out of career-related reasons. One of them, Takuya, who normally studied to become a teacher, volunteered at a project teaching English. He needed the experience of volunteering in order to get his university degree. The other one, Susannah, said she thought it would be a good merit for the future and a good thing to put on her CV. As she said herself "I'm doing it mostly for selfish reasons".

Rewards, costs and gain of volunteer tourism

According to Wearing, DeVille and Lyons (2008), volunteer tourism is as much a pursuit to explore the self as it is a pursuit to help others, and is thus rewarding to both parts. According to Söderman and Snead (2008), volunteers look for commitments that match their interests and then analyse the rewards and costs of these. Stebbins (1992) describes the cost and rewards of voluntarily chosen activities, also named leisure activities. When value is derived from a regularly occurring involvement, it is named a reward. During his research on amateurs and professionals, Stebbins (1992) found nine rewards that draw people to their chosen avocation undertaken as a leisure pursuit. Although these are not meant specifically for volunteers, they can still be applied since it still concerns voluntarily and actively chosen pursuits, which is also the case for volunteer tourists. The rewards are: Self-actualization, self-expression, self-conception, self-gratification, self-enrichment, re-creation and monetary returns, which are all personal rewards. There are also two social rewards: Social attraction and group accomplishments.

Stebbins (1992) explains the first two, self-actualization and self-expression, as referring to the possibility of volunteers to develop their personalities when increasing their skills and knowledge. Self-conception comes out of the preferred social identity connected to the field, and self-gratification is the pure joy derived from the pursuit. The non-regular but memorable experiences gained from undertaking an activity increases self-enrichment through providing a person with intellectual, moral and cultural resources and re-creation is the ability of the undertaken activity to absorb attention and divert the mind from problems in life. Finally, voluntary actions might also sometimes be financially rewarding, although that should not be the case in volunteer tourism. As for the two social rewards, social attraction and group accomplishments, they are rewarding in terms the feeling of fun gained through the participation in a preferred activity. Social attraction refers to the friendship created within a group and of being part of it and group accomplishments occur when one participates in a collaborative activity (Stebbins, 1992).

Opposite from rewards, are the costs of serious leisure, named disappointments. Stebbins (1992:100) defines these as "the absence of expected rewards and their manifestations" and argues that they occur when one has high hopes and these fail to come true. Since disappointments usually are unique for every area it is difficult to make generalizations, the only one applicable to all would be that practitioners develops a cautious attitude towards their pursuits. As a result of this, they learn to not have too high expectations so that these will not fail, although there is a variation from area to area here as well. An example of disappointment would be not to succeed with what you intended to do or the inability to perform the way you wish to. Stebbins (1992:102) also discusses the issue of dislikes, which he defines as "problems that requires the practitioner to adjust significantly, possibly even to leave the pursuit". As with disappointments, these are difficult to generalize, the only possible one is that continued commitment tends to cause more dislikes.

Through his study, Stebbins (1992) came to the conclusion that the motivation to continue voluntary work or leisure is if the profit gained from it exceeds the costs. He found that the cost-profit pattern in every area is unique but also that some types of costs and rewards can be found in most fields. Finally, most of the people Stebbins (1992) interviewed told that they would like to have more time to practice their serious leisure.

Volunteers' perceived rewards and costs

All volunteers experienced some kind of cost during their stay in Brazil, mostly concerning their projects. The reason for dislike varied but the main reason was usually because the volunteer did not feel like he/she contributed enough nor had enough to do. For example, Brittany, who worked with children, did not have anything to entertain them with and Erica, who played football with children felt like her presence did not make much of a difference. Most of the volunteers were also not trained nor had the skills to perform the work they were supposed to do. For example, none of the volunteers who taught English was a trained teacher and most of the volunteers who worked with children had never done that before. Further, the volunteers who did not like their projects tended to be less engaged than the ones who did. For example, one volunteer called in sick even though she was not, just because she did not feel like going or because she was too busy to have fun all night and was too tired to get up in the morning.

For a few volunteers the costs experienced were too great to endure and lead them to the decision to switch project. One of them was Daniel who was teaching English at an educational centre. He did not dislike the actual teaching very much; the problem was the people who were running the place. He did not feel well treated by them and felt used as they asked him for money and favours regularly. He tried to endure this for some time but that just made him dislike it even more, so finally he could not take it anymore. Another volunteer, who taught English as well, also switched project because she did not feel needed and thus thought she could contribute more somewhere else. The costs did not only occur at the volunteers' respective projects but also during their free time because things did not turn out as they had hoped. For example, Erica found that she had had enough of Rio de Janeiro after about two months, thinking she had explored all the parts of it that she wanted and wished she could go somewhere else. However, even though most volunteers had complaints about their projects they stayed there anyway. For some it was because the problems were not enough to cause them to switch projects and for others because they were only there for a short period of time. Further, Iko Poran does not want volunteers to switch projects. A part of the volunteers' volunteering fee is donated to their project, and if they switch to a different project Iko Poran must find a way to make a donation to the other project as well.

During our observation, we had some very unfortunate experiences, mainly at the environmental project at the garden called Verdejar. Since there were no volunteers at our projects, we were accompanied by one of the coordinators from Iko Poran on our first day. That was when the working hours were decided, three hours a day, four days a week. To work from Monday till Thursday are normal working days for the volunteers at Iko Poran in order for them to be able to travel and be tourists. However, the agreement about working hours did not work out as it was planned. For starters, the actual work was delayed and did not start until Thursday the first week and then only lasted about two and a half hour. The following week started as it should with work on Monday from nine till noon, but on Tuesday illness prevented participation. The following day we received an email from the coordinator at Iko Poran saying that the personnel were "too busy" to receive a volunteer. The next day was a holiday, which meant no work that day either.

On Monday of the third week nobody showed up at Verdejar, so there was nothing to do but go back to the guesthouse again. We later found out that the staff had been late and they had arrived after we had left. It was difficult to get in touch with anyone since we did not have cell phones. Otherwise we might have been able to call the coordinator at Iko Poran – there would

have been no use calling the people at the project since they did not speak English and we only knew a few words of Portuguese. This week we were not able to work on Thursday due to other plans, so we sent an email to the coordinator at Iko Poran to inform her about it; she promised to communicate this to our projects. The following day we tried to explain to the staff at Verdejar that we indeed intended to work on Wednesday, as supposed to. However, the message was lost in translation and no one was there the following day. The coordinator later said that the staff had thought nobody was going to come, so they had decided not to work that day. The next week we could not attend this project due to illness.

Because of these turn of events we ended up to actually only volunteer four days at Verdejar, out of the four weeks we were supposed to volunteer; these days were also shorter than planned. Even though some of the reason for this was unfortunate circumstances (illness etc.), the lack of organization and communication on Iko Poran's and the NGO's part was accountable for a lot of it. Luckily, this unfortunate experience was not common; most people got to work when they were supposed to. Also, we did not feel like the volunteer work contributed very much to this project, mostly because of the few days of actual volunteer work. On the few days of volunteering we actually felt a bit in the way and as if the staff had to find work for us to do. When we emailed Iko Poran about these problems they replied, "The volunteers' expectations don't depend on us". As a result of all of this, the experience was not very enjoyable and we did not gain much from it either.

Fortunately, the volunteer work at Edugente did not turn out this way as we got to volunteer most of the days we were supposed to. This project was also delayed the first week but other than that, only a couple of days were missed due to travelling and illness. The working hours at this project were four hours a day, four days a week. The coordinator at Edugente informed, via translation from a coordinator from Iko Poran, that there was always something to do at the centre and if something needed to be done, it was just to do it. The volunteer at this project was supposed to help out with a bit of everything wherever it is necessary. However, it is difficult to see what needs to be done as a new volunteer. The volunteer did not have a special role, as the centre had teachers for the classes and plenty of staff to handle the regular work. The first task as a volunteer at this project was to translate the tags on the vegetables in the garden from Portuguese, to English in order to teach the children more words. Another was to help out with the Christmas decorations. Except for these tasks there was not much to do, so much time was spent with the children, participating in various activities such as capoeira and cooking. On two occasions the whole work day was spent in the computer room with the children, however, there was not much to do there either, since all the children were busy playing games on the computers. So, as volunteers we did not feel like the work made any difference or contribution to Edugente. We wished to help out more but found it difficult to communicate with the staff and thus difficult to ask what we could do to help.

Volunteers' perceived gain

We found in our study that all volunteers at Iko Poran went to Brazil because of a reason, and they all had a wish to gain something from the experience as a volunteer worker as well as from the life outside it. The wish for a rewarding experience from the volunteer work was just as big as the wish for a joyful and exciting adventure during the free time. Actually, some volunteers spent quite a lot of time away from their projects to travel, both in Brazil and other countries of South America. For example, Jilly never spent a full month working at her project because she went travelling so much. In only three months she had been to the famous

Iguaçu Falls, Machu Picchu and the Amazon rainforest. She had the intention to travel a lot before she arrived to Brazil and partly chose the country because it was a good base from which to travel to other countries.

Erica also travelled a lot; she mentioned she wished she had volunteered for shorter periods in different countries to obtain "a full third world experience". All of our respondents agreed that they had gained something from doing volunteer work, both from the work and the free time. Most of them even felt that they had gained more through the free time while making new friends and exploring Brazil and a few mentioned that they would probably gain even more later on. Most volunteers agreed that the experience would make them go home as a different person, or that they would try to be different when they got home. We got very varied replies when we asked our respondents what they had gained from volunteering. Table 4 below shows how the volunteer experience had affected the volunteers and, in the cases where we could get an answer, if they thought it would change them and in that case how.

Perceived gain	Effect on the respondent
Too see the difference between rich and poor	Has changed his way of thinking and made him want to be more helpful
Proud to be from a country where you can't treat children like they do at her project	More patriotic for her country (US)
An eye-opener to see the favela	Will return as a changed person and do more volunteering at home
Eye opener, will gain more later on	
Being in a culture where you don't speak the language and teach English. Improved language skills	Better confidence More independent
Increased awareness and worldliness	Was going through the darkest year of his life and feel so much better now
Eye opener	Will go home and see how good she has it
Too much to put into words	More appreciative with things back home Live in the moment and not worry More independent

Table 4. The respondents' perceived gain and how it will affect them

As seen from the table above, the answers were very different from each other. Since all volunteers went to Brazil for different reasons, they also gained individual profits. However, many of the volunteers described the experience as an eye opener. This expression means that the experience made them see the world from a different view and realize how much more there is to it than they thought or seen before. Most volunteers had never been to a developing country before and were surprised to see how different people lived in Brazil, especially the poor people in the favelas. Because all of the volunteers were from western countries they were used to a certain standard of living and expected certain things in a household, such as running water. When the volunteers saw how the people in the favelas lived without these things and were sometimes out of water in their own accommodation, they described it as an eye opener. They realized that it was possible to live without these things and that so many people do.

Kayla got invited to the house of the people who runs her project. She was speechless as she entered the front door, as she had never seen such a poor accommodation before. The house was sparsely furnished and very small. The guesthouse where the volunteers were accommodated was also different from what most of them were used to. For example, not all the showers in the bathrooms were hot, so some volunteers had to get used to take cold showers instead. The water also disappeared for a day or two a few times and the water preservatives had to be used. On days like these only the absolutely necessary amount of water could be used. Other things, such as transportation and public service were not at all as efficient as the volunteers were used to.

A few volunteers mentioned that the experience made them appreciate what they had a lot more than they did before, and that they were more aware about how fortunate they are to have such a good life, much due to the different living conditions they had seen and experienced. The new knowledge about how poor people in Rio de Janeiro live and the experiences they acquired themselves would most likely change their way of thinking. Two volunteers even mentioned that they now want to help other, less fortunate, people when they get back home. Takuya said he wanted to be more helpful and Kayla that she wants to do volunteering even after she has left Brazil. Two volunteers, Daniel and Erica, told us they felt more independent than before volunteering; moving to Rio de Janeiro, creating a new life in a completely different environment than they were used to had all contributed to their new feeling of independence. They were able to handle situations that they would not have been able to handle before, such as organizing trips by themselves. Susannah had never cooked a meal herself before she came to Brazil and was proud to say she could now make several dishes, something that made her feel more independent. Another volunteer mentioned that the experience had given him a better confidence since he could see that he actually was able to do things he had previously thought he could not.

For Conor, the reason for going to Brazil was to feel better after a break-up with his fiancée and that is also what he gained. Seeing how much worse the poor people in the favelas lived put things in a different perspective for him. He realized that these were "real" problems that a lot of people experience; a thought made him feel much better about his situation. Susannah worked at a crèche where the children were not treated very well, for example they did not get enough to drink even though it was hot because that would make them have to use the bathroom more often. Susannah said this made her feel more patriotic for her own country (the US) because there, it is not accepted to treat children that way. Meaning she was proud to be from a country where this cannot happen. Finally, Erica stated that she had learned "too much to put into words", but could name a few things anyway. She said she didn't worry about things as much as before, such as to be on time or to find her way around. Instead she tried to live in the moment and appreciate what she had and where she was.

Volunteering and authenticity

Travelling is known as a never-ending search for the "real thing" and "authenticity", defined as "…emanating from those activities that allow tourists to keep a distance from, or transcend daily lives and to find their true selves" (Wearing, Stevenson & Young, 2009:27). However, Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2009) continues, many researchers now suggest that authenticity cannot be found or experienced anymore because of the development of the tourism industry, where it is only possible to experience staged authenticity. So even though tourists wish to see the "back-regions" of a destination and experience the "real life", these

are usually hard to get to and thus leave tourists to wander in the front regions, which are set up for the tourists.

Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2009) highlight three major approaches to the understanding of authenticity: objective, constructed and existential authenticity, where the first two are object-related and the last activity-related. Objective authenticity is connected to objects as originals and with them being genuine and authentic. From this point of view, authenticity is seen as something measurable and definable. Constructed authenticity is focused upon tourist's perceptions of authenticity and refers to authenticity "projected into toured objects" (Wang, 2000, quoted in Wearing, Stevenson & Young, 2009:29). Thereby it is produced out of social construction, which occurs when tourists look for authenticity or symbols of it while the objects are simultaneously being constructed to look authentic. Finally, existential authenticity refers to the actual experience of the tourist. Here, the emphasis is put on personal feelings achieved by tourist behaviours. Existential authenticity is thus seen as a kind of relationship with the self and in some cases also others. This relationship is activated by tourism activities that occur outside the norm of everyday life. Existential authenticity represents the process of self-creation through the creation of personal narratives; that the cultural, social and environmental interaction experienced by tourists is the greatest contributor to a travellers sense of self (Wearing, Stevenson & Young, 2009).

Some types of tourism are considered to be more authentic than others, because they seem to offer more authentic experiences. Examples of this "alternative tourism" are: environmental tourism, adventure tourism, cultural tourism and volunteer tourism to name a few. These forms of alternative tourism aim for different market segments and have developed as a result of the criticized mass tourism and are thus the opposite of it. The reason is the rejection of mass consumerism and the impact from the modern industrial world on developing countries (Wearing, Stevenson & Young, 2009).

Volunteers' reasons for traveling to Brazil and Rio de Janeiro

Many of the respondents in this study mentioned authenticity as a reason to why they wanted to go to Brazil; they wanted to see the "real" community and not only the typical tourist areas. However, there were many more reasons to why our respondents wanted to go to Brazil and Rio de Janeiro. We identified five major reasons as to why the respondents chose to go to Brazil to do volunteer work (some respondents mentioned several reasons).

Reason for choosing Brazil	No.
A good experience	3
Always wanted to go	3
Language reasons	3
Favelas	2
Inspiration	2

Table 4. The respondents' reasons for choosing Brazil

For three of the volunteers the reason for choosing Brazil was because they thought they would have a good experience there, and that is also what they wanted. As Conor said, "I thought would be a bit of fun, there are nice beaches there". Erica said that the culture appealed to her. The same amount of volunteers mentioned that they had always wanted to go

to Brazil as one of their reasons. They did not know why, just had a longing to go to Brazil and that is why they chose the country. Three people also told us that language reasons were a big part of why they chose to go to Brazil. In most other countries of South America, the organizations require the volunteer to have a certain degree of language skills, though this is not the case for Brazil. There was no requirement to know Portuguese in order to apply for volunteer work in Brazil, so those who wanted to go to South America and did not know Spanish (which is the language spoken in all countries in South America except Brazil) really only had one choice of destination. Jilly said that she originally wanted to go to a Spanish speaking country in South America, like Argentina or Peru, but she could not because they require their volunteers to know Spanish and she does not. Another language reason to go to Brazil was to learn the language; two volunteers, Daniel and Erica, mentioned this as a major motivator.

Two respondents mentioned the favelas as a reason for choosing Brazil. They wanted to see the favelas and believed them to be places where they could really help and where there are people who really are in need of help. Conor said, "I wanted to go somewhere and see people who have real problems". The fifth major reason that we could identify was inspiration from someone or something. Daniel said that his father gave him the idea to go to Brazil, whereas Susannah mentioned seeing the famous singer Nikki Minaj in a commercial displaying a street in Brazil. When she saw this commercial she exclaimed "I want to go!"

After finding out why the volunteers chose Brazil, we asked why they chose Rio de Janeiro as their destination in Brazil. The answer was easy, seven out of the eight volunteers we interviewed had the same answer for this question; Rio de Janeiro was simply the only destination to do volunteer work in Brazil. Two other reasons were prior experience of Rio de Janeiro, which one volunteer mentioned, and a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, which two volunteers mentioned. As Susannah said, "you can't go to Brazil without going to Rio". Another volunteer also mentioned Rio de Janeiro as a good base to see the rest of South America.

Volunteer tourism and its effect on host communities

Most of the existing literature about volunteer tourism focuses on volunteer tourists and their experiences, rather than the impacts on the host communities (Sin, 2010; McGehee & Andereck, 2008). This occurs even though the main idea of volunteer tourism is that volunteers have a direct positive impact on host communities. Of course, volunteer tourism, as any other form of alternative tourism, is recognized with the potential to change and enhance environmental, economic and social sustainable development (Sin, 2010), but it may also have negative implications, such as enhancement of "the otherness" (McGehee & Andereck, 2008). However, the lack of research of the implications of volunteer tourism in host communities makes it hard to be certain whether the promised benefits are realized. Sin (2010) and McGehee and Andereck (2008) are some of the few who have researched the views of host communities concerning volunteer tourism.

According to Sin (2010), we live in a time of responsibilities for the world around us with the belief that the privileged and developed world should care for the unprivileged and underdeveloped world. It is from this point of view that volunteer tourism developed. The relationship between the volunteer tourists and the host communities is complex (McGehee & Andereck, 2008) Research reveals two sides of volunteer tourism. On one side, positive

relationships are created between the volunteers and the host communities. On the other, these relationships are not equal and thus place the volunteer in a powerful position right from the beginning. In this sense, Sin (2010) argues that "volunteer tourism is argued to re-produce the existing structures and power hierarchies that keep the volunteer tourist in a privileged position while continuing to undermine the locals in the host-communities despite its stated intentions of empowering and benefitting the locals" (Sin, 2010:984). In other words, volunteer tourism does not equal change in the current relations or hierarchies. According to McGehee and Andereck (2008) the cultural and geographic distance may cause the volunteer to see the local population as "the other" and thus make them oblivious of how their actions affect the local residents.

Of the many sayings about volunteer tourism regarding sustainable development and responsible tourism, one is often mentioned: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime" (Chinese proverb, Sin, 2010:987). This is how Sin (2010) views volunteer tourism as most beneficial. Through his research, Sin (2010) found that volunteer tourists can be beneficial in many ways, such as rebuilding or improving physical facilities and teaching English. These kinds of projects are positive in the way they all aim to provide long-term beneficial effects to host communities. Especially education-related volunteer projects are preferred since these provide more sustainable and long-term effects that will in time enable the local population to break out of the poverty cycle (Sin, 2010). Locals also view caring of children as beneficial, one reason for this being the interaction with the international volunteers, since the locals are usually unable to visit other countries and places themselves. The knowledge gained from these interactions usually involved the learning of different opinions or to do things in a new manner. The relations created through working with the community for a longer period bring trust and an understanding of the locals that the volunteers are there for a good cause (Sin, 2010). McGehee and Andereck (2008) too agree that the interaction between the volunteer tourists and the host communities is of great importance and a vital component of volunteer tourism for both parties.

So, does volunteer tourism benefit the host-community? According to McGehee and Andereck, (2008), the answer is not easy and the question should instead be "how". How can volunteer tourism evolve in order to enhance the positive impacts and eliminate the negative? Sin's (2010:990) reply is "it really depends". Volunteer tourism does give some sort of help and most volunteers have genuine and good intentions to bring about a positive change (even though the aid given does not always suit or benefit the locals). However, one question is if the aid given by volunteer tourists really makes any difference for the host community: something McGehee and Andereck (2008) are critical to. Sin (2010) questions the idea of pro-poor tourism, which is the idea behind volunteer tourism. When a destination becomes "too rich" for volunteer tourism, it's a result of the unequal relationships between volunteers and the locals. Indeed, when a community reaches a certain standard of living, it becomes irrelevant for volunteer tourism and will thus cease to exist in terms of being a volunteer tourism destination. This especially occurs in on-off projects (when a group of volunteers go to a different place than where they live to work on a project). Volunteer tourism projects that operate in community centres (or projects that would exist even if no volunteers were there) which the volunteers live close to and where the volunteers get the chance to learn from the local inhabitants are viewed as more sustainable than the previously mentioned form (Sin, 2010).

Volunteer tourists' perceived effect on host communities

The volunteers at Iko Poran participate in several different projects. Eight of them (the ones where our respondents were placed) have been described previously, and each project contributed to society in different ways and in varying degrees. However, it does not only depend on the project, although it is a big factor, whether the volunteer contributes to a positive change in society. It also depends on how dedicated and skilled the volunteer is for the tasks, something we noticed very much during the interviews and our observation.

The volunteers who worked at community centres were mainly there to act as friends of the children and help the community centre entertain them. They played with and entertained the children and tried to teach them new things. The children were very fond of the volunteers and always welcomed them with a smile. The interaction between the volunteers and the children brought positive relationships and cultural exchanges in most cases. For example, the volunteers enhanced the children's confidence through encouragement and praise. By being from a different culture the volunteers inevitably also showed the children how to do things in a different manner and presented them with a new or different way of thinking.

Out of the three respondents who worked at community centres, Conor stood out from the others. The lady who normally runs IASESPE, where he volunteers, has cancer and is not able to work as hard as she has before. Even though there are some people who help her out a bit, it is not enough. Conor has done a great achievement for IASESPE; apart from helping out with the children who attend the centre, he has also started a campaign to raise money for the project. He and a few other volunteers made a video about the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, showing the poor conditions the people there live in. This video was then posted on a site where people can donate money and their goal is to raise $35 000[1]. Conor also started to organize favela tours guided by people from the centre in order to generate money on a continuous basis and in that way make it self-sufficient. Without Conor's help, IASESPE would most likely not exist today.

Susannah who volunteered at a crèche thought she contributed a lot because she felt much needed to help run the place. Only one of the three women working there actually worked, the others always stayed in another room and did not help out much at all. Erica, who volunteered at a football project mostly spent her days playing football with the children and thereby acted as friend more than a coach. She did not feel like she contributed much, although the children were always happy to see her and were amazed to see a girl play football. As well as with the volunteers at community centres, interaction between the volunteers and the children brought positive relationships and cultural exchanges.

Kayla volunteered in a garden and did not feel like she contributed much. She did not work many hours and when she was there, she did not do much anyway. There were three other people working at the garden, which really is enough to keep it going. When it got too hot, they sat in the shade and talked instead of working. Sometimes the actual work she did lasted only one hour or even less. However, the garden has received volunteers for a long time and the locals appreciate them for what they do because they know they are there for a good cause. The people at the garden are also very happy to have volunteers and always want to get to know them. Kayla was even invited to their house where they cooked a meal for her. One volunteer helped a samba school to make costumes for the big Carnival in February. She

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[1] Watch the video at: http://www.indiegogo.com/fightforafavela

worked more than the other volunteers, from Monday to Friday instead of Monday to Thursday. There is a lot of work to do in order to get the costumes ready in time for Carnival and she felt like she was contributing much and they seemed to like her work.

Two of our respondents, Daniel and Takuya, taught English at their projects. The volunteers liked what they did but at the same time felt like their efforts did not make as much difference as they would have wanted them to. One taught young children English and felt like he could not teach them very complicated things, such as grammar. He mostly taught them simple things like greetings, pleasantries, colours, etc. The other volunteer taught both younger and older students. However, after some time he felt like he had taught them everything he could and did not know what more to teach them. Since he was not a trained teacher, his skills were limited. Many other volunteers also taught English and also felt that their efforts did not make much difference to the student's English skills. One volunteer even suggested it would be better to teach the Brazilian English teachers better English, so that they, in turn, can teach with better skills and more knowledge.

The projects that receive volunteers from Iko Poran are not created for the volunteers work there, all of them would exist otherwise and many of them have received volunteers for quite some time. One exception might be the community centre where Conor volunteered, which might have gone bankrupt had it not been for him. The volunteers live close to the projects and they are able to learn from the local inhabitants. The community and the locals know what the volunteers do and that they are there for a good cause, so they appreciate them for it. Even though the volunteers do not always make that much of a difference, they contribute with something anyway and they are always happily welcomed.

ANALYSIS

In this chapter we put our findings in relation to the theory previously mentioned in order to create a discussion and further deepen the understanding of volunteer tourism and its implications.

Volunteer tourism

According to Mowforth and Munt (2009), volunteer tourism is a kind of pro-poor tourism, meaning it gives livelihood benefits, engagement in decision-making and economic gain for the poor. We, too, believe that volunteer tourism can offer people in the poorer parts of the world a chance to improve their lives, in the sense that they can affect their own situation with the help of volunteers. By this, we do not only mean volunteer work, which certainly contributes to the life of underprivileged people all over the world, but the entire concept of volunteer tourism. However, our study shows that many volunteers choose to volunteer during merely a few weeks, a fact that contributes to the fact that so few are actually committing to their volunteer cause. This leads us to question whether volunteer tourism indeed should be called pro-poor tourism? According to Mowforth and Munt (2009), pro-poor tourism can, among others, benefit the host community through relationship building and more job-opportunities. Our study shows that volunteer tourists seldom build relationships with locals, but rather with each other. Such relationships, volunteer to volunteer, have little or no effect on the host community, and cannot be mentioned as a benefit to it. In the case that we have studied there is no evidence of more job-opportunities appearing. The employees at Iko Poran all come from other countries than Brazil, and since the projects accept volunteers, it is less probable that they will employ locals, whom they will have to pay.

Additionally, our study shows that all of the respondents had problems at their respective projects due to social distance. The social distance among volunteers is often caused by language difficulties, which was found in this study. Several respondents opted out of the offered language course due to their wish to engage in activities around Rio de Janeiro. This is an indication that many volunteer tourists may in fact be more interested in the *tourism* part of volunteer tourism, since they would have been of more use at their projects if they could communicate with the locals there.

The individual volunteer tourist

The definition of volunteer tourism; "any activity which involves spending time, unpaid, doing something which aims to benefit someone (individuals or groups) other than, or in addition to, close relatives, or to benefit the environment" (Davis Smith, 1998, quoted in Nichols, 2004:198) gives the impression that volunteer tourists are completely altruistic. However, Wearing (2001) states that even though this might be a characteristic feature for volunteer tourists, it is generally agreed that such tourists also seek an experience that will contribute to their own personal development (Wearing, 2001). Volunteer tourists are considered both volunteer workers as well as tourists, as they do their volunteer work while being what UNWTO call a tourist.

Even though none of the volunteers in our research volunteered because of completely altruistic reasons, they were prepared to pay quite a lot to voluntarily serve others as an important leisure pursuit, without any expectations of economic benefits. The question is whether they paid the fee to volunteer or to be tourists in Rio de Janeiro. We found that what happened outside the actual volunteer work was just as, or more, rewarding for the volunteers as the work itself. According to Wearing (2004), people who work and live together in social occupations usually develop friendships, which are seen as a lot more important than the work itself (Wearing, 2004). This notion was clearly evident in this study; few of the volunteers developed relationships with anybody at their project, but the friendships created between volunteers and the culture created in the group unity played an important role to their positive experience as volunteers. All volunteers were friendly with each other since they were all "in the same boat"; nobody knew anybody else and they all wanted to be tourists as well and enjoy their time in Brazil. According to Wearing (2001), the individual explores the "self" through volunteer work and thereby feels more empowered and gains confidence. Through our observations and interviews we learned that volunteers both want to help other, less privileged people, but also wish to gain something for themselves. The fact that volunteer tourists are both volunteers and tourists opens up for a lot of questions: Can there be a completely altruistic tourist? Can there be an entirely egoistic volunteer? Is it possible to be a volunteer tourist without being both altruistic and egoistic? However, the difference in motivation among the respondents was, interestingly enough, not connected to their level of commitment.

According to Stebbins (1992), volunteer tourism is a form of serious leisure, which occurs when people identify themselves with, and commit to a certain interest. Iko Poran offers individual placements according to the volunteers' interests and abilities and have a wide set of volunteer programs to choose from. In this sense, the volunteers are indeed performing serious leisure, since they are working during their free time to commit to a chosen interest. Stebbins (1992) also argues that volunteers are likely to be engaged in their pursuits and to see their involvement as pleasant on the grounds that it contributes to the well-being of themselves and the community. In the case of Iko Poran, all volunteers were aware that they contribute to the community, even though many wished to contribute more. Some stated their motivations when deciding to volunteer abroad as egoistic, but ended up being very committed to their projects and the locals. Others appeared to do the opposite, their motives were altruistic, but they ended up getting caught up in the excitement that Rio de Janeiro and South America offered, including exciting outings and travels. This leads us to question whether motivation indeed should be given as much focus as it gets in literature concerning volunteer tourists. Our study shows that the outcome of the volunteer experience is not necessarily as dependent on the motives as it is on what the volunteer makes of it.

Parts of the outcome of a volunteer experience are the rewards and costs that the volunteer perceives. In this study, the rewards generally were perceived as greater than the costs, but most of the rewards derived from the respondents' free time whereas much of the costs derived from their volunteer projects. Some did indeed receive intrinsic rewards thanks to them feeling like they were helping and that they were doing something that mattered, however, most rewards regarded personal development and being appreciating life more. The costs on the other hand were all connected to the projects or the host country through problems with social distance. This is quite the opposite from what Stebbins (1992) states about rewards and costs in volunteer tourism; that they all derive from the volunteer work. With this we conclude that the free time during volunteer experiences is of greater importance than what can be understood from current literature.

Volunteer tourism and its effect on host communities

According to McGehee and Andereck (2008), the interaction between the volunteer tourists and the host communities is a vital component of volunteer tourism for both parties. However, Sin (2010) highlights that there are two sides of volunteer tourism. On one hand positive relationships are created between the volunteer and the host community, on the other, these relationships are not equal since the volunteer is initially placed in a powerful position (Sin, 2010). The major part of the volunteers at Iko Poran perceived the relationships with the people at their respective projects as good and did not consider themselves to be above the local population. Thus, the relationships were positive and did not harm anyone in any way. However, they did not bring any benefits to anyone either. Even though the relationships were positive, the volunteers, as mentioned, experienced social distance due to the language barrier and thus lost much of the valuable cultural interaction, which is of great importance. This study reveals the great importance of communication between volunteers and host communities; without it, the benefits gained through cultural exchange are impossible to acquire and much of the value with volunteer tourism is lost.

Sin (2010), as well as McGehee and Andereck (2008) are critical to whether volunteer tourism is beneficial for the host communities. There is a belief that educational volunteer projects are more beneficial than others since they help the people help themselves instead of only helping them for a short time. These provide long-term effects to host communities that in time will allow the population break out of their poverty (Sin, 2010; McGehee & Andereck, 2008). The majority of the volunteers in Iko Poran at such projects did indeed feel like they made a positive contribution. However, it would be more beneficial if the volunteers taught English to the regular teachers instead, since it would give the children more consistency. Our study also revealed that practical aid is beneficial since the language barrier is not as prominent; it allows the volunteer to contribute despite the language barrier and thus avoid social distance. So, it might be possible for volunteer tourism to achieve positive contributions, as long as it is focused on the right kind of projects. What further need to be researched is, what kinds of projects are beneficial to host communities?

Sin (2010) argues that a big problem with volunteer tourism is that it requires that the host communities are "poor enough" to receive volunteers. But what happens when the destination becomes too rich? This is especially apparent at projects where volunteers do not live near the projects and the locals (Sin, 2010). We do not see that Rio de Janeiro as a volunteer destination is running the risk of disappearing as a volunteer destination any time soon. Since most of the projects Iko Poran cooperates with are located within the city, where both locals and volunteers live, they are unlikely to disappear because the volunteers do not come close enough to the locals. The fact that almost all of the projects are located in the favelas is another reason that makes us think that Rio de Janeiro will be a volunteer destination for quite some time. The favelas have been a problem to the Brazilian government for a long time and from what we have learned in our observation, and despite all the accomplishments volunteers and others are doing, the favelas will probably stay the way they are for a long time. However, our findings indicate the importance of planning and policies in volunteer tourism. If the industry continues to grow, it is vital to develop plans and policies to ensure the quality of volunteer tourism and to make sure that it does bring about positive changes; otherwise it is almost like "normal" tourism.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study we have strived to answer to our purpose, which we state again below.

The purpose with this study is to examine (1) how altruism and egoism act as motivating factors for individuals to practise volunteer tourism; (2) how the volunteer, both as a tourist and as a worker, gains benefits from their experience and (3), from the perspective of the volunteer tourist, how their presence affect the community.

We found that although altruism is known to be a typical volunteer-trait, all of our respondents were motivated more or less by self-interest as well. This is referring to the aforementioned discussion regarding whether altruism or self-interest is the main motivator for volunteer tourists. The discussion opens up the following questions: Can there be a completely altruistic tourist? Can there be an entirely egoistic volunteer? Is it possible to be a volunteer tourist without being both altruistic and egoistic? However, our study shows that the outcome of the volunteer experience is not necessarily as dependent on the motives as it is on what the volunteer makes of it, something that needs further research in literature concerning volunteer tourists. The rewards gained by volunteers mainly occurred during free time. Most volunteers found good friends among the other volunteers. These relationships, and the culture created in the group unity combined with the possibility too experience a different culture, were major contributing factors to the volunteers having a positive experience and the reason why they gained both personal and social rewards. This is contradictory to the costs, which mainly derived from challenges at their respective project due to social distance. However, the rewards were generally perceived as greater than the costs considering the total experience. These findings imply that the free time during volunteer tourism is of greater importance than what can be understood from current literature.

From the view of volunteer tourism as a form of pro-poor tourism, volunteers indeed enhance the possibility for people in the poorer parts of the world to improve their lives. The question is whether the volunteers choose to do so or not. As this study shows, many volunteers were not truly committed to help and did not have the intent to make any major contributions. This is a fact that leads us to question whether volunteer tourism indeed should be called pro-poor tourism? The idea behind pro-poor tourism is to benefit the host community through cultural interaction et cetera, but our study shows that volunteer tourists seldom build relationships with locals, but rather with each other; which are of no value to host communities. However, with the increasing value of NGOs in Brazil, including volunteer organizations, the organizations can afford to be more selective in their recruitment. This is a positive development for all volunteer organizations in Brazil, including Iko Poran, since it allows them to recruit people who are committed and have the skills suitable to the needs of host communities.

One reason to why volunteers seldom build relationships with locals was, as with the challenges, due to social distance. This was in most cases because of communication problems due to the language barrier. However, several respondents opted out of the offered language course due to their wish to engage in activities around Rio de Janeiro, another sign that most volunteers were not committed to help. This also indicates that many volunteer tourists may in fact be more interested in the *tourism* part of volunteer tourism, and also opens up the question whether some volunteers simply use the volunteer organization in order to experience the culture of Brazil? Thus, we believe that social distance and language barrier

should be given a larger part in literature concerning volunteer tourism, since it is obviously a large part of the volunteer experience.

Even though the relationship between the volunteer and the local population is positive, it does not contribute with much due to social distance. Social distance leads to the very important component cultural interaction disappearing, and with it much of the value with volunteer tourism. This shows, once again, how important communication between the volunteer and the local population is. Our research shows that educational and practical aid is more beneficial than other forms of aid. Educational is more beneficial since it provides long-term effects to host communities that will allow the local population to evolve without the need of constant help from the western world. Practical aid is more beneficial since it allows the volunteer to contribute greatly, despite the language barrier. In this sense, it might be possible for volunteer tourism to achieve positive contributions, as long as they focus on the right kind of projects. What further needs to be researched are what kinds of projects are beneficial to host communities? However, volunteer tourism is still part of the tourism industry and thus affects the community like any other kind of tourism, in both positive and negative ways. With the increase of volunteer tourists, it is vital that volunteer organizations develop plans and policies in order for volunteer tourism to be beneficial and avoid negative impacts.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Interview guide

- Personal
    - Age?
    - Origin?
    - Occupation?
    - How long are you here for?
    - Family?
    - How did you fund your volunteering?
    - How did you find out about this?
    - Do you speak Portuguese?
- Project
    - Name?
    - What is it?
    - What do you do?
    - How long are you going to be there?
    - How many hours do you work?
    - How do you perceive your role at your project?
    - How do you feel like you contribute?
    - What do you think is good with your project?
    - What could be better with you project?
- Motivation
    - Why did you choose to come to Brazil?
    - Why did you choose to come to Rio?
    - Why did you want to work as a volunteer?
    - What expectations did you have before coming here?
    - Do you feel like your expectations have been satisfied?
    - Do you feel like you have gained something from your project?

Linnaeus University – a firm focus on quality and competence

On 1 January 2010 Växjö University and the University of Kalmar merged to form Linnaeus University. This new university is the product of a will to improve the quality, enhance the appeal and boost the development potential of teaching and research, at the same time as it plays a prominent role in working closely together with local society. Linnaeus University offers an attractive knowledge environment characterised by high quality and a competitive portfolio of skills.

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