Voluntourism and its Influence on the Capacity Building of the Host Community: The Case of Ghana

by

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THESIS EXAMINATION COMMITTEE SIGNATURE PAGE

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Department of Recreation & Tourism Management for acceptance, the thesis titled "Voluntourism and its Influence on the Capacity Building of the Host Community: The Case of Ghana" submitted by Kelcie Jessen in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management.

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DECLARATION

This thesis is a product of my own work and is not the result of anything done in collaboration.

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Kelcie Elise Jessen

ABSTRACT

Volunteer tourism, or voluntourism, is a rapidly growing market that has expanded beyond charitable organizations to commercial profit –making companies (Benson, 2010). Since this market is developing at a rapid rate it is important to determine how the host community experiences voluntourism, but the majority of the research on voluntourism has focused on the experiences and motivations of the volunteer (Alexander, 2012; Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Therefore, the benefits and potential harmful outcomes of voluntourism on the host community remain unclear. The purpose of this study was to explore how the host communities experiences voluntourism and to evaluate if voluntourism influences the capacity of the host community.

This case study showcases Ghana, West Africa and used two locations as examples as host communities for voluntourism within the country. The Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (WCHS) in the Upper West Region and the town of Busua in the Western region provide two different examples of how the host community experiences and interacts with volunteers.

Ten in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted in each location, and were then transcribed and put through a qualitative analysis. Findings suggested that the type of volunteer organization that entered the community and a high level of community involvement in the volunteer project had the most influence on the capacity that was built. Long-term volunteers with a high level of community involvement developed more community capacity than organizations with shorter-term volunteers and limited community involvement.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Voluntourism Industry

There is a need to study volunteer tourism, or voluntourism, as it is a rapidly growing market that has expanded beyond charitable organizations to commercial profit –making companies (Benson, 2010). According to Tourism Research and Marketing (TRAM, 2008) voluntourism is estimated to attract 1.6 million volunteer tourists a year, and is valued at US$1.66 – US$2.6 billion dollars (as cited in Benson & Wearing, 2012). The increasing popularity of the industry is reflected on the websites of many volunteer organizations. For example, International Volunteer Headquarters (IVHQ) states, "26, 851 volunteers placed abroad since 2007,"("IVHQ, n.d.," para 1), and Cross Cultural Solutions (CCS) states, "since 1995, we've made the volunteer abroad experience of a lifetime possible for over 30,000 international adventurers just like you" ("About CCS," 2013).

This constantly growing market is diverse in the types of projects available and the types of people it targets. Volunteers can be anyone from students, families, and individuals to the corporate market, and these people can engage in a wide variety of projects that range from social issues to environmental issues to education (Benson, 2010). The majority of the projects offered by volunteer organizations are centered on social issues, such as providing education, health care, HIV/Aids awareness, and providing safe drinking water ("CCS Volunteer Opportunities," 2013; "Planeterra Social Solutions," 2013; "Volunteer in Ghana," 2013). However, it remains unclear how the

host communities are experiencing this expanding industry and the projects that come with it (Benson, 2010).

Volunteers and Host Communities

The majority of the research on voluntourism has focused on the experiences and motivations of the volunteer (Alexander, 2012; Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Voluntourism providers, whose business relies on recruiting volunteers, also have to ensure that their clients have a safe and enjoyable experience in order to gain enough profit to sustain their business. Therefore, they market their projects more towards the volunteers than the host community. For example, several volunteer organizations websites use the term "meaningful" when describing a project and they state how a volunteer can "change the world" or "make a real impact." Organizations like CCS, International Student Volunteers (ISV), and Planeterra go on to describe the projects as "designed by the community" or they use "sustainable community initiatives" which tell the reader that their volunteer work will make a meaningful impact in the community ("About CCS," 2013; "International Student Volunteers [ISV]," 2011; "Planeterra Projects," 2013; "Volunteer in Ghana," 2013).

All these marketing strategies leave the future volunteer with a good feeling about the organizations and what they do, but they also give the impression that the local residents need to be saved. CCS states in its section about Ghana that:

> Malnutrition, disease, and the large economic divide between well-paid workers and low-paid workers have all posed significant obstacles to Ghana's progress. As a volunteer in Ghana, you'll have an opportunity to effect real social change

in a community dealing with all of the growing pains experienced by a region in flux. ("CCS Ghana," 2013, para 2)

However, none of the websites mention the impact on the host community specifically, which may leave the future volunteers assuming that their volunteer work will be beneficial to the host community. Currently, there is very little research on the impacts of voluntourism on the host community (Benson, 2010). There is only a small amount of literature that takes a critical approach to examining voluntourism (Gray & Campbell, 2007; Guttentag, 2009; McGehee & Andereck, 2008; Simpson, 2004; Sin, 2010). Therefore, the benefits and potential harmful outcomes of voluntourism on the host community remain unclear.

Capacity Building in Voluntourism

The main focus of this research will be on how residents of the host community experience volunteers and if the volunteer work influences the capacity building within the host community. Capacity building is defined as the development and knowledge, so that an individual or organization can sustain itself in the long term. Capacity allows for individuals and organizations to recognize and address issues and adapt to changes in the environment (Ubels, Acquay-Baddoo, & Fowler, 2010a).

Capacity building and the voluntary sector are closely linked. It can be used to build the capacity of organizations, volunteers, and communities in order to increase efficiency, skills and knowledge (Craig, 2007; Humphries, Gomez, & Hartwig, 2011). Building community capacity involves emphasizing a community's existing strengths and abilities, and developing those in a sustainable way over time (Frank & Smith, 1999). Capacity building in voluntourism often takes place in a social context, which is

reflected in the projects offered by volunteer organizations. The most prevalent projects include providing education, health care, HIV/Aids awareness, and providing safe drinking water ("CCS Volunteer Opportunities," 2013; "Planeterra Social Solutions," 2013; "Volunteer in Ghana," 2013). A large part of finding solutions to these social issues is through building the capacity of the community.

Several of the volunteer organizations previously cited earlier in this chapter do not mention capacity building initiatives within the host community in their project descriptions, but will have sections of their websites dedicated to sustainable or responsible tourism ("CCS Our Approach," 2013; "IVHQ Responsible Volunteering," n.d.; "Planeterra Sustainable Tourism 101," 2013). For example, CCS does state, "sustainability means that if, for whatever reason, CCS no longer had a presence in a particular community, the local partners would still have the means and ability to operate and sustain themselves because they have not built dependencies on international volunteers" ("CCS Measuring Impact," 2013, para 3). This statement represents the main goal of capacity building. However, the role of the volunteers as stated in their project descriptions, as with the project descriptions from many other organizations, do not allow for this type of capacity building to occur. For example, the following description comes from one of CCS's project opportunities in Ghana:

> One of the biggest impacts volunteers have in the area of education in Ghana is increasing attendance. In the Volta Region, many children work in the sugar cane fields or fishing near the water. When volunteers are present to help teach children, parents feel that there is an added value in sending their child to school. This in turn leads to children receiving a more thorough education, and

ultimately, opening themselves to future opportunities. ("CCS Ghana

Opportunities," 2013, para 2)

While this describes the children being able to have further opportunities, the description

does not mention an end goal for the project, as CCS's Impact Statement would suggest

is necessary to decrease dependency on outside sources. The above project description

demonstrates that there will always be children to teach, so volunteers will always be

needed. Furthermore the description states that the biggest influence volunteers have on

education is increasing attendance, rather than capacity building activities such as

developing existing skills and knowledge.

The Current Study

Voluntourism requires further investigation primarily because of the lack of

knowledge on how it impacts the host community, specifically how it impacts the

capacity of the host community. This is especially important given the ever-increasing

size of the industry in the developing nations within the Global South. The purpose of

this study was to explore how the host community experiences voluntourism, both the

volunteers and the projects, and evaluate the extent to which voluntourism influences the

capacity of the host community. The research will be guided by these two main

objectives:

1. To document and evaluate how local residents experience voluntourism within

   the WCHS and the town of Busua.

2. To assess if, and in what ways, voluntourism contributes to building the capacity

   of local residents in the host communities using Kaplan's (2000) capacity

   building model of the Elements of an Organizational Life.

Research Context

This research took place in Ghana, West Africa throughout May 2013. The two locations chosen for this study included the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (WCHS) located in the Upper West region, and the town of Busua located in the Western region. Figure 1 shows these locations on a map of Ghana.

Figure 1 Map of Ghana (United Nations, 2005) with Busua and Wechiau

Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary

This research included the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (WCHS) in the Upper West region of Ghana. The Upper West region of Ghana is located in the northwestern part of the country in the guinea savannah vegetation belt. Grasses as well as Shea and Baobab trees characterize the landscape. The weather is very hot and can reach past 40 degrees Celsius during the dry season. Agriculture is the dominant occupation in the region. Along with the other northern regions, the Upper West is one of the poorest regions within Ghana ("Modern Ghana Upper West Region," 2013). The Upper West is considered a traditional region that exhibits traditional dwellings and compounds ("Ghana Tourism Authority [GTA] Upper West Region," 2011). The Capital of the region is Wa, which is located 740km from the capital of Ghana, Accra ("Ministry of Tourism Upper West," 2008).

The WCHS is located an hour away from the region's capital, Wa ("GTA Wechiau Hippo Sanctuary," 2011), and is known for its hippopotamus reserve that was developed and is run by the community. The WCHS demonstrates a grass-roots model of conservation that has integrated poverty alleviation into the conservation model (Sheppard et al., 2010; Calgary Zoo, n.d.). Figure 2 shows a map of the WCHS and the 17 communities it encompasses. The hippo sanctuary has protected a 34km area along Black Volta River that separates Ghana from Burkina Faso. The protected area is divided into two zones. The core zone includes hippo feeding areas, forest and flood plain where hunting, farming and fishing are prohibited. The development zone contains human settlement and farmland (Sheppard et al., 2010).
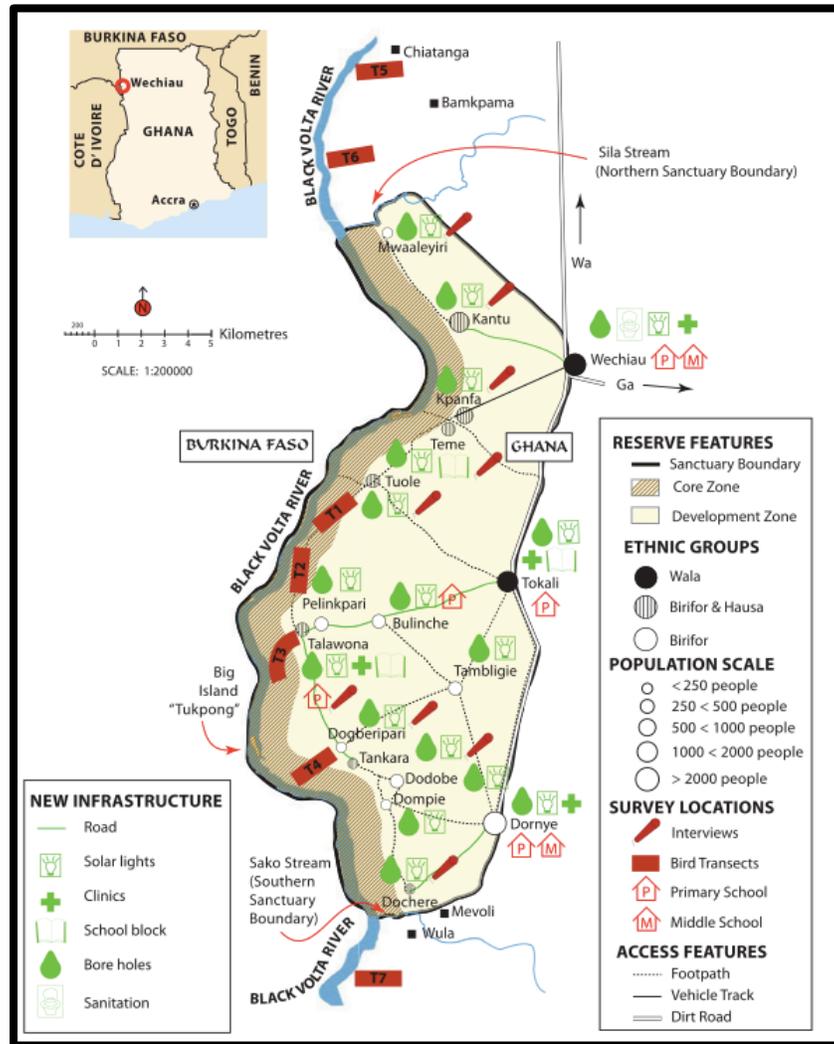
Figure 2 Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (Sheppard et al., 2010)

Since conservation in the sanctuary is controlled by the locals, it has allowed for tourism in the region to be highly controlled by the community as well, which means that local residents within the sanctuary provide and run the tourism activities, rather than external tourism providers. Tourism in Wechiau has increased 110.8% per year since 1999. The sanctuary went from 17 visitors in 1999 to 1856 visitors in 2007. In 2004 when the sanctuary was included in guidebooks, tourism increased 93.2% from the previous year. The majority of visitors are international volunteers and tourists who

come to visit the hippopotami (WCHS Visitor Satisfaction Survey, 2007). The sanctuary is also a great place for bird watching, with over 200 different species ("GTA Wechiau Hippo Sanctuary," 2011).

Tourist activities are booked through the tourism center in Wechiau, and then tourists are taken to Talawona, which is 10 kilometers away, by a sanctuary tour guide. Talawona has a visitor's lodge where tourists can spend the night, and it also has access to the Black Volta River for the river safaris and hippo viewing. Wechiau also has accommodations for visitors, as there is a homestay. Wechiau is also a common place for visitors to buy food and water from the street vendors or the weekly market.

Currently, there are no volunteers in the WCHS, but the Peace Corp came to the WCHS to help with the establishment of the sanctuary. The volunteers stayed for about 6 years. Earthwatch was also in the WCHS from 2000 to 2004 to do research on the plant and animal species in the sanctuary.

Busua

Busua is located within the Western Region. The Western region of Ghana is located in the southwestern part of the country, approximately 218km from Accra ("Ministry of Tourism Western Region," 2008). The Western region has some of the most fertile land in Ghana, so farming of rubber and cocoa is common. Mining for gold and other minerals is also a common occupation in this region. Tourists can also arrange for a tour of the farms and some of the mines. The most popular tourist attractions are the tours of the forts and castles along the coastline, as well as pristine beaches. In addition, there is a stilt village and a crocodile pond that are popular with tourists ("GTA Western Region," 2011).

Located along an expanse of a beautiful sandy beach, Busua is a popular

destination for tourists. It is located 5km from Dixcove, which has an old castle that is

popular with tourists. Tourists can stay at the Busua Beach Resort, or many of the other

beach front accommodations ("GTA Busua," 2011). The majority of the beachfront

property is made up of lodges, hotels, and restaurants for tourists. The locals largely live

in the western part of the town and have a section on the beach near the river mouth for

their fishing boats. The main road that runs from the Busua Beach Resort to the western

most part of town is full of vendors that sell food, fabric, phone credit, and

pharmaceuticals that both local residents and tourists make use of. It is considered to be

one of the safest areas along the coast for water activities, such as surfing ("Ghana West

Coast Busua," 2010).

Currently, there are three volunteer organizations based within Busua. Black Star

Development runs a volunteer program called Surf and Shine. There is also an

organization called Teach on the Beach (TOB), which is largely run by locals, as well as

Embracing Hidden Talents (EHT) Network, which is run through the Slovenian NGO,

Humanitas. These organizations mainly focus on educating students within the

community ("Black Star Development [BSD]," 2010; "Embracing Hidden Talents

[EHT] Network," 2013; "Teach on the Beach [TOB]," 2012).

Traditional Governance

Chieftaincy is common throughout Ghana, and has been prior to and throughout

colonization by the British in the 1900s (Owusu-Yeboah, 2010). In this case, Chiefs

govern both Busua and the WCHS. Traditionally, Chiefs control the land, which is then

shared with the community. There is a communal system of living within the

chieftaincies as family ties are strong and wealth of individuals is shared amongst extended families (Owusu-Yeboah, 2010). Currently, challenges such as disputes over succession, globalization, poverty, and the national government's desire to control all state affairs have posed a threat to the chieftaincy system (Boafo-Arthur, 2003). Therefore, governance within Ghana is a blend of traditional and modern politics. Boafo-Arthur (2003) suggests that in order for the chieftaincy system to survive, Chiefs must take a stronger role in the development and poverty reduction within their traditional areas, as well as collaborate with the regional government to reach these goals.

Outline of the Thesis

This section explains the upcoming chapters in this thesis along with a brief description of the content in each chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter describes where voluntourism fits in relation to mass forms of tourism and sustainability. Volunteer tourists and common voluntourism destinations are also discussed. In addition, capacity building is discussed and Kaplan's (2000) Elements of an Organizational life are explained. Finally, capacity building is discussed within the voluntourism paradigm.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter describes how the researcher collected data in Ghana. Research preparations are explained as well as how the research chose the sample and worked with a translator. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to collect how local

residents experienced voluntourism. Finally, a general inductive approach was used to analyze the data.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter discusses the results of the general inductive qualitative analysis. The volunteer organizations that participants were involved in are discussed. In addition, four dominant themes emerged from the analysis including, Capacity Building, Conflicts, Host Community Control, and the Need for Volunteers.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This chapter discusses the results using Kaplan's (2000) Elements of an Organizational Life to assess whether voluntourism influenced the capacity of the host community. Results found that the type of volunteer organization along with local involvement influenced the capacity of the host community. Concluding remarks are then made.

Summary

Due to the rapid expansion of the voluntourism industry along with minimal research of the host community (Benson 2010; Benson 2012), it is necessary to build an understanding of how the host community is influenced by voluntourism. This will fill the gap in the literature as well as inform practitioners in the voluntourism industry on how volunteers and volunteer projects influence the host community. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to document and evaluate how local residents experience voluntourism within the WCHS and the town of Busua, and to assess if, and in what ways, voluntourism contributes to building the capacity of local residents in the host

communities using Kaplan's (2000) capacity building model of the Elements of an Organizational Life.

This study uses 2 examples of voluntourism within Ghana, West Africa, including the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary and the town of Busua. The following chapter will go into describe current research in voluntourism, as well as capacity building with a focus on nations in the global south, specifically African countries and Ghana.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 2 introduces voluntourism by examining how it evolved from mass tourism and how sustainability fits into the mass tourism and alternative tourism paradigms. The chapter then goes into detail about who engages in volunteer tourism and what their motivations are, which is where most research on voluntourism has been conducted (Alexander, 2012; Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Voluntourism is a common occurrence in the nations of the global south, particularly in areas that are popular with tourists (Keese, 2011; Sin, 2009). However, it is unknown whether these host communities in the global south are benefitting from voluntourism (Guttentag, 2009; Simpson, 2004).

For this reason, this research is assessing whether voluntourism influences the capacity of the host community. Chapter 2 goes into detail about what capacity building is and gives the descriptions of two capacity building models: Kaplan's (2000) Elements of an Organizational Life, and the European Center for Development Policy Management (ECDPM, 2008)'s 5 Capabilities. Capacity building is then discussed within the voluntourism paradigm and how it may actually be encouraging a neo-colonial attitude.

Mass Tourism Versus Alternative Tourism

Mass tourism is the most common form of tourism, as it is a commodity that is easily purchased that gives the tourist an experience away from their day-to-day life (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). In contrast to traditional mass tourism, alternative tourism is characterized by high rates of local ownership, minimal negative and social impacts, maximized economic benefits for the local economy, localized power sharing, and local

control over tourism development (Holden, 2000). Alternative tourism incorporates concepts such as community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism and community-based conservation as these concepts are approaches to tourism that seek to be more sustainable than mass tourism (Benson, 2005; Richards & Hall, 2000; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). A conceptual schema for alternative tourism is shown in figure 3. The schema demonstrates where alternative forms of tourism fit relative to mass tourism, and it also allows for the overlap of tourism niche markets (Wearing & McGehee, 2013).
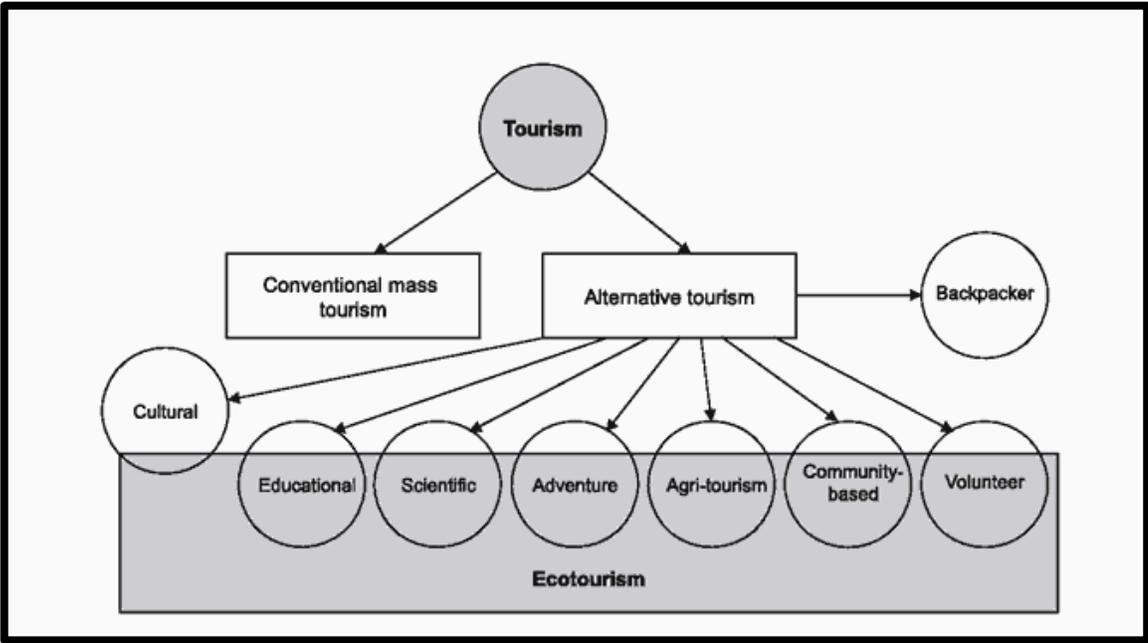
Figure 3 A Conceptual Schema of Alternative Tourism (Wearing & McGehee, 2013, p. 25 adapted from Mieczkowski, 1995, p. 459)

Sustainability in Tourism

Alternative tourism can be defined as "a radical form of sustainable tourism" (Wearing & McGehee, 2013, p.1). It is often seen as a more sustainable form of tourism

as it ensures that the needs of the host community are met, culturally and economically, while maintaining the integrity of the environment and providing an enjoyable experience for tourists (Sustainable Development in Tourism, UNWTO, 2005; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Central to the concept of sustainability in tourism is the host community (Richards & Hall, 2000). For example, according to Dernoi (1988) and Sofeild (2003) community-based tourism aims to promote cross-cultural understanding between the tourists and the host community as well as to empower the host community to manage their own resources in order to sustain their future (as cited in Wearing and Grabowski, 2011). Interaction with the local community is the foundation of community-based tourism where members of the local community offer private accommodation for visitors. Community-based tourism has the potential to provide sustainable development to the community (Wearing, 2001).

However, it is important to note that sustainable practices are entering mass tourism as well. Tourism is now being used as a tool for sustainable development and poverty alleviation by working to achieve the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) ("About UNWTO," n.d.; Benson, Tilbury, & Wickens, 2012). In addition, in 1999, the UNWTO came up with the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which states ten principles that cover the sustainable components (economic, social, cultural, and environmental) of travel and tourism. Its main aim is to promote responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism (UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, 1999, p.1).

Volunteer Tourism

Voluntourism is a form of alternative tourism that involves volunteer work that typically involves environmental conservation and poverty alleviation, during a vacation or holiday. In contrast to mass tourism, voluntourism provides adventures off the beaten track and more interaction with the local people (Krippendorf, 1987; Wearing, 2001). It also has roots in ecotourism, which places a higher emphasis on environmental conservation that other forms of tourism (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). This is also demonstrated in figure 3. Voluntourism, like other forms of alternative tourism, evolved in contrast to traditional mass tourism. Instead, it often occurs within rural communities that are marginalized or threatened (Benson & Wearing, 2012).

Voluntourism aims to resolve social issues, like poverty, by including stakeholders that are often excluded in mass tourism, such as the host community, allowing for more collaboration between the local residents and tourism providers and encouraging community-based approaches to solving issues (Benson & Wearing, 2012; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). It is assumed that voluntourism is more beneficial, especially to the host community, than mass tourism because it incorporates values of alternative tourism, such as concern for social and environmental issues that mass tourism has contributed to and largely ignored (Benson, 2010; Callanan & Thomas, 2005; Wearing & Grabowski, 2011).

Currently, it is being argued that voluntourism, along with other forms of alternative tourism, are becoming just as mainstream and commodified as traditional mass tourism (Butler, 1990; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). The host community is an important part of the voluntourism experience, but the connection between the volunteer

tourists and the community may disappear if voluntourism becomes just another commodity to be packaged and consumed (Wearing & McGehee, 2013).

Volunteer Tourists

The majority of volunteer tourists come from Western industrialized nations and are usually in a transitional period in their life, so they have the time and money to volunteer internationally (Benson & Wearing, 2012). These types of tourists are looking for adventures off the beaten track and for more interaction with the local people. These types of tourists seek knowledge about the places they travel and the people they meet (Krippendorf, 1987). Volunteer tourists typically volunteer for a period of less than four weeks and the majority of projects they take part in involve cultural development, where the volunteer takes away cultural knowledge at the end of the experience (Callanan & Thomas, 2005).

Volunteers are typically gap year students (Benson, 2010; Simpson, 2004) from the ages of 18 – 25 (Wearing, 2001). This is also reflected in how volunteer organizations market to potential volunteers. For example, Volunteering in Africa (2013) is looking for volunteers aged 16 to 70 from any background and skill level. Similarly, Cross Cultural Solutions (CCS) will take any and all skill levels and markets to anyone over the age of 18, but will let children as young as 8 volunteer with parental consent. CCS also has a High School program for ages 15 - 17 ("CCS FAQ," 2013). Another organization, International Volunteer HQ markets to anyone over the age of 18 and does not state any specific skill requirement other than the ability to speak a bit of the local language, but this is only for certain projects ("IVHQ Projects," n.d.). It is

apparent through these examples that volunteer organizations are not exclusive and will take anyone and everyone.

Motivations of Volunteer Tourists

The majority of the literature on voluntourism has focused on the experiences and motivations of the volunteers and has portrayed an optimistic view of voluntourism (Alexander, 2012; Barbieri et al, 2012; Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). People who volunteer abroad often volunteer abroad do so for altruistic reasons, such as the desire to help others, but also to further their self-development (Gage & Thapa, 2012; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Simpson, 2004). Altruistic motivations, such as the desire to give or to help people in need, are significant motivating factors to volunteer abroad (Brown, 2005; Grusky, 2000; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). In addition, volunteers may experience self-development such as a decrease in depression and anxiety, an increase in trust and adventurousness, as well as connections with other volunteers and community members (Brown, 2005; Alexander, 2012).

Voluntourism in the Global South

There is a disproportionate amount of volunteer based projects in the global south. Keese (2011) reviewed volunteer opportunities on volunteerabroad.com and found that Latin America, Asia, and Africa are the most popular with over 1000 projects listed for each of those destinations. Further, more developed nations like the Middle East, Russia, and Pacific countries like Australia have less than 200 projects combined (Keese, 2011). This is reflected in figure 4, which shows examples from additional voluntourism websites that indicate where their volunteer programs are distributed

worldwide. This is to further emphasize the disproportionate amount of projects in the global south.

Figure 4 Example of Volunteer Project Distributions ("IVHQ Programs," n.d.; "CCS Destinations," 2013; "Planeterra Projects," 2013)

Volunteer tourists are attracted to these destinations because they are often in warm, exotic locations in close proximity to tourist attractions, and this is an important component of the voluntourism experience (Bebbington, 2004; Keese, 2011; Sin, 2009). The voluntourism industry targets these locations in order to provide the dual purpose of

helping people in need and creating an enjoyable experience (Keese, 2011). For example, International Student Volunteer (ISV) offers a standard 4 week volunteer and adventure program that includes 2 weeks of volunteer work and a 2 week adventure tour at any destination ("ISV Programs," 2011). However, communities that are closer to tourist attractions are not necessarily the ones that are in the most need of volunteers, but volunteer organizations do not typically provide projects in remote locations (Keese, 2011). Therefore, one of the primary reasons to volunteer abroad may be to visit an exotic destination or experience something new and exciting. This reason often takes precedence over contributing to the volunteer work being done in a community (Keese, 2011; Sin, 2009).

On the African continent, the majority of projects are located in Sub-Saharan Africa including Ghana, South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. These destinations are also popular with tourists. Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda are known as the 'safari belt' countries. Within South Africa alone, Cape Town contains the majority of the projects for the entire country because of the high number of tourist attractions within and around the city (Keese, 2011). Ghana, in particular was the first destination for the Peace Corp in 1962. The first group of Peace Corp volunteers travelled to the capital, Accra, to assist with teaching ("Peace Corp History," 2013). Since then, Ghana has become a popular destination for volunteer tourists. All of the volunteer organizations represented in figure 4 show Ghana as a location for voluntourism ("IVHQ Programs," n.d.; "CCS Destinations," 2013; "Planeterra Projects," 2013).

Capacity Building

Ubels et al. (2010a) defined capacity as, "the ability of a human system to perform, sustain itself and self- renew" (p. 4). Capacity building includes the development of people, skills, knowledge, abilities, wellness, supportive infrastructure, economic resources and leadership (Frank & Smith, 1999; Ubels et al., 2010a). Capacity building can be done by governments, NGOs or locally run community-based organizations (CBOs), which are largely funded by donors, within the nations of the Global South (Rajani, 2010; ECDPM, 2008). These organizations usually work within a local community towards a specific goal (Ubels, 2010). Typically, capacity is built through the use of workshops and seminars that deliver the certain skills and knowledge in order to reach that goal. Ideally, capacity is built within the local community so that residents can carry on after the organization leaves or the project is completed (Ubels, 2010; Yachkaschi, 2010; Ubels, van Klinken, & Visser, 2010c).

Elements of Capacity Building

Capacity building is about creating lasting changes and solving real-life issues that impact the lives those in poverty. These impacts can be tangible, like reaching a development goal, or intangible, like how people see themselves. Capacity often deals with building relationships, and distributing or diffusing power among these relationships. There are multiple elements to capacity that are dependent on the situation (Ubels, Fowler, & Acquaye-Baddoo, 2010b). Kaplan (2000) developed a hierarchy of elements that an organization, or community, needs to have in order to build capacity for the long term. Table 1 summarizes these elements.

Similarly, the European Center for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) came up with five core capabilities required to build capacity. However, unlike Kaplan's elements, these five core capabilities do not form a hierarchy, as many of theses capabilities overlap and are interrelated (Fowler & Ubels, 2010). These capabilities apply to organizations, communities, institutions, individuals and donors that all want to create sustained capacity in order to develop.

Table 1 Elements of an Organizational Life (Kaplan, 2000)

Element	Description
1) A Conceptual Framework	- A prerequisite for building capacity - An understanding of how the organization currently works and where it wants to go
2) Organizational Attitude	Confidence to change and act efficiently
3) Vision and Strategy	- Generate and implement a plan of action - Adapt to changes
4) Organizational Structure	- Clearly defined roles - Transparent decision making procedures
5) Acquisition of Skills	- Development of individual abilities and skills - Organizational capacity must be sufficient in order for individual capacities to last
6) Material Resources	Organization must need resources such as finances, equipment etc. in order to sustain capacity

The first capability is to be able to commit and engage. This means an organization, or community, must feel empowered and confident to create change. This is similar to Kaplan's (2000) second element, an organizational attitude. The second capability is to carry out technical, service delivery, and logistical tasks, which means that a community has to be able to implement a plan in order to reach its development goal. This capability would fall under Kaplan's (2000) third and fourth elements, vision and strategy, and organizational structure, where an organization must first have a goal they want to achieve, and then an organizational structure in place that will allow the organization to reach that goal.

Thirdly, a community has to be able to relate and attract resources and support. This capability requires the community to network and collaborate with others, and to allocate resources in order to gain capacity. This is represented in Kaplan's (2000) fifth element, the acquisition of skills. Kaplan differentiates between the organization's capacity (Kaplan's organizational structure) and the individual's capacity (Kaplan's acquisition of skills). The organizational structure must strong in order for the capacity of the individuals within the organization to be sustained. However, the ECDPM model refers to the community gaining capacity as a whole through the networking process and can be sustained through the allocation of resources (ECDPM, 2008). Under Kaplan's (2000) model the allocation of resources, referred to as material resources, occurs as the very last step of the capacity building hierarchy. Therefore, the ECDPM model is more flexible as it allows for the capacity building procedure to return to previous elements as needed.

The fourth capability is to adapt and self-renew because a community needs to be able to effectively manage changes in order to solve or avoid problems. Finally, the fifth

capability is that the community must be able to balance coherence and diversity. This means that while capacity is being developed and goals are being reached, the community has to balance new innovations with becoming developmentally stable (ECDPM, 2008).

Role of Kaplan in this Thesis. According to Ubels and Fowler (2010), Kaplan's Elements of an Organizational Life is one of the leading capacity building models. Therefore, Kaplan's model will be used in this discussion of the findings (See Chapter 5). It clearly outlines the core elements of capacity, which are present and supported in other leading capacity models such as the ECDPM's (2008) 5 Capabilities and Moscardo's (2008) model for capacity building for tourism. The purpose of this study was to assess whether voluntourism had any influence on the capacity of the host community, so the results of the study were applied to Kaplan's model because it clearly demonstrates which elements were influenced by voluntourism and which ones were not. Kaplan's model also allows for an adequate comparison between the WCHS and Busua to the core principles of capacity building.

Kaplan's Elements of an Organizational Life was developed to with a focus on international development. It emphasizes the need to engage smaller level organizations in capacity development, such as community-based organizations. Kaplan believes that the actions of the practitioner in the field and local level capacity building are more important in sustaining capacity than the development of policies and workshops (Kaplan, 2000). Therefore, Kaplan's model can easily be applied to voluntourism as volunteers are the practitioners of the volunteer organizations and their actions and projects often deal with capacity building. For this research, it is important to note that Kaplan's model is a western model that has been applied to a non-western context and

does not account for differences in cultural and traditional structures. However, the researcher felt it was an appropriate model to use given the clarity of the elements and the ease to which it was applied to voluntourism.

Capacity Building for the Volunteer

Volunteers bring their own individual capacity, which includes skills, knowledge and motivations, into the host community, and this capacity affects whether the volunteer will meet the project goals in an effective manner (Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008). In addition to marketing a "meaningful" experience, volunteer organizations state how volunteering can help personal development as well. For example, Volunteering in Africa states how volunteering can, "make your CV shine as well as offering you the opportunity in acquiring a valuable work experience in an African country and putting into use your creative skills" ("Volunteer in Ghana," 2013). ISV also offers academic credit to students who volunteer ("About ISV," 2011). Volunteers also gain more skills that go beyond formal education, such as social capital and open-mindedness, which have furthered the growth of the volunteer (Alexander, 2012; Jones, 2010). Volunteer organizations often recruit volunteers with any skill level. For example, Volunteering in Africa (2013) states on its website that, "people without special skills, professional qualifications, academic knowledge or previous experience can volunteer in some of our programs in Ghana" (para. 3).

Volunteering may be a good way for individuals to learn and practice new skills and knowledge (Sherraden et al., 2008), but educational benefits can be one-sided, as the host community may not gain as many valuable skills from the volunteers (Simpson, 2005). This is because unskilled volunteers offer few advantages for the host community

and are a potential liability (Dumélie et al., 2006). This can also undermine the host community's ability to gain its own capacity volunteers end up doing much of the work that could be done by the local residents themselves (Rehnstrom, 2000).

Future capacity development within the host community needs to become more professional if efforts are to be long lasting (Ubels et al., 2010b). Therefore, unskilled volunteers do not have the professional knowledge or expertise to build the capacity of a community. Instead, having a local capacity developer who knows the local languages and cultural sensitivities, has local networks and is recognized by the local community, and may have better connections with, or influence over local decision makers, may be more beneficial to sustaining a community's capacity (Ubels et al., 2010b).

Capacity Building, Voluntourism and the Colonial Legacy

Capacity building within the Global South may seem like a well-intentioned thing to do; however, it is full of issues that can be corruptive, unsustainable or ineffective. Voluntourism is sometimes referred to a new form of colonialism because volunteers travel abroad to work in a community they can take on the role of the 'expert' regardless of any experience they may have, and this reinforces neo-colonial attitudes of western superiority (Raymond & Hall, 2008). This assumed role gives authority to the volunteer and takes away responsibilities from the host community (Sin, 2010). When NGOs or voluntourists take on the role of the expert and contribute work based on their own opinions of what is best for the community, this is known as the demonstration effect (Guttentag, 2009; Huttasin, 2008). The demonstration effect occurs when Western voluntourists model a way of life, often emphasizing material values, that is often viewed as superior to the way of life of the host community (Simpson, 2004). This

marginalizes and disempowers the host community and allows the continuation of the 'better off' providing assistance to the 'worse off' (Sin, 2010; Sin, 2009). This can also lead the host community to be dependent on volunteers in order to maintain their way of life and hinders the community's own efforts in poverty reduction (Sin, 2010; Sin, 2009).

When a community is dependent on voluntourism, knowledge, money, and values from outside the community are often preferred over the resources within the community. This impedes the community's efforts towards self-sufficiently and has encouraged a culture of begging (Guttentag, 2009; Sin, 2010; Sin, 2009; Wearing, 2001). For example, incentives are often provided to local residents for engaging in capacity building workshops, but this can have a corrupting effect because residents may come for the incentives and not work towards the capacity building goal (Rajani, 2010). This dependency further emphasizes the dichotomy between the developed global north and the developing global south.

The assumption that the global north is superior to the global south places the global north in a powerful authoritative position that is responsible for the dependent global south, and therefore, has the right and the ability to aid the global south (Simpson, 2004; Sin, 2010). However, in order for capacity development to be effective, it has to take place internally, or within the community, so that is does not remain dependent on external expertise (Rajani, 2010; Ubels, 2010; Ubels et al., 2010c; Yachkaschi, 2010). ECDPM (2008) states, "external interveners can only facilitate capacity development indirectly by proving access to new resources, ideas, connections, and opportunities. While they can support and nurture different styles of local leadership, they cannot substitute for it, nor drive the process" (p. 3).

Voluntourism allows for interaction between different cultures. Although this has been represented in the majority of the literature as a positive outcome of voluntourism, as it allows for the building of relationships and cultural understanding (Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007), cultural interaction can lead to misunderstandings and the reproduction of existing stereotypes (Guttentag, 2009; Raymond & Hall, 2008; Sin, 2010). NGOs and donors may have their own ideas and plans that may conflict with the local community's culture or their own development plans. Furthermore, these plans may be put on a constrained timeline in order to please donors, but this often does not create a lasting change (Craig, 2007; Yachkaschi, 2010). Once again, this demonstrates the neo-colonial attitude of Western expertise being superior, and also the superiority of Western culture (Raymond & Hall, 2008).

Summary

Since voluntourism is rapidly expanding and becoming a packaged commodity (Benson, 2010; Wearing & McGeheee, 2013), it is becoming increasingly important to understand how the host communities experience voluntourism. The destination of volunteer projects and the type of volunteers that engage in voluntourism all influence the host community, but it is unknown to what extent (Benson, 2012). Further, capacity building of the host community through voluntourism may be ineffective as volunteers are outsiders to the host community (Rajani, 2010; Ubels, 2010; Ubels et al., 2010c; Yachkaschi, 2010). For this research, to assess the influence of voluntourism on capacity building of the host community the researcher compared interview data to Kaplan's (2000) Elements of an Organizational Life (See Table 1). This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

This chapter discusses the methods used in the case study of voluntourism in Ghana, West Africa. It outlines the procedures used in data collection that aim to further understand how the host community experiences voluntourism and if voluntourism influences the capacity of the community. Chapter 2 described effective capacity building through voluntourism depends on the volunteer's own capacity they bring into the community (Sherraden et al., 2008), but whether volunteers have the skills to build the capacity of the host community is still up for debate (Ubels et al., 2010b). Whilst there is minimal work on volunteering and communities, previous research on voluntourism is largely qualitative, so to stay in line with other academic work in voluntourism (Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Sin, 2009; Sin, 2010), this case study uses in depth semi-structured interviews, and qualitative analysis to gain more understanding on how the host communities' experience voluntourism.

Qualitative Case Study

The majority of the research on voluntourism thus far has been qualitative in nature, although it has had a strong focus on the volunteers rather than the host community (Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Sin, 2009; Sin, 2010). Therefore, this thesis will take the same approach by interviewing local residents. Other authors have included both qualitative and quantitative methods to describe the motivations and experiences of volunteers (Alexander, 2012; Coghlan, 2003). McGehee and Anderek (2009) surveyed local residents in Tijuana, Mexico in order to get a better understanding of their attitudes towards voluntourism. Their findings indicated the complexity of

voluntourism and it's influence within the host community. While McGehee and Anderek (2009) established a better surface understanding of the host community, a deeper understanding of how the residents experience voluntourism is needed.

Qualitative research was used in this study because it is explorative and allows the researcher to see different angles on the same issue, and therefore, a deeper understanding and knowledge of the issue was gained throughout the research process (Diefenbach, 2009). Since there is little understanding of how the host community experiences and is impacted by voluntourism (Benson, 2012), it was necessary to contribute to filling the gap in the literature by exploring the topic in depth. This research can also inform practitioners in the voluntourism industry of how the host community experiences volunteer projects, and will provide insight on how to improve or preserve the volunteer-community relationship.

Qualitative research also allows for cultural sensitivity, which is especially important given the context of the research (Liamputtong, 2010). Qualitative research allows the researcher to, "capture lived experiences of the social world and the meanings people give these experiences from their own perspective" (Corti & Thompson, 2004, p. 297). It is important to be culturally sensitive when doing cross-cultural research as it develops a sense of trust between the researcher and host community and this leads to data that more strongly represents how the culture experiences the area of study (Liamputtong, 2010).

On Location

This qualitative case study includes two examples of voluntourism within Ghana. These examples come from the WCHS and Busua. Further information on the

context of this study can be found in chapter 1. Upon arrival to the first destination, the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (WCHS), the researcher spent two weeks with the Vancouver Island University Ghana Research and Study Tour (GRST). The GRST has gone to the WCHS every year since 2011 to research the benefits and sacrifices of the sanctuary on the 17 communities within the sanctuary's boundaries ("VIU in Africa WCHS Research," 2013).

The researcher attended the GRST for several reasons: 1) to gain approval from the Chief to do research in the community, 2) to gain connections in the community so that the local residents were familiar with the researcher, 3) to practice cross-cultural research in the field prior to data collection, and 4) to ensure that the research questions were culturally relevant and could be translated effectively into the local dialect.

The research training in the WCHS was helpful when transitioning to the second location, Busua. This was the first year that the GRST conducted research in Busua, but it had briefly visited the community the year before. During that year, the supervisor of the GRST (also the researcher's supervisor) and a student, who also attended the 2013 GRST as a research assistant to the supervisor, made connections within the community. These connections were then shared with the researcher upon arrival to Busua. This connection was a key informant, who has experience with volunteers and assisted the researcher in Busua. While permission to conduct research in Busua was approved by Vancouver Island University's Research Ethics Board (VIU REB), local permission to conduct research in the community was granted by the Chairman of the Town Tourism and Development Committee (TTDC), who was also acting as the Chief of the community.

Sample

The interviews were comprised of a purposive sample of members of the host community who were deliberately chosen based on suitability and availability. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to select participations based on their relevance to the research in order to gain their opinions and experiences on the specific research topic (Boeije, 2002; Gibson & Brown, 2009). Only local residents were interviewed; people from outside the communities' studied (domestically or internationally) were not included in this study. In the WCHS, the participants were selected in consultation with the hippo sanctuary's manger, and both the current and former sanctuary advisors. In Busua, participants were selected in consultation with the researcher and a key informant who has experience with volunteers in the community. In both locations, participants were chosen if they had or currently were involved with volunteer projects, or those who help organize volunteer run projects. The researcher attempted to have a similar sample in both locations. In the WCHS the sample included sanctuary board members, sanctuary staff such as tour guides, rangers, and cooks. In Busua, the sample contained members of the TTDC, local voluntourism operators and staff, teachers, and business people who interacted with volunteers.

Semi-structured Interviews

A total of 21 interviews were conducted in this thesis. 11 interviews were conducted in the WCHS as one of them was used as a practice interview, but yielded valuable information. 10 interviews were conducted in Busua. The questions remained the same for each location (Interview questions are located in Appendix A). As the discussion continued, the researcher probed for more information as certain topics or

themes emerged. Additional questions were added based on the emergent themes. The following are examples of the questions that were asked in the interview:

- Does your community have any control or input on which projects are to be developed by volunteers?

- Have there been any changes in your community because of the volunteers?

- How does your community handle conflicts with volunteers or volunteer organizations?

Interviews were digitally audio recorded with permission of the participant and field notes were also taken in order to ensure no information was missed. The researcher transcribed the interviews into electronic text, and these transcripts were then analyzed. The field notes were used to supplement the recordings during transcription and to provide clarification if the audio recording was difficult to understand.

Translation. Two different translators were needed as the languages differed in the WCHS and Busua. In the WCHS, members of the sanctuary management appointed the translator. The translator was present at every interview. The translator was well known in the community and had previous experience translating for research related projects. This also helped the participants become more comfortable while being interviewed.

In Busua, the majority of the participants spoke English, but a translator was used on a number of occasions. This translator was the key informant who helped determine the sample in Busua. Working with this translator was also helpful with gaining trust within the community, especially since the researcher was in Busua for a shorter period of time than the WCHS.

Interviews took from 20 to 60 minutes each, and the duration of the interview was dependent on translation. This is because interviews took longer if each question and response was translated to the local dialect then back to English.

Data

The data collected were on the experiences of the local residents with voluntourism, including the volunteers and their projects. Broad profile type information on the participants was also collected, such as age, gender, and involvement in community projects for the purposes of learning the context. However, no personal identification (i.e., name) information was collected. However, due to the context of the research, interviews were conducted outdoors. Therefore, it was impossible to hide individuals' participation in the study, and in some cases their responses, so no promise of confidentiality was made. Information that clearly identifies a participant will not be released as per the VIU REB.

Qualitative Analysis

Data was analyzed using qualitative analysis. A general inductive approach was used to find emerging themes from the data and to make comparisons within and between interviews (Boeije, 2002; Thomas, 2003). The researcher plays a strong role in the general inductive approach as analysis and creation of themes is determined by the research objectives, and the researcher's interpretation of the raw data. Therefore, the themes that were generated were the ones that were seen as most relevant, or important, by the researcher (Thomas, 2006).

The general inductive approach is shown in figure 5 and begins with coding the data within the transcripts into as many categories as possible as they emerge from the

data (Thomas, 2006). Generating themes is useful for describing concerns and experiences of the participants in a way that is easy to communicate (Luborsky, 1994). Within the same interview, every statement is read and coded, and statements that fall into the same category are analyzed to determine if the statement represents new information or if it is being repeated. The same process continues with the remaining interviews, with the addition of comparing statements between each of the interviews in order to add them to existing categories or a new category (Boeije, 2002). Categories are then compared and similar categories are integrated (Thomas, 2006).

The researcher began by reading through all the transcripts to determine if there were any main themes. Four dominant themes emerged from this process, these represent the upper level codes, and they were derived by the research objectives (Thomas, 2006). More detail on the themes can be found in the next chapter on page 32. Following the process for inductive coding (Thomas, 2006), using a computer and a word document, the researcher highlighted and color-coded the text from the transcripts, and copied and pasted the text into the appropriate theme. After all the transcribed text was divided into the four main themes, each theme was then analyzed for subthemes. These represent the lower level themes, and are more specific categories within the upper level themes (Thomas, 2006). Subthemes were highlighted and color-coded, then copied and pasted into a new word document under the appropriate subtheme category. There were several statements that fit into more than one subtheme category. For example, a statement about the host communities' ability to resolve conflicts, which would speak to the degree of control the host community has over foreign visitors and projects, could also apply to the capacity building subtheme of skills and knowledge (See Chapter 4 for more detail on themes). When this occurred, the researcher used

symbols to identify which statements were coded more than once and which sub-themes it was under. This process was repeated with each of the main themes, and each of the subthemes until there were no more themes emerging from the data.

Initial reading of text data	Identify specific text segments related to objectives	Label the segments of text to create categories	Reduce overlap and redundancy among the categories	Create a model incorporating most important categories
Many pages of text	Many segments of text	30 to 40 categories	15 to 20 categories	3 to 8 categories
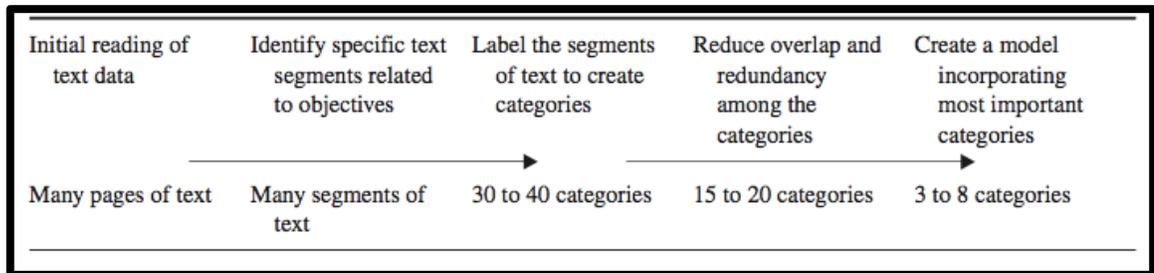
Figure 5 Coding Process in Inductive Analysis (Thomas, 2006, p. 242).

About the Researcher

The researcher is female from a westernized country entering two rural communities in the global south. This was the second time the researcher has visited the African continent, but her first time in Ghana. For this research on voluntourism the researcher was in the WCHS for four weeks and in Busua for two weeks. Although this typically is not long enough to make connections with members of the community, the researcher's co-supervisor has made these connections through her work in the WCHS over the last four years and a past visit to Busua. During the past visit to Busua, the supervisor and another member of the GRST from a previous trip made connections within the community. The researcher was then introduced to these connections upon arrival to Busua.

The researcher has experience with volunteer work domestically and internationally. International volunteer experiences in Thailand and South Africa led her to critically assess the impacts of voluntourism on the host community. The experience

in Thailand was the first exposure to voluntourism, however tourism seemed to be more important on that trip than making a contribution to the community because the project lasted only a few days and resulted in a painted fence and a painted classroom. More volunteer work was done in South Africa, but the researcher was only there for a week and felt that was not a long enough duration to making a meaningful and beneficial impact on the host community. Even though these experiences may not have been the ideal representations of voluntourism, the researcher believes that it still has potential to be a sustainable form of tourism if managed properly.

Summary

To remain consistent with current research in the field (Brown, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Sin, 2009; Sin, 2010), this research is qualitative in nature and used semi-structured in-depth interviews to gain understanding on how the host community experiences voluntourism. A purposive sample was used to obtain participants who had experience with international volunteers in order to get greater detail on how they experienced voluntourism in their community. These experiences were then analyzed using a general inductive approach (Thomas, 2006). Chapter 4 describes the four main themes that emerged from the analysis: Capacity Building, Conflicts, Host Community Control, and the Need for Volunteers.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter outlines the findings of this study that emerged of the qualitative analysis. The results are divided into two sections. The first section describes the participants that are represented in this chapter, as well as the volunteer organizations that the participants were involved in, and what those organizations and volunteers did in the community from the perspective of the local residents. The second section contains the four dominant themes that emerged from the interviews. These themes include: Capacity building, Conflicts, Host Community Control, and the Need for Volunteers.

The capacity building theme incorporates any capacity building activities that occurred through international volunteer-based projects or through the development of an international volunteer-based project. The conflict theme describes any issues or problems that local residents encountered with the volunteers or the projects. The control theme incorporates examples of how the local host community exerts control over the volunteer projects that enter the community as well as how the host community resolves any conflicts with the volunteers or the projects. Furthermore, the need for volunteer theme describes why the host community wants international volunteers to enter the community. Further discussion of the results occurs in the Chapter 5.

Section 1: Participant and Volunteer Organization Profiles

This section outlines the participants from the WCHS and Busua who are represented through quotations in this chapter. While all participants who were interviewed were included in the data analysis, only 8 from Busua were quoted and all

11 participants from the WCHS were quoted. This section serves to ensure the research sample was adequately represented throughout the description of the results.

The volunteer organizations that were discussed by the participants are also described in this section. What the organizations did within the community and how local involvement in the organizations is discussed from the perspective of the local residents.

Participant Profiles

Table 2 describes the participants that are represented in this chapter. The WCHS participants were divided into categories based on their occupation. Participants who are largely involved with tourism are indicated as, "WCHS Tourism Staff." The participants who are largely involved with conservation are indicated as, "WCHS Conservation Staff." The participants who are on the management board are indicated as "WCHS Board Member." In the descriptions, participants were differentiated between those who live in Wechiau town and those who are based outside of Wechiau town. This was done because most of the tourism, and volunteer work, was based out of Wechiau town, and the experiences of those who are based outside the town differs from those who are based in Wechiau.

The participants in Busua were also divided by their occupation. Participants who are employed by one of the three volunteer organizations are indicated as, "Busua Organization Staff." Participants who are part of the wider community, but through their occupation have frequent contact with volunteers are indicated as, "Busua Community Member." Participants who are members of the TTDC are indicated as, "Busua TTDC Member." In the descriptions, participants were differentiated between those who are

based closer to the beach or school area of Busua, which is the east side of the town that also contains the tourist resorts, and between those who are based in the inner community, which is located away from the resorts on the west side of the town. This was done because the experiences of those within the inner community differ from the experiences in the beach and school area.

While all participants were adults, table 2 indicates whether a person in an "older adult" or "younger adult." Older adults range in age from 40 to 65. Younger adults range in age from 20 to 39. This was done because the experiences of the older participants differ from the younger participants.

Table 2 Participant Profiles

WCHS Participants	Description
WCHS Tourism Staff 1	This participant is an older adult male who has been employed with the sanctuary since it began in 1998. He has experience working with both Earthwatch and Peace Corp volunteers. He is based outside of Wechiau town.
WCHS Tourism Staff 2	This participant is an older adult female who has been involved with the sanctuary since its establishment and has experience with the Peace Corp volunteers. She lives in Wechiau town, but will leave to assist visiting groups.
WCHS Tourism Staff 3	This participant is a younger adult male who has experience primarily with Earthwatch volunteers. He lives in Wechiau town, but will leave to assist visiting groups.
WCHS Tourism Staff 4	This participant is an older adult female who has experience primarily with Earthwatch volunteers. She lives in Wechiau town, but will leave to assist visiting groups.

WCHS Tourism Staff 5	This participant is a younger adult male who was involved with the volunteer groups during the establishment of the sanctuary. He lives in Wechiau town.
WCHS Conservation Staff 1	This participant is an older adult male who has been employed with the sanctuary since its establishment. He has had experience working with the Earthwatch volunteers. He is based outside Wechiau town.
WCHS Conservation Staff 2	This participant is an older adult male who has experience working with both Peace Corp and Earthwatch, but primarily the Peace Corp during the development of the WCHS. He lives in Wechiau town.
WCHS Conservation Staff 3	This participant is an older adult male who has been employed with the sanctuary since it began in 1998. He is based outside of Wechiau town.
WCHS Board Member 1	This participant is a younger adult male who was highly involved with both Peace Corp and Earthwatch volunteers. He is also involved with tourism in the WCHS. He lives in Wechiau town.
WCHS Board Member 2	This participant is an older adult male who is also a community leader. He has been involved with all volunteer groups that have come to the WCHS. He lives in Wechiau town.
WCHS Board Member 3	This participant is an older adult male who is also a community leader. He has been involved with all volunteer groups that have come to the WCHS. He lives in Wechiau town.

Busua Participant	Description
Busua Organization Staff 1	This participant is a younger adult male who is employed with the Surf and Shine volunteer organization. Surf and Shine is based within the beach and school area of Busua.
Busua Organization Staff 2	This participant is an older adult female who is employed with the Surf and Shine volunteer organization. She is based within the inner community of Busua.
Busua Organization Staff 3	This participant is a younger adult male who is employed with Teach on the Beach. TOB is based within the beach and school area of Busua.
Busua Organization Staff 4	This participant is a younger adult male who is employed with Teach on the Beach. TOB is based within the beach and school area of Busua.
Busua Community Member 1	This participant is a younger adult male who has experience working with the volunteers from all the organizations in Busua.
Busua Community Member 2	This participant is an older adult male who has frequent interactions with the volunteers and other visitors.
Busua TTDC Member 1	This participant is an older adult female who is a member of the TTDC. The TTDC is based within the inner community of Busua.
Busua TTDC Member 2	This participant is an older adult male who is a member of the TTDC and is also a community leader. The TTDC is based within the inner community of Busua.

Volunteer Organizations

Participants described eight different volunteer organizations; however, there were certain organizations that played a bigger role than others. In the WCHS volunteers with Peace Corp, and Earthwatch were mentioned most frequently and played the largest roles within the sanctuary. They stayed in the WCHS for longest duration of all other organizations mentioned (around 6 years). Therefore, Peace Corp and Earthwatch are the organizations, which are primarily discussed in this thesis. Raleigh International, USAID and Volunteer Services Overseas (VSO) have also sent volunteers to the WCHS but were mentioned less frequently by participants and were had shorter durations within the sanctuary. Currently, there are no volunteers or volunteer organizations within the WCHS. The last team of Earthwatch volunteers was deployed in November 2004 (WCHS Newsletter, 2004).

There are three main volunteer organizations in Busua, which are all based within the town. They include, Teach on the Beach, Surf and Shine, and Embracing Hidden Talent. All three organizations are highly involved with the school in Busua and offer after school programs and send volunteers directly to the school. The volunteers with these organizations may stay for shorter durations (1 week to 6 months) than the WCHS, but unlike the WCHS, the organizations in Busua are permanent fixtures in the town and employ local residents to operate the organizations.

Volunteer Organizations within the WCHS

Below is a summary of what the Peace Corp, Earthwatch, and the smaller volunteer organizations did when they entered the WCHS from the perspective of the respondents in the study.

Peace Corp. The Peace Corp has a long history in Ghana as the first group of Peace Corp volunteers was sent there in 1961 to serve as teachers ("Peace Corp History," 2013). The Peace Corp was highly involved in setting up the hippo sanctuary. They came to the WCHS in 1998, at the beginning of the project and stayed for about 6 years. They conducted feasibility studies to determine if developing a hippo sanctuary was achievable, and this included looking at all the plants and animals within the sanctuary boundaries, including determining the existence of hippos, and identifying attractions for tourism purposes. Peace Corp volunteers educated the people on conservation and how to handle visitors. The following statement summarizes the work the Peace Corp did in the WCHS:

> They came first to help us to get the base information of the community-based project, the sanctuary. To help us get the baseline information like on what we have, let me say to do the planning and to figure out the attractions we have. And the first Peace Corp volunteer came to help us spread the word to the people and to educate people on the need to conserve. (WCHS Board Member 1)

Earthwatch. Earthwatch is a voluntourism organization that focuses on research and education for the purposes of conserving wildlife, habitats, and culture (Earthwatch, 2013). Earthwatch came to the WCHS several times between 2000 until 2004 and sent 18 teams into the community to do research (WCHS Newsletter, 2004). Volunteers conducted research on the birds, insects, reptiles, plants, and mammals in the area. This was done to determine what species were in the area that may attract tourists, and those that need to be conserved. A community leader of the WCHS indicated that the

Earthwatch teams, "did extensive research work" (WCHS Board Member 2) on the species in the area. It was found that the WCHS has over 250 species of birds.

Earthwatch volunteers came with experts, known as principle investigators, on birds, reptiles, plants, and mammals, and they worked with local residents who knew the area well. Having these experts also helped build the skills necessary for some of the locals to lead tourism activities, such bird watching, and the plant walk. This has led to further opportunities and employment for the locals who were involved. This is reflected in the following statement:

> During those days that is when we got to learn more about the environment, identify the different things we have, and studying around the environment and spotting the interesting things we can use as attractions for the tourism. And also I have learned the plants from them. We used to have like PIs, principle investigators; they meet the team and when they are identifying the plants. Already I know the local names, and I was studying the scientific names. (WCHS Board Member 1)

Other Volunteer Organizations in the WCHS. Volunteers with Raleigh International came in 1999 and stayed for about two months. They built the first tourist lodge and dining hut in Talawona. The other organization that came to WCHS was Volunteer Services Overseas and they were involved with building and teaching in schools, as well as supervising the teachers and organizing workshops.

Volunteer Organizations in Busua

The following paragraphs summarize what Surf and Shine, Teach on the Beach, and Embracing Hidden Talents Network do within Busua.   This is from the perspective of the respondents in the study.

Surf and Shine. This volunteer organization is part of a local NGO, Black Star Development, which is run and managed by a local resident in Busua. Black Star Development aims for community-driven development, and focuses on improving sanitation and education within Busua ("Black Star Development," 2013). Surf and Shine is the volunteer program where volunteers can provide assistance to the community as well as surf during their time off. The following statement demonstrates how Surf and Shine aims to provide volunteers with a variety of programs based on their interests and skills:

> So we have a placement for volunteers, so based on your profession you have
> stuff to do. So we have volunteers who teach at the school, work at the hospital,
> after school program for the school kids, women empowerment, ICT workshops,
> plastic recycling, environment and sanitation. (Busua Organization Staff 1)

Surf and Shine works with opinion leaders in the community and have employed some local residents at the recycling center and home stay.

Teach on the Beach. TOB aims to create a learning opportunities for the local children by targeting college students in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom to work with local tutors, known as TOB scholars ("TOB Model," 2012). This organization is also locally run in Busua and employs local students who have graduated

high school to help run the organization. TOB runs an after school program to help younger students with their homework, and they also expose the children to international news. A staff member at TOB provided the following description of what the organization does in the community:

> Teach on the Beach is responsible for creating future leaders, better future leaders. And so doing, we do it by helping the needy to go to school, teach them good things and also help them to like take the leadership role, so they [TOB] teach us very well about taking a leadership role and how we should think about certain stuff at a particular time, so that's what we do. There are programs that have been established to help us with this and one of program is called News Hour. So we watch the news hour from 7 o'clock to 7:30 then we discuss 30 minutes. The news can be from anywhere at any place. And so we discuss about what is happening and what is the effect on the world right now. We also talk about the measures that we can take to help the situation at hand. (Busua Organization Staff 3)

Volunteers with Teach on the Beach help with the after school programs and the New Hour. Local students in high school, known as TOB scholars, work with volunteers and give them guidance when working with the children. After the scholars graduate high school, they get a paid position with TOB ("TOB Scholars," 2012).

Embracing Hidden Talents Network. This volunteer organization works in collaboration with Humanitas, a NGO based out of Slovenia. Embracing Hidden Talents (EHT) Network helps educate students who are brilliant, but needy ("EHT," 2013).

Volunteers primarily assist students after school with their homework. A local staff member at EHT stated that the organization aims to bring out hidden talents in the students through art, music and education.

Summary

The participant and volunteer organization profiles demonstrated a few differences between the two locations studied. The majority of the participants in the WCHS were older adult males, where as in Busua the majority of the participants were younger males. Two older adult females were interviewed in each location studied. In addition, the majority of the participants from the WCHS lived in Wechiau town, and the majority of the participants in Busua were based in beach and school area of the town.

There were several differences with the volunteer organizations in each location as well. The WCHS had larger international organizations, Peace Corp and Earthwatch, come assist with the establishment of the sanctuary. Busua's volunteer organizations are smaller, but are run by local residents, and they all send volunteers to the local school. Peace Corp and Earthwatch volunteers stayed for a longer duration (around 6 years) in the WCHS than the volunteers tend to stay with TOB, Surf and Shine, and EHT network in Busua (1 week to 6 months). How the difference in these organizations influence the capacity building of the host community will be discussed in Chapter 5. The following section outlines the themes that emerged from the analysis.

Section 2: Themes

This section describes the four dominant themes that emerged from the analysis. First the Capacity Building theme is discussed, and is divided into 5 subthemes: Skills

and Knowledge, Education, Ecotourism, Selection, and Employment. Secondly, the Conflict theme is discussed through 3 subthemes: Expectations, Cultural Conflicts, and Financial Issues. Thirdly, the Host Community Control theme is discussed through 3 subthemes: Conflict Resolution, Consultation, and Lack of Control. Finally, the Need for Volunteer themes is discussed. It is divided into 3 sub-themes: Learning Exchange, Mutual Respect, and Western Superiority.

Capacity Building

The capacity building theme incorporates any capacity building activities that occurred through international volunteer-based projects. However, capacity was built by both international volunteers and local residents in both locations studied. Capacity building occurred through several ways and can be described in 5 subthemes: Skills and Knowledge, Education, Ecotourism, Selection, and Employment.

Capacity Building: Skills and Knowledge

This sub-theme describes how local residents gained skills and knowledge that would assist them in future endeavors through the assistance of international volunteers or volunteer programs. This often overlapped with the employment theme.

Locally based organization, Surf & Shine (Black Star Development) holds a women empowerment group where the leader, a local woman, teaches the others skills they can use to gain income, so they have more independence. For example, the women learn how to dye fabric (batik), make soap, bake, and work on their reading and writing skills. This is described in the following statement by a Surf and Shine staff member:

We also giving the women empowerment through skills and literacy, so we are supporting the women of Busua to be able to live without relying on their husbands for money. (Busua Organization Staff 1)

While volunteers are involved with the women's group, the capacity building is being done by the local group leader who had previous skills with *batik*, which is a Ghanaian form of fabric dying. Therefore, local knowledge is being shared between these women.

Children within the community are also given knowledge about the international world through Teach on Beach's News Hour Program. Local staff at Teach on the Beach stated that they were proud of how much the children learned through their programs, especially the News Hour, as they would hear the children debating international issues after program hours. This is demonstrated in the following statement:

I can also say that the News Hour that we do, of which we have created the youth club, we can say most of the kids didn't know what was going on in the world, but only knew what was going on in Busua and some parts of Ghana. But know they know Afghanistan, they know Tajikistan, they know Lebanon, they know all these places and they know what is going on. And so it's really impressed because they know stuff more than some people living here now, the United States and stuff. (Busua Organization Staff 3)

The following is an example is from the WCHS that demonstrates how volunteers contributed to the capacity building of the WCHS by allowing for residents to acquire skills, so that they could be employed and carry on the conservation work after

the volunteers left. Peace Corp volunteers were involved with the development of the WCHS and local residents were highly involved in that process, resulting in employment opportunities once the sanctuary was developed because of the experience they had with the volunteers.

> He became a ranger when [Mark - Peace Corp volunteer] was here. Usually he knows many of the plants, he usually go with Mark into the forest. With Mark they study or give demarcations to the core zone. And after Mark has been left, he was selected as a ranger because he was with Mark they were marking the demarcations. He knows almost every part where people are supposed not to work, but its prohibited. Because of that he was selected to be a ranger. (WCHS Conservation Staff 1)

Capacity Building: Education

Local students from both locations studied have gained educational opportunities through volunteer projects. Several of the communities in the WCHS have gained schools, while the school in Busua has had volunteers in the classroom, or in after school programs, assisting with homework, reading, and art. In addition, a select few students have gained scholarships through volunteer sponsors or volunteer organizations in order assist in the completion of their schooling. The following are examples of what volunteers did to assist with the education of children:

When they come, some engage the kids in after school hours, they do some paintings or artworks, some also assist them in their reading. At times too, I think there are people who also assist them with computer. (Busua Community Member 1)

They were all Earthwatch volunteers, the volunteers who came they are from different countries, but they were able to come together to raise funds and send money every year to pick three students into senior high. (WCHS Board Member 1)

These scholarships and learning opportunities with the volunteers usually only involved a few students. Therefore, only one or two students are selected to receive scholarship money. Often these children were selected for scholarships because they were seen as "brilliant but needy". In addition, it was only those students who were interested in attending the after school programs had opportunities to interact with volunteers and got outside help on their homework.

Scholarships [are] for the tuition and sometimes extra classes, extra courses. It's also not for the entire school body, selected students who are good and decided to support them. Those needy children, who are brilliant students, but need assistance. Students are picked right from the primary school and they get assistance up to the junior high school level if they are still good in school. (Busua Community Member 1)

Education is an important aspect to the communities studied. Volunteer work in Busua is focused on education by all the organization, and the WCHS has also made sure education is a priority in order to sustain their conservation goals, and their community.

One of the things the sanctuary thinks of doing is to give, the basic school is a priority, like people have to go to school. The sanctuary know that is people are not educated the future of the sanctuary will not be bright. Educating the people to understand conservation, to understand taking are of plants and animals, conserving them is good. They have to be educated. (WCHS Board Member 1)

Capacity Building: Ecotourism

The WCHS was host to volunteers such as Peace Corp and Earthwatch, and these volunteers mainly developed the communities' capacity for ecotourism. The Peace Corp was responsible for teaching the residents how to handle foreign visitors as well as educating the community on conservation. This is represented in the following examples.

I have learned from Peace Corp volunteers how to identify the tourist attraction, and also how to handle foreign visitors to the sanctuary. (WCHS Board Member 1)

When [Mark - Peace Corp volunteer] was here, his main focus was how this place was going to benefit the people. He also educate the people on wildlife.

Giving them the importance of wildlife, of benefits. And also gathering or going

to meetings with Chiefs, educating local people about wildlife. (WCHS Tourism

Staff 2)

In addition to the educational campaigns, the Peace Corp also built upon some of

the residents existing skills of some of the residents, so that they were more capable

handling tourists. Peace Corp volunteers arranged for some of the women who had some

skill cooking local dishes to attend a workshop to learn how to cook international dishes

and to improve on their cooking skills in general.

When they started, none of them were able to do the cooking, but [Mark - Peace

Corp volunteer] or because of the volunteers they went to the southern part of

Ghana to bring 3 cooks as she mentioned. They came a taught or teach them how

to do the cooking. So a great benefit she derived from them is learning how to

cook local dishes and also foreign dishes through the Peace Corps. (WCHS

Tourism Staff 2)

Earthwatch came to the WCHS to do intensive research on several aspects on the

environment within the sanctuary, and they worked in conjunction with residents to do

this. Their research also helped to assist the community with its tourist attractions.

Earthwatch, let me say, they actually came to help us identify, to study or

identify the potentials we have, like studying to know how many plants we have,

how many birds we have, how many hippos we have. Just to get information on

the things we have around the sanctuary, and that actually helped to get the idea of the attractions, how we are going set the attractions for the tourist aspect. (WCHS Board Member 1)

The Earthwatch teams studied birds, reptiles, and mammals, and they passed along their knowledge to the local residents, so that they could take over once the volunteers left the community. The following examples come from a local resident who became knowledgeable about the birds in the area through working with the Earthwatch volunteers.

So when I follow them I got interested in the birds, so when I come back home I will take my own bird book and I also look at what we catch and also make my own list. So when they go back, I also take my bird book and my binoculars… and I also walk into the woods and look at the birds, look at the size of it then if I don't know it I will look into my book and identify it myself. (WCHS Tourism Staff 3)

In addition to building the skills of the residents involved with volunteers, development partners involved at the WCHS also supplied important infrastructure so that the sanctuary had the capacity to accommodate tourists. This is summarized in the following statement:

And he mentioned another benefit, or an experience, he said because of the group, one, from here [Talawona] to Wechiau was a distance, but at first he

estimated that is was like from here to Techiman [over 300 kilometers] because the road was not working, it was very poor. That means they have gotten road through this project. And he also made mention of water, that is borehole. First they were all drinking from river and now we have borehole, clean water and he said that if he takes the river water now he gets stomach problems, so those are a few experiences he had. (WCHS Tourism Staff 1)

Volunteers with Peace Corp and Earthwatch have contributed to the capacity building of ecotourism within the WCHS, and this is largely seen in the sanctuary staff members, such as the tour guides, rangers, boatman, cooks, as well as management. This is reflected in the following statement that indicates the capacity building done by Peace Corp and Earthwatch has given the sanctuary staff a reputation of being hard working and capable of handling any situation:

They can fit anywhere because of the capacity building, following the rules. And they will tell you if you want to get the well behaved people and the hard working people you grab one of the people who worked here before or who is working. They have the knowledge of almost everything, and it's all human behaviours, if you know how to handle yourself in so many years you can fit into any place you find yourself. (WCHS Board Member 1)

Capacity Building: Selection

Selection to be involved with volunteers and volunteer organizations was usually done by other local residents, which also helps develop the capacity of those residents chosen to be involved. The locals know the members of the community and who possesses certain skills and/or work ethic. This is demonstrated in the WCHS through the hippo sanctuary. The majority of the residents who worked with the volunteers were also employed or highly involved with the sanctuary, and then the sanctuary would select who they though would be most capable to work with the volunteers.

Before you can involve yourself in the sanctuary, one, you have to somebody who is up and doing. She stated an example, when you attend meetings regularly and when they see that you are always up and doing, you have the potentials…When they see you have been joining meetings regularly, you can be involved, like being a ranger, being a tour guide. If you have the language, if you don't have language barrier you know you can work with foreigners or volunteers. (WCHS Tourism Staff 4)

The previous statement also points out the other criteria for selection, which is language. Those who can speak English were often chosen to work with volunteers because they could communicate with each other and translate for other people.

Anytime we have visitors into Wechiau, then the Chief would say go and call [Participant's name] because he was the second person who could understand the language, so they would go and call [Participant's name] to come and listen to

what they have then possibly he take them through all they want to do. That is

how he got involved into the project. He could speak and also understand.

(WCHS Conservation Staff 2)

Locals were also selected to be involved with volunteers if they had a certain

skill. For example, the leader of the women's empowerment group was chosen to lead

the group because she has specific skills she could teach the women, like how to batik.

Similarly in the WCHS, residents were chosen to participate in volunteer projects based

on skills, as well as the ability to handle visitors. The following statement is from the

WCHS and has been translated:

Before the sanctuary even started, anytime people come to them she handles

them. Any time there is people coming to the house she handles them. The way

she handle them, people look at her generally to say this one can actually cater

for a foreigner or domestic. (WCHS Tourism Staff 2)

Capacity Building: Employment

Working with volunteers has led to employment opportunities for several local

residents. Locals are either employed with a volunteer organization, or they find

employment from the skills they have learned from volunteers. For example, at Teach on

the Beach in Busua, the locals who are involved with the program throughout high

school are given an employed position after they graduate. This is explained in the

following statement from Busua:

When you are a student and you complete, you have been assigned to work here because they believe you were taught to be a better leader and took the leadership role, so they believe in you that help with the advancement of the program. (Busua Organization Staff 3)

In the WCHS, skills that were learned through volunteers, not only allowed for employment with the sanctuary, but across Ghana as well. The following examples are from the local resident who became knowledgeable about birds through working with Earthwatch, and this knowledge has led to several other opportunities.

Firstly, the statement describes how working with Earthwatch has the participant more experience with conducting research:

Through Earthwatch, I came out with a paper with that man, [Dr. Paul Beier - Earthwatch Researcher]. It was between the birds and the wasps, so we came out with a paper. We were trying to know the benefit they get from each other because the bird would like to make a nest closer to the wasp nest, and we were trying to know why, and we came out with a paper." (WCHS Tourism Staff 3)

Secondly, since the participant has gained more knowledge about the birds in northern Ghana, described as the savannah species, he was chosen to learn about the forest species in Kakum National Park. The participant describes how this knowledge has given him access to lead tour groups within the entire country:

Because I was a bird guide over here, in 2005 they, I forgot the organization's name, were looking at ecotourism in Ghana, people who are learning birds and they will try to promote them or improve their knowledge. So I was selected from the sanctuary to go to Kakum National Park. They have a very nice rain forest there and there are over 300 species of birds within that forest, so I was selected from here to join other people and they train us for about a week. Here it's mostly Savannah, and there is mostly forest, so they were trying to train us so we could take people to the whole of Ghana. (WCHS Tourism Staff 3)

The communities as a whole also benefit from the income generated by hosting visitors, like volunteers. Volunteers and tourists spend money to buy food and water in the communities they are staying, and this provides a benefit to the shopkeepers and to the broader community because money is brought back into local families. The following translated statement demonstrates the ways visitors benefit the WCHS:

At the end of the day, she gets something home that can take care of the family, and also, not only that, but also the name of the project goes at all angles around the globe. When people here of the Hippo Sanctuary and Wechiau and Ghana then people will try to come over and when they come a lot of people are employed, a lot of people get money, a lot of people will come to buy things from shops, tour guide is there, boatman is there, at the end of the day most people get benefits. (WCHS Tourism Staff 4)

Conflicts

Participants reported minimal conflicts with volunteers or volunteer organizations, but they did occur. These conflicts can be described in the following 3 sub-themes: Expectations, Cultural Conflicts, and Financial Issues. Some of these themes overlap; such as when respondents had expectations about finances that caused a conflict, or when financial issues were perceived as discriminatory. When respondents described a conflict they also stated that the experience was not common and that they did not have problems with the majority of the volunteers they worked with. However, the conflicts that were described were profound and there were similar types of conflicts at both locations studied.

Conflicts: Expectations

The following description demonstrates how unmet or unrealistic expectations have caused a conflict. The issue began when one volunteer wanted to give money to a local women's empowerment group so that they could use it to make soap and other handcrafted items, so they were given a loan. However, the local women were unaware that it was a loan that they had to pay back. The women were not very pleased with how the volunteer was interacting with the women's group. Eventually the women in the empowerment group stopped coming to meetings because of this particular volunteer. The following statement comes from a staff member at Surf and Shine in Busua who is involved in the women's empowerment group:

She [the volunteer] wants other people to come and help us, like the government here. As for Ghana here, if you are a volunteer and you come to help us, YOU

volunteer, our need is from YOU. So you don't expect anybody in Ghana here to help you… Everyday you [the volunteer] say a different thing, tomorrow we have to go to the district assembly, we have to register, we have to do this. No, we are tired. The first volunteer, she did not do it like that, and so I don't know what she wants to do. As for two weeks, I haven't been attending because I don't want to waste my time. I have a lot of work to do, so you are going to waste my time and not benefit everything I have to stop. (Busua Organization Staff 2)

A further example represents the expectations held by locals on what they expect the volunteers to do, but the expectations of the volunteers on what the locals should do can also cause a conflict. The following statement indicates a conflict where volunteers were unhappy because they were not interacting with as many children as they would have expected and thought that the teachers were preventing the children to interact with the volunteers:

Once there was a time when one group of the volunteers, or the friends who came in, they were not happy because the kids were not coming for their classes or for their personal interaction between the kids. They attributed it to maybe the teachers preventing them, so maybe there was a misunderstanding between the teachers and the [volunteers], but it wasn't so, so that problem was solved in a few, it was not a major problem. (Busua Community Member 1)

These examples demonstrate how expectations, either held by the local residents or the volunteers can cause conflicts. Locals often have expectations on what they should get from the volunteer work, and if those expectations are not met then a conflict can arise.

Conflicts: Cultural

A frequently mentioned cultural violation was the way the volunteers dressed. In Ghana it is culturally appropriate to cover up by wearing long skirts or pants, as anything above the knee is considered offensive. However, volunteers did not always abide by these cultural rules, and this can influence the local people to dress in a way that is inappropriate for their own culture, which is reflected in the following examples:

> They come here and at times they discourage our people here. For me personally, I see how they come here and some people how they dress to the community wearing small panties, some of them naked and all that roaming on the beach. That encouraged our people here. So it has influenced our people here, they want to study that. (Busua TTDC Member 1)

> Most of the white people like wearing short dresses and our ladies today too got used to that. The whites are doing it, some consider that you are better than us, so if you are doing something even if its wrong, but we think its good. What you are doing, not all that is good, but people start doing it. (WCHS Tourism Staff 3)

Cultural violations were not always based on they way visitors dress, but on their behaviours as well. Behaviours such as drinking alcohol, taking drugs, and having

sexual encounters with the local people were also seen as culturally inappropriate. This is reflected in the following conversation.

> That actually have to do with, there was a point, let me say, our tour guides were, when it comes to evenings and things they drink together… and some tour guides, I don't know whether normally they've been together, some do, like, being influenced like to make friends and make love sometimes. (WCHS Board Member 1)

However, a large part of the minor behavioral issues, such as handing things over with the left hand, which is considered offensive in Ghanaian culture (and more widely Islamic culture), were attributed to being in a new cultural and having a new experience. Incidents like this usually required a simple explanation to resolve as well as time to adapt to the new surroundings. This statement comes from a staff member of Teach on the Beach in Busua:

> So it might be someone's first time coming to Africa and there are so many things he finds so difficult to do. Of course we have to put up with all their behaviours and stuff. Some of them come and might not be able to fetch water from the well, of which we have to do it. Some of them cannot do their laundry, of which we have to do it. There are so many difficulties, but it is our job so we are so appreciated to help them do their stuff. (Busua Organization Staff 3)

Teach on the Beach staff members also indicated that the behaviour of the volunteers often changed after the first week in Busua as the beach and other non-volunteer activities distracted many of the volunteers. This is reflected in the following statement:

When they get in their first week we are cool with them, but as time goes by they don't listen to us anymore or they just feel like doing whatever they like. (Busua Organization Staff 4)

It is also important to note that community members can feel uncomfortable receiving visitors for the first as well, as illustrated in the following statement from the WCHS. Volunteers and locals do not want to offend each other, but it often happens that neither are familiar with the other's culture.

The communities, I think, sometimes feel strange when they get visitors in their home the first time. For the first time meeting people, you know they feel strange especially different countries. And the people don't know what to do to please the other, because I don't know your culture, they try not to offend people and if they offend them they wouldn't know how to check it. (WCHS Board Member 1)

Conflicts: Financial Issues

Financial disputes often arose out of a lack of funding or compensation. For example, many local residents have more than one occupation, so if they are pulled into

working with volunteers, they may feel like they could be making more money at their other job. This was described in the following statement from the WCHS:

> The difficulties he faced as when they select him, one, he leaves his farm work and goes with them and at the end receives nothing. That is when they achieve what they want they end up giving him nothing… and they have wasted his time not working on his own farm. (WCHS Tourism Staff 1)

There were local residents who felt that they did not gain enough income from volunteers because their community does not have the infrastructure in place to manage the volunteers that enter the community. This is demonstrated by the following example:

> If they come to the community they should have come to the office of the TTDC or tour guides to register so that we can benefit small small small money. So if they register they give a small small amount, but they don't because we don't have the office. (Busua TTDC Member 1)

In one instance, local residents perceived financial issues as discriminatory in nature, as they felt that the volunteers did not trust them handling the finances for the project. There was an issue surrounding a volunteer organization that sent the WCHS money, but would not tell them the amount. In addition, sanctuary leaders were asked to sign blank cheque from their account, and this was taken negatively. This is demonstrated by the following example:

There were Peace Corp volunteers who were behaving like that, and I am signing

blank cheques… They are taking me as asleep. So I can sign a blank cheque to

take out an amount I don't know and my signature is signifying that I'm aware of

the amount, I'm aware of the money, I know the bank account, which I don't.

How can this this thing go on? Don't you see an element of discrimination or

despise. It's complete despise. We are not beggars. You [the volunteer] are

coming because you also have something to give to humanity, and we are not

beggars. (WCHS Board Member 2)

Host Community Control

The host communities studied exhibited control over the foreign volunteers and volunteer organizations in several ways. Primarily, the communities showed power through the ability to resolve conflicts with volunteers. Secondly, communities that had more control over what the volunteers did when they consulted either the leaders of the community or a local organization. However, it is also important to recognize that a few respondents believed that their community had no power over which volunteer groups entered the community and what projects were developed. This occurred in both locations studied, but in the WCHS it was more common if the respondent was from a community located further from Wechiau. Therefore, this theme has 3 sub-themes: Conflict Resolution, Consultation, and Lack of Control.

Host Community Control: Conflict Resolution

In the two communities studied, the primary way to resolve conflicts was to have all parties involved with the conflict sit down and talk about the issue. When needed, a

third party would be brought in to help resolve the conflict. However, the majority of participants stated that they have never had any conflicts with volunteers, but if they ever did, then they would sit down and discuss the issue with the volunteers. This can be clearly seen as the following community leader states:

> Conflicts are handled just like we have in our traditional setting. When unfortunately we know that there is a conflict the leaders of the sanctuary form an ADR committee, Alternative Dispute Resolution, then they sit on the matter with the parties involved, counsel them and advises and the matter ends there. (WCHS Board Member 3)

When asked if there were any conflicts with the volunteers or organizations, the respondent indicated, "No, but supposing there were that's the way we will do" (WCHS Board Member 3).

However, when some participants were asked, "How does your community handle conflicts with the volunteers?" their response indicated an assumption that a local resident would be at fault for the conflict, and never a volunteer. This assumption was present in both locations studied. The following statement is from a participant in the WCHS who responded to the question asking how the community dealt with any conflicts with the volunteers:

> So when there is a problem, what happens is the Chiefs they will sit you down and talk. This is actually what we are supposed to do, or this is not what you are supposed to do, how to handle visitors, so that they will go out with a good name

of the project, and at the same time, of the community. Don't pick up items from

visitors, don't hassle them, and many more. (WCHS Conservation Staff 2)

This response was further probed by the researcher who asked for clarity about what

would happen if it was the volunteer, or the organization, that was the problem and not

the local resident. The response indicates the underlying assumption that volunteers, or

visitors in general can do no wrong:

No, what happens is, though we have not experienced anything like that, but

what we do is advise all people never to try and have any problem with any of

our tourists, or any of our visitors that are coming to visit the Wechiau

Community Hippo Sanctuary. (WCHS Conservation Staff 2)

The same assumption was also seen in Busua, when a participant was asked how the

community dealt with conflicts with the volunteers. The participant was quick to

emphasize the role of local residents in the conflict:

We just address both sides, and whoever was involved in that skirmish, if that

person is a local, we just talk to him that day "this has not been our hallmark"

and we will also hear from the volunteer's side about what prompted that. So

whenever there is such a conflict we call both and we settle it. (Busua TTDC

Member 2)

Host Community Control: Consultation

In both locations studied, volunteers would often consult the Chiefs, or community leaders when they enter the community. The main purpose of this is to inform the Chief on the purpose of the volunteer work and to get permission to do the volunteer work on the Chief's land. This was done in all the volunteer organizations in Busua. The following statement comes from a staff member at Teach on the Beach, and it demonstrates that it is important to make the Chief of the community aware of what the volunteers are doing on his land:

> Well in my organization like this, whenever the volunteers come to this particular community we first of all see the Assemblyman of this community who is the mayor of the community. Then you have to go see the custodian Chief. That is the Chief of this community… So we have to present the volunteers to the Chief officially to tell the Chief the main reason the volunteers are here, their main objectives. After presenting them to the Chief, the Chief will also come out with his speech to the volunteers, so from there the assemblyman and the Chief know what exactly the volunteers are here to do. That's the community authorities. For my organization, this is what we do. So that whenever they see them in town, they know what they are here for. (Busua Organization Staff 3)

However, this may represent a cultural custom rather than how much control the community has over the volunteers. When asked if the Chief or Assemblyman would

disapprove any of the work done by volunteer, another participant from Busua
responded:

> No, not so far. Everything we have done they just approve it. (Busua
> Organization Staff 4)

The WCHS consults with two organizations that advise the sanctuary in order to
ensure that when any group enter the community that their work is in line with the
communities' conservation efforts. The Nature Conservation Research Center (NCRC)
is a local NGO that advises the sanctuary, as well as the Calgary Zoo, which is an
international organization working with the sanctuary. Both of these organizations
played important roles in the establishment of the sanctuary along with the Peace Corp.
The role of NCRC and the Calgary Zoo can be summarized in the following statement
from a WCHS board member:

> I can say for example, the time Calgary Zoo, NCRC they are actually our
> advisors and partners. Anytime they are to give a benefit we are looking at what
> they are giving and how it's going to help the people in the community, and in
> turn, the sanctuary. (WCHS Board Member 1)

Consulting with the Calgary Zoo and NCRC has given the WCHS more control over
organizations that enter the sanctuary. Although the following example does not involve
voluntourism, it represents how the WCHS demonstrates control over outside
organizations. A group call Savannah Fruit Company (SFC) has started an organic Shea

cooperative within the sanctuary that employs the women of the community to collect organic Shea nuts. SFC has agreed to work within the conservation guidelines of the sanctuary. Since the WCHS is working with NCRC, Calgary Zoo, and SFC they have more power to refuse certain groups that may want to enter the community, but may not follow in line with the conservation goals at the sanctuary. This is demonstrated in the following example:

> Wechiau has the power to say what a group or volunteer can do or not do and she has stated an example. We had a cotton company just last year who came to do cotton plantation, and looking at the nature of Savannah Fruits Company, they are dealing with organic Shea and with cotton they work with chemicals and fertilizers. So if they are allow the cotton company to grow plantations in Wechiau, it will go a long way to destroy the image of SFC organic Shea, they will not get good Shea nut, that will spoil the image of the hippo sanctuary. (WCHS Tourism Staff 2)

Host Community Control: Lack of Control

Some local residents feel as though their community does not have any control over which volunteers enter their community and what work they do in the community. However, sometimes the communities' lack of control is demonstrated by accepting every volunteer organization into the community because they believe they can benefit from all of them. This was demonstrated in Busua when a member of the TTDC was asked a hypothetical question to see if the community would allow an organization to

73

develop a project the community did not agree with. The participant responded that the community would accept the organization and added the following statement:

> After the project they will benefit from that, so they will accept it. The
> community will benefit from projects that come in. (Busua TTDC Member 1)

So even if a volunteer organization goes against the wishes of the community, the community still believes that it will somehow benefit from the volunteer projects. However, other participants recognized that not every foreign organization may benefit them, but stated that their community would let them in anyway. A staff member of the WCHS responded, "yes" to the question, "Do you think the sanctuary would let in a group that was not respectful or not cooperative?" Furthermore, a WCHS staff member, based in outside Wechiau in Talawona, believed that the community had no control over what organizations or volunteers did in their community because of illiteracy:

> They don't have any power to say this is what they want. Or had it been that they
> were educated, they could also say something. Here is the case where 99.9% are
> illiterate. (WCHS Conservation Staff 3)

Need for Volunteers

This theme represents the answer to the question, "Does your community need foreign volunteers to come and work on projects?" Every single participant interviewed stated that their community did need more volunteers to enter their community. The

main reasons for this need for volunteers are summarized in the following 3 subthemes: Learning Exchange, Mutual Respect, and Western Superiority. Local residents stated that they liked learning from the volunteers, as well as sharing their own ideas and culture. They stated that they wanted more volunteers that showed mutual respect and were genuine in their reasons for coming to the community. However, other reasons for wanting volunteers demonstrated a reliance on external expertize and the belief that foreign volunteers do superior work than local residents.

Need for Volunteers: Learning Exchange

Local residents wanted more volunteers to come to their community because they enjoyed learning from each other. Locals and volunteers learn about each other's culture and way of life by sharing stories and experiences. The following are examples of how local people from both communities studied learn from the volunteers:

So there is an exchange of knowledge, so if someone has a different background they share it with the community, so they also learn, so there is an exchange of knowledge. (Busua Community Member 1)

You know when you are moving with the volunteers or a stranger, we ask you questions concerning your environment, we also ask them questions concerning their hometowns, where they are coming from. Me, I have never travelled outside Ghana, but I learned certain things from them where I cannot get to, I learn certain things. (WCHS Tourism Staff 5)

The following quotes from both locations studied demonstrate how volunteers learn from the local residents. This usually involves training for volunteers work and learning the culture.

One of the goals between the organization and the community is to have a cultural exchange, so the cultural exchange takes time, which is why we say minimum one month. So that when you come for the first week I will take you to an orientation, take you to some education and I will teach you what to do because people have not travelled or been to other African countries we need some time to keep going before we let you do your thing. (Busua Organization Staff 1)

The volunteers sometimes, when they come, will go to the local communities they will organize something like the local pito, local drinks, for the local people, they drink together and talk together. (WCHS Tourism Staff 4)

Need for Volunteers: Mutual Respect

In contrast to the Western Superiority element, some locals specified that they would like volunteers groups that showed respect for the local residents and worked closely with them in order for the community to benefit. This is reflected in the following examples:

He said he don't actually have a specific group he wants to come. He wants them

to come, he wants everybody to come if only they work with them, cooperate

with them and have that mutual respect between the two groups. (WCHS

Conservation Staff 1)

We want all volunteers who will come and look at us like fellow human beings

and we have mutual respect for each other. That is all. A volunteer, as the word

implies, is someone who actually giving up himself or herself for a duty where

he will not accrue any profit, so it's a service. Service is rendering free of charge.

And why I will not accept him or her? But when she comes and she sees me as a

human being, like himself or herself then he is acceptable. (WCHS Board

Member 2)

Need for Volunteers: Western Superiority

In contrast to the mutual respect theme, the majority of the answers to why

volunteers are needed in the community reflected the idea that the international

volunteers are superior in some way. This superiority manifested in several ways; some

of the local residents held the belief that volunteers had more and better resources, and

therefore did better work and had better ideas than the locals. This is reflected in the

following examples from both communities studied:

Our people need more things to be done than now. They are still demanding, as I

told you, they are still demanding things like good water…When they see

volunteers they know that complaining to them maybe their problem will solve one day. We still need more volunteers. (WCHS Tourism Staff 5)

The local people sometimes… sometimes the local people doesn't do the right way, that's why, and the volunteer people they do better things. Because the local people don't have any idea because… they are local people. Unless the volunteer people get more idea." (Busua Community Member 2)

Locals also stated that they wanted more volunteers to come because they brought gifts and cash donations. The following statement reflects the notion that Westerners can be depended on to bring gifts and money when the visit a community:

I don't know, but it's like they just want to get in touch with the whites. The kids they love the whites, so if there is anything going to be shared today they will go there. Maybe they know at the end that they will get stationary or books or certain things. (Busua Community Member 1)

The previous statement also reflects a rise in attendance because volunteers are at the school. This is interesting to note because the volunteer organization CCS, that was mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, states on their website that, "the biggest impacts volunteers have in the area of education in Ghana is increasing attendance… When volunteers are present to help teach children, parents feel that there is an added value in sending their child to school." ("CCS Ghana Opportunities, 2013, para 2). However, this still demonstrates Western superiority because the children are either motivated to go to

school to receive gifts or they are motivated to go to school because it is believed that the volunteers are superior teachers.

Sometimes gifts or donations seemed to be the primary benefit of volunteers entering the community, as other potential benefits were not stated. This is reflected in the following statement from a staff member in the WCHS:

> They [Earthwatch] were people who he really benefit from them. The benefit is anytime they come, he works with them and in the evening one of them or two of them will give him some amounts. (WCHS Tourism Staff 1)

The previous statement was classified under the Western Superiority theme because of the belief that Westerner's, or other international visitors, have more money than Ghanaians and can be relied upon to hand out money while volunteering.

Summary

Outlining the results have brought up a number of issues. Primarily, there are a few fundamental differences between voluntourism in the WCHS and voluntourism in Busua that contribute to the differences in capacity building, conflicts, and host community control at each location. The biggest difference is the type of volunteer organization as well as the level of local involvement in these organizations. Chapter 5 will discuss how this basic difference in voluntourism providers has had a very different influence on the capacity building of the each of the host communities.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the results of the study and draws comparisons between the two locations studied. The aim of this research was to evaluate how local residents experience voluntourism within the WCHS and the town of Busua, and to assess if, and in what ways, voluntourism contributes to building the capacity of local residents in the host communities using Kaplan's (2000) capacity building model of the Elements of an Organizational Life. The results indicate there are several factors that influence the capacity of the community. The primary influence on capacity building is the type of volunteer organizations that entered the community along with the level of local involvement with the volunteers. The type of volunteer organization and the degree to which organizations collaborated with each other influenced how much capacity is being built in the community as a whole. This was seen in the emergent themes through the type of capacity building activities that were done in the community, the type of conflicts the community experiences, how the community resolved these conflicts and how much control the community had over the volunteer organizations. Results will be discussed and compared to Kaplan's (2000) Elements of an Organizational Life.

Kaplan's Elements of an Organizational Life

The four dominant themes discussed in Chapter 4 all speak to how voluntourism influences the capacity building of the host community. However, this influence differs in each location studied. Busua and the WCHS each had different volunteer organizations and different reasons for having international volunteers enter their communities. It is this difference that contributes to the different levels of capacity in each location. Table 3 outlines the pertinent results in Chapter 4, which compares the

WCHS and Busua against the Kaplan's (2000) Elements of an Organizational Life and

will inform the remaining discussion on capacity building.

Table 3

Kaplan's (2000) Elements of an Organizational Life Applied to WCHS and Busua

Element	WCHS	Busua
1) A Conceptual Framework	Desire to establish a community-run conservation	No cohesive goal for Busua as a whole
2) Organizational Attitude	Had confidence to effectively plan and establish WCHS in collaboration with NCRC, Calgary Zoo and the Peace Corp	Individual organizations have confidence in their programs, but have minimal impact on community as a whole
3) Vision and Strategy	Established WCHS in 1998 Aim to conserve area and alleviate poverty (Sheppard et al., 2010)	Voluntourism centered around education; no future plans demonstrated
4) Organizational Structure	Clearly defined roles within the sanctuary (eg. Management, rangers, tour guides)	Roles of volunteer organizations are not differentiated; all send volunteers to the school
5) Acquisition of Skills	Skills gained for ecotourism through Peace Corp Skills gained on area species through Earthwatch	Improved education for selected students Improved skills for women
6) Material Resources	Supported through NCRC and Calgary Zoo Infrastructure in place (roads, boreholes) to handle visitors	Unknown for organizations in Busua

Role of the Volunteer Organizations in Capacity Building

The role the volunteer organizations play in capacity building represents Kaplan's (2000) first 3 elements: A conceptual framework, an organizational attitude and a vision and strategy. The conceptual framework is the basis on which all other capacity is built; it is needed in order to have an organizational attitude. This attitude gives the organization confidence to act effectively, and to implement the vision and strategy (Kaplan, 2000).

Volunteers with Peace Corp and Earthwatch in conjunction with the Sanctuary's development partners, the Calgary Zoo and NCRC, have all worked together towards the goal of conserving the area and to alleviate poverty while showing tourists the wildlife in the area and have done this over a number of years. Therefore, the WCHS has demonstrated Kaplan's (2000) conceptual framework. This framework has provided the WCHS with the structure to effectively establish a community-based conservation area that has impacted many of the communities within the Sanctuary boarders, which represents Kaplan's organizational attitude. It is important to note that the volunteer organizations involved with the establishment of the WCHS are larger international organizations with long-term volunteers. Therefore the long-term networking between the organizations, volunteers, community and the WCHS advisors has contributed to a stable framework that was used to build a strong organizational attitude, and a strong vision and strategy that was carried out effectively (Hacker et al., 2012; Kaplan, 2000).

This is then contrasted in Busua, where the 3 volunteer organizations are separate from each other, but all do similar activities. Surf and Shine, Teach on the Beach, and Embracing Hidden Talents Network all have a strong focus on education, and although education is important, sending all the volunteers that visit Busua to the only school in

the town is redundant, and is leaving the rest of the community out. The town of Busua does not have a specific strategy or use for international volunteers as the WCHS did. Busua's lack of a conceptual framework does not allow the community as a whole to benefit from the volunteer work beyond education.

Further, the Town Tourism and Development Committee (TTDC) could establish a conceptual framework for the town, but the TTDC is not involved with the majority of the volunteer organizations within Busua, although they are working with Surf and Shine to build a tourism center. Therefore, each individual organization is left to develop their own frameworks and goals, but they are unable to impact the larger community because their focus is too narrow and focused on education. Therefore, Busua as a whole lacks Kaplan's (2000) organizational attitude. There seems to be no cohesive goal the community is striving towards in terms of volunteer tourism.

In order for capacity to be built, all stakeholders need to be involved in the capacity building process and their roles need to be clearly defined (Kaplan, 2000; Moscardo, 2008). This cannot happen if the majority of Busua residents are excluded from volunteer projects. Koutra and Edwards (2012) investigated capacity building for tourism development and poverty reduction in Elmina and Cape Coast in Ghana. Elmina and Cape Coast are only a few hours drive from Busua. They found that community participation is a prior condition for sustainable tourism development, but there was a lack of collaboration between decision makers and other stakeholders and a lack of interest by the poorest community members, so tourism development did not have the desired effect of reducing poverty (Koutra & Edwards, 2012).

In addition, engaging volunteers as stakeholders in the capacity building process would be difficult as well because the volunteers in Busua stay for a shorter period of

time than they did in the WCHS. In order for voluntourism to influence the capacity of the host community, the volunteers need a long-term relationship with the community, and trust needs to be established for a productive working relationship (Hacker et al., 2012). The only organization that has a minimum amount of time that volunteers can stay is Surf and Shine, which is one month, but with the other organizations volunteers can stay for a few days. Therefore, it would be difficult for Busua to implement Kaplan's (2000) vision and strategy because the high turnover of volunteers would hinder work efficiency (Guttentag, 2009).

Volunteer Organizations and Destination Attractiveness

The difference in type of volunteer organizations, and therefore, the degree capacity building at the WCHS and Busua can also be explained by the location of each community. Busua is located on the coast in the southern part of Ghana and closer to the capital of Accra than the WCHS, which is located in the northern part of Ghana, further from Accra, and therefore harder to get to. Accessibility to a destination plays a strong role in its attractiveness to volunteer tourists and to where volunteer organizations can feasibly send volunteers (Keese, 2011). While rural areas are popular with volunteers, as rural areas as perceived as more authentic, factors like water, housing, electricity, and sanitation often dictate where volunteers are sent, and ultimately where volunteers want to go (Keese, 2011). Tourism also plays a strong role in destination attractiveness, as volunteers often go to places that are closer to tourist attractions, which are often closer to urban centers (Bebbington, 2004; Keese, 2011; Sin, 2009).

In the case of the WCHS and Busua, accessibility has influenced the type of volunteer organizations at each location. Busua is easier to get to, closer to more big

cities, and closer to more tourist activities. These factors make it easier for volunteer tourists to volunteer for a shorter period of time and enjoy the tourist attractions while they are in the country. Therefore, volunteer organizations in Busua may only have the resources to engage in smaller projects, such as sending volunteers to the school. This would explain why there was less capacity building in Busua.

In contrast, the WCHS is more remote, further from larger cities, and has fewer tourism attractions within the surrounding area. Therefore, the WCHS is more attractive to development type volunteer organizations and long-term volunteers that have the time and resources to work towards a larger project. The volunteer organizations and volunteers who went the WCHS were more focused on development that tourism because the establishment of the hippo sanctuary was a large project and it would have been inefficient to have a high turnover of short-term volunteers. This would contribute to the higher degree of capacity in the WCHS.

Capacity Building

The capacity building theme represents the capacity building activities that were done by the volunteer organizations. This theme incorporates Kaplan's (2000) fourth, fifth and sixth elements: Organizational Structure, the Acquisition of Skills, and Material Resources. In a strong organizational structure, roles are clearly differentiated and defined, and there are transparent decision-making procedures. A strong organizational structure allows for individuals within the organization, in this case the local residents, to gain and sustain new skills and capabilities (Kaplan, 2000).

Organizational Structure

An organizational structure was seen in different ways in each community studied. In the WCHS it was demonstrated in how the WCHS selects local residents to firstly, work with the international volunteer groups, and secondly, to be employed with the sanctuary. An organizational structure can be seen within each of the volunteer organizations in the town, but most prevalently in Teach on the Beach. However, as a whole, the town of Busua does not demonstrate an organizational structure to the extent of the WCHS.

Selection and Employment in WCHS. Local residents were selected to be involved with the volunteer groups that entered the Sanctuary by WCHS management. WCHS participants stated that they were chosen by the WCHS to work with volunteer because they had previous skill in the area the volunteers needed, such as knowledge of the area or could take volunteers on the river, and that they showed interest in what the WCHS was doing for the communities within its boundaries. Further, these participants became employed with the WCHS once the volunteers left and the Sanctuary was established because they had gained further knowledge on conservation and tourism. Therefore, once capacity was developed for the hippopotami reserve, the WCHS was then able to build the capacity of its own residents.

Organizational Structure in Busua. In Busua, each volunteer organization has its own individual organizational structure, but it can be seen most strongly in Teach on the Beach. Teach on the Beach has local high school students, called scholars, volunteer with the program to assist the international volunteers and to help younger students with their homework and the News Hour program. After the scholars graduate high school, they are given a paid position with Teach on the Beach ("TOB Scholars, 2012).

Therefore, they gain work experience that they can take with them later on in life. However, Teach on the Beach may not have the resources to keep employing the scholars as they keep graduating because they will run out of positions to fill and money to pay them.

However, the town of Busua as a whole is lacking an organizational structure that would allow more allocation of resources, and networking, such as encouraging more collaboration between the volunteer organizations. This is the largest hindrance to capacity building in Busua through the voluntourism. Koutra and Edwards (2012) stated that capacity building is, "investment in social, human, physical and financial capital and is the outcome of the interaction between the following factors: individuals, businesses, networks, organizations and policy institutions, both at national and external state development institutional level" (p. 789). The TTDC and Surf and Shine are collaborating to try and build a tourism center or office where they could gain some income from having volunteers register, but the organizational structure as it currently stands is not strong enough to allow for sufficient or sustainable capacity building. It is difficult to see if Busua has a cohesive developmental vision or strategy. Again, the lack of a conceptual framework, organizational attitude, and a vision and strategy could be contributing to the lack or organizational structure in Busua because according to Kaplan (2000) an organization must have a clear vision and strategy before it can have a solid organization structure on which to build capacity.

Acquisition of Skills

The most frequent type of capacity building activity that occurred in both contexts was Kaplan's (2000) acquisition of skills, which is the fifth element of an

organizational life. Volunteers in both locations studied assisted local residents to gain skills that could be applied for future endeavors. In the WCHS, Peace Corp and Earthwatch developed the skills necessary for the local residents to engage in ecotourism. Residents learned how to conserve, how to handle visitors, and they also gained more knowledge on the plants and animals in the sanctuary, so that they could conserve them and share them with tourists.

In Busua, volunteers spend the majority of the time at the local school, so the students are assisting the children with their education. Women in the community are also learning craft skills that they can use to gain income. However, only selected individuals in the community were benefitting from gaining these skills. Schools programs usually assisted the students who were "brilliant, but needy", and not all the women in Busua attend the women's empowerment group. Therefore, it is difficult to say that the community as a whole has gained capacity, only a select few.

Material Resources

Kaplan's (2000) final element is material resources. This is the final step to the hierarchy, which demonstrates that an organization, or host community, must obtain an adequate supply of resources, finances, and equipment to sustain the capacity that has been built. The ECDPM's (2008) third capability expands on this element by stating the host community must attract and allocate resources by collaborating with others in order to sustain capacity (Fowler & Ubles, 2010).

The WCHS has done this very well as they have their development partners, Calgary Zoo and NCRC, to advise them to make sure they stay on track with their conservation goals, as well as poverty reduction goals. The development of the

sanctuary has led to the employment of local residents, which has also led to further opportunities that have led to more income, such as research papers, and tourism opportunities throughout the country. It is also important to note that the volunteer organizations involved with the WCHS were helpful in allocating resources for the Sanctuary, and then allowed the local residents to carry on with the work when the organizations left. Peace Corp and Earthwatch followed ECDPM's (2008) statement that, "external interveners can only facilitate capacity development indirectly by proving access to new resources, ideas, connections, and opportunities. While they can support and nurture different styles of local leadership, they cannot substitute for it, nor drive the process" (p. 3).

In contrast, it is unknown how volunteers in Busua obtain material resources. From the interviews, it is apparent that there is a reliance on gifts and donations. This happened in both locations studied, but more so in Busua then in the WCHS. Reliance on external sources for these material resources reflects the larger concept of aid dependency. Sin (2009) states, "there is a risk that volunteer tourists can be led to assume that aid-recipients were naturally poor, and failed to understand prevailing circumstances that impede aid-recipients' efforts to break out of the poverty-cycle." (p. 496). This type of dependency does not allow for sustained capacity development as it would if capacity was built from internal sources (Rajani, 2010; Ubels, 2010; Ubels et al., 2010c; Yachkaschi, 2010).

Conflicts

This section describes the conflicts that local residents faced when working with international volunteers. The majority of the participants stated that there were no

conflicts with volunteers, yet both communities described similar issues with the volunteers. The conflict that came up the most had to do with culture and way of dress. Both communities reported that volunteers who dressed more Western with shorter skirts and shorts, were influencing the local residents to do the same, which goes in contrast to Ghanaian culture where covering up the knees and shoulders is more appropriate. Even though both communities experienced this, it was more common in Busua, probably because of their location on a beautiful sandy beach. Therefore, tourists and volunteers dress more for the beach rather than for the culture.

This cultural conflict represents the power of the demonstration effect. When volunteers model a Western lifestyle when they are in another culture, their actions are often seen as a superior (Simpson, 2004). This also reflects the colonial legacy. Roberts (2004) found that volunteers in Ghana acted as ambassadors for the West, and that for some Ghanaians their only impression of the West comes from contact with volunteers. This has contributed to local residents mimicking Westerners even though they may be acting in a way that is incongruent with their own culture. This was clearly demonstrated by the examples in Chapter 4 when local residents began to dress more Western (skirts or shorts above the knee) because they thought it was a better way to dress.

Host Community Control

Host community control demonstrates a developed local capacity, as it demonstrates that the host community can adapt to challenges and self-renew (ECDPM, 2008; Fowler & Ubels, 2010). The primary way the host communities' demonstrated control was through the way they solved conflicts. Even though participants reported minimal conflicts with volunteers, they still reported that they would know how to

handle a conflict if one should arise. The ability to handle conflicts is built into an organization's vision and strategy, as it is important to adapt effectively to changes in order to avoid or solve problems (ECDPM, 2008; Kaplan, 2000). Therefore, the ability for a community to solve problems represents how much influence or control it has in difficult situations.

Conflicts with volunteers were solved through conversations or through consultation with community leaders. Since the WCHS has developed its capacity through the establishment of the sanctuary and it has development partners to advise them, they have more control over what type of things gets done in the sanctuary, and they are better equipped to solve problems because they have more support. This was clearly demonstrated in the example in Chapter 4 where the WCHS sent away the cotton company that posed a risk to the Organic Shea Cooperative and conservation efforts.

In Busua, conflicts were solved with a conversation with the volunteers, and this was reported to work most of the time. Conflicts may have been prevented as most of the organizations have frequent meetings with their volunteers to ensure that there was not anything bothering them.

However, not every local resident thought that their community had control over what volunteers did in their community. In WCHS, the researcher observed that statements regarding a lack of control occurred in the communities further away from Wechiau. Wechiau is the epicenter of the sanctuary as that is where the tourism center is located, and it is at the only entrance to the sanctuary.

In Busua, residents stated that their community had power over what the volunteers did because they had to see the Chief and the Assemblyman to explain what they were planning to do in the community. However, since the Chief and Assemblyman

have never refused anybody or any project, this may reflect more of a custom than actual control. It is a similar situation in the WCHS, but because of the organizational structure, and the high involvement of the Chiefs in the sanctuary, asking permission of the Chiefs to work in the community is a sign of control. Organizations that do not enter the community properly in the WCHS are not seen well by the residents and can be sent away. This happened to the cotton company that tried to enter the WCHS as described in the Chapter 4, but the community had enough power to send the cotton company away.

Traditional Governance in Voluntourism

Differences in host community control in Busua and the WCHS are also reflected in the differences in local governance within the communities. Governance through chieftaincy is common throughout Ghana, and has been prior to and throughout colonization by the British in the 1900s (Owusu-Yeboah, 2010). While both Busua and the WCHS are governed by Chiefs, there are differences in the level of involvement of the Chiefs in voluntourism.

The WCHS is unique in that the traditional leaders exert control over the communities within the sanctuary, rather than the regional government. The Chiefs at the WCHS were highly involved in establishing the hippo sanctuary. They founded the community-run conservation area that had the dual purpose of conservation and alleviating poverty in the area by allowing for community involvement in the project (Sheppard et al., 2010). The Chiefs, and their development partners (NCRC and the Calgary Zoo) initially invited the Peace Corp volunteers to assist in the establishment the sanctuary and help educate the communities about conservation. The Chiefs were involved in these educational campaigns and often travelled with the volunteers to the

communities. Therefore, the WCHS had more control over the volunteers because the Chiefs, and other local residents, were highly involved in developing the sanctuary along side the volunteers.

The Chiefs in Busua play a smaller role in voluntourism than the Chiefs in the WCHS. Volunteers are presented to the Chief and Assemblyman upon their arrival to inform the Chief of their plans while they are in town. In addition, the volunteer organizations may have to ask permission if they want to build something on the land as a volunteer project. However, the traditional leaders are not involved in the volunteer projects. Therefore, the Busua has less control over the volunteers because they are less involved in the voluntourism within their community.

Need For Volunteers

Every single participant interviewed stated that they want more volunteers to come to their community. The responses reflected western superiority, as the skills and knowledge of the volunteers were often preferred over those of local residents (Raymond & Hall, 2008).

This perception also reflects dependence on international volunteers and aid, which often undermines a communities own development efforts (Craig, 2007; Guttentag, 2009; Sin, 2010; Sin, 2009; Wearing, 2001). There seemed to be the perception that in order for change to happen within the community, outsiders had to do it because local residents cannot do it for themselves.

Notions of western superiority were seen in both the WCHS and Busua. Even though the WCHS has developed a community-run hippo sanctuary, credit for this development has often fallen to the volunteers or the Calgary Zoo, which are both

outsiders, and this perpetuates the notion of being dependent on volunteers in order to create change. As for Busua, residents wanted more volunteers because they believed that the volunteers have better ideas of what needs to be done in the community, and have better resources to complete it.

Guidelines for Volunteer Organizations

The findings of this research suggest that different types of volunteer organizations can have a very different influence on the capacity of the host community. Therefore, it is important that volunteer organizations are aware of strategies to improve the capacity of the communities they send volunteers to. The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) developed *International Voluntourism Guidelines for Commercial Tourism Operators*. The document is aimed at voluntourism providers so that they can develop and run their programs in a sustainable fashion (TIES, 2012). Findings from this research are reflected in the guidelines and a few of the most important guidelines are further emphasized in the following paragraphs.

The first guideline from the TIES (2012) document is a Reality Check, and it is essential in sustaining the capacity of the host community. It states, "voluntourism projects must be developed with the local communities' needs, and not the travelers' or the company's needs, as the first priority" (p. 6). The Peace Corp and Earth Watch volunteers in the WCHS demonstrated this concept as the volunteers and local residents collaborated on establishing the hippo sanctuary. The volunteers in the WCHS were able to contribute to local efforts, and addressed local concerns, and by putting the host community first they ensured that the local residents could take over and run the sanctuary once the volunteers left. The Reality Check guideline also emphasizes the

need for voluntourism in the host communities to have a long-term vision and realistic

plans for achieving goals (TIES, 2012). This is what is lacking within voluntourism in

Busua. Volunteers in Busua cannot create a lasting change because there is no long-term

goal to work towards for the community as a whole, which is further exacerbated by

having all three organizations in the town doing the same volunteer activities.

The Marketing and Messaging guideline is a very important guideline for

volunteer organizations to consider as the findings of this research indicate that capacity

of the host community is hindered by neo-colonial beliefs of western superiority, which

has led to dependency on volunteers and other forms of foreign aid. Therefore, it is

important to market voluntourism in a way that does not further reconstruct these

beliefs. TIES (2012) suggest to, "avoid all forms of *poverty marketing* - such as using

images or words (e.g. "helping people who can't help themselves") which belittle or

degrade local people" (p. 8).

However, the TIES (2012) guidelines do not address the length of stay for

volunteers in detail. This thesis research indicated that volunteers who stayed long-term

had a greater influence on the capacity of the host community. While long-term

volunteers give some consistency to the host community by not having to constantly

train new volunteers, staying for a long duration may not be the most popular choice for

the average volunteer tourist, as short term projects are the most common (Callanan &

Thomas, 2005). TIES suggests having a pre-trip orientation that includes cultural

understanding. Training volunteers prior to arriving overseas may help with keeping the

project efficient, but it would not solve the issue entirely. More research needs to be

done to get a better understand of the impacts short-term volunteers have on the host

community. It may be more beneficial to have short-term volunteers work on smaller or

simpler aspects of a project and have long term volunteers engage in the larger aspects of the project. TIES (2012) gives an example from Global Vision International (GVI), which sends volunteers overseas to teach. In this case the role of the short-term volunteers is to assist the long-term volunteers, teachers, and staff, and therefore take on a minimal role with students. This strategy may be helpful to the volunteer organizations in Busua, as they have a heavy emphasis on teaching and education.

Conclusion

This thesis research aimed to document how host communities experience voluntourism and to assess if voluntourism has any influence over the host communities' capacity using Kaplan's (2000) Elements of and Organizational Life. Voluntourism was examined using examples from the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (WCHS) and the town of Busua, both located in Ghana, West Africa.

Findings suggest long term, development type volunteer organizations along with a high degree of local control and collaboration with these organizations has a bigger influence on the capacity of the host community. There was more capacity building of the community as a whole in the WCHS than in Busua. This is because all the volunteer organizations (Peace Corp and Earthwatch) that entered the WCHS worked towards the same goal of establishing the sanctuary and conserving the wildlife and habitat in the area. These volunteer organizations, and therefore the volunteers, tended to stay in the WCHS for a longer period of time when compared to the volunteers at the organizations within Busua.

In Busua, Surf and Shine, Teach on the Beach, and Embracing Hidden Talents Network primarily send their volunteers into the school to help teach the children, or run

after school programs. However, the degree to which volunteer are involved in actual teaching activities may be minimal. Further, these organizations are completely separate from each other and do not collaborate, so the only school in the town sees the vast majority of the volunteers, while the rest of the community is excluded. When compared to the WCHS, Busua lacks a cohesive strategy or long-term development goal where volunteers could serve a purpose.

This research has contributed to the limited understanding on the host communities within voluntourism, yet more research on the host community is needed. Furthermore, there is still limited knowledge on the degree to which a community's capacity is developed through voluntourism, but this research serves as a stepping stone on they way to understanding the impacts voluntourism has on the host community and it would advise volunteers and volunteer organizations to become more aware of the impact they have on the communities they enter.

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APPENDIX A: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) Have you ever been involved with foreign volunteers or international projects?

2) What organizations have you been involved with?

    a. What did these organizations do?

3) Have volunteer projects, through these organizations, provided you with any benefits?

    a. Your community (WCHS)?

4) Did you experience any difficulties with the volunteers or the projects?

    a. Your community (WCHS)?

5) Have there been any changes in your community (WCHS) because of the volunteer projects?

6) Does your community (WCHS) have any control or input on which projects are to be developed by volunteers?

    a. In what way do local residents get involved in volunteer projects?

    b. How are local residents selected to become involved in volunteer projects

7) How does your community (WCHS) handle conflicts with volunteers or volunteer organizations?

8) Do you think your community (WCHS) needs foreign volunteers to do work on these projects?

    a. Why?

9) Which volunteer organizations do you or your community (WCHS) prefer?

    a. Why?

APPENDIX B: REFLECTIONS

Findings and Practical Implications

The aim of this study was to document how local residents experience voluntourism and to use those experiences to assess if voluntourism influences the capacity of the host community. Overall, both local residents of both the WCHS and Busua experience voluntourism positively, but there are fundamental differences in capacity at both locations. The WCHS had a higher level of community involvement with the volunteer organizations Earthwatch and Peace Corp. Both of these organizations have large operations worldwide and send in volunteers for a longer duration. Busua has 3 smaller organizations with short-term volunteers and minimal community involvement in the volunteer projects.

Voluntourism had a bigger influence on the capacity of residents within WCHS because the WCHS had the goal to create a community based conservation area, was highly involved from the beginning in developing the Sanctuary with Peace Corp and Earthwatch, and had long term volunteers to assist with development. While Busua's volunteer organizations had some local involvement, as they were run by locals, Busua lacked a development goal for the whole local community. Along with a high turnover of volunteers that primarily worked in the school, the larger community of Busua did not receive as much capacity building from voluntourism.

This research is contributing to the lack of knowledge on voluntourism and host communities in academic literature, but it also informs volunteers and volunteer organizations about how the projects influence the community. This is beneficial

because it will help minimize some of the negative impacts of voluntourism and capacity building.

The Research Process

The biggest thing that I learned through this research process that your research proposal is going to change the moment you get into the field. I went into Ghana with the plan to interview local residents only in the WCHS, but when I got there I quickly realized that the WCHS had not seen volunteers for years. Obviously I was not impressed with this discovery, as I had expected the WCHS to be a hub for international volunteers. As frustrated as I was when I figured this out, it turned out to be a blessing in disguise. The WCHS does not have volunteers because it does not need volunteers. The Peace Corp and Earthwatch came to help establish the sanctuary and do their research, and then they left it in the capable hands of the locals once they were done. I believe the WCHS is an example of where voluntourism has been successful with minimal negative impacts.

However, I still wanted to get an idea of the current state of voluntourism, so I added Busua to my research. To do this I had to amend my ethics application in the field, but it worked out perfectly because by the time I got to Busua I only had to wait a few days to hear that I was approved by the REB to do research there. Busua had more volunteers and had 3 volunteer organizations within the town, so I was happy to add this perspective to my research.

I had two very different experiences conducting research in the WCHS and Busua. Since I spent more time in the WCHS and the GRST had visited the WCHS since 2011 it was a lot easier to make connections within the community, and by the time I

interviewed my participants I had already met them at least once during GRST research, so they knew who I was. I also had a translator who was well known in the community. These two factors allowed me to get more detailed answers to my questions, and I felt that my participants were being honest and open with me.

Busua was less familiar with VIU's GRST, and I spent less time there. I could feel that some participants were hesitant to talk to me and may have held back a bit. To be fair, I would have reacted the same way if a strange person just showed up to my community and started asking questions. However, I also had a translator/assistant with me when I needed one, and his presence also made participants feel more comfortable.

Conducting cross-cultural research has emphasized the importance of spending time within a community, making connections, and establishing trust in order to get genuine responses. I think this should apply to voluntourism as well, because if a volunteer is in a community for only a week, the host community has no reason, or time, to build a relationship and build trust. Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible for short-term volunteers to have a meaningful impact.

Concluding Thoughts

The thing I am most proud of with this research process is the fact that I completed it. Since before I applied to the Master's of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management at VIU, I was not keen on doing research. However, I was interested in and passionate about the degree program and sustainability that I decided I would do it anyway. Conducting research has been a rollercoaster ride and a learning process, but it was worth it. In the end, I have an experience I never thought I would achieve and I am excited to see where it will take me in the future.

APPENDIX C: KNOWLEDGE MOBILIZATION PLAN

Giving Back to the Host Communities

Cultural sensitivity was an important aspect of this research; therefore, it is important that this research is shared with the communities that contributed to it. Copies of the thesis will be sent to management at the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (WCHS) as well as the Town Tourism Development Committee (TTDC) in Busua. This will allow the communities to read the thesis and see what came out of it. The host communities can use the findings of this thesis to better inform themselves on the type of volunteers that typically enter communities and why. It can also inform their own decisions concerning voluntourism in their community, specifically concerning the purpose for having volunteers and how volunteers can be used effectively to meet the community's needs.

World Leisure Congress 2014

The findings of this thesis will be presented at the 2014 World Leisure Congress in 2014 in Mobile, Alabama. This will allow for the findings to be shared with a wide audience, including researchers, educator, government officials, and members of various leisure and tourism NGOs. The findings of this research are particularly relevant to NGOs who send volunteers abroad as it emphasizes the importance of involving the host community in the volunteer projects.

Blogs and Other Social Media

The findings of this research will be shared on social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, and various blogs. This type of media allows the findings to be shared with an

audience that is not necessarily academic, but would contain more of the consumers of voluntourism. It is important for volunteers to consider the impact they have on the community they enter and work in. The findings of this research indicate that it is necessarily to think critically about engaging in voluntourism. The length of the stay, type of project, and the sending organization are important things to consider before volunteering.

A summary of this research will be shared on the VIU in Africa blog as well as the World Leisure Center of Excellence blog. In addition, posters containing key findings will be posted to Facebook and Twitter.

The Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management
is an initiative of the World Leisure Centre of Excellence
in Sustainability and Innovation at Vancouver Island University.