

Volunteer Tourism:
Effective Development Strategy or Feel-Good Travel?

by
Camaro C. West

A Thesis Submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts in
International Development Studies.

April, 2011, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Copyright Camaro C West, 2011

Approved: H.Veltmeyer
Supervisor

Approved: Ryan Isakson
Reader

Approved: Darcy Tetreault
External

Date: April 15th, 2011



Library and Archives
Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-79647-4
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-79647-4

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.


Canada

Abstract

Volunteer Tourism: Effective Development Strategy or Feel-Good Travel?

by
Camaro C. West

Abstract: As a branch of alternative tourism, volunteer tourism or ‘voluntourism’ is responsible for introducing vacationers to parts of developing countries not usually seen through traditional forms of tourism. These travelers interact with local and community development organizations in ways said to capacitate the organizations and contribute to development as a whole. This raises important questions about the implications of inserting unskilled and unprepared volunteers into what is said to be development work. Using a case study of American voluntourist groups working in Guatemala, this thesis examines claims that short-term, unskilled volunteers can engage in local development work. The findings suggest that voluntourism does not contribute to local development largely due to its failure to empower local people to improve their situations beyond the short-term efforts of voluntourists. Further alienating voluntourism from local development is that the needs of the voluntourists are most often met at the expense of those of the poor.

April 15th, 2011

Acknowledgements

To all of those who encouraged, assisted and challenged me throughout this process, including my supervisor, committee, friends and family, I offer my heartfelt gratitude.

The Timmy Foundation, for allowing me to volunteer with the organization and being supportive of my research. Special thank you to the executive director, programs coordinator and volunteers who took the time answer my interview questions.

Asociacion Pop Wuj for providing the inspiration for my research and graciously assisting me throughout the process from start to finish. The kindness and generosity of the Guatemalan people that I worked with will never be forgotten.

Asociación Pop Wuj por darme la inspiración para mi investigación y ayudarme desinteresadamente durante todo el proceso desde el principio al fin. La amabilidad y generosidad de la gente de Guatemala con la que trabajé nunca será olvidada

Dedicated to my grandmothers Margaret Vanlow and Marion Martin, who have inspired and encouraged me to reach heights that they were not able to reach themselves.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	1
1.1 Research Problematic.....	1
1.2 Theoretical Framework.....	3
1.3 Methodology.....	5
1.4 Structure of the Thesis Argument.....	9
 Chapter 2 - The Dynamics of Local and Community-Based/Driven Development.....	11
2.1 Paradigm Shift from national to Local Development.....	11
2.2 NGOs as Agents of Development.....	25
2.3 Local/Community Development.....	36
2.4 Conclusion	47
 Chapter 3 – From Volunteerism to Voluntourism	49
3.1 Volunteerism in Development	49
3.2 Situating Voluntourism in the Local Development Framework	53
3.3 Differences between Volunteer Work in Community Development and Volunteer Tourism	69
3.4 Conclusion	82
 Chapter 4 – The Guatemalan Context.....	85
4.1 Social Context of Research.....	85
4.2 Health Care in Guatemala	90
4.3 NGOs and Tourism in Guatemala.....	94

Chapter 5 – Volunteer Tourism and Local Development: Data Analysis	100
5.1 The Actors	100
5.2 Case Studies	106
5.2.1. Costs/Benefits	108
5.2.2. Power Dynamics	112
5.2.3. Dual Development	114
5.3 Conclusion	117
 Chapter 6 – Analysis and Conclusions	 118
6.1 Costs/Benefits	118
6.2 Power Dynamics	121
6.3 Dual Development	123
6.4 Conclusions	124
6.5 Recommendations	127
 Bibliography....	 130

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Problematic

My thesis examines the intersection of volunteer tourism or ‘voluntourism’ with Local and Community Development and the impacts of voluntourist activities on community-led projects. Millions of travelers looking to “make a difference” have been inserted into development and conservation work under the pretense that they can in some way, make positive contributions to some aspect of life in the developing world. Voluntourism as a sector of the tourist industry can be broken down into various categories based on the types of travelers, the types of projects engaged in overseas, the goals of the travelers, and so on. I am concerned specifically with existing projects in developing countries that incorporate voluntourists as a part of their development strategy.

There are hundreds of voluntourist organizations operating globally that send volunteers overseas to engage in what they believe to be development work. Everything from painting houses to working in orphanages and clinics in developing countries can be considered volunteer tourism. Take for example, this excerpt from the website of voluntourist organization Global Volunteers, describing the work of their volunteers in developing countries:

Their struggles are many... poverty, disabilities, and even homelessness.

But you can make a lasting difference in these young lives. Global Volunteers

works with vulnerable infants and youth worldwide. You can care for physically - , and mentally-disabled children, some who have been abandoned, and "at-risk" teens. Often no special skills are required, as volunteers are needed to listen to, play, read, exercise and share time with the children.

(<http://www.globalvolunteers.org/projects/caring.asp>)

The problem with these organizations framing the work of voluntourists as development is that it assumes that these short-term trips have real long-term positive impacts. Further, it simplifies development work and frames it as something that anyone can do, hence the lack of skill requirements for volunteers.

Central to this thesis is the question of whether voluntourism can be considered an effective local development tool. The objective is to assess whether the work put into local and community initiatives by these tourists strengthens the organizations with which they work, and consequently positively impact the communities being served. It will be argued that voluntourism as defined in this thesis, cannot be considered development. The very defining characteristics of voluntourism prevent it from making lasting positive impacts on local development projects. The short term nature of trips, lack of relevant skill requirements and failure to educate volunteers prior to sending them into the field, orient voluntourism to benefit the voluntourists and sending organizations rather than the people that they are supposed to be helping.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

The definition of volunteer tourism or voluntourism to be used in this thesis is that of tourism author Stephen Wearing. Wearing refers to voluntourists as “[t]hose tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty in some groups in society...” (2001, 1). I would like to add to that definition by saying that not only “might” these trips involve aiding and alleviating the material poverty in a specific part of the world, but that is the main focus. Furthermore, though voluntourists may possess skills or training relevant to the projects they work with; their participation in these projects is not contingent on these skills.

In order to make the difference between volunteer tourism and certain forms of unpaid development work, I must emphasize that the trips embarked on by voluntourists are private, and while they might be coordinated through an organization, these organizations have no political or governmental associations. And lastly, one of the most distinctive characteristics of voluntourism is the short duration of trips, typically lasting anywhere from one week to three months. Voluntourists are defined as those participating in voluntourism, and the voluntoured refers to the local communities and individuals who interact with voluntourists during their working vacations.

Voluntourism will be analyzed within a local and community development framework. Using the writings of Freire, Chambers and Sen to establish some of the key ideas that shape local development theory, the ways that voluntourism interacts with local

and community development will be explored. Throughout this study and thesis, the term local is used in its geographic sense to denote the areas where development work is taking place, whereas local and community development are used in the theoretical sense.

The arguments made throughout this thesis are based on a number of working ideas. Firstly, that at the core of local and community development are the needs of the poor and the belief that they should be placed first. The main agents of change are the poor themselves, and for this reason development should be based on the assets available in their communities and not reliant on external actors. Local development initiatives should strive to expand the capabilities of the poor, which would lead to an expansion in choice and the power over decisions that affect their well-being. Though these concepts are central to local development theories, many organizations claiming to “do” local development do not adopt this framework in practice.

Among those actors aiming to do development work are voluntourists. Voluntourist organizations and individual voluntourists most often lack any type of theoretical background for their work. However, they are not to be confused with trained volunteer workers in development, as there are stark differences between the two groups. Voluntourism is structured to fulfill the needs of volunteers, not the poor. Most voluntourist organizations are based in the tourism industry, meaning that they are first and foremost accountable to tourists. Other voluntourist sending organizations have practical specialties such as construction or health with the potential to positively contribute to local development, but without seriously adopting a local development

framework even the best of intentions will not strengthen existing local development initiatives.

1.3 Methodology

Data for this thesis was collected primarily in two stages. First, a systematic review of the literature pertinent to this thesis was conducted. Specifically, literature was consulted in two areas; on Local and Community Development, and on voluntourism. The second stage of data collection was done through field research. Field research took place in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala in May and June 2010 and focused on collecting data pertaining to the partnership between an American voluntourist sending organization (the Timmy Foundation) and a local Guatemalan Non Governmental Organization (Asociación Pop Wuj). The primary objects of research were two voluntourist groups working in Guatemala, the American organization responsible for sending them, and the Guatemalan organization accepting the volunteers.

This case was the main source of data, and data was collected primarily through participant observation. The researcher participated as a voluntourist with both groups from the American organization. Acting as a translator with the first group as they delivered health care through mobile clinics, and as a group leader for the second group of voluntourists building safe stoves for families provided extra insight into the dynamics of voluntourism in this setting.

Non-participant observation took place throughout the two-month research period at Asociación Pop Wuj, and specifically in the medical clinic. In addition to observation, interviews were used to collect more specific data. One-on-one interviews were conducted with the volunteer coordinator and medical program coordinator from Pop Wuj, as well as the executive director and programs coordinator from the Timmy Foundation. In place of in-person interviews, a small number of voluntourists involved in the case study responded to questions via e-mail upon their return to the United States.

Other sources of data included two non-profit organizations working in Quetzaltenango that interact with voluntourists on different levels. At the Primeros Pasos clinic, interviews were conducted with the Development Director/Inter-American Health Alliance Liaison, Assistant Director of the Women's Education Program and a voluntourist placed in the clinic by international voluntourist organization Cross Cultural Solutions. At Entremundos, a non-profit organization matching foreign volunteers with community projects, interviewees were the Director and Volunteer Programme Advisor.

Additionally, the above organizations granted access to their documents and databases to be used for data collection. Documents published by Primeros Pasos and the Inter-American Health Alliance were used for data on the health and social situation in Quetzaltenango. The Entremundos NGO database provided data on the NGOs working in and around Quetzaltenango.

Data limitations

There were certain limitations to the data collected in support of this thesis. In the first place, one very specific case is being used to illustrate the impacts of a broader phenomenon. Any number of broader cases of voluntourism claiming to contribute to development could have been chosen; however, standard cases tend to be more obviously oriented towards providing enjoyable experiences for foreigners and/or making a profit despite their claims. The case of the Timmy Foundation was chosen because the organization positions itself as a development organization just enough to make the voluntourist aspect of their work seem like a viable contribution to development.

Due to time constraints it was not plausible to examine multiple Timmy brigade groups; therefore, data relied heavily on the interactions of a single group of medical volunteers with Pop Wuj. This was not perceived to be a problem because interviews with organizers who were present for multiple brigades, as well as reports from past brigades, revealed that there is very little variation from group to group.

As a result of the short length of the voluntourist trips (one week each) and tightly packed schedules for participants, interviews were logistically difficult to schedule. Interviews with trip organizers were more easily scheduled due to their flexibility, and because they were more willing to give up leisure time to take part in the research. Data relating to voluntourist preparedness, skill sets and interactions with the voluntoured was collected through interactions with the volunteers while conducting participant observation. In order to gain a more clear and concise understanding of how volunteers

felt about their participation in the trips, four volunteers including the faculty advisor responded to simple open-ended questions through e-mail after returning home from the trip. It was felt that this was adequate data relating to the volunteers themselves, as this thesis focuses on the impact of their work, rather than the perceptions or motivations of individual volunteers.

One group that was omitted from the pool of interviewees were the people using the services provided by volunteers. The reason for this being that the people in the process of receiving free healthcare would be less likely to openly criticize the service providers. Furthermore, since the people receiving services were from a handful of different communities, it was not possible within the time constraints for the researcher to spend enough time in each community to gain the trust of locals.

Similarly, some Pop Wuj staff members were hesitant to openly criticize the Timmy Foundation due to the support that Timmy provides to them. When this arose the researcher was still able to ask questions in ways to elicit relevant information. For instance, one interviewee stated that volunteers with Spanish language skills would be more useful, without directly criticizing the language skills of Timmy volunteers. This was facilitated by the personal relationships formed between researcher and Pop Wuj staff.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis Argument

The argument against voluntourism being used as a tool for local development will be made throughout the following five chapters. Following this introduction, the second chapter charts the economic, social and theoretical influences on the shift from national to local development. It will describe the emergence of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) as new development actors. Finally, this chapter will provide the theoretical framework for local development that voluntourism will be considered within. Chapter three explores the issues associated with framing voluntourism as development. More specifically, voluntourism is compared to other forms of volunteering in development in order to draw out the defining characteristics and make clear distinctions between the two. This chapter explores how voluntourist organizations and voluntourists themselves perceive the work that they do and whether voluntourism should be considered a development tool.

Chapter four provides the background information on Guatemala that puts empirical data into context. Here, information is provided about the NGOs operating in Guatemala and the country strategy on health. This makes clear how Asociación Pop Wuj fits into the societal structure, and the importance of their work. The landscape of communities linking to field research is then sketched out. The fifth chapter presents the empirical research findings pertaining to the case of the Timmy Foundation and Asociación Pop Wuj. After a brief introduction to all of the actors, findings are separated into three themes: the costs and benefits of accepting voluntourists, the power dynamics between voluntourists and the voluntoured, and the concept of dual development.

Following the presentation of data in accordance to these themes, chapter six consists of a discussion of the findings and how the literature and case study can be synthesized to provide conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

The Dynamics of Local and Community-Based/Driven Development

2.1 Paradigm Shift from national to Local Development

The current trend in development is to focus funding and projects at the local level. In the past the preference was for development to be coordinated at the national level. Government-to-government and donor-to-government cooperation has been replaced by government and donor partnerships with local organizations located closer to poor and marginalised communities. This shift has changed the landscape of development; introducing new actors and approaches to development work. In the following section I will outline the influential factors in the shift towards development at the local level, specifically the economic and political influences, and how they were manifested in practical ways. I then go on to discuss the major players and approaches to local development, focusing on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and how they interact with the elements of local and community development.

The New World Order

Throughout the last six decades of development thinking and practice, the role of the state has been evolving and transforming. Whereas the state used to play an active role in ensuring that the needs of citizens were met, recent trends in global economic policy has seen this role minimized. Especially apparent is the shift from the welfare-

development state to a new neoliberal state in the context of a new world order installed in the 1980s.

The Welfare state originated in the 1930s as a government response, by the United States and other capitalist countries, to the Great Depression. During the post war period of the 1940s and early 1950s, the expansion of welfare services was one of the reasons that it was a generally prosperous time. Governments did not shy away from social spending, and as a result, populations had healthcare, housing, and reasonable social security. In the workforce, the added social spending provided a safety net for workers who were in turn, more loyal and productive (Pierson, 1994, p. 3).

Prior to WWII, few states had social welfare programs in place. This changed in the post war period when social welfare programs expanded to provide universal benefits to the public and workers in particular. Expansion of social welfare during the post war period can be attributed to the economic surplus that was available to be spent on welfare programs, and the centralization of government which allowed for efficient mobilization of funds (Quadagno, 1987, p. 111)

In practice the policies of the welfare state had several roles. Ramesh Mishra (1999, p. 7) writes that on the one hand, the government intervened in market affairs following the great depression to mitigate the potential harmful effects of leaving the capitalist market to function entirely on its own. And on the other hand, there was a social aspect of the welfare state which recognized the government's responsibility to maintain

a minimum standard of living for citizens. There was an understanding that the social and the economic spheres were connected and that in providing for the social welfare of citizens, a productive base was created for economic growth to occur.

During the time that the welfare state enjoyed the most support, certain elements were in place to create the climate for this support. Factors such as a strong global economy and the acknowledgement of the benefits that state intervention provided were strong immediately following the war. But by the end of the 1970s they had begun to fade, marked by the transition from a strong global economy to high levels of inflation and unemployment (Mishra, 1999, p. 19). As pressures on the international economy mounted, the welfare state began to receive criticism. When budgets needed to be scaled back, during the oil crisis for example, welfare funding was seen as an additional burden. Also, aging populations put increased pressure on social security (Pierson, 1994, p. 3).

A shift took place in the 1950s and what was once a welfare state, concerned primarily with meeting the basic needs of citizens, was transformed into a development state. The development state was more concerned with achieving particular social and economic development goals. Leftwich classifies this development state as a politically driven phenomenon, whereby developing states sought to catch up to the West or compete with regional states by establishing the conditions for economic growth (1995, p. 401).

Prior to the 1970s 'development' was largely an issue of international cooperation or 'foreign aid, and implemented at the level of government-to-government (bilateral or multilateral) relations, but in the 1970s another front in the war against poverty and underdevelopment was opened up in the countryside, in the rural communities of the poor, basically to turn the poor away from the social movements that were pressuring for and demanding revolutionary change. The aim and concern was to prevent the formation of another Cuba and to ensure that both the poor and the governments in the global south continued on a capitalist path towards national development (Veltmeyer, 2005).

The 1970s ended with a resurgence of conservative thinking that attacked the welfare state on a number of levels. Conservatives thought and argued that government had grown excessively under the welfare-development state, and that it was nearing a full takeover of society and the economy. Then the problem was that the costs of social and development programs, and the reforms, instituted in the 1970s were such as to push most governments, both in the North and the South, into a fiscal crisis, unable to balance their national budgets. Furthermore, neoconservatives questioned whether the growth in government translated to tangible results, making the growth worth it. Their answer to this question was no, claiming that the growth in government was a failure. This failure was, in part, attributed to government taking on more than it was equipped to. For example, as Mishra describes, "[t]he population wants, indeed expects, government to control inflation, but government attempts to restrain groups through incomes policies, for example, do not work. Expectations run far ahead of what governments can deliver." (1999, p. 36).

With faith lost in the welfare-development state, the path for bringing about economic progress in the 1980s looked to actors outside of the state to guide the process. It was during this time that the role of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) – notably, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) – assumed a major role in restoring order. In addition to providing loans to developing countries, the institutions took on a role of offering policy advice. The nature of the advice focused on integrating developing countries into the global economy governed by a new set of rules known as the ‘new world order’. This new world order consisted of specific policy and structural reforms that included deregulation of the market, privatization, trade liberalization and reducing the role of the government; all meant to facilitate the flow of goods and capital in international markets (Bienfeld, 1994, p. 35). The policies and agenda of the IFIs came to be referred to as ‘neoliberalism’ or ‘globalisation’—‘neoliberal globalisation’ to be precise (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001).

The Washington Consensus

The first wave of organized neoliberal policies fell under the umbrella of the Washington Consensus. The original Washington Consensus consisted of 10 policy prescriptions that were accepted in Washington to be “desirable for just about all Latin American countries as of 1989” (Williamson, 2005, p. 33). John Williamson, a Senior Fellow at the Institute for International Economics, was the first to use the term “Washington Consensus” in his 1990 paper describing the 10 economic policies. The term “Washington” refers to the Washington Congress as well as those senior level officials in the International Financial Institutions headquartered in Washington, as well

as the think tanks, foundations and policy forums and economic agencies of the US government and the Federal Reserve board (Williamson, 2004, p. 2).

The ten reforms of the Washington Consensus were: 1.fiscal discipline, due to the large deficits that many Latin American countries had accrued which then led to inflation; 2. changing the priorities of public spending so that they promoted growth, but also benefited the poor; 3. changing the tax system to one that had a broad tax base, but moderate tax rates; 4. liberalizing interest rates; 5. maintaining a competitive exchange rate. That is, one that is either under-valued or correctly valued; 6. trade Liberalization; 7. liberalization of inward foreign direct investment; 8. Privatization; 9. deregulation, not in terms of completely removing regulations, but easing barriers; 10. property rights to give the informal sector the ability to gain property rights at a fair cost. (Williamson, 2004, pp.3-4).

These policies, if adopted by developing countries were supposed to reverse the ills caused by mismanagement on the part of their governments. The accusation was that poor governments tried to micro-manage their economies through tariffs and public expenditures that did not yield the desired or expected incomes (See Veltmeyer, 2001). Following the advice of The Washington Consensus was intended to give developing economies the boost they needed to escape stagnation.

The ten points of the Washington Consensus alone did not offer concrete policy advice. They simply provided the direction that it was believed policy needed to take.

The policy prescriptions which resulted from the Washington Consensus were predominantly exercised through Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). For example, on the heels of the debt crisis Latin American countries aimed to reschedule their external debts, control inflation, and balance their accounts and budgets. This was all pursued within the framework of the free market and its reforms which included, privatization of public enterprises; liberalisation of trade; and deregulation of capital markets. These reforms cumulatively had the effect of allowing private sector agencies to direct the development process (Veltmeyer, 2001).

Although the results of the new adjustment policies were not the same in all countries, there were a number of similarities among those countries that increased some level of growth. The problem was that growth was inequitably distributed and it was the poor and middle classes who suffered the most. In many cases the value of minimum wage fell and unemployment rose (See Petras and Veltmeyer 2001). Neoliberalism, by assuring more economic freedom, was supposed to lead to increases in investment, technology transfers, innovation and consequently higher living standards. Instead, results included government deficits and large debts, but little to none of the promised returns. As the supposed benefits of neoliberalism continued to elude those countries that applied its policies, dissatisfaction and public criticism of the neoliberal agenda as formulated by the Washington Consensus grew.

Former chief economist for the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz, levied one of the most prominent criticisms against the Washington Consensus. Stiglitz's main critique of

the Washington Consensus policies was that "...many of these policies became ends themselves, rather than means to more equitable and sustainable growth. In doing so, these policies were pushed too far, too fast, and to the exclusion of other policies that were needed." (2003, pp. 53-54). Consequently, he argued that the results of these policies were not what the IFIs intended them to be. The flaw that Stiglitz saw with privatization was that it falsely assumed markets are able to, and would rise to the challenge of meeting all of people's needs. To the contrary, government safety nets such as social security systems were set up to compensate for the failure of markets to provide essential services (Stiglitz, 2003, p. 55). In terms of financial liberalization; Stiglitz blames it, at least in part, for global financial crises during the 1990s. He goes further to state that liberalization often results in job losses in developing countries when small inefficient industries close down due to an inability to compete with larger international firms (2003, p. 59).

These are just a few of the problems Stiglitz associated with privatization and liberalization; the two main focuses of the Washington Consensus. But equally as important are the potential policy focuses that were absent from the consensus. While the policy prescriptions of the original Washington Consensus focused on privatization, liberalization, stabilization and taxation; to name a few of the prominent focus points. It failed to address job creation, land reform and resource allocation for health and education services (Stiglitz, 2003, p. 81). Stiglitz argues that the areas ignored by the Washington Consensus, if developed, may have brought about better results for the welfare of those in developing countries.

Overall, Stiglitz was unimpressed with the results of the Washington Consensus. He states that those countries that applied its policy recommendations either saw very little progress, experienced growth that was not sustained over a long period of time or the benefits of growth were not equally distributed. He did however concede that there were some relevant lessons to be learned from the Washington Consensus. The message of exercising caution with government spending was an important one for countries already struggling. But equally as important as the actual policies is how they are implemented. Furthermore, Stiglitz notes that the type of reforms contained in the Washington Consensus are not the only paths to development. Alternative paths, which focus not only on the economy and market, but a wider picture of development, have been successful.

With levels of social inequality and poverty steadily rising throughout the 1980s, the IFIs were forced to acknowledge that although some inequalities were seen to be a consequence of the SAPs, the scale of the problems caused in reality were more long-term and serious in nature. The fear that increasing poverty levels would lead to problems of social unrest and possibly larger problems, led the economists pushing structural adjustment to rethink their approach and to redesign their policies within the framework of a new development paradigm (World Bank, 2007).

The Post-Washington Consensus

Since Structural Adjustment was initially a tool of the Washington Consensus, criticism against it prompted the creation of a Post-Washington Consensus (PWC). The

PWC attempted to broaden the scope of development to include people and not just markets. Six points were central to the new policy direction:

1. Growth is critical to poverty in order for poor people to be lifted above the poverty line.
2. Sustainable growth and poverty reduction require attention to the distribution of income and opportunity.
3. The main agent for growth is the private sector through the creation of wealth and jobs; however, the public sector has an essential facilitating role by providing skilled labour, infrastructure, regulations and macro-economic stability.
4. Trade openness and a dynamic export sector are powerful drivers of development
5. Good governance and institutional capacity are critical to sustainable development, they allow for the efficient and adequate supply of essential public services. They are also important for enabling mechanisms that allow citizens and private firms to participate in decision-making, which is supposed to strengthen accountability.
6. There is no unique template for development (World Bank, 2007)

Based on these six principles, the World Bank developed a two-pillar strategy for reducing poverty. The first pillar was to build a strong climate for investment, jobs and sustainable growth; and for that climate to also support policies that facilitate economic growth. The second pillar was investment in the empowerment of poor people to participate in development. This was to ensure that even the poorest could participate in

public decision making thereby contributing to growth as well as benefitting from it (World Bank, 2007).

The post Washington consensus addressed some of the criticisms levied against the Washington Consensus; however, it was still mainly economic and market oriented. Furthermore, little was prescribed to address the removal of funding from the social welfare sector and privatization of service delivery was still thought to be more efficient. Where participation by the poorest of the poor was encouraged, it was still towards the end of increased economic growth, but with no concrete plans as to how to secure more equitable distribution of that growth. These shortcomings ushered in yet another shift in global development strategies.

Poverty Reduction Strategies and the New Development Paradigm

A New Social Policy (NSP) emerged in response to the detrimental effects of structural adjustment on the poor and middle classes. This NSP was also referred to as the “third way”, which encompasses a number of strategies and approaches to development with more emphasis on the human side of development. Social Inclusion Strategies (SIS) for example, are adopted by governments and organizations wishing to tackle issues of social exclusion and social development. These strategies advocate consultation with those affected by development policies, investing in human capital and strengthening social cohesion. Furthermore, SIS’s are key to Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) which emphasise country ownership of the development process, and civil society participation within it.

PRS and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) were introduced in the late 1990s by the IMF and World Bank and “...describe a country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs to promote growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing.” (<http://go.worldbank.org/F7F0ODVEJ0>).

The completion of a PRSP began as a pre-condition on loans by the Bank and IMF to Heavily Indebted Poor Countries. The Poverty Reduction Strategies are incorporated into the World Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF). The CDF, conceived by former World Bank President James Wolfensohn, recognized that there are various elements of development and that all are interconnected. A complete development strategy should focus on having all of those elements work together towards achieving long-term goals such as poverty reduction. Again, one of the main focuses of the CDF is that countries own their own development process. This was a reaction to the sometimes ineffectiveness of the conditions placed on Structural Adjustment loans (Ruckert, 2006, p. 45).

Ruckert criticises the PRS approach for continuing to guide the development process along the lines of the Post Washington Consensus. Ruckert writes that the PRS approach is a tool of the inclusive-neoliberal development outlined by the Post Washington Consensus. Inclusion is created through country ownership of policies, increased partnership between countries and IFIs, incorporating the poorest and most marginalized groups in the policy making process through Civil Society, and increases in

government spending on poverty reduction initiatives to reach the poorest of the poor (2006, p. 42). The fatal flaw of these new social programs though, is that they are mandated from the top and thus the real needs of the poor were not addressed; furthermore, many people declined from middle class to poor.

Few would argue against the shift to a new development paradigm which prioritizes poverty reduction and an increased role of the poor; but whether this was truly a shift in the right direction for development is questionable.

In sum the central achievement of 'Poverty Reduction' and Third Way social inclusion is to do everything possible to create a system of global openness and integration ideally suited to the interests of finance and capital, within a geopolitical system aligned in every way possible to the interests of most powerful nations, all while depicting the framework arrived at as being first and foremost about the interests of the poorest and most marginal people on the planet. (Porter and Craig, 2004, p. 411)

A look at the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Nicaragua, written in 2005, reveals that, although the overall goal is stated to be reducing poverty, the overwhelming orientation of the strategy is geared towards economic growth and openness.¹ In Chapter 3, dedicated to outlining how economic growth should drive poverty reduction it is stated that rapid growth must take place in order for there to be a sustained economic reduction

¹ Similar features were associated with the PRSPs throughout Latin America and Africa.

in poverty (30). This section goes further to emphasize the aim of having Nicaragua enter the global trading system, transforming the financial system to reflect global norms. Furthermore, the PRSP states that the existing economic conditions have not been able to provide enough jobs, and as such, a switch would take place, placing more emphasis on exports and encouraging foreign investment. This, in theory, would provide opportunities for both the export and domestic markets in an open economy. References made to various industries such as coffee, beef and wood; focus on increasing the productivity of farmers, and strategically positioning Nicaraguan products in the marketplace to ensure an optimal return. All the while ignoring poor working conditions in some of these industries and failing to ensure that workers receive fair wages for their work.

The PRSP, does indeed include a call for stronger infrastructure and a better sanitation system, while emphasising the importance of participation. However throughout the document as a whole, greater emphasis placed on market, investment, private property, removal of trade barriers, and foreign investment rather than social expenditure. The idea that development is based on rapid or strong economic growth is repeated several times throughout the document. Even under the heading of *policy for human development and social protection*, the economy figures prominently. Calls for decentralization, economic growth and incorporating marginalized people into the market are interspersed among principles of sustainability and gender inclusivity (2005, p. 46).

From the Washington Consensus through to PRSPs, neoliberalism has effectively dismantled the welfare state. In its place, is a state that prioritizes the private sector and

the free flow of capital and goods. Efforts to give neoliberalism a more human face have fallen flat, and though the rhetoric has changed, it is clear that trade and integration into the global financial system are placed at a higher priority than poverty eradication and true social change.

What neoliberal policies have done, is create gaps in development which have allowed new actors to step in. Organizations not directly affiliated with the state or international institutions increased their focus on economic and social development issues. But instead of working with the large actors that traditionally tackle development issues, these Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), tend to work directly with individuals and community groups; meaning that their main level of engagement is with civil society.

2.2 NGOs as Agents of Development

Strengthening Civil Society

The concept of civil society as an asset to development is most often associated with NGOs, or Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). By removing many of the powers of the state, the global shift towards neoliberalism not only had the effect of weakening the faith of donors in the state, but various groups of people also questioned what the state could do for them. These citizens began to organize into civil society groups to fight for their own interests (Howell and Pearce 2001, 15). It is thought that civil society can help along the process of political and economic change in developing countries in a number of ways (Howell and Pearce, 2001, p. 17). Broadly defined, civil

society consists of the “collective intermediary between the individual and the state.” (Whaites, 2000, p. 127). This collective is comprised of individuals and various groups, intended to provide a balance to the state by introducing opposing views. Civil society groups are thought to be forces of democratization by facilitating the participation of individuals in the public sphere. That is to say, civil society organizations provide a platform for individuals to come together and speak up about matters that impact them. The most common civil society groups take the form of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Private Volunteer Organizations (PVOs) and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs).

As a catalyst for change, Civil Society is a space where groups can contest the dominance of individualism and capitalism in a variety of ways. Civil society in its earlier manifestations saw groups of small merchants in Europe work together to protect their rights. Since then, civil society has evolved to work in numerous ways; from social organizations and grassroots movements to NGOs (Howell and Pearce, 2001, p. 36). It reflects the voices of groups of people wishing to bring attention to a particular concern or cause. In the late 90s and early twenty-first century, grassroots civil society has gained global attention for loudly opposing capitalism. The 1999 anti-globalisation protests in Seattle and more recently, the G20 protests during the summer of 2010 in Toronto, were characterized as violent and chaotic anti-capitalism movements. Coverage of these civil society uprisings failed to acknowledge that protestors consisted of many smaller groups and individuals. To suggest that all those united under a single cause constitute a homogenous group, is to ignore that each individual or group may view the cause from a

different angle, have different goals and take a different approach to achieving those goals. Such large scale protests illustrate the divisions that can be found within civil society. For even when there is consensus around a broad issue, a number of factors can lead to divisions.

The variety found among the groups that make up civil society brings to light the question of strengthening civil society as a whole. Alan Waites asks, “What kind of civil associations strengthens civil society?” (2000, p. 126). Meaning that it is important to ensure civil society groups form synergetic relationships, as opposed to divisive ones. He further states that it is up to NGOs to determine which organizations contribute to the productivity of civil society and which detract from it. There is no definitive check-list for what enhances civil society. However, the literature reveals certain obstacles that must be overcome in order for civil society to reach its potential.

For instance, power and hierarchical structures cannot be ignored because they impact the very nature of the relationships or social capital that civil society is based on. Social divisions such as class create tensions and unequal interactions within the sphere of civil society. Some social scientists advocate for a social capital that is top-down in nature, flowing from government and formal institutions (Adler and Kwan, 2002, p. 27). Adler and Kwan argue that power within networks helps to get things done, because those who hold the power can bridge different groups and also ensure that goals are met. Some members with more power are able to take on leadership roles and improve the efficiency of the group (Adler and Kwan, 2002, p. 29). This type of hierarchy within

organizations is what Swift questions when he asks who shapes the agenda? Do all individuals involved have an equal say? Where does accountability fall? (1999, p. 16). These questions can partially be answered by looking at how a particular segment of civil society came to be (from the ground up or imposed from above) and the democratic agency of the group. The issue at the heart of civil society according to Swift, is that it must work to ensure that the voices of those who are traditionally excluded are heard, which is true empowerment (1999, p. 19). In order to achieve this empowerment, civil society must take on a political dimension because only through politics can power relationships and patterns of distribution and ownership be changed.

In addition to the power and hierarchical structures that form within civil society; there are certain external cultural assumptions linked to the feasibility of civil society. Lawrence Hamilton contends that "...contemporary forms of 'civil society' are based on idealistic notions of states, markets, freedoms, rights, and citizen power and therefore, hinder rather than facilitate the attainment of deeper forms of democracy." (Hamilton, 2003, p. 63). This is to say that, in order for civil society to function as prescribed by western thinkers, certain assumptions are made. Namely, that all governments allow for the free organization of citizens and that they are open to criticism from these organizations, that all individuals have and may exercise a freedom of association, and that all citizen organizations have the power to successfully challenge the injustices which affect them.

Therefore, instead of challenging the structures which uphold and reproduce economic inequality; civil society and social capital in particular, fit into the already existing economic framework. Not only do civil society and social capital not address the structures which reproduce poverty and inequality, but an emphasis on these concepts places the burden of development on the poor. Stating that a strong civil society and social capital can alleviate the problems facing the world's poor, falsely implies that a lack of these things is the cause of underdevelopment. From a theoretical point of view, these two complementary spheres have the ability to work for the poor by allowing them to work for themselves. However, this can only be true if civil society is flexible enough to accommodate different cultural interpretations of key elements such as participation while working through challenges to the notion of freedom and government opposition.

Civil Society was gaining strength as an asset to development at the same time that neoliberalism was losing steam. By shifting funding away from social welfare programmes in developing countries, a gap was created in the delivery of certain essential services. Maintaining access to services such as education and healthcare is where civil society stepped in to compensate for what was missing (Swift, 1999, p. 7). The neoliberal model is based on the assumption that the state cannot be in charge of development because of inefficient resource allocation and a lack of economic incentives for management in the public sector to reverse the inefficiency. High levels of poverty are seen as a result of what can be called counter-productive state led development (Gideon, 1998, p. 305).

As the state was seen as ineffective, neoliberalism prescribed scaling back the public sector by removing certain responsibilities from the state, and privatization of many public services. The combination of growing civil society and failing government-led development opened the door for NGOs, which were thought to be more efficient, cost-effective, flexible and easily managed than the state (Gideon, 1998). This is not to suggest that NGOs did not exist prior to this time. Civil organizations have been in existence since the beginning of the twentieth century; however, the economic and political events of the late twentieth century gave rise to a particular form of organization. Aided by the new world order of globalization; civil society, and NGOs in particular found new opportunities to expand and take on issues of development and social justice.

Scope and Agency of NGOs

The term Non Governmental Organization is so broad that it could refer to almost any group of organized individuals. In Streeten's Article on NGOs and government, he cites Judith Tendler's argument that "NGOs often derive their identity by defining themselves in contrast and opposition to government, which is said to be large, rigid, inflexible, bureaucratic, hierarchical, and incapable of reaching the poor." (Streeten, 1997, p. 206). However, this does not mean that NGOs have no ties to government at all, as many of them do; often receiving at least some state funding. Defining NGOs even further, Poole states that "NGOs are envisaged as predominantly Southern institutions, with political and vocational motivations, often created by professionals from the public sector or universities, often linked in some way to Northern organizations, and unlikely to include significant grassroots membership." (1997, p. 107).

Yet the definition of NGOs that best describes the organizations to be examined in the empirical portion of this thesis is that of Paul Streeten. He refers to NGOs, which he also calls “private voluntary organizations”, as those non-profit-seeking organizations which aim to “contribute to the reduction of human suffering and to development in poor countries” (1997, p. 194). This simple definition encapsulates the private organizations working towards local community development in Guatemala, and also hints at the importance of the volunteer involvement, which is central to this thesis.

NGOs are said to exist and operate in a “third sector”, with the government and market being the first and second sectors. As the poor lost confidence in governments and continued to feel excluded from the market, which caters to the rich, the third sector became more relevant. It is comprised of NGOs and other not for profit and volunteer driven organizations given the chance to flourish in the face of failures on the part of government and the market to serve the needs of the poor (Streeten, 1997, p. 194). Within this sector, the activities of NGOs vary considerably from one organization to another with both advocates and critics adding to the debate on what NGOs are capable of contributing to development.

NGOs located in developing countries claim certain advantages over other methods of doing development. According to Streeten, local NGOs are better equipped to mobilize and reach even isolated poor communities. They employ more participatory, bottom-up methods of development. They are more likely to think outside of the box

than governments. Projects under NGO direction can be carried out more efficiently and at lower costs. They promote a more sustainable development. And lastly, work within civil society as representative and organizing bodies (Streeten, 1997, pp. 195-196).

For these reasons, NGOs became more prominent actors in development in the 1980s. Throughout the decade, development agencies and international bodies began to lose faith in the ability of national governments to reduce poverty; claiming that they had a hand in increasing the levels of bureaucracy and corruption. Funneling aid money through NGOs was an alternative to the previous government to government dealings. This is one of the key roles that NGOs took on as intermediaries in development (Veltmeyer, 2009, p. 235). Just as civil society works as an intermediary; representing the collectively occupied space between the individual and the state. NGOs can also work as intermediaries that navigate the space between aid donors and recipients or between governments and citizens. Both civil society and NGOs are thought of as democratizing forces because they encourage participation in the development process by actors who are often excluded.

While the NGO model does provide certain advantages; in practice, many NGOs are guilty of the same shortcomings that they attribute to other development actors. Simply being located closer to poor communities than governments is not a guarantee that the poorest of the poor will be reached. Streeten argues that NGOs are just as susceptible to elitism, serving a particular agenda, and top down management as other organizations. Large NGOs in particular have a difficult time being truly participatory or

democratic due to the size of their membership. Furthermore, the fact that many NGOs receive funding from governments, ties them closer to the political bureaucratic level, especially in accountability, than it to the poor they are attempting to help. Further on the issue of accountability, the rapid proliferation of NGOs, means that in a given country or community, there can be multiple NGOs present, and sometimes working on the same issues. This fosters competition, which becomes about who can operate the most cost effectively so as to procure funding from limited sources. The competition to secure donor funding shifts NGOs' accountability from beneficiaries to the donors (Gideon, 1998, p. 313). The sustainability of NGO projects is also called into question with the transient nature of many non-governmental organizations. With a highly rotational staff, the likelihood that projects could be dropped as staff move on is increased (Streeten, 1997, pp. 196-197).

Speaking to the advantages of NGOs, some have made a case for being included in development by introducing new ideas to the debate. Issues surrounding gender, environment and other social aspects of development were included because of the persistence of NGOs working in these areas. The 1995 NGO Forum on Women is a prime example of NGOs organizing to bring a cause to the political forefront that would otherwise not have received much attention. The forum brought together women, men and NGOs from around the world to "challenge, create, and transform global structures and processes at all levels through the empowerment and celebration of women" (NGO forum on women, 1995-6).

Furthermore, many NGOs also act as lobbyists, applying pressure to governments, both at home and abroad, in order to increase awareness about the issues on their agendas. One such agenda, was that of reconstructing and reshaping post cold war transitional countries into “Western-type liberal capitalist democracies” in the 1990s (Lewis and Kanji, 2009, p. 40). All NGOs have certain values and priorities; an element which can be positive or negative depending on who determines those priorities. Values are expressed in the way that they view the communities they work with, the problems they try to address, and the methods used to address those problems. At the end of the day, how an NGO operates is influenced by the organization’s value system.

It has been established that a number of political and economic factors have contributed to the increased role of NGOs in development, led by neo-liberal globalization and structural adjustment. However, NGOs working to compensate for the shortcomings of neo-liberal programmes raises an important question. Are NGOs truly contributing to poverty reduction and development? Or simply allowing the structures that perpetuate inequality to continue? Arguably, if NGOs continue to fill the gaps in social service provision left by adjustment policies, and perform other tasks traditionally assigned to the state; states are free to continue pursuing their financial agendas. Alternatively, one could argue that states were failing to fulfill their duties to protect citizens’ rights before NGOs began to flourish, and removing NGOs from the equation now is no guarantee that the state would step back in. Poole claims that “there is little to be gained by advocating a more thorough fulfillment of state responsibilities, when government resources are unprecedentedly constrained and key personnel have left

government service for more profitable (or secure) employment elsewhere” (1994, p. 110). Poole raises the valuable point that, for some states, their reduced role was not a choice, but a condition on receiving aid funds.

There is no definitive response to this dilemma, as Ficher states; “Whether NGOs are seen as a progressive arm of an irresistible march toward liberal democracy...an extension of the push towards privatization, or a means to resist the imposition of Western values, knowledge, and development regimes depends on the perspective and agenda of the imaginer” (1997, p. 442). The current reality is that we are faced with countless organizations, all claiming to be working towards some aspect of development as they define it. They operate in closer geographic proximity to the poor, with projects focusing on the local and community levels.

NGOs certainly provide an alternative approach to development; and as mentioned above, their approach has certain advantages over development directed by governments and larger institutions. However, it remains questionable whether the organizations that claim to be doing community development have a solid understanding of the issues inherent in local and community development to provide a theoretic foundation for their work. Certain shortcomings attributed to NGOs, such as not being entirely accountable to the poor, could be addressed by adopting the approaches outlined in some of the key community development literature. In the following section I will present some of the authors who have made important contributions to local and

community development literature and discuss some of the approaches that emerged from their writings.

2.3 Local/Community Development

Theories of community development are as varied as conceptions of “the community” as a unit in and of itself:

Most scholars and development professionals equate the community with some geographically defined political entity such as a village or city. “Community” also implies some degree of social cohesion and self- identification. Community in this sense might, but need not, correspond with any political jurisdiction. Within a city or village, several communities often coexist. Other communities transcend geographically defined political jurisdictions (Poteete , 2003, p. 4).

Approaches to community development emerged as development thinking evolved to value the community as a unit and realise the potential for the poor and marginalised to contribute to their own development. The objective of this section is to explore some of the contributing authors to this shift and how their theories gave rise to different community development approaches. The two approaches that will be discussed are the World Bank’s Community Driven Development Approach, and Asset Based Community Development. Although both are alternatives to development approaches which look to outside actors as the main agents of change, they are useful for

illustrating the difference between deficit-based and asset-based community development.

Three authors whose writings made key contributions to local and community development literature were Paulo Freire, Robert Chambers and Amartya Sen. Their writings illustrate a confidence in the capabilities of human beings if given a fair chance, not seen in development practice. Although the concept of community-driven development is used loosely by many organizations claiming it as a new paradigm for development, examples of community-based development initiatives can be traced back to well before contemporary funding agencies and governments decided that community projects were worth investing in.

In Mansuri and Rao's critical review of community development; they argue that Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* inspired a "first wave" of participatory development and introduced a new way of thinking about how development should occur. Freire's book argues that the poor and oppressed masses need to unite and find ways of improving their own destinies (1970). Oppression, he states, refers to acts which prevent people from "being more fully human." (Freire, 1970, p. 57). In practice, these are the acts that prevent people from accessing education, adequate housing, clothing and food. Freire dismisses the notion that the dominant oppressor class must set the oppressed classes free; calling it a contradiction. Instead, Freire calls for an abolition of the oppressed/oppressor relationship; to be replaced by one class striving towards liberation. Freire's work focused on ways of thinking about the relationships between

dominant and marginalised groups and his analysis about these relationships occurs mostly on the theoretic level. In the following years, authors would both build on Freire's type of theorizing, and offer more practical ways of valuing the poor.

In the early 1980s, Robert Chambers' writings on whose needs should matter the most in development proposed various methods for insuring that the needs of the poor are met. In his book, *Rural Development Putting the Last First*, Chambers writes that "For the rural poor to lose less and gain more requires reversals...Reversals require professionals who are explorers and multidisciplinarians, those who ask, again and again, who will benefit and who will lose from their choices and actions." (1983, p. 168). The types of reversals that Chambers references are reversals in the spaces where professionals live and work, allowing them to interact more closely with locals. Reversals in values that would see priority placed on those whose interests are usually placed last; and reversals that would facilitate the identification of those resources and opportunities which are usually unrecognized and under-utilized. Chambers identifies decentralization as one of the key elements to role reversals, for its ability to remove power from the hands of a few (1983, p. 170).

A key reversal, applicable to any foreign participation in community development, is a reversal of learning. The preconceived notions held by many seeking to do development work; especially their claims of educating and uplifting the poor, need to be re-evaluated. The outsiders' position of teacher or bestower of knowledge is assumed through their societal status, level of formal education and relative wealth. But,

as Chambers states, outsiders must be the ones to learn from the people they purport to be helping or teaching (1983, p. 201).

The Capabilities approach takes the idea that the poor should play a central role in their own development, and tackles issues surrounding the potential impacts of their increased participation. In his article *Development as Capability Expansion*, Sen critiques conventional economic measures of development by comparing the GNP of countries with their life expectancy rate. His findings were that a country with a comparatively high GNP per capita could be poor in terms of failing to assure long, healthy lives for people. The quantitative measure of commodities is not an accurate reflection of how those commodities are distributed, and consequently, nor of the quality of life held by individuals. Thus, development should be conceptualized in terms of increased human capabilities and not economic growth.

The capabilities approach is a step up from commodity-based understandings of development as it focuses on strategies to empower the poor and engage them in participatory forms of development. Sen writes that “the “capability approach”, sees human life as a set of “doings and beings”—we may call them “functionings”—and it relates the evaluation of the quality of life to the assessment of the capability to function.” (2003, p. 43). The quality of life that Sen refers to extends from reliable access to nutritious food to being able to achieve social participation and have respect for one’s self (2003, p. 54).

Stated simply, capabilities reflect an individual's ability to function in a certain way or fulfill a certain need, but maintaining respect for personal choice. For example, a person may have the ability to satisfy their need for food, but chose not to (Clark, 2005, p. 4). The capabilities approach works with sectors such as health and education towards enhancing individual's abilities to pursue their needs. Sen does not subscribe to a single and universal set of capabilities, but believes that the list of capabilities and the value placed on each should be defined by the values of each individual (Clark, 2005, p. 5). The capabilities approach provides critiques of other development approaches and offers a new way to view development; however, is not enough on its own to constitute a development theory or to offer insight into social justice issues and so it must be supplemented by other principles (ibid).

The work of Freire and Chambers stressed the idea that, in development, the needs of the poor must be placed at the forefront; even if it comes at the expense of limits to the privileged class exercising their free will. The authors also share the view that individuals' ability to meet their needs is a key development indicator. Sen's capabilities approach provides a critique of those development initiatives which focus predominantly on economic growth, often associated with World Bank and IMF programmes. The new and constantly changing ideas surrounding community development set the stage for concrete theories and strategies building on the assets of the poor to emerge. Seeing this, lending institutions and other development organizations reflected the new strategy in their programmes.

World Bank Community Driven Development

The Concept of Community Driven Development CDD is often associated with the World Bank because of its strategy shift towards providing funding for community led projects and the emphasis on CDD in recent publications. The World Bank picked up on the trend of including participation and empowerment in development approaches as a response to criticism and proceeded to incorporate these concepts into large-scale development assistance programmes. This was phased in by including community-based development as a part of programmes seeking the improvement of public service delivery (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, p. 9). At this stage, the Bank was engaged in community-based development, which is “...an umbrella term for projects that actively include beneficiaries in their design and management...” (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, p. 2). Unlike community-driven development, “...which refers to community-based development projects in which communities have direct control over key project decisions, including management of investment funds.” (ibid) and which the Bank would eventually transition to.

Within the World Bank’s framework of CDD, empowerment is seen as both an end in and of itself, and a means to achieving other ends; namely poverty reduction. Empowerment is pursued through the creation of social capital, which is defined as “the social networks that facilitate collective action and can enhance the ability to hold representatives accountable to their constituencies.” (Poteete, 2003, p. 1). In situations where social organization is already present, CDD works by identifying any factors that prevent the poor from successfully achieving their goals (ibid).

The shift from simply recognizing the inclusion of beneficiaries in various stages of the project as sufficient participation, to real community-driven development was inspired by the potential benefits that the Bank thought would result from giving communities full control over projects.

Community driven development according to the projections of the Bank, works towards “enhancing sustainability, improving efficiency and effectiveness, allowing poverty reduction efforts to be taken to scale, making development more inclusive, empowering poor people, building social capital, strengthening governance, and complementing market and public sector activities.” (Mansuri and Rao , 2004, p. 2). The assumption is that CDD is better able to achieve these goals than other development approaches because development priorities are identified by the poor themselves. Increased participation is combined with access to more financial resources and training, as well as assistance in strengthening civic institutions (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, pp. 2-3). In addition to the practical advantages of CDD, The World Bank claims that this approach has the potential to reverse existing power relations with the poor “...allowing them to have more control over development assistance. This is expected to make the allocation of development funds more responsive to their needs...” (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, p. 3). And consequently, the poor would funnel these funds into initiatives that would improve the delivery of public goods and services, and government accountability (ibid).

The World Bank's CDD attempts to strengthen the capabilities of the poor, but their key flaw is that the needs of the poor are not the sole focus. The idea of inclusive development is present, but in practice the poor are more often consulted than truly included. The World Bank model of empowerment presents power as something that is bestowed upon marginalized groups by those in power; contradicting Freire's main tenet of the poor dismantling their own oppression. This is an example of how some ideas of the poor driving their own development have been appropriated without full commitment to the theories upon which they were founded.

The World Bank model is most prevalent among community development organizations today. Deficits of the poor communities are identified, and then outsiders design projects, with some input from the poor themselves, to address these deficiencies. Though the poor usually have some role in the process their needs do not take precedence; but rather are balanced with, and often come secondary to, those needs of donors and other stakeholders in the process. The World Bank's approach may be community-based, but it is not community-driven. An alternative to the World Bank's approach, and one that is more closely rooted in the literature is Asset-Based Community Development.

Asset-Based Community Development

As an alternative approach, the appeal of ABCD lies in its premise that people in communities can begin to drive the development process themselves by identifying and recognizing existing (but often unrecognized) assets, thereby

responding to and creating local economic opportunity. In particular, ABCD draws attention to social assets: the particular talents of individuals, as well as the social capital inherent in the relationships that fuel local associations and informal networks. (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p. 474).

The ABCD approach to development focuses on the resources and assets that exist within a community in order to “develop” it. Proponents of ABCD are critical of development strategies which use what a community is lacking as a beginning point. Under ABCD the relationships that form social capital are seen as assets upon which development strategy can be built (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p. 479). When practically applied to ABCD social capital increases the attention paid to social institutions to mobilize existing social capital, while also adding to it (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p. 480). Mathie and Cunningham differentiate between two types of social capital. Bonding social capital refers to the relationships with friends and family who provide emotional support and the basics needed to survive. Bridging social capital is found in the relationships between people outside of the family unit and perhaps even outside of the town. It is the leverage in relationships of bridging social capital which allow the poor to influence change in their favour. For example, relationships formed with town officials may influence the outcomes of infrastructure projects (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p. 479-480). The challenge for development is giving the poor opportunities to increase their bridging social capital. In order to transform collective associations into collective action, some form of local leadership needs to bridge the gap

between opportunities offered by the state and market with collective action (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p. 480).

In Rubin's slightly different interpretation of ABCD, assets refer to the resources accessible to individuals that allow for independent growth. They may be economic and measured in terms of finances or based on personal development, measured through an increase in capabilities (Rubin, 1994, p. 409). Individuals possessing assets allows the cycle of economic and social progress within a community to sustain itself. This leads to the empowerment of both individuals within the community and the community as a whole as they have complete control over their own destinies (Rubin, 1994, p. 410).

Mathie and Cunningham's process of asset identification is rather open, allowing for individual talents and social relationships to determine the direction of community development. Alternatively, Rubin's view of community development relies heavily on the presence of projects, such as building new homes, within a community. Projects, he believes, have the power to promote individual growth through property ownership, skill development, continued education, and by encouraging people's participation in the decisions that affect their community. This type of growth consequently increases the assets of individuals and of the community as a whole:

As communities become more economically viable, they are better places to live, and communities that are better places to live become more economically viable. Individuals who feel empowered, who have gained skills, contribute to others

within the neighbourhood through mutual support, neighbourhood participation, or by being role models for the young. Home ownership, for instance, links together the ecology of community change and individual betterment, as it physically improves the appearance of the community, while creating assets and the associated sense of empowerment among new home owners (Rubin, 1994, p. 410).

Rubin's components of community development theory are: 1. *Building community autarchy*, which would allow members of the community to have power and control of their own resources. 2. *Creating assets for individuals*; assets such as the aforementioned job skills. 3. *Linking community and individual empowerment*. 4. *A theory of holistic development*; meaning taking into account, not only the physical development of a community, but also the social aspects of development that allow physical development to take place. Ideally, the establishment of links between several agencies and groups within a community would result in number 5. *A networked community*. Community Based Development Organizations do not bring about development themselves, but rather, serve to encourage others to act towards this end. (Rubin, 1994, p. 411-419).

At the core of ABCD as articulated by Rubin, as well as Mathie and Cunningham, is the belief that community development should be a bottom-up process initiated by the people most affected by it. Furthermore, what the various approaches to CD have in common is their belief in the ability of communities to take control of their own

development. Sometimes with outside contributions of resources and training, but ultimately emphasizing that local people be involved in all stages of the process.

2.4 Conclusion

This section has charted the transition of development approaches from the international and national levels, to the local. Throughout the many policy changes and paradigm shifts, NGOs have emerged as major players in this transition. Initially working to fill in gaps left by the retreat of the welfare state, NGOs have become synonymous with civil society and cast themselves as the key actors at the local level.

NGOs vary in terms of their size, development focus, action strategies, and other defining factors. It is due to this diversity that it is impossible to create one single NGO archetype; however, one characteristic of virtually all NGOs is that their efforts are targeted at the sub-national and sub-regional government level. Working directly with individuals and groups in developing countries, NGOs undertake their own brand of local development. A brand that is not always consistent with the theories of local and community development outlined above.

Arguably, for an NGO to truly be considered a contributing force to civil society, that NGO should be the result of local initiative. It should be staffed and run by locals who best know the community in which it works and stand to gain, or lose the most from its work. More often than not, the intended beneficiaries of NGOs work include foreign staff and funders who have also invested in the project(s).

Balancing the desires of multiple groups has been made increasingly difficult with the introduction of yet another group of stakeholders to the local development process. Development NGOs and social organizations have begun to attract volunteers from the North who interact with development in a number of ways while they travel for leisure. Though they travel with the intent of helping others, these volunteer tourists or voluntourists, have their own expectations for the process.

In the subsequent chapter, I review literature on volunteerism and voluntourism in development. It is my aim to offer some insight into questions raised by the insertion of volunteers into development. Questions like how does the presence of volunteer tourists impact the community process? How does the volunteer tourist industry interact with community development on conceptual and practical levels? I explore answers to these questions by charting the similarities and differences between volunteerism, voluntourism and local development. For the purpose of this comparison, a broad understanding of community development is adopted. It refers to those projects or initiatives undertaken by groups and individuals in developing countries to meet their own needs. Community is used in its physical geographic sense.

Chapter 3

From Volunteerism to Voluntourism

3.1 Introduction: Volunteerism in Development

International development work is no stranger to volunteerism. In a field where funding often depends on grants, donations and other unpredictable sources, volunteer labour becomes an attractive option. Opportunities for volunteers have traditionally been offered through governments, international bodies, or directly through NGOs and community organizations working in the field. Two of the most well known volunteer-in-development programmes are the United Nations Volunteer (UNV) programme and the United States Peace Corps. Both of these programs recruit volunteers to be development workers, with the expectation that they are prepared to contribute to development.

The UNV programme was established in 1970 as a special programme of the United Nations administered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). UNV works in over 140 countries in close partnership with governments, civil society and the United Nations system as well as with 'national and international Volunteer-Involving organizations and volunteer networks' (UNV, 2). The goal of the UNV programme was to use volunteers strategically to support UN development initiatives around the world (Ruhanen et al., 2008, p. 25).

The US Peace Corps, although affiliated exclusively with one government works towards the achievement of a specific international agenda. The Peace Corps was created 1961 as an agency of the US Federal Government as the result of a challenge issued by then Senator John F Kennedy to American university students, calling on them to serve their country by promoting peace globally (Peace Corps). In a similar vein, the government of Australia has its own programme incorporating volunteers into their development cooperation plan (See AUSAID, 2004).

UN and national government volunteer programmes are incorporated into a larger framework of development policy. As a result of this, volunteers are required to possess skills relevant to the work they will be performing, pass through training to ensure that they are prepared for what they will encounter in the field, and make considerable time commitments. For all intents and purposes, these volunteers are development workers; and as such they are expected to make contributions to development.

The introduction of voluntourism facilitated less formal participation in development work and its mass appeal can be attributed, at least in part, to the absence of strict requirements (time, skills, etc) associated with more institutionalized programs. In the process, many of the characteristics that allow volunteer work in development to make positive contributions are lost, in favor of making volunteering more appealing and accessible to tourists.

Thousands of voluntourist organizations operate globally and send volunteers overseas to engage in what they believe to be development work. Everything from painting houses to working in orphanages and clinics in developing countries can be considered volunteer tourism. Consider the mission of the Habitat for Humanity Global Village programme, which connects volunteers building houses to strengthening communities; “Habitat for Humanity Canada invites you to join the thousands of volunteers from around the world who are working hand in hand to eliminate poverty housing one house at a time. Work with a family to help them build a home, strengthen their community and enrich both their lives and your own” (Habitat.org/gv).

The Timmy Foundation, which will provide the context for my empirical research, “strives to provide individuals with healthy futures so that they may be empowered to seek quality education and be successful in their work” and from an organizational standpoint claims that “There is a symbiotic relationship between short-term and long-term efforts. The Timmy Foundation has made every attempt to take our weeklong brigades and turn them into sustainable efforts that will have long-term impacts” (<http://www.timmyfoundation.org/index.php/what-we-do/our-approach/>).

Using volunteer tourism as a method of recruiting a development workforce raises important questions. For example, what is the result of placing high expectations on sometimes unskilled and unprepared volunteers? What are the power dynamics between volunteers and the voluntoured? And can short-term volunteers really make significant contributions to development? I have chosen to situate voluntourism in the context of

local and community development, specifically because it is rare that volunteer tourists will engage with state or large international organizations. Local projects are the most accessible point of entry because most often it is the small development projects that lack adequate resources and seek creative ways to gain access to more resources. This presents an opportunity for voluntourists who may not have relevant skills or training, but are willing to work for free; and in some cases travel through organizations that make financial or material donations to projects in addition to sending volunteers.

It is difficult to determine whether the growth of voluntourism is driven by the tourism industry catching on to volunteering in development and creatively marketing it. Or alternatively, if it was the development field's view of alternative tourism seeking travelers to developing countries as a wealth of untapped resources for development. Rather than attempting to give credit to one or the other, it is more realistic to acknowledge that the driving forces behind voluntourism are numerous, as are the types of voluntourism.

For the purpose of my analysis, I will focus on voluntourism from two perspectives; Northern agencies specialising in the voluntourism industry, and Southern NGOs accepting volunteers, either independently, or through a sending organization. Throughout this section, reference will be made to Cross-cultural Solutions and Global Volunteers, two well-known companies in the voluntourism industry; and short-term medical brigades.

3.2 Situating Voluntourism in the Local Development Framework

A comparison between Local and Community Development (CD) approaches and volunteer tourism reveals a number of similarities between the two. From the concepts used to frame their goals and how each addresses the root causes of poverty – or fails to -- to evaluation mechanisms and the structure of the donor/voluntourist organization interactions with the local community. In the following section, I highlight the similarities between approaches to voluntourism and local development in these areas.

Participation and Empowerment

The concepts of participation and empowerment are central to community development. In order for community development initiatives to work, local people must be empowered to participate in the process. Whereas authors like Freire and Sen emphasize the importance of communities working with their strengths and initiating their own development, volunteer tourism takes a different view of empowerment. Empowerment is often framed as something that is given to communities; the Timmy Foundation for example, takes the stance that “...one time short-term efforts do not provide lasting changes, but sustained efforts that focus on aid AND empowerment can. By focusing on empowering those we serve, we ensure that their health is also seen as their responsibility and that our service is the catalyst that promotes healthy living” (Timmy Foundation).

The 2005 World Bank discussion paper *Linking Community Empowerment, Decentralization, Governance, and Public Service Provision Through a Local Development Framework* defines empowerment in the following terms:

Empowerment means people and communities, especially those frequently marginalized; having both the opportunity and the capability to participate effectively in social, economic and political spheres...Empowering people in the context of local development requires increasing the quantity and the quality of their opportunities to participate in local governance and local service delivery (Helling, Serrano, & Warren, 2005, p. 15).

Here I argue that in order to be empowered to the fullest, people need not only participate in all spheres and service delivery related to development, but the individuals of the community in question should be able to take full control and direct all plans and implementation.

Two limitations of CD identified by Poteete are, firstly, the fact that the empowerment of one group is dependent on the willingness of another group to give up some power. And secondly, its confines within the organizational opportunities and limitations presented by the existing power structures (2003, p. 1). Empowerment relies on the circumstances wherein those in power are willing to relinquish some of that power – often only under certain conditions.

Mansuri and Rao state that the uses of concepts like participation have traditionally been uncritical and operate under the assumption that they are universal. However, participation and other concepts, which are central to community development and voluntourism can have controversial implications (Mansuri and Rao, 10). The central component of Participation is the incorporation of at least some local knowledge into the project's decision-making process. Participation becomes empowerment when the beneficiaries of a project make key decisions about its design or implementation (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, p. 11). "Participation is expected to lead to better designed projects, better targeted benefits, more cost-effective and timely delivery of project inputs, and more equitably distributed project benefits with less corruption and other rent-seeking activity" (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, p. 11).

But a critical look at participation reveals that it may have hidden costs for the local participants. Although participation is often referred to when the need arises to include the poor in development, its inclusion in development strategies is often done without taking into account the social, political and economic circumstances surrounding it. However, participation is political, as Sarah White writes:

While participation has the potential to challenge patterns of dominance, it may also be the means through which existing power relations are entrenched and reproduced. The arenas in which people perceive their interests and judge whether they can express them are not neutral. Participation may take place for a whole range of unfree reasons. (1996, p. 6)

White provides a framework for breaking participation down into four categories: *Nominal*, wherein outside investors in the development project seek to show participation because it looks good on paper, and not much more. *Instrumental* sees participation as a way to gain needed human capital for the implementation of a project. For instance, once it has been decided that a school needs to be built, the members of the community will be called upon to provide free labour at the cost of obtaining paying work. In the *representative* participation scenario, local people take part in the discussions to determine what is needed for the community and then take over the management of the project. *Transformational* participation, on the other hand, aims to empower the poor through their role in decision making and encouraging them to work together to fight injustice (White, 1996, p. 8-9). Participation in Community Development (CD) can fall within all four categories depending on the adopted theory of CD. Within the context of voluntourism, the goal is often for participation to be transformational in terms of leading to empowerment, but it falls short of tackling issues of injustice. More often, it is representative, with volunteers working along side community members who manage projects.

In asking who participates, White notes that grouping individuals as “the people” or “the community” does not take into account that neither classification constitutes a homogenous group. Acknowledging this, a conscious effort must be made to include those who are disadvantaged. Furthermore, participation as a whole occurs on many different levels. Simply getting disadvantaged groups to show up does not guarantee that

they will speak and that if they do, that what they have to say will count (White, 1996, p. 7).

The dynamics of participation are such that the level at which it occurs changes over time, sometimes increasing but also with the risk of decreased participation over time. It may be a site of conflict, within groups or where the interests of one group are pitted against another. And in the latter case, issues of power come into play and influence whose interests are represented in the end. Mansuri and Rao (2004) present some of the potential conflicts inherent in participatory approaches to CD.

In the first place, participating in a community development project may prevent individuals from engaging in paid work needed to survive, or take time away from other family or community responsibilities. Furthermore, community members who have traditionally held little to no power, put their social, economic and/or physical well being at risk by openly opposing powerful groups. Participation has also been used as a means to justify using the poor for their labour (Mansuri and Rao, 2004, p. 12). Voluntourist trips involving manual labour such as building or painting homes, schools, community centres, etcetera often frame participation as volunteers and locals working side by side. Similarly, community development projects, which are pre-designed and then handed over to local people to implement, foists the burden of the work on the poor. In neither case do the communities on the receiving end of these projects have any real ownership, and therefore it cannot be said that they are empowered.

John Gaventa proposes that participation be strengthened by being made a legal

right that would supplement other rights, such as the right of assembly or that of free and fair elections. By making participation a right, it removes the exclusive power of NGOs or governments to invite participation and provides individuals with the opportunity to claim their rights (Gaventa, 2005, p. 18). Gaventa gives the example of local governance mechanisms in the Philippines which require citizen participation. Through local development councils, citizens participate in areas ranging from development planning to health and education. Not only are citizens required to participate but funds are allocated for the training of individuals so that they may participate in an informed and effective manner (Gaventa, 2005, p. 19).

In order for participation to be a legitimate means of bringing about change, power relationships must be challenged and changed. As Gaventa writes, simply introducing new actors to the process is not enough. Existing power dynamics may influence who enters that space, and how they participate (2005, p. 24). Participation in governance, whether at local or higher levels, requires the transformation of institutions to enable the process. Mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure that citizens are informed of their rights that there are accessible locations for them to exercise those rights, and that those in power are held accountable to citizens. Additionally, questions must be raised about who is participating in the process and how to incent a wider variety of people to take part so that the process is more representative of the views of the community (Gaventa, 2005, p. 23).

The nature of voluntourism makes empowerment difficult. As Carlos writes “when a project is marketed and implemented through a discourse of volunteering, specific relations of power as well as genuine emotional connections are fostered between those perceived as “volunteers” and “voluntoured” and between “givers” and “receivers” Palacios (2010, p. 867). Volunteers are nearly always placed in a position of power over the voluntoured; whether that is because they bring donations, provide a service, or assume the role of teachers. By virtue of coming to “help”, it is assumed that volunteers are capable of helping the poor where they are not capable of helping themselves; a notion that seems to contradict empowerment. Other authors have commented on the power dynamics between voluntourists and the voluntoured. H.L. Sin questions what makes a relationship equal and whether equal relationships are established through voluntourism (2009, p. 988). And Tomazos and Butler (2010, p. 369) compare the journey of the voluntourist with that of the hero, from the trials that they face to a feeling of transformation by the end of the volunteer journey.

Failure to address root causes of inequality

Attempts to increase the participation and empowerment of the poor will not be successful if they are divorced from serious tackling of the root causes of poverty. There are numerous theories and strategies aimed at tackling poverty, but few of them address the root causes of inequality and the social injustices that lead to poverty. The transformation of the structures responsible for the perpetuating cycles of poverty can be lead by grassroots organizations, but would require coordinated action from those in higher positions of power.

In the 2009 World Bank report *Scaling Up Local & Community Driven Development (LCDD) A Real World Guide to Its Theory and Practice*, Binswanger-Mkhize, Jacomina and Spector write that “Bringing about local and community-driven development is not a project; it entails a deep transformation of political and administrative structures that aims to empower communities and local governments with powers and with resources and the authority to use these flexibly and sustainably, thus enabling them to take control of their development.” (3). Furthermore, this cannot be achieved by a single set of actors, but requires “...a co-production of communities, local governments, and supportive sector institutions, with collaboration from the private sector and non-governmental organizations” (Binswanger-Mkhize, Jacomina, & Spencer 2009, p. 1). In theory, Community Driven Development (CDD) should combine the efforts of various groups to bring about real change, but in practice there is a disconnect between work done in communities and transformation at the political level.

There is a similar disconnect when voluntourism is active at the community level. As an industry concerned with selling an attractive experience to Westerners, voluntourism often operates in a vacuum. That is to say, the volunteers are mostly oblivious to the political and social context that they work within. Most voluntourist websites and brochures provide almost no background information about the countries and specific communities that volunteers will be working in. The most prevalent type of information presented pertains to physical descriptions of the location and the characteristics of the people.

What is arguably worse than not addressing the root causes of poverty, is in giving the impression that they are in fact being addressed. The Timmy Foundation lists the three pillars of poverty as education, work and health; of which they deem health to be the most important to address. Their logic being that, by providing the poor with “healthy futures”, they can seek quality education and be successful in their work (Timmy Foundation). This rationale ignores the fact that even healthy people can’t seek education if there are no accessible schools, and being successful in work is limited by the value assigned to the type of work; which for most people using the clinic is agricultural. Health, education and work are a part of broader social structures which voluntourism is neither willing to, nor equipped to challenge.

The failure of voluntourist organizations to address wider causes of poverty is a function of their limited capacities to work in development. They are for the most part tourist recruiting organizations attempting to work in development and not primarily development organizations. Bringing about real lasting change requires first of all acknowledgment of the historical foundations of poverty. Then coordinated action needs to be taken by actors from the highest level of governments and international institutions to those who are affected the most, but are usually considered last.

Lack of evaluation

The claims of empowerment, increased participation and poverty reduction made by community development projects and volunteer tourism organizations would be impressive if they were supported by concrete evidence. If reliable methods were in place

to evaluate the methods use to develop communities, there would be no argument as to which methods work and which do not. Reliable evaluation however, is a lacking component of both CD and voluntourism.

Evaluation of CD projects has erred on the side of issuing praise for all parties involved, but has shied away from real in depth appraisal. World Bank funded projects are rarely subject to evaluation, and the rate at which the Bank continues to fund CD projects is not justified by any evidence that these projects are achieving what they promise to. With regards to NGO work in CD, evaluation often fails to factor in at all as the focus of NGOs tends to be on implementation rather than evaluation (Platteau, 2004, p. 224). When evaluations do occur, Platteau argues, they are mainly anecdotal and tend to be biased in favor of CD; an observation that also rings true to evaluations of voluntourist activities. For some organizations, the only public form of “proof” that their work has been successful takes the form of testimonies from members of the community where they work. Volunteer sending organization Cross-Cultural Solutions claims that 99% of those asked, rated the overall impact of their volunteers as “highly positive” or “positive”. Testimonies published on the Cross-Cultural solutions website to support this claim include:

“CCS volunteers bring a special charm to our program. Knowing that people come from so far away to spend time with [the residents] makes them feel very special, because they have been abandoned by their own families and have been isolated for many years. [The volunteers] have a very positive effect on their self-

esteem and their ability to cope with often harsh living conditions.”

(<http://www.crossculturalsolutions.org/volunteering-abroad/why-ccs/volunteer-impact.aspx>)

“We have few economic resources, and not enough staff to take care of the children. [By] feeding the children and helping in the classroom [volunteers] alleviate the workload and reduces our stress-level.” (Cross Cultural Solutions)

“The children are very happy! The volunteers have contributed to improving the attendance of the school. The children don’t want to miss a day. Parents say their children insist on coming rain or shine. Volunteers have also helped us meet our government’s social service evaluation standards.” (Cross Cultural Solutions)

These testimonies do certainly indicate that members of the community had a favorable impression of the work done by the volunteers, but they do not represent an adequate or reliable form of evaluation According to their website:

Cross-Cultural Solutions works with many underserved communities across the world that are trying to develop and progress with the ever-changing global, and local economy. These communities may lack the resources—social, educational, or other—to be fully proactive on the daily challenges they face. *International volunteers can help to empower both local community organizations and individuals with the tools they need to be self-sustainable, successful, and*

knowledgeable in their future endeavors. (Author's emphasis) (Cross Cultural Solutions)

The statements given above, in no way speak to the claims of empowerment or enabling self-sufficiency in the communities. Developing stringent evaluation methods and putting them into practice requires a commitment to doing what is truly in the best interests of communities, but as Platteau notes, NGOs are designed to focus on action and not evaluation (Platteau, 2004, p. 224).

Conducting evaluations is a form of holding service providers accountable for what they promise to do. "Accountability... implies that some actors have the right to hold other actors to a set of standards, to judge whether they have fulfilled their responsibilities in light of these standards, and to impose sanctions if they determine that these responsibilities have not been met" (Grant and Keohane, 2005, p. 29).

Accountability assumes that there is a relationship between the group holding the power and those attempting to hold them accountable. Further, it assumes that both parties in this relationship are legitimate and hold authority – whether that authority is to hold the power or to hold the powerful accountable (Grant and Keohane, 2005, p. 30).

Issues of evaluation are intertwined with those of accountability and power, and all three must work together to ensure that community development initiatives achieve their stated goals.

Elite Capture

Another critique of NGO and outside donor involvement in CDD initiatives is the danger of the elite capture trap. Elite capture refers to divisions within a community whereby certain members take on leadership roles and dictate the terms of community development. The leaders or “elites” are often given training and control over how resources are allocated to the rest of the community. The designation of leaders within the community is a strategy used by NGOs and funding agencies to simplify the delivery of their services. The agency communicates directly with the leader, but has little to no connection to other members of the community. This type of dynamic creates space for power relations to be exploited by the group leaders (Platteau, 2004, p. 228).

Furthermore, leadership positions tend to be most attractive to members of the higher classes of a given community who can then represent their own interests as those of the entire community. Many volunteer sending organizations make use of this strategy to make the introduction of volunteers into the local community as efficient as possible. The local contact acts as an intermediary between the NGO or volunteer sending organization and the local community. They are often coordinators or administrators of projects and in many cases are responsible for the communication of community needs or desires to the NGO or volunteer sending organization.

Elite capture can also occur through a bottom-up process initiated by educated individuals in developing countries recognizing and seizing the opportunity that creating an NGO presents. Platteau references the work of Bierschenck (2003) on the

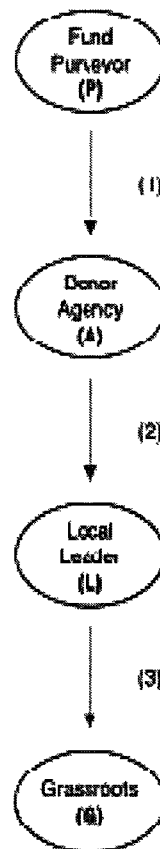
proliferation of National NGOs throughout Africa to illustrate that local entrepreneurs “...Acting as ‘development brokers’...have been quick to understand that the creation of an NGO has become one of the best means of procuring funds from the international community” (Platteau, 2004, p. 229). While the analysis of Bierschenck et al. focuses on the actions of political entrepreneurs, they are not the only types of local elites to take advantage of the opportunities presented by forming an NGO. The Pop Wuj medical clinic for example, was established as a cooperatively run NGO by a group of Guatemalan teachers.

The partnership between international donors or voluntourist organizations with the leaders of CD projects seems to present a convenient marriage. Neither is primarily concerned with what is best for the poor, but rather taking advantage of opportunities that are present precisely because of the existence of poverty. At the local level the priority is creating self-employment by initiating a project that aid and development funds can flow into. On the part of donors or voluntourist organizations, catering to the desire of westerners to travel and feel like they are doing some good.

Within the concept of elite capture, Platteau developed a framework for inter-agency relationships that describes the flow of financial support for CD projects. He describes four agents in the chain, namely, “the ultimate purveyors of funds (denoted by P), such as the taxpayers or the general public in fund-raising campaigns, aid agencies (designated by A), local leaders or intermediaries (designated by L), and the grassroots (designated by G) who are the intended beneficiaries of the aid transfers” (Platteau, 2004,

p. 230). In Platteau's model, which follows the logic of CD as it is practiced by the World Bank, the funders have no interaction with the beneficiaries at the bottom. Instead, there is somewhat of a game between the leaders and the grassroots in determining how the funds should be used. The leader makes a proposal and those at the grassroots level chose to accept or decline the proposal. Refusal, however, would mean that funding would not be received due to a lack of consensus (Platteau, 2004, p. 232).

Figure 1. The Sequence of Aid Disbursement



Source: Platteau 2004, p. 230.

Adapted to volunteer tourist organizations, the chain would be similar, but in most cases without the fund purveyor at the top. The donor agency recruits and supplies volunteers, and the local leader and grassroots group remain the same. The local leader in this chain is in a delicate position as the negotiator between two interest groups, one of which holds decidedly more bargaining power than the other. Locals may articulate their needs based on what they think is most likely to receive funding as opposed to what the community genuinely needs the most (Jones, 1966, p. 66). This dangerous dynamic is present whenever there is a potential to receive funds attached to accepting other forms of 'help'. It is also an example of the problems posed by relying on those outside of the local community as development workers.

The bottom-up approach to Community development identifies one single set of actors – the local people themselves. People in developing countries should be able to identify what they need the most and the power to take action towards meeting those needs (Casey, 1999, p. 461). The Local Leader is similar to what Casey calls a community development worker. This person may be from the particular community, elsewhere in the country or even from a developed country. The role of this person is to help the local community members identify their needs and coordinate activities in the field (1999, p. 462), but the link and accountability to funders above would be absent. In the most organic form of community development people from within the community would do all coordination. Once roles are delegated outside of the actual community, issues of trust, representation and power come to the surface and can undermine the

ability of the community development project to benefit the people it is supposed to. In reality, the flow of funds (from top to bottom) is connected to the overall power structure

The power structures illustrated in the elite capture model are true of both CD approaches and voluntourism. The vertical hierarchical nature of the system still places the community at the bottom, and as long as they remains at the bottom, community members will never truly have control over their development.

3.3 Differences between Volunteer Work in Community Development and Volunteer Tourism

Although the similarities between CD and voluntourism seem numerous, the differences between the two are potentially more significant. These differences become more apparent when looking at how different categories of volunteers interact with CD. In order to show the differences, I compare and contrast volunteer work in CD with volunteer tourism in CD. The key differences to be discussed in this section are: The level of institutionalization of volunteer programmes; the commitment to development work and the ability to match actual activities to stated goals. These themes will be explored through analysis of the United States Peace Corps and United Nations Volunteers (UNVs) as examples of volunteer work in CD; and the Global Volunteers organization as an example of voluntourism.

Institutionalization of volunteer programmes

Referring back to the definition of voluntourism given in the introduction to this paper, one distinguishing characteristic is the independence of voluntourist organizations from National governments and international institutions. Global Volunteers is one such organization specializing in the facilitation short-term service trips. Volunteers are assigned to work with one of their partner organizations in a developing country. Partner organizations are usually grassroots community organizations in developing countries which request volunteers to help in a variety of capacities. Although Global Volunteers has consultative status with the UN through UNICEF, they are ultimately not accountable to any higher body and their work is in no way integrated with the UN or any of its bodies. This allows Global Volunteers, and similar organizations complete freedom to design and implement programs as they see fit, without being answerable to a higher body. Conversely, the US Peace Corps and UN Volunteers are tightly integrated into the larger development plans of their respective overarching bodies.

Because the UNV programme is institutionalized within the UN, volunteers are bound to carry out the aims of the organization as a whole. As such, the goal of the programme is to mobilize volunteers for the promotion of peace and development, while simultaneously promoting volunteerism. More specifically, volunteers travel to over 160 countries annually to carry out work towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (UNV, 2).

Not only is the work of the Peace Corps institutionalized into the framework of their home government, but volunteers may also work closely with national governments of the countries in which they serve. In the Dominican Republic, Peace Corps volunteers work in cooperation with the National Office of Community Development and put their efforts towards carrying out community development as defined by the OCD. In the particular case, community development takes on a strong project focus, in line with the United Nations definition, whereby it "...is a process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress" (Jones, 1966, p. 66). The mission of the Peace Corps when it was first established was the promotion of peace and to increase cross-cultural understandings but, as is evident through the example of their work in the Dominican Republic, this mission has evolved to take on development work as a key component. The institutional nature of these programmes give volunteers established practical and theoretical frameworks to work within. Furthermore, the institutional backing provides the foundation from which volunteer work derives many of the characteristics that set it apart from voluntourism.

Commitment to bettering the lives of the poor

If the amount of time invested in the volunteer venture is an indicator of commitment to performing meaningful community development work, it would be clear that voluntourism falls short. The average volunteer vacation through Global Volunteers lasts for two weeks; with the first two days being reserved for training, and the rest of the

time partitioned between volunteering and free time (Global Volunteers) Two days of training may be considered adequate based on the relative simplicity of tasks assigned to volunteers, but can volunteers who are not required to possess any relevant skills or prior training learn all that they need to know about living and working in a foreign community in two days? A stark contrast to the Peace Corps for example, where not only is there no cost to volunteers, but their stringent time commitment requirements illustrate that simply entering a foreign community for the purpose of performing development work requires more training than what can be delivered in two days; regardless of the complexity of assignments in the field.

When the Peace Corps was established in 1961 it was decided that all volunteers would be required to go through rigorous training prior to service abroad to prepare them. In total, Peace Corps volunteers commit to a minimum of 27 months of service including training. It takes between 9 and 12 months from the time of application to the commencement of service. During that time the application is submitted, an interview takes place with a Peace Corps recruiter and medical and legal reviews conducted before an invitation to participate is extended (peacecorps.gov).

Once accepted into the program, Peace Corps volunteers begin intensive training. Early training sessions covered a diversity of areas, volunteers were taught technical skills, area studies, language, American studies, world affairs, health and medical training, physical training and recreation, and Peace Corps orientation (Shea, 1966, p. 33). Volunteers were in training 14 hours each day for eight weeks, following which,

those who survived were sent to orientation in the country where they would be placed on assignment. A review of the training program after two years prompted some changes. The most significant change being that training was extended to thirteen weeks to allow greater time spent on acquiring certain skills, language proficiency being one.

The lengths that the Peace Corps go to ensure that their volunteers are adequately trained for every aspect of service speaks to the organization's commitment to being as effective as possible in the field. The required time commitment and lengthy screening process ensures that only those serious about serving in a professional manner are accepted. The seriousness with which the Peace Corps approaches community development shines a glaring light on the minimal efforts of voluntourist organizations, which at best balance charity work with feel good travel opportunities for foreigners.

The goals set out in cases of volunteer work and volunteer tourism are similar; both seek to effect positive change in the lives of the poor and contribute to the lasting betterment of their circumstances. Where they differ is how volunteers are used to achieve these ends.

The Global Volunteers organization uses its consultative status with UNICEF as a means of legitimizing its work in development. Their goal is "to engage short-term volunteers in genuine community development efforts with long-lasting results" with a current focus on the Millennium Development goals (Global Volunteers). Global Volunteers does not have a definition of Community Development as it applies to their

work, but they do emphasize the following principles aimed at making their presence as positive as possible: protecting the independence of the host community, guarding against the exploitation of local people, monitoring their cultural impact, providing financial support for projects, employing and working with ‘experts in development’ in the field, and careful selection of partner organizations (Global Volunteers). Again, no detail or action plan is offered as to how this vision is achieved. Furthermore, a survey of the potential volunteer assignments reveals that there is a disconnect between the overall vision of the organization and the potential areas for volunteers to work. Volunteers are usually asked to teach English, care for children at orphanages, assist with construction projects and/or provide basic health care or education. These basic tasks are carried out by volunteers on a rotational basis in isolation from the wider context of the community. Questions are rarely raised about whether these jobs are the most appropriate for reaching the goals of community self-sustainability, nor is the integration of the volunteers’ work into a broader vision considered.

The argument can be made that volunteers are simply performing the tasks asked of them by those in charge of projects in the communities; those who know best what needs to be done. But a common roadblock in trying to find out what the needs of the community are is that community members may articulate their needs in terms of what they think volunteers want or are able to provide (Jones, 1966, p. 66). It is apparent that individual voluntourists are not invested in the community for any more than two to three weeks, and this may impact how it is felt that they can help.

Conversely, UNV's and Peace Corps volunteers enter the field with specific mandates and action plans designed around meeting those mandates. The UNV programme is based on 'volunteerism' as opposed to 'voluntourism'. The UNV programme has a very specific purpose; that is to link countries facing human capacity shortages with volunteers willing to share their skills and experience in a variety of sectors in the field (UNV, p. 3). Two thirds of UN volunteers come from developing countries and twenty percent of those work in their home countries as National Volunteers. It can be assumed that these volunteers have an even higher investment because of their personal stakes in the outcomes.

The UNV programme works on three levels: with individual volunteers, volunteer involving organizations, and volunteer networks. Volunteer Involving Organizations "refers to any organization, from the voluntary, private or public sector, through which individuals may choose to volunteer...the term VIO applies largely to local community-based or community-focused non governmental organizations engaged in development work" (UNV, p. 3).

Within non-governmental community organizations, the UNV's aim to engage in areas that will strengthen the organizational capacity of local institutions and facilitate their work. Their work responds to the needs of individuals on an ongoing basis, but also in times of immediate need, such as when there is a crisis. The types of projects that UNVs tend to engage in are small in nature, initiated by locals and are able to be replicated and scaled up when successful (UNV, p. 4). Some areas where UNVs work

include health, education, gender equality, environmental sustainability, democratic governance and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT's) for development. The work of UNV's spans a much boarder area than voluntourist initiatives, and include areas where their impacts cannot be immediately seen. In addition to filling gaps in human capacity shortages in development projects, they work to connect local organizations to potential sources of support, knowledge and information. (UNV, p. 5).

Similarly, the work of the Peace Corps in community development assumes an understanding of the concept that extends beyond working towards achieving tangible outcomes such as the construction of buildings. The type of community development engaged in by Peace Corps volunteers, aims to encourage cooperation and collective action among members of the communities in which they work (Jones, 1966, p. 65). The reference made above to the work of the Peace Corps in the Dominican Republic also provides an example of the concrete steps taken to achieve development aims. Not all Peace Corps volunteers, however, work closely with state mechanisms; some are free agents who work independently in rural areas. The role of these volunteers is to help community members determine what their needs are and encourage action towards having those needs met. It is emphasized that volunteers are not expected to do the work for the community, but may aid in the procurement of necessary financial and other resources needed (Jones, 1966, p. 69).

The differences between these two categories of volunteer intervention in CD manifest themselves predominantly at the level of practical application. So, while in

theory it may seem that voluntourism and community development share many of the same characteristics, both positive and negative, their differences are felt at the ground level. Theory and practice are inextricably linked though, and it is because of this that we must question the very assumptions upon which voluntourism is based and ask what the implications are of casting these short-term trips as development.

This disconnect between what voluntourists set out to achieve and the actual methods employed, raises questions about whose needs are prioritized, and if it is possible to meet the needs of various groups simultaneously. McGhee and Andereck, begin to address this through their notion of ‘Petting the critters’; wherein they claim that for all of their altruistic intentions, volunteer tourists also seek something in return, “volunteer tourists of all types seek to give, but they also want to receive – they want to be thanked for their efforts and to feel good about what they have done” (McGhee and Andereck, 2009, p. 19). This is one of the main reasons that volunteers travel to developing countries to work and interact with local people, when in most cases the money spent on their trips would be better off donated to the community. The face-to-face interaction provides an opportunity for volunteers to interact with the people they are helping and experience gratitude.

Unequal power dynamics are reinforced by the volunteer tourists’ interactions with locals. Though most often unintentionally, volunteer tourists make clear the power they hold over those they are trying to help. One way that this occurs is in placing themselves in the position of ‘teacher’ or ‘expert’ regardless of their actual qualifications.

People and communities in developing countries take on inferior or subordinate relationships to foreigners (Mowforth and Munt, 2009, p. 62). The notion of 'Pettin the Critters', alludes to the othering that often occurs in voluntourism. Individuals and organizations from the North enter communities with the best intentions, but often have no idea how their work impacts the autonomy and dignity of the people in those communities. For instance, voluntourists often bring along clothing and other items to give away to the poor, not recognizing that by giving things away for free, they are creating a certain level of dependence on outside donations (McGhee and Andereck, 2009 18). This also undermines local businesses or non-profit organizations that may be selling similar items for a nominal fee.

Similarly, the reliance of voluntourism on unskilled labour means that in many cases, locals could perform the work done by volunteers. And as Guttentag (2009, p. 5444) suggests, work by volunteer tourists may even undercut local businesses, because volunteers are willing to work for free and local labourers cannot compete with them. But instead of capacitating local people to strengthen their own local initiatives, too often voluntourism creates dependence on foreign labour and resources, as Abom's study of NGO service provision in Guatemala indicates (Abom, 2004, p. 349). Contributing to dependence is the fact that voluntourist organizations and some NGOs are often unaware of when or how to phase themselves out of the process. Although voluntourist organizations generally present themselves to have altruistic motives, most are companies with employees and it is not in their interest to phase themselves out. Poverty needs to exist (perhaps even created) in order to justify the steady stream of volunteers paying to

do development.

Contradictory goals and messages are also found in the language used by some volunteer tourist recruiting organizations. For Global Volunteers, their slogan of *partners in development* stands side-by-side with that of *Travel that feeds the soul*. I make reference to this to make it clear that development is not their sole focus and the nature of the organization requires it to balance the needs and wants of two groups, which may at points be in competition with each other. Volunteers using their vacation time to do what they believe to be development work, expect to leave feeling like they have in some way made a difference. This is especially true when it is taken into consideration that these volunteers pay significant amounts of money for the privilege of volunteering in a developing country. One week volunteering with a community project in Ecuador through Global Volunteers would cost the volunteer USD \$2,295 plus airfare and in country spending money (Global Volunteers). The program is purchased much like any other commodity would be; prospective volunteers select a location and travel dates and then pay the appropriate fees. The easiest way to make participants feel that they are receiving the experience that they paid for is through their engagement in activities that produce tangible results such as constructed buildings or brightening the day of orphans by playing with them.

The conflict is that these types of activities are not always best suited to the needs of the community. The examples given above suggest that attempts to balance the needs of voluntourists with the voluntoured, favor the group in power at the expense of the

other. At the beginning of this section questions were raised about the potential for voluntourism to make positive contributions to development. Throughout the discussion, I have highlighted many of the shortcomings of voluntourism specifically in comparison to volunteer work. In the next section, I will explore some of the issues associated with framing voluntourism as a development tool and why it should not be considered as such.

Voluntourism as Development?

Who the actors are in local development is as important as what they do; and both are influenced by how 'development' itself is defined. The acceptance of voluntourists as development workers can be understood as the result of simplified notions presented about developing countries and communities, which then translate into a simplified conception of local development. Kate Simpson argues that these simplifications lead to the justification of using "young unskilled labour as a development 'solution'." (2004, p. 682). Therefore presenting development in a light where it seems like something that can be achieved through the actions of these volunteers. The problem as Simpson articulates it is that these programs often fail to engage with issues of social injustice (Simpson, 2004, p. 690). So in attempts to 'make a difference' and 'reduce poverty', the historical and systemic causes of inequality are ignored.

One of the arguable benefits of volunteer tourism for both the tourist, and community in which they work, is an increase in cross-cultural understandings. However, the nature of volunteer tourism has changed over the years and in light of the recent trend towards short-term trips, Raymond and Hall question whether cross-cultural

understandings are in fact being improved. They go further to say that, short-term trips may actually reinforce stereotypes and promote an 'us vs. them' attitude (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p. 531). Critiques of new forms of tourism cite their commodification of local cultures, destinations and environments as being problematic. The revenue gained from tourism relies on the packaging and consumption of these commodities by foreigners (Mowforth and Munt, 2009, p. 62). The commodification of the experience, as Mowforth and Munt describe, often begins even before the volunteer has arrived in their country of choice. The 'us' and 'them' attitude begins to take shape through the way that the experience is positioned by the volunteer tourist organization. In order to sell the experience, organizations rely on simplified and sometimes stereotypical descriptions of developing countries and communities. They paint pictures of desperate people in needs of help, and at the same time make the environment seem like somewhere vacationing volunteers would want to go. Take these two examples from the Global Volunteers website advertising places where volunteer help is needed: "Tragically, many impoverished children live on the streets of Lima -- abandoned, orphaned, or disabled -- and are some of the world's most desperate citizens." And "Scenic valleys and coastal communities await your helping hands."

Most conventional tourist experiences in developing countries hide the real social relations of the people providing the services consumed by tourists. Tourists are often unaware of what kind of conditions the local people with whom they interact live under (Mowforth and Munt, 2009, p. 62). One of the problems with volunteer development tourism is that it gives the illusion of understanding the experiences of the poor through

information provided as a part of the experience. Furthermore, getting physically close to the reality of life experienced by the poor and coming face-to-face with the poverty, not usually seen by conventional tourism, furthers the perception that volunteers are really engaging with the poor. The experience is no longer viewed simply as vacation, but as a life-changing experience resulting in the acquisition of a deeper understanding of the world.

Additionally, in failing to fully understanding the social and cultural fabric of the country in which they work, volunteer tourists may contribute to the polarization of groups within the developing country in addition to the created poles of 'developed' and 'developing' or 'those holding the resources' and 'those in need of resources'. It cannot be assumed that by simply facilitating contact between privileged and underprivileged groups that cross-cultural understanding will occur. If volunteer tourists are not urged to question the way things are, as is often the case, these interactions could actually lead to confirmation of the preconceived notions that tourists hold about the 'others' (Mowforth and Munt, 2009, p. 63).

3.4 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have tried to present the ways in which volunteer tourism and community development intersect through an exploration of the literature on both topics. Although the two converge on many points theoretically, there are stark differences in how they are implemented through program designs and actual work in communities. Voluntourism seems to find common ground with those aspects of

community development that are most often criticized, and but fails to find connect with local and community development in ways that benefit the poor. As a development strategy, voluntourism almost always comes up short whether because organizations lack the capacity to carry out genuine development work or its constant need to balance the wants of tourists with the needs of developing communities.

The above body of literature has shown that volunteer tourism as defined in this paper, does not strengthen the mechanisms and institutions of community development. This is due to the short length of visits and the fact that volunteers are not in the field long enough to make a real difference. Additionally, volunteers are rarely required to have skills relevant to the work they perform, which means that the quality of work is not of a professional level, and raises questions about whether volunteers can be held accountable for the results of work that they are not qualified to do in the first place.

Furthermore, the lack of appropriate skills is problematic because even though volunteers may not have formal training, the perception is that they are qualified to carry out the tasks asked of them. From a development viewpoint, volunteer tourism cannot contribute to development because it exists in a vacuum. Almost no attention is paid to the political, economic and social environment that the projects operate within. And consequently, voluntourists hold simplified understandings of development and of the local people they are trying to “help”. The focus of volunteer tourist organizations is on making the venture seem attractive to the tourist as opposed to accurately depicting the

situation and seeking real solutions. Because of this the benefits accrued by volunteer tourists outweigh those offered to the communities that they work within.

In the end, there is nothing wrong with seeking to volunteer in a meaningful way as a part of a vacation; giving time to help and learn about others can be a positive experience, but the literature offers many arguments against confusing or packaging these trips as development.

Chapter 4

The Guatemalan Context

4.1 Social Context of Research

With landscapes ranging from volcanic highlands to tropical coasts, at least seven major ethnic groups and more than 20 officially recognized languages; Guatemala is an incredibly diverse and complex country. Economically it is classified as a middle-income country, but the gap between rich and poor is one of the largest in Central America. According to the 2006 Census *Encuesta Nacional de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) the country population is 14.7 million with 44% of people living in poverty (INE, 2006). That rate increases amongst indigenous populations, and those living in rural areas. The current social and economic landscape in Guatemala has roots in its colonial history. Development of the Guatemalan coffee industry in the late nineteenth century in particular, was largely responsible for the oppression of indigenous populations (McCreery, 1976). More recently, the issues of poverty and social inequality facing Guatemalans have been compounded by the legacy of the recent civil war.

The Civil War

The major defining event of Guatemala's recent history is the 36-year civil war which took place between 1960 and 1996. The war was fuelled by a United States backed ousting of democratically elected, progressive Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz. Elected in 1950, Arbenz supported liberal social reforms in Guatemala, including the redistribution of land and encouragement of peasant union formation. However,

accusations of communist ties gave the United States the pretext to dismantle the Arbenz administration. With support from the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), a small army invaded Guatemala and forced Arbenz to resign in 1954. After Arbenz was overthrown Guatemala entered a period of violence and instability marked by US interference, military governments, violence against political dissenters and the organization of leftist guerrilla forces. It is estimated that over 200,000 people were killed during the war (Booth & Walker, 2010, p. 122). It was not until UN Mediation in 1994 that negotiations to establish peace began to make headway (Booth & Walker, 2010, p. 127). The Civil War came to an official end with the signing of the final peace accords on December 29, 1996 (Booth et al., 2010, p. 128). The president at this time, Álvaro Arzu, embraced neoliberal economic reforms in an effort to pull the country out of the economic slump that began in the later years of the war.

During the Civil War, fighting took place predominantly in rural indigenous areas, having a lesser impact on cities that were able to prosper economically (Booth & Walker, 2010, p. 119). As a result of the concentrated areas of fighting, Guatemala's poor rural populations were disproportionately negatively affected by the violence of the war. As a result, while the country's per capita GDP experienced periods of growth during the early war years, the incomes of the poor and middle classes declined.

Although the accords which put an end to the fighting were signed in 1996 decades of fighting and instability had impacts that would not be quickly reversed. Not only were the poor and indigenous populations most negatively impacted economically,

but they also represented the majority of the 200,000 people killed. Furthermore, much of the racism and marginalization of those communities which persisted during the war, continue today.

Post-War Social and Economic Situation

The US-backed coup halted political advancement being made towards addressing many of the systematic inequalities in Guatemala; and in the years following the war, social and economic indicators show little progress for the lower and middle classes.

The World Bank Guatemala Poverty Assessment Report (GUAPA) has tracked the country's progress on an ongoing basis since 1998. The findings from 1998 to 2003 revealed that Guatemala ranked below most other Central American countries in terms of health indicators, such as life expectancy and literacy (2003, p. ii). Furthermore, as indicated above, the state of indigenous and rural populations is far worse than other segments of the population. The report states that as of 2003 "[o]ver 81% of the poor and 93% of the extreme poor live in the countryside. Three quarters of all rural residents live in poverty and one quarter live in extreme poverty. Poverty is also significantly higher among the indigenous (76% are poor) as compared with the non-indigenous population (41% are poor)" (GUAPA, 2003, p. ii). Any progress being made has been slow, and gains tend to impact the non-poor and non-indigenous populations (2003, p. ii). By 2006, the same report showed a five percent decline in poverty and that improvements had been

made in almost all key social indicator categories; however, extreme poverty remained unchanged (GUAPA, 2006, p. ix).

As recently as 2010, a national survey on employment and income (ENEI) performed by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (INE) (National Statistical Institute) revealed that the gaps between indigenous and non-indigenous and rural and urban Guatemalans are still prominent. Nationally, the average Guatemalan attends school for 5.5 years. This number jumps to eight years in urban areas and drops to three amongst rural dwelling children. The impacts of low school attendance can be seen in the 27% illiteracy rate among adults overall (ENEI, 2010). Inequality also permeates the employment picture where non-indigenous workers earn 500Q to 1,000Q - approximately USD \$66 to USD \$130, more than indigenous workers (ENEI, 2010).

Communities linked to field research

The department of Quetzaltenango is located in the Western Highlands of Guatemala and its population of 771, 674 (ENEI, 2010), is divided amongst 24 municipalities. The largest municipality in the department and site of field research for this thesis is the municipality of Quetzaltenango. The more commonly used name for the metropolitan centre of the municipality, and second largest city in Guatemala is Xela. It is an industrial centre home to manufacturing and bottling plants, two universities, and a considerable textile production industry (Primeros Pasos, Quetzaltenego, p. 1). Due to its size and importance as an economic centre, Xela is a place of opportunity for many people from surrounding rural communities.

Rural areas are overwhelmingly populated by Quetzaltenango's two major indigenous groups, the Mam and Kiché. At 43%, the departmental indigenous population is high (ENIE, 2006). Outside of the city centre, the main industries are agricultural and textile production. Farmers and artisans in the nearby highland villages, travel into Xela to sell their wares as a means of making a living.

Due to a historically highly inequitable land tenure and distribution system in Guatemala, most rural farmers in the areas where field research was conducted work relatively small plots of land. Families could generally be classified as poor, though levels of material poverty varied. For families who had a member, usually a male, who was able to travel abroad for work, remittances allowed for more material wealth to be accumulated. This is expressed through larger homes and the presence of, what could be considered luxuries such as televisions. Families that could count on remittances are often obvious set against the backdrop of the otherwise poor community.

In addition to the economic prospects, Xela attracts people from rural areas because of the necessary services located in the city. For instance, Xela is home to two hospitals; one private and one public, whereas many rural villages do not have adequate medical services. For example, in the Palajunoj valley, located 20 minutes by bus outside of the city, there is only one government-employed doctor and one nurse to serve the population of 15,000 (Primeros Pasos).

The concentration of services is a common characteristic throughout the department and also at the municipal level. As large segments of the population must travel to access limited resources, the system becomes strained as evidenced by long wait times to seek medical care at public institutions. In Xela, private schools and private hospitals provide quality care and education, but only for those who can afford them. For the remaining population, barriers to accessing public services include transportation, costs and racism (against indigenous groups) among others.

A prominent social problem in Guatemala is that of exclusion. The exclusion of certain groups prevents them, on the one hand from accessing services, and on the other, from being considered in decisions that impact them. This self-perpetuating cycle aids in keeping the poor, poor. One of the areas where exclusion is most strongly felt is in the healthcare system.

4.2 Healthcare in Guatemala

The healthcare sector in Guatemala, like in many other developing countries, is underfunded and fails to reach all segments of the population with access to quality care. The resources that do exist are largely concentrated in the capital, and never reach the majority of the population, living in more rural areas (Verdugo, 2004, p. 58). The current state of Guatemalan health care is a reflection of the country's history. Progressive health care reforms that began in the 1940s were abruptly stopped by the coup in 1954. During the civil war, the health sector was not a priority for the government and Guatemalans were left with little to no coverage. As a result of

government neglect, healthcare became a for-profit business sustained by the middle and upper classes (Verdugo, 2009, p. 59). The poor came to rely on the proliferation of NGO's, churches and community organizations that were formed to meet the basic public health needs of the community.

According to the Guatemalan constitution, all citizens have a right to access health services free of charge. Furthermore, the Peace Accords stressed this right, and further emphasized the need to include the most excluded groups in society (PAHO, 2007, p. 37). After the election of the first civil government following the war, some reform of the health sector took place towards improving the system. Under an Inter-American Development Bank funded Structural Adjustment Program in the early 1990s, Guatemala adopted a two-tiered health system. The private sector was in charge of administering funds and delivering actual services, while the Ministry of Health coordinated overall policy and regulations (Verdugo, 2009, p. 60). Under this program called *Sistema Integral de Atención en Salud*, health care received an annual per-program contribution of USD \$5 per person by the government, and had just two paid medical professionals per 10,000 people (Verdugo, 2009, p. 60).

Reforms in healthcare from 1990 to 2005 demonstrate a shift away from a traditional centralised system of delivery, to increased reliance on service providers other than the state (PAHO, 2007, p. 49, Table 21). Politically, Guatemala's central government uses decentralization as a means of promoting local development. In the

healthcare system, this has meant delegating budget responsibilities to local authorities who determine annual spending for their jurisdiction (PAHO, 2007, p. 20).

The *Sistema Integral de Atención en Salud* currently provides health services in Guatemala at three levels. The first is the public healthcare system, made up of public hospitals² and clinics that fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Salud Pública (MSPAS). Second, is the private for-profit sector that consists of private hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, pharmacies and laboratories which have been approved by MSPAS. The third is the non-profit private sector. This last sector consists of over one thousand health-related NGOs as well as traditional medicine practitioners, located mostly in rural indigenous areas (PAHO, 2007, p. 37).

Reforms in the healthcare system have resulted in improvements in service delivery throughout the country and especially in rural areas. At the beginning of the 1990s only 54% of Guatemalans had access to any healthcare service; but by 2004 71.1% had general coverage. Despite some progress, issues of poverty and underfunding continued to hamper fully equitable access to healthcare and 10% of the population still had no access to healthcare (PAHO, 2007, p. 45).

Challenges in Guatemalan Healthcare

The landscape of health issues in Guatemala is varied. The past decade has seen improvements in some health indicators, while others have worsened; and results

² There are only seven national public hospitals in the country

continue to be inconsistent across ethnic groups and geographic regions. The country faces some challenges that need to be addressed in order for national health goals to be met.

In 2009, government funding for health and social assistance totaled 1.9% of GDP, with a projected increase to 2.2% for 2010 and 2011 (Ministerio de Finanzas Publicas, 2009, p. 12), according to the World Health Organization, this ranks amongst the lowest in the Americas. It will be necessary for the Guatemalan government to increase funding for the health sector if it is to expand service and reduce the indigenous and rural poverty levels.

With only seven public hospitals in the entire country, there is also the need to ensure that adequate primary healthcare services are available. The ability to seek regular care is a key to prevention. Along the lines of prevention, work needs to be done to address the root causes of widespread illness. Lack of access to clean drinking water and proper waste disposal systems is responsible for causing commonly occurring ailments. Furthermore, one of the greatest health concerns for Guatemalan children has been malnutrition. According to the Pan American Health Organization, in 2002 49% of children under five years of age suffered from some form of malnutrition (PAHO, 2009, p. 6) Malnutrition also disproportionately affects Guatemalan women and leads to a host of health problems.

The Guatemalan healthcare system faces a number of challenges that must be overcome if the country is to see more consistent improvements in healthcare. The national strategy of decentralization has allowed new actors to step in where national service providers do not reach. In rural areas particularly the healthcare system is relying on NGOs to deliver services as a part of their overall strategy.

4.3 NGOs and Tourism in Guatemala

The contributing factors behind NGO proliferation in Guatemala were similar to those driving NGO expansion globally. The high number of NGOs in Guatemala, and development NGOs in particular, is considered by some to be a reflection of the National government's failure to provide adequate social services and infrastructure (Barry, 1991, p. 105). Many of the first NGOs to set up in Guatemala, came as a result of the Alliance for Progress program established by the United States in the 1960s to provide more aid to Latin American countries. The first NGOs operating in Guatemala were foreign aid funded NGOs such as CARE and the Pan American Development Foundation; but also local NGOs working in community and local development (Barry, 1991, p. 105). The Guatemalan highlands in particular, saw an increase in NGO activity following a major earthquake in 1976.

US financial support for NGOs in Guatemala increased throughout the 1980s. By 1989 over \$147 million in aid money was being sent to Guatemala, but due to restrictions on funnelling aid funds through the government,³ NGOs were used as intermediaries

³ In 1983 US congress prohibited new aid funds from being given to the military government

(Barry, 1991, p. 107). As the violence of the Civil War abated, NGOs began rebuilding efforts in areas affected by the fighting. The end of the Civil War was also significant for NGOs, because they took on a primary role of facilitating the implementation of the peace accords. This was done through civil society projects which were facilitated by increased funding from foreign governments and international institutions (see Blum, 2001).

Nature of NGOs Operating in Guatemala

In the years since the war, the number of NGOs in Guatemala has increased considerably. Their scope has expanded from solely reconstruction and development efforts to include religious, environmental and human rights NGOs. Although there is no official registry of NGOs working in Guatemala, there are a number of unofficial sources that attempt to account for organizations. *Entremundos* (<http://www.entremundos.org>) and the *Guatemala NGO Network* (<http://www.laantiguaguatemala.net>), work in the cities of Quetzaltenango and Antigua respectively providing resources to NGOs and those wishing to work with them. The Directory of Development Organizations (<http://www.devdir.org/index.html>), managed by a Dutch development economist, is an on-line non-profit venture providing information on development organizations globally.

All three organizations rely on publicly available information for their databases; and in the case of the Guatemalan organizations, their information only accounts for NGOs which request to be added. As a result, the listings provided by each organization for NGOs in Guatemala vary significantly, and it is likely that small community based

Guatemalan organizations are not counted. Entremundos lists 124 organizations, the Guatemala NGO Network 47, and the Directory of Development Organizations, which does not limit its list to non-governmental actors, estimates close to 700 development organizations working in Guatemala.

Despite the inconsistencies in reported number of NGOs, these databases do provide an idea of what kinds of organizations are working in Guatemala and on what issues. A survey of the three databases reveals that a large number of NGOs operating in Guatemala work on social issues, predominantly in the fields of health, education and women's and children's issues. Other focuses include agricultural and rights based organizations. The types of organizations range from International NGOs such as Action Aid, Oxfam and CARE, to grassroots Guatemalan NGOs. The majority of those operating in Quetzaltenango fall somewhere in between. They are smaller, local organizations unique to Guatemala, but not developed from the grassroots solely by members of the communities in which they work. The majority are in some way linked to foreign actors. Usually staffed by a combination of local and foreign workers, the NGOs in Quetzaltenango are often founded by foreigners who then seek locals to collaborate with. Furthermore, many NGOs rely on foreign sources for funding and volunteers to supplement paid labour. The large community of expatriates living in Quetzaltenango and flow of tourists creates a pool of human resources for NGOs.

NGOs and Tourism

A common characteristic of NGOs in Guatemala, and those in Xela especially, is the frequency with which they interact with tourists. Insufficient funding to hire paid staff means that many NGOs rely on volunteer labour. Given the high rates of poverty, most Guatemalans cannot afford to work for free, however tourists have both the time and financial security to be able to do so.

In 2010 tourism accounted for 45% of Guatemala's GNP, surpassing export crops such as sugar, bananas and coffee (INGUAT, 2010, p. 8). Guatemala's proximity to the United States and history between the two countries draws many American tourists annually. Americans are the second largest group of visitors to Guatemala, falling behind neighbouring El Salvador. During the 2009 financial crisis, the number of American visitors to Guatemala dropped while the number of Canadians grew. Nevertheless, within developed countries the United States ranks first for visitors with eight times more visitors to Guatemala than Canada, which falls in second place. Europeans also consistently travel to Guatemala, though the total number of visitors from Europe in 2010 was less than half the number from the United States (INGUAT, 2010, p. 3).

Alternative forms of tourism are growing in Guatemala, and visitors are seeking more meaningful ways of interacting with the culture. Ecotourism and environmental work are practiced in Guatemala, but even more is the growing trend of volunteer tourism. Xela in particular is marketed as an ideal location in Guatemala for tourists looking to learn Spanish or volunteer in social development projects. Spanish schools are

listed on the official tourism website alongside tourist agencies and hotels. The Guatemalan tourist authority, reports that there are 49 Spanish language schools in the Department of Quetzaltenango alone (<http://visitguatemala.com>), many of which either partner with local social organizations or have their own projects for students to volunteer with. In order to cater to students seeking alternative tourism experiences, most language schools adopt a common structure. Opportunities for volunteering are integrated with language instruction and schools arrange for students volunteer in community projects on certain days of the week. In cases where schools do not have volunteer programs, or none to suit the tastes of the volunteer, organizations like Entremundos are able to match volunteers to NGOs and facilitate the volunteering process. Language schools attract both long-term and short-term tourists from around the world, providing a diverse pool of volunteer resources to local organizations.

The types of development issues in Guatemala and organizations attempting to address them are as diverse as the country itself. In Quetzaltenango, tourism, volunteerism and NGOs interact with each other in ways that are said to be beneficial to local communities. These three groups find common ground in their desire to effect social change in Guatemala, and collaborate in different ways towards that end. Furthermore, the government's policy of decentralization has entrusted private non-governmental organizations with a significant role in realising government development goals. These organizations, in an effort to expand their capacity with limited resources, recruit volunteers as free labour. The crucial role that NGOs play in service delivery further stresses the necessity that volunteers contribute to, rather than burden the system.

The dynamics of these relationships will be explored more fully through case studies of voluntourism in Quetzaltenango.

Chapter 5

Volunteer Tourism and Local Development: Data Analysis

The empirical data for this thesis relies on cases of voluntourism involving two organizations. One is the *Asociación Pop Wuj*, a Guatemalan nongovernmental organization relying on volunteers in order to be able to carry out its social programming. The other is *The Timmy Foundation*; a United States based non-profit organization that sends volunteers to a number of developing countries, including Guatemala. The cases consist of two different groups of Timmy foundation volunteers embarking on week-long trips, where they carry out distinctly different projects through Asociación Pop Wuj.

The two cases have been organized along three common themes in order to guide later analysis. Those themes are: (i) *Costs/Benefits* to Pop Wuj as a result of hosting the Timmy foundation groups; (ii) the series of *power dynamics* apparent between the actors in the field; and (iii) the concept of *Dual Development*, or balancing the needs of volunteers and the voluntoured simultaneously.

5.1 The Actors

ASOCIACIÓN POP WUJ

Asociación Pop Wuj was established in 1992 by a group of Guatemalan teachers as a Spanish language school for non-native Spanish speakers. The school is

cooperatively run and strives to improve the quality of life of the people in the community through its social projects in and around the city of Quetzaltenango. The organization is run by six people, all paid a modest wage as defined by those holding them and all Guatemalans. In addition, there is a volunteer coordinator position, traditionally held by a long-term volunteer from overseas.

The organization is primarily funded by the fees paid by students studying at the school, and money remaining after wages and expenses are paid is used to fund the social programs. Social programs include La Guarderia (daycare), a scholarship program for school aged children, a reforestation project and a safe stove project. The safe stove project was created in response to high rates of respiratory problems resulting from smoke and poor ventilation in homes. Through Pop Wuj, volunteers build safer and more efficient wood burning stoves to replace the open fire. Typically, groups are organized to take part in this project once or twice a week, with the option of volunteering on other days as well. The ability of the social programs to function is linked to the number of students enrolled in the language school who are willing to volunteer their time.

In 2004 Pop Wuj decided to invest in a social project that would help people in the rural communities, as well as those in the city. The director of the medical clinic, who is also one of the founding members of the Asociación, noted that since Pop Wuj began working in rural communities it was apparent that the people in those communities were suffering from poor health and needed access to affordable healthcare. Furthermore, students at the school were looking for more ways to volunteer, particularly

the medical students. As a result of this need Pop Wuj decided to establish a medical clinic with the principal objective of helping to improve the health of people who could not afford healthcare otherwise.

Staff and Volunteers

The clinic is staffed by one paid Guatemalan doctor, who also has his own practice; one volunteer Guatemalan dentist; and foreign volunteers. Administrative work for the clinic is completed by the language school administrator. A steady stream of volunteers specifically for the clinic is provided by the Pop Wuj medical Spanish program targeting foreign medical students wanting to volunteer and gain experience. The medical program is structured so that students stay for a minimum of four weeks and in that time, combine language classes with lectures about the social and health situation in Guatemala and clinic experience. Medical volunteers, as well as those interested in social work also carry out public health workshops in an effort to educate the public on how to prevent common illnesses.

Volunteers take on the duties of obtaining patient vital signs in triage and organizing and dispensing medication in the pharmacy. The number of volunteers varies depending on the time of year. As the vast majority of volunteers come from the United States, numbers peak during the summer months when schools are on break.⁴

⁴ This is not considered as voluntourism because volunteers must spend a minimum of one month working in the clinic, and their role in the clinic is as students first and foremost.

Location and hours of operation

The clinic shares a building with the Language School, which is located on a main road in the city of Xela. It is open two mornings per week in the city, with the volunteers and doctor traveling to see patients in rural areas one other day. Clinic days are known by members of the community, and a line up usually begins to form early in the morning on clinic days. As of the summer of 2010, the clinic saw between 20 and 25 patients each day, which is all it was equipped to handle given that there is only one doctor.

Patients

There are three groups of people who use the clinics services. People serviced by Pop Wuj social projects are able to access the clinic's services for free; including the pharmacy. They may travel into the city to the clinic's permanent location, or see the doctor during one of the mobile clinics outside of the city. Patients seen by the mobile clinics are selected by a designated community leader who invites individuals and families to be seen by the doctor and volunteers on specific days.

Secondly, the general public belonging to the very poor and lower middle classes use the clinic and are charged a small fee. The fee is 10 Quetzals, which is equivalent to approximately USD \$1.35 per visit. The clinic director described the fee as being more symbolic, to ensure that patients respect the clinic and its services. Pop Wuj classifies lower middle class as families living on 1,200Q to 1,500Q (USD \$154 to USD \$192) per month. It must be noted that Pop Wuj does not have the resources to check the financial status of patients and therefore they rely primarily on the honour system.

The final group of people who use the clinic are the teachers, students and host families associated with the language school.

Treatment

As a small community organization with limited resources, the Pop Wuj clinic is not able to treat patients with serious illnesses. On a regular basis, the clinic treats patients with respiratory infections, skin problems, parasites, dental problems and malnutrition. When patients have illnesses requiring treatment that Pop Wuj is not able to give, they are referred to the public hospital in Guatemala City⁵ or to similar community medical organizations in the city of Antigua. The partnership with the Timmy Foundation has given Pop Wuj access to more resources with which to help people with serious health conditions.

THE TIMMY FOUNDATION

The Timmy Foundation is a non profit organization based in Indianapolis, USA, specializing in sending medical brigade teams to developing countries. The foundation was started in 1997 by an American physician with the objective of using short term medical brigades to provide medical assistance and healthcare to communities in developing countries. Furthermore, the Foundation aims to strengthen the organizations with which they work by increasing their capacity and impact on the communities they work in (timmyfoundation.org, mission and vision). The organization is staffed by an

⁵ Xela has a public hospital, but the one in Guatemala City is better equipped to deal with special cases

executive director, programs coordinator and office manager in the United States, plus two overseas staff; a medical brigade director in Ecuador and recently hired medical program director in Guatemala. Timmy Funding comes from public contributions, fees paid by students going on volunteer service trips and fundraising (Timmy Foundation, 2009, p. 7).

Timmy volunteers are predominantly university students, though the organization also engages high school students in its work. Volunteers are recruited through Timmy's various chapters; five affiliated with high schools in Indianapolis and fifteen organized through universities around the United States (timmyfoundation.org, about us).

The activities of the Timmy Foundation chapters consist of recruiting volunteers, raising funds for partner organizations in developing countries,⁶ collecting donations of medical supplies and medication, and raising awareness about global health issues (timmyfoundation.org, our approach). Volunteers engage in these activities in preparation for medical brigade trips.

The Timmy Foundation partnership with Pop Wuj began when a student at the school familiar with the work of the Timmy Foundation put the two organizations in contact. Since then, Timmy has been increasing its involvement with Pop Wuj through regular brigades, financial donations, as well as donations of medical supplies. Timmy's aim in working with Pop Wuj, and its other partner organizations, is "...to strengthen

⁶ The fundraising efforts of three universities enabled Timmy to make a \$25,000 USD donation to Pop Wuj.

local health and education systems while promoting a spirit of humanitarianism and global awareness among our volunteers” (timmyfoundation.org, about us).

The Timmy Foundation identifies as a development organization using voluntourism to achieve other ends. Though executing the volunteer trips is not the main purpose of the organization, they are a significant part of how Timmy chooses to execute its mission:

The Timmy Foundation focuses on depth over breadth. We understand that one time short-term efforts alone do not provide lasting change, but sustained efforts that focus on empowerment can. By supporting the missions of our partner organizations and complementing their work with short-term medical brigades, distribution of in-kind resources, and year-round funding, we seek to build their capacity, expand their outreach, and help further our collective missions.

(<http://www.timmyfoundation.org>)

5.2 Case Studies

Timmy Medical Brigade

In May of 2010, a group of volunteers from Butler University in Indiana travelled to Quetzaltenango on the Timmy Foundation’s third medical brigade trip of the year. This particular brigade consisted of 26 volunteers and the Executive Director of the Timmy Foundation. Medical personnel within the group were three doctors, one nurse,

one dentist and two pharmacists. Within the group, there were a handful of Spanish speakers with varying degrees of fluency.

In order to take part in the trip, the only requirement on volunteers is that they be actively involved in the work of their Timmy chapter leading up to the trip. Students began to work one year prior to the trip fundraising for Pop Wuj, performing advocacy and awareness work and soliciting medical professionals and supplies. The purpose of requiring students to perform this work leading up to the brigade, as explained by the Executive Director of the Timmy Foundation, is to ensure that they are committed to the cause.

The cost to participate in the trip to Guatemala, though partially offset by fundraising, was paid entirely by the volunteers; and medical professionals covered their own costs as well. The Timmy Foundation as an organization does not profit financially from the medical brigades.

Timmy Safe Stove Building Project

The Timmy stove project service trip is structured very much like the medical brigades in terms of the timing. For five days 22 volunteers built stoves in the communities of Llanos de Pinal and Tierra Colorado Baja. Among the 22 volunteers were 18 high school students, two teachers, one Timmy volunteer High School Outreach Coordinator and the Timmy Foundation Program Coordinator.

The goal of this volunteer group was simple; to construct stoves in the homes of families pre-approved by the Pop Wuj social work coordinator and social work volunteers. The desired outcome was to contribute to bettering the health of people receiving stoves; and as noted by the program coordinator, to teach student volunteers about the differences between charity and development.

5.2.1. Costs/Benefits

Through their work, both groups of volunteers set out to positively contribute to Pop Wuj and help the organization achieve its development goals. In many ways Pop Wuj did benefit from the work of the Timmy volunteers, but there were also costs associated with delegating certain tasks to the volunteers and a great deal of work was done by Pop Wuj in preparation for the volunteers.

Prior to the arrival of both Timmy groups, Pop Wuj undertook necessary preparation steps. In the case of the stove project, the group of 22 volunteers was to be divided into six smaller groups, meaning that Pop Wuj had to adjust to accommodate six working groups at one time as opposed to the usual two. In terms of preparation, this meant recruiting an additional four group leaders for the stove construction and procuring additional tools and building materials, the costs of which were paid upfront by Pop Wuj to be reimbursed by the Timmy Foundation. Because the recruited leaders, which included the researcher, did not have enough experience building stoves, a weekend training session was held. The Pop Wuj staff also coordinated many of the logistics for both Timmy groups, including lodging, transportation and evening activities.

Once the medical brigade group arrived, but before the first clinic day, the shortage of Spanish speakers in the group had to be addressed. The situation was resolved by the Pop Wuj clinic director and director of the school's social service program recruiting translators from within the Pop Wuj community. Throughout the week-long brigade the Pop Wuj volunteer coordinator, students studying at the Spanish school, spouses of Pop Wuj staff and the researcher all acted as volunteer translators for the Timmy group.

All of the recruited translators (with the exception of one native Guatemalan) expressed some level of uncertainty about their ability to translate accurately. At least two translators cited their lack of medical Spanish knowledge in particular as reason for being apprehensive to take part in the brigades. In the end a desire to be helpful and the lack of other options motivated these translators to take part. Furthermore, a number of Timmy brigade volunteers expressed that they thought more knowledge of Spanish would have been helpful during the clinics.

Lack of language skills was less of an issue during the stove project, as communication with local families during the stove building process was not a crucial element. In cases where communication was needed, all group leaders spoke Spanish.

In both the stove-building project and the medical brigade, concerns about the quality of service performed were raised by those recruited to help as translators and group leaders. At times during the medical brigade it took several attempts by translators

to correctly understand patients or communicate information to them. Even when it seemed as though an adequate understanding was reached, there were still doubts as to whether communication was entirely accurate. This problem was compounded in indigenous communities by the fact that Spanish was a second language for patients, and communication had to pass through two sets of translators.

In terms of the medical care provided to patients by the Timmy Foundation, there was no question about the quality. The volunteer American doctors were qualified to diagnose and treat patients. However, in some instances a lack of cultural understanding was evident, most often in the nature of preventative measures offered. Some was fairly simple such as hand washing and boiling drinking water. However, other medical advice was not as easily integrated into Guatemalan culture. Some patients were advised to make dietary changes, including limiting the fruit and starches consumed. Given that foods like rice and tortillas are staples in the cultural diet, particularly for the poor, it is unlikely that patients could implement such a significant change without ongoing support. A better understanding of Guatemalan culture may have allowed the doctors to frame recommendations in ways that were more practical for the lifestyle and realities of the patients.

The work period for both volunteer groups was one week. As a unique endeavour, the medical brigade is designed around this time frame; however, changes were made to the stove project in order for the group to get the most out of their trip. Where the three-step stove building process usually takes three weeks in order to allow

one step a week to fully dry prior to commencing the next; during the week of the Timmy volunteers, each phase was constructed on consecutive days. When questioned about the quality of the stoves, the Pop Wuj teacher and engineer most familiar with the project stated that he was happy with the results. Still, more questions were raised about the quality of the stoves by half of the group leaders who felt inadequately prepared to lead the construction. The training consisted of going through each phase of the building once and due to the complexity of building a stove from nothing, some leaders were unsure whether each step was carried out adequately.

At the end of the work-week, seven rural families had new stoves⁷. But the work was not complete. As the Pop Wuj volunteer coordinator stated “rushing to make stoves isn’t the only point. Education and follow-up is also a concern”. There is follow-up work to be done with each family who received a stove, and this is done by the Pop Wuj social work coordinator in the weeks after the Timmy group leaves.

The partnership with the Timmy foundation voluntourist trips, affords Pop Wuj certain benefits that extend beyond the trips themselves. In addition to volunteers, the Timmy Foundation provides financial and material resources to Pop Wuj. Donations from the fundraising efforts of Timmy chapters have been put towards physical upgrades to the Pop Wuj clinic space, and any medication not used during the medical brigades are donated to the clinic pharmacy. Timmy also allows Pop Wuj to help patients who require medical attention beyond what can be provided at the clinic or during brigades. This is

⁷ Stoves are not ready for use until one month after completion

done by covering the costs associated with treatment by specialists, surgery, medication and any necessary travel. This was the case during the clinic in San Juan when a pregnant Guatemalan woman went into premature labour, but was not comfortable going to the hospital. Timmy arranged to have the necessary medication brought in from a neighbouring town and one of the volunteer doctors administered it to the woman, stopping her labour.

5.2.2. *Power Dynamics*

In the field, interactions between the various actors were observed and revealed that a series of subtle power dynamics were at play. The first was between Asociación Pop Wuj and the Timmy Foundation, and the second between Timmy medical volunteers and clinic patients. As foreigners present in Guatemala with the intention of serving the local population, the Timmy foundation volunteers were positioned as givers, while their partner organization and the people benefiting from the brigade were positioned as receivers or beneficiaries. This was evident in the level of gratitude that was continually expressed towards the Timmy group by community members and the Pop Wuj organization. As the ‘givers’, members of the Timmy groups held a certain level of power, but also responsibility.

During the medical brigade, the vast majority of doctor and volunteer interactions with patients were professional. Overall, patients were shown the same respect and care that the doctors would have shown patients in the U.S. There were however, times when the volunteer doctors donned their tourist hats. One doctor in particular took photographs

during patient consults, sometimes asking permission and other times neglecting to do so. In one instance, a Guatemalan mother was asked to pose for a picture while demonstrating how she secured her baby in a sling on her back. In another situation, one doctor asked each patient that he saw throughout the week if he or she would like to say a prayer with the group (doctor, student volunteer and translator), prior to leaving the clinic for the day. On the days that the researcher worked with each doctor, no patients voiced opposition to having photos taken, and only one declined to pray with the group. Given that those requesting photos and prayer were also providing care to the patients, it is unclear whether patients felt that they would suffer negative consequences if they declined the requests.

The Timmy foundation is the primary funding source for Pop Wuj. Without the contributions of Timmy, Pop Wuj would rely solely on fees paid by language students studying at the school; not an ideal situation given the inconsistency of school enrolment. In order to keep the partnership Pop Wuj must, to a certain extent, insure that it remains beneficial for Timmy. The volunteer coordinator noted that receiving the Timmy groups is a lot of work, but it needs to be done because of the support that Timmy gives to the Pop Wuj clinic (Interview June 14, 2010). The two weeks leading up to the arrival of the stove-building group increased the workload for the Pop Wuj social work coordinator and volunteer coordinator. They took on the extra work needed to prepare for the group⁸ - recruiting and organizing training for group leaders, procuring tools, organizing

⁸ Much of the extra work could be attributed to the fact that this was the first time such a project was being coordinated. Should the stove building groups become regular, preparation should become easier.

transportation to work sites and choosing families to receive stoves. This was all done in addition to their regular workloads.

Regarding the medical brigades, Pop Wuj does not have a say in the composition of the volunteer group or how many people take part in the trips, this is decided by the Timmy foundation. Furthermore, patients are not presented with the option of receiving medical care without a student in the room. When asked about establishing requirements for volunteers working in the clinic, the clinic director stated that this is not done for fear of limiting the number of volunteers (interview, June 10 2010). Additionally, the volunteer coordinator noted that although Pop Wuj would like to establish requirements, there is somewhat of a “take what you can get” attitude.

Again, because Pop Wuj relies so heavily on support from the Timmy Foundation, they are grateful for the help received, and place a high importance on preserving that relationship.

5.2 3. Dual Development

When asked about the Timmy Foundation’s role in development, the organization’s executive director explained that Timmy engaged in “dual development”. This term, conceived by the executive director himself, refers to the organizations’ dual focus on empowering students, while simultaneously capacitating its partner organizations to provide healthcare and educational services (Interview, May 18, 2010). There were several instances throughout the weeklong medical brigade in particular

where it was clear that a balance was being sought between meeting the needs of the two groups.

The composition of the Timmy group is such that, some volunteers have the skills necessary for the brigade, namely the medical professionals, while others take part in the trip as students there to learn. Aside from the doctors, nurses and pharmacist, the remaining 17 volunteers were undergraduate students at Butler University from a variety of academic disciplines.⁹

During the five days of clinics there was a consistent structure used to organize volunteers and patient flow. Patients passed through at least four stations at each clinic site: registration, triage, doctor and/or dentist consultation and pharmacy. Each station was staffed by at least one medical professional, translators where needed and varying numbers of student volunteers.

The structure of the brigade not only allowed for efficient service delivery, but also facilitated the learning process for student volunteers. Students who may not have had prior experience in triage or pharmacy were able to learn as each day went along. Most noted an increased confidence in performing medical tasks as the week progressed. One volunteer explained, “I was a bit nervous with taking blood pressures in triage because my accuracy is not 100%, but I felt much better after doing a few.”

⁹ Four were Emergency Medical Technicians, one was a pre-pharmacy student and one faculty advisor.

The consultation rooms provided the greatest opportunity for in depth teaching as students were able to diagnose patients under the supervision of the doctor. In each room there was a minimum of two people¹⁰ and a Timmy volunteer shadowing the medical professional. Most also needed an English to Spanish translator and in the Mam and K'iche communities, a translator from the indigenous language to Spanish. This made for rooms that were in some cases, quite crowded before the patient entered. It was difficult to assess whether the presence of multiple foreigners in the room made patients uncomfortable. During the consultation, the doctors would take time to teach the student volunteers how to make diagnoses and to discuss patient symptoms. There was some confusion observed amongst patients at times, as this dialogue occurred in English.

Student volunteers were encouraged to take a hands-on approach to examining and diagnosing patients. Though most of the students did not have medical experience, they were given a great deal of responsibility, and seemed to rise to the occasion. As one of the remarked "I didn't expect to be respected and deemed a medical professional by both the medical personnel and Guatemalans...I was not a student but rather felt like a medical professional in training" (Interview, July 22 2010, e-mail). The volunteers were able to get practical experience that they would not have been able to in the U.S. or many other developed countries.

¹⁰ With the exception of the one staffed by the Guatemalan doctor.

5.3 Conclusion

From the perspective of what they set out to accomplish, both voluntourist trips were successful. The medical brigade treated a total of 425 patients during the four and a half days of clinic. A small number of those patients would have seen a doctor that week regardless, but the majority of them would not have. For the stove-building group, although much of the preparation was done at the last minute and there was some uncertainty amongst group leaders, the week of stove building ran fairly smoothly. Some group leaders reported volunteers that were easily distracted and preferred playing with young children in the homes and taking photos than concentrating on the task. But on the whole volunteers were eager to perform the work. In the next chapter a more thorough analysis will be done based on the three themes highlighted in this section, as well as some conclusions about the value of voluntourism as a development tool.

Chapter 6

Analysis and Conclusions

Following the structure used to present the case study data, this section will outline the implications of the Timmy Foundation's voluntourist trips through Asociación Pop Wuj in further detail. In addition, some final conclusions and recommendations are offered.

6.1 Costs and Benefits

The arrival of new volunteers or workers almost always creates some level of additional work for the hosting institution; however, it is important to analyze whether the benefits are worth the costs. With regards to the Timmy foundation and Pop Wuj; costs and benefits can be assessed at the organizational partnership level, but some are unique to each project.

In the case of both Timmy groups, Pop Wuj staff members working as translators and group leaders were not able to perform their regular tasks during the volunteer visits. The Volunteer coordinator for example, worked with both Timmy groups and commented that she was unable to meet new students and be a presence at the language school (Interview, June 14, 2010). This was significant because new students arrive every week and are the organization's main pool of volunteers.

In terms of the stove project, the costs of accommodating the group: significant amount of extra preparation work, time away from day-to-day responsibilities and potentially sacrificing the quality of stoves; hardly seem worth the benefit of seven new stoves. Pop Wuj runs the stove project year-round and without the week-long intensive stove building work of the Timmy volunteers the stoves would have been built, albeit not as quickly. The rapidity of the building did allow Pop Wuj to progress more quickly towards the goal of providing safe stoves to the families in those communities. However, it must be considered that with only one full-time staff member to interview families wishing to receive stoves, approve them, and then follow up once the stove is built; having seven stoves completed simultaneously stretches Pop Wuj's capacity.

Assessing the costs and benefits of the medical brigade is a more complex task. The volunteers provided medical care to hundreds of people, most of whom would not have had access otherwise. Access to free healthcare is a benefit to those individuals that cannot be denied, but what about the quality of that healthcare? The lack of language skills among the majority of the Timmy volunteers raises serious questions about how communication may have impacted the quality of care. Acting as a translator myself, I felt conflicted by my lack of medical Spanish knowledge and at times, questioned the accuracy of my translating. The alternative would have been a shortage of translators. The overwhelming majority of patients had basic health concerns and required simple communication. As such, after the first clinic day the confidence among non-native Spanish speaking translators increased due to the repetitive nature of health concerns.

Nevertheless, in a field where a seemingly insignificant piece of information could have significant health implications, effective and accurate communication is a crucial tool.

Another stated benefit of the Timmy medical brigades is that they occur every two to three months. Although the consistency of the brigades enables them to follow up with patients treated from one volunteer group to another, they seem to be creating a level of dependence on their services. Knowing that the groups come to deliver free care regularly, some patients wait for the next group to come in order to be seen by a doctor. During this particular brigade, a number of patients were in fact told to follow up with the next Timmy group. Not only does this type of system fail to strengthen Pop Wuj, but in fact, it undermines the work of Guatemalan organizations by creating a preference for foreigners. One Pop Wuj staff member indicated that certain community leaders have expressed the desire to work directly with foreign volunteer groups, eliminating Pop Wuj from the equation. For this, and other reasons¹¹, Pop Wuj no longer works in those particular communities.

The main advantage of the work done by the voluntourists is that they are able to reach and treat significantly more patients in one week than the regular Pop Wuj clinic could. But simply entering a community and providing a service does not amount to development.

¹¹ The community leader responsible for deciding which patients would be seen during mobile clinics was charging those patients for the care which they were supposed to be receiving for free

6.2 Power Dynamics

One of the reasons that the costs to Pop Wuj and the patients of accepting the Timmy voluntourist groups go unaddressed, are the overarching power dynamics. The financial support that Timmy provides to Pop Wuj shapes the relationship between the two organizations significantly. Making sure that the partnership remains beneficial to Timmy is key because it is directly linked to Pop Wuj's ability to fund the clinic. This is manifested not only through the extra work taken on by Pop Wuj to accommodate the groups of volunteers, but also in doing what they can to make sure that those volunteers feel that they are helping. For instance, in preparation for the arrival of the stove-building group, group leaders were advised to take their time so that each step would take up a full workday, as opposed to the usual half-day. This was so that volunteers would feel as though they were in fact "doing something". While this may have been beneficial for the volunteers, it was not the most efficient use of time, especially considering that the majority of the group leaders had other work to do at Pop Wuj.

During the medical brigade, it was clear that the voluntourists did not grasp the position of power that they held. In the cases of doctors requesting photos of and prayer with patients, it did not seem to cross their minds that those patients may not have felt that declining the requests was an option. The fact that the doctors were providing a free essential service to the same people that they were making requests of placed them in a position of power over those people.

Even the non-medical professional voluntourists were in a position of power over the patients they treated, by virtue of being foreigners placed in a professional situation. Furthermore, there is something uneasy about students with an interest in medicine, but no real training gaining experience by learning on the poor. Regulations in most developed countries would prevent these students from gaining this type of hands on experience, but they are able to do it in the voluntourist context due to the power that the Timmy Foundation yields with Pop Wuj and the perceived superiority of northerners over Guatemalans.

The balance of power between local and foreign organizations or volunteers is not unique to this case. Many voluntourist organizations make financial contributions to the organizations that volunteers work with. *Global Volunteers* reserves a portion of the program fee paid by volunteers to be donated to the local organization. *Cross-Cultural Solutions*, another well-known voluntourist organization does not directly make donations to the organizations it works with, but one of their volunteer stated that she was expected to make a donation to the local organization (Interview, June 11th 2010) Even where explicit financial donations are not made, volunteers provide tourist dollars to the local economy.

The *Entremundos* volunteer coordinator stated that many of the local NGOs they work with are hesitant to assign volunteers to the tasks that are really needed; preferring instead to allow volunteers to do work that they find fulfilling (Interview, June 1st 2010) Though there is no conclusive evidence to show that the financial contributions of

voluntourists is responsible for their preferential treatment, it is reasonable to assume that this is true in some cases.

Given the power dynamics at play, there is an increased responsibility on the part of foreign voluntourist sending organizations to ensure that they are in fact serving the needs of the poor. This leads to the question of whose interests are served in voluntourism.

6.3 Dual Development

As mentioned in chapter #5 of this thesis, the Timmy foundation uses the medical brigades as a development tool to capacitate local organizations, while simultaneously empowering student voluntourists. The attempt to achieve both of these goals is an ambitious one, but in practice the fulfillment of one group's needs was in many ways, achieved at the expense of the other's. The relaxed requirements for volunteers certainly empowered the students by giving them hands on roles in the field. But how highly are local people valued if those recruited to work with them aren't required, at minimum, to have the necessary language skills to communicate? The suggestion that anyone can help implies that the poor are completely helpless and should take what they can get, instead of expecting more.

In another attempt to capacitate the Pop Wuj organization, the Timmy Foundation hired an additional doctor to work in the clinic year-round and follow-up with patients seen during medical brigades. Like the medical professionals taking part in the brigades,

this doctor is American; however she is not a volunteer and the Timmy Foundation pays her salary. When asked why a Guatemalan doctor was not hired, the Timmy Executive director referred back to the organization's role of empowering Americans. It was emphasized that this new doctor was in fact strengthening Pop Wuj by continually monitoring the patients seen during the brigade and allowing the clinic to see more patients regularly. However, as an employee of the Timmy Foundation, she is ultimately accountable to them, and not Pop Wuj.

In the above instances, opportunities to provide the utmost benefits to locals – by offering well trained volunteers and an employment opportunity for a Guatemalan doctor - were forgone in order to provide benefits to foreigners. Dual development in this sense is not equal; one group develops skills and competencies while the other is rendered dependent on their services.

6.4 Conclusions

Issues related to the themes outlined above were prevalent throughout the field research, and although treated as three separate themes, they often intersect.

Development organizations continuing to accept voluntourist groups when the costs seem to outweigh benefits and any benefits that tend to favour foreigners, can be attributed to the overall power structure in place.

There are two main reasons that the Timmy Foundation considers the voluntourist trips to enhance the organization's development work: fundraising done by voluntourists

on behalf of the partner organization as a means of capacitating those organizations, and the consistency of trips allowing for more systematic healthcare delivery. In the case of Pop Wuj an element of dependence, not increased capacity has formed, and should the partnership with Timmy end, the clinic would not be able to function at the same level. The Timmy Foundation wields a significant amount of control, which runs counter to local development theories that advocate for development with the poor in complete control. As discussed earlier, key local development authors stress that the needs of the poor should be placed first, even if it results in limits to the privileged class. In voluntourism, the needs of tourists have to be considered or they would not embark on these trips.

Furthermore, voluntourism operates from a deficit-based point of view rather than an asset-based one. Communities are viewed in terms of what they are lacking, and what the voluntourists can give to help them develop. Working through local organizations and giving them some input into the process, while still retaining much of the power, falls short of long-term development. If voluntourism is to interact with local development in a way that is more closely rooted in the literature, the work of voluntourists should be complementary to the local process instead of placing themselves in a role to co-opt it.

Voluntourist trips can be charitable, they can make material contributions to the communities in which they work and they can be a learning tool for those taking part in them. But short-term trips that make use of unskilled labour are not contributing to local development.

Institutionalizing these trips in the way done by the Timmy Foundation increases dependence on external actors and can be seen as a form of (unintentional) neo-colonialism. The Timmy Foundation has carved itself a larger niche in Pop Wuj through increasing the frequency of medical brigades, hiring an American doctor to be stationed in the Pop Wuj clinic and extending voluntourist trips to include stove building by high school groups. But they have done this without capacitating Pop Wuj in ways that would ensure their survival without the help of the Timmy Foundation.

Findings in the areas of the three themes outlined illustrate that voluntourism does not encourage the empowerment of local people; and without empowerment, effective long-term solutions to poverty and inequality are unlikely. For this reason, as well as those discussed above, the work of the Timmy medical brigades cannot be described as development, especially not in the theoretical context of local development. Therefore the idea of dual development is misleading. This is not to discredit the Timmy foundation, as the positive contributions made by the organization - donations and emergency medical care for example - have been acknowledged in this thesis. The specific goal; however, was to analyse the impacts their short-term volunteer trips. These impacts, like the trips themselves, are short-term in nature. Without addressing the root causes of poor health and empowering the poor to take charge of their own healthcare, cumulative short-term efforts cannot have long-term impacts.

6.5 Recommendations

Analysis throughout this thesis has focused on a very specific sub-section of voluntourism. As such, very few changes can be recommended without altering the defining characteristics of these trips. Instituting requirements on language and practical skills for voluntourists, transferring skills to locals and educating voluntourists about the dynamics of local development in the areas where they work could increase benefits to local organizations, but trips would no longer be considered voluntourism in the same way.

There are ways for voluntourism to interact with local development in ways that have positive impacts, or at least do not hamper the progress of local organizations. Take for example, the Primeros Pasos community clinic located just outside of Xela in the community of Llanos del Pinal. Primeros Pasos shares the same goals as Pop Wuj, and is also a community organization that works with foreign volunteers. The difference lies in how voluntourism is managed through Primeros Pasos. The organization realizes that voluntourists are not development workers, and as such groups and individuals engaging in voluntourism through Primeros Pasos are restricted to tasks such as painting, cleaning and organizing the clinic and office space.

Positions contributing to the clinic's health development work in the community are limited to medical professionals or fourth year medical school students with an intermediate level of Spanish and who are willing to commit for a minimum on one month (Interview, May 25th 2010). When asked if Primeros Pasos worried that the strict

requirements would limit the number of volunteers they received, the Women's Education Program assistant explained that, this does in fact occur, but the clinic prefers to have well equipped, useful volunteers (Interview, June 11th 2010).

It should be noted that Primeros Pasos is funded by a combination of individual donations and grants from the Inter American Health Agency (IAHA). Without the same type of pressure to appease an outside group that Pop Wuj is under, they are able to manage voluntourism in a way that benefits the local clinic and people above all.

This raises questions about the role of volunteer accepting organizations in managing voluntourism. To what extent can local development organizations dictate the terms of voluntourism? The examples of Pop Wuj and Primeros Pasos show that the more heavily the voluntourist organization is relied on, the less power the local institution has. For this reason, if voluntourism is to interact with local development, activities of voluntourists should take on a complimentary, rather than a central role¹².

If Pop Wuj wishes to be a contributing force to local development in Quetzaltenango they must truly commit to development as a goal. That is to say, instead of spreading limited resources thin among several projects in several different communities, concentrating resources in one project or community until the organization has attained a level of growth that would allow them to expand their work. With a renewed development plan, Pop Wuj should then be explicit with the Timmy foundation

¹² By partnering with the University of San Carlos in Quetzaltenango to receive medical students, Primeros Pasos ensures that there is never a shortage of staff in the clinic. If the flow of foreign volunteers were to end, the clinic would still be able to function

about how the partnership can best serve them by maximizing positive impacts and long-term benefits with minimal costs. If this is not compatible with Timmy's dual focus of empowering American volunteers, then the voluntourist trips should cease.

Pop Wuj has access to resources with the potential to further their mission, without having to look outwards for foreigners to help them. Taking into account the writings of Freire, Pop Wuj should look more locally to Guatemalan doctors and students while perhaps forging partnerships with other local health organizations such as Primeros Pasos. In order for progress to be made, it is crucial that Pop Wuj not underestimate their own resources or power.

The voluntourist groups claiming to do development work must come to realize that if they are to interact with development in a meaningful way, it will come at the expense of the fulfillment of some or all of the tourists' desires. Since it is unlikely that tourists paying significant amounts of money to take part in voluntourism will willingly do so without receiving some benefits in return, the simplest of recommendations would be to cease the claims that these trips are contributing to development. Instead, refer to them for what they are: alternative tourism, educational opportunities or charity as is most often appropriate. This would not remove the negative effects that these types of interactions with local development organizations can have. But moving away from misrepresentations of development work would remove expectations of what these volunteers can accomplish and encourage the search for true development alternatives.

Bibliography

Abom, B. (2004). Social Capital, NGOs, and Development: A Guatemalan Case Study.

Development and Practice, 14(3), 342-353.

Adler, P., & Kwon, S.W. (2002). Social Capital: Prospects for a New Concept. *The*

Academy of management Review, 27(1), 17-40.

Ahmed, S., & Potter, D. M. (2006). *NGOs in International Politics*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.

Arcand, J. L., & Bassole, L. (2007, November 15-17). *Does Community Driven*

Development Work? Evidence from Senegal. Draft paper presented at the African

Economic Conference, Addis Ababa.

AUSAID. (2004). *Volunteers and Australian Development Cooperation*. Retrieved

March 6, 2011, from <http://www.aisaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/volunteers.pdf>

Barry, T. (1991). *Guatemala: A Country Guide* (2nd ed.). Albuquerque, NM: Inter-

Hemispheric Education Resource Center.

Bienefeld, M. (1994). The New World Order: Echoes of a new Imperialism. *Third World*

Quarterly, 15(1), 31-48.

- Binns, T., & Nel, E. (2002). Tourism as a Local Development Strategy in South Africa. *Geographical Journal*, 168(3), 235-247.
- Booth, J. A., & Walker, T. (1999). *Understanding Central America* (3rd edn). Boulder: Westview Press.
- Binswanger-Mkhize, H. P., Jacomina P. de Regt, & Spector, S. (2009). *Scaling Up Local & Community Driven Development (LCDD) A Real World Guide to Its Theory and Practice*. World Bank e-book, Retrieved March 24, 2010, from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1237844546330/5949218-1237844567860/Scaling_Up_LCDD_Book_rfillesize.pdf
- Cardoso, E., & Fishlow, A. (1992). Latin American Economic Development: 1950-1980. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, (24), 197-218.
- Casey, D. (1999). Community Development in the Third World: Walking a Fine Line. *Development in Practice*, 9(4), 461-467.
- Chambers, R. (1983). *Rural Development Putting the Last First*. Essex: Longman Group UK Limited.
- Clark, D.A. (2005). *The Capability Approach: Its Development, Critiques and Recent Advances*. Global Poverty Research Group Working Paper GPRG-WPS-032.

Retrieved April 6, 2010, from

<http://www.gprg.org/pubs/workingpapers/pdfs/gprg-wps-032.pdf>

Cochrane, G. (1969). Strategy in Community Development. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 4(1), 5-12.

Cornwall, A., & Brock, K. (2005). What Do Buzzwords Do for Development Policy? A Critical Look at 'Participation', 'Empowerment' and 'Poverty Reduction'. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(7), 1043-1060.

Cypher, J. (1998). The Slow Death of the Washington Consensus on Latin America. *Latin American Perspectives*, 25(6), 47-51.

Durston, J. (1999). Building community social capital. *CEPAL Review*, 69, 103-118.

Finot, I. (2005). Decentralization, territorial transfers and local development. *CEPAL Review*, 86, 27-44.

Fishlow, A. (1990). The Latin American State. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 4(3), 61-74.

Fitzpatrick, Laura. (2007, August 6). Vacationing like Brangelina. *Time Magazine*,
Electronic Version.

Fowler, A. (2000). Beyond Aid: NGDO Values and the Fourth Position. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(4), 589-603.

Fox, J. (2007). *Accountability politics: power and voice in rural Mexico*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gaventa, J. (2005). Strengthening Participatory Approaches to Local Governance: Learning the Lessons from Abroad. *National Civic Review*, 93(4), 16-27.

Gideon, J. (1998). The Politics of Social Service Provision through NGOs: A Study of Latin America. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 17(3), 303-321.

Grant, R.W., & Keohane, R.O. (2005). Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 99(1), 29-43.

Green, D. (1996). Latin America: Neoliberal Failure and the Search for Alternatives. *Third World Quarterly*, 17(1), 109-122.

Guttentag, D. A. (2009). The Possible Negative Impacts of Volunteer Tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 11(6), 537-551.

Hamilton, L. (2003). "Civil Society": Critique and Alternative. In S. Halperin, and G. Laxer (eds.). *Global Civil Society and Its Limits*. (pp. 63-84). London: Palgrave.

Helling, L., Serrano, R., & Warren, D. (2005). *Linking Community Empowerment, Decentralization, Governance, and Public Service Provision Through a Local Development Framework*. World Bank Discussion Paper, retrieved, March 15, 2010, from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCDD/5440901138724740952/20802848/decentralization05.pdf>

Hirschman, A. O. (1968). The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 82(1), 1-32.

Howell, J. & Pearce, J. (2001). *Civil Society and Development*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.

Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo, INGUAT. (2010). *Boletín Estadísticas de Turismo Cuarto Trimestre*. Retrieved December 14, 2010, from http://www.visitguatemala.com/web/documentos/estadisticas/BOLETIN_ESTADISTICAS_DE_TURISMO_CUARTO_TRIMESTRE_2010.pdf

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE. (2006). *Encuesta Nacional de Condiciones de Vida ENCOVI*. Retrieved February 21, 2011, from http://www.ine.gob.gt/descargas/ENCOVI2006/Resultados_Nacionales.pdf

Jones, K. (1966). The Peace Corps Volunteer in the Field: Community Development. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 365, 63-71.

Labonne, J., & Chase, R. (2009). Who is at the Wheel When Communities Drive Development? Evidence from the Philippines. *World Development*, 37(1), 219–231.

Leftwich, A. (1995). Bringing Politics Back in: Towards a Model of the Developmental State. *Journal of Development Studies*. 38(1), 140-148.

Lewis, D and N., Kanji. (2009) *Non-Governmental Organizations and Development*. London: Routledge.

Lisle, D. (2008). *Joyless Cosmopolitans: the moral economy of ethical tourism*. Conference Paper. Retrieved from, February 16, 2010, from http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p254616_index.html

Macdonald, L. (2001). NGOs and the Discourse of Participatory Development. In Veltmeyer, H., & O'Malley, A. (Eds). *Transcending Neoliberalism Community Based Development in Latin America*. (pp 125-153). Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, Inc.

McCreery, D. J. (1976). Coffee and Class: The Structure of Liberal Development in Guatemala. *Hispanic American Historical Review*. 56(3), 438-460.

Mansuri, G., & Rao, V. (2004). Community-Based and -Driven Development: A Critical Review. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 19(1), 1-40.

Mathie, A., & Cunningham, G. (2003). From Clients to Citizens: Asset-Based Community Development as a Strategy for Community-Driven Development. *Development in Practice*, 13(5), 474-486.

McGeehee, N., & Andereck, K. (2009). Volunteer tourism and the “voluntoured”: the case of Tijuana, Mexico. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17(1), 39-51.

Ministerio de Finanzas Publicas. (2009). *Presupuesto Multianual 2009-2011*. Guatemala: Gobierno de Alvaro Colom.

Mishra, R. (1984). *The Welfare State in Crisis*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

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

NGO Forum on Women Beijing '95 (1995). *Look at the World Through Women's Eyes*. Conference Report. New York: NGOForum on Women Beijing '95.

Palacios, C. (2010). *Volunteer Tourism, Development and Education in a Post-Colonial*

World: Conceiving Global Connections Beyond Aid. Retrieved January 23, 2011, from <http://www.voluntourism.org/news-studyandresearch64.htm>.

Pan American Health Organization, PAHO. (2007). *Health Systems Profile Guatemala*.

Retrieved July 17, 2011, from

http://www.lachealthsys.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=300&Itemid

Pastor, R.A. (1974). The Platonic Acorn: A Case Study of the United Nations Volunteers. *International Organization*, 28(3), 375 – 397.

Petras, J. & Veltmeyer, H. (2001). *Globalization Unmasked: The New face of Imperialism*. Halifax: Fernwood Publications.

Petras, J., Veltmeyer, H. (2005). *Social Movements and State Power: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador*. London: Pluto Press.

Pierson, P. (1994). *Dismantling the Welfare State?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Platteau, J. P. (2004). Monitoring Elite Capture in Community-Driven Development. *Development and Change*, 35(2), 223–246.

- Platteau, J. P., & Gaspart, E. (2003). The Risk of Resource Misappropriation in Community-Driven Development. *World Development*, 31(10), 1687–1703.
- Porter, D., & Craig, D. (2004). The Third Way and the Third World: Poverty Reduction and Social Inclusion in the Rise of 'Inclusive' Liberalism. *Review of International Political Economy*, 11(2), 387–423.
- Poteete, A. (2003). The Implications of Social Capital for Empowerment and Community-Driven Development. *World Bank Working Paper* 33078. Retrieved March 26 2010, from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEMPOWERMENT/Resources/486312-1097679640919/think_pieces_poteete.pdf
- Primeros Pasos. *Quetzaltenango* [Factsheet]. Quetzaltenango: Author.
- Quadagno, J. (1987). Theories of the Welfare State. *Annual Review of Sociology*, (13), 109-128.
- Raymond, E., Hall, M., & Hall, M. C. (2008). The Development of Cross-Cultural (Mis)Understanding Through Volunteer Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(5), 530-543.

- Republic of Nicaragua. (2005). *Nicaragua: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*. IMF Country Report No. 05/440. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.
- Roberts, M. (2006). Duffle Bag Medicine. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 295(13), 1491-1492.
- Rodriguez-Carmona, A. (2004). Development NGOs, Local Learning, and Social Capital: The Experience of CARE Bolivia in Villa Serrano. *Development in Practice*, 14(3), 354-365.
- Rubin, H. J. (1994). There Aren't Going to Be Any Bakeries Here If There Is No Money to Afford Jellyrolls: The Organic Theory of Community Based Development, *Social Problems*, 41(3), 401-424.
- Ruckert, A. (2006). Towards an Inclusive-Neoliberal Regime of Development: From the Washington to the Post-Washington Consensus. *Labour, Capital and Society*, 39(1), 35-67.
- Ruhanen, L., Cooper, C., Fayos-Sola, E. (2008). Volunteering Tourism Knowledge: a Case from the United Nations World Tourism Organization. In K.D. Lyons and S. Wearing (eds.) *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism* (pp. 25-35). Cambridge: CABI Institute.

- Sen, A. (2003). Development as Capability Expansion. In Fukuda-Parr, S., & Shiva Kumar, A.K. (Eds). *Readings in Human Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shea, D. R. (1966). The Preparation of Peace Corps Volunteers for Overseas Service: Challenge and Response. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 365, 29-45.
- Simpson, K. (2004). 'Doing Development': The Gap year, volunteer-tourists and a popular practice of development. *Journal of International Development*, 16, 681-692.
- Sin, H.L. (2009). Volunteer Tourism: "Involve me and I Will Learn". *Annals of Tourism Research*. 36(3), 480-501.
- Stiglitz, J.E. (2003). *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Stoddart, H., & Rogerson, C. M. (2004). Volunteer tourism: The case of Habitat for Humanity South Africa. *Geojournal*, 60, 311-318.
- Streeten, P. (1997). Nongovernmental Organizations and Development. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 55(1), 193-210.

Swift, J. (1991). *Civil Society in Question*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Timmy Foundation. (2009). *2009 Annual Report Timmy Foundation*. Retrieved March 15, 2011, from <http://www.timmyfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/2009-2010-Timmy-Foundation-Annual-Report-web.pdf>

Tomazos, K. & Butler, R. (2010). The volunteer tourist as 'hero'. *Current Issues in Tourism*. 13(4), 363-380.

United Nations Volunteers, UNV. Volunteering for the Millenium Development Goals: The Role of UNV. United Nations Development Programme. Retrieved March 26, 2010. from
<http://www.undp.org.lb/unv/documents/Volunteering%20for%20MDGs.pdf>

Van Engen, J. (2000). The Cost of Short-term Missions. *The Other Side*, 36(1), 20-23.

Veltmeyer, H. (1993). Liberalisation and Structural Adjustment in Latin America: In Search of an Alternative. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(39), 2080-2086.

Veltmeyer, H. (2009) Civil Society and Development. In P. Haslam, P. Beaudet, & J. Schafer (eds). *Introduction to International Development Studies: Approaches, Actors and Issues*. (pp. 211-228). Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

- Verdugo, J.C. (2004). The Failures of Neoliberalism: Health Sector Reform in Guatemala. In M. Fort, A. Mercer, & O. Gish. (eds.), *Sickness and Wealth* (pp. 57-69). Cambridge: South End Press.
- Whaites, A. (2000). Let's get civil society straight: NGOs, the state and political theory. In D. Eade. (ed.) *Development, NGOs, and Civil Society*. Oxford: Oxfam GB.
- Ward, L. (2007). You're better off backpacking - VSO warns about perils of voluntourism'. *The Guardian*, August 14. Electronic Version
- Wearing, S. (2001). *Volunteer Tourism Experiences That Make a Difference*. New York: CABI Publishing.
- White, S. (1996). Depoliticising Development: The Uses and Abuses of Participation. *Development in Practice*, 6(1), 6-15.
- Williamson, J. (2005). The Washington Consensus as Policy prescription for Development. In Besley, T., & Zagha, R. (eds.). *Development Challenges in the 1990s: leading policymakers speak from experience*. (pp. 31-60). New York: Oxford University Press.

Williamson, J. (2004, September 24-25). *A Short History of the Washington Consensus*.

Paper for From the Washington Consensus towards a new Global Governance
Conference, Barcelona.

World Bank. (2003). Guatemala Poverty Assessment GUAPA. Report No. 24221-GU .

Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. (2007). *Meeting the Challenges of Global Development A Long Term*

Strategic Exercise for the World Bank Group. Report. Washington, DC:

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank.



SAINT MARY'S
UNIVERSITY SINCE 1802

One University. One World. Yours.

PATRICK POWER
LIBRARY

Department Office

T 902.420.5534

F 902.420.5561

Research Ethics Board Certificate Notice

The Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board has issued an REB certificate related to this thesis. The certificate number is: 10-085 .

A copy of the certificate is on file at:

Saint Mary's University, Archives
Patrick Power Library
Halifax, NS
B3H 3C3

Email: archives@smu.ca
Phone: 902-420-5508
Fax: 902-420-5561

For more information on the issuing of REB certificates, you can contact the Research Ethics Board at 902-420-5728/ ethics@smu.ca .