

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

HOST PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEER TOURISTS

IN GHANA: THE CASE OF ASEBU COMMUNITY

BY

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## DECLARATION

### Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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### Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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## ABSTRACT

Volunteer tourism discourse seems to have a disproportionate emphasis on the guest at the expense of the host. This trend seems to be replicated in the Ghanaian studies although it is well understood that without host support, tourism cannot be sustainable. Thus, this inquiry sought to examine the host-guest relationship from the lens of the host, mainly from the relatively unexplored dimensions of language, power and reciprocity. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were used to solicit data from forty-three participants in the Asebu community from November 2015 to April 2016. The data was analyzed using QDA miner, to bring out the themes and patterns in the transcript. The results indicate that the host has different perspectives towards the international volunteer tourist. These perspectives appear to be shaped by the degree of host involvement in the volunteer tourism enterprise.

The findings revealed a spectrum of attitudes toward the guest which ranged from tolerance, indifference to suspicion. It was established that the host uncertainty about the motives of the guest was predicated on resident's perceptions of direct benefits from volunteer tourism. Based on the findings, it was concluded that host perspectives of the volunteer tourist is function of contact factors which either enabled or mitigated interactions. It was recommended that the volunteer tourism organisation consider addressing the feelings of uncertainty among the host, by giving communities enough information about the motives and activities of the volunteer tourists.

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To my parents Mr. Kodwo Afedzi-Mensah and Mrs. Mary Baaba Afedzi-Mensah.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Background to the Study**

The importance of the host in tourism can be traced to the field of hospitality. From the culture of classical antiquity to the Judeo-Christian era through to the Middle Ages when monasteries gave shelter to weary sojourners, the relationship between host and guest has existed as both a concept and a practice (O’Gorman, 2010). The term itself originates from hospitality discourse (O’Gorman, 2007; 2010). In fact, the practice of travel and hosting is as old as civilization itself (Tesone, 2008). Every culture has its unique norms of welcoming and accommodating guests (O’Rourke & Tuleja, 2008). It is no wonder then that it has become a well-established theme in social science literature.

The philosophical origins of host interactions are indicative of at least three different dimensions: domestic, civil and commercialized (O’Gorman, 2010). Each of these dimensions takes on a different interpretation when the host meets the guest. Of these three, commercialized hospitality has been most extensively studied (Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi & Lashley, 2011). Commercialized hospitality from the time of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt are the precursors of the modern hospitality and tourism industry. Historically, hospitality in ancient times was viewed as a sacred obligation and ritual and is very different from commercialised hospitality today (O’Gorman, 2007, 2010; Lynch et al., 2011). The host in ancient times (Greek, Roman, African contexts) had a sacred obligation not just to accommodate the guest, but to protect the stranger who arrived at the door;

*Give the stranger olive oil from your jar*

*And double the income of your household*

*The divine assembly desires respect for the poor*

*More than honour for the powerful*

(Khety XXVIII cited in O’Gorman 2010:4).

In contrast, the host in the hospitality industry today is a paid professional who has been trained to cook, clean and smile for the comfort of the guest (Andrews, 2013). The inherent reciprocity has been replaced by economic imperatives although the desires of the guest for protection and social interaction have not changed much according to Lashley and Morrison (2000).

The basic responsibilities of the host have not changed much; he/she still has to provide the guest with comfortable accommodation, food and drink (Germann, Molz & Gibson, 2007). What seems to be changing is who the host is. In today’s world, the host can be a trained professional, a team of trained professionals (cooks, waiters, masseurs, etc.), a private person or an entire community.

In contrast, the typical African community seems to have retained the traditional norms of hospitality as described by O’Gorman (2010). The norms of hospitality dictate that the host protects the guest and provides the best that he/she has to offer including generosity, protection, shelter, food and drink. It has been described by Gathogo (2008:39) as “an unconditional readiness to share ... the willingness to give, to help, to assist, to love and to carry one another’s burden without necessarily profit or reward as the driving force”. There is a strong emphasis of being good to guests because of the belief in

common humanity and universal human brotherhood. According to Gyekye, (2010) most foreign visitors to Africa are often amazed about the ethic of hospitality of the African people. This type of host presents a form of hospitality that differs from what the typical international tourist is used to which is hospitality as a purely commercial transaction. To all intents, there seems to be ever-changing expectations of the role (s) of the host.

Again, different type of visitors seem to bring with them different expectations of the host. In addition, the context within which host meets international tourists appear to also be changing with different contexts emerging constantly. Consequently, the study of host encounters and the issues that characterise the said encounters such as power, obligation, reciprocity, and protection ought to be studied in situ (O’Gorman, 2007). The implication is that any study on hospitality must take cognisance of these concepts as they shape the nuances of the discipline. Ignoring these concepts is tantamount to ignoring the essence of tourism and hospitality altogether (Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi & Lashley, 2011).

What then are the perspectives of an African community which hosts international volunteer tourist guests in a volunteer tourism context? How will the nature of the host encounter with the guest be and how will the issues of reciprocity and power be defined? Will there be changes or similarities and to what extent will they occur? A look into these dynamics form the foundation of this inquiry.

These questions place the inquiry within a sociological context and pander to the dictates of the social exchange theory. As indicated by Lynch et al (2011), hospitality is not only a system of social control but of also of social



and economic exchanges. As the discussion will show, there is a strong temptation to view commercialised hospitality as a series of economic exchanges only. The average guest desires not only to have clean sheets, good food and board but great conversations and interactions as well (Scanlan & McPhail, 2000; Sherman, 2011).

Although the historical and philosophical origins of host interactions are derived from hospitality, the fields of sociology and anthropology have provided most of the theories and models to understand it. A case in point is the popularity of the sociological concept of social exchange theory. On the other hand, anthropology continues to draw our attention to the socio-cultural impacts of the host-guest dynamic (Nunez, 1963; Smith, 1977; Nash, 1996). To most anthropologists, the host-guest dynamic is a cultural form negotiated through dialectics of interactions which can be positive (hospitable), negative (hostile) or indifferent (Selwyn, 2000).

From the sociological perspective, the host-guest interaction is both a transaction and a social phenomenon. As a transactional relationship, social exchange theory became one of its primary frameworks. The main tenets of social exchange theory are that humans in social situations choose behaviours that maximize their likelihood of meeting self-interests in those situations. As an exchange relationship, the host-guest interaction is said to continue or stop based on the perception and actualization of mutual benefits against costs (Causevic & Lynch, 2011).

In the tourism discourse, it is apparent that the discipline itself is reliant on the host-guest dichotomy, which operates, largely in a sociological sphere. Some of the very first definitions and models of tourism illustrate this

clearly. Leiper's (1979) model of tourism for instance characterizes tourism first as a social system. His model is primarily based on host- guest relations. Similarly, Smith (1977) defines tourism within a socio-cultural sphere as a social interaction between tourists as 'guests' and residents in the tourist destination as 'hosts.' Murphy (2013) also defines tourism as a sociocultural event for the host and guest.

Smith's (1977) classic work was among the first to describe what is now referred to as the host-guest paradigm. The host-guest paradigm is the 'traditional' notion of host-guest relations as having three main features. The first is *protection* given by the host to the guest, the second is *reciprocity*, which the host is expecting from the guest in future, and the third is *duty from both sides*, which does not only claim respect but also reciprocal well-being (Wassler, 2010).

Aramberri (2001) asserts that, the host guest paradigm has outlived its usefulness in contemporary times. He argues that in recent times, the relationship is often merely financial. To him, guests are switching from the position of guest to the position of customer.

In recent times, the emphasis in global travel has shifted back to the search for authentic experiences by the tourist. Today's international tourist desires to have contact that is more meaningful with the host at the destination. In view of that, many choose alternative tourism options because of the promise of more authentic experiences with the host (Harvey, 2004; Kuon, 2011; Zatori, 2014). Thus, alternative travel options such as volunteer tourism have become very popular today. From the 'gap year' to 'spring break' to 'Doctors Abroad', the appeal of volunteer tourism as an authentic and

‘responsible’ type of tourism has continued to appeal to young and old, amateur and professional (Wearing, 2001; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Tomazos & Butler, 2008; Butcher & Smith, 2010; Vrasti, 2013; McGehee, 2014). Ingrained in this desire for authentic experiences is the desire for more traditional host hospitality as opposed to the commercialised options (Agyeiwaah, Akyeampong, Amenumey & Boakye, 2013; Guttentag, 2013).

In analyzing the host dynamics in commercialized hospitality, sociolinguistics has been intrigued by the sociocultural dynamics of language (Cohen & Cooper, 1986; Dann, 1996; Johnson, 2009; Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014). In the cross-cultural milieu where the host and guest meet, both verbal and nonverbal communication becomes imperative.

Sociolinguistic thought has centered on how language and communication become both the commodity and the vehicle for their exchange in the host–guest interface. As determined by the literature, the tourism context provides an interesting arena for studying language in a cross-cultural context (Hall- Lew & Lew, 2014). One point is the difficulties posed by linguistic distance between the host and guest (Yoneoka, 2011). The implication is that for cross-cultural encounters, language has implications for continuous engagement or termination (Auer, 2002: 8; Jackson, 2012).

Anthropologists’ contribution to the host theme in tourism studies is evident from Young’s (1973) *Tourism: Blessing or Blight*, Ash and Turner (1976) *The Golden Hordes*, to Doxey’s (1975) study on host communities in Barbados and Canada. Perhaps the most iconic of these was Smith’s (1977) *Host and Guest; An Anthropology of Tourism* that cemented the host –guest discourse in tourism studies. The 1989 sequel of Smiths’ *Host and Guest*

recognized the importance of studying socio cultural impacts of tourism in host communities in developing countries. The book recognized the ‘stressors’ of the host –guest interaction and its impacts on the tourist destination.

Anthropological investigation into the subject saw the emergence of the concepts of authenticity, acculturation and the demonstration effect as well as the post-colonial discourse (MacCannell, 1973; Nunez, 1963). In addition to these concepts, anthropology provided a methodological lens for tourism studies, which was mainly ethnographic in nature. Thus, anthropologists such as Nunez, (1963) and Smith (1977, 1989) did pioneering studies on host populations. Similarly, anthropological studies like that of Cohen (1979) provided us with tourist typologies.

### **The Growth of Alternative Tourism**

Volunteer tourism is an offshoot of the alternative tourism paradigm. Alternative tourism refers to a ‘form of tourism that is consistent with natural, social and community values which allows hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and experiences’ (Wearing, 2001). Generally developed in opposition to the ills of mass tourism (Cooper & Hall, 2008), alternative tourism aims to capture the benefits of tourism especially for local communities whilst limiting its excesses (Honey & Gilpin, 2009). Thus, the consensus is that they present a better outcome for developing countries using tourism as a pathway to development. Consequently, many 21st century tourists attracted to the ideals of alternative tourism seek out this form of tourism.

However, Sin (2009) argues that alternative tourists such as backpackers and volunteer tourists are motivated more by a desire ‘to travel’ than by a desire ‘to contribute’, and that they often regard recipients of their ‘contributions’ as inferior. He found that ‘many volunteer tourists are typically more interested in fulfilling objectives relating to the ‘self’ (Sin, 2009: 497). This particular finding critiques the altruistic motivations that earlier research had claimed as a key foundation of alternative tourism (Lyons et al., 2012: 363).

### **Volunteer Tourism: An Alternative Tourism Market**

The practice of tourists volunteering as a major part of their holiday has become so due to the desire of the contemporary discerning tourist to be responsible even when on holiday. Although other socio-economic reasons may account for the rise in volunteer tourism as indicated earlier, it seems that one of the main reasons for its popularity is the pursuit of more authentic experiences (MacCannell, 2001; Lyons et al., 2012). Largely regarded as an alternative to traditional forms of mass tourism, the concept of volunteer tourism is “strongly related to concepts of sustainable tourism and sustainable development, especially with respect to pro-poor tourism” (Raymond & Hall, 2008: 530-531).

Many authors have pointed out the potentials of volunteer tourism for the development of host communities in the developing world (Wearing, 2001; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Raymond & Hall, 2008; McGehee & Andereck, 2008; Govender & Rogerson, 2010; Palacios, 2010). However, in the light of recent critique, the initial excitement about the prospects of

volunteer tourism for development is giving way to more critical examination, with some opining volunteer tourism as a marketing gimmick.

There is some consensus about the potential negative impacts of volunteer tourism leading to power imbalances and dependency in host communities (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004; Nelson, 2010). Some guidelines such as those published by The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) (2012) have been proposed for commercial operators. These guidelines have been developed to respond to concerns about the impact of volunteer tourism, especially from an ethical point of view (Raymond & Hall, 2008; Tomazos & Butler, 2008; Nelson, 2010). In Africa, only South Africa has recognized the importance of taking this matter up on a national policy level through the Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) Initiative (Nelson, 2010).

However, there is still little evidence to indicate if these 'best practices' are effective in every context, bearing in mind that developing countries are far from homogenous. Guidelines have offered general and often vague information, which can be difficult to follow. Often, they may fail to have a holistic approach although their importance in ensuring positive outcomes cannot be overlooked.

One of the premises of volunteer tourism today is that it provides an even greater opportunity for the authentic experience at the host destination. Volunteer tourism proposes to bring host and guests together in a mutually beneficial relationship devoid of dominance by the guest, which has been the bane of mass tourism (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Again, many young people fancy the opportunity to travel and experience exotic destinations, which are far removed from their daily reality. Not to mention that it can be quite

advantageous for one's résumé when looking for employment, especially in international organisations (Vrasti, 2013). In fact, in many British and European institutions, the gap year or year abroad for high school and college students has almost become a mandatory part of a young person's education (Palacios, 2010; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012). Many tour operators and NGOs have also become part of the volunteer tourism enterprise for varied reasons. Arguably, commercial tour operators are only driven by the economic rewards while most NGOs seem to be more mission minded (Lyons, Hanley, Wearing & Neil, 2012). It is for these reasons that volunteer tourism has become popular today.

One important reason for the study of volunteer tourism lies in its increasing popularity worldwide. Globally, 1.6 million volunteer tourists have been recorded yearly with receipts of between \$1.7 billion to \$2.6 billion since 2008 (Hartman, Morris Paris & Blache-Cohen, 2014).

The host is at least as important as the guest in the volunteer tourism enterprise, given the ideals of social immersion and interaction. If mass tourism relies on cordial relations between hosts and guests, volunteer tourism that puts host and guest side-by-side in partnership and places the guest in the homes of the host (homestays) needs to pay even more attention to this relationship.

However, after the first few articles vaunting the altruistic motives of the volunteer tourists, cautionary tales emerged. The altruistic motive assertions have been replaced with self-interest. It has been asserted that most volunteer tourists benefit from the value of having done volunteer work when searching for jobs. The most damaging critique yet seems to come from

Simpson (2004) on the false developmental hopes voluntourists bring to destinations in the developing world. Mdee and Emmott (2008) worry about the absence of certification and thus the possibilities of abuse. Guttentag (2009) bemoans the loss of local jobs to volunteer tourists.

Further, the fact that volunteer tourism is still characterized by a North-South movement of tourists is a point of concern. Volunteer tourists travel from the USA, UK, Europe, Canada and Australia to countries in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa (Tomazos & Butler, 2008; Hartman, Paris & Blache-Cohen, 2012). Thus, the old concerns of neocolonialism still emerge. The possibility of volunteer tourism contributing to the north-south dependency syndrome cannot be denied.

Recently, the romanticizing of poverty as ‘cultural’ and ‘authentic’ has become a concern for authors such as Mostafanezhad (2013) who argues that volunteer tourism seems to ‘aestheticize the host community members’ poverty as authentic and cultural’. In spite of these criticisms, proponents such as Wearing (2001) seem to still find value in volunteer tourism. As indicated in his definition, he believes that there is virtue in volunteer tourism because it has the potential to reduce material poverty and give back to society. Thus, he defines volunteer tourists as:

‘Tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment’ (Wearing, 2001:1).



McGehee and Santos (2005) conceive volunteer tourism as ‘utilizing discretionary time and income to go out of the regular sphere of activity to assist others in need’.

The three main stakeholders involved include the volunteer tourist, the host and the volunteer organization. Volunteer tourists often pay for the experience of volunteering, although volunteering in general is associated with no or minimal remuneration (Raymond, 2007: 11). To emphasize the absence of remuneration, Wearing (2001) argues that the cost of volunteer tourism trips are even more expensive than ordinary tourism trips.

The literature indicates a disaggregated spectrum of volunteer tourists ranging from shallow, intermediate to deep, to reflect the different focus of volunteers (volunteer oriented versus tourism oriented) (Callanan & Thomas, 2005). This continuum reflects increasing degrees of involvement in the volunteer activity. Similarly, Brown (2005) categorized two main types of volunteer tourists: vacation-minded and volunteer minded. As the names indicate, vacation-minded volunteer tourists partake in more leisure and touristic activities and less volunteering, while volunteer-minded volunteer tourists undertake more volunteering and fewer leisure and touristic activities. Following Cohen’s tourist typologies, volunteer tourists can also be categorized as institutionalized or non-institutionalized (Cohen, 1972).

Volunteer organizations can also be classified broadly as commercial (profit making) and non-commercial (not for profit NGOs, universities). The potential of NGOs for providing a less commodified form of volunteer tourism has been well discussed by Wearing (2004). The host, however, is yet to be categorized. Perhaps this is a reflection of the unbalanced focus of volunteer

tourism studies on the volunteers, a fact well noted by McGehee and Andereck (2008:12).

In recent times, concerns about dependency, stereotyping and questions about the effectiveness of the volunteer tourism enterprise have grown (Roberts, 2004; Simpson, 2004; Sin, 2009; Forsythe, 2011). Questions about the distribution of the volunteer tourist dollar into the host communities, as well as some reported cases of malpractice (Al Jazeera, 2012a; Alcantara, 2013) especially cases of child abuse, have raised doubts about the ethics of volunteer tourism (Al Jazeera, 2012 b).

One of the strongest arguments in support of volunteer tourism has been its provision of opportunities for cross-cultural understanding between the host and guest who come from different backgrounds (Palacios, 2010). In the mainstream tourism literature, there are mixed results on this score. It has shown positive (Pizam, Uriely & Reichel, 2000; Coghlan & Gooch, 2011), and negative (Anastasopoulos, 1992; Sharpley & Stone, 2014) and insignificant results (Teye, Sonmez, & Sirakaya, 2002). However, the dynamics of host perspectives on their relationships with the guest presented in volunteer tourism is a web of complex issues such as power, dependence and reciprocity, which are yet to be explored.

As indicated in the mainstream tourism literature, residents' perceptions can be detrimental or favourable to the growth of tourism (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009). As recipients of the tourist, hosts' perceptions are critical. Hostility towards tourists stemming from perception, directly determines the future of tourism at the destination (Doxey, 1975; Jurovski & Gursoy, 2004). Positive perceptions of the guest

lead to the acceptance of tourists, which enhances the guest experience of the destination (Su & Wall, 2010). However, negative ones may be detrimental to tourism as visitors may shorten their stay. They may not come back or recommend the destination (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004).

Again, considering the North –South flow (Sherraden, Stringham, Sow & McBride, 2006: 169- 175) in volunteer tourism, increasing concerns about dependency and unequal asymmetries of power inherent in a relationship between the helper (guest) and the helped (host) call for scholarly inquiry (Raymond & Hall, 2008; Cheung & Miller, 2010; Lyons et al., 2012). Power dynamics inherent in volunteer tourism, resulting from a situation where privileged volunteers from wealthy countries travel to developing countries, may do little to achieve the aims of cross cultural understanding. There is increasing evidence to suggest that, this may create condescending and superficial relations and not mutual understanding (Guttentag, 2009; Sin, 2010).

One alternate tourism concern is that the host narrative in developing countries has centered on tourism as a form of exploitative neocolonialism. The North- South flow of tourism to developing countries was cited as bringing ‘rapid degradation of culture and identity in societies on the “periphery” (Leite & Graburn, 2009).

It is a concern for many scholars that the arguments of neocolonialism, which seem to characterize mass tourism, are still evident in alternative tourism niches like volunteer tourism (Roberts, 2004; Simpson, 2004; Sin, 2009; Forsythe, 2011). Two factors account for this. First, volunteer tourism follows the North -South flow of tourists, from developed to developing

countries (Lyons & Wearing, 2008). Second, there is increasing scholarly evidence that the motives of the volunteer tourist are not selfless altruism; there are hints of self-seeking and egoistic motivations as well. Some findings on the motivation of volunteer tourists have raised questions about the supposed 'altruism motivation' (Chen & Chen, 2011). The perspective of the host communities in the global south is yet to indicate their perspectives on these arguments, given that such studies have not been forthcoming.

The dynamics of reciprocity, which is present in every human interaction, will be interesting to study in a volunteer tourism framework. Proponents have argued that the greater cultural immersion and partnerships make volunteer tourism a preferred form of tourism. However, there is no documentation on the reciprocity in volunteer tourism. Reciprocity implies that people engage in an exchange relationship because they expect some form of reward or return after they themselves have given up something (Ap, 1992).

According to Jafari (2002) tourism is a form of commercialized hospitality, which combines social and economic exchange, and by implication reciprocity. In the traditional tourism sense, host–guest relationships are dependent on the norm of reciprocity without which the relationship breaks down (Jafari, 2002: 267). In volunteer tourism, reciprocity takes on a more complex interpretation. The volunteer tourist, who pays for his/her trip, also labours with or on behalf of the host, expecting no financial reward from the host but a more social one – cultural interaction. Questions then arise from the perspective of the host who is unable to reciprocate financially but is expected to 'accept' the 'help' of the volunteer tourists, work with them and be grateful to them even if the 'help' does not meet his/her

actual needs. It seems that it is taken for granted that the host will be ready and or willing to exchange social and cultural resources with the volunteer tourist. What happens when the host is no longer interested in such an interaction? Otoos' (2014) work on the constraints of volunteer tourism hints at such a possibility.

Again, the criticism of volunteer tourist 'help' to host communities seems valid considering such practices which allow untrained student volunteers to become 'teachers' 'doctors' and 'social workers' in the host community (Tomazos, 2010, Palacios, 2010). Apart from that, the length of stay of volunteer tourists (some as short as 2 days) has been criticized for being inadequate to effect any sustainable changes in the host community (Sin, 2010). There is however little evidence to validate these concerns from the perspective of the host community.

### **Volunteer Tourism in Ghana**

In sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana is the third most preferred volunteer tourism destination (Govender & Rogerson, 2010). Ghana has one of the highest numbers of volunteer tourism projects (such as summer schools, construction of health posts, orphanage care and sports programs) after South Africa and Kenya (Forsythe, 2011; Hartman et al., 2012). As at 2011, South Africa and Kenya had 129 and 121 volunteer tourism organizations respectively. According to Forsythe (2011), Ghana has over 103 volunteer tourist organizations. These organizations offer placement in education, conservation, orphanages and construction (Govender & Rogerson, 2010; Voelkl, 2012:8). Popular activities under education include teaching from

basic to senior high school; social work (orphanage and hospital work); construction work (building of homes and community projects) and environmental conservation which covers research work and attachment to nature parks and reserves (Hartman et al., 2012:2). In Ghana, farm work has started emerging as an activity for tourists, especially in the southern parts of the country. The presence of NGOs (some of whom are volunteer organizations) such as the Peace Corps, JICA as well as volunteer tourism organizations such as International Volunteer Headquarters and Pro World, bring in scores of volunteer tourists. The influx of volunteer tourism has been so high that Arku (2013) described it as an invasion. In fact, Ghana is the most popular destination for some volunteer organisations in the United Kingdom such as Projects Abroad, BUNAC and WWOOF (Vrasti, 2013).

Reports indicate that volunteer tourists are attracted to Ghana because of its combination of 'perceived economic need', political stability and security (Better Volunteering Better Care, 2014). In addition to these, Ghana is a preferred destination for the contemporary cultural and eco-tourists. This is due to its historic and heritage sites such as the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles; tropical rainforests and parks such as Kakum National Park, Mole National Park, Ankasa Reserve, Bia National Park, Shai Hills Resource Reserve and the Bui National Park; its culture as well as coastal resources. It is no wonder then that the coastal areas such as Cape Coast in the Central Region are considered Ghana's premier tourist hub. Although the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture and the Ghana Tourism Authority serve to regulate tourism in Ghana, there is yet to be a policy or plan for volunteer tourism as a

niche tourism market. This is may be due to the absence of data about the phenomenon in Ghana.

Scholarly inquiry into volunteer tourism in Ghana has been done by Otoo and Amuquandoh (2014). Otoo's (2014) pioneering work on constraints of volunteer tourism in Ghana alludes to the inequalities of the host interactions with the guest, which creates uneasy tension. Volunteers expressed feelings of hostility from host communities as well as non-participation from them in 'their projects'. These issues raise questions as to the nature of the exchange process between hosts and guests.

It is in the light of these issues that this study proposes to investigate the relationship between the host and the guest in volunteer tourism using a selected site in the Central Region as a case study. The study adopts a phenomenological paradigm as a means of capturing the lived experiences of the host community members from their own perspective.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Volunteer tourism research over the last two decades has had a disproportionate emphasis on guest perspectives to the detriment of the host (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004; Brown, 2005; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Benson, 2011). There is some silence on how guests are perceived by their host communities. The literature indicates that the volunteer tourist has been extensively studied i.e. their motivations, activities, experiences (Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Coghlan, 2007; Otoo & Amuquandoh, 2014; Amuquandoh, 2016) and their corporations (McGehee & Andereck, 2009; Wearing, 2004). However, there is a dearth of research from the perspective of the host

(McGehee & Santos, 2005, Zahara & McGehee, 2013). Studies on host perceptions are not as prevalent although without host support, tourism cannot succeed (Teye, Somnez & Sirakaya, 2002; McGehee & Santos, 2005). Only a few studies such as that of Nelson (2015) exist.

Again, the few available studies have not inquired into African contexts, although there is agreement in the literature that African countries seem to have the biggest draw of international volunteer tourists (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004; Raymond & Hall, 2008; Forsythe, 2011). Further, it is important to investigate this because the sustainability of the industry depends largely on its acceptance by host communities especially, in developing countries like Ghana (Tomazos & Butler, 2008).

On host interactions, only the Singh and Singh (2004) study in the Himalayas, the McGehee and Andereck (2008) study on the host in the United States and Mexico and the Heuman (2005) study stand out because of their focus on non-monetary reciprocities in the host encounter with the guest. Existing host studies have been done in Latin America and Asia (Nelson, 2015). There is yet to be host study in an African context even though the majority of volunteer tourism activities occur in African countries (Raymond & Hall, 2008).

Existing exploratory studies in the Ghanaian context have examined the motivations and experiences of volunteers as studied by Otoo (2014) and Otoo and Amuquandoh (2014) as well as their accommodation and food preferences (Agyeiwaah, Akyeampong, Amenumey & Boakye, 2013; Amuquandoh, 2016). However, these studies have not focused on the host. None of these studies has examined the host communities' perspective, neither



have they analyzed the directions of power and norms of reciprocity, although these are assumed from the tone of the literature (Wearing, 2001; Lyons et al., 2012; Heuman, 2005). It has been suggested in the literature that guest immersion in host communities fosters continuous engagement and social exchange (Heuman, 2005; McGehee & Andereck, 2008). Yet, there is not enough evidence in the literature to ascertain the nature of exchange between hosts and guests, much less to determine whether they are positive or not.

Theoretically, volunteer tourism research seems to be building itself with the application of many sociological theories such as social movement theory and social exchange theory (McGehee, 2002; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Because of the aim of cross-cultural understanding and cultural immersion in volunteer tourism, it is expected that social exchange between tourists and hosts is positive. It is implied therefore that volunteer tourists seek greater interaction with their hosts, not the type that Krippendorf (1982) describes as breeding mistrust and resignation, nor what MacCannell (2001: 380) calls the ‘...awkward and difficult cross cultural understanding.’

Thus, the question then stands: What is the nature of the interaction between hosts and guests in a volunteer tourism framework? How do hosts interact with guests? What language do they use? How do the dynamics of language and the nature of contact shape their relationship? There is a knowledge gap in the literature about the host interactions with guest, which needs to be filled to facilitate a holistic understanding of host perspectives.

## **Objectives**

The main objective of this study is to examine host perspectives of the volunteer tourist guest.

Specific objectives are to:

1. Explore the nature of the interaction that hosts form with volunteer tourists in the Asebu community.
2. Explore the power dynamics that develop as hosts interact with volunteer tourists.
3. Assess the dynamics of language in the host interaction with the guest.
4. Examine the perceived cost-benefit dynamics of host interactions with volunteer tourists.

## **Research Questions**

1. What is the nature of the interactions that occur when hosts encounter the volunteer tourists in the Asebu Community?
2. How is power manifested in the relationship between host and guest?
3. What is the role of language in the host's interaction with the guest?
4. How do the cost-benefit dynamics play out in the exchange relationship between the host and guest?

## **Significance of the Study**

This study will fill a knowledge gap in the literature by enabling an understanding of the nature of host perspectives of the guest within the volunteer tourism framework. It will produce information about the power dynamics, language, norms of cost and perceptions of benefits from people

who host international volunteer tourists in their community. The study will provide insight into the relationships and perspectives that develop in host communities in volunteer tourism.

The study will identify whether relationships form when the host encounter the guest. The type of relationships and their consequences will be investigated. It will also provide stakeholders such as the Ghana Tourism Authority, Ministry of Tourism, District Assemblies and Volunteer Organisations with information for tourism planning and development.

As an exploratory enquiry, this study will serve as baseline information to help monitor changes in host attitudes towards the guest over time. By providing such a basis, which can serve as a framework, the study will help in the management of volunteer tourism destinations.

This study also seeks to address some concerns in the literature and the global media about volunteer tourism as an emerging tourism market. Questions about the role of volunteer tourism in fostering cross-cultural understanding between developed and developing countries remain largely unanswered. The study will attempt to solicit answers for these questions.

### **Delimitations**

Although there are many dimensions to interactions in volunteer tourism, this study focuses on the supply side issues that concern the host. In particular, the study addresses issues on interactions and the resultant perspectives host have of their guest. The issues could have been addressed solely from a demand perspective or a combined demand and supply perspective, however, the study has restricted itself to look at the host

perspective alone because it remains under researched in the literature. Using a combination of sociological concepts, the host perspectives of interaction is examined. Further, the study looks at the implications of the presence of volunteer tourists on existing community dynamics such as power, reciprocity and language.

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, a qualitative phenomenological approach was used to explore the experiences and perspectives of residents in Asebu. Findings are thus limited to the specific case of the Asebu community. This notwithstanding, findings from the study will have great value for understanding the dynamics of host communities that host volunteer tourists. Again, the study is delimited by the afore-mentioned objectives specifically focusing on residents in the Asebu community.

### **Limitations**

This study was constrained by a few challenges. Firstly, it was difficult to identify the study area because of the absence of a central database on volunteer tourism communities in Ghana. Most volunteer tourism organisations contacted were unwilling to provide information on the communities where they worked. The only organisation, which was willing to provide the necessary information, was used and based on their information Asebu, was purposively chosen as a study site. Thus, the findings of the study is limited to only this community. Another implication is that the results of the study does not lend itself to extrapolation beyond the Asebu community.

Once the host community was identified, it was difficult to determine the sample sizes, as there was no established sample frame. To solve this

problem, several visits to the community and informal conversations with some members of the host community gave a sense of direction. Again, the interviews were conducted until no new findings were being gleaned. This resulted in a large number of participants (43) being used in the study.

One of the limitations of using interviews is the problem of social desirability. Indeed many qualitative researchers have struggled with this problem for years (Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2013). Participants are prone to conceal their actual thoughts and opinions in favour of what they perceive to be the ‘politically correct thing to say’. One of the ways this study tried to reduce this kind of bias was to pay close attention to body language of participants.

The lack of generalisation seems to be the bane of qualitative studies. The results of this study cannot be generalized to the entire Asebu town. However, they do represent the views, opinions and descriptions of the participants in the study. The results therefore are subjective recollections of the participants. The study also recognizes that because this was an interpretive study where the researcher was a part of data collection and interpretation of the results, personal experiences and biases may unconsciously affect interpretation. Awareness of this in itself has helped the researcher in analyzing the meanings ascribed to the results. Having other academics look at the data and codes was helpful in this regard.

Arguably, the study should have interviewed members of the traditional authority in the Asebu community. The importance of their role came up later in the findings but time constraints did not allow for their inclusion as participants of the study.

## **Definition of Terms**

**Volunteer Tourism** is an alternative type of tourism in which international tourists combine a holiday with some kind of unpaid humanitarian work( including social health, sports, environmental projects), in developing countries (Wearing, 2001).

**International Volunteer Tourist** is usually a western tourist or a tourist from a developed country who undertakes volunteer tourism activities in a developing country. They are also referred to as the guest in this study.

**Host Community** refers to a group of people living in a particular geographical area with a particular interest and history and shared political, economic, physical and social conditions to with the volunteer tourists stay and work (Smith & Brent, 2001). In this study, the residents of Asebu make up the host community.

**Power dynamics** refers to the way (s) power works in a particular setting, it includes the specific ways in power is exercised as well as the ways it affects and is affected by elements in its environment.

**Reciprocity** is conceptualized as internal relational cost-benefit analysis that people make when evaluating a relationship in which they are in (Diekmann, 2004).

**Perspectives** are a multi-dimensional view about something based on individual's attitudes, perceptions, values and beliefs of reality (Wang, Pfister & Morias, 2006).

## **Organization of the Study**

This thesis is organized into ten chapters. Chapter one sets the tone for the study by providing a background to host interactions and volunteer tourism as an academic pursuit. Chapter two, which is the literature review, discusses important themes in the literature on volunteerism, reciprocity, power, language and exchange. The chapter traces the historical origins and concludes with a look at the theoretical underpinnings of these concepts. Chapter three is a continuation of the literature review and it discusses some empirical works on the concepts identified in chapter two. The chapter identifies the interrelationships between issues within a tourism and volunteer tourism framework. Chapter four discusses the research methodology by outlining its ontological and epistemological underpinnings. The chapter also outlines techniques for data collection and analysis. Chapters five, six, seven, eight and nine discuss the main themes emerging from the interview transcripts in the light of the four study objectives. The final chapter, (ten) is the concluding chapter which makes recommendations for future research.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter introduces the research problem, details the objectives of the study as well as its significance. It begins with a discussion of the background of the study by tracing the historical and philosophical origins of the host discourse in the social science literature and discusses it as a hybrid subject with influences from hospitality, sociology and anthropology. The background then gives an overview of the volunteer tourism phenomena globally and in Ghana. Next, the nexus between host perspectives and volunteer tourism is

discussed. The next chapter begins the literature review by exploring the conceptual and theoretical issues underlying the study.



## CHAPTER TWO

### CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will discuss the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of the study. This review begins with a discussion on the concept and philosophy of volunteerism, and continues with a look at the concept and theories that explain the dimensions of contact in a cross-cultural context. The review highlights the concepts and theories of reciprocity, power and language. The chapter concludes by highlighting the conceptual framework underlying the study.

#### **The Concept and Philosophy of Volunteerism**

The notion of volunteerism for development that started in the 1960s became even stronger at the turn of the new millennium, when it had become clear that the traditional bureaucratic agencies would continue to fail the world's poorest. Thus, a school of thought began to form around the notion of volunteerism for development.

The ideals of volunteerism makes it preferred to other forms of development interventions such as aid, which has been heavily criticized for exacerbating the problems of developing countries. There seems to be a lack of consensus on the definition and parameters of volunteerism (Gage & Thapa, 2012:413). This is in addition to challenges to its study as an academic topic, which include misperceptions, (often contradicted by empirical data and anecdotal information) that obscure the nature and extent of volunteerism;

and, the absence of an agreed methodology for assessing the volume and value of volunteer action (Horton & Robert, 2011).

Philosophically, the concept of volunteerism is based on communitarianism and is deeply rooted in traditional values, beliefs, norms and community practices in most cultures. Volunteerism expresses itself directly across cultures. In European countries such as Norway, it is known by the word *Dugnad* that describes collective voluntary work: a traditional scheme of cooperation within a social group such as family, neighborhood, community, geographical area or nation (Haugestad & Norgaard, 2004).

In the Arab world, volunteerism has been associated with helping people during times of celebrations or at difficult times and is considered as a religious duty. In Ghana, the concept of a universal human brotherhood underscores the value of giving off oneself to others.

Thus, the Akan maxims '*Onipa nua ne onipa*' (A human being's kin is another human being); *Onipa yieye firi Onipa* (the well-being of man depends on his fellow kin) recognize the essence of helping others and being selfless. Here too, the concept of volunteerism is seen in the social and moral virtues as hospitality, generosity, concern for others and communal feeling (Gyekye, 2013: 224).

### ***Critiques of Volunteerism***

The current discourse indicates that despite its ideals, volunteerism may contribute to subjection even though the preference is for it to deter it. In some ways, providing volunteer assistance to people who need help can provide just enough support to siphon the will of disenfranchised people.

Roberts (2004) has indicated that although social actors could use volunteerism to affect current power relationships to promote social justice, it seems that it is the elite who control the parameters of volunteerism.

Again there is the ‘amateur’ critique against volunteerism largely arising from two things; the dominance of young people in volunteerism and the perception that professionalism, both in knowledge and behaviour, is exclusively associated with a paid job. Horton and Robert (2011) however indicate that many professionally qualified women and men participate in volunteerism. From lawyers working pro-bono to medical doctors, organisations such as the Peace Corps, Doctors Abroad and World Vision, all have professionals, some who are the best at what they do.

Many authors question the motives of volunteers as well as the distribution of benefits to host communities (Sutcliffe, 2012). For instance, Dean (2015) asserts that the trend toward volunteering to improve one's own skills, in order to better compete in the jobs market, rather than to fulfil a social need is problematic and undermines the ideals of volunteerism.

In many developing countries, it appears that volunteering has become a business in which volunteer organisations enrich themselves under the premise of helping to alleviate poverty or providing some humanitarian services in the host communities (Dean, 2015). In Nepal, and Cambodia for example, volunteerism seems to fuel the ‘orphanage trafficking’ trade which has now become a lucrative business because there is money to be made at both ends of the chain. At one end, the charge parents high fees for giving the children a ‘better life’ (Saxe-Smith, 2015). At the other end, there is a ready supply of fee-paying volunteers willing to support with time and money ‘to

help seemingly destitute orphans'. All too often, there have been reports of abuse, neglect and exploitation in many Asian and African countries where volunteerism has become popular (Richter & Norman, 2010).

All these theoretical and practical concerns of volunteerism continue to be a source of worry to policy makers, academics and the media. In particular, the starting point of many of the positive claims of volunteerism such as global citizenship and cross cultural interaction ought to be further examined in the light of these critiques.

### **Cross Cultural Interaction**

Cross cultural interactions occur anytime persons from different cultures meet. It first begins with the contact of cultures and it takes many forms. Cross cultural interaction begins first with cross cultural contact. Specific examples of cross cultural contact scenarios include overseas students in a foreign country, travelers, migrants and tourists (Bochner, 2013:35). The host may meet the guest when they wait in line when they both use public services such as bus or train. Overseas students may meet the host teacher in the class. The migrant may work with the host as co-workers. The tourist may meet the host in a restaurant as a waiter or waitress. All these meetings have different outcomes for the cross cultural encounter.

Bochner (2013) asserts that nine major dimensions influence the outcome of any cross-cultural contact. These include the location where contact takes place (territory), the timespan, the purpose, the type of involvement, the frequency of the contact, the degree of intimacy, relative status and power, numerical balance and other visible distinguishing characteristics. The

literature further indicates that age, nationality, ethnicity, race, gender and sexual orientation have implications for cross cultural contact and interaction (Gudyknust, 2003).

For the purpose of this review, the discussion will center on the main concepts of cross cultural interaction. One of the contributions of the cross cultural literature, which is relevant for the current discourse, is the contact hypothesis.

### ***The Contact Hypothesis***

One of the leading theories in intergroup relationships that addresses the intricacies of group interactions, power and prejudice when two different groups interact is the contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis states that under the appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact between groups of people will reduce prejudice between minority and majority group members and foster cross cultural understanding (Allport, 1966). In his seminal work *The Nature of Prejudice*, Gordon Allport hypothesized that:

*Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals.*

In other words, 'true acquaintance lessens prejudice' (Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006). Per the premise of the contact hypothesis, some key conditions must be met, regardless of the type of contact situation in order for it to be meaningful. Regardless of how contact occurs, whether it is transactional (when host provides a service to the guest); social and geographic (when they are side by side sharing the same space) or

interpersonal (when they are face to face exchanging ideas), some specific conditions are needed for it to engender cross cultural understanding.

Allport delineated four key conditions as equal-group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation and institutional support. Later on voluntary participation and intimate contact were added as necessary conditions (Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006). Allport stressed that it is not the case that simply putting people together from different cultures that would lead to positive contact. Instead, he posited that these conditions must be present in order to achieve the desired positive outcomes.

Allport highlighted the importance of contextual prerequisites in promoting meaningful change. He knew that contact by itself would not produce positive outcomes when two culturally diverse groups interact. In fact, he asserted that frequent contact especially under unfavourable conditions could lead to more aversion between groups (Allport, 1966).

Borrowing from Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2005) therefore, the following conditions for “good contact” are recommended in the contact literature. First, contact should be regular and frequent, involve a balanced ratio of in-group to out-group members; have genuine “acquaintance potential; occur across a variety of social settings and situations and be free from competition. Additionally, it should be deemed as “important” to the participants involved; occur between individuals who share equality of status; involve interaction with a counter stereotypic member of another group and be normatively and institutionally sanctioned. Lastly, a good contact situation should be free from anxiety or other negative emotion (Dixon et al., 2005).

Pettigrew's (1998) five conditions for optimal contact are also worth considering: equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, authority support, and friendship potential. Pettigrew considered the condition of friendship potential predominantly important. Authors like Amir (1976) have noted how contact under unfavourable conditions defeats the whole purpose and rather increases prejudice and cross cultural tension.

Pettigrew (1998) argues that for successful cross-cultural contact, it was necessary for members of each group to have opportunities for members to share of themselves and empathize with others. This he asserted would increase the possibilities for intimate contact than is found in casual relationships. Such an intimate relationship was then assumed to lead to the generalization of positive attitudes.

Recent studies, such as that of Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) have determined that in order to have positive interactions between members of different groups, consideration must be given to these conditions. For example who the participants are; how many there are, the nature of the task that they are working on together, and whether or not they have support for their efforts from the community. This is quite similar to the findings of Bochner (2013) in his discussion of the dynamics of cross cultural contact.

Ward and Berno (2011) highlighted the possible value of the contact hypothesis to tourism studies. Although he asserted the 'obvious relevance' of the contact hypothesis in tourism studies, it still seems to have limited application in the tourism discourse (Teye, Sonmez, & Sirakaya, 2002). In spite of this trend in the literature, the theory has value for the current study because of its focus on cross-cultural contact.

In their studies of contact in the tourism context, different findings have been discussed. According to Teye et al., (2002), cross-cultural contact has been associated with positive, negative, mixed and insignificant outcomes. This is not surprising due to the different conceptualizations and measurements of contact. First, there is a distinction between interpersonal contact and community contact, which is often assessed in terms of tourist density; both of these have been assessed in tourism studies (Ap, 1990; Teye et al., 2002).

Secondly, there is the issue as to whether the investigation of contact must include both frequency and quality dimensions. This seems to be agreed upon by most theorists including Allport himself (Pettigrew, 1999; Bochner, 2013). In recent developments, researchers have found that prejudice may be contextual. Different situations may produce different attitudes by the same person for the same contact group situation (Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001).

The contact hypothesis has been sharply critiqued for being ‘detached from’ everyday life (Dixon et al., 2005). Evidence of racial violence from the xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2000, the riots of North West England in 2001 and the current racial tensions in Dallas, Texas and Baton Rouge in the United States in April-July 2016 still give cause to question the usefulness of the contact hypothesis (Ward, 2008). This is because in spite of institutionalized integration of races in these countries, racial violence continues to escalate. For example, racial violence in the United States and issues of police brutality along racial lines continue in spite of their affirmative action policies.



It would seem that most studies have found the *rarefied* conditions, needed for positive intergroup contact difficult to create in real life (Dixon et al., 2005; Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006; Levine & Hogg, 2009).

### **Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Language**

Language is a natural theme that comes up in any discussion of cross cultural contact and interaction (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005:328). According to Bochner (2013:114) if participants are unable to speak to each other in a third language, then it is possible that the mediating services of a third speaker may be necessary. Hence, it is common in such contact situations to use the services of an interpreter who then becomes the mediator between the two cultures as it were. The mediator in such a case must be familiar not only with the languages of the other two participants, but should also have some knowledge of each other's culture. This mediator can be described as a cultural broker or a language broker (Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014) who essentially serves as a bridge to both parties. As Bochner (2013) asserts, these brokers create “bridges to understanding” for individuals from the same cultures or from different cultures.

On the other hand, when the two parties have a great difference in their languages, that is a greater linguistic distance, then problems naturally do occur. For example in the tourism context when there is a great linguistic distance between a host and guest, it can lead to irritations (Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014). Some studies have found that increased exposure can actually lead to familiarity and thus ‘increase positive host attitudes, up to a point’ (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005). Conversely where there is minimal linguistic distance, the

general social meanings conveyed by the hosts' accent or dialect features remain interpretable by those their guests (Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014).

In the tourist host encounter, the choice of the initial language of interaction seems to have consequences for continuous engagement. In many touristic destinations, the host has to deal with different languages on a regular basis. Yoneoka (2011:2) has delineated the processes that the two parties go through the first time they meet:

1. The context of the interaction –which will suggest a “default” language. For example in England the default is English, in Asebu, the default is Fante.
2. Expectations and preconceptions based on interlocutor features, which then may override the default language. For instance, one might choose a language based on physical characteristics of the other party. This is usually based on stereotypes and expectations that ‘will not necessarily be correct but will at least generally be interpreted as an “understandable” misconception by the partner’.
3. Subtle visual clues, which may override expectations and preconceptions.
4. Personal preferences, which may override everything else.

Although these sequences present a useful heuristic, the reality is that they may not always be successful; neither can they always ensure continuing interaction. Considering step 2 for example, let us imagine a cross cultural situation where a Fante man in Asebu meets a western looking woman at Asebu. English is chosen over Fante by the Fante man based on how ‘western’ the woman looks. However, the choice is not successful because the woman is Italian and does not speak English. The Fante man is genuinely surprised because to him, all white western people speak English. The Italian woman

maybe surprised or annoyed about the assumption that all white people speak English (stereotyping fails).

In some instances, the speakers may try other languages. If they are successful, a conversation may ensue otherwise, they may 'retry until exasperated' (McGrath, 2004 cited in Yoneoka, 2011:2). In the last scenario, the interaction may just die off. The above scenario demonstrates the problem with the heuristic as well as the role of stereotypes in interaction and how it affects attitudes of persons in cross-cultural contact towards interaction.

It appears that in addition to the effects of stereotypes and perceptions, the discourse of language has implications for power dynamics in cross cultural contact situations. The literature seems to indicate that the discourse of language is indeed a discourse on power (Cohen & Cooper, 1986; Dann, 1996; Johnson, 2009; Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014). Prevailing wisdom in cross-cultural setting indicates that individuals position themselves in in-groups/out-groups based on language proficiency (Siiskonen, 2015). In addition, language proficiency is expected to create unequal power relations (Baker, 2011).

As Sutton (2010) questions, language indeed has the power not only to determine whether or not future interactions will occur but it also has the power to create and change intergroup dynamics. If this holds true, then language has the ability to both affect, as well as reflect, the way that people think about groups (Richards & Schmidt, 2013).

It is widely accepted that language dominance also illustrates political and economic power (Ricento, 2012). One theory that illustrates the political hegemony of language is the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT).

### *Communication Accommodation Theory*

This sociopsychological theory focuses on linguistic moves, non-verbal behaviour and paralanguage people perform to decrease and increase communicative distance between persons interacting (Dragojevic, Giles, & Gasiorek, 2015). It tries to explain how ‘our dialects and words change depending on whom we are speaking to and the evaluation of such shifts in dialects and word’ (Giles & Soliz, 2014:158).

According to Giles (2008), the theory states that dialects and words change depending on whom we are speaking and people make upward and downward adjustments considering conversational goals in order to enhance interpersonal similarities. People converge to others they find socially rewarding which makes communication accommodation a function of the social power, a target the other is perceived to possess (Giles, 2008).

According to Siiskonen (2015), people feel it is more enjoyable to communicate with those who accommodate to match their linguistic style than with those who do not. It is possible then that on this basis, some categories of people will tend to have more interaction with each other than with other groups. People often try to match their ‘accents, speech rate, word choice, utterance duration and syntax to match those of a conversational partner and also modify their non-verbal behaviours such as gaze or frequency of head nods, sometimes without even realizing it’ (Siiskonen, 2015).

The theory also recognizes the role of intercultural contact in language modification. It proposes that speakers come to interactions with an initial orientation, which is informed by past interpersonal experiences, as well as the prevailing socio-historical context. In interaction, there is an adjustment on the

part of the individual to adjust their communicative behavior to suit the person they are communicating with. This adjustment is also based on their own desire to establish and maintain a positive personal and social identity (Giles & Soliz, 2014). These adjustments and evaluations then affect the quality and nature of both the present interaction between these speakers as well as speakers' intent to engage in future.

Accommodation is considered one of the main ways of reducing social or relational distance between strangers. It increases interpersonal resemblances and can reduce ones' reservations about the other. The accommodation theory also refers to the use of local dialects by visitors or tourists (Giles & Soliz, 2014). For example, many tourists like to say "Hello," "Thank you," "Please," in the local language. Accommodation is thus said to occur either as upward or downward convergence.

Upward convergence occurs when 'a speaker adopts another's more socially acceptable communication style or preference—for example, shifting toward a more prestigious accent.' (Giles & Soliz 2014:159). Conversely, "downward convergence" is when a speaker adapts to match another's more colloquial, or stigmatized speech pattern—for example, a professional using non-technical language to explain something. Persons with low power are accommodated less than others with high social power.

In spite of the scholarly value of CAT for interpersonal and intergroup communication processes, some shortfalls challenge its application. First, it is difficult to deduce which particular communicative feature(s) will be accommodated to or differentiated from, or when and why that would happen. Consequently, it is difficult to use the theory to predict the level of

communicative accommodation between two people. Secondly, it does not spell out the dynamics of accommodative practices. Thirdly and as a follow up to the second critique, scholars are still limited in their understanding of when accommodation directly causes certain interpersonal outcomes, and when it works indirectly. These critiques do not obliterate the usefulness of the CAT as a heuristic for understanding communication in interpersonal and cross-cultural environments; on the contrary, it shows a theory under continuous interrogation.

In the tourism literature, the research on the sociolinguistic dynamics of language has focused on foreigner talk, used in the linguistic interaction between locals and various kinds of foreigners (Cohen & Cooper, 1986). Tourism presents quite a unique reversal of foreigner talk (FT). Thus unlike most cross cultural meetings, where the foreigner who tries to learn the locals' language, in touristic situations, this rarely takes place. Instead, the locals learn the foreigner's language. This undoubtedly provides new dynamics, which is further explored in the discussion on tourist talk.

### ***The Dynamics of Tourist Talk and Host Talk***

Cohen and Cooper (1986) discussed the concepts of tourist talk (TT) in relating the use of language in tourism destinations. Drawing from the sociolinguistic thought of foreigner talk ( FT), they asserted the difference between foreigner talk (FT) and tourist talk (TT) as follows; 'in FT *higher* status locals typically talk *down* to *lower* status foreigners in the host language (HL) (Cohen & Cooper, 1986: 538). However in TT, lower status locals typically talk up to higher status tourists in the tourist's language (TL),

(tourists' first language or a *lingua franca* of the tourists) (Cohen & Cooper, 1986: 538). TT is thus the complement of host talk (HT), which is the variety of the host language (HL) typically spoken by lower status foreigners to higher status locals.

The reversal of FT has its roots in the nature of mass tourism where tourist contact with the host is fleeting. As indicated by Cohen and Cooper (1986: 538), tourists are 'temporary visitors, whose penetration of the host society is ordinarily superficial'. They have neither the time nor the opportunity to learn the HL nor is there any expectation for them to do so. The host community is not expected to acquire the tourist *lingua franca* as a preparation for their visit. There is thus no *normative injunction* for tourists to acquire and use the HL.

The story is different for locals working in the tourist industry. These persons are normally in permanent contact with a flow of such temporary visitors; this indeed is one aspect of the asymmetry of tourist encounters. Locals hence have a greater opportunity to acquire the TL, and, are more motivated than the tourists to do so because it is a requirement of their job to communicate intelligently with the guest. Cohen and Copper (1986) make an interesting statement concerning the reason for the reversal of FT. They assert that since '*Tourists are travelers for pleasure, at leisure rather than at work in the host society: hence they have only a limited need for instrumental communication with the locals, in comparison with other temporary foreigners who come to the host society to work as laborers, technical specialists, or on professional assignments or official missions*'.

Based on the above assertions, how then does the proposed tourist talk fit into the concept of volunteer tourism, which combines work and leisure?

Would it be advantageous for the tourist to have more than an instrumental knowledge of the host language? Will the dynamics of the TT change? Will the tourist now have a reason to learn the host language? Most importantly, does the host upwardly converge in order to communicate with the guest? Perhaps the host perception of benefits in relation to cost will determine whether there is any upward convergence. The host conceptualization of reciprocity may affect the extent to which language accommodation occurs in the relationship.

### **The Concept of Reciprocity**

Human relationships are characterized by the norms of reciprocity whether in kin relationships, marriage, work or interactions with strangers (Diekmann, 2004). In fact, reciprocity has been said to be the ‘...basis of all social relations.’ According to Kolm (2008:5), “understanding reciprocity is indispensable for understanding all social forms, such as communities, organizations, families, and political systems”.

Reciprocity, which can be conceptualized as relational cost-benefit analysis, has been studied in sociology, psychology, biology, religious studies, anthropology and economics. From Cicero, to Socrates to Confucius to the golden rule, the concept of reciprocity has been explored. Reciprocity or repayment in kind is probably the best-known exchange rule that exists in all cultures. However, the academic study of the concept of reciprocity can be traced to sociologists such as Howard Becker who wrote: *Man in Reciprocity* in 1956 and L.T Hobbhouse who asserted that reciprocity was a central



principle of society in 1906. These early sociologists while recognizing its importance in social life, had difficulties in defining it clearly.

Perhaps the turning point in the reciprocity literature came in the 1960s, when Alvin Gouldner wrote 'The Norm of Reciprocity: a Preliminary Statement' in the *American Sociological Review*. Gouldner (1960), distinguished between reciprocity as a pattern of social exchange and reciprocity as a general moral belief. The norm of reciprocity is understood to be social norms that require people to treat others, as they would have them treat themselves; benefits for benefits, concessions for concessions. Reciprocal behaviour thus is thought to be in one's own self-interest (i.e. egoistic in nature) by authors such as Simpson and Willer (2008). Similar to Gouldners' (1960), Cropanzano and Mitchell (2005) have categorized 3 types of reciprocity (a) reciprocity as a transactional pattern of interdependent exchanges, (b) reciprocity as a folk belief, and (c) reciprocity as a moral norm.

### ***The Dynamics of Reciprocity in Cross Cultural Contact***

The notion behind reciprocal interdependence is that if a person supplies a benefit, the receiving party should respond in kind. Reciprocal interdependence is of special interest to this work because it emphasizes contingent interpersonal transactions, whereby an action by one party leads to a response by another. Reciprocal exchange is therefore understood as one that does not include explicit bargaining (Molm, 2010). Rather, one party's actions are contingent on the other's behavior. Because of this, interdependence reduces risk and encourages cooperation (Molm, 2010).

The process begins when at least one participant makes a “move,” and if the other reciprocates, new rounds of exchange initiate. Once the process is in motion, each consequence can create a self-reinforcing cycle. The sequence is likely to be continuous, making it difficult to organize into discrete steps (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). Reciprocity represents quid pro quo propensities, whether positive or negative. A negative reciprocity orientation involves the tendency to return negative treatment for negative treatment whilst a positive reciprocity orientation involves the tendency to return positive treatment for positive treatment (an eye for an eye as it were).

Gouldner (1960) describes reciprocity as a “folk belief” which describes the cultural orientation and expectation that says that people get what they deserve. In many cultures, this norm is exercised and expressed in many forms such as language. Among the Akan peoples of Ghana, the expression ‘Wo y3 papa a, woy3 fa, wo y3 b)ne a, wo y3 fa’ (if you do well, you do for yourself, if you do bad things, you do for yourself) captures in essence this belief that there is recompense for ones actions whether they are for good or bad. Reciprocity has also been considered as a moral norm, cultural mandate, in which those who do not comply are punished (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005).

Whereas reciprocity as a folk belief is not binding on people, reciprocity as a moral norm is binding, and non-compliance can lead to punishment. (Fehr & Henrich, 2003). On this basis, Gouldner (1960) speculated that a norm of reciprocity is a universal principle, and others such as Wang, Tsui, Zhang and Ma (2003) share this view.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that not all individuals value reciprocity to the same degree (Shore & Coyle-Shapiro, 2003). Hence, it is to be expected that when people from two cultures meet in a reciprocal relationship, there will be differences between them. Cropanzano and Mitchell (2005) suggest that individuals with a strong exchange orientation are more likely to return a good deed than those low in exchange orientation.

Having established the norms of reciprocity, it is important to delineate some of the resources that are exchanged between people. A resource is anything that can be transmitted from one person to another (Foa & Foa, 2012:16). Resources exchanged could be love, status, cooperation, assistance information, money, goods, and services (Foa & Foa, 2012).

So far, the norms of reciprocity discussed all seem to focus on returning good for good or evil for evil. Nevertheless, sociologists and economists have been curious about situations where people are altruistic especially in cases where there is no foreseeable chance of return of the favour. This brings to the discussion the concept of reciprocal altruism.

In 1971, Robert Trivers coined the term reciprocal altruism to describe a process that favours costly cooperation among reciprocating partners (Trivers, 1971). In principle, altruism confounds the basic logic of evolution by natural selection because individuals incur costs while providing benefits to others (Simpson & Willer, 2008). In other words reciprocity is not always egoistic.

Again, indirect reciprocity (also referred to as generalized exchange) describes acts of indirect reciprocity in the form of either collective goods (where individuals contribute to an outcome that benefits many) or networks

of indirect gifts and favours where the providers rarely receive benefits from the same recipients. This is based on altruism and can be said to be 'altruistic reciprocity'. Perhaps this can best describe reciprocity occurring in the domain of volunteerism especially considering the philosophical tenets of volunteerism.

Overall, it is suggested that, although the norm of reciprocity may be a universally accepted principle (Gouldner, 1960); the degree to which people and cultures apply reciprocity principles varies. One popular theory that explains reciprocity in human relations is the social exchange theory.

### ***Social Exchange Theory (SET)***

In recent years, one of the most ambitious sociological, particularly socio-psychological, theories has been the social exchange theory (Cook, 2000). SET theorists argue that all human relationships are formed by the use of a subjective cost-benefit analysis and the comparison of alternatives. The origins of the theory have been attributed to four (4) major theorists George Homans, John Thibaut, Harold Kelley and Peter Blau.

Homans (1961) borrowed extensively from the work of psychologist Skinner and insisted that a comprehensive explanation of human behaviour had to be done along a psychological plane rather than a sociological one. To him, 'Men are more likely to perform an activity, the more valuable they perceive the reward of the activity to be'. Understandably, his work was critiqued as reductionist and tautological by many of his contemporaries including Emerson (1976:338).

Blau's (1986) contribution to SET was his comparison of economic and social exchanges. He maintained, "the basic and most crucial distinction is that social exchange entails unspecified obligations". He argued that only social exchange "involves favours that create diffuse future obligations . . . and the nature of the return cannot be bargained" and only social exchange tends to engender feelings of personal obligations, gratitude, and trust; purely economic exchange as such does not". He also argued social exchanges create enduring social patterns.

He agreed with Homans on the score of the resources of exchange (i.e. money) and added on social approval, respect and compliance. He however parted company with Homans when it came to the norms of reciprocity. Blau argued that norms of reciprocity prevail among exchange partners creating imbalances and deprivations in their wake. He added on the power dimension to SET when he argued that people being differentiated in terms of resources create power bases through which they exploit those deprived of such bases.

Emerson (1962, 1976) further expanded the treatment of power and dependence by combining the approaches of Homans (1961) and Blau (1986). Emerson explained the ways in which exchange relations and networks change to either maintain existing structural arrangements and distribution of power or alter them.

In the tourism literature, Ap (1992) social exchange theory has found wide usage in host community studies. Ap suggests that residents evaluate the expected benefits and costs that are realized in exchange for resources and services. He formulated a number of propositions; the essence of which is that positive resident attitudes towards tourism occur when perceived rewards, as

opposed to costs, are satisfactory and balanced. Principles of 'rationality' (reward seeking); 'satisficing' (satisfying minimal aspirations), 'reciprocity' (mutual gratification) and 'justice' (fairness or equity) must be met.

Support for the tenets of social exchange theory can be found throughout much of the related literature, although results are somewhat mixed on specific relationships. In spite of the usefulness of the SET, critics argue that the premise upon which the theory rests, that ordinary people are rational and make calculated rational decisions is flawed. They argue that people do not consciously weigh up decision or consider alternatives at great length before relating to others (Moyle, Croy & Weiler, 2010; Wittek Snijder & Nee, 2013). To them, most people act impulsively not calculatingly.

Reciprocity and power as indicated by the writings of Emerson (1976), Blau (1986), Cropanzano and Mitchell (2005), Molm (1997) and Gouldner (1960) are captured in the SET. This makes the theory the most suited for this study on reciprocity and power. Again, SET is advantageous for this study particularly because it is a better-suited theory when considering power relationships (Ap, 1992) and it is compatible with a qualitative research design.

In spite of its popularity in measuring reciprocity, power and exchange, some authors suggest that social exchange theory 'may be an incomplete structure for understanding responses to tourism phenomena by community residents' (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005: 1073).

## **The Concept of Power**

The concept of power is an ‘essentially contested concept’. It is one of those concepts, which ‘inevitably involve endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users’ (Lukas, 2005). Scholarly enquiry on power began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli (*The Prince*) and Thomas Hobbes in the mid-17th century. Historically, sociologists have contributed most to the discourse of power, theorising its causes and effects. The discourse of power has been theorised along three main threads; the nature of power (typologies), its distribution (control) and exercise (use). The present discuss will focus on the nature and distribution of power.

The nature of power has been theorised by French, Raven and Cartwright (1959) as well as VeneKlasen and Miller (2002). Marx Weber, Dahl and Lukes have discussed theories explaining the distribution of power. Similarly, the exercise of power has been theorised by Foucault and Giddens.

## ***The Five Basis of Power***

French, Raven and Cartwright (1959) defined power in terms of influence as; the potential ability of one group or person to influence another within a given system; the potential to exert influence on another person, whether it be a stranger, a casual acquaintance, a co-worker, a friend, or a romantic partner.

French, Raven and Cartwright (1959) seminal work on the five bases of power was aimed at identifying the sources of power available to a person. They delineated them as referent, coercive, expert, reward and legitimate power (Mullins, 2010:397). Underlying these bases is the concept of

perception. French, Raven and Cartwright (1959) five bases of power discuss ‘...the ability of an agent (O) to influence a target (P)’. Thus using their agent-target nexus, the following is true of the five bases:

Reward power is the power an agent (O) has over a target (P) because the target (P) perception that the agent has the ability to reward desired behaviors. Lee and Low (2008) describes it as the ability to facilitate the attainment of desired outcomes. An individual or a group of persons can wield reward power. In a sense, this form of power is closely related to coercive power.

Coercive power ensures the target kowtows to the wishes of the agent in order to forestall rejection. Coercive power thus stems from “the target (P) perception that the agent (O) has the ability to punish him/her for failure to conform to the agents’ request(s).

Legitimate power has been described as the most complex of the five types because it interplays status and authority over obligation. Thus, in an organization for example, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the company has legitimate power by virtue of his position as CEO. As the agent in this case, he/she has “internalized values in the target (P) which dictates that the he/she (O) has a legitimate right to influence (P) and that (P) has an obligation to accept this influence” (French, Raven & Cartwright, 1959:159). According to Lee and Low (2008), legitimate power is induced by norms or values of a group that individuals accept by virtue of their socialization in the group.

Referent power, according to French, Raven and Cartwright (1959), is based on a subordinate’s desire to identify with a person because of his/her charisma. Lee and Low (2008) asserts that this involves the concept of



“identification”. Referent power reflects the idea of “attractiveness” for a social setting or the individuals within it. This base of power usually has a tremendous impact on interpersonal relationships.

Finally, expert power refers to a target (P) perception that the agent (O) has some work experience, special knowledge or expertise in a particular area. In the workplace, this can be described as a subordinate’s belief that a supervisor has special knowledge or technical expertise in an area in which they are working (Liao, 2008). According to Lee and Low (2008), expert power is restricted to particular areas of expertise of the agent and unlike referent power, it is not a function of a personal ‘face-to-face interaction or the personal quality of that interaction between role partners but rather a function of the knowledge possessed by the power wielder.

In tourism studies, these five bases have been useful in studies on power, leadership and organizational relationships. Specifically it has been useful in destination leadership studies (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Stilling Blichfeldt, Hird, & Kvistgaard, 2014); hospitality studies on job stress in hotels (Erkutlu & Chafra, 2006) and tourism distribution channels (Buhalis & Laws, 2001). In conjunction with the typology, social exchange theory has been used as a theoretical lenses as shown by the works of Stilling Blichfeldt et al. (2014) and Beritelli and Laesser (2011).

### ***VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) Typology of Power***

VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) developed five typologies of power that recognized its conflicting and consensual dimensions. They outline positive expressions of power as a form of human agency. While recognizing that the

most common conception of power is *power over*, which is conflicting and has many negative connotations; domination, coercion, discrimination, corruption, and abuse, they proposed four new positive expressions of power. According to them, power can be positively expressed as *Power to*, *Power with* and *Power within*.

*Power over*, perhaps the most commonly thought off is also one of the most complex because of its covert/ overt nature. It is easy when power is obvious and visible but what about instances when it is invisible and or hidden. To this end, VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) following the works of Lukes (1974, 2005) and Gaventa (1981) outline three interactive dimensions of *power over*; visible, hidden and the invisible.

*Power with* comes from collective agency when different people with different interests build collective strength (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002:43). *Power with* is based on reciprocal support, camaraderie and collaboration. This kind of power with can help effect change, reduce social conflict and promote equitable relations (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). *Power with* has been courted in development work especially where advocacy is need to introduce social change.

*Power to* is about being able to act, which is built on the awareness one has about the possibilities of taking action, developing skills and capacities, and effecting change (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002:43). *Power within* reflects the power an individual has from his/ her sense of confidence, dignity and self-esteem that comes from gaining awareness of one's situation and agency. It includes an ability to recognize individual differences while respecting others. According to VeneKlasen and Miller, (2002) when '*power*

*to*' is based on mutual support, it opens up the possibilities of joint action, or *power with*.

*Power within* is popular with the empowerment movement that underscore the women suffrage and feminist movement, human rights and popular education. These expressions of positive power or agency are reminders that power can be used positively as well as negatively, by the disempowered as well as the powerful. Building on these four types of power, Chambers (2005) added a fifth type, *the power to empower*', which he sees as critical to development thinking and practice.

The nature of power will continue to fascinate and invite scholarly inquiry as long as individuals and societies continue to exist. In this ever-shrinking world of the global village, as long individuals, groups and cultures seek to assert themselves; these positive and negative expressions of power will continue to shape the discourse. Having discussed the nature of power, the discussion now turns to the second dominant strand in the literature. This looks at theories that have addressed the issue of power by focusing on its distribution in the society.

### **The Distribution of Power**

Marxist, pluralist and elitist theorists have focused on the distribution of power. According to Marxists, power often indicates a class structure described in relation to gender, race, age, ability, and many other organizations of society that have developed throughout history and become entrenched in its values, beliefs, and accepted practices (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010). In a sense, this view of power in terms of unequal resource

distribution as discussed by Emerson (1972) and Molm (1990) is one of structural capability. Such theories posit that power ‘gives rise to actual levels of power use observable in behavior (Thye, 2000:407).

### *Pluralist versus Elitist Perspectives*

Karl Marx’s writings on power sowed the seeds for pluralist conceptions of power. His treatise focused on how relationships between people were shaped by their differential access to scarce resources (Coser, 2010:48). To Marx, power was the probability of individuals (in the lower class for example) realizing their wills despite the resistance of others (in the upper class).

After Marx, Weber explicitly introduced the pluralist perspective on power. However, it was not until the 1960s when Dahl wrote ‘The Concept of Power’ that the pluralist perspectives gained some traction in the literature. Dahl, following Weber’s thinking described his ‘intuitive idea of power’ as: ‘A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do’ (Lukes, 2005). This is referred to as the one-dimensional view of power, the overt dimension.

The focus of this dimension is on observable behaviour in identifying power; who participates, who profits, who loses, and who expresses himself in the decision-making process. Dahl suggests that access to resources is not a sufficient predictor of power. This corresponds with recent research, which claims that elites can be persuaded to work in the interests of the poor (Hossain & Moore, 2002).

Whereas Weber discussed power in the context of the organization and its structures, Dahl located his discussion within the boundaries of an actual community. The concluding assumption of the one-dimensional view has been sharply criticized by authors such as Bachrach and Baratz (1962). They asserted that people who have identified a problem act within an open system in order to solve it, and they do this by themselves or through their leaders. Their non-participation, or inaction then, is not a social problem, but a decision made by those who have decided not to participate. In their critique, Bachrach and Baratz argued that power, had two faces i.e. two dimensions.

Bachrach and Baratz (1962) also questioned Dahl's premise, the pluralistic society, in which all the community interests are represented by means of open processes. They brought into the discussion of power, the covert face of power, which is the ability to prevent decision-making (Lukes, 2005). Their concept of 'power', then, embraced coercion, influence, authority, force and manipulation.

In 1974, Lukes introduced a third dimension view to power, the latent dimension. This dimension of power deals with the relations between political preferences and real interests. Power, according to Lukes, is measured also by the ability to implant in people's minds interests that are contrary to their own good. This dimension is the hardest of all to identify and measure, because it is hard for people who are themselves influenced by this dimension to discover its existence. This means that latent processes require a research methodology that goes beyond behavioral analysis and with observations of individuals (Lukes, 2005). This is quite difficult to measure in the real world.

Elite perspectives of power was developed by Mills (1956) to contest the pluralist model. According to him, power in democratic societies is concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy individuals and organizations—or *economic elites*—that exert inordinate influence on the government and can shape its decisions to benefit their own interests. Using the United States as his case study, Mills elitist theory asserts that societies are dominated by a small group of wealthy individuals who control the economy, government and military (Mills, 2000; Gilens & Page, 2014). According to Mills, the power elite is composed of government, big business and the military, which together constitute a ruling class that controls society and works for its own interests, not for the interests of the citizenry .

The theory criticizes the unequal and unfair distribution of power in society. While Mills’ power-elite model remains popular, his perspectives on power have been criticized on the basis that not all wealthy persons are in the power elite. Others cite the fact that heads of states lose their power when they are out of office. In spite of its usefulness, elitist conception of power is limited to western ‘democratic’ societies such as the United States.

### **Discourse of Power as Agency**

The writings of Michel Foucault and Giddens (1984, 1991) changed the discourse on power (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2014). Foucault’s theory seemed to assimilate and condense all the previous theories on power (Lukes, 2005). Unlike previous versions, power for Foucault is wielded neither by individuals nor by classes nor institutions – in fact, power is not ‘wielded’ at all.

Rather than wielding power, subjects are discursively constituted through power; their actions may contribute to the operation of power (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2014.). Power to him is ubiquitous, and appears in every moment of social relations. Hence, the operations of power are not departures from the norm (Gaventa, 2003). Foucault's' conception of power is based on the assumption that power relations are mobile, non-egalitarian and asymmetrical.

Following Foucault, Anthony Giddens (1982, 1984) developed his approach as a continuation and a critique. He constructed an inclusive social theory, which he called structuration or duality of structure. Power is exercised by human agents and is created by them; it influences them, and limits them. In other words, power is not a quality or a resource of people, or a position in the social structure, but a social factor, which influences the components of human society.

Giddens asserts that power is a basic component of human agency which is an inseparable part of social interaction. Inequality exists in different people's ability and access to resources, which also creates an inequality among them in the sphere of power. To him power is a continuum of autonomy and dependence. Unequal access to resources for realizing goals and unequal opportunities to influence the course of the interaction ensure mutual relations. Finally, he argues that power is a process. Power is a factor that intervenes between human agency (inherent ability to influence the world) and social structure.

## The Concept of Host Community

Although it is difficult to define the term *community* because of heterogeneity/homogeneity arguments, different definitions of host-community have been used in tourism studies. Mathieson and Wall (1982) define host-community as the *inhabitants of the destination*". In more recent times, Williams and Lawson (2001) have defined the host community as *a group of people who share common goals or opinions*" while Aramberri (2001) defined it in terms of a society *'host societies are in fact communities, made of one piece'* yet again raising issues of homogeneity.

Generally, the people who live and work in a tourist destination constitute the host (Smith & Brent, 2001). This study categorises a community as a group of people living in a particular geographical area with a particular interest and history and shared political, economic, physical and social conditions. Thus, the Asebu community refers to residents (both indigenes and locals of other ethnic stock) who reside in Asebu. Issues of common location, identity and belonging, shared purpose and common goals, inclusion and exclusion and interest underline definitions of community (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Cáceres-Feria, 2016).

The issues that run through the definitions suggest that the concept of community connotes some sense of connection between people. From an African perspective, Dei (2000:285), describes a community as 'a group of any size whose members reside in a specific locality and has a historical heritage'. He further describes leadership of such communities as headed by 'village heads, chiefs and kings who are primarily the custodians of culture and the land, making them inherently powerful members of the community.



### **Host Community Interactions in Tourism**

Tourism is a 'complex experience, often involving subtle interaction among the tourists, the site and the host community' (Wearing & Neil, 2001: 233). The interrelationships in the tourism enterprise are at best complex and at worst misunderstood by virtue of its complexity.

It appears that the importance of the role of *hosts* in the host-guest relationship seems to be underplayed as more attention revolves around the guest who is usually someone 'new', while the host is more or less a routine part of the whole tourism process. Although the more stationary of the two in this relationship, it has been established that hosts respond differently to different types of tourism development and tourists (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). It has also been recognised that the host response to the guest is contingent on how they meet at the destination. One of the popular theories used to understand how the host encounters the guest is de Kadt (1979) three contact situation.

#### ***The Three Contact Situations***

According to de Kadt (1979:50), there are three main contact situations between host and guest. One, when the guest purchases a good or service from the host, two, when the host and guest find themselves side by side when using same facilities or in VT when working side by side and three, when the two parties come face to face with the objective of exchanging information and ideas. Based on these contact situations, some tourism studies have challenged the belief that tourism promotes understanding between people of different cultures. This is because the first two contact situations do not

facilitate any meaningful interaction. It is only the second and third contact situations, which provide the greatest opportunity for some meaningful interaction.

Similarly, the United Nations Education Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (1976) defines four features of the host guest contact in mass tourism. They assert that the relationship is transitory; faces temporal and spatial constraints; lack spontaneity and tends to be unequal and unbalanced. The host contact with the guest is transitory, lasting for very brief periods.

Similarly, Sutton (1967) claims that host contact with the guest is transitory, new or unusual experiences for tourists but 'business as usual' for local people. He asserts that cultural distinctions exist between the two parties and, overall, encounters tend to be unbalanced, both parties seek instant satisfaction (Sharpley, 2014). According to Mathieson and Wall (1982), the host perceives guests as one of many superficial relationships and for the host it can get quite repetitive and boring (Carneiro & Eusébio, 2015).

One implication of the temporal and spatial constraints on interactions is that while the guest may be generous because he/she is in a hurry to see the next big thing, the host may capitalize on this and become exploitative (de Kadt, 1979; Van der Duim, Peters & Wearing, 2005; Andriotis & Agiomirgianakis, 2014). When the guest is in a hurry, it is difficult to have any meaningful interactions with the host (Sharpley, 2014). Thus, based on the way these interactions occur, relationships maybe infrequent and superficial at best (de Kadt, 1979; Cronauer, 2012).

The consequences of such interactions show strongly in the type of perceptions and attitudes that the host will have about the guest. As the literature indicates, based on the nature of the interactions, the host form their own impressions, which in turn affects future interactions (Murphy, 2013; Styliadis, Brian, Sit & Szivas, 2014; Gelbman & Collins- Kreiner, 2016). One of the factors that shape the host interaction with the guest is the presence of what Cohen (1972) describes as the environmental bubble.

### *Cohens' Environmental Bubble*

As noted earlier, one important role the host performs for the guest is that of protection. One way this protection occurs is the placement of the tourist in an environmental bubble. According to Cohen (1972) the environmental bubbles confines and isolate mass tourists by using the “protective walls” of the institutional and other arrangements of the travel and hospitality industry (Jakkson, 2004:45). The typical tourist bubble has some consistent characteristics such as a ‘concentrated geographic area of tourist-oriented facilities and attractions, which is separated from its surrounding environment by spatially or psychologically created boundaries’ (Bosley & Brothers, 2008:165). The environmental bubble tends to shield visitors from negative contacts and external experiences at the destination. Thus, the guest is only exposed to ‘favourable version of local reality’ (Uriely, Maoz & Reichel, 2009; van der Zee & Go, 2013).

Another premise of the environmental bubble comes from the argument that even though the guest craves strangeness, authenticity and novelty, they also require some degree of familiarity in order to enjoy their

experience, hence the need for an environmental bubble. According to Cohen (1972), the extent to which tourists take shelter in that bubble, or expose themselves to the strangeness of the host environment, lies at the basis of the tourist typology. Typically, the mass tourist requires the bubble more than the explorer or drifter (Cohen, 1972).

However, in spite of the usefulness of the environmental bubble, there are legitimate concerns that these bubbles lead to the exclusion of locals or other 'unwanted' individuals and groups (Cohen, & Avieli, 2004; van der Zee & Go, 2014). Issues of exclusion and inclusion in host communities invariably lead to issues of power and agency. This form of protection from a host perspective has implications for the interactions and relationships that are formed in the host community. The host bubble can determine the extent and degree of intimacy between the host and the guest.

From another perspective, it has been noted in the literature that there is a negotiated 'level of intimacy' between hosts and guests, which largely depends on the extent to which the hosts are prepared to interact with their guests (Tucker & Lynch, 2004:15; Bell, 2007). Often, the guest's position is treated as superior largely because the tourist is often in a superior financial position (Andrews, 2000).

Still, the importance of the host in the success of the tourism enterprise is undisputed. It is therefore logical that if host acceptance is important in the success of mass and traditional tourism, it is even more critical in volunteer tourism which puts the host and the guest side by side (in partnerships) and face to face (direct interaction) (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

The works of Butler (1980), Doxey (1975) which have formed the bedrock for most threshold studies in tourism illustrate the importance of host acceptance and participation in the success of any tourism enterprise. Host dissent or disapproval generally leads to shorter periods of stay, which translates to lower spending, lower multiplier effect, negative publicity and advertisement of the destination. The somewhat complex dynamics for host-guest relationships regarded as superficial for the host in some texts, has also been described as unequal and unbalanced in terms of power and agency (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

Host-guest interactions in tourism occur in the context of cross cultural contact and interaction. Thus, any discussion on the dynamics of host-guest interactions must first be conscious of the context within which the contact occurs. The literature on host guest interactions has been concerned with both the nature of the host contact with the guest and the consequences of the said contact (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). That there are effects on the host community regardless of the depth and frequency of the host guest contact is well accepted in the literature (Sirakaya-Turk, Nyaupane, & Uysal, 2014). One such consequence is the effect on host behaviours.

### *The Demonstration Effect*

The literature on the impact of tourism in host communities indicates that changes in host economic and social behaviours especially among young people is a symptom of the tourism demonstration effect.

The demonstration effect occurs when members of the host population, particularly those in the younger age group, imitate what tourists do (Saldanha

2002; Fisher, 2004). It is asserted that tourism causes changes in spending and consumption patterns as well as changes in culture and social behaviour of host communities (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Mcelroy & de Albuquerque, 1986; Monterrubio & Mendoza-Ontiveros, 2014). According to Fisher (2004), the demonstration effect is problematic because of its ability to challenge and change traditional value systems.

Admittedly, one of the strongest critiques of the demonstration effect is the fact that it is difficult to separate the effects of tourism from other forms of globalization such as television, and the internet. However, the proponents of the tourism demonstration effect aver that because of the nature of the host-tourist encounter, especially the face to face interaction, demonstration effect is stronger than other forces of social change, such as television and movies (Fisher, 2004; Monterrubio & Mendoza-Ontiveros, 2014). Again, it is difficult to measure the demonstration effect as the literature shows mixed evidence of its empirical existence (Irandu, 2004; Yasothornsrikul & Bowen, 2015).

In spite of these queries, proponents assert that host contact with international tourists either causes or catalyzes social, economic and cultural changes. This is more pronounced where there are discernable differences between hosts and guest (Irandu, 2004). Thus although there are other causes of social and cultural change, the demonstration effect cannot be ruled out entirely.

### **Host Perspectives**

Perspectives are a multi-dimensional view about something based on an individual's attitudes, perceptions, values and beliefs of reality (Wang,

Pfister & Morias, 2006: 411). Many tourism impact studies have focused on residents' perspectives toward tourism development in order to get a sense of what the host communities think about tourism (Teye, Somnez, & Sirakaya, 2001; Kayat, 2002; Murphy, 2013). Host perspectives consider both the perceptions and attitudes of residents in the community concerning their interaction with their guest. This also includes the factors shaping them.

According to Murphy (2013), some of the factors that may shape host perspectives include stress and conflict. Stress and conflict among the host community are individual level consideration of economic, social costs and benefits. Residents who have similar economic capacity to the guests are less likely tempted to see tourism as an annoyance. However, when the guest is perceived as rich and leisurely, then 'severe stress is often apparent' (Cronauer, 2012).

Apart from the disparities in economic status, the perception of individuals on personal benefit is an important factor in causing friction between host and guest. (Meyer, 2006; Wang & Pfister, 2008; Sharpley, 2009; Hlabane, 2013). Within the local community, tolerance to tourism is strictly related to how much profit an individual personally makes from tourism (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1999; Murphy, 2013). Even where residents recognize negative effects, accumulation of personal profits and benefits caused the host to be tolerant of the guest.

Resident's perspectives also seem to be based on intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Intrinsic factors influencing the host perception are patterns such as age, gender, dependency on tourism, education and community attachment (Brida, Osti & Faccioli, 2011). Although some studies have studied these

factors and found them to be true, there are some cases where these factors were not correlated with perception (McGehee & Andereck, 2004).

For instance, though there seems to be a connection between level of education and positive perception towards tourism, some studies have shown that education does not influence the host's perception (Andriotis, 2005). In the social sphere, stress may occur based on demographics such as age. It appears that older generations are more likely to dislike tourism for causing changes in culture than younger people (Wassler, 2010).

A useful theory that can enable a better understanding of the host perspectives is symbolic interactionism theory. Authors have used this theory to explain the subjective meanings individuals ascribe to the experiences they have with their guest (Samdahl, 1988; Wearing & Wearing, 2001; Moyle, Croy & Weiler, 2010).

### *Symbolic Interactionism Theory*

Human interactions and relationships occur in a milieu of subjective meanings. Principally, people are 'social objects during interactions, and these objects are constructed when humans perform certain social acts' (Mazzotta & Myers, 2008). Selwyn (2000: 26-27) asserts that hosting guests in one's home is symbolic '... the making of friends out of strangers'. Thus, studies such as this benefit from a symbolic interactionism perspective.

Largely credited to George Herbert Mead, symbolic interactionism has become increasingly important to tourism studies as a research method and a theoretical lens for host guest interactions (Wassler, 2010). According to Burbank & Martins (2010), symbolic interactionism is 'especially useful for



exploring and understanding human beings and their behaviour in their social worlds’.

Blumer (1980) posits that people engage others based on meanings they hold about them. These meanings according to Fernback (2007) are said to develop through social interaction, and people’s interpretations mediate their understandings of their culture. Thus, the symbolic interactionist paradigm emphasizes human agency – our ability to actively construct meanings and act upon them. Blumer (1969) asserted that humans act toward objects and events because of the meanings those objects possess; meanings arise from social interaction; and humans interpret the objects and events in their environments to generate meaning. The implications of these three assumptions are that ascribed meanings can change over time due to interpersonal interactions and relationships. Another assumption is that social meanings are shared through communication (Wilson, 2015). The theory asserts that individual and material realities are constructed through a dynamic, communicative process.

Thus, the language, contact situation and meanings ascribed to said interactions are important in a discussion of host interacting with guest. By emphasizing human agency and action, symbolic interactionism inherently recognizes that directions of power flows from the persons interacting as well as the environment and context in which contact takes place.

In spite of the strength of this theory for studying host encounters with the guest, only a few studies such as that of Amuquandoh (2010) work on residents of the Lake Bosomtwe basin in Ghana has utilized this theory in this direction.

Other theories that have been developed in order to explain tourism impacts and residents attitudes towards tourists include Doxey (1975) irritation index. This theory remains one of the most cited theory in perception studies evidenced by its wide application in a number of host studies (Diedrich, & García-Buades, 2009; Sharpley, 2014).

### *Doxey's Irritation Model*

Doxey (1975) based on studies conducted on host communities in Canada and the West Indies argued that residents' reaction to tourism would change in a predictable manner passing through four stages; euphoria, apathy, annoyance and antagonism. In conjunction with Butlers Tourist Area life cycle, Doxey's irridex has been used to describe the evolution of tourist destinations over time.

Although Doxey's irridex has become somewhat of a staple model in host-guest studies, it has been criticized by others such as Sharpley (2014). The model cannot explain the variety of residents within a community (Zhang, Inbakaran & Jackson, 2006); nor does it explain situations in which visitor management strategies may help to reduce pressure on the local community (Murphy & Price, 2005). The limitations of this model include its basic assumption of the homogeneity of communities (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

It must be noted that communities tend to be heterogeneous irrespective of size, place and location. Others have criticized its linear progression from a lower stage to a higher stage citing that human relationships and feelings are varied, not following a sequence. Wassler (2010)

has advocated that the lack of heterogeneity should be supported by clusters of residents, because awareness of the levels of irritation may differ by cluster.

In spite of some of these criticisms, this model has been widely used in studying host communities and their guests such as those of Irandu (2004) and Wang, Psfister and Morais (2006). Again, it continues to provide a useful heuristic for studying for host relations especially as a starting point for research.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework guiding this study is thus based on four main theories Ap (1992) social exchange theory, Allport (1966) contact hypothesis, Doxey's irritation index and the communication accommodation theory. To a lesser extent, Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionism provides a lens for examining meanings generated as a result of host interactions with the guest.

The contact hypothesis examines the context and the conditions for the contact whiles the symbolic interactionism framework enables an understanding of the subjective meanings the host ascribes to their encounters with the guest. The social exchange theory explores the perception of individual and community level costs and benefits of hosting volunteer tourists. The framework provides a useful heuristic for understanding the reasons the host has for continued interaction and exchange or otherwise with the guest.

As indicated by the literature, persons whose livelihoods depend on tourism are more likely to be in support of touristic activities than those who

are not (Teye, Somnez & Sirakaya, 2002; McGehee & Santos, 2005). The host interacts with the guest in a cross-cultural context and this has implications for communication, specifically language. The conceptual framework as shown in Figure 1, theorises that the type of employment as well as the type of involvement the host have in the volunteer tourism enterprise are important dimensions of the contact. This has implications for interactions and resultant perspectives.

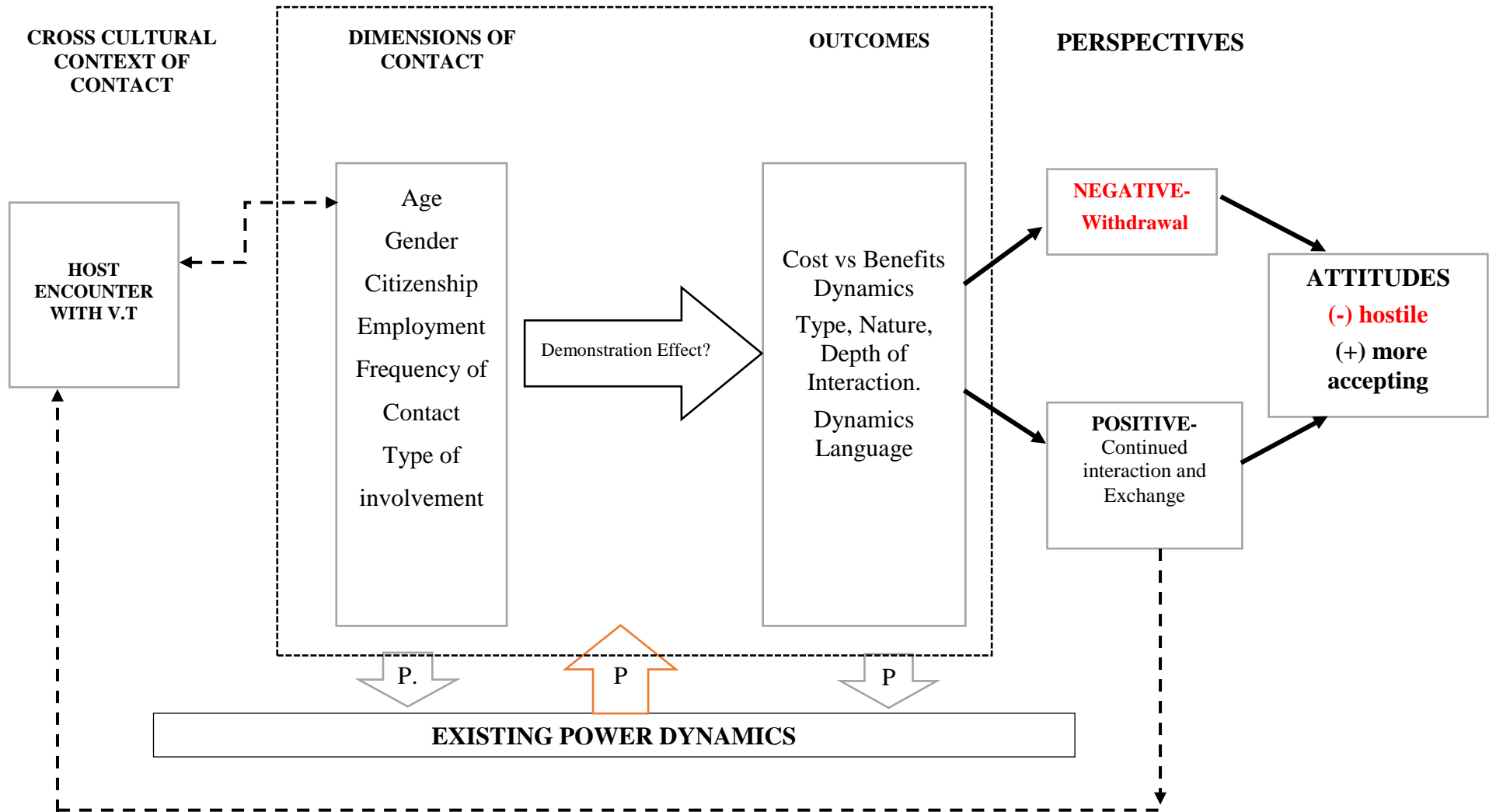


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Author's construct (2017)

Based on the findings of Cohen and Cooper (1986) and Hall-Lew and Lew (2014) the conceptual framework theorises that members of the host community who have some economic interest in the volunteer tourism enterprise are more likely to be accommodative of the tourist language and engage in tourist talk. Drawing from a symbolic interactionism perspective, the study will explore the resultant language dynamics as well as the challenges posed by the linguistic distance, which exists due to the different tongues of the host and guest. Again, it would be interesting to see if host interactions cause any changes to the host language given the discussions of Mathieson and Wall (1982) and Murphey (2013) regarding the influence of demonstration effect on the language of young people.

The volunteer tourism literature further makes the argument that unlike mass tourism, volunteer tourism provides greater opportunities for cultural immersion and interactions with the host community (Wearing, 2004; Coghlan 2007; Raymond & Hall, 2008; Palacios, 2010). Using the contact hypothesis lens, the study proposes to understand the nature and type of interaction that actually occur in a volunteer tourism context. The study is interested in the contact situations that occur. Do those contact situations follow those of de Kadt (1979) and Krippendorf (1987) or are they different? Again, based on the assertions of Allport (1966), Pettigrew (1998), Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), Kayat (2002), Gudyknust (2003) and Brida et al., (2011), authority support, type of involvement, gender, age and community attachment (due to ones' citizenship) are predicted to be important dimensions of the contact. Does volunteer tourism create the kind of contact situation that fosters deep interactions and relationships? Does it engender cross-cultural understanding

as indicated by proponents such as Wearing (2004)? Does the host perceive interactions with the guest as deep or shallow? Based on the arguments of Cohen (1972) about the environmental bubble, it would be interesting to see the depth of the host interactions with the guest.

Again, there are concerns about the effect of volunteer tourism on the existing power dynamics in the host community. Does volunteer tourism provide an avenue for agency for some section of the host as alluded to by McGehee (2014)? It would be worthwhile to find out if the presence of the volunteer tourism enterprise has had any influence on the existing dynamics of power among the host. Using the idea, that power is discursive, overt as well as latent; the study uses French, Raven and Cartwright (1959) and VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) conceptualization of power to determine the directions of power in the Asebu community. Furthermore, some critics of the volunteer tourism enterprise have raised concerns about the semblances between volunteer tourism and neocolonialism (Roberts, 2004).

Finally, it is accepted in the tourism literature that when the host perceive that there are benefits to be gained they are likely to accept and support tourism. This occurs so long as the benefits outweigh the costs (Stylidis, Biran, Sit & Szivas, 2014; Marzo-Navarro, Pedraja-Iglesias & Vinzón, 2015). Using the social exchange framework, the study seeks to find out if the host perceives the benefits of volunteer tourism to be higher than the cost and whether or not the host desires continuous engagement with the guest. The literature, on motives of volunteer tourists presents some unanswered questions about the altruism motives of the guest. It would be interesting to explore the host perspectives on this matter.

The study theorises that such things as the type and depth of interactions as well as perception of benefits; economic and social are also affected by the ease or difficulty of communication and the nature of the contact situation. The presence of volunteer tourism may affect the existing power dynamics. The culmination of all these dynamics in the host community has the potential to promote or subdue the volunteer tourism enterprise.

*Table 1- Summary of Concepts and Theories Underpinning the Study*

Concepts and Theories	Issues
Social Exchange Theory (Ap, 1992).	Host perception of costs, benefits, reciprocity Host decision on continuing or terminating engagement
Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer, 1969).	Meanings host ascribe to interactions with volunteer tourists
Contact Hypothesis -Allport (1966); Pettigrew (1998).	Dynamics of the contact situation, nature of interactions and relationships that occur
Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 2008 & Siiskonen, 2015); Tourist Talk (Cohen & Cooper, 1986).	Dynamics of language
Doxeys' Irridex (Doxey, 1975 )	Host perspectives based on interactions with international volunteer tourists
Typologies of Power (French, Raven & Cartwright, 1959); VeneKlasen and Miller (2002)	Dynamics of power

Source: Author's construct (2016)



## Chapter Summary

The chapter examined the issues inherent in the concepts of volunteerism, reciprocity, power. It is obvious that ideas of volunteerism and reciprocity are common to cultures around the world including Ghana. Although the degree to which these concepts exist varies, their importance is underscored by the literature. The norms of reciprocity seem to intersect with the concept of volunteerism.

Reciprocity, power and exchange are interconnected concepts that characterize everyday human interactions. In applying these three concepts to volunteerism, the question of imbalances in exchange and its inherent implications for reciprocity arise. The chapter also discussed the conceptual framework, which is informed by the social exchange theory, the contact hypothesis, symbolic interactionism, communication accommodation, Doxey's irridex and Cohen's environmental bubble. In addition, the concepts of the demonstration effect as well as the typologies of power as postulated by French Raven and Cartwright (1959) informed the framework. On power, the chapter illustrates the various trends in the discourse. Notable discussions in the literature bordered on the overt versus latent view of power as well as the notion on power as agency (*power to*) as described by VeneKlasen and Miller (2002). Concerning reciprocity, the chapter discussed the notion of altruistic reciprocity as being the closest to the motivation for volunteer tourism. The next chapter continues the discourse by examining the empirical works that have applied these concepts and theories.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE HOST-GUEST INTERFACE: RELATIONSHIPS, FACTORS AND OUTCOMES

#### Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of the review of relevant literature. In this chapter, the review continues with examining the issues raised in the previous chapter in the light of a volunteer tourism framework. It discusses existing studies on the host theme in volunteer tourism as well as studies on reciprocity, power and language in a cross cultural context. The discussion highlights the common methodologies and its implication for the present study.

#### Host Studies in Tourism

Host interactions have been a dominant theme in mainstream tourism since the 1970s. To this end, a lot of concepts and theories have been developed for its study. The concepts of attitude/perception, community, host and guest have been well discussed by authors such as Gurosy and Jurowski (2004) and Carnerio and Eusebio (2015). The demonstration effect and environmental bubble are two concepts that have been used in host studies to explore the effects of western tourists on host communities (Mcelroy & De Albuquerque 1986; Irandu, 2004; Mason, 2015; Kumar, 2015).

Some empirical works on the demonstration effect have found little evidence that tourism causes change in the economic, social and cultural behaviours of host communities. Mcelroy and De Albuquerque, in their study on the Caribbean, found that “no tourist influences are more important

predictors of...consumption behavior'' (1986:33). Authors such as Hall and Page (2014), Mowforth and Munt (2015) and Mason (2015) found tourism to be one of many causes of social change. They all attribute forces of globalization, urbanization and industrialization as equally strong catalysts of social change.

On the other hand, Gjerard (2005) found 'clear evidence of demonstration effect' in her qualitative inquiry into the sociocultural impacts of tourism. Participants felt that some of the community members tried to emulate visitor behaviour, and meet supposed tourists' expectations.

Irandu (2004) qualitative study found both negative and positive demonstration effects. Negative demonstration effect was found among young people in Muslim towns of the Kenyan coast. Demonstration effects such as high school drop rate for male children, drug peddling and prostitution were found to dominate in the tourist hubs of Mombasa and Malindi. On the positive side, his study found that tourism facilitated the intellectual development of the local people. Tourism served an incentive for the youth to work harder towards a higher educational attainment.

Similarly, Kumar (2015) found both positive and negative effects of demonstration due to the regular interaction with tourists, young Indians had an eagerness to learn English and other foreign languages, to dress up like tourist, to be rich and to be technologically savvy. On the other hand, some had learnt smoking, which older people in the community frowned upon.

It has been argued that the extent to which the host encounters the tourist is dependent on the extent to which the tourist is willing to leave the familiarity of his or her bubble and embrace the 'strangeness' of the host

(Cohen, 1972). Empirical work on the effect of the environmental bubble on the host are few. Most studies like that of Sirakaya-Turk, Nyaupane and Uysal (2014) and Lee and Wilkins (2017) all focus on the tourist. Most studies only offer tangential information on the effect on the host, like that of Zalatan (2004), Uriely, Maoz and Reichel (2009). Studies indicate mixed results concerning the tourist environmental bubble and host interactions. Van der Zee and Go (2014) found that instead of harboring interactions, the environmental bubble created to protect Dutch tourists at the 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa was used as a launching pad for venturing into the country. They found that the bubble provided a familiar zone, which visitors used as a launching pad to gain access to interact with their hosts.

Fan, Zhang, Jenkins and Tavitiyaman (2017) qualitative study of 45 international tourists to China found that some tourists seeking familiarity tended to remain in their environmental bubble. These tourists were described as being similar to Plog's psychocentrics and Cohen's mass tourists. As already agreed in the literature, these types of tourists had limited interactions with the host. However, in this instance, this was because they had little desire to contact with their Chinese host due to their limited language competence, age and personality. Other studies such as that of Basala and Klenosky (2001) indicate that the structure of the tour, the fact that is pre scheduled by the tour company account for the absence of interaction with the host.

The literature on host perspectives is biased towards qualitative methods as opposed to quantitative methods (Fredline, Jago & Deery, 2012; Nunkoo, Smith & Ramkissoon, 2013; Fan et al., 2017). The data collection

methods of choice have typically included large-scale surveys and some face-to-face interviews.

With respect to volunteer tourism, concepts and methodologies are not clear-cut especially because it is a relatively new study area in tourism. Pioneering scholarly works such as that of Raymond and Hall (2008) have hinted that because of its inherent ideals, volunteer tourism has the potential to be mutually beneficial to host and guest. This point has been further reiterated by Govender and Rogerson (2010), who re-echo the points on reciprocity as indicated by the earlier works of Lyons and Wearing (2008). Wearing (2001) has also asserted the pro-poor abilities of volunteer tourism, although such assertions seem to pall when compared with the benefits some volunteers receive (Govender & Rogerson, 2010:10). Still, the literature implies a more profound host-guest interaction in a volunteer tourism context.

In this context, the tourist finally gets access to the 'back room' and crosses from the 'back stage' to the 'true' authentic experience (MacCannell, 1973; Broad, 2003 cited in Govender & Rogerson, 2010). In spite of this access, the developmental impact of the kind of host-guest interaction is even more elusive as the value of short-term work by the unskilled volunteer has been heavily criticized in the literature (Raymond & Hall, 2008; Govender & Rogerson, 2010).

### **Motivations for Volunteer Tourism**

The trend in the volunteer tourism literature indicates an emphasis on the guest perspective (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004; Brown, 2005; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Benson, 2011). A few studies have concentrated on both the

volunteer tourism and host communities (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003; Singh & Singh, 2004; McGehee & Andereck, 2009).

The studies have so far focused on the demand side, primarily focusing on the motivations and experiences of the volunteer tourists (Simpson, 2004; Brumbaugh, 2010; Ooi & Laing, 2010; Otoo, 2013, 2014; Otoo & Amuquandoh 2014). A few outliers have been studies on homestays as an alternative accommodation preference by Agyeiwaah (2013) and volunteer tourist's constraints by Otoo (2014). These studies employed existing general theories in the mainstream tourism literature such as memorable tourism experience theory, the push and pull theory of motivation and the leisure constraint theory. The prevalent instrument for collecting data has been the use of the questionnaire. Probability sampling methods, usually random sampling has been used with large sample sizes ranging up to 336 respondents.

Respondents have been located mostly through the volunteer organizations. Volunteer organizations are popularly used as a means of obtaining samples primarily because of the absence of data on the numbers of volunteer tourists at the destination. One such example is Otoo and Amuquandohs' (2014) study in Ghana on volunteer tourist experiences that used a random sample of 336 volunteer tourists from 38 volunteer organizations. Their findings indicated that social, cultural and tourism attributes of the destination negatively or positively influence tourist experience. In relation to the social attributes, opportunities for interaction with the host community may exist. There have been mixed results about the true motivations of volunteer tourists. The question about altruism of the

volunteer tourist intentions seems to affect the host relationship (Lyons, Hanley, Wearing & Neil, 2012).

It appears that the motivations for volunteer tourism is a spectrum ranging from altruism, (Brown, 2005; Coghlan, 2015) to self-development (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007), fun (Halpenny & Caissie, 2003), overcoming a challenge (Galley & Clifton, 2004) and career development (Söderman & Snead, 2008).

Tomazos and Butler (2008) found that some volunteer tourist's motivation was to experience a feeling of heroism while some others participated in it because it was fashionable and popularised by celebrities in the west (Mostafanezhad, 2013). To a lesser extent, some volunteer tourists seem to have been motivated by the acquisition of cultural capital as found by Jones (2011) study, while others were motivated by novelty and adventure as found by Stoddart and Rogerson, (2004) and Pearce and Coghlan (2008) respectively.

Coghlan (2008) results for example found that although there may be an element of altruism that motivates volunteer tourists, there exists an equally, if not stronger, element of self-gratification that drives participation in these projects. His study employed self-administered questionnaire to study motivations of volunteer tourists. He found that volunteer tourists showed a greater diversity of motivations than are being recognised by the leaders, including the social aspects of the trip, developing practical skills and the cultural exchange as well as opportunities to go sightseeing (Coghlan, 2008 : 189). This is suggested in Uriely, Rechel and Ron (2003) description of VT as an expression of post-modern culture and the search for the 'other'.

Another finding from his inquiry was that the focus of volunteer tourists was on enthusiasm, hard work and not qualification. Thus, once there was interest and enthusiasm, there was little effort to check the expertise, skills or qualifications of the volunteer for the task to be done (Coghlan, 2008: 188).

Halpenny and Caissie (2003) investigated the altruism motivation of volunteer tourists. Based on a sample of ten Canadian volunteer tourists they used a constructivist approach to collect their data. Their results that indicated that it was the desire for fun, not altruism that motivated their participants. Their work emphasized the need to use a qualitative approach to gather information on the experiences of the volunteer tourist.

Using a qualitative inquiry, Sin (2009) study on Singaporean volunteers to South Africa found similar findings as that of Halpenny and Caissie (2003). Adopting a combination of participant observations and semi-structured interviews over 29 days, she explored volunteer tourists' motives for volunteering. She relied on three different sessions of interviews of her 11 participants. She found that most volunteer tourists were travelers first, and then volunteers (Sin, 2009: 494). Thus the overriding desire was to travel and have authentic 'back stage' experiences with the host community rather than 'contribute' to the host community.

Contrary to Sin (2009) and Halpenny and Caissie (2003), Chen and Chen (2011) qualitative inquiry on motivation found that volunteer tourist did indeed seek authentic experiences at the destination and interact with local people and culture (Chen & Chen, 2011: 439). Their study was based on a sample of 10 international volunteer tourists who visited China in 2008. Using a triangulation of different sources of data from participant observation, semi-



structured interviews and analysis of online blogs of volunteer tourists, they employed content analysis to make meaning of their data.

Some of these works have recommended that research should head in the direction of the host communities to give holistic understanding of the practice of volunteer tourism. The merit of these early studies in providing an understanding of the volunteer tourist psyche is clear, however, it has meant that the study of volunteer tourism as a field of study still lacks its own theoretical frameworks. Most of these studies have not generated new theories for understanding the complexities in volunteer tourism.

On the supply side, empirical works on the host community are very few (Wearing, 2001; Lyons & Wearing, 2008; Palacios, 2010). These works include that of Sin (2010), McGehee and Andereck (2009), Zahra and McGehee (2013) and Nelson (2015). These studies relied on qualitative approaches such as grounded theory as used by Zahra and McGehee (2013) and ethnography as used by Nelson (2015). McGehee and Andereck (2009) was the only study that used mixed methods, employing a combination of interviews and surveys.

Like Sin (2009), Zahara and McGehee's (2013) work on the host relied extensively on researcher knowledge (20 years) in the Philippines to purposively sample three (3) communities and 24 participants. As a qualitative study, this study is one of the few that focused on the host. The authors immersed themselves in the literature to get a wide spectrum of 'voices' (Zahara & McGehee, 2013).

The data collection techniques for the rest of the studies were primarily interviews, life histories, focus group discussions and participant observation.

These were used either by themselves, for instance Sin (2010) used only interviews or in combination as Nelson (2015) did using a combination of interviews, participant observations. Reflective of many qualitative studies, the sample sizes were small ranging between 14 and 24 participants. In all four studies, volunteer tourism organisations served as the proxy for determining the host with the most contact with the volunteer tourists.

Sin (2010) study in Cambodia relied on interviews with 14 participants collected over a period of 2 months. All participants had hosted volunteer tourists previously. She reported that her participants were wary of saying negative things about volunteer tourism. In discussing this observation, Sin alludes to the unequal nature of the power relationships between the volunteers and the host (Sin, 2010: 986). Her findings indicated that host communities appreciated the desire of the volunteer tourists to help their communities. Because of that, they had learnt not to ‘judge them harshly’. Her findings also indicated the formation of mutual caring relationships between hosts and guests (Sin, 2010: 987). Sin (2010) found that while volunteer tourism can sometimes reinforce stereotypes, it could also formulate healthy caring relationships.

Decision-making processes in volunteer tourism were seen to be lopsided in favour of the volunteer tourists. Participants alluded to the lack of real authority and control over volunteer projects even when they had proposed the projects to begin with. Hosts power lay in proposing projects that conformed to the expectation of volunteer tourists as “suitable” projects. Sin’s (2010) findings also indicate the ability of volunteer tourism to both unsettle existing power hierarchies and creating new ones.

Zahara and McGehee (2013) found what they describe as the ‘novelty effect’. This is the notion that the presence of volunteers results in increased participation by the host community in the development programmes offered by the NGOs. However, there was some tension between the NGOs when they felt that members of the community credited some of their projects and programs to the volunteer tourists.

Nelson (2015) also indicated that there was some distrust felt by cooperative members towards the local people, NGOs and the volunteer tourists. On power, her work found power dynamics at work in the relationship between host and guest. In her case, the power to withhold and demand information emerged as what was fundamentally at stake in the reciprocal exchange between volunteer tourists and cooperative members.

Context wise, these studies have been done in most volunteer tourism hubs in Latin America (Guatemala, Mexico) and Asia (Philippines, Cambodia) (Nelson, 2015). Ironically, Africa, which seems to have the biggest draw of volunteer tourists from the global North, is yet to have such a study, which focuses on the host (Raymond & Hall, 2008).

Overall, these studies underscore the appropriateness of qualitative methods as well as the dearth of host perspectives. Their findings indicate the need to explore the nature of the reciprocal relationship as well as the tensions and subtle power struggles in the host- guest dynamic.

### **Pros and Cons of Volunteer Tourism**

Current volunteer discourse shows a blend of positive and negative assertions and claims, some which have been authenticated by the literature.

Perhaps one of the loudest pitfalls in the practice of volunteer tourism has been its rapid expansion and commercialisation, which undermines its original ethics of being a sustainable, and host community centered (Raymond, 2007; Guttentag, 2009; Butcher & Smith, 2010; Sin, 2010; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012). Tomazos (2010) findings highlighted the problem of high charges of volunteer tourism organisation. These large amounts of money for their services did not translate into the development of the host community. Similarly, Benson and Wearing (2011) confirming the work of Guttentag (2009) found limited benefits of the volunteer tourism dollar to the host community.

In another vein, the much-touted premise that volunteer tourism provides better opportunities for cross cultural understanding and bonding between host and guest as postulated by Crabtree (1998) and Wearing (2001; 2004) and others such as Kirillova, Letho and Cai (2015) seem to be questionable.

Raymond and Hall (2008) study found that instead of creating cross-cultural understanding between voluntourist and the community, there was a never-ending misunderstanding between host and guest especially when the voluntourism organization failed to conduct proper facilitation and training before, during and after the program.

Guttentag (2009) work indicated the difficulties in fostering cross cultural understanding between people who speak different languages. His work emphasized the need for studying the role of communication (verbal and non-verbal) in making cross cultural understanding possible. Simpson (2004)

study indicated that the gap year sending organisations enforced a simplistic view of 'the other', so that 'difference' could be packaged and sold to tourists.

Zavitz and Butz (2011) study in Costa Rica also found that volunteer tourism did not support social development in host communities neither did it ensure meaningful cross cultural understanding between locals and volunteers. Similarly, Nyaupane, Teye and Paris (2008: 652) found that contact alone did not provide a positive cross-cultural experience for host and guest. Simpson (2004) findings suggests that existing stereotypes may actually be reinforced thereby deepening dichotomies.

In fact, a recent study by McGehee (2014) found exploitation of host communities, volunteers and the environment as well as poor project work by volunteer tourists. Further work related challenges have been reported by Bargeman, Richards and Govers (2016). Their study highlighted costs associated with working with the volunteer tourists who did not take their instructions and thus made their work difficult.

Wright (2013) findings from 26 in-depth interviews of prospective volunteer tourists and host communities in Nepal showed that volunteer tourism caused negative impacts in the community. The most commonly cited negative impact was cultural change because of Western intervention within communities. Another was the question of long-term benefits to the local host community.

Domingues and Nöjde (2012) ethnographic study of eight volunteer tourists in Brazil found the existence of a social distance between the host and guest. This was perceived as a cost. However, the rewards were generally perceived as greater than the costs considering the total experience, implying

that the free time during volunteer experiences is of greater importance than what can be understood from current literature. They underscored the importance of effective communication in achieving cultural interaction.

On the positive side, it appears that the positive impacts of volunteer tourism all accrue to the volunteer tourist more than the host communities. Most of the assertions of positive impacts for the host, which include Swarbrooke, Beard, Leckie and Pomfre (2003), and Guttentag (2009) claims of improving education, understanding between cultures, creation of job and small (tourist) businesses all seem to be based on anecdotal evidence. The findings of Stoddart and Rogerson's (2014) survey in South Africa found that volunteer tourists on short-term international development programs were gaining benefits than their host communities.

Bargeman, Richards and Govers (2016) study on host impacts in Tamale Ghana using a primary school and an orphanage found that to some extent, the presence of volunteer tourists in the orphanage reduced the workload of staff. Another benefit was the logistical and financial support which was seen to have positive consequences for the children, 'since the health of the children living in the orphanage has improved and the hygiene standards in Tamale Children's Home have been upgraded' (Bargeman et al., 2016:11).

Lupoli, Morse, Bailey and Schelhas (2014) quantitative study of the impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities in Latin American countries was also an attempt to develop indicators for measuring such impacts. While asserting that positive local impacts of volunteer tourism were often assumed and not research-based, their study failed to include host voices in determining

the indicators to measure the said impacts. Their sample was restricted to volunteer tourism organisations and experienced volunteer tourists but not the host communities themselves.

The apparent gap between benefits for the host and the guest brings to mind questions on reciprocity. How does the host evaluate the tradeoff costs versus benefits in volunteer tourism given the current imbalance indicated in the literature? This question seems to have been highlighted by Heuman (2005).

In his study on ‘working tourists’ in Dominica, Heuman (2005) found that age, wealth, education, and cultural capital affected the chances of equitable exchange. He cited income levels (evidenced by price of the volunteer tourist trip compared to host annual incomes) as an example of such a divide. He contends however that, power in the exchange relationship does not lie exclusively with tourists, host control over local knowledge and networks may even things out a bit (Heuman, 2005: 413).

Zahara and McGehee (2013) found that the Filipino norm of reciprocity hindered host community members from voicing their concerns about the negative effects of volunteer tourism. They felt that from what they had received from the volunteer tourists, it was wrong to complain about anything (Zahara & McGehee, 2013:41).

The extant literature has indicated that volunteer tourists may exhibit altruistic reciprocity towards the host especially where the volunteer tourist does not return to the same place to receive from the host (Diekmann, 2004: 491). However, it is difficult to find any empirical evidence to support this claim.

### **Asymmetries of Power in Tourism**

Chambers (2005) following VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) share similar thoughts with Foucault in theorising power as being operational in social relationships. Following the Foucauldian perspective on power, Kayat (2002) in her study of power relations among host residents in Thailand used the social exchange theory as a lens for her study. Thus, the role of resources and its ownership by the host were highlighted as elements of power in the relationship between the host and the guest.

Sin (2009) has indicated in her study on Singaporean volunteer tourists the tensions created by viewing the volunteer tourist as the giver and the host community as the 'less fortunate' receiver. She indicates that in this relationship volunteer tourists may fail to see the role that their own privilege plays in the dynamics of power. Sin found that the perception of both the host community and the volunteers themselves was similar to that of development aid, where the volunteer tourists are in a better position of power to judge and comment on the recipients (Sin, 2009: 496). The giver-receiver relationship in volunteer tourism is principally a power relationship. A common denominator in most of these studies has been the issue of participation as an important indicator of how power relationships play out in determining the inclusion or exclusion of people in the volunteer tourism enterprise (Afenyo, 2012).



### **Dynamics of Language in Host-Tourist Encounters**

*“Language and languages sit at the very heart of the tourist experience, its representation and its realization, its enculturation and its enactment”*

(Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011: 289).

According to Hall-Lew and Lew (2014), the tourism- language nexus remains under researched in both linguistics and tourism studies. The few studies that exist such as the much cited Cohen and Cooper (1986) largely comes from sociolinguistics, where scholars have considered how the particular social context of the tourism encounter reflects or challenges existing theories of language use (Boudreau & White, 2004; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010) .

The role of language in tourism studies have focused on the socio linguistic perspective as discussed by Dann (1996) and the marketing as indicated the works of Salim, Ibrahim and Hasssan (2012) and Kot, Grabara, and Kolcun (2014). These works underscored the role language played in attracting tourist and wooing them to the destination. Dann (1996) found the relationship between language and the search for authenticity by the tourist. Other studies have focused on the role of language as a representation of culture and heritage in tourism destinations (Drozdzewski, 2011; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011).

Methodologically, there seems to be a preference for qualitative (interpretive) approaches over quantitative approaches. Most of the existing studies have relied on incidental data and content analysis of existing studies. Perhaps one of the most comprehensive contemporary works is that of Jaworski and Thurlow (2010). Their analysis of the literature revealed six

different tourism contexts: ‘three about language use (inflight magazines, trade signs and business cards, and holiday postcards) and three about language representation (newspaper travelogues, television holiday shows, and guidebook glossaries)’ (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010).

Overall, however, scholarly attention seems to be on the discourse of functionality of language in creating and then overcoming cross-cultural barriers to communication (Lehman-Wilzig, 2001; Farooq & Fear, 2003; Gao, 2012; Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014). This more applied perspective is of fundamental importance in the tourism sector in two ways. First, service staff in tourism establishments must be able to effectively communicate with customers. Secondly, tourist and hosts must be able to communicate effectively should there be mutual understanding and acceptance on either side.

Altogether, the empirical works on the socio linguistic dynamics of language in tourism illustrate the complexities of different linguistic groups under unusual circumstances. That is the high temporariness of the foreigners and the high degree of linguistic accommodation of the locals to them.

Seminal work such as that of Cohen and Cooper (1986) who pioneered the notion of “language brokerage” employed incidental data from the literature on tourism and interview data from fieldwork in Thailand. Cohen and Cooper (1986) first stressed on host language, which had remained under researched at the time. They also discovered from the data that the relationships inherent in the interactions between the tourist language (TL) and host language (HL) were typically an asymmetry of power or status. Their

work showed how those who use FT are more powerful than those who receive it.

In a similar fashion, Rázusová (2009) found four main sociological perspectives namely the authenticity perspective following the work of Mac Cannel (1989); the strange hood perspective following the work of Dann (1996); the play perspective and the conflict perspective influenced by the power relations thoughts of Hollinshead. These perspectives all seem to view the host as the 'other' with little or no agency following the trend in the literature where the host perspective is reduced to descriptions in advertising. Rázusová (2009) tows the line of previous works, which rely on interpretive qualitative tool with little methodological rigor.

Gao (2012) utilised a 'brief ethnography' to inquire into English learning in Yangshuo, the 'English corner' of China, which had become a unique form of educational tourism. Her work explored the relationship between English and the political economy. Her focus was on the power of the English language as a form of imperialism. She found that in the district of Yangshuo, many schools where tourists were being recruited to teach the English language, many people equated 'Success in English, to Success in Life'. Her work clearly illustrates the power of the language of tourism in shaping destination areas. In spite of her contribution, there are a number of methodological loopholes, which make validity questionable and replicability difficult.

Hall-Lew and Lew (2014) stressed on the usefulness of tourists learning the language of the host as an entry into the back region (MacCannell, 1973). In that regard, language itself becomes a resource that can be

commoditized and monetized as a tourism product. They did a desk review of the existing literature and identified the common trends and future directions of research. They found that most studies indicated that despite the common practice where tour guides lead tourists in ‘parroting’ local greetings in a local language most tourists, regardless of linguistic distance, did not feel comfortable with local languages and therefore to avoid disgrace, most did not attempt to speak local linguistic varieties. More importantly, they found that language shock could greatly exacerbate experiences of culture shock that visitors may have.

Quantitative work such as that of Ip (2008) used a multimodal analysis of a promotional brochure about a variety of local tours organized by Splendid Tours & Travel Limited, an associated agency of the Hong Kong Tourism Board (HKTB). She employed textual analysis based on scheme theory to elicit subtle words and themes used in the brochure to attract the attention of tourists. Her findings indicated that they present only the positive and attractive sides of the potential touristic experiences, while the negative aspects are often ignored (“highlighting and hiding”). She concluded that although the language used was hyperbolic, it was a fair representation of the destination although she felt the host would question some of the descriptions used.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has examined empirical studies in the tourism and volunteer tourism literature. The empirical findings indicate that most of the benefits of volunteer tourism accrue to the guest while the costs seem to

accrue disproportionately to the host. Perhaps one reason for this comes from the paucity of empirical work done on host communities. It is apparent that although there is recognition of the importance of the concepts of power, language and reciprocity in the tourism and volunteer tourism framework, very few empirical studies have been done. However, the existing studies have used both qualitative and quantitative methods although the qualitative approach seems to dominate. Concerning host interactions, attitudes and perspectives, the extant literature shows a similar preference for qualitative research design.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the study area and the methods used in the data collection. The first section gives a description of the study area including the criteria for its selection. Next, the chapter discusses the research paradigm underlying the study and provides a rationale for the choice of qualitative interpretive phenomenology. The chapter also discusses the epistemological and philosophical issues relevant to the study.

The concluding part of the chapter examines the data and sources, sampling, research instruments and methods of data collection. The chapter continues with a description of fieldwork and its challenges and ends with a description of the limitations and ethical considerations of the study.

#### The Study Area

Central Region is the nation's tourism hub (Adu-Ampong, 2017). Cape Coast and its immediate environs are endowed with historic, cultural and natural attractions in addition to some accommodation facilities. The study site for this study is Asebu. This town is located 28km from Cape Coast. Asebu community was purposively chosen because it has hosted volunteer tourism organisations such as Projects Abroad, Alliance for Youth Development and CARE international for at least eight (8) years. Although Asebu receives many volunteer tourists who commute there for 'work', it does not have the accommodation facilities for tourists.

Asebu was the only available community purposively selected for the study. The selection of Asebu was influenced by two main factors, willingness and availability.

Firstly, because of the absence of a central database on volunteer tourism organisations in Ghana, I had to rely on personal contacts to find the organisations. After locating three such organisations in Cape Coast, I visited these places to find out if they could provide access and grant permission to visit their host communities, unfortunately, only one organisation was willing to grant such access and permission. The organisation that was willing to grant this access indicated Asebu as one of their oldest host communities. They provided details of their operations there as well as contact numbers of their coordinators and host families.

The selection of a study area was informed by the following criteria:

1. The area must have had at least 2-5 years contact with volunteers tourists.
2. There must be evidence of projects in the communities (painted schools, hospitals etc.).
3. The area must have volunteer tourists present during the data collection or must have had a recent group at least 3 months prior.

The Asebu community also met the above criteria. The criteria was informed by the works of Kayat (2002) and Gursoy, Jurowski and Uysal (2002) who assert community attachment as a strong predictor of host reaction to tourism.

Asebu is the fourth largest community in the Abura- Asebu- Kwamankese district. The Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District (AAKD) is one of the 20 political districts in the Central Region. It was carved out of the erstwhile Mfantseman District Council in 1988. Abura Dunkwa is its capital. The district

covers a total area of 380 square kilometers. It is located between latitude 5°05'N and 5°25'N and longitude 1°5'W, and 1°20'W (Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2014). It is bounded on the North, by Assin South District, on the East by Mfantiman Municipal, on the Southeast by a 5km stretch of the Gulf of Guinea, on the South by Cape Coast Metropolitan and on the West by Twifo-Heman-Lower Denkyira District (GSS, 2014).

As at 2010, the population of Asebu community was 4,124, which constitutes 3.5 % of the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District. The community, which is primarily rural (90%), is youthful with more females (52.8%) than males (47.2%) (GSS, 2014). Fante speaking people dominate the community. From the 2010 Population and Housing Census, on Asebu (69%) of the population can speak basic English. 70% of them speak Ghanaian languages such as Fante and Twi.

The community is easily accessible from Cape Coast and can be easily located along the Cape Coast –Kumasi highway. Because of the good nature of the road, taxis and 'trotros' provide affordable transportation to and within the community.

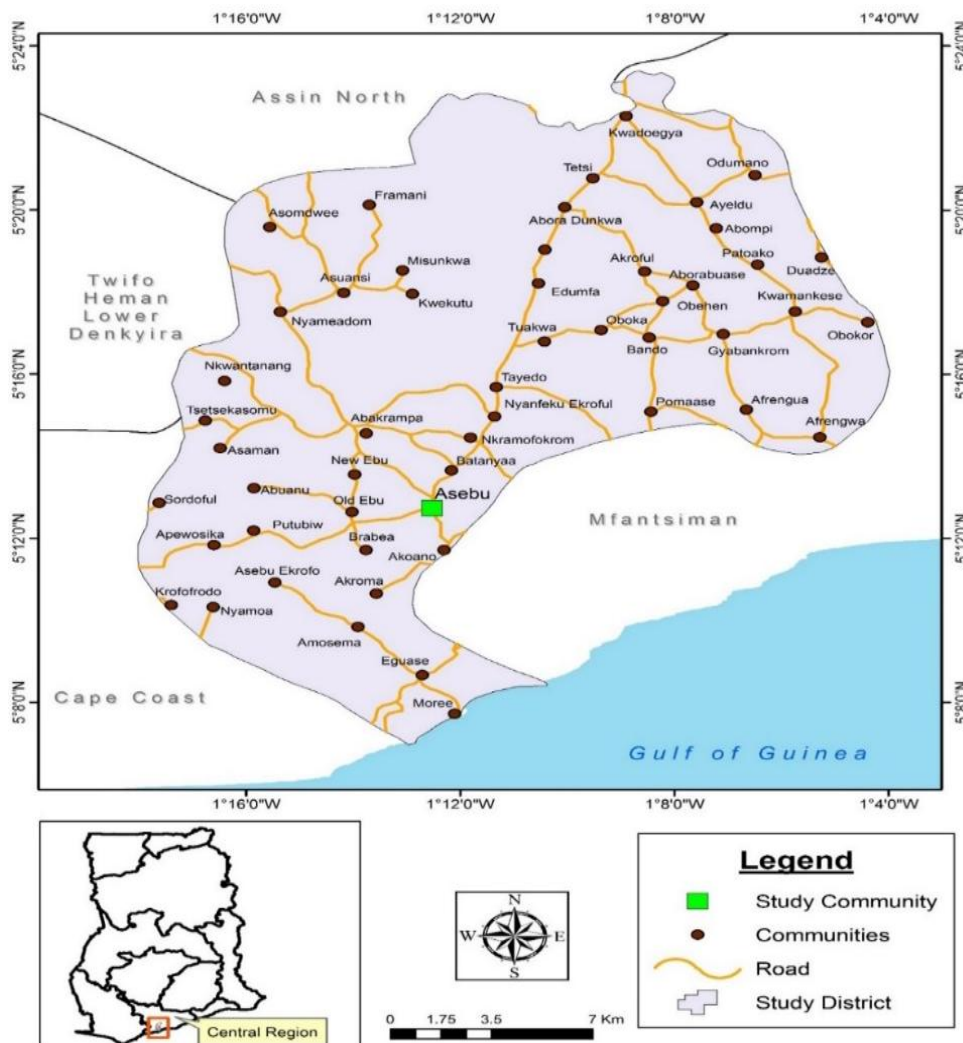
Asebu is endowed with natural resources and historical tourist attraction sites, which remain underdeveloped for tourism. The district has touristic features which when developed and packaged well would generate a lot of revenue. Among them are Fort Nassau at Moree and the humanlike rock deposits in the Sea at Moree, once believed to have been human beings.

The community lacks any form of commercialized accommodation partly because, typical international tourists like to sleep in Cape Coast, which has hotels and guesthouses of international standard. Another reason for the



absence of commercial hospitality is the absence of a well-established tourism product that can attract tourists to spend the night in the community.

Perhaps, the single most popular attraction at Asebu is the Asebu Amanfi Stool, a rock that is said to carry the foot and fingerprints of Asebu Amanfi (giant of Asebu) founder of Asebu. In addition to these historic attractions, the district celebrates festivals such as Odumkwaa Festival by the people of Abura Dunkwa during Easter, Amoakyer Afahye for the people of Abakrampa in April, Okyir festival at Edumfa in October and the Abangye festival of Moree in the first week of September. The Kae Kro festival is celebrated at Asebu on 25<sup>th</sup> November every year. Volunteer tourism in Asebu can be attributed to its scenic rural setting, orphanages and schools. Asebu provides the perfect get away for tourists seeking calm and quiet.



**Figure 2: District Map of Abura- Asebu -Kwamankese**  
 Source: University of Cape Coast Cartography Unit (2016)

### Research Paradigm

The nature of the phenomenon to be studied given its exploratory nature is better suited for a social constructivist paradigm. Often combined with interpretivism (Creswell, 2008:8), this paradigm originates from the works of Norman and Lincoln (1998), Lincoln and Guba (1985, 2000). For the current inquiry into the subjective meanings of the host community where volunteer tourists visit, this paradigm was best suited. This is because it made

an inquiry into subjective meanings of host residents about the international volunteer tourists that they host. The essence was to capture those meanings in their own words. The implication of this paradigm was that qualitative methods were most applicable in shaping the identification of the research unit as well as determining the instruments and techniques for analysis. This follows similar work by Irandu (2004), Wassler (2010), McGehee and Andereck (2014) and Fan et al. (2017).

### *Qualitative Research Approach*

In the qualitative inquiry, reality is seen as subjective and best seen from the perspective of the participants (Creswell, 2006:17). The epistemological considerations of qualitative studies allowed the researcher to stay close and observe the participants in order to validate what they know about them (Creswell, 2006). Cross cultural interaction, power and reciprocity are relational and as such they are best studied from the perspective of those who have lived that experience. Essentially the qualitative inquiry enabled an examination of these issues as it allowed the researcher to look at the essence of those experiences (Lauckner, Paterson & Krupa, 2012).

Another point on the rhetoric of qualitative inquiry is the use of language not only as a resource for research but also as a topic of study as was the case in this study. One of the objectives of the study was to assess the role of language in the host interaction with the guest. Qualitative enquiry allowed this assessment to be done with interviews and observation of tone of voice, body language and gestures during the interviews. The meaning and

understanding of words and gestures provided clues about how the host perceived the guest.

The philosophical assumption of qualitative methodology lies in its heavy reliance on inductive logic. This case study tried to capture the lived experiences of residents of Asebu community within a specific period and the specific context of volunteer tourism. Thus, the data collection process was iterative and it spanned a period of six months from November 2015 to April 2016.

The exploratory qualitative approach allowed the topic of host perspectives to be studied in context. With the understanding that a phenomena is best understood in the context in which it occurs, a case study approach was adopted for this research. Using a qualitative phenomenological design allowed this study to capture the “powerful stories to illustrate specific social contexts” (Lin, 2013).

The challenge with using this qualitative approach is the inherent subjectivity. In conforming to the literature, a conscious effort was made to present the findings as participants presented them (Creswell, 2006:17).

Concerning validity, a conscious effort was made to adopt best practices at each level of the research process. Whitmore, Chase and Mandle (2001) checklist were used as a guide in this regard. For example, there was an attempt to get a good sample size in order to ensure sampling adequacy, hence 43 participants were used in the study. The appropriateness of the research instruments were ensured through expert review, progressive focusing of the instruments and pre testing.

Experts in qualitative research methodology and tourism at the University of Cape Coast and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University were purposively chosen and asked to independently review the instruments and check for internal validity of the instruments as well as ambiguities. The three experts from the University of Cape Coast were chosen because of their use and experience with qualitative research. The two experts from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University were chosen because of their expertise in qualitative research as well as their expertise in community based tourism and volunteer tourism. The instruments were then reworked in response to queries raised.

After this, the research instruments were progressively focused in two communities in the Central region with similar characteristics as Asebu in December 2015 (Sinkovics & Alfoldi, 2012). These were Akotokyir and Ayensudo communities. This was done by administering the interview guide and focus group discussion guides on similar participants in these two communities. The purpose was to see if new issues and perspectives could be gleaned which would then be added to the instruments as questions. As expected, this activity brought up new issues and enabled the researcher practice the interview process. Translation of the instruments from English into Fante came up as one of the issues to be addressed. After this process, some questions were introduced into the instrument, one such question was on host post trip communication with the volunteer tourists.

After these modifications, the finalized instruments were pretested in Mamfe in the Eastern Region in January 2016. Mamfe was purposively chosen through the volunteer tourism organisation because of similarity of projects

and structure of volunteer tourism to that of Asebu community. The pretest included field work and analysis of the data. After analysis, the results were discussed with senior research colleagues in the department of hospitality and tourism at the University of Cape Coast. The results were compared with the objectives and instruments. As discussed by Diakko (2016) and Sinkovics and Alfoldi (2012), the processes of progressive focusing and pre testing helps to ensure the internal and construct validity of the research instruments.

The case study method was preferred over others such as cross sectional or comparative design because of the nature of the research objectives. The objective was to study the phenomenon at a particular point in time and according to authors such as Yin (2013) and Creswell (2013), the case study method is useful for such exploratory studies. For example, Broad (2003) case study in Thailand, Chen and Chen (2011) study in China and McGehee and Andereck (2014) study in Mexico all utilised the case study approach to explore individual perspectives of volunteer tourism.

The principle of saturation was used to determine the end of data collection. Thus, the data transcripts from two focus group discussions and thirty five (35) in-depth interviews were used to generate themes.

After data collection, recorded interviews were translated verbatim in order to give voice to the participants. The interpretation and presentation of results were true to what participants experienced. The data was analysed using QDA Miner a qualitative analysis software. According to Whittemore et al. (2001), the use of computer software also helps to ensure validity.

## Research Design

The study's design is primarily exploratory mainly due to the paucity of empirical and scholarly study of host interactions with volunteer tourists in the literature. It is generally accepted that this research design be used where there is thin data on the phenomena (Bryman, 2008, Creswell, 2003). From the timber in the literature, there is every indication that not enough is known about the volunteer tourism phenomenon to use any other research design such as experimental design. As indicated earlier, this study seeks to provide baseline information to enable identification of factors that can be monitored later on using other designs.

According to Kothari (2004) exploratory case design is a flexible design, which provides opportunity for considering different aspects of the problem. Case studies offer the opportunity to analyze the dynamics of power in its most concrete and symbolic enactments (Yin, 2013).

Interviews, which are a main stay of exploratory case studies, can provide insights into how people think, how they relate to each other, and how these thoughts can change or uphold the ways things are done in particular settings (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010). By adopting a case study approach, an in-depth exploration of the various issues can be done.

Although not very common in tourism studies, the usefulness of interpretative phenomenology in tourism research has been recognized by authors such as Boukas and Ziakas (2013). The present study focused on the lived experiences of residents in a community that hosts volunteer tourists. The inquiry into lived experiences made it suitable for a qualitative phenomenological enquiry.

The value of interpretative phenomenological research as a mode of enquiry lies in the fact that among the qualitative methodologies, it seems to have a clear set of guidelines (Groenewald, 2004). First, it is useful in descriptive and exploratory studies. As an exploratory study, this study sought to describe the existing relationship and attitudes of host residents towards volunteer tourists (Groenewald, 2004; Szarycz, 2009). As described by Manen (1990), phenomenological studies resist “any use of concepts, categories, taxonomies, or reflections about the experiences”. As posited by Creswell (2013) the best criteria to determine the use of phenomenology is when the research problem requires a profound understanding of human experiences common to a group of people as was the case of this study.

Phenomenological studies examine human experiences through the descriptions provided by the people involved and it is especially suited for study areas in which there is little knowledge (Donalek, 2004). One of the most important attractions of this paradigm for this study was its usefulness despite the difficulty in obtaining a predetermined sample, which would have been a problem for other research paradigms. Study units were purposively chosen. In this case, residents who were 18 years and above and had lived at least 2 years in the host community and were willing to participate in the study were purposively chosen. This was because residents who have lived for at least two years in the community were most likely to be aware of volunteer tourists and their activities in the community. The selections were done on site, so once in the community; persons were initially approached by the researcher and directly asked some preliminary questions which bordered on their length of stay in the community and whether or not they were willing to



be interviewed. After that information was ascertained, the interview commenced if they fit the criteria. If not, then they were not selected to be part of the interview.

The use of this mode of inquiry was appropriate because of the second objective of the study, which was to assess the role of language in shaping host guest encounters. As prescribed by Kvale and Brinkman (2009) and Marshall and Rossman (2010) semi structured in-depth interview and focus groups were the main data collection tools.

### **Data and Sources**

The study relied on primary data sources. Primary data was solicited from residents of Asebu community who were 18 years and older and had stayed in the community for at least 2 years. Information gathered was resident's perspectives of their experiences with the volunteer tourist guest in their community. One key informant for the study represented the volunteer tourism industry. His perspectives enabled a wholistic appreciation of the modus operandi of volunteer tourism in the study community. Secondary data included a record of volunteer tourism organisations and their host communities as well as various texts on cross cultural understanding, power, language and reciprocity.

### **Target Population and Sampling**

The target population for this study was composed of two main categories of people. The first group was comprised of purposively selected community members of Asebu community who had some experiences with

the volunteer tourist and had lived in the community for at least 2 years. These were mainly service providers; host families, businesspersons and staff (teachers, head teachers, caretakers of orphanages) of the various organisations (schools, orphanages and voluntourism organisations). These persons were selected because they were the most likely to have had contact with the volunteer tourists and so would be able to provide information to answer the research questions and objectives. The second group was persons such as taxi drivers, traders, shop owners and business people those who lived in close proximity to orphanage home and school.

In keeping with the dictates of a phenomenological enquiry, sampling units were purposively selected. Participants were purposively sampled from each group until no new information was gleaned from the interviews (saturation is reached). Information was collected from both the individual level and community level. This was in line with good practice as there is a distinction between interpersonal contact and community contact (Ap, 1990; Teye et al., 2002).

The study focused on the production of meaning from the perspective of the host; generalisability of the findings was not a primary consideration (Bryman, 2008, Creswell, 2008). A list of host communities and work zones from the volunteer tourism organization constituted the sampling frame as indicated in the Table 2.

*Table 2- Target Population and Sampling*

Category	Sampling Population	Sampling Technique	Population	Sample Taken	Data Collection Technique	Analyses
Children’s home of hope orphanage	Care givers, supervisors	Purposive	3	1	Interview	Thematic Analysis using QDA Miner
Educational institutions	Teachers, Headteacher,	Purposive	20	3 4	Interview 1 FGD	
Summer school and Sports academy projects	Project coordinators	Purposive	6	4	Interview	
Key Informant interview	Regional Director of volunteer tourism Organisation	Purposive	1	1	Interview	
Residents of Asebu	Taxi drivers, traders, households located close to orphanage home and school	Purposive	Unknown	22	Interview	
				8	2 FGDs	
Total				43 participants		

Source: Field survey, Mensah (2016)

## **Research Instruments**

The study utilized an in-depth interview guide and a focus group interview guide as the main research instruments. These are the most commonly used qualitative tools for exploring subjective meanings of participants (Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2013). The guides had open-ended questions. This enabled the researcher identify themes or trends as the same questions are put to every respondent (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). There was a conscious effort to probe issues that came up as interviews progressed. The literature has indicated that studies on power relationships on an individual and community level are best-conducted using qualitative approaches (Moncrieffe, 2004).

The interview guide for residents had three main themes, the first part sought to find out the citizenship and proof of residency. This was relevant to find out if length of stay and citizenship affected host perceptions and attitudes as indicated in the literature (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Holladay & Ormsby, 2011). The second section probed the knowledge and level of awareness about volunteer tourists in the community. This section had questions on personal contact with volunteer tourists and circumstances of the contact. Participants were asked to give full details and share experiences as well (see Appendix A).

Both guides had questions on host participation in the volunteer tourist's activities, the power dynamics, the cost, benefits of interacting with volunteer tourists as well as questions bordering on the control of volunteer tourism activities, the contribution of volunteer tourism to the community and challenges faced by the host as they interact.

The first focus group was made up of persons in the educational sector which hosts volunteer tourists. As indicated by Wong (2008), it is advantageous to have a homogenous group based on a criteria that will be beneficial to the study. Having a more homogenous group yields better results, because of shared or similar experiences (Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins & Popjoy, 1998; Wong, 2008). In this study, gender, occupation and citizenship were used as criteria for the participants. Thus, the first FGD group was constituted of four (4) female teachers in the lower primary classes (class 1-class 4) between the ages of 30 and 55 years. They all had experience working with volunteer tourist teachers in their classroom.

The second and third groups were chosen based on their occupation in the informal sector as taxi drivers and business people (McLafferty, 2004). Willingness to participate in the discussion was a major factor for selection as not all persons in these categories were interested in being participants.

Based on the recommendation of Dawson, Manderso and Tallo (1993), Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins and Popjoy (1998) and Wong (2008), a minimum of 4 persons per group was used. As asserted by Wong (2008), 'smaller groups (four to six participants) are preferred when the participants have an intensive experience to share about the topic'. In addition, as was true in the case of this study, a smaller group size was used because of the need for optimum 'participation from each subject' (Wong, 2008). Appendix A and B give the full benefit of the interview and focus group discussion guide.

## Data Analysis

The first part of data analysis was the transcription of the interviews. The recorded interviews were first transcribed verbatim. The responses to each of the questions from both the in depth interview and focus group discussion was listed. QDA Miner a qualitative data software was used to facilitate this process through the creation of codes.

Using the research objectives as a guide, the first level of coding was done by reviewing the transcript data line by line and identifying key issues and themes. This open coding generated 47 codes. These codes were subsequently collapsed into 14 focused codes. The coding frequency, text retrieval (word frequencies), coding co-occurrences, wordstat and cluster analysis tools in QDA miner software facilitated this process. Further, visual tools in the software such as dendograms, cross tabs, matrices, 2D & 3D maps and bubble charts helped to see the interrelationships between coded sections of the data.

Next, the emerging themes were categorized into units of meanings. This was done by exporting all the codes into Microsoft excel and pasting all the verbatim responses under each code. After that, the textual descriptions and 'ad verbatim' quotation responses for each of the objectives were singled out and studied on their own and in the light of the other responses to see what emerging patterns, similarities and differences there were. This process enabled a structural description of the phenomenon as given by the participants.

Some of the most commonly used strategies during the process of validation under phenomenology include corroboration by participants and

agreement between coders (Creswell, 2013). In keeping with best practice, a colleague was asked to verify codes used in encoding the data. As indicated by Padilla-Díaz, (2015), agreement between coders is an important means of validating the information obtained.

### **Field Work and Related Challenges**

The nature of the phenomenon under study presented initial difficulty in locating host communities. Most volunteer organizations declined to provide a list of the areas where they sent volunteers in spite of proof of my identity as a researcher. Others sighted the Ebola scare of 2014 as causing dwindling numbers of volunteers and by implication a slowdown of their activities in the host communities. Nonetheless, this was overcome through the assistance of my supervisors who introduced me to some volunteer organisations in Cape Coast, one of whom agreed to grant access to their host communities.

After identifying the volunteer tourist organisations, a first visit was made to their headquarters in Cape Coast. The purpose of this visit was to seek clearance from the organisation and to request for their sites in the region. The conversations with the head coordinator provided a lot of insight and this informed the selection of the most suitable host community because the organisation as well as other organisations had been sending volunteers there for the past 5 years. He also provided contact details of on-site coordinator at Asebu. This coordinator became a key informant for the study. Prior to my first on-site visit, I spoke to these contact persons and arranged to meet them.

At the selected host community, getting a sample frame also proved a great challenge because host communities are not homogenous. It took several

trips to the host community to familiarize with the community and select a starting point for the interviews. There were six official visits to the Asebu community. The first three visits were to the orphanage home, which also served as living quarters for the volunteers and the liaison officers. There I interviewed the coordinators, liaison officers and teachers. It was also an opportunity to observe their interactions in the home. This provided an avenue to observe their activities such as the sports activities on the field as well as their activities in the classroom. The last three visits were devoted to the rest of the community.

During this phase, my attention was on those living close to the orphanage home and school. During this time, residents such as the traders, taxi drivers, and businesspersons were the prime focus. As indicated earlier, the process was an iterative one. Thus, some issues, which would come up, were further explored in subsequent interviews.

### **Ethical Considerations**

Following Bryman (2008:121) and current guidelines from the University of Cape Coast, the consent of participants was sought verbally. Participants were told what the study is about and given the opportunity to discontinue or not answer a question they were not comfortable with. In order to make participants comfortable, the interviews were conducted in familiar settings of participants own choosing.

Participant confidentiality and anonymity was ensured, first recordings were kept by the researcher and not distributed to any other person. Participants actual names have not been used anywhere in the work. Images



used in the work as given by one of the participants were given willingly and with permission. In order to ensure real and honest responses, participants were not given any gift or incentive to participate in the interviews. The only thing to be gained on their part was an interesting conversation with the researcher.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the study area Asebu and described the sources of data as well as the methods of data collection and analysis. It justified the selected philosophical worldview underpinning the choice of a qualitative research design based on previous studies in the volunteer tourism literature. The chapter also explained how the phenomenological inquiry was carried out and specified how validity was ensured. It details how the interview guide was designed through to the choice of sample. The last section of the chapter addressed the limitations, challenges as well as the ethical considerations, which guided the study. The next chapter discusses the main findings of the study and it begins with a discussion on the nature of the host interactions with the guest.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### HOST - VOLUNTEER INTERACTIONS IN ASEBU

#### **Introduction**

One key aim of the study was to explore the nature of the interaction between the host and the volunteer tourist guest in Asebu. Among the issues covered were knowledge and awareness of volunteer tourists, host level of interaction with volunteer tourist and their perception of volunteer tourists in their community. These questions were asked in order to ascertain the nature of the contact situation each respondent had experienced with the volunteer tourists.

This chapter presents the responses to these questions and discusses them in the light of the literature and the conceptual framework. As indicated in the existing literature, the dimensions of the cross cultural contact situation have implications for interaction.

The chapter thus explores these issues by first giving a general profile of the participants interviewed. It then continues with a description of the contact situation followed by a brief discussion on the type and nature of host interactions. It concludes by illustrating the depth of the interactions that occur.

#### **General Profile of Participants**

Forty-three participants were identified using the purposive sampling technique (see Table 2 in the methodology section). In all, nineteen (19) males and twenty four (24) females were interviewed. As indicated earlier in the methodology section, the population in the Asebu community is

predominately young and female as reflected by the sample. The youngest respondent was a 19-year-old female whilst the oldest was a 78-year-old male. Twenty-four participants were natives of Asebu with the majority of them being Christian, (33 persons) while two (2) of them were Muslim. The professions of participants varied, with nine persons being in the educational sector, (seven teachers and two head teachers) whilst the rest of them were employed in the informal sector as businesspersons (13), taxi drivers (10) and seamstresses (2). Five of them worked in the volunteer tourist organisation as liaison officers. Four of the participants were unemployed. Out of these, two were students in post-secondary institutions.

About half of the participants (25 persons) were married and all of them had basic education. The lowest level of education was primary school and the highest was tertiary. Some participants (16 persons) had tertiary level education followed by secondary/technical and primary in that order. The average monthly income varied per respondent. Only one person said he earned less than GHC100 a month. Other participants (10 persons) in the informal sector said they earned between GHC150 and GHC300 a month. The teachers and coordinators earned more between GHC800 and GHC2000.

This profile is consistent with the profile of the town. As indicated by the 2010 population and housing census, which indicates that, 95.3 percent of persons 15 years and older were employed with a few (4.7%) being unemployed. For those who were economically not active, a larger percentage of them were students (53.4%) (GSS, 2014).

Concerning marital status, the profile compares favourably with the census report, which indicates that residents between ages 25-29 years were

mostly married. From the GSS (2014) data, more than half of females (63.6%) in that age category and little above one-fourth of males (42.7%) were married.

Similarly, 56.8 percent of persons 12 years and older were reported to have had basic education as compared to (8.1%) for secondary education. Only (1.0%) have had tertiary levels of education.

### **Host Contact with the Guest**

There were different levels of contact with the volunteer tourists across the participants. The study found that some segment of the host population, particularly those who worked in the volunteer tourism enterprise had regular engagement and face-to-face contact with the guest while those outside the enterprise had limited contact with them. For those in the volunteer tourism enterprise these were the common sentiments as expressed by one liaison officer;

*'We stay with them here in this very building so we share the same space, we get to know them. We also work with them on the projects so virtually we are always together with them wherever they go. Even when they want to chill, tour or anything...'* [Non-native male, 28 years].

For those outside the enterprise, there were no such sentiments. Most participants reported *'seeing the volunteer tourists walking around'* the community but there was no engagement with them. Based on the above responses, level of contact and service provision, two broad types of groups emerged from the data. The first group comprised the coordinators and teachers who worked directly in the volunteer tourism enterprise and

considered themselves as part of the enterprise. The other group constituted those who remained peripheral to the volunteer tourism enterprise.

### **Type and Nature of Interactions**

The study identified three main types of interactions namely, economic, technical and social. The first type of interaction was economic interactions. This refers to the interactions that occurred when there was a business/financial transaction between host and guest. The items commonly purchased were drinks (such as coca cola, maltaguinness and fanta); snacks (biscuits) and African wear clothing. One participant mentioned that her 'African blender' 'apotoyiwa was a popular sale item. Economic interactions were described as brief and to the point; only a few participants indicated they would have a short chat with them;

*'They sometimes come and buy. Usually they buy spices from me. They just buy and go. [Native female, trader 50 years].*

*'...Sometimes they buy from here; tomatoes, pepper, earthenware and the sort...when they come they buy the 'asanka', our local blender [Native female trader, 60 years]*

*'They buy fruits. They like our materials, our tye and dye; they sew and buy from a friend of mine [Native female, kenkey seller, 23 years old]*

Repeat purchase is one way residents became familiar with volunteer tourists but this did not develop into friendships. The relationships that developed could be described more as that of a businessperson and a loyal client;

*'Because they buy from me, when they are leaving I give them one can coke each because they buy from me. The woman who just bought has been here to buy twice already [Non-native female shop owner, 40 years].*

The findings support the existing literature on host interactions. As Krippendorff (1987) describes, these members of the host who had business were unrelated to the volunteer tourism enterprise. As discussed by de Kadt (1979) this study found that host contact with guest occurred when there was a purchase. Unlike mass tourism where the 'trinity' of food, beverage and accommodation dominate as purchase items (Lynch et al., 2009), in this case, smaller food and drink items were commonly purchased.

The second kind of contact occurred when the host found themselves working side by side with the volunteer tourist;

*'...I have been working with the volunteer teachers for some time now. Since I joined the staff here, we have had them visit at least once a year...' Most of the time we have to be present in the class room when they are teaching...*  
[Non-native teacher, 55 years].

*'...for their summer school, I have to be around and even before they arrive, I have to ensure that we prepare. When they come, I have to assign their classes and we work with them to make sure they enjoy their work here...* [Non-native teacher, 47 years].

The type of interaction that took place here can be described as technical interactions. This kind of interactions occurred for host members who are teachers. This interaction took place in the classrooms when they taught alongside the volunteer tourists or interpreted their teaching for the children. This is similar to de Kadt (1979) contact situation in which he

describes the host and guest making contact when they ‘find themselves side by side’ using the space and sharing facilities in the host community. In the case of Asebu, they found themselves, side by side working in the same environment.

The third type of interaction is the social interaction. Social interactions consist of that interaction that occurred in informal gatherings or casual meetings with in the community.

For most of the host community, which did not work directly in the volunteer tourism enterprise, social interactions were generally brief and casual constituting mainly of greetings;

*‘...We say hi, hello ...* [Native female, unemployed 26 years]

*‘...you see them they walk past you in the morning 'hi' 'hi' then that is it, there is no talks or maybe ... there is nothing like that...*[Non Native teacher, 40 years ].

Mainstream tourism literature has indicated that because of temporal and spatial constraints, contact does not take place or is infrequent, as guest tends to be on the move and in a hurry (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Sharpley, 2014).

However, in a volunteer tourism framework where the guest is a ‘more permanent’ member of the community for weeks at a time and shares the same home space, it is interesting to find infrequent and superficial contact still occurring. Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that the volunteer tourists dwell within an environmental bubble, which excludes significant sections of the host community.

### *Levels of Interaction*

From the responses, the common denominator for all the three types of interactions was superficial contact. As noted earlier in the literature, volunteer tourism as an alternate type of tourism prides itself in ensuring ‘mutually’ enriching cross cultural contact between the host and the guest (Wearing, 2001; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Palacios, 2010). It appears that there is minimal or low levels of interaction for host members who do not play a direct role in the volunteer tourism process. Thus in spite of being ‘immersed in the host community’ as indicated in the literature (Raymond & Hall, 2008), volunteer tourists are rather immersed in a limited portion of the host community.

This minimal level of interaction applied to most of the participants. For majority of the participants, there were no relationships formed with them even when they got to know some of them by name.

*‘... I got to know Louis from Germany. I would see him walking round with the children Apart from that we do not chat with them....’* [Native male, businessperson, 27 years].

Even where some relationship existed, it was purely along work lines. For example, the sports coach indicated that some of the volunteer tourists continuously sponsored the sports team and provided training kits and money for registration. However, their conversations centered on the sports program only;

*‘...we converse with them about their countries and our motive for the sports, we talk about these. Things like the future of the children their careers,*



*how they will get work to do, how some can continue their football career, we talk about all these...* [Native male, teacher and coach, 33 years].

Perhaps the answer relating to these superficial interactions partly lies in whether or not the host is interested in a deeper interaction with the guest. When asked whether they were interested in developing relationships with their volunteer tourist guest, most of the participants indicated that they were not interested in having any deep interaction with the guest. Some expressed having no such desire to interact with them at all;

*'I am not interested in interacting with them ....'* [Non-native male, student, 22 years].

*'... I have no business with them so I do not ask them anything when I see them, neither do I engage them in any way...'* [Native male, retired mechanic, 78 years].

It would seem that the host views the tourist from afar, having some sort of 'host gaze' but not really interested in pursuing any intimate relationship with the volunteer tourists. Perhaps this gaze can be a result of a social distance as found by Domingues and Nöjde (2012) in Brazil. As suggested by Tucker and Lynch (2004:15) host-guest interactions tend to have negotiated levels of intimacy, which depends on the extent to which the hosts are prepared to interact with their guests.

The seeming indifference of the host can also be linked to the fact that the focus of the volunteer tourist themselves seems to be on the children in the community. The educational, health, sports and social programs are all designed around the needs of the children. As a result, it appears that some sort of environmental bubble has been created around these activities. The

consequence of this bubble is that most of the host outside the volunteer tourism enterprise are isolated from the volunteer tourist and this hampers the possibilities of any meaningful interactions.

Bosley and Brothers (2008) and Carrier and Macleod (2005) made similar assertions about how the environmental bubble impedes interactions. The findings of Carrier and Macleod (2005) in the Dominican Republic indicated how the environmental bubble led to isolation and limited interaction between host and tourists. In like manner, the presence of the environmental bubble in Asebu kept residents who did not have any role to play in the core volunteer tourism activity out of the sphere of deep interactions. Members of the community who did not have any impetus or opportunity to enter the bubble had limited and superficial interactions with the international volunteer tourists.

It can be inferred that as long as the environmental bubble exists, other dimensions of contact as discussed by Bochner (2013) and Gudyknust (2003) such as the place where (territory) where contact occurs and the timespan (length of stay) have limited application and impact. In the case of Asebu, contact situations occurred in the host territory but it did not seem to be a predicator of meaningful interaction for host outside the bubble. These dimensions only seem to positively affect interactions with host populations who were considered part of the volunteer tourism system, hence those allowed inside the bubble.

Although the findings do not indicate the reason why, it can be inferred that the desire to stay in an environmental bubble may come from the tourist

typology (whether psycho centric, allocentric or midcentric) or from the integrated host desire to protect the tourists from exploitation.

The conceptual framework informed by Bochner (2013) theorized the importance of the type of involvement of the host as an important dimension of contact. This has been strongly confirmed by the findings. Again, it appears that contact alone did not translate into meaningful interactions. As already, indicated by the contact hypothesis, contact alone does not engender interaction and this is true even for volunteer tourism where such a consciousness exists. Per the arguments of Allport (1966) and Pettigrew (1998) there ought to be some necessary conditions which ought to characterize the contact situation in order for it to be meaningful. Necessary conditions such as common goals, intergroup cooperation, and authority support are needed.

One implication of these finding is that there is a need to create the optimal conditions for optimal contact, a task that would be best handled by the volunteer tourism organisation as recommended by Raymond and Hall (2008). Without this type of strategy, Guttentag, (2009), has argued that there is no chance that any meaningful interactions will occur naturally.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has discussed the profile of the participants used for the study. It has identified the three main types of interactions that occur between hosts and guests in a volunteer tourism framework. The key observation is that the contact between host and guest depends on the resident's degree of integration into the volunteer tourism. Interactions were limited in some

sections of the host society because of the existence of an environmental bubble that kept some members in and others out.

For the host who were kept out of the bubble, the conditions under which they met the guest were not conducive to engender any meaningful interactions. It can be inferred that the conditions for optimal contact as discussed by the contact hypothesis are not met for them. The implication is that for this second group the contact situation was not ideal for creating friendships and intimate interactions. In the following chapter six, the perspectives of these two groups of host, those integrated and those not integrated are further discussed.

## CHAPTER SIX

### HOST TYPOLOGY AND PERSPECTIVES

#### Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the incidence and nature of the contact as well as the types of interactions that occur between the host and the guest. This chapter explores the perspectives of residents as they interact with the guest.

It is the argument of this thesis that host perspectives are largely missing from the volunteer tourism discourse. It is also agreed in the literature that without host acceptance of tourism, no tourism enterprise can be sustainable (Teye, Sonmez & Sirakaya, 2002). Thus, host perspectives are important and ought to be investigated.

Again, one of the most prominent themes in volunteer tourism literature is that of cross-cultural learning and understanding between the host and the guest (McGehee, 2002; McGehee & Andereck, 2008; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). The main idea of cross-cultural interaction is for host and guest to learn about each other, become friendly, exchange opinions and establish relationships (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The argument is that greater immersion of the guest in the host culture fosters cross-cultural exchange.

This chapter thus investigates these issues using the perspectives of two categories of host, the integrated host and the non-integrated host. It begins by examining the characteristics and experiences of these two groups of host and continues with a discussion on the emerging attitudes found in the community based on Doxey (1975) irritation model. This is discussed in the

light of the cross-cultural understanding argument raised by proponents of the volunteer tourism enterprise.

### **Host Typologies**

The study found two main categories of host, the integrated and non-integrated. Age, gender, citizenship, employment, level of dependency on tourism and education as postulated by Gudyknust (2003) and Brida, Osti and Faccioli (2011) were used as the criteria to profile the host.

Most of the participants who were integrated into the volunteer tourism enterprise were non-native, young (18-45 years) and male. They typically had secondary school education. These persons worked within the volunteer tourism enterprise as coordinators or supervisors. In Asebu, those in this integrated group comprised two sub groups. The first sub group was permanently employed in the volunteer tourism enterprise on a full-time basis and the second worked part time.

This second group had full-time employment in other fields such as teaching or trading, as was the case for the host mothers. In addition to being employed by the volunteer tourism organization, some of the participants in the first group shared a living space with the volunteer tourists. Some persons in the second group worked with the volunteer tourists in their spare time. They indicated that they were not officially paid for their work although there were fringe benefits such as gifts and most importantly, networking opportunities for them. For instance, one person indicated how some guests left their laptops or phones with them when their placement ended:

*'Well I am not being paid for this job but it is not all about money. Sometimes, we get gifts, clothes, or shoes or laptops and phones. It is not a constant thing but once in a while when you make a good friend, they themselves can decide to dash you a gift when they are leaving'* [Non-native male, student, 22 years].

The non-integrated hosts were those who were not as deeply assimilated into the volunteer tourism enterprise. They were people who resided in Asebu and had no working relationship with the volunteer tourists. This group included both young adults and middle-aged natives of the Asebu community. The levels of education spanned from basic to secondary school. These persons did not have jobs within the volunteer tourism enterprise.

Although aware of the presence of volunteer tourists and their activities, these hosts did not have deep interactions with them even though they shared the same geographic space and used similar public facilities such as vehicles, churches and markets. These non-integrated hosts had fewer encounters with the volunteer tourists and often their contact with them was brief:

*'We do not chat with them ...'* [Non-native male, credit seller, 27 years].

*'I don't know, I have no business with them so I don't ask them.'* [Native male, retired, 78 years]

*'We say hi, hello that's all...'* [Native female, unemployed 26 years].

The exploitation of guests was a major concern for coordinators and liaison officers. However, some participants whose livelihoods were peripheral to the volunteer tourism industry did not have any qualms about being exploitative of the guest. One person recounted that when *'there is a big event at the*

*orphanage home where the volunteer tourists stay, they order drinks from my mother's store and that's when we can steal from them.'*

Another respondent was unhappy that members of the host group who lived with the volunteer tourists kept them from using their dual price systems by telling the volunteer tourists the actual prices even before they made a purchase from them.

*'You know sometimes you have to get back at them, sometimes when they buy drinks for their parties, you steal from them.....'* [Native, male, 22, student and shop attendant].

### **Host Perspectives**

Participants who were full time workers in the volunteer tourism enterprise recounted both positive and negative experiences. In fact, they were the most expressive and had many stories and experiences to share about the volunteer tourists. This group both worked and lived with volunteer tourists. They had many experiences of them from the home, work and leisure. They were not hesitant to share positive experiences and negative experiences. The positive experiences concerned shared fun times, and lessons learned about different cultures:

*'Working with them is good, we have lots of fun, learn about different cultures all the time....'* [Non-native male, 28 years].

They indicated that they enjoyed talking about the children who were their mutual interest and responsibility as well;

*'...we talk about these things like the future of the children, their careers, how they will get work to do etc.'* [Native male, teacher and coach, 33 years].



The negative experiences they expressed focused on some of the difficulties they experienced because of their responsibility to protect the volunteer tourist. One participant indicated that the international volunteer tourists did not like to be chaperoned;

*'They can be very difficult to work with in that regard, they do not want to be controlled or treated like children. Even the high school students do not want to be chauffeured around'* [Non-native male, student, 22 years];

*'...Some of them are very bad, I remember there was a guy who was sent here as a punishment by his parents, he was not interested in working, he was drinking, smoking, doing drugs. Some of them can be very stubborn, you ask them not to stay out late at night but they will not listen. They were robbed because of that ...'* [Non-native, male 24 years].

The coordinators and liaison officers were the most protective of the volunteer tourists. As indicated by the narratives, they expressed concern for their safety. They can be described as having a similar protective trait to the host of old, who had a sacred obligation not only to accommodate the guest, but to protect him or her as well (O'Gorman, 2010). Apart from safety and security, they tried to shield the volunteer tourists from being exploited in the economic sphere. In fact, three of the coordinators were unhappy about incidents of exploitation that volunteer tourists had brought to their attention. They felt that other members of the community had a duty to protect their guest, as is the 'Ghanaian culture of hospitality';

*'Can you imagine this, one of the volunteer tourists used to go and buy pancake at the station and they would sell it to her one cedi even though it*

*actually cost 50 pesewas. She got offended when she found out.* [Non-native male, 28 years].

The coordinators and liaison officers were also the most vocal when it came to expressing the advantages of volunteer tourism for the community and the importance of the volunteer tourists' guest for both themselves and the community.

As shown in Plate 1, participants who live and work full time in the volunteer tourism enterprise also share leisure activities with the guests. These persons were more likely to have post-trip contact with the volunteer tourists. Post-trip contact took the form of communication via social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp as well as phone calls even after the guest left the host community.

This finding reinforces the observation made by Jurowski and Gursoy (2004), Gursoy and Rutherford (2004) and Wassler (2010) that residents in host communities who are solely employed in the tourism industry tend to have a more positive perception about them. Similar to the 'host in direct contact with tourists' these persons would be jobless without tourism, states Krippendorf (1987). In a way, this can account for their largely positive impression of volunteer tourist guests.

It is no wonder then that this group of host also seemed to have a good understanding of the cultural differences of the guests. One of the coordinators indicated that he enjoyed working with the volunteer tourists because of the diversity of people from different cultures. He asserted that,

*'...there are a lot of positives you can take from it because you meet new people all the time, ...from different parts of the world.....you learn from them, they learn from you...you get to learn their culture'.*

Other coordinators indicated that sharing the same living quarters enabled them to learn about some cultural intricacies, which he asserted, were important for their work as coordinators:

*You have to learn the body language, their cultural orientation makes a difference, and each one's own is unique. The Asians, particularly the Japanese do not like to complain directly to you if they have a problem, they nod that they understand but sometimes if you do not go and talk to them individually, you will not know if something is wrong. Before you know it, they have sent a report to the mother organisation and you may not even be aware of the problem.... Unlike the American who will come straight to you to report... [Key informant interview].*

Coordinators seemed to have developed a better understanding of cultural differences because of their closeness to the volunteer tourist guests.

For this category of host, deep friendships often developed. The depth of these interactions can account for the development of amorous relationships and marriages. These kinds of relationships seem to only exist between the male members of the community who worked full time in the volunteer tourism enterprise and female volunteer tourists. According to one key informant who heads one of the volunteer tourism organisations, four members of his team had married volunteer tourists in the last 5 years;

*'...there have been a lot of marriages between our guys and the volunteer ladies. It is quite normal for me now to hear of relationships and marriages.*

*Sometimes I think it happens because of the common passion they share for the work we do in the communities. Most of them continue to work with us after they marry and move abroad. They would send donations and raise funds for the projects'* [Key informant interview].

His sentiments reflect the importance of having common goals and cooperating in fostering deep interactions between the host and the guest.



**Plate 1: Host at the Beach with Volunteer Tourist Friend**

Source: Field survey, Interview participant (2016).

The narratives indicate that some of the hosts see the guest as a target to be exploited, a sentiment that is common to many tourist destinations (UNESCO 1976; de Kadt, 1976; Ap 1992; Ramchander (2004), Carneiro & Eusébio, 2015). The literature indicates that one of the features of the host – guest interaction in the traditional forms of tourism is that the hosts tend to feel inferior and exploit guests (UNESCO, 1976; Sharpely, 2014).

However, unlike the current study, the works of UNESCO (1976) and de Kadt (1976) were done in the context of mass tourism, where such sentiments of exploitation occur. Conversely, in volunteer tourism, it would have been expected that because of guest immersion in the host community, there would be no such sentiment of exploitation but rather one of protection by all members of the host community (Palacios, 2010).

The implications of these findings also indicate that the guests spending several weeks in the host community does not overcome a disconnect from the broader community. As indicated in the comment below, familiarity did not translate into friendships:

*‘...you see them they walk past you in the morning, just casual ‘hellos’, there is no talks [sic] or maybe actual conversations... there is nothing like that’*  
[Non-native teacher, 40 years].

As a result of the relative lack of closeness, most non-integrated hosts did not have any experiences on which to draw from concerning cross-cultural understanding. The only comment that one participant had was about how differently they dressed:

*‘One might say their dressing but as for their dressing, it is normal for them. That is how they also feel is appropriate and that is how they are* [Native male Businessman, 27 years].

He felt it was their way of life even though understandably it is not the same in Ghana. These findings were found to be partly consistent with the assertions put forward by Wearing (2001, 2004), Raymond and Hall (2008) and Coghlan (2007) concerning cross-cultural understanding. These proponents argued that the context of volunteer tourism fosters deeper host–guest interaction.

*Table 3- Host Typology and their Characteristics*

Type of Host	Characteristics	Behaviour
Integrated	<p>Non-native</p> <p>Young Males (18-45 years).</p> <p>Secondary to tertiary level school education.</p> <p>Live and work with VT.</p>	<p>Protective of VT –</p> <p>Showed concern for their safety.</p> <p>Protect VT from exploitation.</p> <p>Kept them informed about destination and their projects.</p> <p>Supportive of volunteer tourism.</p>
Non-integrated	<p>Young adults and middle-aged natives of Asebu.</p> <p>Basic to Secondary level of education</p>	<p>Did not mind being exploitative of VT.</p> <p>Had fewer encounters with VT.</p> <p>Varying degrees of tolerance for VT.</p>

Source: Field survey, Mensah (2017)

However, in Asebu, opportunities for deeper familiarity only occurred within a subgroup of the host community, that is, among the integrated hosts. What could account for this finding? Possibly, it could be that although volunteer tourists live within the host community, there are different levels of contact and intimacy depending on one's level of involvement in the volunteer tourism enterprise, as well as the conditions under which contact with the guest occur. As indicated earlier, the integrated host seemed to have created some sort of environmental bubble for the tourists, which excluded the non-integrated host.

### **Host Attitudes towards the Volunteer Tourist**

This section examines host attitudes towards the international volunteer tourist in Asebu. The commonly expressed perspectives were those of tolerance, indifference and suspicion.

Most of the participants interviewed were tolerant of the volunteer tourist. The degree of tolerance seemed to depend on the level of involvement in the volunteer tourism enterprise as a whole. There were those who were tolerant because their level of involvement and level of interaction were minimal; and there were those who were tolerant because they were highly involved in the volunteer tourism enterprise.

The first group included non-natives who met with volunteer tourists in the technical sphere – for instance, in the classroom. Those in the technical sphere had occasional planned contact with the guest. These persons indicated that they were provided with timetables of volunteer tourists' activities months prior to their arrival in the community. Most of these participants did not depend on the volunteer tourism enterprise for their livelihoods.

The second group who were 'highly' tolerant were aware of the positive and negative sides of the volunteer tourist and were accepting of both sides as a complete package. These participants had deeper and more intimate interactions. For instance, two participants in this category indicated that some volunteer tourists were in the program as *punishment* from their parents, some were genuinely interested in the projects, whilst some were here because it was fashionable and in vogue;

*'It is like a fashion... they come because their friends were here, they had good pictures, had a good time, so once they are here, they need to experience*

*the same thing, that's where we have a problem'* [Non-native male, coordinator, 24 years];

*'We had a drug addict, Max; he was in rehab in his country. The doctor who was treating him thought of the idea of bringing him here. I am sure he thought 'why don't we send him to a different environment to get used to normality' so, he came here and it was worse, worst idea ever; alcohol was cheaper here than in Germany, drugs were cheaper. It caused him more harm, he was supposed to be here for 1 year and then teach, he worked for just 1 month and he quit the project, any time we met him, he was either high or drunk. Instead of helping, they caused more harm to the placement (project) and to himself'* [Non-native male, coordinator, 24 years].

The participants in the first group who were mostly tolerant indicated that although the motives for some guests were not born out of any altruistic inclinations, there were some others who were genuinely volunteering out of the goodness of their hearts;

*'...there are some who are genuine, who have such love for humanity ....these people really want to help.....'* [Non-native male, coordinator, 24 years].

These participants were non-natives who were resident in Asebu because of their work. Their permanent residence was in Cape Coast; two of them lived in Kotokuraba and one of them lived at Amamoma near the University of Cape Coast. During the heavy seasons of volunteer tourist flows, they would stay at Asebu for up to two months at a time.

The highly tolerant persons depended on volunteer tourism for their livelihoods. As indicated by most studies, residents of the host community whose livelihoods depend on tourism tend to be supportive of tourism



development (Scheyvens, 2002; Akyeampong, 2011; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Sharpley, 2014).

Despite awareness of the negative aspects of the volunteer tourists, there was a sense of some mutually beneficial relationship. Through the sharing of workspaces and accommodation facilities (as these lived in the same house as the volunteer tourists), there was frequent contact between host and guest. In this group, the chances of deep, frequent interactions and friendships were higher than in any other group. Participants in this group mention keeping in touch with the guest via phone call and social media platforms such as Facebook after they left the community. Aside these persons, others were indifferent to the volunteer tourists.

These findings generally corroborates the utility of the social exchange theory, widely used in tourism studies to explain attitudes towards tourism and tourism development. In this instance, those who work in the volunteer tourism enterprise have more positive attitudes towards tourist in spite of knowledge about the good and bad aspects of the guest (Smith, 2012).

Indifference was the second broad attitude found among some residents. Natives of the community who met the guests in the economic sphere when they purchased some goods and services from them characterized this group. These persons belonged to the non-integrated category, and contact between them and the guests were infrequent and superficial. Although they admitted that having the volunteer tourist around was good for business, they asserted that they did not buy enough from them for their absence to be a bother.

Largely drawing from the perception of low or no financial benefit, they saw themselves as independent of the volunteer tourist's activities. Most of them indicated that they had nothing to gain or lose from their presence or absence. Thus, when asked how they felt about volunteer tourists no longer visiting the community, the common response was:

*'Well as to whether they should keep coming, if they come it is ok, if they do not come its ok...'* [Non-native female shop owner, 40 years].

Friendships were hardly formed between them and the guest even when grounds were fertile for friendships, these avenues were ignored;

*'Most of those who come here are Senior High School students...they are friendly enough but we are civil to them, there is no need to become friends with them, there is no time anyways'* [Non-native female, Teacher, 33 years].

*'We have no friends among them (gesturing to the other teachers) ....besides they are too young to befriend...'* [Native female, 55 years (FGD)]

The third group were suspicious of the guests. These participants were mostly native to the Asebu community. Some participants expressed skepticism about their motives:

*'Sometimes I think they have a hidden agenda... they want something. I am mostly careful when dealing with them. I am a bit skeptical about them... I don't believe its genuine love or compassion... they use the children to entertain themselves...to make themselves feel good ....'* [Native female, seamstress, 29 years].

Another participant asserted that;

*‘...the teachers wrote reports about them (volunteer tourist interns) about, how they teach, how they conduct themselves. So it helps them too...’* [Non-native male, student, 22 years].

Two participants indicated that their mistrust of the guests stemmed from the fact that they did not believe that the guests were volunteering only because they want to help. One participant indicated that he knew *‘that some of them were in the host community as trainee teachers’*.

He said he learnt from a teacher friend of his who hosted volunteer tourists in his class that:

*‘....they are trainee teachers who are here only for academic credit, so it’s like how we have teaching practice or National Service, it’s a requirement for them.... My friend for example said that they (the teachers) wrote reports about them (volunteer tourist interns) about, how they teach, how they conduct themselves. Therefore, it helps them too... What annoys me is how they make people think they are here because they care about us and are unselfish people.... if they do not tell the truth about that, what else are they not telling us?’* [Non-native male, student, 22 years].

Thus, it appears that the hosts’ knowledge of the career development motives of the guest caused them not to trust the assumption of altruism. This was because they felt that the guest was not being very honest with them. It appears that the hosts’ awareness of the career development motives of the international volunteer tourist, and the non-disclosure of this, is problematic for some of the hosts. As indicated by Palacios (2010), Butcher and Smith (2010), Wearing (2004) and Lyons et al. (2012), career development is a popular motive for volunteer tourism. Vrasti (2013) confirms that many

student volunteer tourists are indeed doing it as a means to develop themselves and build their careers. She quotes one Australian volunteer tourist in Ghana who said:

‘I didn’t want it to be just one year of traveling. If you’re going to take so much time off, then you should get something out of it, something tangible, something that’s not so selfish, something emotionally and morally rewarding...on an entirely superficial but legitimate note, it looks great on my CV because I want to go into international relations, maybe work for an NGO. Moreover, I know this is a far cry, but anything helps’ (excerpt from Vrasti, 2013).

In the above extract, the volunteer tourist is being honest, but it appears from the findings of this study that the motives and intentions of the guests are either unknown or misunderstood by the host, probably because there is no clear communication between the host and the guest. The absence of clear communication contributes to uncertainty and resultant suspicion of the guest.

The literature also indicates that the use of developing countries as training grounds for inexperienced and unprofessional student volunteer tourists continues to be problematic (Vrasti, 2013). As indicated by Wanda Vrasti, this point makes some volunteer tourists themselves to be aware and uncomfortable with their role especially when they receive praise and reverence from members of the host community.

The findings confirm what Mostafanezhad (2013) and Wright (2013) found about host awareness of the non-altruistic motives of the guest. As Wright’s (2013) study in Nepal indicated, the host was aware that the guest motivation was being based on fashionable trends as opposed to altruism as

postulated by proponents such as Wearing (2001). The implications for interaction is that within the host community, this almost open secret makes some members of the host community uncomfortable, which breeds suspicion about the guest.

The findings also compare favourably with Doxey's irritation index. The three perspectives discussed flows from the work of Doxey (1975). However, as indicated by Sharpley (2014) these perspectives; tolerance, indifference and suspicion seem not to follow a linear progression but seem to be localized to different segments of the host community.

The perspectives also seem to be predicated on the degree of involvement in the enterprise as conceptualized in the conceptual framework. Again, comparing these findings to the conceptual framework brings to light the importance of guest motivations as well as open and honest communication between the two groups. As found by Teye et al., (2002) and McGehee and Santos (2005), the host employment in a touristic enterprise is a predictor of support for tourism activities. Similarly, Kayat (2002) found a relationship between citizenship and support for tourism activities. Thus, the findings highlight the importance of ones' employment and citizenship (whether or not one is native to the community) as important dimensions of contact, that determines the extent of interaction and consequently ones' perspective of the volunteer tourist.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has discussed the different perspectives that the integrated and non-integrated hosts have about the volunteer tourist guest. The integrated host was typically a young educated non-native male resident whose livelihood depended on the volunteer tourism enterprise. They had the most experiences to share and they seemed to be very tolerant of the guest's nuances.

The non-integrated host was typically a native resident who was either suspicious of or indifferent to the guest. Both categories understood the differences in the culture between them and the volunteer tourist. As indicated in the conceptual framework, these findings largely confirm initial assertions about the relationship between age, gender, citizenship, employment and host support for volunteer tourism. The next chapter discusses the findings about language dynamics in the host community. It details how language affects and is affected by the presence of volunteer tourist in the host community.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE

#### Introduction

Language remains one of the unexplored themes in mainstream volunteer tourism literature. The very nature of the volunteer tourism enterprise, i.e. tourists of different nationalities visiting other countries, makes language a theme in itself. This is because the context of volunteer tourism provides a setting where the host's interaction with the guest occurs in a setting where people with different mother tongues interact.

Thus, the study set out to find out the nuanced dynamics of language in the host-guest interface in the volunteer tourism context. First, how is language used: is it a barrier or a facilitator? How is the language of the host community affected?

It must be understood that the host receives different groups of guests from various cultures and countries. English is the lingua franca for Ghana. However, there are regional differences in the language spoken because the different ethnic groups also speak their own local languages. For example, in the Greater Accra and Volta Regions, Ga and Ewe are the major ethnic languages. In the Central Region where Asebu is located, Fante is the dominant local language. This chapter discusses the dynamics of language as the host interacts with the guest in the context of volunteer tourism.

#### Language Origin of the Guest

The guests come from Anglophone countries like the United States, Australia, South Africa, and the United Kingdom; francophone countries such

as France, Germanic countries such as Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands; oriental countries such as Japan and China:

*'I know the volunteers come from all over the world, US, UK, Canada, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, South Africa, in fact many places....'* [Native male, 23 years].

*'...At the moment, those I know, most of them are from Germany...we get from all countries; we get British people here, Italian, Scottish people, Irish, Swiss, Italians, Koreans, Japanese...'* [Key informant interview].

In essence, there were guests who spoke Indo-European languages such as English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, French and Italian, interacting with a community like Asebu where Fante is the main spoken language.

Given the different linguistic distances (especially for non-English speaking volunteer tourists) between the two groups, it is understandable that there will be some communication challenges. Thus, the dynamics of language were exhibited in two mutually exclusive ways. On one hand, it was a barrier to the host encounter with the guest and on the other, it served as a facilitator for initial contact between the host and the guest.

### **Host as Language and Cultural Brokers**

In the economic sphere, participants within the volunteer tourism enterprise (coordinators and host families) acted both as language and cultural brokers for the guest. For instance, one participant indicated that;

*'...Usually when they come, we explain that obroni means white and we have also taught them to respond so when people say obroni, they will also say obibini (black person).'*



Usually when the *Obroni- Obibini* dialogue occurs, there is a conversation because the host finds it amusing.

The coordinator further explained that the guest sought explanations from them only. They did not seek such explanations from other members of the wider community;

*‘...what they do not understand they ask for further explanations, sometimes when they go out to town and they see something or experience something they come home and tell us about it and ask for explanation.’* [Native male, teacher, 33 years].

As explained by one non-integrated host, their interactions with the guest were curtailed because their conversations could not progress beyond the usual ‘hello’ or ‘hi’.

*‘...when we meet them or see them passing by with the children or when they come to the station here we only make small talk; maybe hello, obroni, how are you?’* [Native male, taxi driver 33 years].

It is probable that the lack of a common language was the reason for the truncation of conversations. As indicated earlier, the guests have varying degrees of fluency in English and little to no competency in speaking Fante, the host language. It was thus difficult for the hosts to have any meaningful conversation with them even if they wanted to.

Traders indicated using signs and gestures to communicate. So typically, if the guest wanted to buy something that does not have a common generic name like coca cola or sprite or biscuit, they had to either point to the item or use gestures:

*‘When they want to tell you what they want to buy they, just point or sometimes I let them come in the shop and pick the item and I tell them the price. When my daughter is here, she can speak English with them but even that not all of them speak English’* [Native female, shop owner, 32 years].

Although not explicitly stated in the interviews, most non-integrated hosts had some challenges communicating with the guest because of the language barrier. As indicated by the trader, signs and gestures were used instead of language. Thus, it was easier for her when she had her daughter to translate.

As indicated by Bochner (2013), these cultural brokers create "bridges to understanding" between other members of the host community and the guest. According to the integrated guest, this role is taken seriously by the volunteer tourism organisation as well. The regional coordinator for one such organisation who served as the key informant for the study indicated that this was a requirement of the program. Coordinators were conscious of performing this function and thereby aiding the guest to make meaning of the community and its culture. There were orientation programs and regular house meetings with the guest to facilitate this as well.

The family meetings usually took place in the homes where the guests were being hosted. Thus, unlike the language brokerage in the classroom where the host was needed because of the guests' accents, the host who worked as a coordinator or host family member was expected to be a cultural broker as well.

On the other hand, the findings also indicate that language was a facilitator of interactions. Language functioned as a means of interaction in

two main ways. First, it served as an icebreaker for host encounters with the guest when the guest tried to speak the local language, Fante.

Secondly, the effort by guests to speak Fante was interpreted by the host as a desire for cultural exchange. For many participants of the study, the attempt to speak Fante was an interesting experience which most recounted with warmth and mirth:

*'They speak Fante with us (smiling)'* [Native female, shop owner, 45 years];

*'...This my friend speaks Fante, he learnt it here.... He was called Paa Kwesi because he was born on Sunday. He was an American.* [Non-native male, taxi driver, 37 years].

The interactions between host and guest seemed to be influenced positively when volunteer tourists tried to learn the local language or spoke to them in Fante or Twi. As indicated by Kreag (2001), tourist effort and ability to speak local language enables them to make more meaningful connections with local people and culture. Attempts to speak the local language also seemed to amuse residents. This was one of the most widely cited examples of interaction with the volunteer tourists.

*'....they want to learn from us ...they want to learn Fante, which makes them interesting to have them around.* [Native female, trader, 40 years]

Secondly, the host interpreted the attempts of the guest to speak the local language as a conscious effort of the guest to immerse him or herself in the host culture and to learn from and about them.

*'...they learn Fante from us. One of them who has been here three times, when she asks in English, we translate to Fante to help her learn the language. Her name is Nana Yaa. One day she asked me to teach her how to translate ' I am*

*better than you ' into Fante for her, after teaching her, every time she would pass the shop, she would say that to me in Fante! (laughing) [Non-native female, shop owner, 40 years].*

The hosts interpreted the actions of guests speaking Fante and taking local names like 'Nana Yaa' and 'Kwesi' to mean an interest in host culture as well as a desire to interact (Carter & Fuller, 2015). It is possible that the reason why most participants expressed positive perspectives in connection with language-learning attempts by the guest is what it symbolized. As indicated by the theory of symbolic interactionism, the act of language learning has become associated with a positive aspect of the interaction with the guest.

### **Language Accommodation**

Different sections of the host community used language differently in their interactions. Those outside the volunteer tourism enterprise indicated that for most encounters where they first approached the guest in the casual sense, they would normally use the local Fante phrase 'Obroni' (white man) and subsequently attempt to speak English with them:

*'Sometimes when we see them around we shout Obroni! (white man) or if they come to the taxi station like this and we say Obroni, they laugh or smile at you...'* [Native male, taxi driver, 40 years].

In the economic sphere where the guest was a customer, there was the use of broken English (pidginisation), nonverbal communication (e.g. pointing to item of interest) and occasionally a few phrases of Fante by some of the 'veteran volunteer tourists'. As indicated by this business man;

*‘...a few of them try and speak Fante, I had one friend like that, he called himself Kwesi and he would try and speak Fante with us. Kwesi is one of those volunteer tourists who have come and gone several times’.*

In the technical sphere where ‘serious’ volunteering was done, English was the main language of communication. The use of English seems to be mutually agreed upon by both parties. This was not a difficulty for the integrated hosts because it was a requirement of their job and because they were already fluent in English. As already indicated by Prachanant (2012), English competency is a necessity for people employed in the tourism industry because most tourists use English as a mediating and negotiating language.

According to one participant, only a few of the guests attempted snippets of the host language (HL). Usually for first-time volunteers, the adoption of Fante day names was common. As indicated by this shop keeper there was a volunteer who said she was called Nana Yaa because she had learnt that was the name for Thursday born. According to the shopkeeper, ‘Nana Yaa’ asked her to translate I am better than you in Fante. From that point onwards;

*‘Any time she passed by the shop and we exchanged greetings, she would respond when you asked ‘Otse den’ (how are you) she would respond ‘Mo ho yie kyen wo’ (I am doing better than you).*

Some of those who spoke Fante were ‘veteran’ volunteers who usually had come to visit at least twice:

*‘A few of them can speak Fante; they can greet in Fante, say their names and even ask how you are doing in Fante. But it is not like that for most of them’*

[Native male, businessperson, FGD].

*‘There was a volunteer who has been here many times, everyone knows him in this community as Paa Kwesi’.*

Thus, language accommodation by the guest took the form of learning Fante greetings and the adoption of Fante day names.

It is expected in mass tourism that the guest does not have time to learn the host language because of the brevity of the guest’s stay. However, in volunteer tourism where longer stay and greater cultural immersion are emphasized, the guests have a greater reason to learn the host language (Brown, 2005; Ooi & Laing, 2010; Pan, 2012). However, this was not the case at Asebu, where there seems to be minimal learning of the host language. Perhaps because of the immersion that occurs in some aspect of the host community. It also seems that because of the availability of language and culture brokers, the guests did not feel the need to learn significant amounts of the host language.

Again, because of the average host’s ability to at least speak and understand ‘broken English’, it was not difficult for the guests to get around without having any working knowledge of Fante.

Language accommodation among the hosts took the form of upward convergence. As indicated earlier, upward convergence refers to the adjustment of the host language to accommodate that of the tourists. This manifested in the accent of two of the coordinators who worked in the orphanage home. The manner in which they spoke English and their choice of words (e.g. the word summer for harmattan or dry season) was markedly different from other members of the host community. Their English sounded more westernised. One person had a slur at the end of his sentences, a sort of

pitch, which is not very common in the English usually spoken by Ghanaians. This was observed in the field and confirmed by the audio recordings of the interviews.

*Table 4- Changes to Host Pronunciations*

Participants	Pronunciation	Typical Ghanaian Pronunciation
	<i>..it's kinda a</i> [ Non-native male, 28 years]	It is kind of...
	<i>..'priddy soon'</i> [ Non -native male, 22 years ]	Pretty soon
	<i>She started over the summer</i> [ Non-native male, 22 years ]	She started during the harmattan period.
	<i>... she doesn't even wanna hear the word canning....</i> [ Non-native male, 22 years ]	She does not even want to hear the word canning

Source: Field survey, Mensah (2017)

It may be that frequent interactions with the volunteer tourists in English had caused them to adopt this kind of 'tourist talk' in order to be understood by the volunteer tourist. This observation supports claims by Giles et al (2014) that it is possible for persons to modify their English because of their past and continued experiences with the volunteer tourists.

Two reasons can be inferred, one that these persons desired further future interactions with the volunteer tourists. Secondly, they desired to be more acceptable to the volunteer tourists and so adapted to their 'style' of speaking English (Giles, 2008; Giles et al., 2014). Possibly, this is a symptom of the demonstration effect as discussed by Kumar (2015). Similar to what

Kumar (2015) found in India, demonstration effect in many developing countries seem to focus on young males as reflected by the findings in Asebu.

It is also possible that their way of expressing themselves in English contributed to their 'isolation' from the native host community. This may also have contributed to the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. As proposed by Jafari (2002), it is possible that in the long-term, the language will contribute to making these two men marginal to both the Ghanaian culture and that of the volunteer tourists.

The tourist talk adopted by hosts in the inner circle of the volunteer tourism enterprise is reflective of the assertion by Siiskonen (2015) who posits that in a cross-cultural setting, individuals position themselves along the lines of language proficiency. Thus, whether or not the host can communicate in the tourist language is an indicator of interaction. For this reason, Cummins (2000) argued that language proficiency is expected to create unequal power relations. In Asebu community, there were indications of the truth of these observations in the literature. Although English proficiency was not an overt requirement, it was advantageous for the volunteer tourism organisation to have host families who could communicate in English (Key informant interview, 2016).

For coordinators, this was a more necessary requirement. All the four coordinators interviewed were fluent in English and they had at least secondary school certification. Ones' ability to communicate effectively in English affected the nature and depth of interaction. Language proficiency is thus a tool of agency for some segment of the host group.



Other members of the host community had a different kind of tourist talk which was based on the giving of local names like Nana Yaa and Paa Kwesi to the guests. Based on the thoughts of Hall-Lew and Lew (2014), it appears that the giving of local names formed part of the language accommodation of the guests. The coordinators and teachers who worked directly with the volunteer tourists seemed not to have such emphasis on this type of 'name giving' as part of their TT. They normally addressed the volunteer tourists by their English names.

Based on the works of Cohen and Cooper (1986) as well as Hall-Lew and Lew (2014) the conceptual framework postulated that members of the host community integrated in the volunteer tourism enterprise would be more accommodative of the tourist language. These persons were also expected to engage in tourist talk because of their jobs. The findings aligns with the framework in this regard. As theorised earlier in the conceptual framework, and found by Murphy (2013), it is probable that the use of westernised accents could be because of the demonstration effect causing some change in the language of young males integrated into the enterprise. Again based on the symbolic interactionism lens, the subjective meanings the host usually ascribed as positive indicators of engagement was the guest adoption of local names.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has discussed the dynamics of language in the volunteer tourism context. It has highlighted the challenge that language poses for interaction because of the linguistic distance that exists between the host and

the guest. It has also discussed the ways through which language facilitated interaction when the guest attempted to speak the host language.

Finally, the chapter has discussed language accommodation by some of the host. It has identified the possibility of hosts modifying their spoken language to match that of the guests. It was determined that the guests used language accommodation as well when they adopted Fante day names and learnt how to greet in Fante. The guests' use of the local language amused the hosts and usually facilitated their interaction. The findings largely confirm the initial thoughts about the challenges posed by the linguistic distances well as the changes to host language as discussed in the conceptual framework.

The next chapter continues the discourse by examining the power dynamics that manifest when the host and the guest interact in a volunteer tourism framework.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### POWER DYNAMICS

#### Introduction

The preceding chapters have examined the type and nature of interactions, the host perspectives of the guest and the language dynamics in the host encounter with the guest. This chapter addresses yet another important aspect of the host-guest interface in volunteer tourism, which is power dynamics. This chapter will discuss the dynamics of power among the host based on French, Raven and Cartwright (1959) and VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) typologies of power. The chapter will explore issues related to the dynamics of power. The principal question here was to ascertain whether volunteer tourism changed or created new power dynamics. Another was to see if the power dynamics engendered agency or dependency of the host. The final issue tackled is whether the setup of volunteer tourism gave the guest power over the host because of economic imperatives.

The chapter discusses these issues and begins with the identification of the types of power manifested in the host-guest interface. This is done with reference to the background of the nature and condition of the contact situation as already discussed in Chapter 5. The chapter concludes by discussing the hidden power struggles created because of the presence of volunteer tourism.

#### Types of Power

The study identified two main types of power, namely legitimate and expert power. In addition, there were covert power struggles between the integrated host and the non-integrated host.

Legitimate power of the host was found among the coordinators and liaison officers. The findings indicate that host community members working as liaison officers, asserted themselves in the community as those persons to whom the volunteer tourists turned to for education and direction once they arrived:

*'It is about teaching them what to do and training them, giving them tips and ideas about what they will be doing and the different kinds of project that the organization does ....be it sport program in the school or HIV program or orphanage. You have the idea so when they come (sic), you are their coordinator so you educate them; this is what you are to do, this is where you are to go and this is what time the project starts and will end. Therefore, we are more like their supervisors and their coordinators'* [Non-native male, coordinator, 24 years].

The coordinators indicated that they were the first point of call for the guests in the community. Their position also gave them access to information that the guests needed before, during and after their project. Prior to their arrival in Ghana, it was the coordinators who helped the organisation with details such as areas where volunteers were needed, the number of volunteers required etc. Their position also gave them opportunities to assist the guests to make a choice about whether they were needed in the care program, teaching or hospital. These occurrences constituted their legitimate power over the guest.

Again, by virtue of their relative permanence and stability, as opposed to the continuous flux of the guests, the liaison officers facilitated the continuity of projects through record keeping and reporting. One officer

indicated how he continued to give updates to past volunteer tourists about projects they started while in Ghana; recalling a recent conversation he had with a past volunteer, he said that:

*'..Even when she was away, she wanted updates about how the sports program was doing'*

As the first point of call for the activity of volunteer tourism in Asebu, the liaison officers can be described as having 'power over' the guest because of their position (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). Their position legitimized this power over the guest (French, Raven & Cartwright, 1959). Thus, 'power over' existed because of the hosts' legitimate power. These findings are reflective of the notion of agency. They felt they were in the position to assist the volunteer tourists before, during and after their arrival.

For hosts outside the volunteer tourism enterprise, this was not the case. For one, they felt that they were not close enough to the guests to exercise any form of control or power over them. In a similar vein, they did not feel that the guest had any power over them, for the reason that they did not have any business with them:

*'The white people do not have any influence on us. They come and do their own thing and we do our own thing. It is not as if they give us money or anything like that...'* [Native female, 50 years old].

As indicated in the earlier chapter on host attitudes, the ambivalence of the host towards the guest arises because there seems to be no dependence on the volunteer tourist dollar. Other residents suggested that though their activities i.e. supporting the orphanage and school were important, the community would be quite all right without them;

*'The volunteers come to do their own thing with the orphanage home and school. Even the school it is not free, we pay... the vacation classes yes, that one is free. I will say their work is important but without them also we would be quite all right'* [Native male, FGD]

These manifestations of 'power over' because of legitimate power pertained to only those integrated into the volunteer tourism enterprise. As discussed earlier by Allport (1966) and Pettigrew (1998) on the conditions for contact, it is possible that the optimal contact conditions created for those integrated in the enterprise are a contributory factor for these findings.

Expert power of the host was found occurring in the technical sphere among skilled professionals such as the teachers and sports coach, who also exhibited expert 'power over' the guest. Expert power is held because of some technical knowledge or expertise. In the study area, the local teachers exhibited expert power in the classroom. Concerning volunteer tourist teachers, one teacher indicated that the volunteers relied on their expertise as local Ghanaian teachers to be able to better engage the children in the classroom. He asserted that there were times that he and his colleagues trained the volunteer tourist teachers;

*'We will have to train them for like a week or two. Therefore, when we start teaching you will not teach but watch how it has been taught and what materials to use'*. [Non-native male teacher].

Aside the training, there were instances where the teachers had to write reports on the performance of some of the volunteers;

*‘...Some of them are here for teaching practice and we have to write a report on how well they did here. Usually when it is like that, you see they are very careful how they behave...’*

Aside their position, their expertise on the activities and projects made them feel that they had some authority over the conduct of volunteer tourists in the community. Their expert power was exhibited when they shared their knowledge about ongoing projects, location of project sites, resource persons etc. This power was also exhibited in assisting volunteer tourists to choose the right projects as indicated by one of the coordinators;

*‘So you have to talk to them.... like there was a volunteer who was naturally shy but wanted to do an HIV program but we gradually moved her to the sport program’* [Non-native male, coordinator, 28 years].

The dependence of the guest on their expertise, knowledge of the culture and language fostered their agency:

*‘When they need explanation about anything they see in town, it is us they come to not just anybody in the community...’* [Native male, sports coach].

Their expertise in their various technical areas provided the opportunity to be integrated into the volunteer tourism enterprise in the first place. Thus, for the sports coordinator, he was happy that his expertise as a coach allowed him to make a difference in the lives of the children in the community. He indicated that his conversations with the volunteer tourists always centered on the sports program;

*‘...we mostly talk about these things concerning our sports program... Things like the future of the children, their careers, how they will get work to do, how*

*some can continue their football career; we talk about all these'* [Native male, teacher and coach, 33 years].

He indicated that the volunteer tourists relied on him for information concerning the needs of the program. He was still in communication with some volunteer tourists who continue to support the sports program financially and with equipment even after their visit. He felt that coordinators and volunteer tourists were equal partners in ensuring the sustainability of the sports program and securing the future of the children. His relationship with the guest was complementary, he provided information and local knowledge and they provided financial and logistical assistance.

The teachers in the schools corroborated his sentiments. Volunteer tourists relied on the teachers for information about the children, their progress in addition to interpreting into Fante what the volunteer tourists taught in English. The teachers helped to identify the neediest students who were to receive assistance when donations were presented to the school.

The findings reflect the agency of the teachers and coordinators because of their expertise, which not only gives them access to the volunteer tourist guest but also gives them a collective agency, 'power with' the guest. As described by VeneKlasen and Miller (2002:43), 'power with' comes from collective agency when different people with different interests build collective strength. Again drawing from de Kadt (1976), when the host and volunteer tourist guest work side by side to exchange ideas to address a problem, each group draws on the power of the other.





**Plate 2: Volunteer Tourists with Children in the Sports Program**

Source: Field survey, Mensah (2016).

### **Power Dependence Relations**

The findings suggest the absence of any dependency of the host community on the volunteer tourist guest:

*'Well as to whether they should keep coming, if they come it is ok; if they do not come it is also ok. However, for the orphans, that will be the problem. But honestly, we can do things without them'.* [Non-native female shop owner, 40 years].

Residents did not expect the volunteer tourists to provide any significant help to them as individuals or to assist with the development of the town. Although they expressed their disappointment with the 'poor

development of the town' and bemoaned the absence of employment opportunities, they did not see the volunteer tourists as a solution to their problems.

It could be that the volunteer tourists in Asebu have clearly shown to the community what their purpose is in the community (that is the children) thus, over time, the host has recognized the orphanage home and school as their core business and nothing else;

*'They look after the orphans so it is very important. ....During the vacation, they teach all the children free of charge. They give them free books as well so that is very good'* [Native female, trader, 50 years];

*'I know they care for the orphans here. They also teach the children'* [Non-native Male taxi driver, 37 years];

*'They come here to help the children like the orphans. They also teach the students in the school. They have their own school they use in helping the children. They take care of the children and take them to the hospital when they are sick.'* [FGD 2].

This finding is interesting in that it can lay to rest the fear of economic dependency of host communities on the guest. The concerns in the literature that suggest that the presence of volunteer tourists breed dependency and removes agency of the host community seems to be absent in this case (Forsythe 2011). Admittedly, many studies have found that the North–South flow of western tourists to developing countries presents opportunities for unhealthy reliance on the volunteer tourist industry as indicated by Simpson (2004), Roberts (2004), Sin (2010) and Forsythe (2011). It has been assumed that the direction of power in volunteer tourism will be volunteer tourists

‘power over’ the host community (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). However this was not the case in this instance. The finding is thus contrary to these assumptions indicated in the literature.

### **Hidden Power Struggles**

The data is indicative of some subtle signs of tension between the two categories of host. Drawing from the remarks of some members of the host group, it would seem that some members of the host community have exhibited behaviors that indicate their displeasure with the activities of the volunteer tourists in a covert manner.

The first indication of this tension is the manner in which the local authorities and townspeople ‘sacked’ the orphanage home from their first premises;

*‘The townspeople are some way. You know the orphanage used to be up there on the hill, but they thought we were making money because they saw white people coming here and they sacked us from there. They took the building from us and we had to find another place. That’s how come we ended up here.....’* [Non-native male, 22 years].

Recounting this incident, two of the project coordinators expressed their disappointment about the actions of the townspeople. They thought that it was unfair that residents were so unsupportive as to sack orphans from their home.

Another incident recounted by the sports coach was about how some townsfolk had continuously vandalized their sports equipment;

*‘When we started, we had a lovely netball and volley ball court for the children. These were specially targeted at the girls because we wanted to encourage them to do sports, so they will not have time to get into trouble. Can you believe that these courts were repeatedly destroyed overnight? It happened more than once, they would destroy it and we would rebuild .... Eventually we just stopped rebuilding....’*

He suggested that although they had their suspicions as to which persons had done these, no one had been formally charged. He indicated that things had gotten progressively worse recently because, parents in the community intentionally forbade their daughters from joining the team in spite of the fact that volunteer tourists had provided free clothes, jerseys, books and other educational materials for the girls in addition to visiting them in their homes to formally seek the parents’ consent:

*‘When we started, we had an all-female team, but it got to a time they stopped them from coming....’* [Native male, teacher & coach, 33 years].

*‘...we have quite a lot of kids who say that they can’t come because their mother or father would not permit them to do so... there are some parents who have heard about this program but they won’t give their wards permission to come. Some feel that when they bring their wards, they should be given some money so when they come and they do not get any money, they stop them....’*  
[Native male, teacher & coach, 33 years].

He felt that the town folk had secluded themselves from their sports program and were negative about them for no reason: *‘the thing is because they do not get close to us to see what we are doing, they are negative about it. Meanwhile*

*a child who comes today can join the team; there is no barrier, nothing like you are not doing well so sit down'.*

All the above claims and statements come from the integrated host. It appears that these latent tensions concern the use of community resources by the volunteer tourism enterprise. As described by the sports coach and the statement concerning formal entry, it would seem that some segment of the non-integrated host feel slighted.

The sports coach indicated that perhaps the project coordinators had not communicated their activities and intentions well to the community leaders. He felt that there was some unspoken misunderstanding about the activities of volunteer tourists;

*'... as for this issue, I think the main reason why we are having these problems is that the townspeople and the traditional authorities feel we have not formally approached them neither have we explained to them why we are doing what we are doing'.*

This seemed to resonate with one non-integrated host who also indicated that he felt that the volunteer tourists did not formally ask for permission to begin their activities:

*'I don't know but I never heard of a time that they came to ask for formal entry into our community, I don't know maybe they did. If they did, I did not hear, but you just can't get up and enter a community...'*

Indeed most non-integrated residents indicated that they were not aware of any formal notification about the goings on in the volunteer tourism enterprise.

As indicated in the conceptual framework, volunteer tourism has the ability to affect existing power relations as well as create new ones. In this

case, covert power relationships seem to have been triggered by the activities of the volunteer tourists.

As indicated by Emerson (1962), power dependence relations implies that power is not owned by an individual but it is a product of the social relationship in which certain qualities become important and thus, more valuable to others. Clearly, the case in Asebu illustrates this point, because they do not seem to value the same things in the relationship. Thus, the absence of any such value means the absence of dependence because effectively the guest does not have anything the host values or in this instance, they do not ascribe the same values to the orphanage work, unlike the volunteer tourist. On the other hand, the few resources that the volunteer tourists need for their work, which is of value to the host, appear to be creating some tensions in the community.

As discussed by Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2005), one important condition for optimal contact and exchange is that both host and guest must deem the interaction as important. In the case of Asebu, the host did not attribute great importance to the work of the guest. This may also explain Otoo (2014) findings about the guest feeling as though the host community had abandoned the projects on them. In another vein, the findings corroborate what Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) determined concerning the importance of community leadership support as a condition for successful cross cultural contact.

Based on the thoughts of Dahl (1961) that power can be analyzed after 'careful examination of a series of concrete decisions and actions', it is obvious from the series of events concerning the use of the sports field that

some persons in the community are not happy with the volunteer tourist sports program. As a way of showing their disapproval and dissent, these 'invisible' forces have exhibited vandalism as a show of force. In addition, some parents have used non-participation to register their disapproval. In a way, these actions have sought to manipulate the volunteer tourist activities because it has led to the suspension of the girls' netball and volleyball teams. It also indicates that they have some influence and covert power over the volunteer tourism enterprise (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002).

Although Dahl suggests that access to resources is not a sufficient predictor of power, in this instance, it is obvious that the access and use of the common community resource has become the predictor of power. In contrast to the findings of Zahara and McGehee (2013), the cause of tension between the hosts and the guests did not come from giving credit of a job well done to the volunteer tourists but rather, it came from the shared use of resources.

As indicated by Weberian thought, power works in a hierarchy, and people tend to be comfortable when the structure of the society is complied with. This may account for the sports coach's explanation about seeking approval from the traditional authorities. It is plausible that because the initial entry was not approved by the traditional authorities, they and the non-integrated community feel marginalized. As a result, those working within the volunteer tourism organisation cannot go to them now to lodge any kind of complaint concerning the destruction of their sports equipment. The consequence of all this is that the integrated hosts feel that the non-integrated hosts are 'ungrateful' and 'unsupportive'.

Aside its reflection of the hidden (covert) power dimension in the community, the decision of some parents to ban their children, especially the girls, from joining the activities of the volunteer tourist may have practical reasons. It is possible that girls are needed by their parents for domestic duties, which may include hawking of items such as bread and kenkey. In the Ghanaian cultural setting, this is a common practice. Thus for the parents, letting the girls go for training will be depriving them of this needed assistance.

These findings differ from other studies on power relations between host and guest, which have indicated that because of the economic inequality underlying tourist-host interactions; the guest asserts power over the host, which is reminiscent of neocolonialism and imperialism (Roberts, 2004; Govender & Rogerson, 2010).

It appears that the concern and argument that volunteer tourism may give the guest power over the host communities as articulated by Roberts (2004) and Simpson (2004), is unfounded in the Asebu community. Rather, it provided agency to some sections of the host community as indicated in the conceptual framework. Further, it seems that the host had agency because the volunteer tourism enterprise rather depends on resources such as land and buildings, the situation seems to be reversed in this instance.



### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has shown the ways in which power is manifested in the host-guest interface in volunteer tourism. Legitimate power and expert power were found to be the main types of power in the community. Concerns about power dependence in the literature do not exist in the Asebu community because of the absence of economic dependence. In addition, the study found covert power struggles between the non-integrated hosts and the integrated hosts concerning the access and use of community resources. Chapter nine will continue the discussion on the issues of costs and benefits as perceived by the host.

## CHAPTER NINE

### COST, BENEFICENCE AND RECIPROCITY

#### Introduction

One major area of investigation for this study pertains to perception of costs and benefits that the host associates with the volunteer tourists in their community.

This chapter begins with a discussion of who the beneficiaries are in the community. The discussion continues by looking at the issue of reciprocity as hosts weigh the costs and benefits of their relationship with the tourists. It concludes that because of the trade-offs of costs and benefits, the host is willing to engage the guest in spite of the absence of personal benefits.

#### Perceived Benefits

With regards to benefits, most participants felt that as individuals, they had not received that much benefit from the volunteer tourists. However, they were satisfied as far as other members of the community, especially the children, were deriving some benefits;

*'It is the children who enjoy benefits from the volunteers when they come. They organise free classes for them and they spend so much time playing with them, organising parties for them...'* [Native female, unemployed, 26 years].

Those who shared the above sentiments included parents who felt their wards did not derive any direct benefits from the volunteer tourists, as well as those residents whose children volunteer tourism supported. Parents in the latter group indicated that since they had to pay school fees, they did not derive any direct benefits from the volunteer tourists;

*'At the end of the year, they give some food, clothes and free healthcare. Some children are sponsored on their birthdays but not my own children. For the past 5 years, my children have had no sponsor.'* [Native, female trader, 50 years].

### **Community Level Benefits**

Most of the participants (41 out of the 43) asserted that the community was the largest beneficiary;

*'for me, I would say it's the community as a whole that benefits from the white people, maybe if your child goes to pathfinder school (volunteer tourist school) then your child benefits too....'* [Native female, 33 years].

The orphaned children and school were cited as the single largest group people that received benefits from the volunteer tourists:

*'....It's the children who benefit from these volunteers not us the teachers'* [Non Native female teacher, 32 years].

*'...as for these white people, they only care about the orphans who live up the hill. They are not interested in the rest of us.'* [Native female trader, FGD].

*'...it's just the children they look after, the orphans. Well, we do not see any benefit....'* [Native female kenkey seller, 23 years].

Indeed, most of the volunteer tourist activities focused on children. The most cited activities of volunteer tourists as described by the hosts were painting of schools, teaching of children, care work at the orphanage as illustrated by plates 3 and 4.



**Plate 3: Different Activities with the Children**

Source: Field survey, Interview Participant (2016)

In contrast to the above opinions, a few residents did not agree that their community benefited from the volunteer tourists. One participant was of the opinion that there were no community benefits at all:

*'Our town gets no benefits, even concerning the orphanage, only a few of the children there are from Asebu so really, we do not benefit. They take them from other villages - Asomdwee, Kweku Oti, Nyame Dom'* [Native female, unemployed, 26 years].

Her argument was that the orphanage home was made up of children from the surrounding towns. Most participants indicated that the orphaned children were those who received the most benefits. As asserted by one of the coordinators, the volunteer tourism enterprise was focused on the children and not any other person:

*'...the sole purpose of the volunteers is to work in the orphanage home, HIV program and sports program. That is why they are here...'*

All participants agreed with the above assertion that the schoolchildren and orphans were the top priority of the volunteer tourists.

On the other hand, the only category of people who acknowledged non-monetary benefit were the coordinators who indicated that,

*'When you work with them you will get so many benefits in terms of problem solving skills'* [Non-native male, 28 years].

It appears that most of the non-integrated hosts were of the opinion that there were no personal benefits to be gained from the volunteer tourist. There was only one community level benefit, namely the care of orphans. Williams and Lawson's (2001) research in New Zealand noted similar findings: Although residents agreed that tourism was good for their community, they were less certain that it benefited them in a personal way.

This study discovered an ambivalent attitude towards tourists;

*'If they come its ok, if they stop coming today, we still continue to exist, we will be just fine without them'* [Native female, 30 years, trader].

*'It is interesting to have them around, but if for some reason they finish their work and stop visiting , that's ok, we were here doing our own things long before they started coming here'* [Native male, 33 years, taxi driver].

It appears that the perception of personal benefits plays a major role in determining the level of interaction, and by implication, social exchange that the host finds acceptable or irritable. As posited by the social exchange theory, the premise for initiating interaction is need satisfaction. It appears that since the residents consider that the interaction cannot meet their personal needs, they do not have any cause to initiate interaction (Ap, 1992; Gaechter & Fehr, 1999; Moyle, Croy & Weiler, 2010).

Thus, the perception of benefit is from the perspective of the participants is predicated on the receipt of direct individual benefit. Without this, the host may merely gaze on the guest and is not moved to in depth interactions even though they acknowledge community level benefits.



**Plate 4: Summer Volunteer Tourists in the Classroom**

Source: Field survey, Interview Participant (2016)



**Plate 5: Host and Guest preparing for Construction Project**

Source: Field survey, Interview Participant (2016)

### Perceived Costs

The findings indicate that there are some costs associated with the practice of volunteer tourism in Asebu. The costs were conceptualized as the challenges as well as undesirable effects experienced by the host because of the activities of the guest. The study found that these costs were related to the activities of the guest in the schools.

First, there was the problem of time wasting because of ‘staged teaching’ in the classroom. This came from the practice of some of the teachers having to either re-teach the areas taught by the guest teachers or giving them topics that had already been taught:

*‘Many of us think that sometimes, it’s a waste, because the things they come and teach we have to re-teach it when they go. Either you do that or*

*when they ask for things to teach; you give them a subject you have already taught the children so it makes sense to them (the children).*

*'...difficult for our children to understand them ....So what I do is I actually give them subject I have already taught'* [Non-native male, teacher].

Essentially, the cost of having volunteer tourist teachers was re-teaching the topic or teaching the topic before they arrived. This 'staging' of lessons for the convenience of the volunteer tourists was not appreciated by most of the teachers. However, because of the other benefits that volunteer tourists provide like painting the school, provision of books and teaching learning materials, teachers only complained among themselves but not to the volunteer tourists. One asserted that:

*'...the teachers do complain about that. Sometimes the kids find it difficult to get them but they will say they will teach and that will waste time because they will be looking at them the whole period without getting anything.... As for the help such as the infrastructural development and teaching equipment, it is good but for them to interfere with our academic calendar and schedule that is not good. However, they do help with the painting, building and teaching'* [Non-native male teacher, FGD].

Some teachers because of the activities of volunteer tourists related another cost to the sacrifice of holidays. Even during vacations, these teachers were needed by volunteer tourists as language brokers for the children. As indicated by one head teacher,

*'...for their summer school, I had to come here every day for 2 weeks even though the school was formally on vacation to interpret for them'* [Non-native female, head teacher, 47 years].



In the light of these inconveniences as described by the teachers, one wonders why the schools continue to host volunteer tourists if they are unable to teach without support. According to two of the teachers, the schools were allowing volunteers to teach because it was one of the ways through which some of the needs of the school were being met.

*'The reason why they will continue to come in spite of some of these challenges is that it is a necessary compromise. The volunteers' presence is very helpful to the school, they paint the school and supply us with sports equipment, science equipment, jerseys, books, TLMs (teaching and learning materials) Sometimes they help out with funds for some of the very poor children'* [Non-native male teacher, 33 years].

Another concern commonly raised was about the dressing of female volunteers, which some young girls were imitating. To some of the participants, short dresses and shorts were unacceptable for Ghanaian girls. Meanwhile some residents asserted that lifestyle changes among young people in the community were due to exposure to western movies and the internet, and had nothing to do with the presence of the volunteer tourists. One female participant remarked that the youth of today *'are already spoiled'*. As asserted by similar studies such as those of Fisher (2004) and Monterrubio and Mendoza-Ontiveros (2014), it is always difficult to attribute social change to tourism alone because of the myriad of influences that can have similar effects. Another male participant asserted that it was unfair for other members of the community to blame the volunteer tourists for changing lifestyles; he was of the opinion that the only negative thing others could say about the

volunteer tourists would lie with their dressing but according to him, *that is their culture so we should allow them?*

Overall, the major cost of volunteer tourism comes from inconveniences experienced by teachers. From another perspective, it is possible that aside the language challenge (as discussed in chapter seven) the staged teaching may be necessary because most of the volunteer tourists are not professional teachers. Their lack of qualification may explain why the students are unable to understand the lessons taught. Thus, one could infer that another cost in the school is a compromise on teaching quality. It is possible that Coghlan's (2008) findings about the absence of emphasis on qualification to match tasks, is showing up as volunteer tourist incompetence in the classrooms.

### **The Cost and Benefit Dynamics**

The study found that participants wanted the volunteer tourists to keep coming to their community only because of community level benefits. There was agreement among the integrated and non-integrated hosts about the merits of the volunteer tourist social, health and sporting activities. For example, one non-integrated host indicated that,

*'...we the youth here, we do not have time during the vacation to teach the younger children but these volunteers come to teach them'* [Native male, businessman, 27 years].

*'...some of the children they help do not have anyone, they have lost their parents. So it is good that the whites come and help them'* [Non-native male, 37 years]

This willingness can be ascribed to the fact that they (the hosts) felt that the volunteer tourists were providing a service that they themselves were unwilling to do.

The emotional experiences between the children and the volunteers could also make the hosts feel that they were not just passive recipients in the exchange relationship. Emotional experience with the children in the community was cited as the one thing that volunteer tourists get from their interaction with the host. When asked 'why do you think volunteer tourists come here knowing very well that we cannot repay them' the sports teacher indicated that volunteer tourists came to their town for '*an emotional experience with the children*' [Native male, teacher & coach, 33 years]. Two other residents indicated similar sentiments:

*'... the kind of joy they experience and the way the children react to them, playing with them and conversing with them, and how they are responding to their training activities when they go back to their home countries, they tell their people about Asebu, that's why people keep coming'*.

According to him, it was this 'joy' that kept them coming back to Asebu and bring others along with them.

*'...Some say when they are going that they will come back. Some when they go, they do not stay too long and they keep coming back. 3 months, and they come, they may come 1 week and check on the kids, it is as if the kind of feeling they got when they were here makes them keep coming back. It is an emotional experience for them. Some even cry when they are going back home'* [Native male, teacher and coach, 33 years]

*'...when they leave its painful for them...Paa Kwesi extended his stay to about 2 weeks...'* [Male taxi driver, 37 years]

In their opinion, this balanced the scales a bit. Other members of the community struggled with this question. In most of the interviews, participants after thinking for a while would either indicate that they had no answer for that question or would indicate that it was because the guests perceived the orphans' need and as 'kind' people responded to the said need.

Thus, with the idea that the volunteer tourist also gained some intrinsic benefits, some participants who formed part of the integrated host group thought that the host community gave something in return.

On the other hand, some non-integrated host indicated that they were aware that the volunteer tourist got career development and enhancement as benefits. As indicated by Palacios (2010) and Vrasti (2013), the guests stand to make career gains from their activities. This essentially questions the altruism argument in the literature. In the case of Asebu, this awareness exists among some residents who feel that this non-disclosure makes the guests suspicious (see discussion in chapter six).

The conceptual framework based on the social exchange theory posited that when the host perceives more benefits than cost, they would be willing to continue to interact with the volunteer tourist (Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams 1997, Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003). This seems to be the case for integrated host in Asebu although some other sections of the non-integrated host seem ambivalent on this score.

In the case of Asebu, most of the non-integrated host perceived only community level benefits which probably is both a cause and a result of the

superficial interaction and exchanges between them and the guest. As indicated by Gui (2000) personal direct benefits serve as a stronger motivation for meaningful interactions in social exchange.

Subsequently, as the literature suggests, the trade of intangible benefits such as the emotional resource seems to be commensurate with the physical resources that the guests provide. Thus, although the hosts perceive that there are no direct benefits, they do not consider the exchange unequal. As indicated by Dandy, Ballantyne, Moseley, Gill, Quine and Van Der Wal (2012), as long as residents do not think they are losing anything of value, the exchange relationship will continue. As postulated by Lindberg, Andersson and Dellaert (2001), it is also possible that the hosts perceive the activities of the volunteer tourist as a necessity, primarily because they themselves do not want to carry out these activities of caring for the orphans, organising vacation classes, or running the HIV and sport programs. Thus, the overall implication is that they would continue to host them.

However, the implications for interaction are that it there would be no depth to it (Moore & Cunningham, 1999: 106). Similar to the assertions of Teye et al., (2002) and Dandy et al. (2012), these findings underscore the importance of examining individual level benefits when probing the social exchange between hosts and guests, especially in the context of meaningful interactions.

The costs mostly experienced by the host was in the form of some inconveniences. Unlike what Bargeman et al. (2016) found in Tamale, the host in Asebu did not perceive misunderstandings between them and the guest as a cost. This may be due to the absence of such conflict or the hesitation to share any negatives as Zahara and McGehee (2013) found in their study in the

Philippines. As discussed by Zahara and McGehee (2013), the Filipino norm of reciprocity prevented them from saying any 'negative' things about their volunteer tourist guest. Similarly, the Ghanaian norm of being protective of the guest may have prevented the host from expressing such sentiments.

Based on the findings in Asebu, it appears that the reciprocal altruism argument may be flawed. This is because the host perceives that the guest does indeed receive some need satisfaction, whether implicit or explicit. The host is not just a passive recipient but also an active 'giver' in the relationship. Volunteer tourism therefore from the perspective of the host is not an altruistic enterprise.

### **Chapter Summary**

In sum, this chapter has shown the perceived benefits and costs associated with volunteer tourism in Asebu. Participants indicated that there were no personal gains from volunteer tourism. However, there were community level benefits from volunteer tourism. The inconveniences associated with re-teaching and reporting to school during vacation as well as the possible compromise on teaching quality emerged as the costs of volunteer tourism. The host community also provided an emotional experience for the guest. Thus, in the exchange relationship, there seems to be some balance of costs and benefits on the community level, for which reason the host would continue to host the volunteer tourist, possibly out of necessity. The next chapter is the final chapter of this study. It summarises the main findings of the study, highlights the main conclusions and makes recommendations for the practice and research of volunteer tourism.

## CHAPTER TEN

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study. It presents key findings of the study and discusses the contributions made by the present study to theory and practice. In addition to this, the chapter proposes a model for the study of host perspectives in volunteer tourism.

#### Summary

The purpose of the current investigation has been to solicit host perspectives on volunteer tourism in Ghana, a relatively under-researched theme in volunteer tourism literature. In order to achieve its objectives, a qualitative approach was used to explore the issues. The rationale for this choice was due to the exploratory nature of the phenomenon. To this end, the study is valuable as a baseline study for host attitudes in volunteer tourism in Asebu. Specifically, the study set out to;

1. Explore the nature of the interaction that hosts form with volunteer tourists.
2. Explore the power dynamics that develop as hosts interact with volunteer tourists.
3. Assess the dynamics of language in the host interaction with the guest.
4. Examine the perceived cost-benefit dynamics of host interactions with volunteer tourists.

This exploration of host perspectives of the international volunteer tourist utilised transcript data from in-depth interview and focus group discussions of

43 residents from Asebu community. A case study approach was used to understand key issues at a particular point in time. QDA miner, a qualitative data analysis tool was used to code and facilitate analysis of the data in order to find the themes and relationships in the responses. The coding frequency and cluster analysis tools in the software enabled a structural analysis of resident's responses per each question. The data analysis process was an iterative one with a lot of reviews and comparisons between and among responses.

Conceptually, this study has been largely supported by the contact hypothesis, symbolic interactionism, social exchange theory and Doxey's irritation index. In addition, VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) and French, Raven and Cartwright's (1959) typologies of power were useful in identifying the dynamics of power. The communication accommodation theory provided a lens for understanding the nuances and challenges of language.

The study found that:

- There were two main types of host within the community; the integrated and the non-integrated host.
- Language served a dual role as a barrier to communication and a facilitator for interaction.
- Volunteer tourism provided a source of agency for some hosts.
- Different perspectives exist among various segments of the host community about the volunteer tourist, based on degree of involvement, personal experiences and perceptions of direct monetary benefits.
- The host perceived the inconveniences of 'staged teaching', sacrificing of vacation periods and the possible compromised quality of teaching as costs.



- The host deemed the relationship with the guest worthwhile because of community level benefits.

### **Main Findings**

The study found that some interactions do occur when the volunteer tourist makes contact with the host. Three types of interactions between host and guest were discovered: economic, social and technical. This is comparable to de Kadt's (1979) three contact situations.

The study revealed two main types of host; those who were integrated into the volunteer tourism enterprise and those who were not integrated. These two groups had different experiences with the guest, which reflected in their perspectives and attitudes.

Concerning power dynamics, the study revealed that unlike what the literature indicates, volunteer tourism does not necessarily lead to domination of guest over the host. On the contrary, because of the legitimate position and technical expertise (expert power) of the integrated host, directions of power were horizontal (power with). Thus, volunteer tourism provided a source of agency for some hosts. The study also found covert power struggles between the non-integrated and integrated hosts because of conflict over the use of shared resources such as land and buildings.

Language was found to be a barrier to communication in some instances and as a facilitator for interaction in others. Language was a barrier because of the linguistic distance between the host community and the guest. On the other hand, when volunteer tourists tried to speak Fante or Twi, the host was generally amused and this served as an icebreaker in the

communication between host and guest. The host interpreted this as an interest by the guest to learn the local culture.

Host attitudes towards the volunteer tourists ranged from tolerance, through indifference, to suspicion. It appears that resource use has the potential to escalate tensions between some members of the host community and the guests. There are indications of existing subtle tensions evidenced by the continuous destruction of the volleyball court and other sports resources by some unidentified members of the community.

Objective four focused on costs and benefits associated with the presence of the guest. The major findings here were twofold. First, the host perceived the inconveniences of 'staged teaching', sacrificing of vacation periods and the possible compromised quality of teaching as costs associated with hosting volunteer tourist teachers.

Most participants were relatively satisfied with community level benefits in the absence of direct personal benefits. Some residents perceived that the guests received some positive emotional experiences in addition to the progression of their career development goals. As such, they deemed the overall relationship with the guest as worthwhile largely because they saw the volunteer tourist activities as being beneficial to the larger community.

## **Conclusions**

Volunteer tourism is undoubtedly a niche tourism market that necessarily relies on host communities. Host perspectives were found to vary among the host because of the differences in the level of involvement in the volunteer tourism enterprise. In addition, dimensions of the contact situation

such as host gender, age, citizenship and level of education were found to shape the nature, type and depth of interactions. Young, non-native males were found to be more integrated into the volunteer tourism enterprise. This category of host were highly tolerant of the guest. They were also the most susceptible to the demonstration effect in terms of changes to spoken English.

Claims about cross cultural interaction in volunteer tourism seem to be largely unsupported for majority of the residents in the study. The presence of an environmental bubble created by some segment of the host mitigated interactions with majority of the host community. This led to limited interactions with these segments of the community. As a result of this, the study found superficial relationships in the economic and social spheres where the host met the guest.

Some residents were thus found to have developed an ambivalent attitude towards volunteer tourist guests, while others were found to be suspicious. Because of the ambivalence towards the volunteer tourist guest, the host community was noted not to have any dependency on the guest and the volunteer tourism enterprise in general. In some instances, some residents asserted themselves in the relationship with the guest because of their expertise and services upon which the volunteer tourists relied.

Concerning the cost-benefit dynamics, the availability of community level benefits was found to be satisfactory for the host to view the relationship with the guest as worthwhile, though dispensable. Thus it is plausible that the host can easily terminate the exchange relationship because of the absence of direct individual level benefits.

Based on these findings, the study highlights the need for sending organisations to create opportunities for interaction with the wider host community. Volunteer tourism organisations also need to clearly communicate the purpose and motives of volunteer tourism to the host. This is necessary to dispel some of the misconceptions identified in the study. This is because majority of the hosts outside the enterprise were found to lack opportunities to connect with the guest. This segment of the host population were mostly suspicious of the guest motives. Attention must also be paid to resource sharing which has the potential to inflame underlying tensions between the host and the guest.

### **Contributions to Knowledge and Practice**

Although there is a plethora of studies on the host-guest interactions in mainstream tourism, there is yet to be an inquiry into host perspectives on volunteer tourism. This study attempted to identify the different types of interactions as well as perspectives resulting from said interactions. Based on these findings, the study proposes a model (see Figure 3) for future studies on host perspectives in a volunteer tourism framework.

### ***Proposed Host Perspectives Model***

As indicated in Figure 3, the model is predicated on one main factor, which is the degree of involvement in the volunteer tourism enterprise. Individual perspectives of volunteer tourism are predicated on the type of experience one has had with volunteer tourism, which is in turn a function of one's degree of involvement. The type of work the host does influences the

degree of integration and the possession of knowledge that is useful to the guest in the technical sphere.

Some enabling optimal conditions are needed to create optimal contact. Although these conditions were not explicitly tested in the current study, their absence seemed to have affected the interactions between the non-integrated host and the guest. It is theorised equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, authority support as discussed by Allport (1966) and Pettigrew (1998) are needed to create optimal contact situations.

Based on the findings, the ability to communicate, which is a function of the dynamics of language is critical to deep interactions. These enabling factors help to create the foundation for deeper interactions with the guest. The model is driven by the assumption that host perspective of volunteer tourism is based on the degree of integration and the presence of effective, clear and honest communication of the motives of the guest.

Mitigating contact factors refer to those contact conditions that are not conducive for the interaction. These include the absence of or poor communication of guest motives. The lack of openness from the guest about their activities contributes to uncertainty about volunteer tourism. Language plays a dual function. It can either be a facilitating or mitigating factor.

Consequently, the first proposition is that deep interactions between host and guest are a function of the contact situation. As found in this study, guest immersion in the host community and sharing of space does not necessarily lead to deep, meaningful interactions.

The contact enabling conditions ought to be satisfied before immersion can lead to interaction. Thus, context, quality and quantity of contact are equally important determinants of meaningful host encounters.

It is anticipated that the model can be used principally in understanding how host perspectives are formed, beginning from the inception of the contact situation. Volunteer tourism stakeholders such as the sending organisations can use this model to understand the need for creating the optimal meeting conditions to engender deep interaction, regardless of the context in which contact occurs. It is projected that in cases where uncertainty and conflict exist due to volunteer tourism, hostility may set in with time if the causal symptoms are not addressed. The model can be used to understand:

- The underlying causes of host attitudes
- Potential sources of conflict between host and guest
- The influence of volunteer tourism on community dynamics

The contribution of this study to the practice of volunteer tourism in Ghana is the provision of baseline data for future longitudinal and comparative studies of host attitudes towards volunteer tourism in Asebu. As has been established in the literature, attitudes of residents vary with tourism growth and impact. Therefore, there is a need to have base line data to be able to compare. In addition, there is a need to monitor hosts' attitudes over time. This will help the volunteer tourism organisation, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ghana Tourism Authority and other relevant stakeholders to plan for the growth of volunteer tourism.

Again, the study finds that it is important for stakeholders of the volunteer tourism enterprise to consider addressing the feelings of uncertainty by giving communities enough information about the activities of the volunteer tourists. Clear communication of the motives and intentions of volunteer tourists in the community ought to be a priority. The sending organisations must deliberately create opportunities for contact in the broader community and not only those who are already part of their operations. Again, they must recognise the role of the traditional authorities and seek formal consent from host community leaders in order to get their support for their activities in the community.

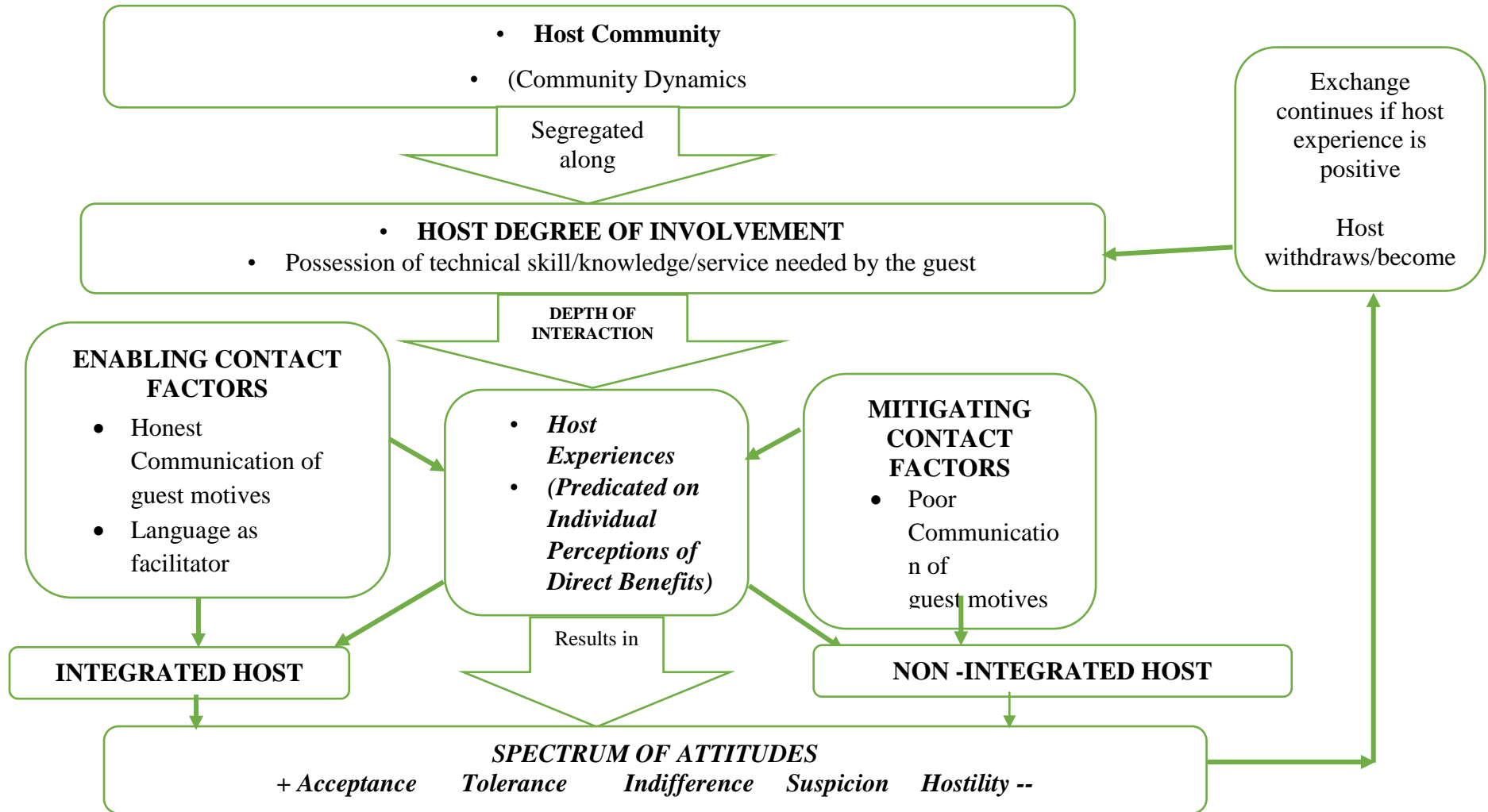


Figure 3: The Host Perspectives Model

Source: Author's construct (2017)



## **Recommendations**

After a detailed examination of the findings and its contributions, the study makes the following proposals to improve the host interactions with the guest.

### ***Recommendations for Practice***

The study proposes the following recommendations for improving the practice of volunteer tourism, which in turn would improve the interactions between host and guest.

Firstly, there is a need for volunteer tourism organisation to address existing misconceptions about the true motives of the guest. One way would be for them to consciously put in programs and forums to foster wider engagement with residents outside the enterprise. Based on the subtle tensions, the organisation also needs to seek formal consent from the traditional community authorities. They ought to formally recognise these leaders as important stakeholders without whose support the volunteer tourism enterprise cannot succeed. In addition to such a collaboration, the volunteer tourism organisation must communicate regularly with the host community through the community leaders. One of the issues that ought to be clearly communicated should include their motives and purpose in the community as well as potential benefits the community can get from them. Another issue that must be addressed is the use of shared community resources, There must be a realistic discussion on the potential challenges that volunteer tourism brings to the community. Issues of vandalism from some members of the community ought to be wholistically addressed in order to forestall any further incidents.

Secondly, the volunteer tourism organisation must make a conscious attempt to find out the actual needs of the community by engaging with them. There must be continuous dialogue between them and the wider host community. This will give the host community a stake in the projects that are then executed. It would be easier for the community to share resources with the volunteer tourist guest if they feel they are part of the decision making processes.

Thirdly, the volunteer tourism organisation must take steps to address the compromise on the quality of volunteer tourist teachers. One solution would be to restrict volunteer tourist teaching to extracurricular activities as opposed to mainstream academic teaching. There ought to be greater collaboration and dialogue between the teachers and volunteer tourism organisations about these concerns in hopes of finding mutually beneficial solutions.

It is also recommended that the integrated host, especially the coordinators act as conduits of contact between the volunteer tourists and the broader host community. This is because in as much as they seek to protect the guest by putting them in an environmental bubble, their actions keep the larger community out and this leads to isolation from the community. This isolation contributed to the superficial interactions reported by members of the wider host community.

Finally, the findings have implications for governmental regulation of the practice of volunteer tourism in Ghana. The Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) and the Ministry of Tourism need to work with the District Assemblies where volunteer tourism activities are situated in Ghana. The GTA, as a

regulator of the homestay category of accommodation used in volunteer tourism have oversight responsibilities about host perspectives and challenges with hosting international volunteer tourists. Further, these stakeholders need to be informed about the volunteer tourism organisations themselves. As tourism regulatory bodies, they should consider creating a database of volunteer tourist numbers, their activities and organisations in order to effectively monitor their impacts in the host communities.

### *Recommendations for Research*

The present study looked at reciprocity, power, language and social exchange in the host-volunteer tourist encounter. In spite of the limitations of this study, it does provide some original views on this relatively under-researched area. Findings indicate that a range of attitudes exists in the host community. Future studies using a larger sample size supplemented by quantitative methods can assess the generalization of these perspectives.

Furthermore, a longitudinal study would also engender an understanding of these attitudes over time. Unlike what volunteer tourism purports to achieve in terms of cross-cultural contact and understanding, this study found that superficial and infrequent contact occurs between host and guest. Future studies can also explore the cross-cultural contact using Hofstede's cultural dimensions to investigate the influence of cultural distance on the host encounter with the guest. It would be interesting in future studies to consider the role of cultural distance in mediating host encounters in volunteer tourism. This will enable an understanding of how cultural familiarity, similarity as well as difference facilitate or hinder the interaction.

The current study alludes to the influence of cultural distance and power distance on host interactions with the guest.

Moreover, future research could explore the reason behind the environmental bubble in a volunteer tourism framework. It would be worthwhile to find out if the bubble exists because of the hosts' desire to minimize tourist influence on their culture or if it comes from the tourist typology. Future research can further explore these concepts.

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## APPENDIX A

### UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT

#### **In-depth interview Guide for Residents of Asebu.**

#### **Project topic: Host Perspectives of International Volunteer Tourists in Ghana: The Case of Asebu Community.**

#### **Introduction**

Dear respondent, this information is being solicited in connection with a postgraduate degree study on host guest interactions in volunteer tourism. Your participation is highly appreciated and you are assured of absolute confidentiality and anonymity. Please feel at ease and provide all information whether negative or positive. To enable me to accurately capture your responses, I would like to record the discussion if you are willing. The discussion will last for about thirty minutes.

Thank you. Esi Akyere Mensah (0208278300).

#### **Proof of Residency**

1. Were you born in Asebu?

*- Probe for citizenship; How long have you stayed in Asebu?*

#### **Knowledge of volunteer tourist visits**

2. Residents' knowledge of volunteer tourists visit (s) in Asebu

*-Probe for details about the frequency of volunteer tourists' (v.t) visits, since when were you aware, which months or periods are they in Asebu?)*

*-What do you know about them? Countries of origin?*

*-Can they decipher between resident volunteer tourists and commuters?*

3. Why do you think the volunteer tourists choose to visit Asebu community?

#### **Participation in Volunteer Tourists Activities**

4. What activities have you seen the volunteer tourists undertake when they come?

*-Probe for specific activities (mention 4).*

*-How relevant are the activities you observed to you and Asebu community?*

#### **Power dynamics**

5. Who has the right to/ is allowed participate in volunteer tourists activities.

*-Probe for restrictions if people want to be a part of v.t activities. Can everyone can be a part?*

*-Who decides on which group(s) of people work with or receive assistance from the volunteers, what projects are undertaken?*

6. How are residents engaged with volunteer tourists?

a. Host family ; b. Service provider e.g. liaison officer, taxi driver, sales person

*-Probe for details of interaction, why did you decide to engage with the v.t, when did the first interaction occur, what were the circumstances?*

*-Probe for types of service provision if it applies, are other residents interested in having similar interaction experiences as you?*

### **Perception of benefits**

7. What do residents think the volunteer tourists gain by visiting Asebu

*-Probe for host perceptions on whether or not volunteer tourists are interested in learning about your way of life in Asebu?*

8. Resident perception (s) of how volunteer tourists have affected their quality of life in Asebu.

*-Probe for residents perceptions of who profits*

*-Probe for individual level benefits, community level benefits, which people **least** benefit from their activities and the reasons why.*

9. Opportunities created by the visits of volunteer

*- Probe for knowledge of and perceptions of opportunities*

*-Probe for type of opportunities- economic, educational, gender opportunities and change.*

### **Perception of Costs**

10. Challenges faced by Asebu community in their bid to host volunteer tourists.

*-Probe for avenue(s) for seeking redress when you have issues/concerns/problems with the volunteer tourists?*

*-Any prior experience? –satisfaction with outcomes*

11. Host perceptions on activities of volunteer tourists in Asebu.

*-Probe to see if residents think engagement with volunteer tourists continue and the reasons why.*

12. Volunteers' role in addressing pressing needs of Asebu community.

*-Probe for the ways through which volunteer tourists assist with the pressing needs of Asebu community.*

*-Are the volunteer tourists providing more assistance than local government? (district assembly, assemblyman, MP)*

### **Power**

13. Occurrences / instances where volunteer tourists have been prioritized above local people.

*-Probe for specific examples*

14. Do you think our local people are as respected as the volunteer tourists are?

15. Have you experienced any kind of conflict with volunteer tourists?

*-Probe for circumstances/cause, resolution, satisfaction with resolution/outcomes*

16. Please share any other information you think is relevant.

**Socio demographic characteristics**

1. Sex:	i. Male	[ ]	ii. Female	[ ]
2. Age:	.....			
3. Occupation.	.....			
4. Marital Status:	i. Single	[ ]	ii. Married	[ ]
	iii. Widowed	[ ]	iv. Divorced	[ ]
5. Highest Education Attained:	i. No Formal Education	[ ]	ii. Primary	[ ]
	iii. JHS	[ ]	iv. Secondary/Vocational/Technical	[ ]
	v. Tertiary	[ ]	vi. Others.....	
6. Religion:	i. Christianity	[ ]	ii. Islam	[ ]
	iii. Traditional	[ ]	iv. None	[ ]
7. Family size.....	No of: Males:	.....	Females:	.....
8. Average monthly income (GH¢):	i. less than 100	[ ]	ii. 150 – 300	[ ]
	iii. 350 –500	[ ]	iv. 550-650	[ ]
	v. 700-850	[ ]	vi. Above 1000	[ ]



**APPENDIX B**

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST  
DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT**

**Focus Group Discussion Guide for Residents of Asebu.**

**Project topic: Host Perspectives of International Volunteer Tourists in Ghana: The Case of Asebu Community.**

**Introduction**

Dear respondents, this information is being solicited in connection with a postgraduate degree study on host guest interactions in volunteer tourism. Your participation is highly appreciated and you are assured of absolute confidentiality and anonymity. Please feel at ease and provide all information whether negative or positive. To enable me to accurately capture your responses, I would like to record the discussion if you are willing. The discussion will last for about forty-five minutes. Thank you. Esi Akyere Mensah (0208278300).

Meeting Data	Participant Data
Date..... Start Time..... End..... Location.....	Number of Participants..... Number of Males/Females.....

### **Residence**

1. Native to Asebu?

*- Probe for citizenship; How long have you stayed in Asebu?*

### **Knowledge of volunteer tourist visits**

2. Residents' knowledge of volunteer tourists visit (s) in Asebu

*-Probe for details about the frequency of volunteer tourists' (v.t) visits, since when were you aware, which months or periods are they in Asebu?)*

*-What do you know about them? Countries of origin?*

*-Can they decipher between resident volunteer tourists and commuters?*

3. Why do you think the volunteer tourists choose to visit Asebu community?

### **Participation in Volunteer Tourists Activities**

4. What activities have you seen the volunteer tourists undertake when they come?

*-Probe for specific activities (mention 4).*

*-How relevant are the activities you observed to you and Asebu community?*

### **Power dynamics**

5. Who has the right to/ is allowed participate in volunteer tourists activities.

*-Probe for restrictions if people want to be a part of v.t activities. Can everyone can be a part?*

*-Who decides on which group(s) of people work with or receive assistance from the volunteers, what projects are undertaken?*

6. How are residents engaged with volunteer tourists?

a. Host family ; b. Service provider e.g. liaison officer, taxi driver, sales person

*-Probe for details of interaction, why did you decide to engage with the v.t, when did the first interaction occur, what were the circumstances?*

*-Probe for types of service provision if it applies, are other residents interested in having similar interaction experiences as you?*

### **Perception of benefits**

7. What do residents think the volunteer tourists gain by visiting Asebu

*-Probe for host perceptions on whether or not volunteer tourists are interested in learning about your way of life in Asebu?*

8. Resident perception (s) of how volunteer tourists have affected their quality of life in Asebu.

*-Probe for residents perceptions of who profits*

*-Probe for individual level benefits, community level benefits, which people least benefit from their activities and the reasons why.*

9. Opportunities created by the visits of volunteer

*- Probe for knowledge of and perceptions of opportunities*

*-Probe for type of opportunities- economic, educational, gender opportunities and change.*

**Perception of Costs**

10. Challenges faced by Asebu community in their bid to host volunteer tourists.

*-Probe for avenue(s) for seeking redress when you have issues/concerns/problems with the volunteer tourists?*

*-Any prior experience? –satisfaction with outcomes*

11. Host perceptions on activities of volunteer tourists in Asebu.

*-Probe to see if residents think engagement with volunteer tourists continue and the reasons why.*

12. Volunteers' role in addressing pressing needs of Asebu community.

*-Probe for the ways through which volunteer tourists assist with the pressing needs of Asebu community.*

*-Are the volunteer tourists providing more assistance than local government? (district assembly, assemblyman, MP)*

**Power**

13. Occurrences / instances where volunteer tourists have been prioritized above local people.

*-Probe for specific examples*

14. Do you think our local people are as respected as the volunteer tourists are?

15. Have you experienced any kind of conflict with volunteer tourists?

*-Probe for circumstances/cause, resolution, satisfaction with resolution/outcomes*

16. Please share any other information you think is relevant.



## APPENDIX C

### INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title: Host Perspectives of International Volunteer Tourists in Ghana: The Case of Asebu Community.

Principal Investigator: Esi Akyere Mensah

Address: Ghana Technology University College, P.M.B 100, Accra

#### **General Information about Research**

The main objective of this study is to assess the nature and implications of host interaction with the volunteer tourist as a guest. The study is trying to get host communities perceptions about volunteer tourist. The study relies on respondents' impressions and perception on volunteer tourist. You are being interviewed to know what you think about the phenomenon of volunteer tourists and their work in your area.

#### **Procedures**

To find answers to some of these questions, we invite you to take part in this research project. If you accept, you will be required to participate in an interview with me, Esi Akyere Mensah.

You are being invited to take part in this discussion because we feel that your experience as a social-worker can contribute much to this discussion. You will be asked questions on your interactions and perceptions of the volunteer tourists.

If you do not wish to answer any of the questions posed during the interview, you may say so and the interviewer will move on to the next question. The interview will take place in a pace convenient for you and no one else but the interviewer will be present. The information recorded is considered confidential.

The expected duration of the, interview is about 30 minutes

#### **Possible Risks and Discomforts**

*No known risks.*

### **Confidentiality**

We will protect information we receive from you to the best of our ability. You will not be named in any report.

### **Compensation**

*No compensation will be given for participation.*

### **Voluntary Participation and Right to Leave the Research**

Participation is voluntary, you can terminate the interview at any point without any consequence whatsoever.

### **Contacts for Additional Information**

Prof. Kwaku Adutwum Boakye

Snr. Lecturer, Dept. of Hospitality and Tourism Management, University of Cape Coast. (kwakuadutwumboakye @gmail.com )

### **Your rights as a Participant**

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of University of Cape Coast (UCCIRB). If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant you can contact the Administrator at the IRB Office between the hours of 8:00 am and 4:30 p.m. through the phones lines 0332133172 and 0244207814 or email address: [irb@ucc.edu.gh](mailto:irb@ucc.edu.gh).

### **VOLUNTEER AGREEMENT**

The above document describing the benefits, risks and procedures for the research title *Host interactions with guests in volunteer tourism* has been read and explained to me. I have been given an opportunity to have any questions about the research answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate as a volunteer.

---

Date

Name and signature or mark of volunteer

**If volunteers cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign here:**

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

Name and signature of witness

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

Name Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent

## APPENDIX D

### **EXPERT REVIEW OF MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENT (IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS)**

**TITLE OF THESIS: HOST PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEER TOURISTS IN GHANA: THE CASE OF ASEBU COMMUNITY.**

#### **PART I: REVIEW OF QUESTIONS**

Dear Reviewer, kindly point out the awkward or confusing items and suggest alternative wordings where necessary as you examine the following items for content validity. In addition, you can comment on the adequacy of the item pool, the length, relevance and representativeness of the questions in relation to the measurement of the intended constructs as defined below. You may also recommend other ways of tapping the phenomenon that have been overlooked. The first page has the Research question and Objectives for the thesis. The in-depth interview guide is on page 2.

Thank you.

Esi Akyere Mensah (0208278300).

#### **Research Objectives**

The main objective of this study is to examine host perspectives of the volunteer tourist guest.

Specific objectives are to:

5. Explore the nature of the interaction that host form with volunteer tourists in the Asebu community.
6. Explore the power dynamics that develop as host interact with volunteer tourists.
7. Assess the dynamics of language in the host interaction with the guest.
8. Examine the perceived cost-benefit dynamics of host- interactions with volunteer tourists.



Question	Comment/ Remark
<p><b>Proof of Residency</b></p> <p>17. Were you born in Asebu?</p> <p><i>- Probe for citizenship; How long have you stayed in Asebu?</i></p> <p><b>Knowledge of volunteer tourist visits</b></p> <p>18. Residents' knowledge of volunteer tourists visit (s) in Asebu</p> <p><i>-Probe for details about the frequency of volunteer tourists' (v.t) visits, since when were you aware, which months or periods are they in Asebu?)</i></p> <p><i>-What do you know about them? Countries of origin?</i></p> <p><i>-Can they decipher between resident volunteer tourists and commuters?</i></p> <p>19. Why do you think the volunteer tourists choose to visit Asebu community?</p> <p><b>Participation in Volunteer Tourists Activities</b></p> <p>20. What activities have you seen the volunteer tourists undertake when they come?</p> <p><i>-Probe for specific activities (mention 4).</i></p> <p><i>-How relevant are the activities you observed to you and Asebu community?</i></p> <p><b>Power dynamics</b></p> <p>21. Who has the right to/ is allowed participate in volunteer tourists activities.</p> <p><i>-Probe for restrictions if people want to be a part of v.t activities. Can everyone can be a part?</i></p> <p><i>-Who decides on which group(s) of people work with or receive assistance from the volunteers, what projects are undertaken?</i></p> <p>22. How are residents engaged with volunteer tourists?</p> <p>a. Host family ; b. Service provider e.g. liaison officer, taxi driver, sales person</p> <p><i>-Probe for details of interaction, why did you decide to engage with the v.t, when did the first interaction occur, what were the circumstances?</i></p> <p><i>-Probe for types of service provision if it applies, are other residents interested in having similar interaction experiences as you?</i></p> <p><b>Perception of benefits</b></p> <p>23. What do residents think the volunteer tourists gain by visiting Asebu</p>	

<p><i>-Probe for host perceptions on whether or not volunteer tourists are interested in learning about your way of life in Asebu?</i></p> <p>24. Resident perception (s) of how volunteer tourists have affected their quality of life in Asebu.</p> <p><i>-Probe for residents perceptions of who profits</i></p> <p><i>-Probe for individual level benefits, community level benefits, which people <b>least</b> benefit from their activities and the reasons why.</i></p> <p>25. Opportunities created by the visits of volunteer</p> <p><i>- Probe for knowledge of and perceptions of opportunities</i></p> <p><i>-Probe for type of opportunities- economic, educational, gender opportunities and change.</i></p> <p><b>Perception of Costs</b></p> <p>26. Challenges faced by Asebu community in their bid to host volunteer tourists.</p> <p><i>-Probe for avenue(s) for seeking redress when you have issues/concerns/ problems with the volunteer tourists?</i></p> <p><i>-Any prior experience? –satisfaction with outcomes</i></p> <p>27. Host perceptions on activities of volunteer tourists in Asebu.</p> <p><i>-Probe to see if residents think engagement with volunteer tourists continue and the reasons why.</i></p> <p>28. Volunteers’ role in addressing pressing needs of Asebu community.</p> <p><i>-Probe for the ways through which volunteer tourists assist with the pressing needs of Asebu community.</i></p> <p><i>-Are the volunteer tourists providing more assistance than local government? (district assembly, assemblyman, MP)</i></p> <p><b>Power</b></p> <p>29. Occurrences / instances where volunteer tourists have been prioritized above local people.</p> <p><i>-Probe for specific examples</i></p> <p>30. Do you think our local people are as respected as the volunteer tourists are?</p> <p>31. Have you experienced any kind of conflict with volunteer tourists?</p> <p><i>-Probe for circumstances/cause, resolution, satisfaction with resolution/outcomes</i></p> <p>32. Please share any other information you think is relevant.</p>	
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