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In Search of 'Real' Life Experience:Conceptualizing Canadian Crossroads International's (CCI's) Overseas Volunteers as Alternative Tourists

by

Sandra Kim Law

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "In Search of 'Real' Life Experience:Conceptualizing Canadian Crossroads International's (CCI's) Overseas Volunteers as Alternative Tourists" submitted by Sandra Kim Law in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Overseas volunteers represent a unique subpopulation of volunteers given that their terms are generally temporally defined. This study applied Bourdieu's inclusive concept of capital (a variant of the theory of human capital investment) to the analysis of the self-ascribed motivations and experiences of a group of Canadian Crossroad International (CCI) volunteers. During the course of the analysis, it was found that CCI volunteers were best conceptualized as alternative tourists -- a group of tourists who seek alternatives to the packaged experiences of otherness offered by mass tourism. Acting as alternative tourists, CCI volunteers were seen to be in pursuit of first hand experiences of life in developing countries. There is a discussion of the efficacy of applying Bourdieu's concept of capital to the study of volunteer participation.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This study examines the self-ascribed motivations and attitudes of individuals who volunteered with Canadian Crossroads International (CCI), a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that sends volunteers overseas to participate in community development projects. The composition of the overseas volunteer population of CCI was examined by collecting information on the ages of volunteers, their gender, their marital status, their educational qualifications and their employment status both at the time of the interview and at the time of their overseas posting. Bourdieu's generalized concept of capital (social, cultural, symbolic and economic) was applied to the examination of the causes of volunteer participation.

A variety of theoretical perspectives exist on the sources of volunteer and philanthropic or charitable behaviour. Schiff (1984:1,87,128) suggested that monetary donations were substitutable, in some circumstances, with 'donations' of volunteer time. He hypothesized that individuals volunteer their time after undergoing a cost/benefit analysis of the relative efficacy of donating their time versus donating their money (Schiff 1984:10). The human capital model of volunteer behaviour is another example of the existing economistic models that are discussed in the literature that deals with volunteer participation (Berger 1991).

Overseas volunteers represent a unique population of volunteers given that their volunteer activities are generally limited to the time

they spend overseas. This population of volunteers also presents a number of unique problems in that they do not strictly adhere to certain prerequisites of volunteer participation such as non-subsidization of their volunteer activities. For this reason, it was necessary to adapt the definitions of volunteers that existed to fit the relevant population.

CCI has existed as a distinct entity since the late 1960's. Unlike most NGOs engaged in sending volunteers overseas CCI has no set age restrictions nor does it require that people have special skills in order to qualify for volunteer positions. Volunteers who have gone overseas with CCI were the focus of this study. The organization is nationally based in Toronto, Ontario but operates primarily through the aegis of local committees in various cities across the country. These local committees operate relatively independently and run by volunteers (generally people who have been overseas with CCI). CCI was chosen because it has a large volunteer population and additionally, because its administrative structures are run almost completely by returned volunteers.

The decision to gather basic information on volunteers, such as information on the ages, educational levels, marital status, and employment, was made because other studies of stay-at-home volunteers indicated that these factors had some impact on rates of volunteer participation. Previous studies on voluntarism indicated that volunteer participation is affected by a number of factors including the age of the volunteer (Gillispie and King 1985; Hayghe 1991:18; Schram and Dunsing 1981:394), their gender (Berger 1991; Dabrowski 1984; Schram and Dunsing 1981), their income level (Hayghe 1991), their employment status (Dabrowski 1984:63), their educational status (Mueller 1975:333), their marital status (at the time they volunteered) (Gillispie and King 1985; Hayghe 1991:18), the number of dependent children in their family (Schram and Dunsing 1981:373), the amount of time they have lived in their home communities, the amount of time they have to devote to volunteer work

(Unger 1991:81), how needy they perceived recipients of their assistance to be (Unger 1991:83), the number and kind of incentives offered (Brown and Zahrly 1989), and their religious backgrounds (Clydesdale 1990:203; Hodgkinson 1990:287; Hodgkinson et al. 1990:108; Wuthnow 1990:10).

A number of measures were used to survey the volunteer's expressed attitudes and motivations with regard to their overseas voluntarism. Volunteers were also asked about their attitudes towards development assistance (what kind of assistance they considered to be most efficacious, whether they felt people in developing countries 'helped themselves', what directions they would like to see the development community take). These questions were asked in part in an attempt to elicit their feelings with regard to the importance of self-reliance and whether they felt that people should be more self-reliant. The responses were used to locate individual volunteers on a continuum of volunteer behaviours that ranged from the pragmatic or self-interested to an altruistic approach to the provision of assistance.

Volunteers were also asked about their initial decision to volunteer, that is, how it came about and why they were attracted to the field of international development. These questions were asked so that volunteers could identify themselves as primarily pragmatic/self-interested or altruistic. Questions concerning the types of experiences that volunteers had overseas and their interpretation of these experiences were asked. In the course of the interview volunteers were queried as to their previous travel experience, specifically with regard to their previous sojourns in developing countries. Their impressions of these travel experiences (in terms of the value attached to them and the 'use' made of them) were solicited. Questions regarding the individual volunteers' sense of connection to other people were asked to elicit from them their world view as those views pertained to international development assistance.

During the course of data analysis, it was found by examining the

accounts of motivation and overseas experiences that the particular group of volunteers under study here -- overseas volunteers on short term placements -- shared a number of characteristics with a group of travellers referred to as 'alternative' tourists (Cohen 1979, 1987:13, 1988:31; Redfoot 1984; Urry 1990). As an organization, CCI emphasizes the importance of the cultural exchange aspect of their overseas volunteer program.

A comparison of Cohen's (1979) and Redfoot's (1984) tourist typologies was made and aspects of both typologies were applied in the analysis of those motivations. Bourdieu's concept of capital was also incorporated into the analysis of the overseas CCI volunteer as an alternative tourist (Bourdieu 1986; Smart 1993). Cohen (1979) found that the alternative tourist searched for authentic experiences and authentic representations of human existence. Alternative tourists seek out these authentic modes of existence in cultures other than their own. Although Cohen (1979) does not specifically discuss the concept of capital with reference to alternative tourists the connection between tourism and capital accumulation has been made by Zukin (1991). When the overseas volunteer was reconceptualized as an alternative tourist, their attempts to accumulate capital became more comprehensible.

The efficacy of conceptualizing the overseas volunteer as an alternative tourist will be discussed. Additionally, the applicability of the concept of capital accumulation to volunteer participation (particularly with respect to volunteer motivation) and the ease with which that capital is converted from one form to another will be explored.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

Overseas volunteers represent a unique subpopulation of volunteers. Previous studies of stay-at-home volunteers dealt primarily with the demographic characteristics of participating volunteers and related these characteristics to the probability that someone will volunteer. In this study, there was a shift from a focus on the quantitative aspects of volunteer behaviour towards a concentration on the more qualitative aspects of that behaviour. The methodological procedures used in this study were ones (such as interviewing) that were more suited to a detailed study of the motivations and recollections of volunteers. Information about the general characteristics of the volunteers (such as present age, age of voluntarism, income level) was gathered to produce volunteer profiles that would further illuminate the composition of the volunteer population.

Sample Selection

Sampling Procedure. A number of nongovernmental organizations are involved in sending volunteers overseas. However, some organizations have a greater volunteer base than others. It was important that the organization chosen to form the basis of this study have a substantial volunteer base. Canadian Crossroads International (CCI) fulfilled this requirement. Part of the mandate of CCI was to send people overseas to expose them to different peoples and different ways of life. Their mandate was distinct from that of organizations like Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), an organization that was primarily concerned with

providing developing countries with experts in specialized fields.

Most informants from CCI were contacted by phone, or by a letter followed by a phone call. Their names were obtained from mailing lists provided by a local CCI coordinator. Other volunteers' names were obtained by referral of prior informants. The sampling technique used here was a combination of judgement sampling, a sampling technique in which the sample population was selected because it constitutes a specialized population that was of interest to the researcher (this sampling technique was used for qualitative research on specialized populations) (Bernard 1988:97), and snowball sampling, a technique that was based on sampling a population on the basis of informant referrals (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981:141; Bernard 1988:98). There was an obvious bias towards individuals whose names are on the mailing list. The mailing list included individuals who were no longer active in the organization. While the sample can in no way be described as being statistically representative, it does appear to be representative in terms of the ages of CCI participants. The majority of volunteers completed their volunteer work before age thirty. When they started their volunteer work, many of these younger people had recently graduated from some kind of educational program or decided to leave their jobs for the period of their volunteer placement. There were smaller numbers of older participants who ranged in age from their early thirties to their early to mid-sixties.

The majority of people who were interviewed had completed their overseas posting in the last five years (11 people, 50%). A minority of people interviewed were overseas more than ten years ago (5 people, 22.5%). The remaining five people had undertaken their volunteer work within the last six to ten years.

CCI as an organization is unique amongst Canadian NGOs in that it does not choose to send people who fall within a particular age category or who have particular skills or expertise. As a result of this rather open-ended policy, the population of volunteers that CCI sends overseas

represents a diverse group of people in terms of age, skills, and education. This diversity in the volunteer population made it an ideal group to study because it provided the researcher with an opportunity to interview people from a variety of backgrounds and to determine whether there were differences in motivational accounts according to differences in educational backgrounds, age, marital status, occupation, and length of tenure in the workforce.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection had two components: a short questionnaire was administered just prior to a taped interview that consisted of prepared questions (see Appendices 1 and 2). To determine an individual's primary aims/motivations/reasons for participation as an overseas volunteer, questions were asked concerning the point at which volunteers were in their life or career course when they volunteered. Questions dealing with basic information such as age and gender were asked in the questionnaire. Age is relevant to a study of volunteer behaviour and specifically to a study that deals with volunteers' accounts of their motivations because younger people tend to be more concerned with acquiring human capital, such as job skills, than are older people (Jenner 1982:29). Gender is also an important variable to be considered as in the recent past women have been seen by some researchers as being more concerned with using their volunteer experience as an opportunity to acquire job skills (Jenner 1982:30; Schram and Dunsing 1981:373). That is, they have tended to convert the human capital they obtain in the course of the volunteer work into economic capital.

There is contradictory information concerning which gender is more likely to convert human capital gained through voluntarism into economic capital. Gillispie and King (1985:807) found that men were more likely than women to use their volunteer experience to increase their employability. These researchers suggested that a higher proportion of men cited this as a motivation because at the time they conducted their

research mens' workforce participation was more considerable than was womens' (Gillispie and King 1985:807). However, Berger (1991:38) found on reviewing the literature concerning potential differences in volunteer behaviour between men and women that there was little to no difference between the participation of men and women.

Income level has also been described as one of the factors that influences participation, however the income measure (that is, whether it is full or net income) seems to be important in determining what kind of influence income has on the individual volunteer's decision to donate their time and energies to a particular organization (Berger 1991). Income level was a problematic variable in the study for two reason: some people did not report their income on the questionnaire and when income was reported there was some confusion, in a very few cases, as to whether it was the family or individual income that should be reported.

Other factors have been correlated with volunteer participation and one of these factors is the individual's identification with a major religious group. Religious affiliation has been positively correlated with volunteer participation (Mueller 1975). According to Berger (1991:75), religious traditions or service are the source of American participation in volunteer activities.

In addition to the taped interviews, notes were taken during the interview process. The notes taken during the interviews and the resulting transcribed texts were analyzed by categorizing the reported information according to its relevance to particular aspects of voluntarism such as motivational factors, the costs and benefits volunteers associated with their overseas' experiences, the world view of the participants (as expressed in their view of development assistance, their interest in development and social issues prior to their volunteer postings, their sense of connection to other people, and their views on the efficacy of travel as well as their volunteer work). The categories developed were similar to those used by Monroe (1991:407) in her

examination of the origin, nature and expression of altruistic behaviours amongst a diverse group of people whom she characterized as being relatively self-interested, such as entrepreneurs and philanthropists, or relatively altruistic, people she labelled heros and rescuers, the latter group consisting of individuals who hid Jews at the time of the Nazi occupation of Europe and incurred considerable risk to themselves and their immediate families.

Several quantitative studies of volunteer behaviour have been conducted. These studies focused on large samples of volunteers and used surveys to elicit the information they collected about volunteer participation (i.e. motivation, perceived roles, the alignment of volunteer personality traits with the type of volunteer work chosen). Studies of this kind produced information profiles distinguished by their concentration on the relationships between specific variables. For example, these studies provided statistics on the relative numbers of women and men involved in volunteer work, or they provided information about the age ranges of volunteers, or they looked at the effect of income or religious affiliation on voluntarism. While these studies provided useful information on overall trends in volunteer participation, they lacked depth. That is, they did not explore in detail the volunteer's reasons/motivations for involvement. An exception to this was the work of Monroe (1991) whose work was discussed in the previous paragraph. The present study differs from the previous work conducted on voluntarism because it focuses on overseas volunteers who represent a unique subpopulation of volunteers and may have had different reasons for becoming involved than stay-at-home volunteers.

Like many of the studies conducted on in-country volunteers, the study conducted by Cohn and Wood (1982) on Peace Corps volunteers was conducted through the use of a questionnaire. However, Deines' (1970) study of CUSO volunteers was an exception to this trend.

In the present study emphasis was placed on eliciting the

motivational accounts, world views of the subjects of the study (in terms of their feelings about development issues, their sense of connectedness to people around them both globally and locally and their views of their own experiences), and their views of their overseas experiences since a survey type of research instrument, such as a lengthy questionnaire, would not have sufficiently probed the nature of these volunteers'accounts of their motivations.

The study conducted here relied mainly on volunteer accounts of motivations, and reasons for involvement. The limitations of a study that relies on volunteer accounts are obvious: because the accounts are retrospective, their content is likely influenced by what the former volunteer had experienced in the intervening time period. However, when the data was reviewed there appeared to be remarkable parallels in the accounts of individuals who had volunteered several years ago and those who had volunteered more recently.

CHAPTER THREE

Voluntarism, Capital, Authenticity and Tourist Experience: Theoretical Perspectives

A study of individuals who volunteer overseas with organizations that are involved in some aspect of international development must consider past research in the realm of voluntarism (in terms of reasons for participation, volunteer characteristics, motivation and roles) as it relates to the Canadian context.

The views of various authors on the role of modern tourism and its place in western society are presented. Two particular tourist typologies will be discussed. The first was developed by Erik Cohen (1979) and the second was devised by Donald Redfoot (1984). The works of other authors in the field of tourism studies will be discussed briefly, however, the focus will be on the work of Redfoot and Cohen.

Volunteers and Voluntarism

A number of factors must be considered in a study of overseas volunteer participation. When examining the phenomenon of voluntarism one must look at what a volunteer is, what attracts volunteers to specific organizations, that is, what are the incentives that encourage voluntarism, what keeps volunteers volunteering and finally what sets volunteers apart from other people (if anything) in terms of personal characteristics and beliefs. The following discussion reviews the material on voluntarism as it relates to individual volunteers (as the focus of this study is on the individual and not the organization).

Definition of a Volunteer. A conventional definition of a volunteer

is someone who freely, and without expectation of remuneration, works for a not-for-profit organization which is formally organized and has as its purpose service to someone or something other than its membership (Heidrich 1990:23; Jenner 1982:30).

Smith (1981:22) provides a more inclusive definition of a volunteer which states that a volunteer is someone who engages in a behaviour

> that is not biosocially determined (e.g. eating, and sleeping), nor is it economically necessitated (e.g., paid work, house work, home repair), nor sociopolitically compelled (e.g.) paying one's taxes,clothing oneself before appearing in public), but rather that is essentially (primarily) motivated by the expectations of psychic benefits of some kind.

Schram and Dunsing (1981:373) also indicate that the benefits associated with volunteer work can take a variety of forms, that is, they may be either financial or psychological or both.

The definition of a volunteer that will be used in this study combines elements of both Jenner's and Smith's definitions. In this study a volunteer is someone who volunteers for a nongovernmental organization (that has non-profit status) and whose volunteer work may be nominally remunerated, that is, they may be provided with basic support but support that is not equal to the market value of their work in their home country. All participants in this study received some kind of financial support during their time overseas.

Personality Characteristics of Volunteers. Gerard (1985:237) suggests that volunteers represent a distinct subpopulation of individuals. His examination of the results of two surveys (the European Value Systems Study Group Amsterdam (EVSSG) and a British survey by Gallup) both conducted in 1981 indicate that volunteers as a population are more trusting, have a positive view of human nature and are more liable "to consider the ultimate sacrifice of their lives for a cause beyond their immediate family" than are non-volunteers (Gerard 1985:237). Citing the EVSSG survey, Gerard (1985:238) describes people who volunteer as individuals who share a number of distinguishing features: a greater

concern for objective morality, membership in a 'moral' community, and a sense that life has a meaning beyond everyday existence. He also suggests that the EVSSG indicated that volunteers, as a distinct subpopulation of the overall population, display greater psychological well-being than do other members of society (Gerard 1985:238; Barker 1987:4). Volunteers are also more likely to belong to religious organizations. Compared with the population of non-volunteers, volunteers generally have more traditional values (are more committed to traditional notions of marriage and family) and a more absolutist view of morality than do the former group.

Types of Volunteers. Jenner (1982:36) provides a typology of volunteers that elucidates three basic types of volunteers. The first category of volunteer is referred to as a career volunteer and is someone who is task-oriented, and whose reasons for participating are based on a desire for self-actualization. This type of volunteer does not view the social aspects of volunteering as important. The second type of volunteer places a high value on service and on association with other people. This type of volunteer is other-oriented. The third category of volunteer is a person whose primary goal is to participate in a different kind of work than is engaged in for the purposes of personal subsistence. This kind of volunteer is essentially self-oriented and enters into his or her volunteer work out of a desire for opportunities for personal growth, self-affirmation and self-fulfilment.

Like Jenner (1982), Barker (1987) also found that different types of volunteers who have specific motivations are attracted to certain types of volunteer work. Volunteer work that involves service to individuals, such as welfare or youth work, tends to appeal to people who are religious and have relatively high social status. This kind of volunteer work is characterised by an emphasis on altruism and suggests that the volunteers possess a basic trust in others (Gerard 1985:238). People who participate in this type of volunteer work do so out of a sense of beneficence (Barker 1987:4). Individuals who volunteer out of beneficence usually belong to

religious organizations, and they premise their actions on some form of moral absolutism (Gerard 1985:237; Barker 1987:25). Volunteers motivated by a sense of beneficence also tend to accept inequalities between people as inevitable and the assistance they provide perpetuates the existing social order. Under this model of volunteer behaviour, the volunteers' actions operate in such a way as to maintain or accentuate the social distance between the volunteer and the recipient (Barker 1987).

Volunteers who engage in volunteer activities that acknowledge the reciprocal nature of the exchange between the volunteer and the recipient generally belong to organizations that emphasize mutual aid and self help (EVSSG in Gerard 1985). The results of the EVSSG also show that social change agencies attract individuals who volunteer out of a sense of social solidarity with the people they are assisting (Gerard 1985). People who volunteer out of a sense of solidarity with the people they assist view that relationship as a fraternal not a paternal one. Unlike volunteers who act out of a sense of beneficence, these individuals attempt to remedy the causes of inequalities between people. The social distance between the volunteer motivated by social solidarity and the recipient of their efforts tends to lessen or be eliminated over time (or at least that is their intention) (Gerard 1985). A volunteer motivated to act out of a sense of social solidarity views the recipient as an extension of the themselves: the volunteer acts on the premise that they share a fate with the recipient (Barker 1987:26). Hayghe (1991) also found that certain groups of volunteers are attracted to particular organizations. He discovered that individuals who have lower levels of educational attainment are attracted to religiously based voluntarism whereas individuals with more education appear to direct their volunteer energies towards civic and educational institutions (Hayghe 1991:20).

During the course of his research, Mondros (1986:510) discovered that organizations attempt to recruit volunteers who fit their organizational outlooks and mandates. He suggests that grassroots

organizations, organizations that are formed as the result of the expressed needs of the local people, look for volunteers who have specific personal qualities that especially suit them for particular volunteer work or for people who have extensive social networks (Mondros 1986:510). Barker (1987:31) concurs with both Mondros (1986) and Hayghe (1991) in their belief that organizations either choose or attract individuals who are in agreement with the organization's goals. He attributes this phenomenon to the influence of the "founding group" on the values and selection policies of the organization (Barker 1987:31). Barker (1987:31) believes that volunteers will be attracted to particular organizations according to the degree to which they associate with "the objectives, culture and activities of the organization". However, it may be that the type of volunteer work in which an individual engages affects their attitudes towards the areas discussed (i.e. matters of equality, sense of connectedness to people whom one assists).

Volunteer Participation. Smith (1981) predicts that the greater the anticipated benefits expected from volunteer work the more likely it is that the initial decision to volunteer will be made. According to Jenner (1982:35), the initial decision to volunteer and the decision to continue to volunteer is founded on the volunteer's agreement with the organizational purpose.

For some individuals, societal and familial obligations govern decisions concerning whether and to whom one will donate time or money (Palisi in Hougland and Shepard 1985:66; Schervish 1990:72).

Berger (1991:91) suggests an alternative scheme for volunteer participation based on the interaction of five different organizational variables which include: member eligibility, the size of the organization, the number of members who hold some kind of office in the organization, the degree to which the organization encourages active member participation, and the kinds of decision-making procedures that are in place (specifically, the democratic nature of those procedures).

According to Clark and Wilson (1961), the decision to volunteer and to continue to volunteer is based on a set of incentives. The first set includes incentives that involve material tangible rewards that have some monetary value. Other incentives discussed include social incentives such as the value attributed to social interaction and the status related to membership in a particular organization. The last set of incentives are purposive incentives or intangible incentives.

There is great variation in terms of individual preferences for and responses to a number of diverse incentives such as equity norms, interactional values, and political goals (Knoke 1990; Knoke and Wood 1988). All of these incentives have a significant impact on an individual's decision to volunteer (Berger 1991:87).

Volunteer Roles in Western Society. Rubin and Thorelli (1984:224) describe the role played by the volunteer in North American society as an "ephemeral role". An ephemeral role is one which is

> a temporary or ancillary position-related behaviour pattern elected by an individual to satisfy social-psychological needs incompletely satisfied by the dominant social roles associated with work, marriage, and family (Rubin and Thorelli 1982:224).

They suggest that if these social-psychological needs are not fulfilled by the occupation of the ephemeral role then the volunteer will cease to participate or will assume a different ephemeral role that does satisfy those needs (Rubin and Thorelli 1984:225). The greater the expressed need for fulfilment of these needs the greater the likelihood that the volunteer will be disappointed with their volunteer experience. In the words of Rubin and Thorelli (1984:225)

> the extent to which service volunteers initially anticipate egoistic benefits from enacting their helping roles will be inversely related to their longevity as volunteers, particularly when the type of service the volunteer performs involves a low level of perceived reciprocity, gratitude and improvement by the recipient.

They base this hypothesis on social exchange theory which postulates that if participation is to be sustained over time, the returns/rewards must be greater than or equal to the costs, that is, they propose an equity

principle.

Volunteer Motivation. Volunteer behaviour is distinct from altruistic behaviour although there are points of commonality between them. Both behaviours involve activities that reconstitute the self (Smith 1981:24). However, volunteer behaviour is thought to be distinct from altruistic behaviour in that the latter is associated with behaviours for which an external reward is not anticipated (Macarov 1978:127; Monroe 1991; Schwartz 1977:222; Smith 1981:23), whereas volunteers may expect some kind of external reward such as increased employability. Pifer (1987:121) suggests that voluntarism and altruism are also different at a motivational level.[1]

In a U.S. national study of volunteers that were active members of The Association of Junior Leagues (these volunteers who were women between the ages of 18 and 42 years were involved in at least one volunteer organization), the importance of various motivations for volunteer participation were rated (Jenner 1982:29). The findings of the study indicated that an important motivation for volunteers was the desire to be of service to people. Also highly rated by respondents was a desire for personal growth and a sense of accomplishment. Jenner's (1982) respondents indicated that altruism and a desire for self-actualization are equally motivating factors.

In his study of the charitable behaviour of voluntary organizations Barker (1987) finds that there is an inherent ambiguity associated with volunteer motives. The most frequently cited reason for volunteering given in surveys of volunteer participation is altruism, that is, the desire to help others (Frisch and Gerrard 1981:575). However, Berger (1991:79) suggests that the view that most voluntarism is motivated by a concern for others is an idealistic one. Critics of the altruistic view of volunteer behaviour indicate that the desire to help, although a motivation, is by no means the most important motivation (Berger 1991:75). In a 1981 Gallup Survey of the reasons given by adults for their

involvement as volunteers, the most cited motivation is a desire to help or to do something useful (45% of adults say that they are motivated to volunteer for this reason - in Schiff 1984:89). The reason that is cited most often after the desire to help, is an interest in the activity or work involved in the volunteer position (35% of adults give this as a reason for their participation - in Schiff 1984:89).

An alternative view of volunteer motivation is provided by Henderson (1984:55) who describes voluntarism as a form of leisure activity. She suggests that volunteer activities have certain features in common with recreational activities (Henderson 1984:56-57). Both voluntarism and leisure activities actively engage individuals in experiences that cause them to pass through definite phases of "anticipation, travelling, the actual activity, and recollection" (Henderson 1984:98). There also appear to be similar benefits associated with voluntarism and leisure. Examples of the kinds of benefits associated with both activities include the value of meeting other people, enjoying oneself and broadening one's intellectual horizons (Henderson 1984:58).

Theoretical Models of Volunteer Behaviour. There are many theoretical models that attempt to explain the phenomenon of voluntarism. Some authors explain voluntarism through an economistic model of human behaviour, such as the social exchange or reciprocal benefit model of voluntarism (Berger 1991; Schram and Dunsing 1981:372). In his examination of social movements, Klandersman (1984:586) attributes volunteer behaviour to three types of motives: the collective, the social and the reward-based motive. Other models attribute voluntarism to mutual aid and self-help. Still other models of voluntarism attribute volunteer participation to a number of different motivations such as self interest or, alternatively, beneficence or a sense of solidarity with the people being assisted (Gerard 1985:237; Barker 1987:4).

Berger (1991:49) uses two different models to explain the phenomenon of voluntarism. Both models are premised on the belief that individuals

are rational, self-interested social actors who attempt to maximize the utility of their voluntarism. The first model he uses is a consumption-based model.[2] Under this model, the act of volunteering is seen as an individual's attempt to maximize utility in terms of the demand for and provision of what are referred to as "collective goods" (Coleman 1988:S95; Klandersman 1984:585; Weisbrod 1975:172, 1986). Philanthropic activities are seen as an attempt to satisfy excess consumer demand for these collective goods, demands that are not satisfied by the primary supplier of collective goods--the government (Weisbrod 1975, 1986).

This consumer model of volunteer behaviour entails a cost-benefit analysis of that behaviour (Berger 1991:49-50). According to this model, individual consumers of collective goods attempt to maximize the utility of those goods. Voluntary organizations represent a response to the failure of government and the market to provide public goods (Berger 1991:58). Furthermore, voluntary organizations

> serve as mobilizing contexts for individuals in which they connect instrumental and expressive needs, and through which they can influence their environment (Berger 1991:58).

The second model is the human capital or investment model which asserts that people volunteer to acquire particular skills.[3] Becker (1964:1) defines human capital investments as those "activities that influence the future monetary and psychic income by increasing resources in people." These are activities that enhance skill levels, knowledge and health of individuals. Gerard (1985:237) feels that social exchange and reciprocal benefit models of voluntarism, that is, economistic models of voluntarism such as the human capital model, are inadequate because they do not include the values of beneficence and solidarity that he feels are located in volunteer behaviour. The human capital or investment model of volunteer work describes volunteer satisfaction in terms of the individual volunteer's expectation that their activities will increase their employability (Berger 1991:60).

In the present study, a Smart's (1993:390) refinement of Bourdieu's

concept of capital is applied to the study of volunteer behaviour. Under Bourdieu's model, capital, in general terms, is

> accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its "incorporated", embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor (Bourdieu 1986:241).

The concept of capital as elucidated by Bourdieu is a very broad one in that it is not limited to market-based exchanges. Although, Bourdieu is not altogether consistent in his discussion of the concept of capital, in practice, capital is "anything that can be used to influence the behaviour of others or aid in achieving desired goals" (Smart 1993:390).

The justification for the extension of the term capital to other realms than the economic is located in the problematic nature of economic capital itself (Smart 1993:391). In economistic terms, economic capital can be composed of other elements than strictly monetary ones. Product and corporate images are examples of the more nebulous types of economic capital.

Bourdieu describes four basic forms of capital: economic, cultural, social and symbolic. Economic capital is the least ambiguous of Bourdieu's forms of capital as it is directly convertible into money, although it may exist in institutionalized forms such as property ownership.

Cultural capital in the context in which Bourdieu uses the term exists in three states: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state. Only the embodied state of cultural capital is relevant to the present discussion. In its embodied state, cultural capital is contained within its bearer and as such it ceases to exist when its bearer does. Although several individuals may possess the same or similar reserves of cultural capital, they must compete among themselves for the same benefits/profits. Only certain individuals are able to effectively mobilize their reserves of cultural capital and to engage in specific kinds of practices. Individuals who possess particular types of

cultural capital may be able to establish a monopoly over its exercise (as is the case in certain professions, such as the medical profession and the legal profession).

According to Bourdieu (1986:248-249) social capital is

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual assistance and recognition--*or in other words, to membership in a group* (my emphasis)--which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

The relationships that make a group of individuals interdependent can be based on practicality in terms of material or symbolic exchanges between members, or they may be socially grounded in the possession of an identifying character such as a family name or having attended the same school or having been a member of the same political party. The group is constituted by "a whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them" (Bourdieu 1986:249). Examples of instituting acts are initiation rites and, in the case of volunteers the selection process, orientation sessions, and the overseas experience itself, which is one of survival and adaptation. These instituting acts are similar to rites of passage discussed by Turner and Turner (1978:2). The nature and the importance of these instituting acts for creation of the group, specifically as they relate to the population of volunteers being studied, will be discussed later.

Bourdieu (1986) suggests that the relationships that form between people are the direct product of investment decisions made by the individual or the collectivity *either consciously or unconsciously* (my emphasis). The potentially unconscious nature of these decisions is an important factor to consider when looking at retrospective accounts of volunteer motivation. The types of exchanges that group members engage in signify for Bourdieu (1986:250) a means to set group members apart from non-members and to establish group boundaries. Group members set the criteria by which new members are selected. The ability of the group to

establish boundaries and to select new members has some significance for the present discussion as it influences the constitution of the membership itself and affects the ways in which members of the group go about acquiring social capital.

The final category of capital is symbolic capital, a form of capital that Smart (1993:393) describes as one that does not have the force of law behind its imposition, nor does it depend on the existence of particular relationships between people as does social capital. Symbolic capital is a generalized resource which grants to its possessor certain characteristics that command the respect of other members of the society. An example of symbolic capital is the kind of public recognition that is given to a recipient of national awards such as the Governor General's Award. Smart (1993:392) suggests that symbolic capital can be used for economic gain. That is, it can be converted into economic capital. The means by which capital is converted and the ease with which it is converted from one form to another is essential to any discussion of the investment model of volunteer behaviour.

Authenticity and Tourism

Authenticity. The concept of authenticity for some commentators is a modern phenomenon (Cohen 1988:373; Handler 1986:2). Modern institutions have become less and less real for the people that have to deal with them (Cohen 1988:373; Berger et al. 1973:183). The unreality of these institutions is a byproduct of the conceptual distance between the individual and the institution. Cohen (1988:373) feels that modern tourism represents a quest for the authentic and thus, an attempt to reconnect with societal institutions. Those who seek authenticity through the tourist experience attempt to realign their personal experiences with what they find in other places. The coalescence between experience and reality in pre-modern societies is quite good (Berger 1973:85; Cohen 1988:374) so that the search for authenticity takes place in those societies and

amongst those peoples who are perceived by moderns to be closest to 'original' human experience. The search for the authentic is likened by Handler (1986) to the anthropologist's search for unspoiled, genuine and untouched peoples.

Modernization is seen to have disrupted the symmetry between the individual and the modern society. Berger (1973:85) suggests that this disruption is the result of a number of social and economic factors including the rise of capitalism (which he suggests disrupted the unity between ordinary life and work life), the breakdown of religious hegemony, increasing mobility, urbanization and modern communication (beginning with the printing press--because people were compelled to look beyond their everyday interactions to the wider world). As institutions become more powerful their unreality for the individual intensifies. The separation of the individual from societal institutions is traced to the original division between the private and public spheres (Berger 1973:87; Berger et al. 1973:65,138). Prior to the division of private and public spheres families had the primary role in providing the environment in which socialization and individuation occurred (Berger 1973:85). Following the fragmentation of the public and private spheres of activity, a process was initiated that Berger et al. (1973) referred to as under-institutionalization. Social institutions that had previously been located in the family and its related structures underwent a period of dissolution until they were reconstructed in secondary institutions that were located in the public sphere. Berger (1973:87) describes voluntary organizations as specific types of secondary institutions (public institutions) that have come to have a place in the creation of personal identity. After the breakdown in the private and public spheres, the locus of the real tended to shift inward because there ceased to be external, institutional signifiers of reality (Berger 1973). The role of voluntary organizations in the maintenance of identity becomes evident in the discussion of many overseas volunteers' experience of the organization

with which they were involved (prior to their going overseas, during their overseas stay and after their return).

Like Handler (1986), Cohen (1988:374) argues that authenticity is a social construct and that its social connotations/implications are negotiable. For a professional, such as an anthropologist or a museum curator, authenticity is marked by an absence of commoditization. Authenticity for these individuals, Cohen (1988) feels, is located in pre-modern life. Handler (1986:4) describes the museum as "the temple of authenticity" in which authenticity is appropriated by experts. According to Handler (1986), the anthropologist's efforts are attempts to recapture societies and cultures in the absence of "contaminating contact with the western world." This view coincides with that of Redfoot (1984) who describes the anthropological endeavour as a largely nostalgic attempt to recapture or preserve 'primitive' cultures. However, there have been attempts by the anthropological community to move away from its image as a documenter of disappearing cultures and to remake itself as a documenter of and commentator on social change in all types of societies.

Cohen (1988:376) suggests that local or indigenous peoples do not have the same concerns as intellectuals with authenticity because the latter are "disposed to reflect upon their life situation" and are thus "more aware of their alienation than those who do not tend to such contemplation." As will be seen later in the discussion, this comment has relevance for the experience of overseas volunteers given that most express some degree of self-reflection upon their life up to the point that they volunteered.

It has also been postulated by Cohen (1988), that the more alienated people are from modernity, the more serious their pursuit of authenticity. As Cohen describes it, the more other-centred a person is the more concerned they will be with authenticity.

Individuals who are concerned with authenticity tend to view cultures as discrete bounded units (Handler 1986:2), that is, their model

of culture coincides with Western models of individuality. Handler (1986) describes the search for cultural authenticity as an attempt to validate one's worldview. According to Handler (1986), sincerity has been replaced by authenticity in that ultimate reality has been relocated from the external world to the internal world of individuals. This relocation of authenticity came about because "authenticity has to do with our true self, our individual existence ... as it 'really is'" (Handler 1986:3).

Tourism and the Tourist Experience. Notions of authenticity have particular relevance to any discussion of tourism and tourist experience, especially when that tourism takes place in the third world. The third world has been seen by popular culture as a repository of ways of life that have been discarded or forgotten by western cultures.

The following discussion presents the views of current writers on the meaning of tourism in the context of western cultures. Two distinct tourist typologies, one developed by Cohen (1979) and the other by Redfoot (1984), will be presented and discussed in the context of the following study.

Tourists have been variously defined by different authors. Some writers feel that the category "tourist" defies strict definition (Crick 1989:312; Cohen 1974). Crick (1989:313) suggests that different motivations produce distinctive tourist typologies. For Cohen (1974:527) the boundaries between tourists and other travellers are vague and difficult to strictly delimit. He compares the category of tourist to a mathematical fuzzy set, a set whose members may be either full or partial. Cohen (1974:533) does ultimately decide that someone who occupies a tourist role is

> a temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced in a relatively long and non-recurrent trip (Cohen 1974:533).

The phenomenon of tourism is distinct from work-related activities (Graburn 1977:17;Selwyn 1992). Tourism is seen as a pleasurable activity (Selwyn 1992:352). The tourist opts out of everyday reality and forgoes

everyday obligations (Crick 1989:327; Redfoot 1984:292; Urry 1990:1). This view of the tourist is similar to Cohen's (1979:182; 1974:533; 1972:165) view that tourism signifies a change from routine and engagement in something that is "different, strange or novel" (Cohen 1979:182). The tourist experience is not commonly present in the everyday life of the tourist.

While tourism is viewed with a certain amount of contempt, enlightened travel sets the traveller apart from their stay-at-home fellows. Travel is a prestigious activity. People who do not travel are people who lose status with respect to their globetrotting peers (Urry 1990:5). Greater distances, longer stays and more exotic locations generally garner the traveller greater prestige (Graburn 1977:30).

Travel has been seen to have a variety of potential functions or outcomes. Some authors have described tourism as a spiritual quest (MacCannell 1976) or a self-testing adventure (Graburn 1977). It has been seen as a search for authenticity (Cohen 1988:373; Crick 1989:310; MacCannell 1976; Pearce and Moscardo 1986:123; Urry 1990). Gewertz and Errington (1991:42) found that certain visitors to the Chambri people of Papua New Guinea were concerned both with the authenticity of their experiences and the potential self-referentiality of those experiences. That is, the traveller used their experiences of the 'primitive' to enhance their own distinctiveness and to validate themselves as persons.[4]

Typical tourist experiences tend to highlight the tourist's indistinguishability from his or her fellows. The typical tourist exists within a home cultural bubble that is maintained by providing the tourist with environments, such as those that are found in international hotel chains, that duplicate the environments of their home countries (Cohen 1972:166). The search for authenticity can be seen as a reaction against the home cultural bubble that insulates the tourist from contact with the indigenous culture and people.

Cohen (1979) suggests that there are five basic categories of

tourists: the recreational, the diversionary, the experiential, the experimental and the existential (Cohen 1979:183). He positions these various modes of touristic experience on a continuum which locates the recreational tourist at one end and the existential tourist at the other.

Cohen's (1979) recreational tourist is someone whose primary goal is to be entertained not enlightened. The experiences of the recreational tourist have no deep spiritual content nor are these experiences personally significant. For these types of tourists, travel does not act as a kind of "self revelatory or self-expansion" experience (Cohen 1979:184). In fact, their experiences are often seen as shallow, superficial and trivial. The recreational tourist is not engaged with their present reality, rather they, and the staff at the resorts where they stay, are seen as collaborators in a scheme to maintain the constructed reality of the resort environment.

The diversionary tourist is someone that has lost touch with even the recreational significance of their experiences (Cohen 1979:186). Their touristic experiences are purely diversionary, in that they act as an escape from the boredom and meaningless routine of their lives in their home countries. They have, according to Cohen (1979:186), no spiritual centre. They are individuals who possess what Kavolis (1970) refers to as a postmodern personality which is characterized in part by both anarchic romanticism and mysticism. Postmodern society itself is characterized by sets of ambiguities. People in postmodern society want instant gratification yet have the sense of not getting anywhere. At the same time that they constantly seek novelty they also seek the primeval (Kavolis 1970).

Experiential tourism is seen by Cohen (1979:186) as a less radical alternative than involvement in revolutionary movements for change. This mode of tourism is, for Cohen (1979:186), a symptom of a postmodern society and is acted out primarily by younger, middle class people. These people are members of a postmodern society in which there exists a "cult

of experience" (Kavolis 1970:443). Like the diversionary tourist, the experiential tourist lacks a spiritual centre and, in the presence of such a lack, is incapacitated and thus, unable to lead an authentic life in their home country (Cohen 1979:187).

Experiential travellers seek out authentic experience in other places; their experience of authenticity is vicarious given that they do not directly engage themselves in the local culture. Cohen (1979:187) describes the experiences of these people as aesthetic rather than genuine. In order to search for authenticity, one must believe that there is in fact a group of people somewhere else on the globe that live authentic lives (MacCannell 1976:155).

The experiential tourist maintains a distance from the lives of the indigenous people of the places they visit because they are observers and remain aware of their otherness. Additionally, the experiential tourist does not 'convert' to the way of life of the native people, but remains an outsider (Cohen 1979:188). While Cohen (1979:188) grants that the experiential mode is a more profound one than that of the recreational or diversionary tourist he feels that experiential tourism does not ultimately generate 'real' religious experience. This separates experimental tourists from true spiritual pilgrims.

Individuals who are travelling under what Cohen (1979:189) refers to as the experimental mode have a dislocated spiritual centre--their centre is not located in their own society. They are engaged in a quest for alternative modes of spiritually and seek out these alternatives in a variety of directions. He includes in this category people he refers to as serious drifters (Cohen 1979:189), that is, people who are thoughtful about their travel experiences and are disoriented in a spiritual sense in that they have no definite direction and/or priorities. They have what Cohen (1979:189) refers to as a decentralized personality. The serious drifter is someone who is predisposed through some set of circumstances, generational, cultural or personal, for example, they may have been young

people living at the time of the countercultural revolution of the 1960's and early 1970's in North America), to examine alternative modes of existence in a quest for meaning. Such a person is an inhabitant of the postmodern world (Kavolis 1970). Their searches for authenticity are really attempts to reaffirm their own "unique authenticity" through self-expression (Kavolis 1970:440). There are various features of the postmodernist world that these individuals inhabit that are relevant to the present conceptualization of overseas volunteers as alternative tourists. The postmodern world for Kavolis (1970:441-442) is one that is characterized by neotraditionalism, multiculturalism, conspicuous consumption, and a generalized discontent that is manifested in feelings of inner emptiness.

The experimental tourist is distinguished from the experiential tourist by his or her engagement in the ordinary lives of the people who inhabit the locations they visit. Cohen (1979:189) suggests that experimental tourists are in search of themselves (that is, that they are undergoing a process of identity renewal and reformation) and that this search is conducted through a trial and error process. The searching of the experimental tourist is comparable to a religious quest but it lacks a clear goal. In fact, for the experimental tourist, the search may become a way of life.

The final tourist mode that Cohen (1979:189) discusses is the existential mode. Tourists who travel with this mindset are fully committed to what Cohen (1979:189) refers to as an elective spiritual centre, that is, a spiritual centre that is located in another locale and is external to the mainstream of the traveller's culture. What the existential traveller experiences is something comparable to a religious conversion. While the existential tourist is away from their elective spiritual centre, they are in exile. These types of tourists live in two worlds because they are precluded for some reason from permanent resettlement in their new homeland. The existential tourist may travel to

their elective spiritual centre occasionally to re-orient and renew themselves, just as spiritual pilgrims travel to a holy site. An individual's elective spiritual centre may also be a traditional centre in that his or her forebears may have originally come from what is now the tourist's elective spiritual centre.

Amongst existential tourists there are three subcategories that Cohen (1979:196) discusses. The first of these is the realistic idealists who, while they achieve self-realization at their elective spiritual centres, do not delude themselves about the possible inconsistencies of that new centre. They remain committed to their new spiritual homeland but they are fully aware of its imperfections.

The second subcategory of existential tourists are the 'starry-eyed' idealists, whom Cohen (1979:196) describes as the true believers whose self-realization is based on self-delusion.

Lastly, Cohen (1979:196) discusses the condition of the critical idealist who vacillates between a desire for their new spiritual centre and a disenchantment with their direct encounters with that centre. They are permanent exiles - both at home and abroad.

Cohen (1979:192) concludes by suggesting that individuals may in fact experience different tourist modes during their travel and may switch from mode to mode.

Redfoot's (1984:292) discussion of tourism and tourist experience is a modification of Cohen's (1979) schema. There are four categories of tourists in Redfoot's (1984) reworking of Cohen's classification system: first order, second order, third order and fourth order. First order tourists are described as the group of travellers that have the most inauthentic experiences. These types of tourists tend to travel with their families or tour groups. They avoid real contact with the people they encounter in their travels. The first order tourist's expectations about their experiences are moulded by brochures and advertising. Various persons (travel agents) and agencies (tourist bureaus and hotels) ensure

that their expectations are met. The first order tourist is only interested in seeing landmarks that receive some kind of official seal of approval as to their authenticity and genuineness. They tend to be future-oriented so that their immediate experience is sacrificed to the need to obtain evidence of their trip (in the form of numerous photographs). Travel acts as a kind of temporary escape for these types of tourists.

The second order tourist distinguishes him or herself from the first order tourist by a concern for authenticity. This type of tourist tries to avoid the behaviours associated with first order tourists and tends to look down on other "mere tourists" (Redfoot 1984:296). The second order tourist experiences what MacCannell (1976:10) describes as tourist angst or shame when they fail to see everything the way it ought to be seen. For example, they mistake staged events for genuine ones. The individual who acts the part of the second order tourist wants a more profound experience of the society they are visiting than they feel is offered by first order tourism.

Second order tourists set themselves apart from first order tourists by the decisions they make on when and how to travel. They generally travel alone or apart from organized tours during the off-season and stay at places that local people recommend. Their knowledge of the local language and customs is generally more extensive (they tend to learn a few words of the local language). These types of tourist look for a more immediate experiences than do first order tourists. As a result, they are more involved in the planning of their trip and thus experience more hardships during the course of the journeyings than do first order tourists.

However, second order tourists' interest in the more mundane aspects of the indigenous people's lives, even when these activities are ones that the tourist would not be interested in their own society, is an interest of an outsider. They are not interested in gaining a detailed knowledge

of the traditions and practices of the local people, nor are they interested in any particular group of people. For this group of tourists any "unspoiled exotic group will do" (Redfoot 1984:298). To authenticate their experiences they tend to look to experts on the particular culture that they are visiting.

Redfoot (1984) suggests that anthropologists are third order tourists as they distinguish themselves from tourists by the length of their stay. However, Gewertz and Errington (1991:26), in their examination of the effects that tourism is having on the traditions of the Chambri people of Papua New Guinea, feel that anthropologists represent a distinct category, that is, they are not tourists.[5] But for Redfoot (1984), the anthropologist, like the second order tourist, is in search of the 'real'. Redfoot (1984) feels that anthropologists suffer from a distinctive type of nostalgia that Davis (1979) describes as a yearning not for one's own home but rather for the homes of others. Redfoot (1984) suggests that the third order tourist is concerned with his or her soul's salvation: they hope to redeem themselves through experience of the authentic other. Like Cohen's (1979) experiential tourists, third order tourists have in some degree rejected their own cultures and are seeking alternative realities in other cultures. They may suffer from what Redfoot (1984) calls historical anxiety, an anxiety that prompts them to feel that modernity is destroying 'primitive' reality. Thus, they are compelled to ensure that vanishing authenticity is recorded before it disappears. Redfoot (1984) describes anthropologists as spectators of vanishing realities.

The last type of tourist that Redfoot (1984) discusses is the fourth order tourist. Individuals who are engaged in this mode of touristic experience live like natives in an attempt to close the distance that the anthropologist/third order tourist established between the local people and themselves. Fourth order tourists are people who are engaged in a type of soul-salvage that requires a direct rejection of modern culture.

They are modern day pilgrims, as are Cohen's (1979) existential tourists, seeking spiritual reality in traditions other than their own. Fourth order tourists are not concerned with authenticating their experiences through recourse to experts but they are interested in breaking through the "veil of illusions" (Redfoot 1984) that obscure 'reality'. However, Redfoot (1984) suggests that their experiences have little to do with reality and a great deal to do with their own, typically western, beliefs about what non-western cultures are like. Redfoot (1984) suggests that fourth order tourists can take one of the three courses set out by Cohen for existential tourists, that is, they become either realistic idealists, starry-eyed idealists or critical idealists.

Redfoot (1984) concludes by suggesting that even the most spiritually oriented tourists (those that conform most closely to Cohen's spiritual continuum of tourist motivations and experiences) are buying a product marketed by entrepreneurs and that, in the process of searching out authenticity, they become the dupes of a complex con game. For Redfoot (1984), the concern with authenticity may be a manufactured concern of intellectuals and not a concern of the general population. He believes that most people use their private realities of identity and meaningful relationships to sustain their perception of reality. The relevance of the concept of authenticity to the experience of overseas volunteers will be discussed later as will the relevance of the touristic models proposed by Redfoot (1984), and Cohen (1979).

Summary

There are many factors to consider when undertaking a study of overseas volunteers. Foremost among these is the extent to which the characteristics, and motivations of overseas volunteers coincide (in both kind and number) with those of volunteers who stay within their own national contexts. Hence, a discussion of past research on volunteer participation is necessary.

As can be seen from the previous discussion, there are divergent

views on the sources of volunteer behaviour with some authors, like Barker (1987), suggesting that the behaviour is the result of a complex interaction between individual motivations and incentives, and organizational goals and values. There is no definite consensus on what prompts people to volunteer within their own communities. Because there is even less existing work on the phenomenon of overseas voluntarism, it is even more difficult to draw conclusions about the reasons for involvement. In the following chapters, there will be a discussion of the motivations of the CCI volunteers who were interviewed in this study. Their motivations will be compared to those of both stay-at-home volunteers and to those of alternative tourists.

The discussion of alternative tourism is essential to the present study. The overseas volunteers that took part in the study were on short-term postings, so their experiences were temporally similar to those of most alternative tourists. Two important components of a CCI volunteer's work posting are the degree of interaction volunteers have with the people in their host countries and their exposure to and understanding of cultural difference. These are also important aspects of the experiences of alternative tourists. The chapters immediately following this one introduce CCI as an organization and the individual CCI volunteers as overseas participants.

Notes

[1] The term altruism as it is used in this study follows the definition provided by Schwartz (1977: 222). His definition of altruism connotes actions that benefit a third party and that are not done in expectation of some external reward, whether that reward be social or material.

[2] Phillips (1982:118) also applies a social exchange model to volunteer behaviour as does Mondros (1986:509).

[3] Schiff (1984:87,88,120) also uses a capital investment model in his study of volunteer behaviour.

[4] Gewertz and Errington (1991:42) describe the traveller's search for personal validation through experiences of the primitive as follows:

"For travellers, this encounter with what was regarded as the "primitive", that is, the exotic, the whole, and the fundamentally human, contributed to their own individuality, integration and authenticity".

[5] In fact, Gewertz and Errington (1991) were quite put out when one of their informants treated them like tourists when he asked them to pay for admittance to an initiation rite that was being held, in part, so that it would coincide with the visits of tourists.

CHAPTER FOUR

Organizational History and Background of Canadian Crossroads International

The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations in Development

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have had an increasingly important part to play in the delivery of development assistance (Drabek 1987:ix). Much of the work of NGOs based in Canada is done by volunteers (Herbert-Copley 1987:22). NGOs represent a diverse group of organizations with a variety of mandates (Fox 1987:18;A. A.I.D. 1986:1).

The majority of NGOs operating in the world today are organizations concerned with the promotion of self-help projects in developing countries. Organizations that are involved in these kinds of projects tend to work directly with the poor and they provide services as well as financial assistance. Rather than assisting individuals or individual families, these types of organizations provide help to villages, neighbourhoods or to specific local groups that are involved in small scale development projects, such as the promotion of preventative health programs or alternative farming techniques. Canadian Crossroads International (CCI) is an example of an organization that is involved in such a community- based approach to development.

Nongovernmental organizations involved in international development have been described by their supporters in positive terms as unbureaucratic, able to respond rapidly to changing circumstances, and having greater access to the people who most need assistance (Brodhead 1987:1; Drabek 1987:x; Elliot 1987; Korten 1987; van der Heijden 1987; Weyers 1981:234).

There has been a change in the focus of NGOs, including Canadian NGOs, from a welfare approach to a developmental approach (Brodhead 1987:2; Drabek 1987; Korten 1987; Murphy 1991:18). Originally most Canadian NGOs were simply subsidiaries of foreign-based organizations and their main function was fund raising (Herbert-Copley 1987:22). Over time indigenous Canadian NGOs emerged and there has been a transition from fund raising to longer term development (planning, programming and operation of programmes overseas). The philosophical change in policy from the perception that development assistance is a kind of globally-oriented charity to the belief that it should promote self-sufficiency came in the 1960's (Murphy 1991:169). At this time, Canadian NGOs started to provide personnel and materials to build institutions in developing countries.

Another change occurred in the 1970's when it became increasingly apparent to development organizations that the assistance intended for impoverished peoples was being diverted, and that, even if the assistance was available, those who needed it were unable to exploit it. Canadian NGOs began to promote community based self-help for developing countries (Murphy 1991:169). Most of the resources of these organizations continue to support local self-help projects (Murphy 1991:178).

The placement of Canadians overseas composes 12.6% of the overseas activities of Canadian NGOs (Murphy 1991:174). Murphy (1991) describes overseas placements as a specialized activity of Canadian NGOs. People are placed overseas in a number of capacities from the technical to professional to support roles in productive projects, to human services, commerce and infrastructure development. Murphy (1991:174) includes organizations like Canadian Crossroads International (CCI) and Canada World Youth (CWY), which he refers to as providers of short-term linkage programs, in the same broad category as groups such as Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) and World University Services of Canada (WUSC) which have longer term placements.

Models of governance vary considerably from one NGO to another (Fox

1987:12,13). Some organizations are closely directed by a professional staff that has considerable experience in the field of international development. These types of organizations may have little input from boards of directors or trustees. Other organizations may allow for considerable input from their boards, relying heavily on the experience and expertise of these board members. Still other organizations may be governed by elaborate committees of volunteers who represent the constituents or supporters of the organization. Fox (1987:13) suggests that NGOs that are run by the constituency are more likely to be populist than organizations that are run by a paid professional staff.

Canadian Crossroads International

Historical Background. The genesis of CCI is much the same as other Canadian NGOs involved in international development, that is, it was initially the affiliate of an organization that originated outside of Canada. It began its life as an offshoot of Operations Crossroads Africa, an organization founded by James H. Robinson in the United States in 1958. When Robinson established Operations Crossroads Africa, he intended it to be an organization that provided assistance to people on the African continent and promoted understanding between North Americans and Africans. The same year that the parent organization was founded the first Canadian was sent overseas. In 1959, Robinson visited Canada and spoke to a group of people associated with the United Church of Canada. The results of this trip were the establishment of a Canadian Crossroads Committee of Operation Crossroads Africa. Canadian Crossroads International was formally established in 1968 as a charitable organization distinct from the United Church of Canada and Operations Crossroads Africa. There seems to have been some conflict between the direction which the Canadian committee wanted to follow and that of the parent organization. The Canadian committee wanted to expand its operations to areas outside the continent of Africa while the American parent organization wanted to

continue to focus on Africa (CCI 1987:6).

Organizational Goals. The organizational goals of CCI have remained relatively consistent. In the annual report of 1987, the aims of CCI were threefold (CCI 1987:4). CCI had a commitment to send Canadians overseas to work on development projects. It was also involved in sponsoring volunteers from developing countries to come to Canada, part of their to-Canada program. Finally, the organization was concerned with educating the Canadian public and CCI volunteers about development-related issues.

In 1988, these goals were broadened to include efforts to mobilize public support for international development issues (CCI 1988). Additionally, the stated goals included an organizational decision to promote a more equitable distribution of the world's resources such that developing countries receive greater benefits.

The organizational goals of CCI, as stated in its 1992 Annual Report (CCI 1992:2), were similar to those in the 1988 Annual Report. There was a reaffirmation of the organization's desire to foster cross-cultural understanding through its various programs (including those involving overseas volunteers and its educational programs within Canada). The organization re-asserted its commitment to send Canadian volunteers overseas and emphasized the experiential aspect of the placement. There continued to be a commitment to bring volunteers from developing countries to Canada to live and work. The report also indicated that developing the leadership skills of both Canadian volunteers and volunteers coming to Canada was an important priority. There continued to be a concern with increasing public and volunteer consciousness of the inequitable nature of development policies and the need to enhance efforts to remedy these inequities. The goals espoused by CCI indicate that its volunteer program is based on what Daley (1986:34) referred to as the community-affiliated model of overseas volunteer participation.

Overseas volunteers who operate under the community-affiliated model work within communities, neighbourhoods or groups and they tend to serve

in a particular geographic location or alternatively, to serve a definite population of individuals. In the community-affiliated model of overseas voluntarism, the volunteer becomes a temporary member of the community; this is just what the CCI volunteer program presents as a goal of its overseas program. Being a member of the community under the community-affiliated model means that the volunteer shares many of the living conditions with the local people; however, the volunteer tends not to be in the same socioeconomic status as the people that they are living amongst. That is, if the community has a relatively low median income, the volunteer likely comes from a higher income group as was generally the case with CCI volunteers.

Volunteers operating under the community-affiliated model of voluntarism do not share a cultural heritage or a common future with the local people. This was also universally the case with the volunteers that were interviewed during the course of this study. That is, the volunteers came from substantially different cultural backgrounds than the people they lived and worked with overseas. There were points of commonality in some cases in terms of relative affluence; however, the relative affluence of the host family or the volunteers' coworkers was generally greater than that of the population at large.

According to Daley (1986:34), the community- affiliated model emphasizes the relative unimportance of the job posting itself. For community-affiliated volunteers, there is minimal job structure and few expectations of what can be accomplished by the volunteer. CCI stresses the primacy of the volunteer's experience (exposure to the host culture, understanding of that culture, and of cultural difference in general) over the actual work placement and thus, minimizes the importance of the job placement component of the overseas program.

Organizational Structure. The administrative staff of CCI is composed primarily of returned volunteers. As part of their commitment as overseas volunteers, individuals are requested on return from their

overseas posting to contribute a minimum of 200 volunteer hours to the organization. Individuals may be involved in a number of activities ranging from interviewing of prospective overseas volunteers, to community outreach, to acting as the heads of regional committees. The organizational structure of CCI conforms to the structural composition of Daley's (1986) community-affiliated model of overseas voluntarism. Daley (1986) characterizes community-affiliated volunteer programs as loosely structured ones that assume a variety of different forms. This is the case with CCI, as will be discovered in the course of the analysis of the content of the interviews with CCI participants.

Organizational Funding. CCI receives funding from a variety of sources: private and public (federal and provincial). In a 1991-1992 review of Alberta government support of NGOs involved in some aspect of development, it was reported that the CCI volunteer positions that received provincial monies were funded in relatively equal parts by the organization and by the government. In total, the CCI projects that received provincial funding to send volunteers overseas, averaged $12,000 to $14,000; the Alberta Agency for International Development (A.A.I.D.) averaged $4000 - $5000 meeting CCI's $4000-$5000 contribution. The remaining funders (unnamed) contributed $4000 to each project that received A.A.I.D. funding (A.A.I.D. Annual Review 1991/1992). A proportion of the monies contributed by CCI is raised by the volunteers going overseas. These monies are primarily raised through group fundraising efforts of volunteers who have been selected for an overseas posting.

Candidate Selection. The method of candidate selection that has been used by CCI in the last two decades has been fairly consistent. Prospective overseas volunteers undergo a series of orientations, in addition to interviews (during which their performance is judged on the basis of a point system) and development education sessions. The

orientation sessions consist of a variety of elements including role-playing, information sessions (which range from past volunteers talking about their experiences overseas, to the provision of information concerning issues related to self-defense, sexual harassment, and health) and periods during which prospective volunteers are called on to be self-reflexive about their reasons for becoming involved with CCI. Most volunteers indicated that they found these sessions to be helpful in some manner (some said that the orientations helped them to adjust to the experience of culture shock because they had been introduced to the phenomenon and were thus prepared for its advent). Some volunteers felt that the orientations they received were superior to those received by individuals who go overseas with organizations, like CUSO, that were more concerned with the provision of skilled experts to work on specific development projects.

Summary

Among NGOs operating in the field of international development, CCI represents an organization that concentrates on educating its own overseas volunteers about life in the developing world. Its volunteer program is based on a model of development that places its participants in communities where they become temporary residents. The CCI volunteer program closely resembles the community-affiliated model of voluntarism that is discussed by Cohn and Wood (1982). That model of volunteer participation is one which encourages individual participants to become involved as community members for the term of their stay. As an organization, CCI is committed to the enhancement of cross-cultural understanding between peoples of disparate cultures and geographies. CCI volunteers repeatedly stressed that CCI's program was primarily a cultural exchange. The experience itself was primary, and the work placement was only a secondary element of the overseas posting.

The democratic nature of CCI's organizational structure, that is, its reliance on returned volunteers as the operators of its administrative

structures at all levels, is also a standard feature of an organization that operates on the community-affiliated model of volunteer participation. Almost all of the CCI volunteers that were spoken to in this study, had been involved at some point in the administration of the organization most often at the local level, but occasionally at the regional and even national level.

CHAPTER FIVE

Volunteer Profiles

The following biographical information is included in this study because it provides a context for the later discussion of the similarities between the role of the tourist and that of the volunteer. Previous voluntarism, travel experience, the point at which volunteers were in their careers prior to going overseas, the ages at which they volunteered for their overseas placement and their ages at the time of interview are all relevant to the present study. The names of the participants are pseudonyms.

These profiles indicate the relative diversity of the CCI volunteer population, a diversity that is reflected in the wide range in ages of the participants, their educational backgrounds, and professions (Appendix 3). Additionally, these various individuals had a diversity of experiences as overseas volunteers given their unique backgrounds and placements (in terms of locales and conditions). While there is no characteristic CCI volunteer, as will be seen from the following profiles, certain age groups predominated in the sample population selected for this study. Most of the volunteers that were interviewed were under 30 years of age.

Canadian Crossroads Volunteers

1. **Jennifer**. Jennifer was born in Nova Scotia and went overseas sixteen years ago at the age of 22, upon graduation from university. She spent 9 months (she extended her initial placement term at the request of the government) in Lesotho where she taught social work skills to rehabilitation officers. In addition to this work, she visited nine different prisons in the country. The end result of her work was a proposal that attempted to incorporate traditional forms of dealing with offenders with imported ones. Jennifer remained an active member of CCI for more than five years after her return from Lesotho. She is now 38 years old, married, and has been working as a family therapist for five and a half years. She has a post-graduate degree in Social Work and is a member of the American Association of Mental and Family Therapy. In the past, she volunteered with Big Sisters for 2 years. Presently she volunteers with a family services organization (1 year) and is a director with the American Association of Marital and Family Therapy (1 year).

2. **Esther**. Esther was born in England. Prior to going overseas she was employed full-time. Approximately three years ago, at the age of 25, she was placed by CCI in a Bolivian city with a population of 100,000 for 4 months where she lived with a family. While in Bolivia, Esther initially worked in a day school for mentally and physically handicapped children, but eventually she found a position with a governmental development agency that attempted to promote ecotourism in the country. During her time with this agency, she designed and implemented a survey. Prior to going overseas with CCI, Esther had been to Guatemala. She has worked as a volunteer for CCI in Canada for one and a half years. Esther was 28 years old at the time of the interview and single. She has been employed full-time as a program coordinator at an Alberta YWCA for one and a half years. Esther has some post-secondary education. In the past, Esther volunteered with Katimavik for 9 months. Presently she volunteers

for a theatre group and CCI.

3. **Joan**. Joan was born in Alberta. She went overseas at the age of nineteen. Her CCI placement in Sri Lanka was four months long. She lived with a local family and, in her words, was "pampered" by the family (she was fed well and had her own bedroom). She describes her placement as atypical, given that she had to seek out a development agency with which to work. She is presently 31 years old, married and has one young daughter. Joan works part-time as a research assistant at the local university and is also a part-time graduate student in Social Work. She volunteered with CCI in Canada for 3 years following her overseas term. Over the course of her career of a volunteer, Joan has volunteered for a local crisis centre (1 year), a university disarmament association (2 years) and a local agency concerned with social justice and development-related issues (3 years).

4. **Jill**. Jill was born in Alberta and went overseas at the age of 26. Her placement was in Western Samoa where she stayed for 3 1/2 - 4 months. While overseas Jill worked in preschools, gave workshops and helped out in the classroom. She was initially placed with a local family in the capital city, however, during the course of her stay she and another CCI volunteer travelled from village to village, working in various preschools. During her time in each village (stays lasted approximately two weeks), she was billeted with a local village family. Jill has volunteered for CCI within Canada for 3 years. She was 28 years of age at the time of the interview and was engaged to be married. Jill is a university graduate who has full-time employment as a child and youth care counsellor. She has been in her present position for four and a half years. She is a member of a provincial child and youth care organization.

5. **Sheila**. Sheila was born in Manitoba and is presently 52 years old. She went to Gambia at the age of 50 and stayed in her placement for five months. Her initial placement in Gambia was in a rural area where

she worked as a clinic nurse alongside traditional healers. Ill health necessitated a change to an urban placement so that she could be near to adequate health facilities. She spent the majority of her time in the urban placement (a city she described as being comparable to a North American city) where she lived with a family. During her time in Gambia, Sheila did a fair amount of travelling both during the period of her posting and after its conclusion. Sheila had travelled to Mexico prior to her overseas placement with CCI. She is still a volunteer with CCI and has volunteered in Canada for a total of 3 years. Sheila is working part-time as a staff nurse. She has had this position for 5 years. She is a college graduate and a member of a provincial nursing association.

6. **Debra**. Debra was born in Alberta. She is presently 34 years of age, unmarried and works full-time as a staff nurse and is president of a local of the provincial nurses union. She has had this position for 6 1/2 years. Debra went to Botswana with CCI at the age of 26 and stayed there for six months. While in Botswana, she lived in a village on the grounds of a residential compound. She has volunteered for CCI within Canada for 7 years. Debra is a university graduate. In the past Debra has volunteered with the Canadian Mental Health Association (3 years), and with a local organization concerned with issues related to international development and human rights (3 years).

7. **Rachel**. Rachel was born in Northern Ireland. At the time of the interview, she was 33 years of age and single. At the age of 25, she went to Nepal with CCI and stayed for seven months. While she was in Nepal, she taught English at a centre for disabled people. Rachel volunteered for CCI in Canada for 7 years but is no longer volunteering for them. At present, she is working as a residential care worker full-time and has had the position for 11 months. She also has an undergraduate degree in development studies from a local university. Rachel has volunteered with an immigrant assistant society (1 year), a

local camp for the disabled (4 years), a church group (5 years), World University Services of Canada (WUSC) (3 years), Student Christian Movement (SCM) (3 years), and an international development association (3 years).

8. **Lena**. Lena was born in Saskatchewan and went overseas at the age of 24. She was placed in Ecuador for four months where she lived with a local family and worked at a daycare for the children of market vendors and at a local hospital. Lena had travelled overseas to Mexico, Egypt, and Israel, prior to her CCI volunteer posting. She had been in Mexico, Egypt, and Israel. She volunteered for CCI within Canada for 7 years. Lena is 30 years old and she works full-time as a public health nurse. She has had this position for four years. She is a university graduate and is single. Lena belongs to a professional nursing association. In the past Lena, volunteered with Planned Parenthood (7 years) and for an organization that provides support to teenagers by matching them up with 'friends' (1 year). Presently, Lena volunteers with a local organization involved in assisting street people to re-establish themselves in mainstream society.

9. **Valerie**. Valerie was born in British Columbia. At the time of the interview she was 25 years old, single and a full-time student in Development Studies at an eastern Canadian university. She has a technical diploma in drafting from a provincial technical institute. Valerie was placed in Botswana at the age of 23, where she worked in a drafting office for four months and lived in a house with a Peace Corps volunteer on the compound where the drafting office was located. At the conclusion of her volunteer placement, Valerie travelled around Botswana and other parts of Africa. Valerie had not travelled overseas prior to her volunteer position with CCI. She has volunteered for CCI within Canada for a total of 2 years. Presently Valerie volunteers with a student group affiliated with an international development studies program at an eastern university. In the past, Valerie has volunteered with a

local agency concerned with third world development and social justice (1/2 years) and for a national youth organization (9 months).

10. Brian. Brian was born in Alberta and went at the age of 26 to Swaziland where he taught school for 3 1/2 months. Prior to going overseas, he had recently returned to school after leaving the oil industry. Before his posting in Swaziland, Brian had travelled to localities in which he felt third world conditions existed (Egypt, Mexico, and Soviet Central Asia). While in Swaziland, he stayed in government housing located on the school compound. He found his experience to be an isolating one given that he did not have a lot of contact with the other teachers after school hours. Most of the teachers had relatives or friends in the surrounding areas, and they left the school on weekends and travelled to their family homesteads. Brian felt that his Canadian identity came to the fore when he was in Swaziland. He volunteered with CCI for 3 years in Canada. At the time of the interview, he was 37 years of age and married with two young children. He has been working part-time for the last six months at two different jobs: one as an consultant, the other as a bookkeeper. He is also a part-time student in social work at the local university. In the past, Brian volunteered with a local agency concerned with international development and issues of social justice (6 years), an organization concerned with the rights of released prisoners (3 years), and a local crisis line (3 years). At one point, he was employed full-time for one year by an organization concerned with development.

11. Allen. Allen was born in Alberta. At age 30, he was placed in Sierra Leone as a volunteer where he taught maths and sciences in an all-girl's school. He described his living conditions in the city of Freetown as primitive given that there was no electricity. At the time of the interview, he was 32 years of age and single. He has continued to volunteer for CCI up to the present time and has volunteered with the organization in Canada for 5 years. He has a technical diploma and has

taken some university courses. He is a part-time student and is also employed part time in sales. He has volunteered with the Salvation Army Appeal, a local museum, and a local school for short periods of time (a few weeks or a few months).

12. Neil. Neil was born in Alberta. When interviewed, he was 67 years old. At the time he went overseas, he was 64 and had retired from his position at a national railway. During his four month placement in Ghana, he taught word processing to secretaries at the Ghana Ports and Harbour Authority. He has some post-secondary education and is a widower. Neil has volunteered with Canadian Executive Services Organization (CESO) for four years.

13. Ellen. Ellen was born in Ireland and, at the time of the interview, was 50 years old. She was placed in Cote d'Ivoire at the age of 44 where she taught school for 4 1/2 months. During her stay, she lived with a family. Prior to going overseas, she taught at a french immersion school in Calgary. She worked with CCI as a volunteer in Canada for 5 years. Presently she works part-time as the director of a nonprofit organization involved in the multicultural community. She has had this position for 3 years. She is married and has a university degree. Ellen volunteered with a provincially based development agency affiliated with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (3 years), a parental support group (2 1/2 years) and her community.

14. Peter. Peter was born in Ontario. He went to Ghana at the age of 22 where he was a teacher of recreational games and English at an orphanage for a period of four months. At the end of his placement, he travelled around West Africa and Europe. On return to Canada, he volunteered with CCI in Canada for approximately 8 years after his overseas placement. He is presently 37 years of age, single and works part-time as a consultant in the area of culture and multi-culturalism. Peter has had this position for nine years. He is also pursuing a post-

graduate degree on a part-time basis. Peter has volunteered with Bridgeland Trading (4 years), a society concerned with culture and multiculturalism (2 years), a university advisory council on continuing education (1 year), and a municipal education council (2 years).

15. Mike. Mike was born in Alberta. At the age of 23, he went to Ghana for 4 months where he lived with an urban family who had most modern conveniences including electricity and running water. He has volunteered for CCI within Canada for 5 years. Prior to going overseas with CCI, he travelled to Southeast Asia (South Korea, China, Thailand, and Singapore) for a total of two months. He has also travelled to Israel (where he worked on an archaeological dig), Turkey and Egypt for a total of 3 months. These trips were taken while he was a university student. At the time of the interview, he was 27 years old, married, and employed full-time as a training supervisor. He has had that position for 3 1/2 years. He has a university degree in anthropology and archaeology. For the last 10 months he has volunteered for a community outreach program that provides services to street people. He also volunteered for 3 months as a volunteer archaeologist.

16. Anne. Anne was born in British Columbia. She was placed in Botswana at the age of 23 where she worked in a daycare in a rural area. She volunteered for CCI within Canada for 3 years. At the time of the interview she was unemployed, but had previously held employment as an employment counsellor. When interviewed Anne was 25 years old and single. She has a university degree in Psychology. She volunteered with the local sexual assault centre for 2 years.

17. Lorna. Lorna was born in Alberta. She went overseas at the age of 32 and was placed in Guyana for 6 months where she worked for a sports committee on which she was the only woman and the only white person. Lorna had travelled to Asia, Africa and the South Pacific prior to her posting with CCI. She said that her interest in travel at that

time did not entail an interest in human interaction, rather she was interested in landscapes and wildlife. Her involvement with CCI in Canada lasted 6 years. At the time that she was interviewed, Lorna was 38 years old and a widow. For the past five years, Lorna has been a self-employed independent consultant. She is a college graduate. She has been on the executive of a political party.

18. Leonard. Leonard was born in Saskatchewan. He was placed in Swaziland for six months at the age of 62 where he, along with his wife, taught school. While in Swaziland, he and his wife lived in a house that had been vacated by a Swazi woman and her family. At the time that he went overseas with CCI, he had retired from teaching. Leonard was 70 years old when interviewed and had worked with CCI in Canada for five or six years, although he no longer volunteers for them. During his time as an in-country volunteer, for CCI he chaired the local committee and also assisted with the selection of new volunteers. He is a college graduate. In the past, he volunteered for a church board for several years, the local crisis centre for 6 years, and as a political fundraiser for 5 years.

19. Gerald. Gerald was born in Nova Scotia. He was associated with CCI for the year prior to his placement overseas, but did not continue to volunteer with the organization on return to Canada. Gerald was placed in an Indian village for four months at the age of 24. During his time in India, he helped to monitor development projects in rural areas, projects that were supported by an American development agency with fundamentalist Christian roots. However, he says that locally the projects were under the directorship of Indian development agencies who had primarily secular interests. He describes his living conditions as luxurious when compared to the conditions in which the local people lived. Gerald had travelled to the Caribbean as a tourist before he volunteered with CCI. Prior to going overseas he had been a graduate student and he

postponed the completion of his degree to go overseas. At the time of the interview, he was 37 years old, unmarried and had been employed full-time as an international student advisor at a local university for 7 years. Gerald has volunteered with Canadian University Services Overseas for 7 years and a local AIDS society for 5 years.

20. Richard. Richard was born in Alberta. He went to Nepal at the age of 26 where he stayed for four months and worked in a medical clinic as a general helper (for example he wrote down patient histories and changed dressings) and additionally worked for a development agency monitoring development projects in the area. He has been associated with CCI for 8 - 9 years. At the time that he went overseas he had just completed a post-graduate degree. When interviewed, he reported that he was 31 and divorced. For the past 2 1/2 years, he has worked full-time as a research associate. Richard has volunteered for a local crisis centre (2 years) and as a ski instructor for 1 year.

21. Nancy. Nancy was born in B.C. She went to Malaysia for four months at the age of 19 where she taught English, swimming and first aid at a resource centre and later in her stay taught English at a kindergarten. Although she had not travelled to a developing country prior to her posting in Malaysia, she did travel to India and Nepal on the completion of her volunteer position. At the time of the interview, she was 20 years of age, single and a full-time student at college. She has volunteered for CCI in Canada for three years and continues to do so.

22. Mary. Mary was born in Ontario. She went to India for four months at the age of 31 where she worked at a centre for children with disabilities. She is presently 34 years of age and single. She has some post-secondary education. She has held the same job for the past fourteen years as vice-president of a local company involved in the oil industry.

Summary

The volunteers discussed in these short summaries had a wide variety of experiences during their overseas postings (in terms of the countries that they were placed in, their individual placements, and the degree to which they remained involved with Crossroads upon return to Canada). A majority (68%) of the volunteers who were interviewed in this study had completed their overseas volunteer terms with Crossroads before they were thirty years of age. However, as can be seen from the profiles, the population of volunteers is quite diverse in that people from a broad range of backgrounds (in terms of ages, occupations, educational levels and travel experiences) participate in the CCI program. All of the participants interviewed in this study were Euro-Canadians. This set them apart from the people with whom they worked and lived. Their distinctiveness (in socioeconomic terms as well as cultural terms) from the populations where they were placed and their terms of stay with local families locates their participation as that of community-affiliated (Cohn and Wood 1982). These summaries provide a background to the subsequent discussion of volunteer motivations and the role of CCI volunteers as alternative tourists.

Notes

[1] Of the women who went overseas 71% were under thirty years of age at the time of their posting, and of the men 62% were under thirty. It should be noted that the sample population was very small and therefore cannot be taken as representative of the CCI volunteer population at large, nor of the wider overseas volunteer population.

CHAPTER SIX

Volunteer Accounts of Motivation

Many studies have been conducted on volunteer motivation from a social-psychological perspective. As seen in Chapter 3, studies of volunteer motivation have described the behaviour as one that is attributable either to self-interest or altruism. Some authors suggest that voluntarism is the result of a combination of motives. In this study, volunteers' expressed motivations can be broken down into five basic categories: ideological, pragmatic, experiential, existential, and altruistic. This chapter provides a more detailed analysis of these various motives and their relative importance for the volunteers who were interviewed for this study.

Ideological Motives

Ideological motives in this study are those that are based on adherence to a belief system (religious), a concern with social justice or equity issues and a belief in an authentic mode of human experience. Many volunteers indicated that they had a desire for what is referred to here as authentic human experience; an experience that entailed a number of things, including, first hand experience of poverty and experiences of the exotic (for example, indigenous peoples or the third world). Several volunteers stated that they were concerned with issues of equity in terms of the distribution of the world's resources, although it is difficult to say whether this concern pre-dated most volunteers' overseas experiences. Brian was one of the few CCI volunteers who directly attributed his interest in CCI's program to his concern with social justice issues.

Belief System. Very few volunteers indicated that they became involved with CCI because of religious, or moral beliefs (18% in total of which 15% were women and 25% were men). Lena, specifically associated her present involvement in social issues and her past involvement with CCI to her prior exposure to a particular belief system; a Christian one which she believed should, ideally, promote social responsibility and involvement.

> I mean I guess in a sense it's kind of a Christianity thing that's coming through that you have an obligation to give something back.

However, Lena stated that she had rejected Christianity as a doctrine despite her adherence to its principles. Her commitment to social justice and her rejection of religion were characteristic of a subgroup of volunteers who had "outgrown" their religious upbringing but who were morally and creatively involved in activities that were not necessarily religiously based, such as involvement with advocacy groups (Stackhouse 1990:35).

Like Lena, Nancy also felt that "moral issues" were involved in her becoming a CCI volunteer. She suggested that people were too unconcerned about issues of international import.

> I mean in Canada people need to care more about what's going on outside of their lives ... people need to get a lot more involved.

Social Justice and Equity Concerns. Interviews with volunteers revealed that 36% became involved with CCI as overseas volunteers, in part, because of an interest in social justice (29% of women and 50% of men). In describing her views on development Lena qualified her position in the following way:

> I wouldn't describe myself as a real socialist but I think that I do have some problems with some of the real extremes. . . . The western world, . . . we . . . want so much and we've obviously grown up to expect that we deserve everything we have and we deserve even more . . . I think we need to sort of stop and realise that it's often at the expense of others.

Valerie felt that her father's involvement with the labour movement

in Canada and his concern with social issues helped to develop her sensitivities toward issues of social justice.

> My father has always been strongly involved with the union he belongs to. . . . And he's talked about different things. Like, you know, conditions for people working in other countries.

Joan suggested that her parents encouraged her to "be concerned about poverty and to be thankful for what I have". Her parents told her what life was like in other countries and she inherited their values in terms of her expressed interest in social issues.

> We really have a responsibility to share our wealth with less developed countries since we were the ones that were responsible for, I feel that we were responsible for putting them in these conditions through colonialism.

Joan's conviction that countries such as Canada are responsible for the present state of the third world, and her interest in having a first-hand experience of poverty are in line with Cohen's (1987:14) discussion of alternative tourism as a reaction to both modern consumerism and to the exploitation of third world peoples. Alternative tourism acts in opposition to the values, motives, attitudes and practices of conventional mass tourism (Cohen 1987:14).

Allen shared Joan's conviction that the developed world owed something to the developing world because of past and present unfairnesses.

> It's not so much philanthropy, it would be nice if we could right a lot of the wrongs that we did in the developing world and it's not so much philanthropy and altruism as making up for what we've done. I guess at least sharing the wealth at least, wealth that we in part accrued . . . on their backs or by taking advantage to them.

Pragmatic Motives

Pragmatic motives were expressed by all volunteers and included such things as timeliness; volunteering because the time was appropriate, that is, they had just finished their schooling or wanted to make a career change, or their families were relatively independent or they had recently retired or they had the opportunity to spend an extended period of time

overseas. Other pragmatic motives that were expressed included: a desire to travel, a curiosity about the world or a desire to learn (self development), a desire to be challenged (has elements of self-development), and finally a desire to confirm that an interest in development was one that would translate into a career.

Timeliness. In this study 54% of volunteers stated that they became involved as volunteers because the time was right (50% of the women and 62% of the men). Jennifer stated that the primary reason she went with CCI at the time that she did was that it "fit in with my life more than anything. I was just graduating from University and I hadn't started to work". Similarly, Mike said that at the time that he went overseas he too had just graduated from University and described himself as having "a hole in my life right then. . . . I needed to fill it with something and had already travelled". Lena had also recently graduated from University but had not settled into a job or career. She said that she felt that the time was right and that she wanted to have the experience before she "was really committed to a career or . . . hooked into the car payments, mortgage payments all the kind of thing". Joan said that part of the reason that she went with CCI, in particular, was that she "wanted to do it (the overseas work) between semesters at University" and the standard four to six month term offered by CCI allowed her to do this.

> For Valerie
>
> the time was not right for quite a long time and then later on, . . . I decided that I wanted to . . . go through with it and I was finished school and working and everything.

Additionally, "it was a good transition time" for her given that she was not that satisfied with her job and she had thought about going back to University.

Travel. Of the volunteers interviewed in this study 32% indicated that they were interested in the opportunity to travel that CCI offered (36% of the women and 25 % of the men gave this as a reason for their

participation). Valerie said that she had "always been interested in seeing other places. I hadn't really travelled. . . . It just appealed to me". Besides applying to Crossroads to further this interest in travel she

> was also thinking of maybe travelling to Southeast Asia. Going to, starting in Australia and then to New Zealand and then . . . travelling around Southeast Asia, and that was what I was thinking about. I hadn't travelled anywhere before . . . so I didn't know where to start. . . . Crossroads . . . gave me a really good base to start from. When I was there . . . I got to know the people I was working with and the country and just got used to it. And then I felt better able to travel afterwards within Botswana and Africa. . . . Without . . . Crossroads, its not just financial backing, it also teaches you a lot and also gets you in touch with a whole community of people even in Canada who have travelled and been to these places.

Implicit in Valerie's commentary is the depiction of CCI as a kind of informal travel bureau for prospective participants who can consult 'old-hands' and ask for their expertise on potential travelling pitfalls or for information on specific countries.

Peter said that he was initially attracted to CCI as an organization because of the opportunity it afforded volunteers "to visit an overseas country" and to "experience something quite different". For Mike, the appeal of CCI, given that he had travelled to developing countries prior to his association with CCI, was the chance to engage in travel with "a purpose".

Desire to Learn/Curiosity. In the present study 45% of the volunteers interviewed said that they were motivated to become involved as overseas volunteers out of an interest in other cultures (64% of the women and 13% of the men). Valerie said that she did not want to feel that she was

> on some kind of mission or anything like that. I wanted to learn. I mean I was also trying to be honest and say, you know, I'm doing this also for my own benefit. . . . I wanted to learn things about other countries and . . . the things that we see in the news or in newspapers. . . . You know, you always see those typical pictures, of, you know, little kids with big bellies and flies on their face or something, which really bothers me because that's such a narrow thing and that's what's thrust upon us and then we have all of these

> misconceptions about what developing countries are and the third world. And I really wanted to see and learn about, you know. . . . Just to see something different from Canada. . . . My reasons for going [were based on] just wanting to understand why things are the way they are and why there's such a vast difference between the way people live in one country compared to another.

She indicated that she chose to travel overseas because of her past experience of having friends from different cultural backgrounds. Valerie suggested that her interest in learning about other peoples and places originated in part from her contacts in highschool with friends from different cultural backgrounds.

> I had my typical group of friends, but I also had friends from other sort of backgrounds and other age groups and things too. . . . I really get a lot out of meeting other people and learning, sorta learning their story. You know, because you can learn so much from someone else.

Debra expressed the view that her interest in travelling to and working in the third world was a long-standing one and related to her curiosity about the world in general.

> I mean I think it has always kind of been there. I mean I've always loved to see anything different whether it is here or, you know what I mean, or in Canada, or whatever. Just to kind of look at different things.

For Neil, CCI offered an opportunity for "world-wide travel". He said that he was attracted to CCI's overseas volunteer program because of the opportunity it afforded him to see Africa or some equally exotic place. For him it was

> the mystique of maybe not knowing what goes on in third world countries or whatever and . . . just seeing Africa was a big thing for me. . . . There was meeting different races of people in different cultures.

Adventure/Challenge. Only 18% of volunteers indicated that they were specifically motivated by a desire to be challenged: 14% of the women and 25% of the men. Allen, in particular, was attracted to CCI because it provided him with the opportunity to have an adventure.

For Jill, the CCI program provided an opportunity to test her personal abilities. "It was like a real challenge to see if I could do this and not get fed up and say I'm going home".

Prior Interest in Development. In addition to a desire to be challenged, 27% of volunteers indicated that they became involved with CCI as volunteers because they had a prior interest in development (23% of the women and 15% of the men).

Neil expressed an interest in imparting Canadian technology and aspects of the Canadian way of life during his stay overseas. His desire to do this was spurred by his belief that he, like other Canadian nationals, is "quite proud of our Canadian culture and if you can put some of that on some underprivileged country I think that's a plus". He expected that he would be able to use the expertise he gained from thirty years of employment in the rail transportation industry. Initially, Neil thought that he "was goin' set the world on fire and saving the railways . . . in Zimbabwe originally". He felt that if he had been allowed to use his skills that he

> could have done much more with the railways. You know, shortening runs and speeding up the service and cutting corners and making the thing more viable and more likely that it will be used.

Richard was also interested in development and while overseas he contacted a local Nepalese development organization. He felt that this interest in development was based on an interest that he has always had.

> Inequalities and injustices, things that just shouldn't be somehow bothered me ever since I was a young kid. And they bothered [me] even before I knew what development was. . . . It's more a part of what I am and the way I see myself.

Like Richard and Neil, Jill also indicated that she had a persistent interest in development. She saw the chance to volunteer overseas as a way to pursue a dream she had had since childhood.

> I've always wanted to work or do something overseas and . . . kind of the missionary sort of thing as a kid and going to Africa and . . . living in a grass hut and teaching school or something like that. . . . And then it just kind of developed, . . . kind of in a more organized way. Well you kind of look for an organization that would foster that kind of goal and then I became more involved in development . . . My lofty idealism was kind of focused down into a more concrete method.

Esther became interested in third world development as a result of her

travel to Central America. She described her decision to volunteer overseas as that next logical step in the pursuit of her interest in development issues. "It was a burning desire . . . I needed to find out if that field was the field that I wanted to pursue as a career".

Experiential Motives

Experiential motives were cited by 45% of CCI volunteers (50% of women and 13% of men). These motives overlap with pragmatic motives but are represented by an expressed interest in having a first-hand experience of the third world (i.e. living and working in the third world) and by a desire to have experiences that are distinct from those of ordinary tourists (this overlaps with the ideological motive of a search for an authentic or real world outside of one's own community). The desire for first hand experience coincides somewhat with Cohen's (1979) description of experiential/existential tourists and Redfoot's (1984) third order/ fourth order tourists. This expressed desire for direct personal experience also evidenced the kind of volunteer solidarity Gerard (1985) discusses. One of the reasons that Nancy went overseas with an organization like CCI is that she "didn't want to be a tourist. I wanted to just really get to know the people". Lena described the experiential component of a CCI's volunteer posting overseas as a critical element of the program.

> That's part of the Crossroad's experience . . . travelling and just meeting locals and seeing . . . what life is like throughout the country not just . . . in one spot.

Richard described his placement in particular, and the CCI programme of sending overseas volunteers in general, as a "vehicle for experiencing the people, experiencing the country". Sheila indicated that she had a long standing interest in the people of Africa. Her dream of one day going to Africa and coming into contact with the people of that continent was realized through Crossroads.

> It was always Africa and I had no idea that I would go to Africa with Crossroads because you're selected about five months before you actually get your placement. I just trusted

> and it came. . . . My mother managed to resurrect an old scrap book that I had put together when I was about four and five and a half years old. And they (sic) were all kinds of crazy things in there, drawings upside down . . . and . . . pictures that I'd cut out of magazines of black people. Now growing up in Winnipeg I wasn't exposed to a lot of black folks so it goes a long way back, who knows where.

Valerie also indicated that she had an interest in meeting and befriending people of other cultures. She feels that her prior interest in forming friendships with people from minority groups within Canada was in part the source of her desire to go overseas with CCI.

> I've had friends in the past from . . . quite a few different backgrounds. You know, from when I was about five 'til, to eight, my best friend was black. And I'm not saying that this is like . . . planned or anything, but I just and it's odd, I think it's just a coincidence. I ended up in being in situations where I met people from other backgrounds.

Existential Motives

Existential motives are ones that are related to a kind of spiritual seeking that is distinct from the alternative tourist's/ volunteer's search for authentic life ways. Mary expressed such motives in her desire to connect with the disabled children with whom she worked in India. She, unlike many CCI volunteers, had prior knowledge of her posting and of what she would be doing. During her time in Cote d'Ivoire, Ellen experienced an expansion of her spiritual horizons when she encountered her students' belief in the phenomenon of witchcraft. She discovered this belief in witchcraft when she asked her students to choose which stories they would like to re-read from their textbook. They were unanimous in their desire to hear a story about witchcraft in which an innocent girl died and the culprit was found to be a witch.

> But anyway the story only illustrates something far larger which is profound. . . . There's a whole world out there that we don't even acknowledge. I mean you hear about it through E.S.P. . . . And it really has given me a tremendous amount of help in this job (her current position in a multi-faith organization), for example, where I'm dealing with people like, with native aboriginal spirituality, with Hinduism, with all kinds of stuff that has people right at the base of their existence and that whole experience was a great help to me. . . . North Americans [are] just completely out of it and we don't even know about it (the spiritual aspect of life) and it[s] very, very strong.

Altruistic Motives

Altruistic motives were the most problematic ones and the ones that are often disavowed by many volunteers. Certain volunteers expressed a desire to interact with peoples in the developing world on a basis that implied some degree of personal disinterestedness (36% percent directly stated that they volunteered because they wanted to give something back or help people (50% of the women and 13% of the men); 36% stated that they were concerned with social justice issues and 27% had a prior interest in development)).

Lena, along with many of the women volunteers, expressed a desire to be of help. When asked about her reasons and motivations for becoming involved in CCI, she described the forces that compelled her to participate in the following manner.

> I guess I'm the sort of person if I know there are issues and problems out there then I feel I can't bury my head in the sand, I have to do something about it . . . I don't think I could live with myself if I didn't do something. I mean I guess I sort of have a philosophy that I was fortunate. I grew up in a family where I was never abused and I was very much supported. . . . I think when you're fortunate and you grow up with a lot of good things . . . you have an obligation to give something back to the community.

Her involvement with CCI was an offshoot of her 'privileged' upbringing. When queried as to the reason(s) for her participation as a CCI volunteer she said that "I think I just sort of grew up with it. . . . I didn't grow up in a religious family but I went to a religious highschool". Valerie felt that she "should do things to benefit other people", but qualified that statement by saying that she became involved not simply to "give something back to people" but also for her own benefit. However, Valerie, like Lena, also felt that she had "lived a privileged life" as a member of a "middle to upper class family". Valerie felt that she was privileged because she had

> been able to have an education . . . and live very well. And I think in the end it's only a small percentage of the world who does live like that. And so . . . I wanted to give something else. And I guess that's something that guides me through the other decisions in my life is that I don't think I should always make them for myself. I think I should also

> do other things that would benefit other people also. I just think everybody feel[s] that responsibility to give something back. And maybe for me Crossroads was a way of doing that too.

Esther indicated that while she did not want to be a martyr, she felt she needed to "commit . . . at least some of my life work to making the world a better place. . . . And I expect the same of other people". Jill felt that her decision to volunteer with CCI was simply an extension of the career choices she had made. She said that she was in a helping profession (she worked and still works with children who are suffering from various types of mental illnesses) prior to her application to CCI.

Some of the CCI volunteers (Brian, Joan, Lena, Valerie, Leonard and Gerald) attributed the desire to give something back and to become involved to a familial influence (i.e. their parents had been involved in some way with the community or had espoused values that encouraged involvement in the wider community).

Leonard remembered his mother telling him to consider that there was more than his "own backyard out there". As a young woman she had wanted to be a missionary and this interest was communicated to Leonard. Gerald described his parents as

> people who were involved in church and community and all that anyway. So for me it was natural that I would become involved as a volunteer in my community and doing things with Crossroads or CUSO or other community organizations.

Although Richard attributed altruistic motives to himself, he described them in completely negative terms. He was a "naive idiot" in thinking that he could "make a big difference" in the lives of the people with whom he would come in contact.

A majority of volunteers (76%) disavowed altruistic motives when they discussed the reasons behind their participation as an overseas volunteer.[1] Some volunteers aggressively asserted that their desire to go overseas was the result of selfish motives. Both Esther and Allen said that they avoided the "bleeding heart image", that is, the image of themselves as self-sacrificing. Other variants on this theme were a

desire not to be a martyr (Richard) or a saviour (Jill). Nancy indicated that while she "wanted to go overseas as a volunteer, it wasn't that I wanted to go over there and help feed people or anything like that".

Allen, in particular, felt that someone who went overseas with the sense that they were going to "help" people in developing countries might, in fact, be hurting them because in the process of helping them that person would remove the individual's personal incentive to engage in self-help. Richard's sentiments were similar in that he felt that it was best to promote self reliance rather than provide people with food (in the absence of crises such as famines). Most, if not all CCI volunteers, indicated that they felt that self-sufficiency was a key element in successful development.

This disavowal of altruistic motives distinguishes CCI overseas volunteers from other volunteers given that the most cited motive for stay-at-home volunteers was a desire to help (Phillips 1982:118). However, as many of the volunteers interviewed went overseas with CCI as relatively young people (in their early to mid twenties) the lack of attribution of their participation to altruistic motives may be due in part to their ages given that younger volunteers are more likely to attribute their voluntarism to self-interested motivations than are older volunteers (Frisch and Gerrard 1981; Gillispie and King 1985). The youngest volunteer interviewed, Nancy, was approximately nineteen when she participated in CCI as an overseas volunteer. She said that she was attracted to CCI because it was sending her overseas not "to help but to learn". According to Nancy, volunteers are told

> not to feel like you're going over and accomplish . . . you're just going over to learn, you're going over to fit in and do that. Not to teach something new.

Part of this disavowal of altruistic motives may also be the result of participation in CCI orientation sessions. Volunteer accounts revealed that CCI as an organization emphasized the importance of the experience over the work placement. This supposition was confirmed by the comments

of a number of volunteers. For Nancy

> the overseas experience is much more than just a volunteer experience it's also a life experience. So in that way it's more rewarding because you're learning.

Lena echoed the sentiments of Nancy when she expressed her feelings on the subject of the importance of the work placement:

> I think that if you go with Crossroads with the idea that you're gonna [be] supernurse or superteacher . . . you'll really get disappointed.

Summary

While the motives cited by CCI volunteers coincided with those of stay-at-home volunteers (Schiff 1984; Frisch and Gerrard 1985:806), there were differences in terms of the degree to which each motivation was cited. In the present study, 54% of volunteers (50% of the women interviewed and 62% of the men interviewed) indicated that the timeliness of their volunteer postings was very important whereas in a U.S. national study of in-country Red Cross volunteers conducted by Frisch and Gerrard (1985) only a small proportion of volunteers said that they volunteered because they had the time to do so (1.5% of men indicated that this was a primary motivation, while 3.7% of women indicated that the time factor was an important motivation). The most frequently cited motive for becoming a volunteer in Frisch and Gerrard's (1985) study of was a desire to help other people (34.2% of men and 39.2% of women indicated that it was an important motivation). As indicated previously 36% of the present study group indicated that they were motivated, at least in part, by a desire to help others or to give something back (50% of the woman indicated that this was a motivation but only 13% of the men attributed their actions to this motivation). The gender differences in the attribution of altruistic motives by CCI volunteers to their actions was difficult to interpret given the small size of the sample. A summary of volunteer motivations and the percentages by which they were cited by both men and women are provided in Appendix 4. Volunteers indicated that the impulse to help was discouraged by CCI as an organization. One of the rationales behind such

a policy of discouragement (at least as it was expressed by the volunteers) was that volunteers would have little time in which to accomplish much over a four to six month period. Volunteers also indicated that going with the idea that one could help people in another country was the wrong state of mind. Many of them questioned the entire efficacy of the value of the help offered by NGOs that operate in developing countries.

In Frisch and Gerrard's (1985) study there was a considerable disparity between men and women in terms of their desire to acquire job skills (30.1% of men said they volunteered to acquire job experience while only 14.0% of women said that they volunteered for that reason). In this study none of the participants none of the participants attributed their participation to a desire to gain specific job skills.

The motives most often cited, after timeliness, were a desire to learn, or to satisfy one's curiosity about the lives of people in other places (45% in total) and the desire for a first-hand or more authentic experience of life in a developing country (45% in total). Some volunteers also indicated that they were interested in development or social justice issues and either wished to confirm that interest through "first-hand" exposure to the conditions of life in developing countries or by actually gain experience as development workers.

In addition to the volunteers who indicated that they wanted to directly experience life in another country (that is, those citing experiential motives), specifically a country which was significantly different than their own (some like Joan and Mary indicated that they wanted to experience poverty 'first hand') other volunteers indicated that they wanted to travel (32% in total), or to experience a challenge (18% in total). There are experiential elements in the desire to experience otherness through travelling to and living in a developing country within the context of a volunteer placement with CCI. These experiential elements of their reasons for involvement in CCI's volunteer program

establish, in part, these volunteers' identity as alternative tourists. The short term of the CCI volunteers' placements sets them apart from others who volunteer over a period of years. Volunteers who are overseas participants with organizations that emphasize the job placement aspect of the experience are likely to express different motivations (at least in terms of degree) than are those individuals who are under the auspices of an organization like CCI that is more concerned with the cultural exchange aspect of the overseas placement. The role of the CCI volunteer as an alternative tourist will be examined in the following chapters. Additionally, the suitability of applying the tourist metaphor to the experience of overseas volunteers will be discussed.

Notes

[1] Individuals who disavowed altruistic motives at one point in the interview would in later stages of the interview indicate that their participation was predicated in part at least on a desire to be of service in some way or a desire to give something back to the community (in a very global sense).

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Search for Authentic Human Experience

As indicated in the introductory chapters, certain categories of tourists are dissatisfied with the normal role of tourist and chose to pursue alternative forms of tourism (Crick 1989:320). Urry (1990:8) uses Cohen's (1979) categories of the experiential, experimental and existential tourist as the basis for a discussion on alternative forms of tourism. These forms of tourism represent for Urry (1990:8) the rejection of organized tourist activity, as they did for Cohen (1979) and Redfoot (1984). Urry (1990) suggests that what is unique about these alternative forms is the way they transform the patterns of touristic consumption. He feels that alternative tourism personalizes the tourist's experiences whereas mass tourism ensures that the experience is a generic one (Urry 1990).

The discussion that follows compares the experiences of alternative tourists to those of overseas volunteers who have been affiliated with organizations that emphasize the cultural exchange aspect of the overseas placement. In particular, volunteers who have shorter term placements have similar desires, aspirations and experiences to those of alternative tourists.

Volunteering versus Travel

The volunteers interviewed for this study often spoke of their postings as opportunities to explore other cultures experientially and, to a secondary degree, to experiment with different cultural values and beliefs (that is, through the self-testing element of travel and the

experience of novelty and difference). Gewertz and Errington (1991:55) confirm the importance of the experiential aspect of travel for foreign visitors in their study of the impact of tourism on the Chambri people of Papua New Guinea. In their negotiations with the native people for cultural artifacts, these visitors are described as seekers of "ethnographic experience" rather than purchasers of material culture (Gewertz and Errington 1991:55).

Individual volunteers involved in cultural exchanges, such as those arranged by CCI, spoke of the importance of the actual experience and the pre-eminence of that experience over the work in which they were engaged. Ellen expressed the sentiments of most volunteers very well when she said that the volunteer posting "is only an in-road into the community"--an in-road that ideally should facilitate more meaningful contacts between the volunteer and the local people. Leonard described his teaching position in the following way: "It wasn't like a mission of any kind. It . . . just kept us busy and among the people of that country". Esther forcefully asserted her position as a cultural exchange participant when the people at the development agency where she worked in Bolivia attempted to treat her as simply a foreign worker able to communicate in English. "I had to be clear about what my role was gonna be there, you know, I wasn't coming in as a consultant".

Certain individuals indicated that the overseas volunteer experience appealed to them because it represented a chance to 'experience poverty first hand'. They saw the opportunity to live and work in a developing country as a personal challenge. Joan specifically looked on her overseas posting as an opportunity to experience difference in the form of an encounter with the third world. Difference was to be experienced in two senses. In the first sense, the difference was that which separated the third world's relative poverty from her own country's affluence. The second level of difference was her own experience of cultural difference as an outsider.[1]

Reflecting on their experiences, other volunteers suggested that the experience acted as a kind of testing ground for their characters. Richard described the overseas experience as one that had the potential to be very stressful. Thus, volunteers had to be able to "think calmly and clearly in stressful situations". Most volunteers spoke of their experiences in terms of survival and adjustment to novel and sometimes adverse living and work situations.

Rachel, in particular, describes her initial experiences in Nepal as being characterised by extreme culture shock. Her trekking experience which involved a visit to the Nepalese country coordinator for Crossroads International provided her with her greatest test of her mental and physical abilities.

> It was memorable because it was the most physically exhausting trip that I ever, I honestly thought that I would die. We got lost and had to spend the night in the forest. But we survived it and . . . I just grew so much from that experience.

Most of the volunteers interviewed in this study expressed approval of those individuals who displayed a certain level of adjustment to the local culture. These volunteers also stressed how important it was not to impose their own values on the local people.

Some volunteers adjusted to their circumstances--that is, they survived the trials associated with their experiences--while others were broken by those experiences.[2] Sheila relates an account of how one young woman became 'psychotic' during her time overseas and how she (Sheila) helped to ensure that the woman was sent home and received some kind of treatment for her condition. During this period of her stay, Sheila struggled against a number of factors including uncooperative Gambian CCI representatives whose lack of cooperation she attributes to different cultural conceptions of what constitutes mental illness. Other factors were her own newness to the Gambian situation, and thus her inability to contact the people who needed to be contacted, and the unwillingness of other CCI volunteers, also posted in Gambia, to assist someone who was so

obviously not coping. Sheila attributed the young woman's psychosis, in part, to the effects of an antimalarial drug that was being prescribed to eastern CCI volunteers at the time that she went overseas. She reflected on the difficulties involved in "getting a 160 pound girl on a plane and send her home and she thinks she's just fine and think's you're part of the master plan". During the course of these trials and her own physical illness. Sheila said that she found "a strength that I didn't know I had."

The "Typical" Tourist versus the Alternative Tourist. Personal trials distinguish the volunteer experience from that of the typical tourist experience. A tourist is generally conceived of as someone who avoids difficult experiences through reliance on packaged vacations. The generally derisive view of tourists that Crick (1989:307) discovered in most of the social scientific literature that dealt with the phenomenon of tourism is shared by 72% (79% of the women and 63% of the men) of the CCI volunteers who were interviewed in this study.

Lena said that she was disgusted with "stupid white tourists" who went to third world countries and "flaunted their wealth". She felt that traditional tourism was destructive both to people and to the environment.

> Just having tourists going to different places can sometimes . . . distort things a little bit too. I mean you have to be careful just even in environmentally and different, like you know. . . . You have to really (be) careful about being a conscientious traveller.

This de-valuing of activities that are defined as touristic is relevant to the present study, given that a number of informants indicated that they volunteered overseas in part because they wanted an experience that was distinct from the experiences that tourists have. They were attracted to overseas voluntarism because it allowed them to go beyond the traditional tourist experience. Gerald described his desire for an alternative experience as a desire to have a "more . . . in-depth relationship with the culture".[3] Richard also emphasized the value of a legitimate travel

experience as compared with travel experiences that lacked an underlying seriousness and purpose. He compared the latter experience to a form of escape that acted like a drug on the nervous system of its participants.

> If it's an exotic location with palm trees and beaches, then it's fine. It doesn't really matter whether it's Belize or Fiji or Australia. . . . They're (the escapist tourist is) unconscious for that time.

From Richard's point of view, travel experiences were highly context dependent; that is, their value depended upon their location in both physical and psychic space. The typical tourist experience was considered to be an illegitimate because it was located in a chain hotel. The physical location of a legitimate experience was in a 'primitive' setting or alongside the local people. The psychic space that the tourist must occupy to have a legitimate experience was achieved through the possession of a serious mindset, a mindset in which the tourist was intent on learning about the culture and the people.

Peter shared Richard's view that the mode of travel or volunteer experience affected the efficacy of the experience. If someone lives as a volunteer on an "expatriate compound" they won't "get to experience the local people and [they] sort of live in an enclave unto themselves". Peter felt that the experiences of such people "would be a distortion and so not helpful". Ideally, travel should have an edificatory function, such as instructing the tourist about other cultures and peoples. Similarly, Brian suggested that "particular types or travel are pretty limited . . . in the type of picture they can give people". If a traveller stays "in places that are really primarily for westerners [then they're] just seeing a very narrow aspect of the country". In particular, Brian felt that expatriate workers had a particularly distorted view of the countries in which they worked.

Anne indicated that she wanted to go overseas with CCI and not simply travel because by being a CCI volunteer she had the opportunity "to see a lot more about the reality of the lifestyle there". Generally, volunteers felt that by remaining in one location for an extended period

of time, they would develop meaningful relationships with their hosts, and they would also be engaged in some meaningful activity during the course of their stay - that is, they would have a place in the community. While Valerie stated that one of the reasons she chose to go overseas with CCI was because she wanted to establish a base (both geographical and psychological) from which to launch her overseas travel experiences, she later indicated that she did not 'necessarily want to travel to a developing country'. Rather she said that she wanted to

> go there and live and work for a while. Because I think you get to learn so much more. If you're just travelling you just stay in the places where all the other travellers are . . . you don't really get to know anybody. . . . You're moving all the time, right. So you don't learn a lot and especially in a place like Africa where . . . countries are pretty, you know, . . . there are differences and . . . you're on the go.

The Impact of Linguistic Competence on Volunteers' Experiences. Despite the fact that most volunteers appeared to long for an experience that would enable them to have closer contacts with local people, most learned very little of the local language. Learning the language of a country was left up to the discretion of individual CCI volunteers, and, although the organization encouraged volunteers to learn something of the language, most volunteers did not gain any proficiency in local languages. In part, this lack of stress on linguistic competence was aided by the fact that most of the countries in which volunteers were placed had English or French as one of their official languages. This was particularly true of African countries.

A knowledge of language has been repeatedly stressed as a prerequisite for understanding and entering a culture. In fact, Cohen (1972:173) felt that the distance between tourists and local people was established and maintained by the former's inability to communicate effectively in local languages. This left the linguistically disadvantaged tourists without a real understanding of the people or their culture (Cohen 1972:173). However, Cohn and Wood (1982:549), in their study of Peace Corps volunteers, found that while high levels of fluency

did generally promote interaction between volunteers and local people there was not a direct relationship between greater language abilities and the amount of contact volunteers had with host country nationals. Only those volunteers with very high levels of language competency had significantly closer and more frequent contacts with the local people.

CCI volunteers were frequently placed in areas or in situations where they were able to use English. Those that were placed in rural areas, areas where indigenous languages were spoken almost exclusively, expressed concern over their lack of linguistic proficiency. However, it would have been almost impossible for them to prepare, as they frequently did not know where they were to be posted in a country, and hence did not know what particular language training they should receive. Mary, who was in India and lived in a predominantly Hindi-speaking area with a family who spoke Punjabi, suggested that non-verbal communication was just as valuable as verbal communication. She reflected the views of most CCI volunteers in her conviction that, while learning a local language would have been helpful, it was not necessary. However, Peter felt that his lack of linguistic competence did hinder his contacts with the local people.

> It wasn't easy to kind of get . . . deeper levels of understanding [like] what . . . is happening in your life, where are you . . . now with your life and that type of thing and they weren't able to, I wasn't [able] to communicate that about me so it . . . really depended on the people, their level of English.

Esther also indicated that language training had been neglected by CCI:

> They don't offer language training. I mean that's a personal responsibility 'cause a lot of the countries have English as the language that's spoken. . . . It was necessary [language training was], it wasn't included and it should have been something that was more emphasized.

Acceptance by the Local People. Acceptance by the local people and the communities was an important issue for volunteers, given that they had sought out their volunteer postings because they wanted a meaningful

experience, not a *shallow* tourist experience. Debra spoke in positive terms of the entry she gained to the lives of ordinary people of Botswana through the contacts she had made. What she valued about her experiences was her sense that she was not being treated differently from her friends from Botswana in whose company she travelled. Debra described her experiences of travelling with friends to different villages in the following way:

> They just kind of took you in like you were anybody. I mean we didn't understand all the conversation, but just kind of the drinking of the corn stuff and dancing and just . . . being there. I guess it was just being accepted . . . you were'nt there 'cause you were somebody special or somebody foreign or whatever. You were just kind of one of the group. And that was kind of rare.

A considerable minority of CCI volunteers expressed dissatisfaction with their inability to establish personal relationships, or to convince the local people that they wished to be treated just like everyone else in the community. Cohn and Wood (1982:553) found that the more satisfied Peace Corps volunteers were with their work situation, the more likely they were to have more frequent contacts with local people. The Peace Corps volunteers who had the fewest contacts with local people were those that taught English as a Second Language (E.S.L.), a volunteer placement that was seen by many volunteers as a non-job (Cohn and Wood 1982). While certain individuals in the present study who taught E.S.L. classes expressed some dissatisfaction with their lack of interaction with the local people, other individuals who found themselves without a placement or in a placement that did not work out were not dissatisfied with their interpersonal contacts. These were people who lacked not only a non-job but also did not have a job at all, at least for a portion of their stay (eg. Joan, Sheila, Mike).

About 50% of CCI volunteers (43% of the women and 63% of the men) spoke of being treated as special guests (they were the guests of individual families or communities) or of receiving special treatment, such as their own bedroom or good food (both Joan and Mike spoke of being

treated like a guest, visitor, or son). They felt that this set them apart from other people in the community and thus hindered their being treated as equals by members of the communities in which they were placed.

Volunteers who experienced what they perceived to be special treatment were also disappointed because they had wanted to experience poverty or third world conditions first hand. As Mary expressed it the feeling was of being accepted but being put on a level "that was too high and I couldn't come down" (she was not allowed to perform certain tasks initially because they were considered the tasks of low caste people). Mike also felt it was important not to appear to be

> the great white god . . . [simply] because of the fact that you're white. . . . If you're white [people think] you must be able to teach math . . . and must be able to do that. . . . [CCI tells us to] avoid . . . falling in that trap where people are looking up to you all the time and [try] to fit in with people on their level.

However, one has to wonder whether all volunteers who expressed a desire for a direct experience of poverty would have in fact preferred to live in deprived conditions, given that those who lived in rural areas and in relatively primitive conditions frequently became ill or were unable to communicate with the local people because they were not proficient in the particular dialect spoken.

The Volunteer as Experiential Tourist

On reviewing volunteer accounts of their experiences, their views on travel/tourism, and the reasons they gave for their participation it became apparent that most volunteers fall under the category of Cohen's (1979) experiential tourist. Some wanted to go overseas because of their sense that their lives in Canada were inauthentic, and of their belief that authentic modes of existence could be found elsewhere. That elsewhere for them was the third world, a place where the meeting of basic needs was perceived to be an everyday struggle, and a place where family members depended on one another. Ellen felt this sense of the inauthentic and said that her life in Canada insulated her from the world "out there".

She wanted to gain a different perspective on the world. Similarly, Mike expressed the need upon graduation from University to "get out of Canada and get travelling somewhere". Jill described the western lifestyle as an alienating one, one that drove people apart focused as it is on materialism.

Once overseas, in their role as experiential tourists, almost all of the CCI volunteers adjusted to their surroundings but were not transformed by those surroundings (i.e they did not undergo conversion experiences as did Cohen's experimental and existential tourists). Brian said that his experiences in Swaziland convinced him that he "belonged in Canada" . . . It made me more Canadian than I've ever felt". Lena suggested that it would be inappropriate for a volunteer to become too much a part of the local culture. Her sentiments appear to mirror those of Redfoot's (1984) third order tourists, sentiments that favour maintaining a certain distance between one's self and the local people. Lena was uncomfortable with people who

> are almost prepared to drop all their western ways and almost want to fit into their culture (the adopted culture) and I don't think you can do that.

She continued by saying that "You can't help but be a product of your own culture." In fact, she had seen "people almost being ashamed to be North Americans and ... there's a balance somewhere." What she seemed to be observing amongst this particular sub-population of volunteers was what MacCannell (1976) called tourist angst.

Mike expressed similar sentiments when he lamented the 'taint' of westernization that he observed in the countries he visited as a tourist, volunteer and archaeology student.[4] Given his educational background, he was in some ways analogous to Redfoot's third order tourist. But his submersion in the culture of Ghana while a CCI volunteer made his experience also analogous to that of Cohen's (1979) existential tourist.

A number of volunteers experienced what Cohen (1979:190-191)

described as a recentering process that is, they either gained a sense of purpose and direction to their lives or their prior beliefs were confirmed. Rachel stated that her overseas experiences with CCI 'turned her life around'. Valerie felt that her overseas experience had a direct influence on her decision to pursue development studies.

For Joan, the recentering process took the form of a decision to significantly reduce her consumption of material goods. She described western societies as alienating, in part because "material possessions become an end in themselves". For her, the overseas experience as one that

> affected my values and I mean I already had these values before going but it's sort of [the experience] deepening them more and sort of thinking that we can do without, with whole lot less than we live with.

Ellen discovered a more global sense of spirituality in Cote d'Ivoire through her discovery of the local people's belief in witchcraft as a powerful spiritual force for good or ill. This knowledge has served her well in her position as the director of an organization that promotes a multi-faith approach to religious experience.

Prior to going to India, Mary had wanted to leave the oil industry. She felt that the time that she spent overseas would help her to make that transition. Mary was not able to leave the industry on her return to Canada; however, she did indicate that she had experienced a kind of spiritual awakening during her stay in India.

Lena's time in Ecuador was a period of self-revelation during which she discovered a lot of things about herself, such as her dependence on family, her need for time alone and her future career. As to the latter, Lena said

> While I was there I did a lot of thinking about what I really wanted in my life. . . . I did make some big changes when I came back. . . . I'd been very unhappy in the job I had and I made some changes and got out of there.

She decided to re-assess her participation in what she felt to be the materialistic North American culture and she attributed this decision at

least in part to her CCI experience.

> The experience helped me to sort of realize what things I wanted in life. . . . I always remember my cousin telling me I'd never be happy as a nurse 'cause I'd never make enough money. . . . I . . . really resented that but it sort of helped me realize that he's makin' more money than me but he hates his job.

Lena described herself as a luckier person than her cousin because she likes what she is doing and she credited CCI and her overseas experience with putting monetary concerns in perspective.

Valerie also indicated that she made a conscious decision to live a less materialistic life. After returning from Africa, she wanted to distance herself from the consumerism of western societies.

> I don't want to be as much of a consumer as what I used to be. . . . When I came back I just, you know, I was moving and going through all my things and I was just thinking this is ridiculous . . . like how can I have so much crap, you know, I don't need this stuff, why do I have it. And even . . . just . . . having what I need.

Jill found that on return to Canada from Western Samoa she was compelled to reassess her priorities.

> It's very easy to get caught up in westernization and . . . the way we live and . . . you need a bigger apartment and a faster car and more clothes and it's easy to get caught up in that.

Her experiences in Western Samoa provided her with an alternative to inflated North American lifestyles. As she said, the people of Western Samoa "had enough . . . I mean they maintained their lifestyle . . . and they always [had] food and enough clothing".

The expressed dislike of the perceived excessive materialism of the western world exhibited by Valerie, Joan, and Jill is similar to the response of alienated people in modern societies described by Berger et al. (1973:196) in The Homeless Mind. Berger et al. (1973) described movements like the youth movement of the 1960's and the environmental movement of the same era as expressions of a demodernizing impulse on the part of a certain sector of the populace.

For Debra, the CCI experience was one that provided an ongoing focal point for her life. She described the recentering process she experienced

as a result of her overseas' experiences as one which

> was a real prime opportunity and because of the length of time as well to kind of really affirm that whatever you want is, or whatever you believe is what you believe, you don't have to fall into somebody else's value sets.

Ellen spoke of the experience as one that caused her to re-examine her own values and to determine what was really important in her life. However, for Jill, her Crossroad's experience was essentially a transitory one. The benefits of the experience "fade over time" and the experience as a whole is one that is characterized by strict temporal boundaries. "I went right back to my job and I mean I got a new apartment but that was about it, it seems like I'd never left".

Of the volunteers interviewed 77% (79% of the women and 75% of the men) expressed a sense of satisfaction with their overall experience that derived from the opportunity afforded them to reflect on their own life situation. Additionally, most volunteers, like Cohen's (1979) experiential tourists, continued to experience an awareness of otherness. Of course, different volunteers experienced different levels of otherness. While Neil expressed sadness at leaving the friends he had made in Ghana, he also indicated that he had experienced a certain level of cultural maladjustment during his stay. He was uncomfortable with a number of things he encountered including the sanitation conditions and the lack of amenities such as electricity.

> I think my initial shock, when I got to Ghana was the fact that . . . the streets were terrible and the lighting was below standards and the medical facilities were much below ours and . . . the cleanliness was just deplorable. . . . If they just get to work and do it, clean this or do that. Or they'd better their own conditions but you can't say that, you've got to be . . . diplomatic and you can't hurt their feelings. You're there in their environment and they don't know any different.

He did not become accustomed to the local food and throughout his stay he had one meal a week at a restaurant that served western food. Neil was also appreciative of what he described as his hosts' attempts to limit the amount of culture shock he and other volunteers experienced. On recounting his first few moments after disembarking from the plane in

Ghana, he described them as "frightful" and "scary" given that "you're in a sea of black people and they are all the same to you. . . . You don't know whether they're friend or foe".

Mike had an experience that was quite different from that of Neil. He felt that he adjusted extraordinarily well to his overseas placement which, incidentally, was in Ghana at the same time as Neil's. Mike described his adaptation to the overseas setting in which he found himself in the following way:

> Like I don't want to sound like I'm blowing my horn or something but maybe it's 'cause I had previous travel experience. I felt like I was maybe the most well adjusted of the group of four people that went. . . . I felt very stable while I was there.

Ellen felt that while she adjusted fairly well to her circumstances she "would never be one of them (the people in the village where she taught in Cote d'Ivoire)" although she was "valued by them" and "valued them".

Not all CCI volunteers' experience coincided with that of the experiential or third order tourist. Some individuals such as Ellen, Joan, Sheila, and Mary experienced a kind of spiritual awakening that had an existential component. The existential nature of Mary's spiritual experience was located in its generality - she did not subscribe to any particular religion and described her experiences as spiritual not religious. An example was the spiritual connection she felt with a male co-worker with whom she could have little personal contact because of prohibitions against friendships between men and women.

For many volunteers, the existential/spiritual component of the experience was in the discovery that people all over the world are similar and have similar concerns. Lena said that her experiences in Ecuador caused her to "realize how much we have in common" as people - both as Canadians and Ecuadorans. These commonalities for Lena were exemplified by the sharing of basic emotional, physical and familial needs. She also drew a parallel between the lives of street people in Canada and the lives of the poor in third world countries.

Summary

All of the volunteers interviewed fell into Cohen's category of experiential tourist. Their experiences indicated that there a distance was maintained between themselves and their hosts. Only 18% (21% of which were women and 13% of which were men), could also be considered to be borderline existential tourists. There was a less effective fit between Redfoot's (1984) tourist typology and the experiences of CCI volunteers. Most volunteers would be located somewhere between the second and third order tourist categories in Redfoot's (1984) classification scheme. Very few volunteers displayed characteristics that would identify them as fourth order tourists, a type of tourist that shares certain characteristics with the existential tourist as they are described by Cohen (1979). Like other alternative tourists, CCI volunteers wanted to experience difference. That difference was often perceived by volunteers to be located in differences in material wealth and materialistic impulses between people in their own cultures and the people in the cultures to which they were sent. Volunteers also associated genuine human behaviour with the developing world. Genuine human behaviour was characterised by a focus on traditional family structures (where traditional referred to extended family groupings). If a volunteer did not encounter these family structures, or had little exposure to the life of the community through contact with a particular family group, they tended to be disappointed with their experiences and regarded them as atypical.

The similarities between people that many of the volunteers remarked upon, as much as the differences that they noted in cultural values and traditions, acted as measures of the reality of their experiences. They expected differences, in fact, they went overseas to encounter difference, but during the process their values about what constituted genuine human experience were also reaffirmed. The concern for authenticity that many volunteers expressed will be discussed in the subsequent chapter. Tied to the concept of authenticity is the concept of 'real' life experience;

certain life experiences being more genuine than others

The volunteers' overseas experiences were the basis of the personal capital that they accumulated as CCI volunteers. Acting as alternative tourists, they accumulated various experiences during the course of their overseas placements. These accumulated experiences, translated into their personal reserves of capital (economic, cultural, symbolic and social) and their relationship to these individuals' searches for authentic human experiences, in addition to the volunteers' conviction that these experiences represented more genuine and more real experiences than did their everyday experiences, will be discussed in the following chapter.

Notes

[1] "It's one thing to know something in your mind, like for example, it's one thing to know that it must be difficult for immigrants to be here, when they don't know our language, . . . but it's another thing to actually go through that yourself and experience what it feels like. And then you have a much deeper understanding of what it's like for them. And it's the same thing with poverty, it's one thing to know in your mind that, people are very poor, they don't have enough to eat, but it's another thing to walk down that street and have people begging for food and see it with your own eyes, it's a completely different experience."

[2] Mary spoke of being spat on daily by people in the town she stayed in. She felt this occurred because people in the town did not want her to be there. Additionally, the family with whom she stayed would sometimes not provide her with food. Once again she felt this was because they did not want her to be in their home. Despite these negative aspects of her overseas posting she persisted and established, she felt, close ties to some of the disabled children with whom she worked.

Sheila became very ill in her rural posting and was compelled to go to an urban area for the remainder of her stay.

[3] Valerie and Allen expressed similar sentiments. According to Valerie:

"If you go and stay in . . .really nice hotels and in resorts everywhere, I mean you could be anywhere in the world and you might not even know where you are".

Allen made the following comment on the efficacy of traditional tourist travel:

"You have to sort of look deeper than just a trip through Europe, you know, on a bus or . . . I mean you can just go and have a holiday in Europe just like you could in Canada and not really learn very much. You have to be open for learning. You have to look for things".

Esther described travel as

"just a superficial experience. . . . I mean you didn't have the same contact with the locals. You're staying in hotels or whatever. You just don't get to know the place or the people".

[4] Mike's full statement:

"I think that once a culture has been tainted it is hard for them to get back to their culture. . . . One of the things I found really quite disturbing in Ghana was how people wanted western things so badly. . . . They wanted western things but they weren't necessarily wanting to have, you know, equal rights and things like that. . . . Like I think it's too late for them to turn back so they need to be educated on how best to preserve their culture for themselves and how best to not be taken advantage of by western culture".

Gewertz and Errington (1991:42) in their study of the effects of tourism on the Chambri people of Papua New Guinea report that one principal complaint of people they classified as travellers was that "the people had become spoiled" by exposure to modernity, that is, the people had become too much like themselves, the non-exotics.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Authenticity, Hyperreality, and the Accumulation and Conversion of Capital

In the Chapter Three the concept of authenticity was presented and the relevance of that concept to the present discussion was established. Various authors who examined the phenomenon of voluntarism indicated that volunteer work may be important for certain subpopulations, such as women and younger people, in terms of gaining experience and increasing the number and diversity of their employable skills.

Bourdieu (1986) discusses four basic types of capital: cultural, symbolic, social and economic. Economic capital is the most straightforward kind of capital as it is directly convertible into what Bourdieu (1986) refers to as institutional forms, such as consumer goods. The three other types of capital are less defined than economic capital. Cultural capital is embodied in its possessor. In his discussions of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) identifies it as a knowledge or understanding that is the exclusive possession of a particular person or group of people. The possession of this knowledge sets its possessor apart from other members of society. Social capital is a resource that develops from an individual's association with a particular organization or group of people. Through their association with the group the individual is able to develop a 'line of credit' that can be utilized in particular circumstances. Membership in the group is limited to individuals who have the necessary qualities or undergo certain procedures (such as the initiatory rites that were discussed in Chapter 3) that qualify them for membership in the group. Symbolic capital is distinct

from social capital, in that, the former type of capital does not depend for its value on presence of social ties between individuals. The possessor of symbolic capital can mobilize their reserves of capital to elicit respect from other members of the social group for whom that capital has salience. There is overlap between the particular types of capital. For example, cultural capital overlaps with symbolic capital because the possession of knowledge can be associated with a particular kind of prestige. Similarly social capital, capital based on a particular group affiliation, may be the result of a particular set of experiences (that constitute cultural capital) that bring the individual into contact with a group of people who share similar experiences and who collectively use those experiences to gain some advantage that the general populace does not possess.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital as it applies in the present discussion consists of the knowledge and understanding gained by the volunteer during the overseas travel experience. The volunteer/traveller accrues cultural capital by having been resident in or passed through an 'exotic' locale and in gaining knowledge of difference through that experience. The uniqueness of the experience and its separateness from everyday activities sets it apart as an experience of the 'exotic'.

The CCI program was seen by the volunteers as a cultural exchange not a work-based program. However, while volunteers emphasized the importance of the cultural exchange aspect of their overseas postings, those who were left at "loose ends", expressed some disappointment with their experiences.[1]

Part of the attraction of going overseas with CCI was the opportunity to live and work in local communities. Most volunteers expressed a desire to be engaged in some meaningful activity that would distinguish their experience from that of the tourist. However, when the volunteers' work placement became the focus of their experience they were

dissatisfied. As the immediate experience of cultural difference through participation in the life of the community was the basis of the volunteers' cultural capital too much of an emphasis on the work placement was viewed as counter to the purpose of accruing genuine experiences of difference.

The nature of the cultural capital acquired by volunteers during their overseas postings is best explored through their accounts of their experiences. Volunteers associated certain benefits with their overseas experiences. These benefits translated into the cultural capital they acquired in the form of their experiences overseas. Volunteers categorized their experiences as ones that offered them an opportunity to encounter more "authentic" modes of existence. Some indicated that they felt a greater sense of connection to people because of their experiences and that they gained a greater appreciation of the potential generosity of people living in very difficult circumstances. Volunteers' interpretations of their experiences can be seen as a nostalgic search for cultures that 'retain' values of generosity and familial loyalty. Their belief in the existence of a better place or time is characterized by their search for what will be described here as hyperreality, or "true" reality (Baudrillard 1983). The volunteers' conviction that certain kinds of human experience are more genuine than others is illustrated by their concern with authenticity, and with distancing themselves from other kinds of tourists by virtue of their more "authentic" experiences.

Jennifer suggested that first-hand experience of life in developing countries is necessary if one is to have a comprehensive understanding of the lives of third world peoples.

> I think just being in another country and living there and coming face to face experientially gives you the knowledge that goes beyond reading about it. . . . So I think that it just adds that depth to that experience and maybe in the sense of connection with a different world. So therefore it helps me to relate to other third world countries consequently since I was there then I think I can make better sense out of what is happening in other countries when I read about it or hear about it.

Travel itself can be described as an experience that sets the traveller apart from his or her compatriots. However, the mode of travel and the amount of time spent in a particular location are also seen as means to separate travel experiences according to their degree of authenticity. Alternative travel experiences are generally seen as more authentic than traditional tourist travel. A fair number of volunteers interviewed in this study had travelled to a developing country for short periods of time prior to their volunteer placement with a particular organization. Almost all of those interviewed distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate travel experiences. They explicitly stated that they did not want to be tourists; the volunteer experience, specifically for volunteers with organizations like CCI which offer short term placements, acts as a form of alternative tourism. Tourists were seen to have inauthentic experiences of the countries they visited. Volunteers who expressed a distaste for the state of being involved in tourism indicated that they consciously decided to look for alternative experiences--the kind of alternative experiences that Urry (1990) discusses in The Tourist Gaze. In describing her travel experiences prior to her CCI posting, Lena indicated that they 'just touched the surface'. She went on to say that her travel

> was enough to see poverty but it wasn't enough to really learn about it or understand it . . . but it was enough to open my eyes and make me aware of it.

The disappointment that volunteers expressed with their previous travel experiences or the distaste with which they disavowed the tourist role may be located in the expectations that individuals had of their travel experiences. Tourists are not simply travellers; they are also consumers of experiences and the material products associated with their particular destination.

In her discussion of cultural capital, Sharon Zukin (1990:47) suggested that individuals invest a great deal of their own identities in the consumption of products and experiences. According to her,

> Shopping and tourism are not merely modes of appropriation, they are also paradigmatic quests for social meaning in a consumption-biased world (Zukin 1990:47).

Consumers invest a considerable amount of themselves (their personal identities and public images) in their consumption choices and consequently they have "rising expectations about the intensity and rewards of the consumption process" (Zukin 1990:47). The consumers' greater self-investment represents a new type of consumer product--self esteem or personal identity (Zukin 1990). Volunteers posted overseas with CCI were consumers of cultural products (religious festivals, material goods) but they were also consumers of the experience of difference, whether that difference was socio-cultural, religious, linguistic or socio-economic. An essential part of the experience was the encounter with poverty. Most volunteers indicated that they expected that their living conditions in their overseas postings would be quite different from what they experienced in Canada. As a consequence of their, in some cases, difficult experiences, several volunteers indicated that they gained self-confidence or became stronger people.

Some volunteers expressed disappointment with their previous travel experiences for reasons including: the lack of intensity of those experiences (no great threats to personal survival nor testing of personal capacities occurred), their relative abruptness, and their inauthenticity or shallowness. Those volunteers who had no travel experience in a developing country disavowed the role of the tourist. They indicated that they had a considerable personal investment in the travel experience, but were in some way disappointed with that experience. In the absence of direct travel experience, CCI volunteers wanted to ensure that their experiences were worthwhile and contained within them the rewards they associated with such experiences. A worthwhile experience was one that allowed for close contact with the local people and culture. That experience became the basis of their cultural capital, in that, their "authentic" experiences set them apart from other tourists.

The volunteers' roles as consumers of their experiences may be located in their contribution towards the expenses involved in sending them overseas. Each CCI volunteer had to raise a certain amount of money toward their trip. Additionally, they acquired the right to the experience by demonstrating their suitability (psychological, physical (health) and ideological) as overseas volunteers during the interview process. They gained further validity with the selection committee by showing a previous volunteer commitment to CCI, and by expressing an interest in the issues with which the organization is concerned.

In response to the question of what they felt were the costs of their overseas voluntarism, all CCI volunteers said that there were basically no costs entailed in assuming their overseas placements. They discounted health problems, time out of the job market, and time away from friends and families. The opportunity to go overseas, in the manner that they did, and the experience itself was pre-eminent and far outweighed all potential and actual costs. A primary benefit for most volunteers was the opportunity to take part in the real lives of people in the developing world. Participation in peoples' everyday lives, their real lives, provided the volunteer with a specialized, experientially based knowledge, that could not be challenged by ordinary tourists.

The developing world was seen by several volunteers as a reservoir of authentic human expression such as generosity, closeness and interdependence between family members. The volunteers' discovery of these values, which they saw as values that were given less emphasis in the developed world, enhanced the value of the cultural capital that they obtained during the course of their overseas placements. Neil felt that the difference between the pace of life in the developed world and the developing world was the source of the differences between the two in terms of the value placed on family life. This is how he described it:

> Our merry-go-round is going 'round so fast in this western world and the third world is going 'round maybe at a tenth of the speed. But they're taking in, they have more time for taking in . . . some of their family values and enjoyment of

one another.

Expressing similar sentiments, Lorna indicated that she wanted a change from the "rat race" that her life in Canada had become. Both Lorna and Neil exhibited what Berger et al. (1973:206) referred to as a de-modernizing impulse, which can be represented by a reaction against the fractionation of reality into discrete units, such as units of time. According to Berger et al. (1973:206-207):

> modernity means to live in the time of the clock and the calendar. The former organizes everyday life; the latter makes possible the complex processes we have called life planning. . . . To organize one's day by the clock offers prima facie evidence of "uptightness": to organize one's life by the calendar is to be a victim of the "rat race".

Joan felt that, as westerners, we have much to learn from third world peoples. During her time in Sri Lanka, she says that she discovered

> how much we have to learn in our society like how much we have to learn from third world cultures about, I guess how to live and enjoy life. I think that we have a very *individualistic* (my emphasis) and often lonely kind of society whereas they have a much more developed sense of culture and community. . . . I think that we're much more future oriented and they're present oriented in the way they live their lives.

Her concern with the excessive individualism of the developed world and her feeling that it bred loneliness established her as one of Kavolis' (1970) postmodern humans, who react against the structures of modern society by looking for alternatives to modern life. Joan's negative description of individualism in the western world was reminiscent of Berger et al's (1973:196) characterization of demodernizing movements, such as the environmental movement, as ones that protest against excessive individualism. Alienation is described as "the price of individuation" in the modern world (Berger et al. 1973:196).

Joan emphasized the temporal differences between the developed and developing world in another way, in her concern that developed nations recognize the antiquity of the cultures of many developing countries. She asserted that the cultures of these nations have definite cultural precedence in historical terms.

Like Joan, Richard expressed the view that the third world had

something valuable to teach the developed world. He suggested that people need to recognise that

> other people had valuable things in their culture that we had obviously lost or maybe we never had. . . . We could learn from them. But we're so busy trying to model them after us that we don't even pay attention to the valuable things in their culture.

Joan connected generosity with genuine human behaviour when she recounted the time she visited a very poor family who had a single pineapple on their tree, which they gave to her.[2] She concluded her narrative by remarking that "they always say that poor people are more generous than rich people and I think that's really quite true". As a postmodern person Joan is alienated from a North American society that she feels is inhumane. Its inhumanity is expressed through the absence of close relations between people and the growth of consumerism. As a volunteer she is cognisant of the 'loss' that the developed world has undergone and that cognisance sets her apart from other people who have not had contact with different peoples and cultures. Her knowledge was first-hand and based on personal experience which made it more legitimate than knowledge gained through secondary sources (such as the media) and through experiences that restrict the tourist to their own home cultural bubble.

Peter was also impressed by the generosity of the people that he met in West Africa. He remembered

> arriving at a village where the people . . . didn't have a lot and [whose living conditions were not] elaborate. And I didn't have a sense of a lot of food but they were ready to serve the [food]. Whatever they had it was ours. And they went out of their way to prepare a fairly large meal for us. . . . There was just no question that would be given to a visitor coming. . . . I thought about that . . . recently in terms of the . . . attitude of giving . . . when you have so little. . . . I mean in our society . . . we just have no conception of that. . . . I mean you can't even explain it to people. . . . Here we have so much [and] people are so unwilling to give even a tiny bit of it away. . . . And there people have so little and they're willing to give it all away.

Richard was amazed by the positiveness of the Nepalese people despite their often dire poverty. Although the people lacked

> everything . . . the kids are happy and they still played and they still smiled and they still had fun. . . . They still enjoyed living.

The sense of living an inauthentic life that certain volunteers experienced, a sensibility that is discussed in the context of the tourist typologies developed by Redfoot (1984) and Cohen (1979), is for Ira Silver (1993:305) a symptom of alienated people who live in bureaucratized and industrialized societies. People in these societies are seen to have lost a sense of the real or the authentic. They attempt to recapture a sense of authenticity through travel to societies that are radically different from their own. Many CCI volunteers' discovery of a sense of authenticity in the places they stayed was a marker of their understanding that life in the developing world was closer to genuine human experience than was life in the developed world. Individuals who had not lived overseas and, in particular, those who had not had the CCI experience, were seen by volunteers as people who did not understand what constituted genuine human experience.

For Ellen, the experience of life in an African village was more authentic than her experience of life in Canada, because it was a way of life that she was familiar with from her upbringing in a village in Ireland during the 1940s and 1950s. The connection between the two settings was in their "tribal village way of looking at things". She said that she wanted to get out of Canada because she felt insulated from the real world. The real world was out there, external to her lived experience.

Her sense that her life here in Canada was inauthentic was similar to the more global sense of alienation from modern life that Baudrillard discussed in Simulation. According to Baudrillard (1983), the walls of the museum have been expanded to include entire cultures. There is no longer one finite locality in which one can say to oneself that one has discovered authentic human experience. Authentic examples of human experience seem relegated to the past.

The search for the authentic, that is, for the hyperreal, is the result, Baudrillard (1983:12) suggests, of the death of the real. What is exemplified in the search for the real is a nostalgic impulse for a real that never existed as it does now in the mind's eye of seekers after authenticity. This search for the real is marked by

> a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity. There is an escalation of the true,of the *lived experience* (my emphasis) (Baudrillard 1983:12).

The elevation of lived experience to the level of genuine human experience was evident in the comments of nearly all volunteers. Almost all indicated at some point that they felt that the experience itself was essential to their present understanding of third world issues and their greater sensitivity to cultural difference. Their cultural capital was the byproduct of their contact with that difference, and the greater understanding that they achieved as a result of that contact.

Volunteers searched for legitimate experiences during the course of their overseas terms. The greater the legitimacy and the authenticity of their experiences the greater the value they placed on the cultural capital they acquired. They measured the legitimacy and authenticity of their experiences in terms of the closeness of the contacts they had with the people they met, their participation in local community events such as weddings and funerals and by the lack of amenities, such as running water and electricity, in the places they stayed. They also measured the legitimacy and authenticity of their experiences by the traditional nature of the behaviour they encountered; traditional because it reflected their view of genuine human behaviour, which they felt was marked by a concern for others, everyday decency, and a sense of community in the broadest sense (as in sharing what little one has with others).

For Joan, life in third world countries was more real than it is in western societies because the former realize that death is an integral part of existence.

It seems like there 's so much more life there than here.

> Somehow we're such a sterile society. Death's far removed from us. We do as much as we can to hide from death. Whereas there death is all part of life. . . . life is all around you when you're there. . . . People just live life to the fullest. Every moment is precious. . . . They celebrate life . . . with what they have.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Ellen and represent an idealization of the life of people in third world countries that was present in the comments of many of the volunteers who were interviewed. She said that people in Cote d'Ivoire knew how to "enjoy everyday tasks and everyday life. . . . Just the life energy that people have that has nothing to do with anything material".

Jill remarked on the lack of materialism in developing countries in the following way:

> In Western Samoa the people have very little . . . the few possessions and everything is kind of communal it's . . . more sharing, open lifestyle than we have.

Mary's overseas experiences represented a personal quest with a spiritual component. She felt that she was primarily motivated by a sense of compassion for the disabled children with whom she worked. For Mary, authentic human behaviour (hyperreality) was generated by compassionate impulses. She herself had a disability, and she hoped to show through her example (to the children in the facility where she worked) that disabled people were valuable humans, that is, they have inherent value. The spiritual nature of her quest derived from her desire to be as one with the poorest of the poor and to share in their experience. Near the beginning of the interview, when asked why she decided to go overseas as a volunteer, she said that she did so because she wanted to live on the streets of her own city but was afraid to do so; going to a developing country was the alternative. The source of that desire was the enhancement of her compassionate sense through her personal experience with illness and disability. The desire for a first hand experience of poverty was shared by a number of CCI volunteers.

As concluded in Chapter 7, an authentic travel experience for many of the volunteers interviewed involved a greater engagement with the

culture and the people than they felt was possible in the tourist experience. A particular "holiday mindset" is associated with tourism, a mindset that is not conducive to learning about different cultures and peoples.[3] Specific types of travel were considered more appropriate than others. Ellen offered the alternative of something she called "travel with a difference"--travel whose express purpose it was to enlighten the traveller about development issues and country-specific development concerns. The travel experience that Ellen described parallelled the experience sought by the alternative tourist with a social conscience. Cohen (1987:16) suggested that the concerned alternative tourist "seeks to reverse the general course of development of modern tourism" by participating in "small-scale projects in developing countries, established with local consultation and participation". These types of projects

> bring small groups of visitors to a locality where they are given the opportunity for direct interaction with the locals as equals and for the comprehension of their "real" life and problems unadulterated by embellishments (Cohen 1987:16).

By contrast to the in-depth engagement with the culture afforded by the legitimate travel experience and the opportunity it afforded the tourist to accrue lasting cultural capital, the tourist experience is only a "superficial skimming of the culture".[4] The experience of difference, of other cultures and peoples, was also an important element of the legitimate travel/volunteer experience. It was necessary to experience cultural, religious and ethnic difference in a distant place. That distance enhanced the authenticity of the experience. Getting involved in one's home community with people who have emigrated from distant lands was not sufficient. Many volunteers spoke of the way their experience opened their eyes to inequalities in their own communities--inequalities of wealth, opportunity and access to resources.

Lena felt that the variety of experiences that she had in terms of being involved with the entire spectrum of income groups, all the way from market women to upper-middle class medical students, was invaluable.

> I got to see all ends of the spectrum which was quite educational really to see the comparisons [*in levels of wealth*] and stuff.

Brian said that his experiences in Swaziland gave him a new perspective on the relative affluence of most North Americans.

> I guess that's . . . sort of the thing [that] has stayed with me very much and . . . when I find myself feeling sorry for myself because I 've got a rusty car I think, you know, well, but in the overall context of the world I'm a very lucky person.

Although Ellen suggested that the experience was not one that changed her for life, she felt it did form an important part of her life, particularly with respect to the opportunity it afforded her to expand her spiritual horizons. On the subject of witchcraft, Ellen said that:

> It's not at all voodoo or what d'ya call it . . . it's not to be sneezed at. This is serious spirituality. Whether you like it or whether you don't.

Authentic experience for many volunteers was what they described as a "first-hand" experience of difference in the form of poverty. Volunteers expressed the conviction that because people experiencing poverty are concerned with the fulfilment of basic needs, their lives are more genuine than those of people in developed countries. Such basic needs were considered fundamental, not superfluous as were the needs of people in western cultures who generally were perceived to be provided with some basic means of support by their governments if they are not able to provide for themselves.

Some interviewees talked about their particular experience as being atypical in that they lived in a household or a setting in which there were modern amenities, such as running water and electricity, at least part of the day. Lena felt that she did not "suffer at all" (here she assumed that some level of suffering or deprivation was to be expected as an overseas volunteers) given that she lived in a house with "running water and electricity and those sorts of things." Mike also found himself in a setting that exploded all the stereotypes he harboured about life in the third world. He described the family with whom he lived, which

consisted of a husband, wife, wife's brother and husband's cousin, as atypical. Additionally, he felt that the conditions of life in the household were also atypical. The family lived in a concrete house with a "real roof . . . electricity and running water . . . and a fridge and a T.V. and a V.C.R. . . . It was just like being in a modern home".

The degree of atypicality of the volunteer's experience reflected it's inauthentic nature. Neil says that his experiences in Ghana were atypical because he had contact primarily with members of the educated elite, people whose educational and professional attainments were not typical of most Ghanians. Therefore his experience was "not a good example of the third world." However, Neil did have "genuine" experiences of Ghanian life. He attended a few weddings during his stay in the country. Volunteers looked upon invitations to events which in their own culture they would think of as special or ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, festivals and funerals, as invitations to visit experiential exemplars of the real life of the native inhabitants.

Brian was disappointed by the lack of contact he had with the local people in Swaziland and in particular his fellow teachers. He lived on a government-established school compound that he described as being "plunked down in the middle of nowhere". Swazi teachers would return to their homesteads on weekends or would visit family and friends in the surrounding area. Brian said that the Swazi teachers looked on the school compound as a "lonely isolated place" and thus did not want to stay there on weekends. Brian wanted to be recognized as an member of the community. Gewertz and Errington (1991:27) referred to their own desire, as anthropologists, for inclusion in the activities of the community as a desire for validation of their insider status.[5] A considerable number of volunteers, besides Brian, were also concerned with the indigenous people's perception of them as insiders.

Many volunteers felt that their hosts, in particular, and the populace of the places where they stayed, in general, treated them as

honoured guests.[6] Because these individuals were being treated as honoured guests of particular households or communities, one might ask exactly how authentic were their experiences of life in developing countries. As Lena stated

> if a volunteer comes here [*to Canada with CCI's to - Canada program*] we're not gonna send them probably to the worst of the worst area and I think that's the same thing here.

She was referring to her own experience as a CCI volunteer in Ecuador and her sense that she was protected by her hosts from seeing the harsher aspects of poverty.

The cultural capital acquired by the volunteers in the form of their travel experiences was also determined to be authentic or inauthentic according to the degree of interaction that individual volunteers had with their co-workers, roommates, or the people on whose behalf they were working. The degree of interaction with the local populace was an important demarcation point between the tourist experience and the legitimate travel experience.

The cultural capital that volunteers accrued during the course of their volunteer activities overseas was exemplified by their experiences both in their work placements and in the communities and amongst the people where they stayed. This cultural capital is composed of the knowledge they gain through their experiences. The validity of that cultural capital was dependent on the authenticity of their experiences. Greater authenticity accrued to those experiences that involved greater contact with local people.

Symbolic Capital

In the context of this discussion, symbolic capital consisted of the prestige associated with travel and the overseas work experience, the enlightened state of mind that volunteers shared (which was the result of emotional/spiritual growth that they experienced during their overseas postings), and the survival or adaptation to the overseas environment by the volunteer.[7]

Valerie expressed the belief that her CCI experience enhanced both her self-confidence and her ability to deal with challenges. Several other volunteers said that they felt that they became stronger people as a result of their Crossroad's experience.[8] Survival and adaptation to the overseas setting was essential to the accrual of symbolic capital. Those who did not adapt well or at all to their surroundings were seen as people who were unable to acquire symbolic capital, that is, they were unable to benefit from their experiences and remained like mass tourists and paid overseas workers unenlightened and consequently unchanged. Change in outlook and perspective acted as a signifier of one's symbolic capital.

There were differing degrees of the symbolic capital of adaptation and enlightenment that volunteers attributed to themselves and others. The scarcity value of the symbolic capital associated with having been an overseas volunteer was evidenced by the comments of Valerie. Although she did not automatically assume that all such volunteers were enlightened and, in fact, at one point recounted her shock when she spoke with volunteers who made insensitive, uninformed and even racist comments, she generally referred to overseas volunteers as members of an enlightened minority. Lorna felt that people who have travelled have "a different set of values" than do people who have not travelled. She suggested that people who have not travelled are unaware of issues like multiculturalism.

> People . . . in Alberta don't even know how to talk to a minority person let alone have any understanding of where they come from. . . . I've been with African students and someone will say, "Where are you from", and like this one woman in a shoe store, and she said, "Kenya", and the woman said, "Oh, how long have you been here", and she said, "A month", and she said, "Oh, do you ever speak good English" and it's like, what, you think she learned English on the plane. Like sometimes Canadians are so naive about global issues that it's like hard for them to have an opinion. And part of that I see is our responsibility to educate them.

Mike suggested that as a result of his CCI experience he was more in "tune with what's going on in the world" than he was prior to the experience. Gerald hypothesized that

> travelling in another country also gives you a better appreciation of your own culture and country. You're

> constantly comparing, you can't help but compare and maybe you don't like what you're seeing or maybe you really like what you're seeing when you're travelling but you come back with . . . some kind of awareness of what's going on in your own country.

For Richard, enlightenment came in the form of a greater awareness of racism. "Even my brother calling certain races, what was it, Nips or something like that or even at work". Leonard spoke about never having been racist, but of having become more accepting of different ethnic groups in Canada as a result of his experiences in Swaziland. He contrasted his own perspective and actions to those of friends who had not been overseas. Although he suggested they were "wonderful" people, they "don't stretch much further than their homes towns and the golf club".

Lorna expressed the belief that certain people were drawn to participate as overseas volunteers or to travel to distant places, that is, they had reserves of symbolic capital prior to their overseas experience. Many people with whom Lorna discussed her experiences overseas were attracted to the possibility of having similar experiences but they made excuses concerning the impossibility of their own participation as overseas volunteers. Even though the excuses people made for not travelling or working overseas were outwardly legitimate, such as being married, or having children. Lorna suggested that they cloaked the real reason which was that

> a lot of people are afraid of the unknown and so therefore, they like to hear about your experiences. . . . I think there's a strong indication that a lot of people are interested in it even though they wouldn't do that.

Those that actually do initiate the proceedings for living and working overseas represented a special segment of the population and they seemed to have some inherent qualities of adventurousness, curiosity, and courageousness that set them apart from the mainstream.

In general, volunteers felt that the overseas experience itself endowed those who possessed it with qualities that were unique to volunteers. That is, the experience itself generated the symbolic capital. For example, Joan attributed (at least in part) her increased

sense of empathy with immigrants, people with whom she works in her job as a social worker, to her CCI experience. When she was overseas, she became the other, the outsider, and she reflected on that experience of otherness during the course of the interview.[9] Jill also stated that through her experiences she gained an understanding of what it was like to be the outsider, the immigrant. She encountered cultural and social differences daily while she was a volunteer in Western Samoa.

Neil suggested that he became much more receptive to different cultural viewpoints. His CCI experience probably contributed to his "outlook on [the] Canadian Indian or Native situation". He said that his experiences made their situation "much more real for me now than it was before" because the problems of Native people were "so similar to the situation in these third world countries like Ghana". Neil felt that he became "much more open minded about dealing with the Indians" as a result of his association with CCI.

Valerie believed that people could be transformed by their overseas experiences.

> I think people change a lot when they're overseas sometimes. They learn a lot and they find when they come back to Canada there's a lot they never noticed before. And it makes you look at your country in a different way and it makes you question things.

The transformative nature of the overseas experience was also commented upon by Allen. His own experience resulted in the "evolution of his character".

> I think . . . my broader perspective has made me a more liberal thinker. . . . More accepting of other cultures within our culture, and other people. [I] empathize and sympathize with other people's follies or problems.

Lorna shared with Jill and Joan the experience of being an outsider through her travel and her CCI experience. Her experiences provided her with a perspective that she had not gained during her upbringing in a small Alberta town.

> I grew up in a really small town with three hundred people where if you weren't white you didn't live there. So for me to go to a country where I'm the minority. I mean I remember

> the first time I went and actually thought, I went to Japan and I just thought, "My god, I'm gonna spend the next few years of my life not speaking to anyone". Just because I didn't know. What was I gonna say to someone. Like it was a really naive thought but I think part of that is because I did grow up in a small town where you grow up knowing everyone, You're not aware of the fact that you can actually [talk to people you don't know].

Questioned as to the rewards she associated with the CCI experience, she suggested that her "ability to get along with other people or people who are different" improved as a result of that experience. She indicated that she became more tolerant of a variety of kinds of difference. Lorna found that she noticed the intolerance of others more than she did prior to her CCI experience.

> I mean I worked in the oil patch for fifteen years I mean so you hear things like jokes about women, minorities, whatever and they never really bothered me. And now they really bother [me]. Like to the point that's really hard for me not to tell someone off when they tell a derogatory [joke]. And part of that I think is just the whole awareness thing of people saying things without realizing the effects it has and part of my feelings on that is also 'cause I have [a] friend who's a paraplegic. . . . I think there's a whole education process. I mean like Provost . . . that's where the Aryan Nations had a big thing down there. And I grew up really close to there and people down there aren't racist at all. Actual fact being that most people down there have probably never spoken to a minority person.

The orientation sessions and workshops offered by CCI to their overseas volunteers involved intensive explorations of individuals' beliefs and their own sensitivities to cultural difference. The symbolic capital that was accrued by individual volunteers thus derived in part from their participation in these orientations (given their concerns with cultural sensitivity). To have participated in these sessions indicated that one had the ability to understand difference. The overseas experience also contributed to the accrual of symbolic capital because it helped to heighten the volunteers' sensitivities toward and respect for difference. It did this by transforming the individual volunteer into the outsider, the one who was patently different. The experience of being set apart bred understanding, an understanding not possessed by members of the Canadian population in general. Because this understanding of difference

was not considered to be a general feature of the population it was unique to CCI volunteers and even amongst volunteers there were different levels of understanding. Differential levels of prestige were associated within the CCI volunteer community with different levels of understanding and adaptation. Additionally, the greater an individual's integration into the host community the more successful was their adaptation. The greatest respect tended to be reserved for those who adapted best to their circumstances. Those who adapted best to their circumstances, and who developed the most enlightened outlook acquired the greatest amount of symbolic capital.

Social Capital

Social capital in this context consisted both of the network of friends and supporters that the volunteer acquired during the course of their time with CCI and the enhancement of their social skills. The community of CCI volunteers represented a distinct group of individuals, a group to which access had to be won. Upon achieving membership in the group the CCI volunteer obtained new friends, social supports, a sense of community and, for some a re-affirmation of their belief in the value of community and family. Volunteers gained access to the CCI community, primarily, by testing their personal mettle during their overseas postings. Survival of the trials of the experience and adaptation to the overseas placement became part of the shared experience of the community of overseas volunteers. Overseas volunteers constituted an enlightened minority.

Lena felt that there was only a the limited pool of dedicated volunteers: "it ... seems sometimes like you do have the same people volunteering all the time". Her fellow CCI volunteers provided Lena with an instant supportive network of friends when she moved from Saskatchewan to Alberta. She found the attitudes of Albertans to be "rednecked" and prejudiced relative to those of people in Saskatchewan and she said that she was reassured by the attitudes her newly made CCI friends expressed.

Some of the best friends she had in the city she met through the local CCI committee. Her reflections were of the following character.

> Thank god I have some of my Crossroad's friends that sort of think the same way I do. . . . I think that I'd die without some of my Crossroad's friends that know where I'm coming from and think the same way I do.

Lena also maintained contact with the family with whom she lived in Ecuador. When one of the daughters of the family with whom she stayed came to Canada through a Canada World Youth program she visited with Lena.

Lorna confirmed Lena's evaluation of the organization as a supportive network of people. She spoke of a recent experience she had as a board member of the organization. She described a national meeting in Ottawa, in which CCI affiliates, both within Canada and from overseas, discussed policy, as one in which there was a great deal of "support and tolerance of one another". She was impressed with the way in which

> our partner countries came forward and said they no longer want to be receiving, just receiving. They want to do things to help fund the organization and work towards a more equal partnership. . . . People are just really, really tolerant and really able to humour one another and support one another. . . . I guess this has always been one of the things that's really appealed to me is that the background of the people. Most organizations you're involved with like-minded people. . . . You go to Crossroads and you've got everyone from teachers to engineers to lawyers to students, like there's every type of profession and people range in age from 18 to whatever.

Mary described her sense of community with fellow volunteers in the following way:

> I believe that I am on the level with all other volunteers, you know, in all of this world and because we share, we have that to share in common and I think that is very special.

Nancy's sense of community embraced both the community of volunteers and the community formed by overseas travellers. The following were her reflections on travellers' mindsets and motivations:

> That was one thing I experienced as a traveller is that all the people that are travelling seem to have . . . wanted more in their life than I guess their own country and their own experiences . . . they wanted to see other people's experiences as well.

Nancy conferred on travellers and CCI volunteers a level of concern

for the welfare of people and the planet that she did not observe in the general public. At one point she said that her family, friends and acquaintances did not understand why she wanted to go overseas whereas she did not have to explain herself to past and present volunteers.

Debra valued the number and types of associations she was able to form as a result of her CCI experience. CCI volunteers, for her, were a distinct group of people with distinct values. The following is an excerpt from her reflections on what she felt to be the benefits of her association with CCI and her overseas experience.

> There's the actual experience what you get from it,plus the being involved with the group . . . and what you get from that as well. 'Cause there's people that you meet, there's people that you met overseas, there's people that you met that you went with and that you continue to meet within the organization that kind of develop. I guess it's interesting to meet people that I think I feel the same way about issues as opposed to people I work with. I constantly think "Oh, I'm crazy because I should . . .", you know, I don't have the right set of values that I should be worried about, you know, buying this and buying that and getting here and getting there. As opposed to, you know, what's going on somewhere else. . . . Just having the interest that you want to know what's going on somewhere, even if you don't go there. That it's important to kind of look at the rest of the world. That we don't live in isolation here and that there is a whole like expanse out there.

One of the greatest benefits Mike associated with his CCI experience was the people with whom he came into contact through the organization. He indicated that the people in CCI have come to compose the majority of his social circle.

Gerald did not make direct use of the social capital he had gained through his affiliation with CCI. He did not reconnect with the organization on his return. Therefore, he did not develop the same sense of community as other CCI volunteers that were interviewed. However, he expressed the view that returned volunteers needed "some kind of outlet or some kind of opportunity to formalize the experience of volunteers when they come back". Most of the volunteers that were interviewed during the course of this study did, in fact, feel that their continued contact with CCI and fellow volunteers helped to put their experience in some kind of

perspective.

The social capital that volunteers acquired through their association with CCI was gained in part through the initiatory nature of the overseas experience itself. Those who 'survived' their overseas experience and developed a greater understanding of the human condition as a result of those experiences gained complete membership in the CCI community of returned volunteers. This community was clearly valued by the volunteers who chose to become involved with it on their return. It provided the individual volunteer with a supportive group of people who shared a 'common' experience. Volunteers who moved from one part of the country to another found that CCI provided a good entry point into the larger community. Many volunteers indicated that their most important friendships were with other CCI volunteers. Those few individuals, like Gerald, who did not access the community of returned volunteers felt deprived. There was a definite sense that something valuable was to be gained by becoming a member of the CCI community of overseas volunteers.

Economic Capital

In the present context economic capital refers to the marketable skills that CCI volunteers developed during the course of their volunteer work, both within Canada and overseas. In contrast to the other forms of capital that have been discussed in this chapter, the volunteers' experiences in this area were more variable and less easily defined.

Lorna was one of the few volunteers to directly note the economic significance of the in-Canada CCI volunteer experience. According to Lorna, the "on-return experience is important in terms of . . . how you choose to get involved." She suggested that a number of skills are developed as a result of in-Canada participation by volunteers (both prior to going overseas and upon return). In particular she cited management and fundraising skills.

> I think we all become very focused on our profession and we tend to, our friends are from our profession . . . and even working with people of different age groups. . . . So that

> to have an opportunity to work as a peer or as an equal with people on something you really learn about different management styles and different work.

The number of skills one was able to develop depended, she felt, on the level of involvement of the volunteer with CCI (i.e. local, regional, national). As an individual volunteer, she participated at a variety of levels. Initially she was a local coordinator, then she ran the local fundraising committee. At the time of the interview, she was planning to resign from the position that she had held on the Board of Directors of the organization.

Valerie felt that her in-Canada voluntarism with CCI provided her with valuable experience in the area of fundraising and resume writing.

> I learned some really excellent skills . . . just, you know, getting on the phone and being able to talk to somebody and saying this is what I'm representing and this is why I want your support. . . . Even something as simple as simple as writing a really good letter . . . in a way that you want to appeal to these people and get your message across. . . . Things like communication skills, I think I learned a lot.

Brian stated that his overseas experience with CCI helped him to gain his job with a local centre concerned with development and social justice issues. In spite of the fact that Mike did not have a formal work posting while he was overseas with CCI he indicated that he benefited from the experience because it afforded him the opportunity to learn a skill, wood carving, from a group of very skilled Ghanian carvers.

A few volunteers expressed the view that a great deal was expected of them during their overseas postings. Because they were foreigners, it was assumed they were highly proficient in whatever position they were assigned overseas. Some expressed distress with the position these expectations put them in, given that procedures used in Canada were not the same as those used in other countries. Debra and Lena, both nurses, felt that they were put on the spot by the inflated expectations of their overseas employers. Debra had difficulty with the amount of responsibility that she was given in Botswana. She said she was assigned tasks that only doctors had the authorization to perform in Canada.

Jennifer and Nancy both indicated that they were given responsibilities that were not commensurate with their experience. But while Nancy felt somewhat overwhelmed by the responsibilities given her (she had no teacher's training and was given charge of a classroom of children who spoke Mandarin Chinese only) Jennifer seemed to blossom under the high expectations of her in-country superiors. In fact, she extended her stay by three months so that she could write a report for the government on the ways to integrate traditional methods of dealing with offenders with more modern techniques of rehabilitation.

In some cases, the overseas posting provided the volunteer with experience that would have been difficult to gain in the Canadian context. Allen acquired experience teaching at a girl's school in Sierra Leone. He intended to apply to the Education Faculty at his local university and felt that his teaching experience with CCI would aid in his acceptance.

In general, most volunteers did not credit their CCI experiences with having a great impact on their employable skills. Lena felt that her volunteer posting in a daycare and her other posting as a nurse in a local hospital did not enhance her skills because they were not challenging positions. But neither did most volunteers feel that their overseas experience adversely affected their prospects for future employment (in terms of absence from the paid labour force). However, Ellen did feel that she lost confidence in her teaching abilities as a result of her overseas experiences. Prior to going overseas, she had been teaching for a long time and had been very confident about her abilities. She found the teaching methods she encountered in Cote d'Ivoire to be not at all aligned with her own abilities as a teacher.

Additionally, most volunteers did not indicate that their in-Canada experiences as volunteers (fundraising prior to their trip and on-return volunteer commitments which could involve a number of things including interviewing applicants, organizing fundraising for successful applicants, being on regional or national boards) helped them in their search for

jobs, nor did they cite the skills entailed in these activities as valuable. Thus, although there was no loss of economic capital for these volunteers as a result of their involvement with CCI, neither did they associate many economic benefits with their voluntarism.

Conversion of Capital

Some CCI volunteers credited their overseas experiences with helping them to obtain their present positions: Valerie for her acceptance into the Development Studies program at an eastern university, and Ellen for her present position as the director of a multi-faith organization.

Gerald's overseas experience may have helped him acquire his position as an international student advisor and advisor to Canadian students who want to work, study, or volunteer abroad. At the time that he went overseas, he was not planning to get into this field; instead he was a graduate student in political science. However, his experiences overseas were essential background for his present position. He described his feelings about the relationship between his overseas experience and his job in retrospective terms: "I can look back now and say I would not have gotten this job if I hadn't had that experience". He also attributed his position as a trainer with a national youth program to his overseas experience. The experience provided him with different opportunities than he likely would have had had he not been an overseas volunteer.

Peter also suggested that his overseas experience with CCI may have helped him to gain his position with a provincial government agency concerned with multicultural issues.

> The job I have right now is directly related to . . . [was] sort of [a] foundation experience, working in the multicultural field. And it all started with my work with Crossroads. I mean my degree . . . was actually in science as I really did [make] quite a big change from that [and] . . . Crossroads . . . was the basis for that.

The practical knowledge that he gained through his CCI experience (both within Canada as a member of their education committee and overseas as a volunteer) were "far more important" than a "university course on

different cultures" would have been.

Jennifer believed that the experience she gained of cultural difference through CCI helped her in her practice as a social worker. The key ingredient to her success in her present position is her ability to understand cultural differences and to apply that understanding when she comes to advise her clients on how to deal with the difficulties they are experiencing. Esther also felt that her experiences with CCI and the opportunity that she had to learn more directly about issues of cultural difference and tolerance were valuable in terms of her present position with a department in a provincial YWCA. Esther converted cultural capital into symbolic capital (in the form of greater tolerance and understanding) and that symbolic capital was in turn converted into economic capital through her present position at the YWCA.

Some volunteers indicated that non-volunteers were not interested in hearing about their overseas experience. This may be a problem of non-volunteers not seeing the value of the volunteer's capital, or may be the result of differential perceptions of the reserve value of the volunteer's overseas experiences, or may simply represent an unwillingness on the part of non-volunteers to recognize the volunteer's experience as a form of either cultural or symbolic capital. The lack of recognition of their capital translates into the volunteer's inability to convert that capital into other forms, such as economic capital.

Other CCI volunteers cited the experience they gained in fundraising, communication, and public relations prior to their overseas posting as the experience that had the greatest potential to be translated into economic capital. This experience was gained in the process of raising funds to subsidize the volunteers' overseas costs. Lorna used her CCI fundraising experience to set up a consulting company that is concerned with advising organizations on how to raise money to support their programs. In her case the experience she gained through her in-Canada voluntarism with CCI, though not directly linked to her time

overseas, automatically became economic capital as it represented the development of certain employable skills, such as the knowledge needed to conduct a fundraising campaign.

As can be seen from the previous discussion, those aspects of the overseas volunteer experience (if one includes all the activities involved in the process) that are most closely tied to employable skills are those that are most easily translated into economic capital.

Many CCI volunteers attempted to convert the cultural capital that they acquired through their volunteer placements and their subsequent travels into symbolic capital. That is, they attempted to get other people to recognize the value of their experiences and hence of the insightfulness and validity of their impressions and beliefs. This was expressed in a number of ways including a belief by many CCI volunteers that their experiences and insights had value and that those insights could enlighten people that had not had similar experiences. When people surrounding them expressed unenlightened or prejudiced points of view, volunteers felt that they were compelled to provide an alternative viewpoint, and that their first-hand experience enhanced the validity of these views.

Summary

The concepts of cultural, symbolic and social capital were the types of capital that were most easily generated by the CCI volunteers. Given the organizational and individual concentration on the cultural exchange aspect of the volunteer experience, it was not surprising that cultural capital was the most frequently accrued kind of capital. Cultural capital, in its embodied state, has an element of self-improvement (Bourdieu 1986:244). Many volunteers spoke of their experiences as ones that provided them with greater insight into the lives of third world peoples. They felt that the experience enabled them to become better people in that they became stronger, more confident and better able to deal with life's challenges as a result of their volunteer experiences.

These volunteers also expressed the conviction that the materialism of the first world was destructive to the peoples, cultures and environments of the third world. Their commitment to become less materialistic demonstrated a focus on self-improvement that derived (they believed) from their increased knowledge of the world and its workings.

About 82% (86% of women and 75% of men) of volunteers believed that CCI volunteers, as a whole, represented a unique segment of the population, that is, that volunteers shared a common interest in the world outside their immediate surroundings. Only 32% (43% of women and 13% of men) indicated that they had a long-standing interest in the lives of people in other countries, an interest that was 'always just there'. They felt that this interest set them apart from other people who either were not interested in other parts of the world or were not psychically equipped to engage in the trying work of being an overseas volunteer. A small number of volunteers (14%, all of whom were women) felt that volunteers, as a general population, were special people. Seventy three percent of CCI volunteers (72% of women and 75% of men) felt that CCI volunteers, in particular, were a unique group of people with special qualities, such as adaptability and open-mindedness, that were looked for during the selection process. The translation or conversion of cultural capital into economic capital went unrecognized and unutilized by a number of volunteers. Some volunteers like Gerald were not fully convinced that their present positions in fields that required knowledge of cross-cultural and multicultural issues were primarily the result of their CCI experience. Others did acknowledge that their CCI experience was central in terms of gaining them entrance to a particular program in an educational institution, or in assisting them in gaining employment in a field related to their CCI experience.

Symbolic capital was a less defined type of capital than cultural capital and represented, in this study, a form of capital that was expressed as a form of prestige. Unlike social capital, symbolic capital

was not dependent on one's social relationships but rather existed as a generalized attribute of individuals who had particular characteristics that were recognized by all members of society or by certain subgroups within the wider society (Smart 1993:393). In the case of CCI volunteers, the recognition tends to be on the level of the specific subgroup constituted by other overseas volunteers, that is, people who have had similar experiences (and this subgroup may be made up of overseas volunteers in general but usually was composed of other CCI volunteers). In order for the cultural capital that CCI volunteers acquired to be used, that is, for the knowledge and understanding they gained as a result of their overseas experiences to become useful to them, their cultural capital had to be translated directly into symbolic capital or used to develop their reserves of social or economic capital.

Social capital, a kind of capital that derived from membership in a particular group, can be manifested: as a social advantage associated with a certain social position, or an obligation or a relationship of trust (Smart 1993:392). In this study, social capital was expressed by membership in the select group of overseas volunteers. The advantages to membership were less obvious than, for example, would be the advantages associated with membership in a social group that conferred definite privileges on its members. The advantages of being a CCI alumnus were relatively intangible. Volunteers spoke about the sense of community they felt with other CCI volunteers and how the organization provided them with contacts across Canada and the world. However, there were no definite tangible rewards associated with the social capital that could be derived from association with CCI as an organization or with other CCI volunteers. Volunteers did not describe their association with CCI in monetary terms. Their affiliation with other CCI volunteers did not, for example, appear to provide them with any extra advantage in the job market.

Economic capital was the form of capital that volunteers most often did not perceive as relevant to their volunteer experience. Nor did most

view their experiences as ones that provided them with valuable skills, skills that could easily be exploited in the job market. Some volunteers did indicate that their overseas' experiences likely helped in their obtaining their present positions but they did not attribute their success in gaining those positions primarily to their overseas experiences. However, they did acknowledge that their overseas experience was likely a good asset. Even fewer volunteers acknowledged the skills they developed during the course of their fundraising activities as potentially valuable in terms of their future career or schooling.

Notes

[1] Joan spoke of feeling at "loose ends", having no definite role to play, and of feeling useless because she did not have a structured work placement. She described her sense of being used as a token white by the development agency with which she was affiliated, although she was generally admiring of their efforts. Joan said that her "happiest days there were when I was getting my hands dirty and moving rocks up the mountainside and actually doing something".

[2] Joan described her encounter with the family in the following way:

"Someone took me to visit a family and they were incredibly poor like I could tell from when I went to visit them. And they took me to their back garden and they had sort of a pathetic little garden but they had this one pineapple growing on a tree. And they took this pineapple and they peeled it and they gave it to me the whole thing. And ... that was so powerful for me that here was this family that had nothing and they gave like their only pineapple from their garden. Actually it was a very moving kind of experience".

Similarly, Richard found the Nepalese people to be

"very giving of themselves and their time and resources, the resources they had. And [the experience] pointed out to myself how selfish I was.

[3] Quote attributed to Allen.

[4] Quote attributed to Gerald.

[5] Gewertz and Errington (1991) said that their insider status was validated by their being given entry to special rituals, such as initiations. In fact they were rather upset when one of their informants insisted that they pay for entry like other tourists/ foreigners.

[6] A variety of terms were used to describe the favourable treatment that volunteers felt they received. People spoke of being treated "royally" (Jill), of being "pet whites" (Leonard), or of being protected by the families that they lived with from seeing the harsher aspects of poverty. Mike said that he was treated at various times as a son, a special guest and a visitor.

[7] Various phrases were taken as evidence that volunteering overseas and, in some cases, travelling overseas provided the volunteer/ traveller with an enlightened mind and included such things as becoming a more liberal thinker, sensitive to cross-cultural issues, globally oriented, more tolerant or open minded, and more empathic or sympathetic with third world peoples or indigenous peoples. Many volunteers expressed the belief that while they were overseas they experienced personal or spiritual growth.

[8] Mike, Valerie, Rachel and Richard were among the volunteers who indicated that their overseas experience strengthened them as people.

[9] "The part of Sri Lanka I was in I was the only white person for miles and miles around and I, you know, I just stood out like a sore thumb. . . . It was a very alienating kind of experience and I guess I think that's given me an empathy with immigrants".

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusions

The Value of Conceiving of Overseas Volunteers as Alternative Tourists

The goal of alternative tourism as defined by Holden ((1984) in Cohen (1987:16)) is the promotion of

> a just form of travel between members of different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality among participants.

This goal is similar to those of Canadian Crossroads International (CCI), an organization that is dedicated to the promotion of cross-cultural understanding between its participants and the inhabitants of the countries to which it sends its volunteers.

There are many parallels between the experiences and motivations of the overseas volunteers studied here and those of alternative tourists. Both groups of individuals are concerned with the authenticity of their experiences. Amongst CCI volunteers variation existed in terms of the amount of concern they had with issues of authenticity. This concern with authenticity was exemplified by a desire for legitimate life experiences in the developing countries where individual volunteers were posted. The legitimacy of these experiences was determined by a number of factors. One of these factors was the importance of close contacts between the volunteer and the local people. Such contacts were hindered in some circumstances by a lack of opportunity (in cases where individuals had little contact with the local people outside of the work setting), and in other cases by lapses in communication that were the result of the individual volunteer's minimal competence in local languages. Another factor that acted as a measure of authenticity was the perception by

volunteers that they could expect to undergo some harrowing experience such as the daily abuse that Mary suffered from the people in the village in India where she was posted, or Neil's initial trauma in the airport in Ghana when he first arrived, or Joan's and Sheila's quite serious illnesses. Volunteers expected to encounter primitive living conditions and they categorized their postings as atypical if they were placed in a setting in which there were 'modern' conveniences like electricity and running water. Like the alternative tourists described in the literature (Cohen 1979; Redfoot 1984; Urry 1990), CCI volunteers wanted a non-traditional travel experience, which included contacts with third world cultures and peoples and was relatively unmediated by the cultural brokers of modern tourism.

The experiences of all the volunteers who were interviewed were transformative in some way. Volunteers frequently spoke of how their overseas experiences helped them to gain a new perspective on their lives in Canada. The transformative nature of many volunteers' experiences indicated that the volunteers were acting, at least partially, as experimental or existential tourists. Both the experimental tourist and the existential tourist represent spiritual seekers, however, in the case of the former group of tourists that spiritual seeking is without definite direction.

For many volunteers, their overseas posting was the time to reassess the directions that their lives had taken and on their return to embark on new careers. Sixty eight percent of volunteers (64% of women and 88% of men) indicated that their overseas voluntarism marked a time of transition in their lives. This time of transition varied from adjusting to life as a retired person, to deciding what career path to follow on graduating from University, or attempting to change careers.

Only 18% of the volunteers accounts of their experiences classified them as border line existential tourists. However, all of the volunteers' recounted experiences and expectations (including those who had an

experiential component to their experiences) were closely allied to those of experiential tourists (Cohen 1979). While volunteers expressed their desire to have first hand experiences of poverty (for some of them a representative condition of life in the third world) or of difference, most were to some extent shielded, by their own accounts, from a full experience of life in the countries in which they were posted. It was often the volunteers' hosts who prevented them from coming into direct contact with extreme poverty. Although there were some volunteers who wanted to have a direct experience of poverty (such as Joan and Mary), for the most part, volunteers wanted to encounter difference but not the definably destitute (for Neil in particular that difference took the form of the exotic). In fact, some volunteers indicated that media images of the peoples of the developing world were misleading because they represented the developing world as perpetually impoverished.

Redfoot's (1984) modification of Cohen's (1979) classification scheme was less useful in the analysis. Most of the volunteers interviewed would be classified as second or third order tourists. Like second order tourists, CCI volunteers were concerned with learning something of the culture and language, although interest in language varied considerably between individuals and was not considered to be necessary by most. Some of this information was provided by CCI itself in the last orientation session prior to the volunteer's departure to their overseas posting. In that session, an expert on a particular geographic location would speak to the group of volunteers destined to travel to that location.

However, for most CCI volunteers locations were interchangeable. Volunteers indicated during the course of interviews that upon their initial selection they had no prior knowledge of the place to which they would be sent. Although certain individuals indicated that they had a particular interest in being stationed in a specific continental area or country, very few stated that they wanted to be posted to a particular

area. In this generalized desire to encounter difference, CCI volunteers closely resemble Redfoot's second order tourist. They simply wanted the immediacy of a first-hand experience of other cultures and peoples, not an experience of a particular culture or cultural group. Neil's expressed desire to experience the exotic (although he did indicate at some point that he initially wanted to be posted in a particular country) is an example of this generalized concern with encountering difference, no matter what form it takes. However, unlike second order tourists most CCI volunteers demonstrated some commitment to getting beyond surfaces and to coming into contact with 'real' people. Yet, their contacts with 'real' people were often mediated by their hosts. Some volunteers attributed this mediation to the hosts' desire to protect them, but the mediation was also a form of social control, especially in the case of some of the women who were interviewed. Mary indicated that she would have liked to have established a friendship with one particular man but was prevented from doing so by the local prohibition (or her perception of it) against cross-gender friendships. CCI volunteers indicated that part of the emphasis of the orientation sessions was to promote cross-cultural sensitivity in its overseas participants. They said that they were repeatedly told to interpret their experiences, including ones that would be characterized as sexual harassment in their own society, according to the socio-cultural template of the host country.

Volunteer Accounts of Motivation and their Relationship to Prior Studies on Voluntarism

The CCI volunteers interviewed here espoused a number of motivations, many of them contradictory. Among the more frequently cited motivations was the desire to travel (32%). The desire to have a more genuine experience of life as it is lived day to day in developing countries was amongst the most frequently cited motivations (45%) as was the desire to learn about other cultures and peoples (45%). Ordinary tourist travel was seen as somewhat corrupt (both in environmental and

human terms) and inauthentic. Finally, the most cited motivation was the timeliness of the advent of the opportunity to become an overseas volunteer (54%). This concern with having a productive travel experience was reflected in the volunteer's association of the timeliness of the advent of the opportunity to volunteer overseas with their decision to volunteer. Many volunteers said that they decided to volunteer because it was the right time for them: right because it fit into an academic schedule or they were not committed to a career path at that point, or they simply had the time to devote to the experience.

The motivations cited by CCI volunteers (see discussion in Chapter 6), while common in type to those recounted by other volunteer populations surveyed in previous studies (Gerard 1985; Jenner 1982; Phillips 1982), did not correspond in terms of the percentages at which they were cited. As stated previously, the most cited motivation in the present study was the timeliness of the opportunity to volunteer overseas, that is, the volunteer decided to go overseas because they could afford to do so in a temporal sense. In other studies on volunteers, the most cited motivations were generally a desire to gain particular job skills (Brown and Zahrly 1989) or a desire to help others (1981 Gallup survey results in Schiff (1984)). The discrepancy between the most cited motives for CCI volunteers and other volunteers may be a consequence of the differences in the types of time commitments that each group has to make. Overseas volunteers with CCI must make an intensive four to six month commitment to their volunteer positions. Although all CCI volunteers stated that the benefits associated with their experiences far outweighed the costs, there are likely to be greater monetary and personal costs involved when someone moves away from their home and enters into a volunteer position that represents an all-encompassing experience.

There were problems associated with the retrospective accounts of motivations that were collected and which acted as the main component of this study. In particular, there were problems in terms of the accounts

of individuals who experienced an intensive reinforcement of the kinds of motivations that volunteers were expected to have if they were going to be involved in some aspect of development. This was the case with a number of CCI volunteers because they participated as interviewers of other candidates for overseas volunteer positions. They indicated that they knew the characteristics that CCI looks for in potential volunteers (flexibility, open-mindedness, adaptability) because they had acted as interviewers. Their view of international development was informed both by their overseas experience and the development education sessions that were offered by CCI. Valerie represented someone who had an intensive exposure to modern development thinking given her entry into a program in international development at university after her return from her overseas placement. However, she indicated in the course of the interview that *both* her CCI experience and her university experience had affected her perceptions of what the relevant issues in development were at the present time. Additionally, she distinguished between CCI as an influence (during orientations prior to her departure and subsequent education sessions on her return) and the influence of her university studies. Many volunteers said that their initial perceptions of what they would be doing as overseas volunteers were shaped by the orientations and development education sessions offered by CCI.

The Value of Bourdieu's Concept of Capital to the Study of Overseas Volunteers

The application of Smart's (1993) adaptation of Bourdieu's concept of capital to the participation of overseas volunteers was fairly successful. The concept of cultural capital seemed most directly applicable to CCI volunteers given their stated concern with the nature of their experiences, specifically their concern that the experience be authentic or that it constitute a legitimate travel experience. Volunteers repeatedly emphasized the experiential component of overseas voluntarism. Many indicated that they were motivated by a desire for an

experience of difference whether that difference was economic (an experience of poverty), cultural (an experience of the exotic), or social (an experience of more genuine human relations as characterized by closeness between family members).

It was also evident that volunteers were able to accrue cultural, symbolic and social capital. Certain volunteers who were interviewed referred to the people they met in CCI as individuals who represented a network of people who provided them with support (at least at a particular time in their lives). Volunteers who expressed these sentiments also indicated that returned CCI volunteers constituted their primary friendship network. Some, like Lena, were able to utilize this network when they moved to the city from other areas of the country. The process of becoming an overseas volunteer involved some of the instituting acts that were referred to by Bourdieu (1986:249) in his discussion of the means by which social capital is accumulated. These instituting acts included the various stages of the selection or, as almost all CCI volunteers indicated, the self-selection process involved in becoming an overseas volunteer. Past volunteers participated in the selection of potential volunteers by acting as interviewers or as facilitators during orientation sessions offered by the organization. As well as providing information, the orientation sessions were represented as opportunities for potential volunteers to 'de-select' themselves. The manner in which this de-selection process took place was not made completely clear. However, it was suggested that volunteers were either presented with a set of criteria they found unacceptable, or during certain role-play, discovered that they were unsuited to the position of a CCI volunteer.

Many volunteers expressed the belief that CCI volunteers represented a unique group of people who were distinct from their stay-at-home compatriots. Some attributed these differences to innate differences between CCI volunteers and the population at large. These differences were located in a long-standing concern that certain CCI volunteers said

they had with social justice and third world issues. Other volunteers felt that their overseas experiences were what distinguished them from other volunteers. As a result of their experiences, they felt that they had become more enlightened human beings with greater empathy for people who were different from themselves. The only way to utilize this type of symbolic capital seemed to be in conversations with people who had not had the same experiences and who expressed unenlightened viewpoints. However, several volunteers indicated that most people (outside of their immediate group of fellow CCI volunteers) were not interested in hearing about their experiences. Therefore, the field in which their particular type of cultural and symbolic capital had value was the field occupied by other CCI volunteers (past and present). Occasionally, the field would extend to include individuals who had a general interest in their accounts of the experiences.

Problems associated with the Conversion of One Form of Capital into Another. The most problematic area of the study was in the examination of how volunteers proceeded to or attempted to transform one form of capital into another. Often overseas volunteers found that members of the general public did not perceive their experiences or the knowledge or depth of understanding they gained from those experiences in the same way as did their fellow CCI volunteers. Many of the volunteers characterized the experiences they had as in some way transformative. These personal transformations, as recounted by volunteers, took the form of increases in strength of character, more enlightened views on immigrant populations and minorities, a de-emphasis or even a rejection on material aspects of life and in some cases, a global sense of connection with people. When describing non-volunteers, many overseas volunteers indicated that the former group represented an unenlightened majority who had not been exposed to the potentially edifying influences of overseas travel. However, these volunteers distinguished between legitimate forms of travel and illegitimate forms of travel. Often legitimate travel

could be facilitated by possessing the correct frame of mind, that is, one in which the traveller seeks to learn and not simply to escape from their everyday routine.

While volunteers indicated that they had considerable difficulty in converting cultural capital into symbolic capital, they had fewer problems converting cultural capital into economic capital. The overseas experience of some volunteers (such as Gerald, Ellen, and Peter) likely helped them to gain their present positions. A small number of volunteers (9%) acknowledged the value of the fund-raising experience that CCI provided them.

Difficulties associated with the Application of Bourdieu's Theory of Capital to Empirical Studies. There are difficulties associated with the application of Bourdieu's concept of a generalized kind of capital to the experiences of volunteers in their role as alternative tourists. During the course of analysis of volunteer accounts of motivations, experiences and beliefs, there was frequent overlap between different forms of capital and it was difficult at times to say whether a particular action, account or personal attribute should be classified as, for example, cultural capital or symbolic capital. The point at which cultural capital (the volunteer experiences) became symbolic capital was often blurred. The overseas experience itself and the prestige associated with having had that experience (and in being psychically equipped to have the experience) were often inseparable.

Another difficulty associated with the application of Bourdieu's concept of capital to the experiences of CCI volunteers was in the theory's tendency to characterize all social action as an attempt on the part of the social actor to gain capital. This is a potentially reductive way to treat social actors and social action (Smart 1993:390). As could be seen in the volunteers' accounts of their reasons for becoming involved in CCI's program there are any number of motives for participating as an overseas volunteer. The desire to explore the world through travel and

the impulse to discover (at least to a degree) what it is like to live in another culture are likely not reducible to a model of human social behaviour that attempts to attribute all social action to a desire for capital accumulation.

Summary

The representation of overseas volunteers as alternative tourists proved to be an effective way to analyze the motivational and experiential accounts of the CCI volunteers interviewed. The short term of their overseas' stays, their focus on the experiential aspect of their voluntarism, their desire for legitimate travel experiences and in many cases, their expressed alienation from mainstream western society (an alienation that was expressed in a variety of ways that ranged from a rejection of materialistic values to a concern with having close familial relationships) all identified these volunteers as seekers of authentic human experience, that is, as alternative tourists.

The difficulty that accompanied the attempt to characterize the efforts of CCI volunteers to accumulate various forms of capital may be related to the fact that their particular form of voluntarism was more appropriately characterized as leisure rather than as substitute work. However, Bourdieu's concept of capital did have some analytical worth in terms of the analysis of CCI volunteer motivations and experiences. The experiential aspect of CCI volunteers overseas postings, in particular, was of primary importance for both volunteers and the organization as a whole. In their pursuit of difference CCI volunteers occupied the role of alternative tourists and in the course of their searches for 'real' life experience they were able to accumulate capital (cultural, symbolic, social, and economic).

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Appendix 1

AGE _____

GENDER F____ M____

PLACE OF BIRTH _____

MARITAL STATUS _____

NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN _____

EMPLOYMENT STATUS:

EMPLOYED FULL TIME _____ FULL TIME STUDENT _____

EMPLOYED PART TIME _____ PART TIME STUDENT _____

UNEMPLOYED _____ HOMEMAKER _____

RETIRED _____

OTHER (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC)

_____

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

LENGTH OF TIME AT PRESENT JOB, IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY EMPLOYED

_____

POSITION HELD AT CURRENT JOB

_____

_____

HAVE YOU SPENT SOME TIME OUT OF THE PAID WORK FORCE? YES _____ NO _____

IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, COULD YOU BRIEFLY EXPLAIN WHAT OTHER ACTIVITIES YOU WERE INVOLVED IN?

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPROXIMATE ANNUAL INCOME (INDIVIDUALS, IF FAMILY INCOME IS DIFFERENT PLEASE LIST BOTH)

_____

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (MOST ADVANCED):

_____ SOME JUNIOR HIGHSCHOOL OR LESS

_____ JUNIOR HIGHSCHOOL GRADUATION

_____ SOME SENIOR HIGHSCHOOL

_____ HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION

_____ SOME POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

_____ COLLEGE GRADUATION

_____ UNIVERSITY GRADUATION

_____ SOME POST-GRADUATE EDUCATION

_____ POST-GRADUATE DEGREE

_____ TECHNICAL DIPLOMA

_____ OTHER (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC)

_____

_____

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION:

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, WHAT RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION ARE YOU ASSOCIATED WITH?

_____

ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY?

YES _____ NO _____

WHAT POLITICAL PARTY DO YOU BELONG TO?

_____

DO YOU BELONG TO ANY PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS?

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	LENGTH OF INVOLVEMENT
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS TO WHICH YOU BELONG (FOR EXAMPLE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION, CULTURAL ASSOCIATION):

NAME OF ASSOCIATION	LENGTH OF INVOLVEMENT

ARE YOU PRESENTLY WORKING AS A VOLUNTEER? YES _____ NO _____

PLEASE LIST THE GROUPS THAT YOU ARE VOLUNTEERING FOR AT THE PRESENT TIME AND THE PERIOD OF TIME OVER WHICH YOU HAVE VOLUNTEERED?

NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION	LENGTH OF YOUR INVOLVEMENT

PLEASE LIST OTHER GROUPS OR ORGANIZATIONS FOR WHICH YOU HAVE WORKED AS A VOLUNTEER **IN THE PAST** BUT FOR WHOM YOU DO NO LONGER VOLUNTEER?

ORGANIZATION NAME	TIME VOLUNTEERED FOR

FOR WHICH NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION(S) INVOLVED IN ISSUES CONCERNED WITH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT HAVE YOU VOLUNTEERED FOR WITHIN CANADA?

VOLUNTEER WORK WITHIN CANADA	TIME OVER WHICH YOU VOLUNTEERED

FOR WHICH NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION(S) INVOLVED IN ISSUES CONCERNED

WITH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT HAVE YOU VOLUNTEERED OVERSEAS?

VOLUNTEER WORK OVERSEAS	TIME OVER WHICH YOU VOLUNTEERED

Appendix 2

Section 1

1. For what nongovernmental organization(s) involved in development have you volunteered?

2. How did you first learn about the particular organization you volunteered for?

3. What attracted you to the organization with which you went overseas?

4. How familiar were you with the organization's goals prior to becoming involved with them?

5. Why did you decide to go overseas at the time that you did?

6. How much time did you spend overseas (with the organizations with which you went overseas)?

7. What was the selection process like for acceptance as a volunteer with the particular organization(s) with which you were involved?

8. What sort of qualifications (if any) did the organization(s) you volunteered expect? Did they want volunteers to have certain skills?

9. What personal qualities or abilities did the organization that you volunteered with for indicate were most important for volunteers to possess?

10. Were there any financial costs involved when you accepted this position?

11. If you had certain costs were you re-imbursed for any of them?

12. Did the organization help you to relocate when you returned to Canada?

13. How important was the fact that you received financial support (if you did in fact) in terms of making your decision to volunteer overseas?

14. What if any training or orientation did you receive prior to leaving for your overseas posting?

15. Do you feel that the training or orientation that the organization provided you with was helpful in terms of your experiences overseas?

16. Did the training orientations that the organization provided you

with prove to be beneficial in other ways? That is, did the training or orientation that you received have broader application to your life here in Canada? Can you provide specific examples?

17. At what point in your career were you when you volunteered overseas?

18. What were some of your experiences overseas (prompts: living conditions, your contacts with local people)?

19. Did you receive any language training?

20. How would you describe your contacts with the people that you met (the people that you lived with, worked with or for, other expatriates)?

21. How did you see yourself prior to going overseas (prompts: ambassador for country, educator, advisor)?

22. What would you say was your most significant experience during your time overseas?

23. What do you think were some of the personal costs associated with your time overseas (prompts: loss of contact with friends and family, loss of job opportunities)?

24. What do you feel are some of the benefits associated with your overseas experiences?

25. In your mind did the benefits of your overseas work outweigh the costs?

26. Were the rewards associated with your volunteer work overseas immediate, ongoing, delayed?

27. Did you feel satisfied with the actual work that you did overseas?

28. Did you feel that your contribution was worthwhile?

29. Have you continued your association with the organization for which you volunteered?

30. How do or did you feel about this continued commitment?

31. What do you feel are some of the essential qualities that individuals should have if they are going to be overseas volunteers?

32. Are you planning to go overseas in the near future?

33. Do you feel that your goals with respect to international development and the goals of the organization you volunteered with are similar?

Section 2

1. How would you characterize your usual approach to conflict?

2. Do you feel that your view of the world (worldview) has changed as a result of your overseas voluntarism? In what way has it changed?

3. What first attracted you to the field of international development (a media image, contact with people who had been to or lived in a

developing country)?

4. Had you travelled to a developing country prior to your overseas voluntarism?

5. Do you feel that you have a greater understanding of the world (or the part of the world in which you were placed) and world events as a result of your volunteer work or travel?

6. How have you used this greater understanding (if you feel that you have gained this understanding)?

Section 3

1. This is a fill-in-the-blanks question. The problems in developing nations could best or better be solved by _____.

2. How do you feel that people who are disadvantaged would best be helped (both in the context of international development and here in Canada)? For example, do you feel that say (job training, direct financial assistance, small business loans) are better than (direct financial assistance, small business loans, job training)?

3. How do you react to this statement? People living in developing countries should take some responsibility for improving their own living conditions, and life situation. Do you have a positive, negative, neutral reaction?

4. Should governments of developing countries play a significant role in assisting their people to have a better life?

5. What was your primary motivation or reason for volunteering overseas?

6. What in your mind, should be the primary motivation of people who participate in international development as overseas volunteers?

7. Do you think that is that primary motivation of people who get involved in this kind of work?

8. How would you characterize your personal approach to development?

9. If you were to design your own development project what would you absolutely have to see in order for you to be happy with the project?

10. How would you describe your approach to development work? Do you feel that you are primarily a pragmatist or an idealist?

11. Do you feel that you are part of a greater human community?

12. If you feel that you are part of a greater human community, do you have any expectations of yourself or others in terms of what you or they should be doing?

13. Have your beliefs about people changed as a result of your time overseas?

14. If they have changed, how have they changed?

15. Do you think that travel and in particular travel to developing

countries provides people with a greater understanding of the world? In what specific ways is this understanding shown?

16. Do you feel that people who have travelled to developing countries and in particular people who have worked in developing countries have something to offer to people who have not travelled to or lived and worked in those places?

17. How would you describe the relationship between yourself and the people that you worked or lived with while an overseas volunteer (prompt: did you feel something was going both ways)?

18. In general how would you describe the relationship between nongovernmental organizations involved in development and the people they set out help?

19. Do you feel that significant changes are needed if the problems facing developing nations are to be solved in some meaningful way?

20. Do you feel that change is better achieved through existing avenues like political parties or lobby groups?

APPENDIX 3

VOLUNTEER BACKGROUNDS DEALING WITH AGE (AT TIME VOLUNTEERED AND AT INTERVIEW), SEX, BIRTHPLACE, MARITAL AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS (WHEN A VOLUNTEER), PRESENT INCOME, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

PSEUDONYM	AGE	INTAGE	SEX	BIRTHPL	MST	EMST	INTINCOME	ED
JENNIFER	22	38	F	N.S.	S	STUDENT	57,000	SOME POST-SECONDARY
ESTHER	25	28	F	U.K.	S	FTEMPL	28,000	SOME POST-SECONDARY
JOAN	21	31	F	AB.	S	STUDENT	40,000	SOME POST-SECONDARY
JILL	26	28	F	AB.	S	FTEMPL	34,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
SHEILA	50	52	F	MAN.	D	FTEMPL	40,000	COLLEGE GRADUATE
DEBRA	26	34	F	AB.	S	FTEMPL	45,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
RACHEL	25	33	F	N.IRELAND	S	FTEMPL	28,000	COLLEGE GRADUATE
LENA	24	30	F	SASK.	S	PTEMPL	40,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
VALERIE	23	25	F	B.C.	S	FTEMPL		TECHNICAL DIPLOMA + SOME POST-SECONDARY
BRIAN	26	37	M	AB.	S	PTST	20,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
ALLEN	30	32	M	AB.	S	FTEMPL	20,000	TECHNICAL DIPLOMA
NEIL	64	67	M	AB.	M	RETIRED	24,000	SOME POST-SECONDARY
ELLEN	44	50	F	IRELAND	M	FTEMPL	24,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
PETER	22	37	M	ONT.	S	STUDENT	25,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
MIKE	23	27	M	AB.	S	FTEMPL	25,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
ANNE	23	25	F	B.C.	S	STUDENT		UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
LORNA	32	38	F	AB.	W	FTEMPL		COLLEGE GRADUATE
LEONARD	62	70	M	SASK.	M	RETIRED	40,000	UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
GERALD	24	37	M	N.S.	S	STUDENT		UNIVERSITY GRADUATE
RICHARD	26	31	M	AB.	D	FTST	29,000	POST-GRAD DEGREE
NANCY	19	20	F	B.C.	S	PTST/ FTEMPL		SOME POST-SECONDARY
MARY	31	34	F	ONT.	S	FTEMPL	37,000	SOME POST-

APPENDIX 3 (CONTINUED)

PSEUDONYM	AGE	INTAGE	SEX	BIRTHPL	MST	EMST	INCOME	ED
								SECONDARY

TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN IN STUDY:14

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEN IN STUDY: 8

* - THE FIGURE PROVIDED IS BASED ON FAMILY INCOME AND NOT INDIVIDUAL INCOME

LEGEND:

AGE - AGE AT WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL VOLUNTEERED OVERSEAS WITH CCI

INTAGE - AGE AT WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL WAS INTERVIEWED

BIRTHPL - INDIVIDUAL'S PLACE OF BIRTH

MST - THE VOLUNTEER'S MARITAL STATUS AT THE TIME THEY VOLUNTEERED

EMST - THE VOLUNTEER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS AT THE TIME THEY VOLUNTEERED

INCOME - THE VOLUNTEER'S PERSONAL INCOME AT THE TIME AT WHICH THEY WERE INTERVIEWED

ED - THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION THE VOLUNTEER HAD OBTAINED PRIOR TO THEIR OVERSEAS POSTING

APPENDIX 4

PERCENTAGES FOR ACCOUNTS OF VOLUNTEER MOTIVATION BY GENDER

Motivation	Gender	
	Male	Female
Ideological		
Belief System	15%	25%
Social Justice/Equity	50%	29%
Pragmatic		
Timeliness	62%	29%
Travel	25%	36%
Desire to Learn/Curiosity	13%	64%
Adventure/Challenge	25%	14%
Prior Interest in Development	15%	23%
Experiential	13%	50%
Altruistic	13%	50%