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Host Perceptions of Socio-Cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism in Vietnamese Farm Communities

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Host Perceptions of Socio-Cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism in Vietnamese Farm Communities

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Tourism and Hospitality Management
Technological University Dublin, Ireland

Supervisors: Dr Ralf Burbach and Dr Denise O’Leary

October 2022

Abstract

Volunteer tourism has grown significantly, contributing enormous economic, environmental, and socio-cultural impacts to host communities over 20 years (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Lee & Zhang, 2019; Olsen et al., 2021). There appears to be limited research on the impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities, especially the socio-cultural impacts. The academic literature lacks an agreed framework to understand the socio-cultural impacts (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). The aim of this study is to provide an in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in Vietnamese farms on the host communities. Drawing on the multiple forms of capital perspectives and theoretical concepts – the study takes an interpretive stance to examine these impacts. By means of a qualitative collective case study design, two farm communities were selected and 37 semi-structured interviews were conducted with different stakeholders from these host societies and four documents were examined. Findings show that the impacts include educational effects, cultural exchanges, health, job opportunities, relationships, awareness of environmental conservation, physical changes, promotion of local products and tourism in the community, and community resource management. The research contributes to the development of a deeper understanding of the host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism using an interpretive approach. Volunteer tourism had a number of impacts on different types of capital in the host communities. The findings reveal that the inclusion of local communities in decision-making and planning acts as a pivotal element that potentially strengthens the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. One of the key contributions is that the focus is on the sustainability of the outcomes rather than the outcomes themselves and on the factors that mediate sustainability. Another contribution relates to empowerment arising in various forms of capital. The research also provides additional insights into the interconnectedness between different types of capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. The researcher developed a socio-cultural impact model, which shows the types of impact of the forms of capital on socio-cultural outcomes of volunteer tourism. The study also provides practical implications for policymakers to design and develop strategies for the more effective and sustainable implementation of volunteer tourism.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for graduate study by research of the Technological University Dublin and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the TU Dublin's guidelines for ethics in research.

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Signature: 

Date: 17/10/2022

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Abbreviations

AD	Document at Farm A
BD	Document at Farm B
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
FO	Farm Owner
FS	Farm Staff
F2F	Face-to-Face
LA	Local Authority
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
QoL	Quality of Life
R	Resident
RQ	Research Question
TA	Thematic Analysis
TRAM	Tourism Research and Marketing
TUD	Technological University Dublin
VA	Volunteer Activities
VP	Volunteer Project
VT	Volunteer Tourism
VTO	Volunteer Tourism Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on farm communities. This introductory chapter begins with the background and rationale for this research. Further, the research aim and three research questions (RQs) are introduced. The chapter concludes with the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Background and Rationale for the Research

Volunteer tourism has been one of the fast-growing tourism mass niche markets, with millions of volunteer tourists worldwide travelling each year (Hartman et al., 2014a). Volunteer tourism has grown significantly, contributing enormous economic, environmental, and socio-cultural impacts to host communities (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Lee & Zhang, 2019; Olsen et al., 2021). Several research gaps have been identified.

Firstly, the volunteer tourism literature appears to pay more attention to the perspectives of volunteer tourists, typically on their motivations and/or experiences (Lo & Lee, 2011) than to the impacts of volunteer tourism and tourists on the host and its communities (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; McGehee, 2014; Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Indeed, the social and cultural aspects of the host society are the main drivers of volunteer tourism activities (Aquino & Andereck, 2018). However, few studies investigated socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on visited areas from the point of view of the host communities. This suggests a need to focus on socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the visited areas. In addition, there are a lack of studies investigating community participation in the research process (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Olsen et al., 2021). Taplin et al. (2014) indicate that the host society not only gets support from volunteers but also may or may not be satisfied with volunteer projects. The perceptions of local residents adds value to this study as the literature on community participation is still limited when compared to the volunteer tourism studies on volunteer tourism organisations (VTOs) and volunteer tourists (Olsen et al., 2021). Understanding how and why host communities perceive socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism provides benefits in developing more effective volunteer tourism management practices for diverse stakeholders.

Moreover, volunteer tourism on host farms represents one of the fastest-growing tourism markets in recent years (Mostafanezhad, 2016). With the exception of the research of Terry (2014), Zavitz and Butz (2011), Wengel et al., (2018), Mostafanezhad (2016), Miller and Mair (2015), and Deville et al. (2016), there appears to exist a lack of research on the nature and implications of volunteer tourism on farm communities. Terry's (2014) research in the USA indicates that volunteer tourism brings some benefits for the host farmers including dealing with labour shortages and building capacity in sustainable agriculture. However, other research by Zavitz and Butz (2011) in Costa Rica reveals that volunteer tourism does not reliably yield discernible material contributions to social development or environmental sustainability in host communities, and meaningful trans-cultural understanding between hosts and volunteers. These studies have been carried out in developed countries and no such research has been published to date in the context of a developing country such as Vietnam, where farm volunteer tourism is one of the fast-growing tourism markets. Thus, this study answers the call by Terry (2014) for more research on farm volunteer tourism in a developing world context.

Secondly, few studies investigated the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Hence, this current study will contribute to the existing knowledge on the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in the specific context of the farm communities. The study focuses on the sustainability of the outcomes rather than the outcomes themselves.

Finally, the impacts of volunteer tourism depend on how the VTOs manage it. Although VTOs play an important role in volunteer tourism development, relatively little research investigating the role of VTOs in managing volunteer activities has been conducted. This study contributes to the volunteer tourism literature by analysing the role of VTOs acting as a mediator/gatekeeper, a bridge, or a barrier between volunteers and local residents.

All the above suggests that more research is needed to comprehensively understand the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The research contributes to the body of knowledge by providing greater insights into the nature of the socio-cultural impacts, the relationship between those as well as the factors mediating their longevity. This research also offers an in-

depth understanding of local residents' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The results also provide practical implications for VTOs and policymakers to aid these organisations in the more effective and sustainable implementation of volunteer tourism. The principle aim and questions are presented in the following section.

1.3 Research Aim and Questions

1.3.1 Research Aim

By understanding three identified research gaps, this study seeks to examine the host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in the less considered context of farm communities. The following primary research aim was formulated:

To explore and understand host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in Vietnamese farm communities.

1.3.2 Research Questions

In order to achieve the main aim, three research questions are set:

RQ1: What socio-cultural impacts can be observed?

RQ2: How can the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism be achieved?

RQ3: What are the ways/the manner in which socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on farm communities can be mediated by VTOs?

Having identified the research questions, the following research objectives will be addressed as part of this research to answer these research questions. The first research question of this study is to understand the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in the host communities of two volunteering projects. To address the research question, the first research objective is to investigate how local participants interpret the specific socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism (objective 1a). A model of specific socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism from

different stakeholders' views found in previous studies is a way of looking at the socio-cultural impacts. The second research objective is to explore how different forms of capital perspectives (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013) and theoretical concepts (i.e. power, empowerment, and sustainability) might be usefully applied to examine host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism (objective 1b).

The second research question identifies whether these socio-cultural impacts are sustainable or not. To address this research question, the first research objective is to evaluate the sustainability of the outcomes rather than the outcomes themselves (objective 2a). The second research objective is to investigate factors influencing the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism (objective 2b). In addition, sustainability is seen as not only an outcome of empowerment but also a mechanism for achieving it (Hennink et al., 2012). The current study investigates if empowerment/degrees of community engagement in decision-making and planning can act as a pivotal element that potentially strengthens the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. This thesis provides empirical data in the socio-cultural impacts literature on how the sustainability of these impacts can be achieved.

The third research question identifies the role of VTOs in setting up volunteer tourism activities. Volunteer tourism development depends on how the VTOs manage it (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). The first research objective is to explore the role of VTOs acting as a mediator/gatekeeper, a bridge, or a barrier between volunteers and local residents in community empowerment and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts (objective 3). The current research examines the power of VTOs in volunteer tourism development.

In order to address the research aim and questions discussed above, the chapter structure and contents of the study are presented in the next section.

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

This thesis is structured into six chapters: (i) introduction, (ii) literature review, (iii) methodology, (iv) findings, (v) discussion, and (vi) conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter One provides an overview of the research including the rationale for this research, the research aim and questions, and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two presents the extant literature on volunteer tourism and its socio-cultural impacts. Chapter Two highlights the understanding of volunteer tourism, stakeholders, the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, and factors influencing these impacts. A theoretical model is being developed in this chapter. The chapter also presents the sustainability of these impacts. The remainder of the chapter outlines the understanding of host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts through various forms of capital and different theoretical concepts. The chapter concludes with the proposed conceptual framework, research aim, and research questions.

Chapter Three provides details on the methodology. The chapter begins with the research philosophy and the research design. Chapter Three also discusses the case study research, research sample, and sampling techniques (i.e. purposive sampling and snowball sampling). The study selects two case study farms. The chapter continues with the discussion of the data collection methods. During semi-structured interviews, local residents, farm owners, and farm workers were asked key questions about their perceptions of the impacts of volunteer tourism, as well as their opinions on volunteer activities. Additionally, the researcher undertook interviews with volunteer tourism organisation (VTO) employees and government staff and explored VTO documentation, to collect background and contextual information about the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. As a result, 37 semi-structured interviews were conducted and 4 documents were examined. In addition, the chapter presents the ethical considerations. A thematic framework was developed linking individual themes and keywords to construct a model. The chapter concludes with trustworthiness and methodological limitations.

Chapter Four presents the findings of the empirical research. The chapter begins with an overview of the case study farms and an overview of the participants. The findings are presented using nine themes: educational effects, job opportunities, cultural exchanges, relationships, health, awareness of environmental conservation, physical changes, promotion of local products and tourism, and community resources development.

Chapter Five discusses the findings of the research in light of the relevant literature. A model of sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities was developed as a visual display of the theoretical contributions of this study. The chapter also discusses the development of various forms of capital and dimensions of empowerment. Chapter Five discusses the interrelationships between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The chapter concludes with the role of VTOs in sustainability of socio-cultural impacts and community empowerment.

Chapter Six presents the key contributions, practical implications, limitations of the research, and recommendations for future studies. Key contributions relate to the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts, empowerment arising in various forms of capital, and interrelationships between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

1.5 Chapter Summary

This introductory chapter presented the background and rationale for the research, research aim, and research questions. The qualitative study explores the host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts in Vietnamese farm communities. As outlined in the structure of the dissertation, the next chapter presents an extensive review and analysis of relevant literature on volunteer tourism and the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The importance of volunteer tourism for the success of sustainable tourism has generally been the focus of academic research, however, few studies investigate socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; McGehee, 2014; Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). In addition, Aquino and Andereck (2018) state that there is an imperative need for more empirical evidence to identify the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. By focusing on host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts, this current study contributes to the volunteer tourism literature with an empirical contribution in a specific context (i.e. host farm communities) and presents a theoretical framework for socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

This chapter commences with a brief introduction to volunteer tourism. Following this, the volunteer tourism stakeholders are reviewed. Subsequently, the focus of the current study moves on to socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism including the nature of, factors influencing, a model of, and sustainability of impacts. The chapter also presents an exploration of host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts through different types of capital. The chapter concludes with a proposed conceptual framework for this research.

2.2 Understanding Volunteer Tourism

Volunteer tourism has grown for some decades and has been defined differently by various scholars (Lee, 2020; Thompson, 2022). There have been numerous attempts to describe the term ‘volunteer tourism’ within the study of tourism. It can be viewed as a charity, justice, pro-poor, or goodwill tourism (Butcher & Smith, 2010; Rogerson, 2011; Scheyvens, 2007; Theerapappisit, 2009), ecotourism (Gray & Campbell, 2007), new moral tourism (Butcher, 2005), sustainable tourism (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Raymond & Hall, 2008), niche tourism (Novelli, 2005), or voluntourism (Lee & Woosnam, 2010). Therefore, these different definitions and conceptualisations underline the increasing debate in the literature on tourism research. Though slight differences in definition and focus exist in reference to terminology, as is the case with many emerging areas of research, this study uses the term ‘volunteer

tourism’ to describe the phenomenon because this term is widely used and accepted in tourism studies.

In order to gain an understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities, it is fundamental to consider what volunteer tourism is. Currently, the term ‘volunteer tourism’ has been defined differently by various researchers and an universally accepted definition does not exist (Proyrungroj, 2017a). Wearing (2001, p.1) defines volunteer tourism as: ‘those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment’. While Keese (2011, p.258) defines volunteer tourism as ‘a combination of development work, education and tourism’, Lyons and Wearing (2012) refer it to service learning, cultural exchange, and charity fundraising challenge. All of these definitions imply that there are two key components of volunteer tourism: travelling and volunteering (Gillen & Mostafanezhad, 2019; McGehee & Santos, 2005; Proyrungroj, 2017a; Raymond & Hall, 2008). First, volunteer tourism is considered to be a tourism activity or holiday because it involves discretionary time and individuals travel out of the sphere of regular activity to other places during their free time (Proyrungroj, 2017a). Second, a unique feature of volunteer tourism is the volunteering component at the places visited and the participants’ desire to work, which distinguish it from other types of tourism (Hammersley, 2014; Proyrungroj, 2017b). For this study, volunteer tourism is defined as:

a kind of tourism based on international, inter-social and intercultural cooperation to maximise the common good trying to get a sustainable development. In order to make that possible, volunteers offer their time, knowledge, skills or financial resources to benefit other people or causes that need it (Corti et al., 2010, p.221).

From the definitions of volunteer tourism above, volunteer tourism brings immediate or long-term impacts to local residents. This leads to the question of how volunteer tourism affects the host communities. To address this question, the first step is to understand who the

volunteer tourism stakeholders are. Thus, volunteer tourism stakeholders are reviewed in the next section.

2.3 Volunteer Tourism Stakeholders

Volunteer tourism stakeholders are analysed by scholars (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). Waligo et al. (2013) define stakeholders as any groups or individuals who are involved in tourism development initiatives and therefore affect or are affected by the decisions and activities related to such initiatives. Different volunteer tourism stakeholders have been identified (TRAM, 2008). Volunteer tourism stakeholders may not be limited in those presented in Table 2.1. This current study chooses Taplin et al.'s (2014) classification of stakeholders including volunteer tourists, VTOs, government, and local residents analysed by research on volunteer tourism as they are important actors in volunteer tourism development and the development of the host society. Table 2.1 presents an overview of stakeholders and their importance in understanding the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. Further perspectives on volunteer tourism stakeholders are provided in section 2.5.

Table 2.1 Stakeholders and Their Importance in Understanding the Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism on Host Communities

Type of Stakeholder	Why are they important?	References
VTOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruit and/or receive volunteers • Organise programmes • Organise and/or host volunteers • Oversee volunteer activities • Intermediary between volunteer and host community • May fund programmes • May profit from 	TRAM (2008); Honey (2011); Raymond (2011; 2008)

	programmes	
Host communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Host volunteers • May or may not be satisfied with programmes and/or volunteers 	Benson (2010); Gray and Campbell (2007); Guttentag (2011); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Sin (2010); Wearing and Darcy (2011)
Volunteer tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pay and/or volunteer to participate in programme 	TRAM (2008); Benson (2011a); Wearing (2001)
Governments and government agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May fund programmes • May impose regulations on volunteer tourism activities 	TRAM (2008); Honey (2011); Garland (2012)

Source: Taplin et al. (2014, p.884)

Having the main concepts of stakeholders involved in volunteer tourism, the next sections review perspectives on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities.

2.4 Understanding Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism on Host Communities

The socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities have been the subject of controversy among researchers (Aquino & Andereck, 2018). Furthermore, researchers list many socio-cultural impacts without a clear understanding of how perceptions of these impacts are formed (Deery et al., 2012). There does not appear to be a single agreed upon framework for understanding the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Hence, to address this issue, the study makes an attempt to develop an integrated theoretical framework showing the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. Therefore, the following section will provide an analytical and critical evaluation of the literature relating to definitions, factors influencing, and a model of the socio-cultural impacts.

The term 'socio-cultural' tends to be used widely in tourism literature because it is difficult to separate social and cultural elements (Page & Connell, 2014). Up to now, there is no consensus on the definition of the term 'socio-cultural impact'. Some examples of socio-cultural impact definitions that have been widely cited in the existing literature are presented below. For instance, Page and Connell (2014, p.294) define socio-cultural impacts as:

[C]hanges in societal value systems, individual behaviour, social relationships, lifestyles, modes of expression, and community structures.

Ahmed (2015) states that social and cultural impacts refer to changes in the way people live, think, and work including social values, beliefs, feelings, behaviour, experience, and lifestyle. Glasson et al. (1995) refer to it as the human impact of tourism, focusing on changes in the daily quality of life of residents at the tourist destination, and the cultural impact related to changes in traditional ideas and values, norms and identities caused by tourism. Generally, social impacts are often associated with more immediate changes in quality of life and adjustments to the tourism industry in the destination communities. However, another angle on this debate suggests that cultural impacts involve long-term changes in the social relationships, order as well as society's norms and standards (de Kadt, 1979). All of these definitions highlight that socio-cultural impacts relate to changes in values systems, behaviour, relationships, lifestyle, norms, identities, beliefs, feelings, and quality of life that occur in an individual as a result of direct or indirect association with tourists. Further, perceptions of these impacts vary widely among individuals (Mason, 2015). Therefore, socio-cultural impacts of tourism should be considered carefully, since they affect the community both positively or negatively (Aref & Redzuan, 2010).

In addition, while the socio-cultural impacts can be generalised, determining the magnitude of these impacts is more challenging. The nature of social and cultural change is the reason for the complexity of the study of impacts on society and culture. In fact, tourism is only one factor in the many and varied drivers of this change (Page & Connell, 2014). Further, it is more difficult to assess the socio-cultural impacts of tourism because they tend to be a subjective or qualitative measurement of impacts on a destination, compared to the quantitative measure of economic impacts (Mason, 2015). Hence, understanding socio-

cultural impacts of volunteer tourism is, indeed, a complex task. There are two important categories in the literature concerning socio-cultural impacts: moderating variables and the specific socio-cultural impacts. The first category includes those factors that affect the socio-cultural impacts. The latter category comprises the socio-cultural impacts themselves. Having defined the socio-cultural impacts, the following section presents a variety of factors influencing their nature and extent.

2.5 Factors Influencing Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

In the tourism literature, several factors seem to influence the extent of socio-cultural impacts. For instance, Deery et al. (2012) outline three factors including resident characteristics, destination characteristics, and host-tourist relationship which shape the effects. In terms of volunteer tourism, numerous studies attempt to explore the factors that influence socio-cultural impacts. For instance, Alexander (2012) states that demographic factors (e.g. age), types of volunteer activities/projects, and duration of participation could influence the impacts. Similarly, Proyrungroj (2015) comments that relationships and interactions between volunteer tourists and host communities are other factors in shaping the impacts on the host society. These factors can be categorised into three main groups: volunteer tourist-related factors, destination-related factors, and host-volunteer interactions. The next section presents an overview of perspectives on these factors.

2.5.1 Volunteer Tourist – related Factors

This section outlines three factors related to volunteer tourists that influence socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism: characteristics of volunteer tourists, characteristics of volunteer projects/activities, and characteristics of VTOs.

2.5.1.1 Characteristics of Volunteer Tourists

While an in-deep investigation into the characteristics of volunteer tourists is not part of this research, this study will provide a brief summary of these factors that may have a significant impact on host communities. Several characteristics of volunteer tourists must be considered when understanding socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism: classifications, demographic, motivations, knowledge and skills, and adequacy. The demographic of

volunteer tourists ranges from schoolchildren to retirees (TRAM, 2008). Hence, they have different skills which may have different impacts on local society (Aquino & Andereck, 2018). For instance, volunteers can take part in projects to alleviate poverty and restore the environment where they visit (Wearing, 2001). However, the knowledge and skills of the volunteers may not match the desires of the host community (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). Different types of volunteer tourists have different levels of contribution or impacts on local members (Callanan & Thomas, 2007). This study uses the classification of volunteer tourists by Callanan and Thomas (2005) for examining the possible impacts volunteer tourists have on the host society (see Table 2.2). In particular, Callanan and Thomas (2005) classify volunteer tourists into three groups: ‘shallow’, ‘intermediate’, or ‘deep’ volunteer tourists. As presented in Table 2.2, Callanan and Thomas (2005) use six criteria to explain different forms of volunteers including the duration of holidays, the skills or qualifications of participants, the degree of volunteer tourists’ involvement, the contribution to host communities, and volunteer tourists’ experience. Table 2.2 presents an overview of the classification of volunteer tourists. In summary, different forms of volunteers have different levels of impact on the host society.

Table 2.2 A Classification of Volunteer Tourists

Types of volunteer tourists	Shallow Volunteer Tourists	Intermediate Volunteer Tourists	Deep Volunteer Tourists
Importance of the destination	The destination is important in the decision-making	Focuses on both the project and the destination	More attention is given to the project than the destination
Duration of participation	Short-term (less than four weeks)	Medium-term (less than six months)	Long-term (six months or more)
Focus of experience: altruistic and self-interest	Self-interested motivations are primary	Self-interest motivations are of similar importance	Altruism is primary

		to altruism	
Requirement	Minimal	Generic skills	Some technical/professional skills/experience
Active/Passive participation	More passive	Mixture	More active
Level of impact to locals	Minimal direct impact	Moderate direct impact	High level of direct impact

Source: Amended from Callanan and Thomas (2005, p.197)

Having an overview of a classification of volunteer tourists, the following section represents the discussion of the characteristics of volunteer tourism activities/projects.

2.5.1.2 Characteristics of Volunteer Tourism Activities/Projects

This section analyses the characteristics of volunteer tourism projects/activities (VTP) which influence the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. According to Taplin et al. (2014), volunteer tourism programmes differ in the focus of the projects, types of programmes, duration of volunteer experience, amount of time spent volunteering versus leisure/holidaying, shallow-intermediate-deep continuum programme, and the niches in volunteer tourism. The types of volunteer activities/projects may have an effect on the experience and any other related impacts (Alexander, 2012). The duration of volunteer experience may influence the level of engagement between stakeholders (Taplin et al., 2014). Long-term impacts can come from short-term volunteer activities (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). For instance, research conducted in Brazil by Aquino and Andereck (2018) reveals that while some volunteers only stayed in the local communities for a short period of time, they improved the emotional well-being of the students and changed the negative images of the favelas. According to TRAM (2008), the voluntary components of volunteer tourism are divided into three categories based on the following criteria: length of placement, effect on local communities, and the degree of expected responsibility of the volunteer tourists. Callanan and Thomas (2005) propose a classification of volunteer tourism projects including

the depth/integrity of programmes such as shallow, intermediate, and deep continuums. While the impact of ‘shallow’ volunteer tourism programmes is limited on an individual basis but collectively can be of value to the local area, the impact of ‘deep’ volunteer tourism programmes is explicit with a direct impact on the local area (Callanan & Thomas, 2007). Table 2.3 presents a classification of volunteer tourism projects/activities by using six factors to construct the concept of volunteer tourism projects including flexibility in duration of participation, promotion of project and destination, focus on experience, requirement, active/passive participation, and level of contribution to locals. Table 2.3 amends the level of impact to locals instead level of contribution as the volunteer tourists can have both positive and negative impact on the host society. Overall, different types of volunteer activities may have different levels of effect on the host community.

Table 2.3 A Classification of Volunteer Tourism Projects/Activities (VTP)

	Shallow VTP	Intermediate VTP	Deep VTP
Flexibility in duration of participation	High degree of flexibility	High degree of flexibility	Time period typically determined by organisations
Promotion of project and the destination	The destination is important in the decision-making	Focuses on both the project and the destination	Strong emphasis on the project, the activities, the local community and area and the value of the project to the area
Focus of experience: altruistic and self-interest	Self-interested motivations are primary	Self-interest motivations are of similar importance to altruism	Altruism is primary
Requirement	Minimal	Generic skills	Some technical/professional

			skills/experience
Active/Passive participation	More passive	Mixture	More active
Level of impacts to locals	Minimal direct impacts	Moderate direct impacts	High level of direct impacts

Source: Amended from Callanan and Thomas (2005, p.197)

In addition to an overview of classification of volunteer tourism projects/activities, the next section reviews the characteristics of VTOs.

2.5.1.3 Characteristics of Volunteer Tourism Organisations

In order to understand volunteer tourism, previous studies analyse the volunteer tourism organisations (VTOs). Table 2.4 presents four sub-dimensions of VTOs including types, focuses, motivations, and operational arrangements.

Table 2.4 Dimensions of Volunteer Tourism Organisations

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Types of VTOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-government organisations (NGOs) • Not-for-profit (including charities and some NGOs) • For-profit • Social enterprises • Academic organisations • Religious groups
Operational arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sending organisations • Host organisations • Organisation both sends and hosts volunteers

Main focus of VTOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer travel • Niche travel • Community development/service • Conservation of wildlife and/or environment • Religious activities
VTOs' motives for engaging in volunteer tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Altruistic • Commercial • Religious convictions • Political objectives • Philanthropic-commercial continuum and spectrum between commercialisation and service

Source: Amended from Taplin et al. (2014)

VTOs including non-organisation governments, not-for-profit organisations, for-profit organisations, social enterprises, academic institutions, and religious organisations (TRAM, 2008) are crucial stakeholders in volunteer tourism development (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). For instance, McGehee and Andereck (2008) highlight the vital role of VTOs as gatekeepers between foreign volunteers and local participants. In addition, Taplin et al. (2014) state that a volunteer organisation or a sending organisation which comes from a developed country will often partner with multiple host organisations. Host organisations are based in the area visited where the volunteer tourism activities take place. Host organisations may be engaged in further partnerships with local organisations and host communities which receive the volunteers (Raymond, 2011).

VTOs may influence the development of volunteer activities and the relationship between volunteer tourists and host communities (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). The operational arrangements of VTOs include sending organisations, host organisations, and/or both sends and hosts volunteers (Taplin et al., 2014). If not managed properly, volunteer tourism may lead to more negative impacts than positive effects on host communities (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). For instance, the main focus of VTOs is the conservation of the

environment or community development and volunteer tourism may be just one activity that VTOs are engaged in or VTOs may be focused solely on volunteer tourism (TRAM, 2008). Furthermore, the motivations of VTOs for engaging in volunteer tourism can vary enormously (Taplin et al., 2014), ranging from altruistic, commercial profit, religious convictions, and political objectives (Coghlan & Noakes, 2012; Ong et al., 2013). VTOs' motivations may have effects on the types of volunteer programmes and the types of volunteers recruited (Taplin et al., 2014). For example, VTOs are social enterprises offering volunteer activities and required volunteers some specific knowledge and skills related to their products. In short, the focuses and motivations of VTOs will influence the impacts of volunteer tourism on the host society.

Overall, VTOs are important stakeholders in volunteer tourism development. The different types of VTOs will influence the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities. In addition to the volunteer tourist-related factors, destination-related factors influencing socio-cultural impacts on host communities are further explained in the following section.

2.5.2 Destination-related Factors

Apart from the obvious volunteer tourist-related factors, destination-related factors may mediate or moderate the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. A number of moderating factors have been found in the literature considered to be significant in assessing the socio-cultural impacts. According to Deery et al. (2012), destination-related factors include variables focusing on destination characteristics and resident characteristics. The information contained in Table 2.5 summarises the factors that both quantitative and qualitative researchers have utilised to date to acquire an understanding of issues in the socio-cultural impact of volunteer tourism research. The moderating/mediating factors of resident characteristics and destination characteristics have all been found, in some way, to influence the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities.

Table 2.5 Destination-related Factors Influencing on Socio-cultural Impacts

Destination-related factors	Factors	Sources
Destination Characteristics	Context	Bargeman et al. (2018); Dillette et al. (2017); Lee and Zhang (2019); Mostafanezhad (2016); Taplin et al. (2014); Zahra and McGehee (2013)
	Heterogeneity of Communities	Mostafanezhad (2016)
Resident Characteristics	Demographics	Dillette et al. (2017); Proyrungroj (2015)
	Economic dependence on tourism	Dillette et al. (2017); Lee and Zhang (2019)
	Level of contact/involvement	Dillette et al. (2017); Lee and Zhang (2019)
	Use of facilities	Bargeman et al. (2018); Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Singh (2014)
	Expectation/Needs	Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018)
	Cultural similarities	McGehee and Andereck (2009)

2.5.2.1 Destination Characteristics

In the volunteer tourism academic literature, destination communities are another key stakeholder group analysed by scholars. According to Gonzalez et al. (2018), host communities play an important role in the development of sustainable tourism since they are the cultural agents and social groups in which tourism is delivered. The characteristics of the destination including context, level of volunteer tourism development, seasonality, and heterogeneity of communities influence the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on

host communities. Volunteer tourism may have a number of impacts in the host communities and the impacts varied depending on the context. For instance, research conducted in the Philippines by Zahra and McGehee (2013) has shown that volunteer tourists played different roles in different communities which had different impacts on these villages. Furthermore, local governments could have an influence on socio-cultural impacts because they may fund volunteer projects or establish regulations relating to volunteer projects (Benson, 2010; Garland, 2012). In addition, Wearing and McGehee (2013) contend that the desires of the host communities are important in the development of volunteer tourism. As Taplin et al. (2014) indicate, the host society includes different stakeholders who have different social, cultural, and economic values and interests. Understanding how and why host communities perceive socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism provides benefits in developing more effective management practices for diverse stakeholders.

Having provided an overview of destination characteristics which may influence on socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities, the next section focuses on the resident characteristics.

2.5.2.2 Resident Characteristics

In terms of resident characteristics, Table 2.5 provides factors including demographic, economic dependency, level of involvement, expectations, cultural similarity, and use of facilities that have been found to have effects of volunteer tourism on host communities. First, residents' demographic variables such as age, gender, marital status, and education have been examined by several authors (Dillette et al., 2017; Proyrungroj, 2015). Second, economic dependence/over-reliance on volunteer tourism affects impacts so that local residents participating in volunteer tourism tend to support it over those who do not (Dillette et al., 2017; Lee & Zhang, 2019). Third, levels of resident involvement in volunteer programmes have influenced the impacts of volunteer tourism (Dillette et al., 2017). Volunteer tourists using local facilities may influence the perceptions of community members. For instance, while in some cases locals may have positive opinions about volunteers assisting in the building of local facilities (Zahra & McGehee, 2013), in other cases, locals have a negative perception of volunteers, as volunteer tourism development is seen as a drain on important resources such as drinkable water, energy, and food that could

otherwise be used by residents (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; McGehee & Andereck, 2009; Singh, 2014). According to Page and Connell (2014), impacts tend to be higher if there are both cultural and geographical differences in the host-guest relationship. Added to this, McGehee and Andereck (2009) argue that with such cultural differences, cultural conflict can occur between volunteer tourists and local participants. Moreover, local needs/expectations also play in influencing the impacts of the volunteer tourism (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). Other elements such as attachment to the community or social, political, and environmental values may play a role in influencing the resident perception of tourism (Deery et al., 2012).

Besides the destination-related factors, the form and nature of interactions and relations between tourism stakeholders is another factor influencing the socio-cultural impacts (Page & Connell, 2014), which is presented in the next section.

2.5.3 The Form and Nature of Interactions between Volunteer Tourists and Host Communities

Host-guest interactions have been the subject of much debate and research in tourism studies because it is a complex, multi-dimensional phenomenon, and different based on context, roles, and expectations (Sharpley, 2014). The quality and nature of the interaction may influence resident perceptions of tourism (Bimonte & Punzo, 2011, 2016; Sharpley, 2014). Host perceptions of tourism can be very different based on which population groups are considered. Krippendorff (1987) proposes four types of local residents within a primarily business context including (1) people who are in direct businesses with continuous contact with visitors, (2) those population groups who have no regular contact in unrelated businesses with tourists, (3) locals who are in direct and frequent contact but receiving only a part of the income from the tourism industry, and (4) groups of local residents who have no contact with visitors. Krippendorff's (1987) classifications of encounters focus on the economic perspective. Sharpley (2014) shifts the focus away from economic encounters and creates a continuum which focuses instead on general encounters between hosts and tourists. Because economic exchange is not a key feature of engagement between hosts and volunteer tourists, Sharpley's (2014) definition is a more appropriate one to use in the context of volunteer tourism and therefore is used in this study, as highlighted in Table 2.6. Sharpley's model can

be used to examine the extent to which host perceptions may be influenced by different forms of encounters. Sharpley (2014, p.39) divides encounters into four clusters: (1) 'intentional encounters based on commercial exchange', (2) 'intentional encounters based on personal exchange', (3) 'unintentional/spontaneous encounters', and (4) 'sharing space: no physical/verbal contact/ communication'. Although it is not assumed that all encounters can be neatly classified within the simple classifications, the aim is to provide a general conceptualisation of the continuum of volunteer-host encounters.

In volunteer tourism literature, encounters are 'context-specific, being situated in a particular place and time and involving specific people with diverse personal, social and cultural backgrounds' (Vodopivec & Jaffe, 2011, p.121). Sharpley's model can be used to examine host/volunteer encounters in volunteer tourism. As presented in Table 2.6, cluster 1 is labelled as the intentional encounters based on 'commercial exchange' where local residents and volunteers engage in direct and extensive, planned, mutually beneficial exchanges. Thus, encounters tend to have a high degree of influence on the host perceptions. For instance, research conducted by McLennan (2019) in Fiji, which focused on global encounters, volunteer tourism, development, and global citizenship, has shown that in the case when volunteers live in the local homes, encounters are often more direct, face to face, and frequent. There is a clear and direct impact on the local community/environment. Encounters in this cluster can provide mutual benefits to both locals and volunteers. For example, interactions between these actors provide volunteers with an insight into the local culture and an opportunity to learn the local language (Proyrungroj, 2017b), provide support and manpower to the host, increase local residents' knowledge about other cultures, and provide them with opportunities to develop new skills (Lee, 2020). Conversely, the lack of engagement between hosts and tourists at the far right of the continuum illustrated in Table 2.6 can result in a range of host attitudes towards tourists including approval, rejection, interest, or indifference (Krippendorf & Andrassy, 1987). This cluster, the so-called 'Sharing space: no physical/verbal contact/communication', is closely associated with mass tourism which often results in minimal direct impacts to the local community.

In the middle of this spectrum, cluster 2 is labelled as the intentional encounters based on 'personal exchange' and cluster 3 is so-called the 'unintentional/spontaneous encounters'.

The former refers to the scenarios in which locals have partial contact with volunteers but they are not reliant on volunteer tourism for work, whereas the latter refers to a scenario in which locals have tangential contact or no frequent contact with volunteers but receive only a part of their benefits from volunteer tourism. Both forms of encounters have some degree of influence on host perceptions and some impacts on the community. The personal exchange in cluster 2 may include a type of tourism experience where locals offer volunteer tourists opportunities to engage in sightseeing trips (Brown, 2005; Proyrungroj, 2017b) or as highlighted by research conducted in Mongolia by Lee and Zhang (2019), volunteer tourists may purchase products in local shops. In addition, in some cases, volunteers are consumers and pay for the experience of volunteering (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; McLennan, 2019). This is defined by some authors as the commodification of volunteer tourism (Coren & Gray, 2012; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012) or the commercial encounter (McLennan, 2019). Cluster 3 consists of those population groups who are in unplanned and infrequent contact with volunteers. While some local residents live near volunteers and engage in volunteer activities, their understanding of volunteer tourism is minimal, especially in situations where volunteer activities/projects are small in scale (Dillette et al., 2017; Lee & Zhang, 2019). Hence, these interactions or meetings result in uncertain benefits from volunteer tourism. In short, the structure of the encounters may determine the extent of impact, experience, and perceptions of local residents in the destination area.

Table 2.6 A Classification of Tourist-Host Encounters

Types of volunteer tourist-host encounter	Intentional encounters based on commercial exchange	Intentional encounters based on personal exchange	Unintentional/spontaneous encounters	Sharing space: no physical/verbal contact/communication
Contact	Frequent Structured/ planned/ Mutually beneficial	Occasional Planned Mutually	Infrequent Unplanned Uncertain benefit	None

		beneficial		
Level of influence on tourist experience and host perceptions	High degree	Some degree	Some degree	No influence on tourist experience; possible influence on host perceptions

Source: Sharpley (2014, p.39)

A number of moderating elements including volunteer-related factors, destination-related factors, and host-volunteer interactions have been identified in the literature as being important in assessing the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The information contained in Table 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6 summary the key variables that previous studies have used to obtain an understanding of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. These moderating variables have been found, in some way, to impact resident perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host society. Therefore, more research is needed to identify and analyse the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. In addition, the specific socio-cultural impacts are another category to consider when discussing the constructs used in socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism studies. Hence, the following discussion will focus on the core factor of this current study, a model of the specific socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism found in previous studies.

2.6 Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism on Host Communities: A Model from the Literature

There are various ways of looking at socio-cultural impacts. For instance, Zamani-Farahani and Musa (2012) classify 24 elements into three dimensions through factor analysis. Three domains include (i) social problems, (ii) image, facilities, infrastructure development, and (iii) cultural activities and quality of life (QOL). Lupoli and Morse (2015) use seven indicators including personal health, education, environmental impacts, agriculture, personal income and business development, cultural exchange and socio-cultural impacts, community development and infrastructure to assess the local impacts of volunteer tourism. Bargeman et

al. (2018) point out that the impacts of volunteer tourism not only have social problems but also have positive social impacts such as strengthening the education of the community. Lee and Zhang (2019) state that volunteer tourism development can contribute positively as well as negatively to the quality of life of the host community. For instance, the socio-cultural benefits of volunteer tourism can be a mixture of host culture and understanding of cultural norms, initiating environmental programmes, building friendships between volunteers and locals. On the other hand, the socio-cultural problems may include creating a reliance on foreign support, job displacements (because volunteer tourists may take jobs that paid local labour could do instead), bringing a lot of pollution and adding an extra burden to the host population (Lee & Zhang, 2019). In fact, the socio-cultural impacts are found to be multidimensional in nature which are interconnected and have blurred boundaries between them (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). Hence, the study of socio-cultural impacts has posed challenges for researchers not least because of the lack of an agreed framework to understand these impacts.

Figure 2.1 and Table 2.7 present the key socio-cultural impacts found in the literature. Figure 2.1 amends three headings of the socio-cultural impacts by Zamani-Farahani and Musa's (2012) model into four groups. The first dimension is social impacts as volunteer tourism development can contribute positive as well as negative social impacts to the host population (Bargeman et al., 2016; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Wright, 2013). The second one is community development because image, facilities, and infrastructure development can be related to the development in the host community (Lupoli & Morse, 2015). The third category is cultural activities including cultural exchange, cultural identity, and religious practices. Finally, the fourth category is quality of life which includes social relationships, neglect of locals' needs, over-reliance on volunteers' support, and health. These four aspects are discussed in the following sections and the proposed framework is presented in the following section (see Figure 2.1 and Table 2.7).

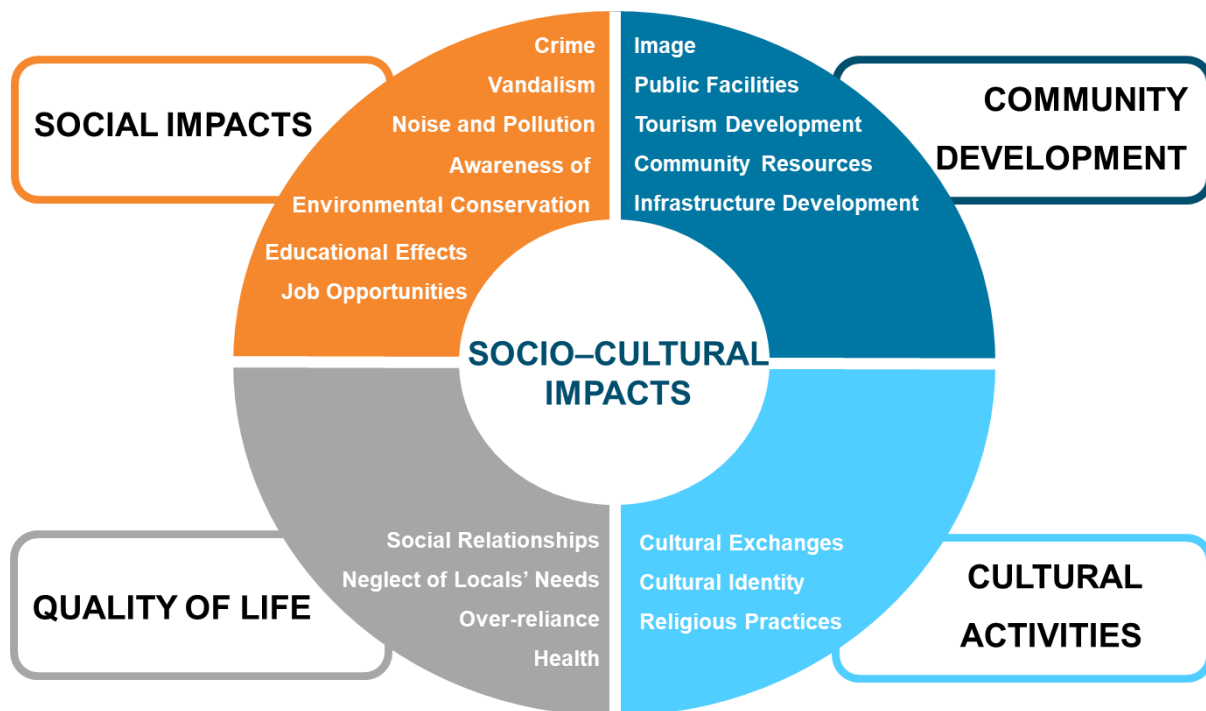


Figure 2.1 Framework showing Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism on Host Communities

Table 2.7 contain the key specific impacts that have been used in various studies to examine socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism and a listing of the authors of previous studies. Table 2.7 only covers research that has been published from 2007 to 2022. It contains four domains including social impacts, community development, cultural activities, and quality of life. The list of socio-cultural impacts finds in previous studies from different volunteer tourism stakeholders' points of view including volunteer tourists, local residents, and volunteer tourism organisations. Table 2.7 provides a list of socio-cultural impacts from research to date, both qualitative and quantitative. These categories are discussed in more detail below.

Table 2.7 Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism on Host Communities from 2007 to 2022

Categorise	Sources
SOCIAL IMPACTS	

Educational Effects	Aquino and Andereck (2018); Bargeman et al. (2018); Guiney (2012); Guttentag (2009); Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); Lee (2020); Lee and Zhang (2019); Mensah et al. (2021); Olsen et al. (2021); Proyrungroj (2015); Wright (2013)
Job Opportunities	Aquino and Andereck (2018); Bargeman et al. (2018); Dillette et al. (2017); Guttentag (2011); Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); Lee (2020); Lee and Zhang (2019); Lupoli et al. (2014); Lyons and Wearing (2012); McGehee (2012, 2014); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Olsen et al. (2021); Proyrungroj (2015); Raymond and Hall (2008); Sin (2009); Singh (2014); Terry (2014); Woosman and Lee (2011); Zahra and McGehee (2013)
Awareness of Environmental Conservation	Dillette et al. (2017); Lee and Zhang (2019); Lupoli et al. (2014); Matthews (2008); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Zahra and McGehee (2013)
Crimes, Vandalism, Noise, and Pollution	Coren and Gray (2012); Lupoli et al. (2014); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Wright (2013)
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	
Infrastructure Development	Lo and Lee (2011); Lupoli et al. (2014); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Sin (2010); Wearing and McGehee (2013)
Public Facilities	Bargeman et al. (2018); Dillette et al. (2017); McGehee and Andereck (2009)
Community's Image and Tourism Development	Aquino and Andereck (2018); Lee (2020); Lee and Zhang (2019); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Proyrungroj (2015)
Community Resources	Dillette et al. (2017); Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); McGehee and Andereck (2009); Singh (2014); Wearing and McGehee (2013)

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	
Cultural Exchanges	Aquino and Andereck (2018); Bargeman et al. (2018); Dillette et al. (2017); Guttentag (2009); Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); Lee (2020); Lee and Zhang (2019); Lyons and Wearing (2012); McGehee (2012, 2014); McLennan (2019); Raymond and Hall (2008); Sin (2009); Woosman and Lee (2011); Wright (2013)
Cultural Identity	Dillette et al. (2017); Zahra and McGehee (2013)
Religious Practices	Lo and Lee (2011); McGehee (2014); McGehee and Andereck (2008); Proyrungroj (2015); Zahra and McGehee (2013)
QUALITY OF LIFE	
Relationships	Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); Hollas et al. (2021); Lee (2020); Lee and Zhang (2019); Lupoli and Morse (2015); McIntosh and Zahra (2007); McGehee and Andereck (2008); McLennan (2019); Olsen et al. (2021); Proyrungroj (2017b); Sin (2010); Thompson (2022); Wearing and McGehee (2013); Zahra and McGehee (2013)
Health	Bargeman et al. (2018); Godfrey et al. (2015); Lupoli and Morse (2015); Zahra and McGehee (2013)
Over-reliance	Dillette et al. (2017); Guttentag (2009); Pastran (2014); Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); Lee (2020); Lee and Zhang (2019); Sin (2010); Singh (2014)
Neglect of Locals' Desires	Dillette et al. (2017); Gray and Campbell (2007); Guttentag (2009); Matthews (2008); Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018); Lee and Zhang (2019); Sin (2010); Wright (2013)

2.6.1 Social Impacts

According to existing literature, volunteer tourism brings many positive as well as negative social impacts to host communities. In terms of the educational dimension, this type of tourism can contribute to improve education in visited areas (Bargeman et al., 2016; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Wright, 2013). The enormous educational benefits it brings could be explained by the popularity of teaching over other volunteer tourism activities (Wright, 2013). Examples of these benefits include: improving student attendance or providing innovative teaching methods (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018), enhancing children's English communication ability and skills (Proyrungroj, 2015), and providing having extra-curricular knowledge, money, and materials for educational activities (Bargeman et al., 2018). However, some scholars have highlighted negative education impacts on local community members (Bargeman et al., 2018; Wright, 2013). For instance, educational programmes may not have a direction or structure (Wright, 2013). Regarding this issue, one of the reasons is that there can be a lack of collaboration and communication between schools and volunteers. For instance, volunteers themselves can decide on the classes they would like to teach and they may not teach in line with the local teaching system (Bargeman et al., 2018). Additionally, a lack of skills and knowledge which are necessary for the volunteer projects may make it highly difficult for volunteers to make a significant contribution to the host community (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2014). The children may be taught the same things by random volunteers (Wright, 2013). When volunteers leave the community, some students can feel frustrated while others drop out (Aquino & Andereck, 2018). Moreover, educational benefits can be sometimes overly exaggerated to make a good impression to attract more volunteers (Wright, 2013). Thus, although volunteer tourism has been praised as offering educational benefits to the locals, there is a need to address some of the educational drawbacks.

In addition to educational effects, as research in volunteer tourism has widely demonstrated, this type of tourism may generate employment opportunities (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Dillette et al., 2017; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Lee & Zhang, 2019; Singh, 2014; Terry, 2014). For instance, some community drivers and cooks are employed for running volunteer activities (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Moreover, volunteers can stay for a few nights at the local residents' houses and purchase local products at shops near these houses (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Lee & Zhang, 2019). In the long run, volunteers could

help create future demand for recruiting workers. For instance, research conducted in the United States by Terry (2014) reveals that volunteers help to increase the size and scope of local farms which need more permanent employees. Locals would become self-empowered through learning knowledge and skills from volunteers which could eventually increase their chances to get a job in the future (Dillette et al., 2017; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). By contrast, one noticeable negative impact of volunteer tourism is job displacement at the destination because volunteer tourists may take jobs that paid local labour could do instead (Guttentag, 2011; Lupoli, 2013; McGehee, 2014). Volunteer tourists are free labour for the host communities (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). For instance, Bargeman et al. (2018) note that the stay of volunteers may affect the job opportunities for local teachers in a negative way as the tasks of local people are taken over by volunteers during their stay. Overall, in spite of multiple positive benefits such as creating job opportunities and fostering future demand for local workers, volunteer tourism development may lead to the decreased job at the host population.

The literature states that volunteer tourism may both positively and negatively impact the hosts' awareness of environmental conservation. While this research does not focus on environmental impacts, environmental-friendly practices may contribute to changes in locals' behaviour or lifestyle (i.e. awareness of environmental conservation) which is part of socio-cultural impacts' definition (Page & Connell, 2014). Volunteers may not only share their knowledge and sustainable environmental practices but also raise awareness of environmental conservation in the local communities (Lee & Zhang, 2019; Lupoli & Morse, 2015; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). For instance, in Lee and Zhang's (2019) study on volunteer tourism in Mongolia, volunteers helped to pick up garbage as they were conscious of the importance of environmental sustainability for the host communities and developed more environmentally-aware attitudes by introducing recycling and environmental-friendly practices to locals. In the study conducted by Zahra and McGehee (2013), the findings highlight that volunteers have inspired the communities to engaged in the need to protect the environment. By contrast, the presence of volunteer tourists in local communities can be viewed as a pollution burden and adds an extra burden to the fragile natural environments (Dillette et al., 2017; Lee & Zhang, 2019; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). Lee and Zhang (2019) assert that environmental protection may not a priority in the host destination as the local residents are still struggling to achieve a basic standard of living. Without the involvement of local residents,

environmental protection goals may be impossible to achieve. Hence, there can be a need for cooperation and collaboration between multiple stakeholders on environmental conservation and subsequently to enhance the resilience of the local environment (Lee & Zhang, 2019).

At the same time, some literature highlights that another negative social impact is the commodification of volunteer tourism (Coren & Gray, 2012; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). The commodification process refers to the transformation of physical or immaterial production into a commodity that can be bought and sold through an exchange process (Shepherd, 2002). This study argues that although the commodification process does not have an impact, it can have or lead to impacts. For instance, the commodification of volunteer tourism can lead to over usage of natural resources of the host population (Lupoli, 2013). Some scholars note that volunteers could use local resources to outpace their scope (Lo & Lee, 2011; McGehee & Andereck, 2008; Singh, 2014). Social problems or poverty can become the product sold to tourism (i.e. volunteer tourists), via commercial organisations (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). These profit-driven organisations may have a different influence on the host society than those from NGOs. In particular, VTOs tend to be less established within the community and they may pay more attention to satisfying the needs of their customers (the volunteer) over the local residents (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). For instance, people can easily take part in plenty of volunteer projects around the world without the skills needed to help (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). In fact, there may be a lack of oversight in the selection of volunteers and in aligning their skills to the needs of the host societies (McGehee & Andereck, 2008). Volunteers' main motivation can be indeed related to personal factors rather than contributions to the development of local communities (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2014). Therefore, several researchers point out that inexperienced and unqualified volunteers sometimes hinder locals' work progress (Bargeman et al., 2018; Guttentag, 2011; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). For instance, in Terry's (2014) study on volunteer tourism, some hosts paid a small stipend to volunteers who were limited in their agricultural background and the hosts' time was wasted in training and supervising them. A research conducted in Ghana by Bargeman et al. (2018) points out that local teachers had to catch up on the subjects the children missed when volunteers left as they had too little knowledge to continue with the lessons the volunteers were teaching. While the commodification of volunteer tourism can lead to negative impacts on the host society, there is a need to address some potential positive impacts including

bringing the flow of volunteers to the host population and the potential to enhance locals' quality of life.

Volunteer tourism has often been blamed for the introduction of social problems such as crimes, and vandalism (Dillette et al., 2017; Lupoli & Morse, 2015; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). Moreover, volunteer tourism can lead to frustration and anger between hosts and volunteers because volunteers lack skills or local languages (Dillette et al., 2017; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). Locals may feel inferior and frustrated when they interact with volunteers from wealthier countries (Lo & Lee, 2011). Travel motivation and experiencing the local way of life seem more important to volunteers than their work, which creates many negative feelings between locals and volunteers (Barbieri et al., 2012). By contrast, McGehee and Andereck (2009) state that volunteer tourism can offer recreational activities for local residents. For instance, local residents can attend cultural classes in which volunteers introduce their culture to locals such as how to drink tea or cook traditional classes. Volunteers can provide donations (e.g. toys and lesson materials) for children and they help local staff to take care of the children. Therefore, the staff members at these schools can have the opportunities to engage in other activities (Bargeman et al., 2018).

Having reviewed the social impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities, there is also literature that studies the effect of volunteer tourism on community development which is presented in the next section.

2.6.2 Community Development

This section analyses the potential role of volunteer tourism in fostering the changes in the host destinations. The literature states that volunteer tourism may have an influence on physical changes in the host communities (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). For instance, considering the facility dimension, according to Dillette et al. (2017) and McGehee and Andereck (2009), this type of tourism may contribute to developing more facilities that local residents also can use. In fact, host communities are often located in rural areas with poor housing and facilities, and high poverty levels (Aquino & Andereck, 2018). Local residents may struggle to make a living (Lee & Zhang, 2019) and volunteers can contribute resources

to improve community facilities. For instance, the physical improvement includes playground facilities (Bargeman et al., 2018), sewerage lines, toilets, and roads or perform existing buildings, paints, and repairs (Lupoli et al., 2014; Sin, 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Beside the influence on local facilities, several negative impacts are mentioned in the literature. While the arrival of volunteers could help to bring more visitors and foster tourism development in the host society (Lee, 2020), it can put pressure on precious host community resources (Dillette et al., 2017; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). For instance, volunteer tourists can use community resources such as drinkable water, energy, and food exceeding the local capacity (Lo & Lee, 2011; McGehee & Andereck, 2008; Singh, 2014).

In addition to physical changes, volunteer tourism can improve the appearance of an area (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). For instance, a research conducted in Brazil by Aquino and Andereck (2018) points out that volunteer tourism helps to change the negative images of the favelas (i.e. fear and danger) to the safety of the host community because it can be risky to come to a place if people are strange to it. Moreover, volunteer tourists can help to create awareness about the importance of heritage conservation (Singh, 2014). Volunteer tourism may also help to stimulate the tourism industry and volunteer tourists may recommend a visit to the area to their friends and acquaintances (Lee, 2020; Proyrungroj, 2015). For instance, some volunteers can share their stories and experience on social media and start a fund-raising campaign for the community (Lee & Zhang, 2019).

In short, previous studies show a range of positive and negative contributions of volunteers to community development. On one hand, volunteer tourism can contribute to physical improvements, the image of community, and tourism growth. On the other hand, some studies highlight the negative impacts of volunteer tourism. These negative impacts are related to pressure on the physical infrastructure and community resources. Having identified the role of volunteer tourism in fostering the changes in the community, the following section discusses cultural activities used to identify the cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

2.6.3 Cultural Activities

This section reviews cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. Research has highlighted that volunteer tourism can foster cultural exchanges (Lee & Zhang, 2019), preserve local cultural identity (Zahra & McGehee, 2013), and spread of religious practices (Proyrungroj, 2015).

According to Lee and Zhang (2019), volunteer tourism acts as a lubricant that facilitates cultural exchanges in a community as spending time working and living together gives volunteers and local residents opportunities to have direct observations and intensive interactions with each other. Volunteers can showcase their culture as well as show respect and express their willingness to better understand the local culture (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Apart from locals' lifestyles and daily experiences, volunteer tourists can also immerse themselves in the local cultural norms and values (Lee & Zhang, 2019), and host livelihoods (McLachlan & Binns, 2019). If volunteers demonstrate respect, interest, and engagement with the local community, it can result in positive experiences for the residents with whom they interact (McLachlan & Binns, 2019). Local people not only warmly welcome and treat volunteers as a member of the family but also are enthusiastic to share their cultural traditions with volunteers (Proyrungroj, 2017b). Locals may have a lot to offer the volunteers such as food, faith, and performances (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). In turn, volunteer tourism can present an opportunity for youth to learn about different cultures (Dillette et al., 2017). For instance, locals learn the work methods of the volunteers in caring for the children (Bargeman et al., 2018). In Raymond and Hall's (2008) study on the development of cross-cultural understanding through volunteer tourism, the cultural exchange cannot be considered as a definite output of an individual's participation in a volunteer programme, instead, it should be approached as an aim of volunteer tourism and VTOs can act as essential facilitators for achieving that goal.

By contrast, heavy infiltration of volunteer tourists to the host community could lead to a loss of local cultures (Dillette et al., 2017; Lee, 2020). Interactions between volunteers and local residents could lead to demonstration effects (Guttentag, 2009; Lee, 2020). Demonstration effects refer to a term denoting the process by which local residents can alter their behaviours to match those of their visitors when they are brought in contact with different lifestyles and

consumption patterns (Fisher, 2004). The close contact between volunteers and locals may produce undesirable cultural changes (Guttentag, 2011). For instance, research conducted in Mongolia by Lee (2020) highlights that locals conveyed worry over the loss of culture because volunteers spread their cultures to locals when they arrived in the community. Volunteer tourism can also lead to misunderstandings and conflicts as people have to work with others in different cultures (Bargeman et al., 2018; Lee & Zhang, 2019). Both McGehee and Andereck's (2008) study and Godfrey, Wearing, Schulenkorf, and Grabowski's (2019) studies contend that volunteer tourism may reinforce differences instead of building understanding between volunteers and the local communities.

On the other hand, volunteer tourism can help to increase the pride in local identity and culture (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). For instance, the findings of Zahra and McGehee (2013) highlighted that the presence of volunteer tourists led to the revival of cultural festivals and events as locals prepared performances such as singing and dancing for volunteers. The presence of volunteers helped the local residents to get involved in community festivals (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). It is the responsibility of local communities to enact ways to preserve their culture and traditions that are being presented to volunteer tourists (Dillette et al., 2017). The government could play a crucial role in establishing cultural preservation programmes or providing practices that encourage the active participation of civil society as well as passing down their traditions to the younger generations (Dillette et al., 2017).

Moreover, the aspect of religious practices is another important cultural activity that emerges from the literature (McGehee, 2014). For instance, local people may see Western Missionaries engaging in attempts to spread Christianity to the host communities (Proyrungroj, 2015). Some volunteers from religious organisations are sent on mission trips to the poorest places around the world to evangelise the Christian faith (Lo & Lee, 2011). Therefore, volunteer tourism can be used a tool to extend religious power (Lo & Lee, 2011). In other cases, volunteer tourists are open to engaging with religious practices within host communities as evidenced by a study undertaken in Thailand by Proyrungroj (2015) where volunteers participated in activities related to Buddhism, such as praying and practicing meditation, showing their respect for Thai religious beliefs.

In addition to cultural activities, quality of life is a key theme of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities (Dillette et al., 2017). The role of volunteer tourism in enhancing residents' quality of life in host communities is further examined in the next section.

2.6.4 Quality of Life

According to McGehee and Anderek (2009), Lupoli et al. (2014), and Dillette et al. (2017), volunteer tourism can bring a better quality of life to host communities by building social relationships (Lee & Zhang, 2019; Lupoli & Morse, 2015; Proyrungroj, 2017b) and enhancing the physical and mental health of local residents (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). However, some authors, when discussing the impacts of volunteer tourism programmes, highlighted some negative aspects including neglect of local desires (Guttentag, 2009; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018) and over-reliance on volunteer support (Lee, 2020). Each of these impacts is discussed in the following sections.

Previous studies highlight that volunteer tourism contributes to building social relationships between local residents, volunteer tourists, and other community members. For some authors, volunteer tourism can be a tool to cultivate relationships between locals and volunteer tourists (Lee, 2020). For instance, locals, especially those who could speak English, have established a bond with the volunteers (Lee & Zhang, 2019; Lupoli & Morse, 2015; Proyrungroj, 2017b). Lee and Zhang (2019) highlight that volunteer tourism sows the seeds for further contacts and co-operations, which could make relationships between locals and volunteers more sustainable. For instance, locals can actively stay in touch with some international volunteers who came to help them on different social media platforms after volunteers left (Lee & Zhang, 2019). By contrast, the relationship between volunteers and locals can be strained because of poor communication and what the volunteers perceive as unclear expectations of them (Mostafanezhad et al., 2015). For instance, some locals may not trust volunteers as they do not want the volunteers telling them what to do (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). There is also the occasional clash of personalities that may make the relationship between host and volunteer unworkable (Terry, 2014). In terms of relationships with family and community members, volunteers may help locals have a more civic sense of the community and see the importance of community as well as family (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). As the literature

explains, good relationships have been built due to the fact that volunteers are interested in helping the locals and the local members are interested in helping others (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Relationships can be co-created by both the volunteers and locals and if there are no further contacts or connections between them, the impact on individuals and the host society is limited (Lee & Zhang, 2019). In short, volunteer tourism creates spaces for building social relationships, which could be sustainable if they have further contact.

Volunteer tourism may contribute to improving the physical and mental health of local residents including the provision of healthcare services, training of community health workers, and building of community clinics (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). For instance, research conducted in Ghana by Bargeman et al. (2018) highlights that volunteers donated materials for childcare such as diapers and the financial support provided by the project has improved health and hygiene standards for children in the area. In addition, volunteers can provide medical supplies to community healthcare clinics and assist medical professionals (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Zahra and McGehee (2013) also highlight that volunteers had nutrition and hygiene classes for both mothers and children. Hence, participating in volunteer activities can not only provide local residents with access to health care services but can also enhance locals' health education. By contrast, research conducted in Peru by Godfrey et al. (2015) has shown some concerns when discussing the benefits of the medical volunteer tourism programme. These concerns were related to some medical volunteer tourism programmes hindering the work progress of the local healthcare workers by taking up their time. They also noted that local patients may have potential risks due to a deficit in volunteers' medical knowledge and skills. In summary, the majority of research shows positive health benefits resulting from volunteer tourism programmes. However, some authors have concerns about medical volunteer tourism activities including the use of unskilled medical volunteers that could bring potential risks to local patients.

Third, Dillette et al. (2017), Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018), Lee and Zhang (2019), and Sin (2010) argue that volunteer tourism may create a type of dependency on foreign support. Over-reliance can form if volunteers provide not only financial support but also skills and labour to the host community (Lee & Zhang, 2019). For instance, research conducted in Mongolia by Lee and Zhang (2019) showed that volunteers not only provided financial

assistance to local children who could participate in summer activities but also helped distribute agricultural products to the surrounding area, which created a reliance on volunteers' support. Dependency can render host communities extremely vulnerable because volunteer projects may be discontinued at any time (Guttentag, 2011). In addition, while volunteer tourism may increase locals' standard of living, it may not be organised and managed by the local residents in the long run and locals may lack the manpower to sustain projects after the volunteers leave (Lee, 2020). Therefore, locals' dependency on volunteer tourism is one of the significant barriers hindering sustainable development in the host communities (Lee & Zhang, 2019).

A neglect of community needs or desires is identified as a negative impact of volunteer tourism on host communities (Dillette et al., 2017). Indeed, some volunteer tourism projects are focused on attracting volunteers rather than making an actual contribution to the host communities (Guttentag, 2009). Therefore, volunteers' needs could be considered before locals' desires (Guttentag, 2009; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). Moreover, Söderman and Snead (2008) reveal that volunteers are typically motivated by personal reasons and they may not know the needs of the host community. In fact, some volunteers may often unaware or attentive to the real needs of the local people, thereby resulting in projects being abandoned once volunteers are gone (Dillette et al., 2017). Therefore, volunteers themselves can decide on what is best for the locals, and local voices have been deemed insignificant (Guttentag, 2009). For instance, volunteers painted the houses of the Ecuadorian villagers without prior discussion with them (Guttentag, 2009). Furthermore, VTOs might be not aware of volunteers' desires and how volunteers can contribute to the host society (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). This could be explained by the lack of interactions and engagement of the local people in volunteer programmes (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Searching for the needs of local members plays a huge role in order to develop volunteer tourism.

In summary, studies on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism have listed many possible negative and positive outcomes. This may be the result of the uniqueness of each study, which often discovered unique dimensions for a specific destination. Without careful and aware reflection, respondents may be unaware of or have difficulties in describing the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. In the context of volunteer tourism, a review of

existing literature suggests that the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism are found to be multidimensional in nature and revolve around four main aspects: (i) social impacts, (ii) community development, (iii) cultural activities, and (iv) quality of life. Hence, this study draws on the literature to establish what socio-cultural impacts mean in the context of volunteer tourism. This is a gap in the volunteer literature that the current study seeks to address. A model of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities comes from different volunteer stakeholders' perceptions.

2.7 The Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

Although there is an increasing interest in the impacts of volunteer tourism, the number of studies that have analysed the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism are very few worldwide. Sustainability as a general concept for tourism development encompasses three interconnected dimensions: environmental, socio-cultural, and economic (Cottrell et al., 2007; Lee & Zhang, 2019). This sustainability trinity serves as an important indicator with the aim of ensuring tourism can be developed and maintained in the long term (Lee & Zhang, 2019). According to Puhakka et al. (2014), the economic dimension refers to the human need for material welfare and meaningful work, while the environmental dimension is concerned with sustaining the stability of ecological processes, and the socio-cultural dimension is related to the quality of life and human capital. Aquino and Andereck (2018) point out that volunteer tourism should pay more attention to the socio-cultural aspects of the host society because this is what volunteer tourism projects are typically designed to influence. Therefore, this research pays attention to the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in the host communities in Viet Nam.

There is considerable debate about the definition of the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts, as it is a broad and vague concept. For instance, while Mowforth and Munt (2015) classify it into two domains (i.e. social sustainability and cultural sustainability), Puhakka et al. (2009) use three different factors: participation, fair distribution of benefits and burdens, and cultural sustainability. Mowforth and Munt (2015, p.107) view social sustainability as 'the ability of a community, whether local or national, to absorb inputs, such as extra people, for short or long periods of time, and to continue functioning either without the creation of social disharmony as a result of these inputs or by adapting its functions and relationships so

that the disharmony created can be alleviated or mitigated'. Cultural sustainability is considered as a component of social sustainability (Loach et al., 2017; Rannikko, 1999; Soini & Birkeland, 2014) and refers to 'the ability of people to retain or adapt elements of their culture which distinguish them from other people' (Mowforth & Munt, 2015, p.109). While social sustainability requires development to improve individuals' self-control and strengthen their identities, cultural sustainability requires that development is attuned to the culture of the individuals involved (Rannikko, 1999). Despite the application of Mowforth and Munt's (2015) concepts of social sustainability and cultural sustainability in a number of studies, there remains a lack of agreement over its value in interpreting perspectives of the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. Therefore, Puhakka et al. (2009) divide the socio-cultural dimension into three perspectives including participation in decisions making, fair distribution of benefits and burdens between stakeholders, and cultural sustainability which will be discussed in the following section.

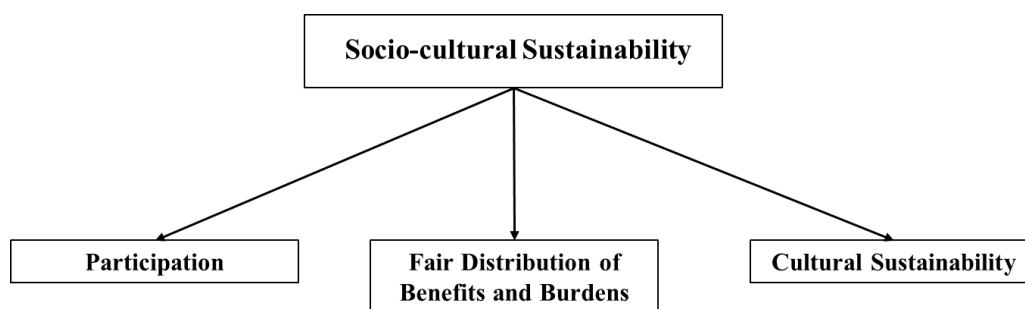


Figure 2.2 The Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

Source: Adapted from Puhakka et al. (2009)

2.7.1 Participation, Power, and Empowerment in Volunteer Tourism

Participation in decision-making, which is an essential element of interaction and development, reflects power relationships between local residents and other stakeholders (Mowforth & Munt, 2015). Participation is not likely to automatically result in a change in the patterns of power (Mowforth & Munt, 2015). Local participation needs to be focused on since it may disrupt the existing structures of power and unequal development. It is also seen as a prerequisite to sustainability, which is emphasised in the socio-cultural dimension (Cottrell et al., 2007). In the context of volunteer tourism, the perspectives of all stakeholders involved in volunteer tourism should be considered (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Although all volunteer tourism stakeholders' involvement is important for socio-cultural sustainability, the

focus of the current study is on local participation in volunteer tourism. As the literature explains, locals' opinions about volunteer tourism development and planning may be abandoned as community participation in decision-making pertaining to the volunteer activities is minimal (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Therefore, local participation in decision-making pertaining to volunteer projects is an essential element. Host communities can be believed to have a better chance of achieving sustainability when stakeholder groups engage collective in efforts to achieve their sustainability goals (Getz & Timur, 2012). As highlighted in the literature, considering the community's voice and encouraging its participation is a must when planning and performing volunteer projects (Hartman et al., 2014b). In order to provide sustainability, host communities need more control, because if the cultural and ecological impacts and perceived social impacts are considered as imposed, it can result in reduced political support and community assistance for the industry, especially at the local levels (Wearing, 2001). For a volunteer tourism programme to successfully help the host community, the local people should be allowed to participate in decision-making pertaining to the volunteer activities (McGehee & Andereck, 2008). VTOs' participation and involvement in decision-making pertaining to volunteer activities plays a huge role in socio-cultural sustainability. For instance, a research study conducted by Hernandez-Maskivker et al (2018) about the impacts of volunteer tourism from the managerial point of view reveals that when asked about what organisations did to ensure long-term impacts, VTO managers responded that a sustainability strategy was central to their operations (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). These managers are aware of the vital role of sustainability and social responsibility as they are key values that these organisations should adhere to in order to success (Benson & Henderson, 2011). As Palacios (2010) explains, short-term placements developed by VTOs must be closely aligned with the tourists' expectations, actual capacities, and project goals in order to achieve positive results.

A large number of tourism researchers have paid attention to the basic concepts of power, oppression, and emancipation proposed by Foucault (1975) (Feighery, 2009; Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Lyons & Wearing, 2008; Palacios, 2010; Wearing & Wearing, 2006; Wearing et al., 2010). Power can be used, shared, or created by people and their networks in many different ways (Gaventa, 2006). While people use power to exert 'control over others', others view it as a 'capacity and agency to be wielded for positive action' (Gaventa, 2006, p.24). Emancipation implies the act of others allowing an individual or a group or a

community to be free and thus helping them to seek freedom, happiness, liberty, and social resources (Coole, 2015). It also refers to an act of setting someone free from restraint, control, or power of another (person, organisation) (Chandra, 2017; Rindova et al., 2009). Its aim is to disturb the balance of power between powerful and less powerful parties (McGehee, 2012; Wittmann-Price, 2004). In contrast, oppression, which is the necessary antecedent of emancipation because without oppression the need for emancipation would not exist, refers to a lack of freedom (Wittmann-Price, 2004). Societal oppression is an essential element of social reality and is maintained by social institutions aiming to manipulate individuals, their resources control people, social relations, and freedom of choices (Horkheimer, 1937; Kuokkanen & Leino-Kilpi, 2000). In the context of volunteer tourism, several authors (Lyons & Wearing, 2008; McGehee, 2012; Palacios, 2010) have studied the role of these concepts. The complexity and contradiction of volunteer tourism related to power, emancipation, and disempowerment are further explained in the following section.

Volunteer tourism is a potential tool to be used toward the great idea of human emancipation largely based on Kincheloe and McLaren's (2011) critical theory assumptions and contextualised with Foucault's concepts of power, resistance, and emancipation (McGehee, 2012). A key distinguishing feature of critical theory is concerned in particular with power relations between individuals and groups within a society (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011; McGehee, 2012; Tribe, 2008). Kincheloe and McLaren (2011) explain that some people in the community are powerful over others. In order to resolve these inequalities, they suggest that the first thing to do is to discover the power relations among individuals and groups that crucially affect their lives. Kincheloe and McLaren (2011, p.300) highlight that 'oppression that characterises contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable'. McGehee (2012) argues that volunteer tourism could provide a method of resistance as an emancipatory outlet for this kind of oppression. For instance, research conducted in Tanzania by Olsen et al. (2021) reveals that volunteer tourism gives young people hope for a better life by providing knowledge and skills and creating social networks. Human emancipation is one of VTOs' goals, for instance, some VTOs try to maintain a balance of power between volunteers and the host community so that the volunteer tourism experience is resident-driven and resident-controlled (McGehee, 2012). These VTOs actively attempt to challenge and fight against Western, tourist-centric perspectives for a more equal model (Wearing & McDonald, 2002;

Wearing et al., 2005). Villagers may have more power than the volunteers as residents control the space and the local knowledge (in the minority or ethnic areas, for example) (Proyrungroj, 2017a). Volunteer tourism survives in a commodified environment which serves volunteers' demand (Butcher & Smith, 2010; McGehee & Andereck, 2008). According to Guttentag (2011), volunteer tourism can create an environment in which power is shared equally between volunteer tourists and hosts, however, an environment where volunteers are donating their effort and local residents are receiving assistance tends to end up producing an unequal-power relationship. Indeed, the volunteer tourism industry itself builds power relationships between volunteer tourists who are more powerful and have better economic and social status while the less powerful host communities can be controlled by forces that put them in a passive position (McGehee, 2012). The dominant power of VTOs and volunteers in volunteer tourism development influences the empowerment of residents. Volunteer tourists sometimes have more power than locals as they may decide on volunteer activities which are not aligned with local communities' needs. For instance, one of the findings in the research of Bargeman et al. (2018) in Ghana indicates that volunteers' background knowledge of teaching does not align with the Ghanaian Education System because the volunteers themselves decide on the classes they would like to teach. Volunteer tourists not only bring benefits such as donations and/or funding but also create an over-reliance on foreign support to host communities (Lee & Zhang, 2019). This relationship can keep inequality going (McGehee & Andereck, 2008; Raymond & Hall, 2008; Sin, 2009). Overall, volunteer tourism could play a role in facilitating the emancipation and/or disempowerment in the host communities. It can create an environment in which power is shared equally or end up producing an unequal-power relationship between volunteer tourists, VTOs, and local residents.

2.7.2 Fair Distribution of Benefits and Burdens

In addition to participation, the distribution of benefits and burdens between different stakeholders is not always fair (Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Puhakka et al., 2014; Puhakka et al., 2009). Indeed, as discussed in the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host community section, volunteer tourism affects the social/cultural aspects of a destination both positively and negatively (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Lee & Zhang, 2019). For example, resource exploitation may prevent some groups from benefiting from volunteer tourism (Guttentag, 2009). In addition, to reap the benefits of tourism, some trade-offs may be needed

(Puhakka et al., 2009). For instance, tourism may be economically beneficial for the community, but that alone does not make it sustainable from the perspective of a holistic socio-cultural dimension (Mowforth & Munt, 2015). Moreover, economic benefits do not ensure an equitable distribution of benefits and burdens, since local people have various positions and interests (Southgate, 2006), and tourism benefits are also linked to other factors, for example, the broader concept of well-being (Jamal et al., 2006). Another trade-off could be related to whether current benefits hinder future choices (Saarinen, 2006). For instance, even though volunteer tourism can be viewed as a potential tool for community development and sustainability (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018), it has been criticised for its short lifespan and lack of continuousness since most volunteer tourism programmes are project-based without long-term orientation (Guttentag, 2011). As a result, this lack of commitment and continuous effort may hamper local development in the long run (Lee & Zhang, 2019). As sustainability includes the needs of the present are being met without compromising the needs of future ones, continuous development is necessary (Lee & Zhang, 2019). At the heart of the concept of sustainability are the concerted efforts to build a comprehensive, resilient, and sustainable future for human beings and the planet (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Hence, the most feasible practices leading to an equitable distribution of resources often include win-win solutions between different groups and aspects of sustainability (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Volunteer tourism, for example, can be seen as a development tool giving rise to sustainable development in host communities. Conversely, for volunteer tourism to be successful, it also relies on the sustainable social and ecological environments of the visited destination (Lee & Zhang, 2019).

2.7.3 Cultural Sustainability

Cultural sustainability is viewed as the continuation of traditional values, lifestyles, and identities (Heikkinen et al., 2007). As discussed in section 2.6.3, volunteer tourism development has the potential to foster the cultural and social aspects of sustainability in host communities. In all cases, the processes of cultural adaptation and change are not expected to have negative effects (Mowforth & Munt, 2015). Of concern are changes in local values and habits in an era of globalisation and global governance (Puhakka et al., 2009). In fact, traditional local cultures are dynamic and ever-changing entities while retaining their distinctiveness (Puhakka et al., 2009). The dynamics and intangibility of culture make it particularly elusive and difficult to achieve cultural sustainability (Jamal et al., 2010).

Therefore, preserving cultural heritage and enhancing cultural vitality have been identified as being central to enabling cultural sustainability (Soini & Birkeland, 2014). In addition, it is difficult to avoid the ‘cultural influences’ from a small influx of visitors and the essential factors of sustainable tourism may be the control of the ‘harmful effects’, ‘responsible behaviour’ of the tourists, and ‘the prevention of distortion’ of the host culture (Mowforth & Munt, 2015, p.109). Self-determination as a prerequisite to cultural sustainability refers to development that must be accepted by those involved in it (Rannikko, 1999, cited in Puhakka et al., 2009).

Having reviewed the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities, there appears to exist a lack of research on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism from the host’s point of view, which will discuss in the following section.

2.8 Host Perceptions of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

In recent decades, while many studies have analysed residents’ attitudes and perceptions towards the impact of tourism development in host communities (Almeida-García et al., 2016), gaps in the literature remain (Dillette et al., 2017). In addition, most studies regarding resident perceptions towards tourism have been conducted in developed countries whereas few studies have been done in developing nations (Jaafar et al., 2015; Sharpley, 2014). Furthermore, few studies have examined host perceptions in the context of host farm communities. According to Sharpley (2014), the majority of the previous studies into host perceptions of tourism have employed quantitative methods which tend to describe what residents perceive but do not necessarily explain why. The current study, therefore, will be conducted in undeveloped rural areas of Vietnam in which the process of volunteer tourism development is presently in its infancy.

In order to understand host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on farm communities, it is necessary to primarily define perceptions. Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) argue that the terms ‘attitudes’ and ‘perceptions’ are used interchangeably in many tourism studies and are measured with the same items and scales. Pickens (2005) points out that perceptions inform individuals’ attitudes (i.e. tendency to behave in a certain way) and both perceptions and attitudes are closely related. However, Ap (1992) argues that perception

refers to the meaning of an object, while attitude refers to a person's long-term predisposition towards this object. Sharpley (2014) states that the term 'perceptions' is widely used in the literature, although other scholars refer to 'attitudes', 'opinion', or 'reaction'. Therefore, the term 'perception' is applied in the current study, which relates to the opinion of community members about the impacts of volunteer tourism. A number of scholars have attempted to define 'perception' in order to give a basis for its understanding. For instance, Pickens (2005) defines perceptions as mental interpretations of individuals' experiences that may be considerably different from reality. In the tourism context, Xu et al. (2016) state that perceptions are examined to understand how stakeholders (e.g. residents) interpret the positive and negative impacts of tourism development. To support this, Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) state that studies examining the perceptions of residents focus on the impacts of tourism on the host community and the environment. For this study, perception is therefore defined as follows:

What people think about (as opposed to how they respond to) tourism and its impacts. (Sharpley, 2014, p.44).

Based on the evidence currently available, further research into host perceptions is definitely warranted (Dillette et al., 2017). In order to understand the host perceptions, the next section provides the theoretical foundation of this study.

2.9 Understanding Host Perceptions of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism on Communities through Different Types of Capital

Socio-cultural impacts are complex and a number of theoretical approaches may be applicable (Deery et al., 2012). In fact, host perceptions of the impacts of volunteer tourism have been explored from different perspectives (Lee & Zhang, 2019). A range of theories, for instance, commodification and feminist theory (Cousins et al., 2009; Lyons et al., 2012); social exchange theory (McGehee & Andereck, 2009); neo-colonialism (Palacios, 2010); social movement theory (McGehee, 2012), development theory (Guttentag, 2009), equity theory (Pearce & Coghlan, 2008), practice theory (Bargeman et al., 2018), community capital theory (Zahra & McGehee, 2013), social representations theory (Aquino & Andereck, 2018);

and critical theory (McGehee, 2012) may have relevance in a host perception context. It must be acknowledged that a number of intrinsic factors (e.g. employment dependency on tourism, distance from tourism zone, interaction with tourists, personal values, and demographic) and extrinsic factors (e.g. stage of tourism development, nature of tourists, seasonality, the national stage of development, and density of tourism development) could also be investigated (Deery et al., 2012; Sharpley, 2014). While each of these theories addresses one or more different aspects of host perceptions, none 'were able to provide a theoretical perspective that encompassed the phenomenon of residents' perceptions of tourism' (Ap, 1992, p.667). The author concurs with Pham (2013, p.415), who highlights that 'many theories should be seen as complementary rather than competing because they capture different levels of explanation. [...], they are allowed to coexist, because they each provide a useful lens on the phenomenon that they were designed to explain'. Hence, this study applies an informed eclecticism approach, which draws from several theories (i.e. different types of capital) and concepts (i.e. power, empowerment, and sustainability) as opposed to using a single theory (Barker, Nancarrow & Spackman, 2001).

In the tourism literature, in order to better understand tourism impacts, it is necessary to identify the ways in which tourism has an effect on the different types of capital available to the local society (McGehee et al., 2010; Moscardo, 2009). The study of socio-cultural impacts has been facilitated by integrating multiple forms of capital (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013). The multiple forms of capital have been advocated for understanding tourism impacts by some scholars (McGehee et al., 2010; Moscardo et al., 2017; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Each form of capital provides a useful lens on the tourism impacts that it was designed to explain. Further research by developing a more holistic theoretical framework is necessarily required to study the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in more depth. According to Moscardo et al. (2013), socio-cultural impacts are related to more than just social capital and cultural capital. This study acknowledges that models (i.e. Flora's (2004) community capital and Macbeth et al.'s (2004) social, political, and cultural capital) exists which already take various forms of capital into account. The two models are reviewed in the following section.

Flora (2004) incorporates seven forms of capital (financial, human, built, natural, cultural, political, and social capital) into the community capital framework as a way to understand rural development better. In fact, the community capital framework develops on the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) to explore multiple forms of capital (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013). The community capital framework proposes a way to analyse 'community and economic development efforts from a systems perspective by identifying the assets in each capital (stock), the types of capital invested, the interaction among the capitals, and the resulting impacts across capitals' (Emery & Flora, 2006, p.20). In other words, the community capitals framework is an umbrella concept that refers to all forms of capital in the community. The community capital framework can be used for not only overall community development but also for tourism development (McGehee et al., 2010). Work by Zahra and McGehee (2013), which focused on volunteer tourism in the Philippines, has applied Flora's (2004) community capital framework to identify a range of impacts that result from volunteer tourism activities. The community capital framework is useful for understanding tourism impacts, economic development efforts, tourism development, and overall community development because it identifies a broad spectrum of impacts which tourism affects different forms of capital in the host society. However, this study does not apply the community capital framework because the focus is only on socio-cultural impacts. Moscardo et al. (2013) highlight that the socio-cultural impact includes social, cultural, human, and political capital while the environmental and economic domains incorporate financial, built, and natural capital. Therefore, Flora's (2004) model is not a great tool for looking at socio-cultural impacts. Other frameworks have been proposed as an alternative conceptual framework, for instance, the social, political, and cultural capital (SPCC) framework (Macbeth et al., 2004) which is reviewed in the following section.

Macbeth et al.'s (2004) SPCC framework is similar to the community capital framework because it offers a way to analyse community development from a systems perspective but represents non-economic forms of capital. This framework is expanded on the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) to identify three non-economic forms of capital. Macbeth et al. (2004) argue that tourism and three forms of capital have a symbiotic relationship as they depend on and influence to each other. They outline the key concepts of social, political, and cultural capital and examine how tourism can influence these three forms of capital. They suggest that understanding three forms of capital helps stakeholders

make decisions about whether a community is ready to undertake tourism development in a significant way. Macbeth et al. (2004) assert that three forms of capital can encourage information sharing through a community, which is vital for actors involved in tourism and necessary for effective tourism development.

Having discussed two existing models, the adjustment for integrating different types of capital in this study is discussed in this section. Macbeth et al.'s (2004) model may be relevant to the current study as the focus of this research is to explore the socio-cultural impacts. However, other non-economic forms of capital need to be considered, as these forms of capital might exist. For instance, human capital is not only an important resource itself but also contributes to social, political, and cultural capital (Macbeth et al., 2004). In volunteer tourism literature, research conducted in Mongolia by Lee (2020) has shown that volunteers can have an impact on the human capital in the host communities. She found that the presence of the volunteers had an impact on locals' professional education opportunities. In addition, work by Zahra and McGehee (2013) has shown that volunteers can have an impact on the welfare capital in their host communities. In fact, volunteer tourism development can contribute to the improvement of the healthcare components and upgrade the hygiene standard in the host communities (Bargeman et al., 2018; Godfrey et al., 2015; Lupoli & Morse, 2015; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Therefore, welfare capital is important to understand the socio-cultural impacts better. So not only is the usage of social, political, and cultural capital framework to understand socio-cultural impacts better, other non-economic forms of capital including human capital and welfare capital are important as well. However, Macbeth et al. (2004) do not develop a comprehensive framework for these forms of capital.

The current study extends Macbeth et al.'s (2004) model by integrating a few non-economic forms of capital to understand socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Although Macbeth et al.'s (2004) model includes political capital, the current study does not use political capital because the study does not focus on an access to politicians and formal structures of power. Political capital is used to explain processes of political decision-making and governance at a higher level (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013). This research proposes a combination of multiple forms of capital including social, human, cultural, and welfare capital as a foundation for a holistic study of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The use of

theoretical perspectives from these forms of capital will bring insights into various issues related to the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. These forms of capital represent a way of understanding how volunteer tourism can influence social, human, cultural, and welfare capital, particularly in the Vietnamese context.

While Bourdieu (2002) argues that no form of capital is a prerequisite for the others, several authors state that social capital is viewed as the ‘lubricant’ for other forms of capital (Malecki, 2012; McGehee et al., 2010; Putnam, 1993; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Indeed, other forms of capital are interrelated and should be considered when analysing social capital. For instance, both social capital and human capital are important forms of capital that are interrelated and interdependent (Boxall, 2011; Nahapiet, 2011). Social capital is therefore reviewed in the following section.

2.9.1 Social Capital

The concept of social capital has been employed in several disciplines and social capital has been used extensively by scholars to explore the impacts of tourism (McGehee et al., 2010; Moscardo et al., 2017). Social capital has been applied successfully in the tourism context by several scholars (see for example Macbeth, Carson, and Northcote (2004); McGehee et al. (2010); Moscardo et al. (2017)) and in the volunteer tourism context by Zahra and McGehee (2013). Understanding the social capital of a community is crucial to figuring out whether an area is willing to significantly undertake tourism development (McGehee et al., 2010). However, there is considerable debate about how to conceptualise and operationalise it properly (Moscardo et al., 2017).

Social capital, which is one of the non-economic forms of capital, has been defined and used in several different ways (Moscardo et al., 2017). Social capital refers to the networks of social relationships that are established between individuals and groups (Macbeth et al., 2004). For instance, Bourdieu (1986, p.248) defines social capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’. Portes (1998, p.6) defines social capital as ‘the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in

social networks or other social structures'. Emery and Flora (2006) describe social capital as the quantity and quality of social connections among individuals and groups. Social capital is created through or from social networks and relationships (Lin, 2008). It is flexible and dynamic, constantly changing and modifying its form, thus requiring investment and cultivation (Portes, 1998). This kind of capital can be seen as a support network that individuals can refer to (Lin, 1999). According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital is not owned by anyone and does not belong to anyone. The social capital is minimal without ongoing contact. For instance, people cannot take social capital with them if they leave their social relationships (Coleman, 1988). The continuation of social capital builds upon the quality of the connections and the nature of actors' social networks (Fisher, 2013; Lin, 2008). A more recent definition is provided by Moscardo (2014) who views social capital as the source of goodwill, potential support, and the ability to access other resources and sources that other capitals that people may use to achieve goals and solve problems. In general, social capital is a broad term that covers too many different aspects and fits into many different theoretical frameworks, and is confirmed by several academic fields (Lehtonen, 2004). It is clear from all of this re-thinking of social capital that the view of social capital is still contested and needs further study. Thus, social capital is increasingly being applied in new and more diverse ways.

It can be concluded that social capital refers to the quality of social connections between people that provides potential support to achieve goals and solve problems. This current study applies Emery and Flora's (2006) and Moscardo's (2014) social capital definitions, and hence, the research examines the relationships between members of the host communities, VTOs, and the volunteer tourists. The justification for employing the social capital theory is that many scholars state that volunteers travel to provide assistance to people in developing countries who are less fortunate (Corti, Marola, & Castro, 2010; Richter & Norman, 2010; Simpson, 2005; Sin, 2009) and develop relationships with the local people in the host communities (Lee & Zhang, 2019; Proyrungroj, 2017b). In the case of volunteer tourism, local people and volunteers can build a relationship that goes beyond the supplier-consumer relationship typically found in mass tourism (Lee & Zhang, 2019). Volunteer tourism gives opportunities for relatively stronger personal intimacy and connections between volunteers and the local residents and is a prerequisite for relationships and collaborations in the future (Lee & Zhang, 2019). In fact, volunteer tourism may help to enhance the quantity and quality

of relationships between visitors and local community members. The presence of the volunteers often brings a source of goodwill and potential support to the locals. Thus, more research on social capital, in which friendships and intimacy may be cultivated between volunteers and local people is needed (Conran, 2011).

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) propose that research on social capital can be classified into four approaches including communitarian, network, institutional, and synergy approaches. The communitarian view links social capital with local organisations, for example, associations, clubs, and community groups. The network approach views social capital as relationships between individuals. Meanwhile, the institutional approach considers this capital as being created institutionally, and thus, views the state as a key role. Finally, a synergy perspective combines the network and institutional views, emphasising the participation of both the community and the state. This research does not focus on the institutional, and synergy approaches as it does not examine the role of state involvement. The communitarian view focuses on local associations while this study considers the relationships between community groups and volunteers who come from outside the communities. In addition, the network approach mentions that social capital is ‘a double-edged sword’ which provides not only benefits but also costs for the host communities (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p.231). The network view will be analysed in more detail in the next section.

The networks view of social capital highlights the significance of the horizontal and vertical relations between people (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Social capital has multi-dimensional sources and is itself composed of networks at different levels (Lehtonen, 2004). Larsen et al. (2004) and Putnam (1993) recognise the difference between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital draws attention to the networks, internal relationships, and trust that happen ‘horizontally’ (Putnam, 1993) within a community. Meanwhile, bridging social capital highlights external relationships that a community outreach organisations and groups outside the community (Flora, 2004). Tourism has been shown to contribute to bridging social capital by linking local groups to the community’s external networks (Moscardo, 2012; Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Tourism can also boost bonding social capital through creating community spaces for social

interaction between local members. This results in the development of community values and traditions that promote social cohesion as well as a sense of community (McGehee et al., 2015; Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013; Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek, 2013). There is some research paying attention to the role of bridging and bonding social capital to the success of community-based tourism (Baker & Coulter, 2007; Okazaki, 2008). In the volunteer tourism literature, Zahra and McGehee (2013) discuss the importance of bridging and bonding social capital in their case study based in the Philippines. In short, both bonding and bridging social capital examples appear in the tourism and volunteer tourism literature and they both play a role in the process of social capital development. It may be that bridging and bonding social capital operate differently in different countries. There is an urgent need for more research on individual bridging and bonding social capital acquisition in different contexts. Thus, this study examines the relationship between bridging and bonding social capital in the context of farm communities.

2.9.2 Human Capital

Human capital is part of the socio-cultural domain (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013). Human capital theory was officially introduced in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Spender, 2011). While previous research such as Abramowitz (1956) and Mincer (1958) focus on human capital regarding economic development, the labour market, and education, this view of human capital is too limited in the context of volunteer tourism. Indeed, much of this is based on human resources and economic literature. Dokko and Jiang (2017, p.117) define an individual human capital as ‘the knowledge, skills, and abilities embodied in a person’. In terms of tourism literature, human capital is seen as the development of career, education, and skills (McGehee et al., 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). The core aspects of human capital commonly known are abilities, knowledge, education, skills, and experience (Collings, 2014; Wright et al., 2014). General human capital and specific human capital are differentiated by Becker (1993). While general human capital mentions knowledge, skills, and abilities that are useful to all organisations, specific human capital can only be beneficial in a particular context or company (Dokko & Jiang, 2017).

Human capital and social capital are interrelated (McGehee et al., 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Social capital is viewed as the ‘lubricant’ for human capital (Malecki, 2012; McGehee

et al., 2010; Putnam, 1993; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). For instance, Lee (2020) highlights that ongoing contacts between volunteer tourists and local residents (social capital) are beneficial for building human capital in the host communities such as facilitating the development of community members' skills. Similarly, human capital is viewed as the 'linchpin' of social capital (Spender, 2011). For example, participating in volunteer activities such as learning English from volunteers (human capital) provides opportunities for local residents to build relationships with volunteers (social capital) (Proyrungroj, 2017a). In short, the link between human capital and social capital is intense.

In addition, research moved to a more internal focus in the 1980s with the evaluation of organisation's internal resources (Boxall et al., 2007). While previous research focused on the core dimensions of human capital such as knowledge, skills, abilities, education, and experience, little is known about the external factors influencing human capital. For instance, McGehee et al. (2010) focus on the development of tourism influencing the growth of human capital in the host communities. They discuss human capital development opportunities that strengthen the tourism industry by providing professional education opportunities, front-line hospitality skill development and training, and leadership development opportunities for tourism industry employees and managers. In the volunteer tourism literature, there is a lack of investigation into human capital. Indeed, previous research on volunteer tourism employed human capital in their studies without directly naming it. For instance, previous studies have shown that volunteers can facilitate the development of the knowledge, skills, and abilities of local people (Lee, 2020; Lee & Zhang, 2019; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). By contrast, several scholars argue that volunteers may also be a hindrance to the human capital development of the locals in the community rather than a help (Guttentag, 2009; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). They claim that many volunteer tourists have little or no necessary skill sets that a person needs to participate in volunteer activities. Thus, more research on human capital in volunteer tourism is needed. This study examines how the human capital in the host communities is influenced by volunteer tourism.

2.9.3 Cultural Capital

In addition to social capital and human capital, cultural capital is applied as a theoretical concept underpinning the current study. This concept needs to be thoroughly explored in

order to understand the way cultural capital can be applied to the context of volunteer tourism. Cultural capital is not a new concept, it is a broad concept, and researchers have defined it in many different ways. Bourdieu and Passeron first defined cultural capital, in their 1979 translation of the French edition of 'The Inheritors'. Specifically, it is considered as 'capital linguistique', and used to describe the know-how, knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviours and tastes of children whose parents are educated (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979). Since the book 'Distinction' was published, the concept of cultural capital has been extended from the educational system to the entire society (Bourdieu, 1984). Indeed, it has a wide range of meanings in the book, including formal education, interest in modern art, knowledge of classical music, and well-filled bookshelves (Prieur et al., 2008). Later on, the most comprehensive definition of cultural capital is presented in 'The Forms of Capital' (Bourdieu, 2002). Cultural capital can exist in three different forms: (i) in the embodied state, which could be judgmental competencies, the habit, and the taste, (ii) in objectified state, which is related to collections of books or musical instruments, and (iii) in an institutionalised state, which refer to educational qualifications (Bourdieu & Richardson, 1986). In addition, cultural capital should be considered in relation to social contexts (Prieur et al., 2008). To illustrate, in tourism literature, cultural capital refers to the preservation of local stories, history, arts and crafts, and traditional foods and recipes (McGehee et al., 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013).

There is a strong and inseparable connection between cultural capital and social capital. According to Bourdieu (1984), social capital plays an important role in shaping cultural capital. He claimed that cultural capital can be acquired by people based on social relations and class. Levels of qualification rely on social capital (Bourdieu, 2002). Moreover, social capital is pivotal in the process of acquiring cultural capital, where consumption does not activate cultural capital, but through many interactions, people engage in related tastes (Friedman, 2011). On the contrary, he emphasised the role of cultural skills and competence in accumulating social capital. He also argued that cultural capital, as a cultural commodity and ways of being, speaking and behaving, affects the process of the accumulation of social capital. For instance, cultural attitudes, dressing or pronunciation can influence how actors create social connections (Bourdieu, 1984). Some scholars emphasise the insufficiency of empirical research regarding cultural capital (Prieur & Savage, 2013; Prior, 2005). While the concept of cultural capital was developed from the educational system (Bourdieu, 1984), it needs to be broadened to the entire society and other cultural settings (e.g. volunteer tourism).

Cultural capital needs to be updated and analysed in different disciplines (Prieur & Savage, 2011; Prior, 2005). Indeed, the limitation of Bourdieu's analysis is the scope of the study since it only took place in one country at a specific time (1970s-80s). Given that, he highlighted the need for a new field analysis regarding the issues of 'temporality' and 'particularity' (Grenfell, 2014, p.78), cultural capital may be more essential in some countries, compared to others, or operate differently depending on a particular country (Sullivan, 2002). Therefore, more research is needed on cultural capital development in different geographies (Grenfell, 2014; Sullivan, 2002).

In the volunteer tourism literature, most studies on volunteer tourism investigate volunteers' experience in locals' culture (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Bargeman et al., 2018; Dillette et al., 2017; Guttentag, 2009; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018), therefore more work on how cultural capital is developed in volunteer tourism is needed. Dillette et al. (2017) and McIntosh and Zahra (2007) focus, therefore, on the important cultural exchange role of volunteer tourism. For instance, volunteer tourism activities are to result in cultural exchange between volunteers and local residents (Dillette et al., 2017). While cross-cultural interaction is an inevitable outcome of volunteer tourism, whether this leads to understanding or misunderstanding between cultures is still controversial (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Raymond & Hall, 2008). Thus, there is a need to open up the possibility to analyse cultural capital in spreading the host cultures or the commodification of the culture of volunteer tourism that occurred in the host destination. Zahra and McGehee (2013) claim that volunteers may have an impact on cultural capital in the host community such as an increased sense of pride in locals' identity and culture. For instance, their findings have shown that many believe that the revitalisation of cultural activities and events results in a new sense of cultural pride. However, cultural capital can be further developed beyond the field of spreading the host culture. For instance, local people can acquire cultural capital beyond the realms of family and school by interacting with volunteers' cultures (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). A more in-depth understanding of the host community experience with cultural capital is necessary in order to gain more insight into the complexities of the volunteer tourism experience. Therefore, this study examines the cultural capital development in the context of volunteer tourism in the host communities.

2.9.4 Welfare Capital

Apart from cultural capital, welfare capital is another concept applied in this study. According to Hall and Brown (2010, p.2), welfare, ‘as a concept and concern, is applicable to both mass and alternative forms of tourism and their implications’. It refers to a quality of well-being and can be maintained, enhanced, or threaten by interaction with external organisations that directly and indirectly, wittingly and unwittingly, interact with the tourism process (Hall & Brown, 2010). They state that welfare consists of moral, behavioural, political, social, environmental, and medical aspects. It calls into question, relationships resources, and identity as well. Various components of welfare in tourism literature include health, physical safety, emotional and spiritual, financial security, mutual respect, a healthy environment, and access to accommodation and services (Hall & Brown, 2010).

In the volunteer tourism literature, the earliest link between welfare and volunteer tourism was established by Callanan and Thomas (2005). They reported that one of the project cluster groups is community welfare that is categorised into sub-activities such as care for the elderly, care for children, social services, counselling, youth work, disability, supporting peace actions, and AIDS education. Zahra and McGehee (2013) argue that welfare capital refers to the improvement of the healthcare components in the host communities. Empirical research shows that welfare capital contributes to community development (see Bargeman et al., 2018; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). For instance, volunteering activities can have positive consequences for the locals because locals’ health and hygiene standard have been upgraded (Bargeman et al., 2018; Godfrey et al., 2015; Lupoli & Morse, 2015; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). However, welfare capital has received limited attention in the volunteer tourism studies literature. Thus, this suggests that more work on how welfare capital is developed in volunteer tourism is needed. The research will add to the body of knowledge on welfare capital and the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

Table 2.8 Summary Four Types of Capital

Capital	Description
Social Capital	Networks of social relationships (bonding and bridging social capital)
Human Capital	Knowledge, skills, abilities, and professional
Cultural Capital	The preservation of local stories, history, arts and crafts, and traditional foods and recipes
Welfare Capital	Improvements in the physical and mental health of community members

Source: Adapted from Callanan and Thomas (2005), Emery and Flora (2006), Flora et al. (2018), McGehee et al. (2010), Moscardo et al. (2013), and Zahra and McGehee (2013).

Having discussed different forms of capital, the following section presents the proposed conceptual framework of the study based on a thorough literature review and multiple forms of capital.

2.10 Proposed Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.3 presents the main concepts, stakeholders involved in volunteer tourism, and how they are related. This model presents a synthesised visual map of the concepts related to socio-cultural impacts. The conceptual framework of the study is divided into two areas of interest in this research: patterns of interactions in the host communities and socio-cultural outcomes or forms of capital.

As outlined in the first case of the area, the framework represents the volunteer tourism stakeholders (see Section 2.3) and factors influencing socio-cultural impacts (see Section 2.5). The study also presents the forms, nature of interactions, and relationships between volunteer tourism stakeholders (see Section 2.5.3). In this framework, interactions and relationships between volunteers, and/or VTOs, and locals have been seen as complicated and multidimensional (McLennan, 2019). The different settings/contexts of encounters can impact the perceptions of the local residents. In addition, an understanding of host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts can be enhanced by analysing degrees of community

engagement in the decision-making pertaining to volunteer activities. Thus, the concept of community engagement should be taken into account. The study seeks to identify and explore interactions between volunteer tourism stakeholders.

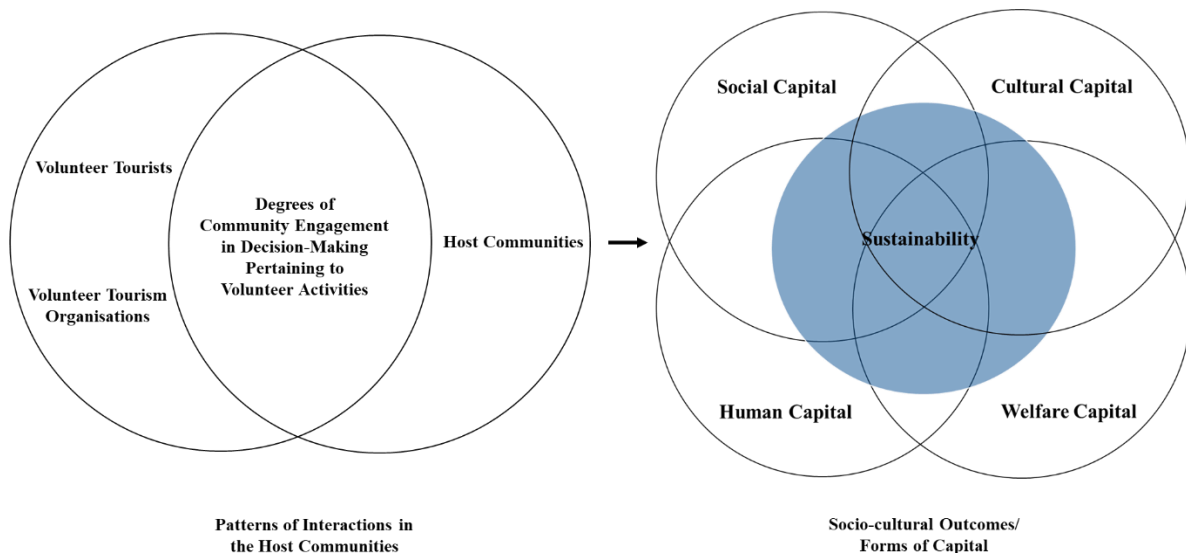


Figure 2.3 Conceptual Framework

Source: Author

The second area of this study addresses the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host community, which is based on an extensive literature review (Section 2.6). As already discussed, the concept of socio-cultural impacts has been applied in a number of disciplines and fields of study, including volunteer tourism research. However, socio-cultural impacts are a vague notion because it is difficult to separate social and cultural elements (Page & Connell, 2014). Hence, understanding the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism is a complex task. Scholars have understood these impacts differently, so there is still no consensus on its definition. Up to now, there is no general agreement about a framework to understand socio-cultural impacts. Thus, a conceptualisation of the research on socio-cultural impacts is identified.

Moreover, the integration of multiple forms of capital has facilitated the study of socio-cultural impacts (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013). In fact, several researchers have indicated that applying multiple forms of capital helps to better understand tourism impacts

(McGehee et al., 2010; Moscardo et al., 2017; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Based on the study of Moscardo et al. (2013), socio-cultural impacts include not only social and cultural capital. The current study extends Macbeth et al.'s (2004) model by integrating four non-economic forms of capital. Thus, the current study conceptualises socio-cultural outcomes as four different forms of capital (see Section 2.9). Various forms of capital combine to shape the multidimensional and sustainable socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. There is a lack of research investigating the sustainability in volunteer tourism (Lee & Zhang, 2019). This research also pays attention to the sustainability of the outcomes and the factors that mediate sustainability. Overall, an understanding of tourism impacts can be improved by examining how different patterns of interactions between the tourists and local residents have differential impacts on different forms of capital (Moscardo, Konovalov, et al., 2013).

2.11 Chapter Summary and Research Questions

This chapter provided a review of the existing literature on volunteer tourism with a focus on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. This review presented the perspectives on volunteer tourism. Subsequently, the volunteer tourism stakeholders were discussed. The following sections focused on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities including the nature of, factors influencing, a model from the literature, and host perceptions. The studies presented thus far provide evidence that volunteer tourism has positive as well as negative socio-cultural impacts on host communities. The review concluded with theoretical perspectives on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism and the proposed conceptual framework. The chapter suggested the three research questions: (i) what socio-cultural impacts can be observed?, (ii) how can the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism be achieved?, and (iii) what are ways/the manner in which socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on farm communities can be mediated by VTOs?

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two established the foundation and framework for understanding host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. This chapter explains and evaluates the research methodology to generate the data and knowledge to answer the research questions (RQs). This chapter begins with a discussion of the interpretive framework. Following this, the philosophical assumptions are explained. Next, the qualitative research design, ethical considerations, research reflexivity, and trustworthiness are discussed, followed by an explanation of the data analysis. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the quality of research.

3.2 Research Philosophy

This study follows an interpretive approach that focuses on ‘how the social world is interpreted by those involved in it’ (Robson & McCartan, 2016, p.24). It differs from the positivist approach that places an emphasis on the explanation of human action and the need to measure it. Interpretivism emphasises that a human being is distinguished from physical phenomena since they create meanings (Saunders et al., 2016). It highlights that ‘human beings and their social worlds cannot be studied in the same way as physical phenomena and that therefore social sciences research needs to be different from natural sciences’ (Saunders et al., 2016, p.140). The current study applies the interpretive approach as it highlights the interpretation of reality through the explanation of the perspectives of its participants (Bryman, 2016). The aim of interpretivism is to create new and richer understandings (Saunders et al., 2016). In line with this, interpretivism is suitable for the primary aim of this study, which is to gain an in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host community in Vietnam. In fact, there are different views amongst the researcher and those being researched about the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Those being researched are viewed as giving assistance to create the reality with the researcher (Robson & McCartan, 2016). In fact, the socio-cultural impacts are found to be multidimensional in nature (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). This study focuses on participants’ lived experiences who recollect and interpret their experiences within their social construct.

According to Saunders et al. (2016, p.124), research philosophy is defined as ‘a system of beliefs and assumptions about the development of knowledge’. A research philosophy is constructed of three main terms: ontological assumptions (the nature of the realities), epistemological assumptions (how reality is known), and axiological assumptions (the role of values). These philosophical assumptions are further explained in the next sections.

3.2.1 Ontological Assumption

Ontology refers to the researcher’s view of society and the nature of reality (Creswell & Poth, 2017; Mason, 2017; Saunders et al., 2016). The ontological assumption of an interpretive approach proposes that the social world is created through the ongoing interaction between individuals who live in it (Holden, 2004). In other words, interpretivism is subjective since it aims to understand and interpret the point of view of participants (Saunders et al., 2016). It also posits that there is no absolute reality in the world but rather the world is made up of multiple realities (Bryman, 2016; Ritchie et al., 2013). Multiple realities exist in any given situation and include the researchers, individuals being investigated, and the readers (Creswell, 2009). People create and experience ‘different social realities’ because they have ‘different cultural backgrounds’ and ‘make different meanings’ at different times (Saunders et al., 2016, p.140). Hence, the reality is very complex in nature and the assumption of multiple realities, refutes the notion that only one viewpoint is true and the other is wrong (Denscombe, 2014). In line with this, the study posits that the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities are socially constructed and based on interrelations and interactions between volunteer tourists, the host community, and environments in different contexts. Furthermore, it does not hold that the local residents are a homogenous group of people who share similar perspectives. The socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities appear to be diverse based on the perceptions of host communities and the context of the study. Therefore, the ontological implication was that this study provided evidence of different views of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism by using multiple quotes and themes in the actual words of different participants.

3.2.2 Epistemological Assumption

Epistemology refers to ways of understanding and learning about the world, which specifically focuses on issues such as how researchers can learn about reality and what forms

their knowledge base (Ritchie et al., 2013, p.6). The epistemological assumption of this study is subjective evidence: the researcher interacts with those being researched and relies on their perceptions. This study employs the case study approach using a combination of qualitative data collection methods. The case study approach enables the researcher to interact with and gather the point of view described by the participants in the production of understanding and knowledge of interest to this research. The researcher conducted the study on the two case study farms, where respondents live and work. In particular, the researcher interacted with local residents, government staff, and volunteer tourism organisation employees as part of the research, therefore adopting an emic perspective that offers a rich and complex view of multiple realities. Therefore, the researcher tried to cut down ‘distance’ between himself and those being researched (Guba & Lincoln, 1988, p.94).

3.2.3 Axiological Assumption

Axiology is concerned with the role of values and ethics within the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Saunders et al., 2016). The researcher brings values to a study, makes explicit the values in qualitative research, and accepts value-laden nature of data conducted from the two case study farms. The axiological implication is that researcher ‘openly discusses values’ and includes his own interpretations in conjunction with ‘the interpretations of the participants’ (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p.17). For instance, choosing the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism as a topic rather than carrying out an economic impact analysis suggests that the researcher believes that the socio-cultural impacts are more important than the economic aspect because volunteer tourism projects are planned to affect the socio-cultural conditions of communities (Aquino & Andereck, 2018). As part of this qualitative study, the socio-cultural impacts tend to be a subjective or qualitative measurement of impacts on a destination compared to the quantitative measure of economic impacts (Mason, 2015). In addition, participants’ values play a role in all stages, which is of great importance if research results are to be reliable (Saunders et al., 2016). This study tried to report a balanced representation of views between the researcher and those being researched.

Having discussed the philosophical assumptions of the current study, the research design and approach is presented in the following section.

3.3 Research Design and Approach

In order to provide an in-depth analysis of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in Vietnamese farms, this study employed a qualitative research design (Flick, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2013). The qualitative approach involves the investigation of how people make sense of, or interpret, social phenomena, rather than the identification and prediction of cause-effect relationships (Willig, 2013). Therefore, the qualitative research design aims to understand the phenomena studied in terms of the meanings participants bring to them through in-depth interviewing (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The impacts of volunteer tourism on visited areas can be diversified and difficult to measure and identify (Lupoli et al., 2014). The study aims not to identify or predict causal relationships. Instead, it aims to gain a holistic, rich and in-depth description and insightful meanings of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Therefore, the research aim is not to prove existing theories, but to explore new aspects of socio-cultural impacts in the volunteer tourism context.

In addition, the researcher believes that the issues investigated as part of this study are complex and dynamic in nature and cannot be presented via numerical and statistical forms (Proyrungroj, 2017a). He also believes that the multiple realities of socio-cultural impacts and encounters of volunteer tourism cannot be conveyed via the statistical nature of quantitative research. The researcher also holds that the 'emic' perspective (insider) used by a qualitative study can lead him to better understand how the local residents interpret their perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourists. Thus, in order to better explore and make sense of the socio-cultural impacts, a more comprehensive way of exploring and understanding why and how they occur by employing a qualitative analysis is needed.

In a qualitative study, inductive logic appears because meanings come from participants (Bryman, 2016). The researcher used an inductive approach by collecting interviews and documents to search for a phenomenon or build a theory (Saunders et al., 2016). Thus, this study was inductive as it explored existing literature on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism while developing the theory around the phenomenon. The research started from 'premises which lead to patterns or themes in understanding the phenomenon studied' (Saunders et al., 2016, p.144). The patterns or themes were identified as part of the data collection (Saunders et al., 2016). The inductive approach includes qualitative data and a

variety of methods for data collection (i.e. interviews and documents) in order to gather as many perceptions of the phenomenon as possible (Saunders et al., 2016). The researcher used an inductive approach to transform the data gathered into meaningful knowledge associated with the phenomenon studied (Denscombe, 2014).

3.4 Case Study Research

A case study approach can be employed as part of qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2017). According to Yin (2018, p.15), a case study approach refers to ‘an empirical method that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in-depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident’. Case studies allow the researcher to ‘focus in-depth on a case and to retain a holistic and real-world perspective’ (Yin, 2018, p.5). The qualitative case study strategy was applied because this study is based on two case study farms. Previous studies on socio-cultural impacts used a case study approach including Boxill and Severin (2004), Cohen (1989), Kariel and Kariel (1982), Lee (2016), Ratz (2002), and Sroypetch (2016). Indeed, case studies have been used frequently by researchers investigating volunteer tourism (Broad, 2003; Chen & Chen, 2011; Conran, 2011; Gray & Campbell, 2007; McGehee & Andereck, 2009; McGehee & Santos, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2008; Pan, 2017; Proyrungroj, 2017b; Raymond & Hall, 2008; Rogerson & Slater; Simpson, 2004; Sin, 2009, 2010; Terry, 2014; Tomazos & Butler, 2012). In addition, Beeton (2005, p.37) states that the conduct of a case study is ‘such a pervasive methodology in tourism research and that it appears that its justification is no longer deemed necessary’. Through the use of the case study approach, the researcher was able to devote his efforts to studying the case, thereby having a great opportunity to delve into the issues in great detail and to discover how the many parts of the phenomenon affect one another. A case study approach aims to explore and probe in-depth the particular circumstances of communities and to analyse the perceptions of local residents in the communities in a specific context.

The case can be a situation, an individual, a group, an organisation, or whatever it is that researchers are interested in (Robson & McCartan, 2016). In this research, it refers to two farm communities including farm owners, farmworkers, volunteers, local authorities, and local residents. According to Yin (2009, p.46), multiple case studies are ‘considered more

compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as more robust'. The typical case study provided evidence which supports a theoretical view about what is going on; perhaps in terms of mechanism and the contexts in which they operate (Robson & McCartan, 2016). For this current study, the unit of analysis has been identified as the two communities with the purpose of understanding the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Case studies need to be self-contained and need to have distinct boundaries. These case studies are communities which aim to gather information about what things go on in the community and why and how these things occur. The case study approach may lead to outcomes about the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, which can be indicated to 'patterns' and 'explanations' (Yin, 2018, p.45), and 'assertions' (Stake, 2008, p.10).

One of the important concerns when conducting the case study is identifying the case. The multiple case analysis involved case studies which have all features suggested by Johansson (2007). In order to select the case studies, a non-probability sampling technique was applied to initially identify the farms. Moreover, these case studies were identified as part of the sampling approach and met the criteria. These are discussed in the following section. The aim of this study is not to compare these cases, but rather to generate a broader view of the possible socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities. Furthermore, the fieldwork focused on an exploration of the socio-cultural impacts, as perceived by members of the host communities involved, and why and how these impacts evolve as an outcome of volunteer tourism. Therefore, qualitative sources of data including documents and semi-structured-in-depth interviews were used to analyse the perceptions.

3.5 Research Sample and Sampling Techniques

This study follows a qualitative approach and a non-probability sampling technique was deemed appropriate because it is frequently used in qualitative studies (Bryman, 2016). Qualitative researchers tend to deal with relatively small numbers of respondents who can yield in-depth information and therefore are more likely to provide more valuable insights into the issues being studied (Bryman, 2016). Therefore, the non-probability sampling techniques of purposive sampling and snowball sampling were used in the current study. In order to select the farms, the researcher applied purposive sampling. Both purposive sampling

and snowball sampling were applied to select interviewees. The sampling techniques applied in the current study are further explained below.

3.5.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to search the farms and key informants based in different places in Vietnam. Denscombe (2014) points out that in purposive sampling, the researcher is assumed to already know something about the specific participants or events being studied and deliberately chooses particular ones among these people or events, whose qualifications and experiences yield a great deal of valuable insight and information about the research questions. In addition, the priority of purposive sampling is to gather enough participants to be able to provide sufficient data for the investigation of the research questions (Carey, 2013). The criteria and rationales for selecting the farms, and key respondents are presented in Table 3.1, 3.2.

Table 3.1 Criteria and Rationales for Selecting the Farms

	Criteria	Rationales
Farms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must have been receiving volunteers for at least three years • Must be involved in volunteer tourism projects of at least three months in duration • Must host at least 10 volunteers per year 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socio-cultural impacts appear as changes in society. Volunteer tourism is a new trend in Vietnam in recent years. • A more permanent and professionalised form of volunteering (TRAM, 2008). • Many volunteers are likely to cause more impacts on host communities

Table 3.2 Criteria and Rationales for Selecting Respondents

Key Stakeholders	Criteria	Rationales
Residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be over eighteen years-old • Must have been living in the farm community for at least ten years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical reasons • Socio-cultural impacts appear as long-term changes in society
Farm Owners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be over eighteen years-old 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical reasons
Farm Workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be over eighteen years-old 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical reasons
Volunteer Tourism Organisation Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be over eighteen years-old • Must have organised and/or hosted volunteers and have worked with the farm community for at least three years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical reasons • May understand the socio-cultural impacts of volunteers on host communities.
Government/ Local Authority Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be over eighteen years-old • Must have worked with the farm community for at least three years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical reasons • May understand tourism policies on host communities.
Volunteers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be over eighteen years-old • Must be involved in volunteer tourism projects of at least three months in duration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethical reasons • A more permanent and professionalised form of volunteering (TRAM, 2008).

3.5.2 Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling is a particular type of purposive sampling and is a technique in which the researcher identifies certain key informants by asking a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these respondents nominate other individuals with the required characteristics who may be willing to be interviewed. These persons are then asked to take part in the research and are also asked to suggest others and so on (Bryman, 2016). Snowball sampling was applied to search participants because there was difficulty in identifying members of the host society (Robson & McCartan, 2016). According to Bryman (2016), this approach also enables the researcher to gain access to the right people, who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research. In fact, the researcher was not familiar with the study site; therefore, he had little idea about which individuals would possess the required characteristics. In addition, the Vietnamese Farm is a small, close-knit sub-district where everyone knows each other. Therefore, snowball sampling was used to identify and gain access to the host participants of Vietnamese Farms who were local authorities, volunteer tourism organisations, local residents, farm owners, and farmworkers. Moreover, Denscombe (2014) states that this technique helps enhance the researcher's credibility because he can use the nominator as some kind of reference to the new people. In this way, it is more likely that the researcher gained acceptance from nominees. However, it can be prone to failure in obtaining a sample. Therefore, caution should be used in considering its adoption (Waters, 2015). Some participants tended to recommend others who were approachable and willing to interview. Hence, the researcher contacted and gave the criteria to the local authority and farm owners to introduce the potential respondents whom they thought met the selection criteria. Furthermore, he asked a small local family and members of this family to contact others who met the criteria. The criteria and rationales for choosing respondents are presented in Table 3.2.

3.5.3 Sampling Size

According to Bryman (2016), qualitative researchers are difficult to establish at the outset how many participants will be interviewed. In fact, the appropriate sample size in qualitative research depends on the judgment and experience of the researcher in evaluating the quality of the information collected (De Gagne & Walters, 2010). In addition, the size of a sample that is able to support convincing conclusions is likely to vary somewhat from situation to

situation in purposive sampling terms, and qualitative researchers have to recognize that they are engaged in a delicate balancing act between sample sizes (Bryman, 2016). Sample sizes in qualitative research should not be so ‘small’ to make it difficult to achieve data saturation, theoretical saturation, or information redundancy and the sample size should not be so ‘large’ that it is difficult to undertake a deep, case-oriented analysis (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007, p.289). For each farm community, the objective was to include different stakeholders from locals to governmental staff. However, the research focused on local residents. The researcher planned to carry out as many interviews as possible for each farm. However, if saturation is the criterion for sample size, specifying minima or maxima for sample sizes are pointless (Bryman, 2016). Therefore, practically, the number of informants needed usually becomes obvious as researchers achieve data saturation and redundancy – that is when new categories or themes stop emerging from the data. In supporting this, Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) state that the intent of the qualitative research is not to generalise the information, but to elucidate the particular, the specific. Hence, this resulted in a total of 37 interviews.

3.5.4 Selection of the Case Studies

In order to identify the farms, an Internet search was conducted between March and May 2018 to identify Vietnamese Farms which met the above criteria. The contact details of Vietnamese Farms meeting the sample criteria were recorded using a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Internet searches were carried out on google.com, google.ie, google.com.vn, using the search terms ‘Volunteer in Agriculture in Vietnam’, ‘Volunteer on organic farms in Vietnam’, and ‘Volunteer on Farm in Vietnam’. Vietnamese Farms were also identified via searching the following databases: wwofindependents.org, goabroad.com. A total of 19 Vietnamese Farms were identified that offered community development projects within their volunteer programmes, and the websites of the organisations were viewed to confirm this (Table 3.3). Of these, only 11 farms have been receiving volunteers for at least three years. Then, the researcher contacted these farms, however, only two responses were received. An overview of the sample is represented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.3 Lists of Vietnamese Farms

No	Location	Have been receiving volunteers from
1	Ha Noi City	2018
2	Ha Noi City	2016
3	Ha Noi City	2017
4	Ha Noi City	2016
5	Gia Lai City	2018
6	Vung Tau City	2017
7	Nghe An City	2017
8	Ben Tre City	2017
9	Phu Quoc City	2015
10	Ho Chi Minh City	2013
11	Ho Chi Minh City	2015
12	Phu Tho City	2017
13	Buon Me Thuoc City	2015
14	Ha Giang City	2016
15	Bac Giang City	2014
16	Hoi An City	2015
17	Mai Chau City	2016
18	Other	2017

19	Other	2016
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Table 3.4 Sample Overview

Stage 1: Qualitative Desk Study	19 Vietnamese Farms			
	11 Farms have been receiving volunteers for at least three years		8 Farms have been receiving volunteers for less than three years	
	2 Farms Response		9 Farms No response	
	1 Farm	1 Farm		
Stage 2: Qualitative Semi-structured Interviews and documents	Face-to-Face semi-structured interviews and document analysis	Face-to-Face semi-structured interviews and document analysis		

Two farms were self-selected because they were the only ones that responded. These farms also have a history of employing volunteer tourists. Furthermore, volunteer tourism has developed into one of the most vibrant forms of alternative tourism in these areas in recent years. Another reason for choosing these farms is that these farms met the criteria which the researcher presented in Table 3.1.

Having reviewed the selection of the farms, the data collection process will be explained in the following section.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

A combination of data collection methods permits the researcher to use a triangulation strategy which allows the ‘weaknesses in one method to be compensated for by strengths in another method’ (Denscombe, 2014, p.134). Specifically, this research adopted semi-structured interviews and documents as the primary methods that are undertaken as complementary data collection strategies. The socio-cultural impacts were assessed through a series of semi-structured interviews with different groups of stakeholders and the analysis of policy documents. Data collection involved 37 semi-structured interviews and 4 documents. The data collection methods are discussed in the next sections.

3.6.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Generally, there are three forms of interviews including structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews (Robson & McCartan, 2016). Semi-structured interviews is the widely used method of data collection in qualitative research (Willig, 2013). Semi-structured interviews can provide a large amount of high-quality data in a relatively short time (Carey, 2013). A semi-structured interview is less rigid because the interviewer has an interview guide that serves as a checklist of topics to be covered and a default wording and order for the questions that are used to prompt respondents to discuss certain topics.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen for a number of reasons. First of all, semi-structured interviews help researchers gather rich data (Carey, 2013). In fact, semi-structured interviews were used for exploring in-depth data from key respondents (Robson & McCartan, 2016). This method is appropriate for the aim of this study which is to gain the local people’s points of view about the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in a Vietnamese context. This type of interview corresponds to the interpretive paradigm, which is the framework of this study. Secondly, the semi-structured interview process is flexible (Bryman, 2016). For instance, if the answers of the respondents are unclear or too brief, the researcher can ask the respondents for clarification, by giving an example or simply requesting more details on that

specific issue (Carey, 2013). Therefore, the researcher also observed the interviewee's interactions such as eye contact and body language. In addition, it is not necessary to follow exactly the questions outlined on the schedule (Bryman, 2016). Thus, interviewers may ask questions that are not included in the guide when interviewing respondents. However, interviews also have a limitation as researcher cannot know whether respondents are telling the truth about their experiences at all times because they may have their own reasons to avoid telling the facts (Carey, 2013). Thus, triangulation was used to overcome such weaknesses. In this study, the researcher used documents and multiple informants to corroborate and augment the evidence from semi-structured interviews.

The researcher carried out 37 interviews on two farms with different groups of stakeholders with the agreement of the participants. There were three groups of respondents. The participants were local residents, farm owners, and farmworkers, who were interviewed to ascertain their perceptions of the socio-cultural effects of volunteer tourism. The second group of respondents were staff of government, local authorities, and volunteers. The third group of respondents consisted of volunteer tourism organisation employees. The second and the third group of respondents also helped the researcher to obtain background and contextual information related to the socio-cultural effects of volunteer tourism on farm communities and to identify a diverse sample of residents. The current study focuses on host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, the researcher collected three interviews with volunteers for each farm to obtain background and contextual information and to apply triangulation data by interviewing with various actors about volunteer activities and the impacts of volunteer tourism. The researcher met and conducted three interviews with volunteers at farm A. The other three volunteers were interviewed by phone and face-to-face after the researcher visited farm B because they had left the community. Table 3.5 below illustrates the key elements of the interview process and rationales.

Table 3.5 The Interview Phases and Rationales

Phase	Key participants	Rationales
1	Government and local authorities' staff, volunteer	- Who were interviewed to obtain background and contextual information

	tourism organisation employees, and volunteers	- Who helped to identify members of the population
2	Local residents, farm owners, and farm workers	Who were interviewed to gain an in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural effects of volunteer tourism on them

Interview protocols included a brief list of questions and rationales with key stakeholders in the host communities (See Appendix A.1, A.2, A.3, A.4, A.5, and A.6). An interview protocol allowed the researcher to obtain respondents' views related to research topics and issues. The researcher did not use leading questions, long questions, biased questions, and technical term questions. Interviews were applied to all nine types of questions introduced by Kvale (2008) including introducing, follow-up, probing, specifying, direct, indirect, structuring, silence, and interpreting questions depending on the circumstance. Sometimes, in order to obtain more specific answers, the researcher used a mix of introducing and follow-up questions.

In this study, the interview started with questions to gather a broader general background and contextual information about volunteer tourism in the host communities. Afterward, the respondents including local residents, farm owners, and farmworkers were asked about their opinions about changes in relation to the presence of the volunteer tourists in their communities. Local authorities, government, and volunteer tourism organisation staff were asked for background and contextual information related to the effects of volunteer tourism on farm communities.

3.6.2 Documents

Documents may be proposed as part of the in-depth data gathering for a research study (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). For instance, minutes of meetings, reports, newspaper articles, or diaries may be useful sources of data to be gathered. In this study, the farm owners shared official volunteer tourism organisational documents. According to Marshall and Rossman (2014), documents are useful sources of data in developing an understanding of the organisation, setting, or group studied. In line with this, Yin (2018) states that documentary

information including paper or electronic is likely to be relevant to every case study topic and can play a prominent role in any data collection in doing a case study research. Documents are also a useful method when using a case study research and combined with other methods such as semi-structured interviews (Yin, 2018). In addition, researchers often supplement interviewing with ‘gathering and analysing documents produced in the course of everyday events or constructed specifically for the research at hand’ (Marshall & Rossman, 2014, p.164). The gathering and analysis of documents were linked to the research questions developed in the conceptual framework for the research (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Searching relevant documents in systematic ways is very important in any data collection plan (Yin, 2018). Hence, documents need to be evaluated using Scott’s four criteria (1990) for assessing the quality of documents including authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning. According to Creswell (2009), the researcher collected qualitative documents including public documents (e.g. official reports) and private documents (e.g. personal reports) during the process of research. Moreover, another source of data is a website which is viewed as documents that convey messages about organisations (Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

The rationale for utilising documents in this research is that it would be used to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources for case study research (Yin, 2018). Indeed, documents can provide information to corroborate other sources. In addition, documents were chosen with the intention of using them as a supplementary tool. Documents can increase the amount of data to be added and triangulated with those gained from other means of data collection without requiring a cost commitment on the part of a researcher. However, the documents have a limitation related to credibility of the documentary source (Bryman, 2016). Moreover, the researcher may waste a lot of time on a large number of documents (Yin, 2018). In order to overcome these limitations, the researcher adopted suggestions as proposed by Yin (2018) when conducting documents. He focused on the most pertinent information from documents (Yin, 2018). Particularly, the researcher sorted or triaged documents by their apparent centrality to his inquiry (Yin, 2018). Then, he read, reviewed, and arranged the documents.

The researcher looked for official documents (deriving from the state or private sources), reports, newspaper articles, and documentation from volunteer tourism organisation websites. The researcher sought permission to arrange access to examine the files of any organisations being studied during the fieldwork. He scheduled retrieval activities in a flexible way which is independent of other data collection activities (Yin, 2018). Documents were conducted not only in the two farm communities but also on the internet during and after finishing the fieldwork. Additionally, he collected documents from VTO websites which host or sent volunteers to host communities. The purpose of the documents was not only to cross-check the findings from the semi-structured interviews but also to acquire input from numerous sources in the community and to elaborate on some issues. The researcher collected three documents from farm A and one document from farm B, which were used to compare and confirm participants' responses and views and to provide more information about the volunteer activities in the farms. A summary of the documents can be found in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Overview of Documents

Code	Name	Description	Source
AD1	Document 1, Farm A	An overview of the volunteer tourism programme at Farm A.	The farm owner, farm A (AFO)
AD2	Document 2, Farm A	A description of volunteer activities includes weekly timetable for volunteers.	The farm owner, farm A (AFO)
AD3	Document 3, Farm A	The recruitment advertisement for volunteers	The farm owner, farm A (AFO)
BD1	Document 1, Farm B	A description of volunteer activities at farm B from 2015 until 2018.	The website of farm B

Document 1, farm A is an overview of the volunteer activities at farm A. It includes an introduction to the social enterprise, a highlight of volunteer activities, and a recruitment advertisement for volunteers. Document 2, farm A is a description of volunteer activities including a weekly timetable for volunteers and an introduction to farm A and volunteer experiences. Document 3, farm A is the recruitment advertisement for volunteers including the aims of volunteer programmes and the social enterprise, and suggested skills and education. In addition, document 1, farm B is a description of volunteer activities and reflections by volunteers and team farm B on their experiences.

Having provided an overview of the documents, the next section begins with the pilot interview.

3.6.3 The Pilot Interview

The purpose of the pilot interview was to check the interview questions, the process of the interview, and the equipment (Creswell & Poth, 2017). The researcher selected one participant from farm A to use as a pilot interview. The pilot interview was conducted with a local resident at farm A on 07 August 2018. The interview was conducted face-to-face. The pilot interview followed ethical considerations (see Section 3.7).

3.6.4 The Main Study Phase

Before the data collection, the researcher met the farm owners, government and local authorities staff, and VTO employees in order to explain his project. The researcher did interviews inside and outside the farms. The interviews were done with the agreement and consent of the farm owners. The in-depth interviews asked local residents, farm owners, and farmworkers key questions about their perceptions around benefits, positive and negative impacts, as well as their opinions on volunteer activities and the interaction between cultures. The researcher recorded interviews and took notes during the process.

The applicant gathered all information of the primary data himself. The interviews took place over a period of five months from 7 August to 27 November 2018. A total of 37 interviews

were recorded and 4 documents were examined. Interviews at farm A were conducted from 7 August to 27 November 2018. Interviews at farm B took place between 23 August and 2 October 2018. All interviews at farm B were conducted face-to-face. Interviews at farm A were conducted 12 via face-to-face and 6 via phone call. The interviews lasted between 30 and 100 minutes. In terms of documents, three documents were examined at farm A and one document was examined at farm B. While documents at farm A were provided by the farm owner, the document at farm B located on the website of farm B. Documents were examined during the time of interviews.

Having presented the main study phase, the following section explains the ethical considerations.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are crucial when carrying out real-world research involving people (Robson & McCartan, 2016). Acknowledging this, the researcher conducted the study strictly based on the ethical standard required by TU Dublin Research Ethics Committee. Respect, sensitivity, and tact were always used during the interviews and gathering documents. No emotional and psychological harm was deliberately invoked to respondents. In addition, questions about age, ethnicity, occupation, educational level, or any question related to social class were handled with due sensitivity. Moreover, before conducting interviews, the researcher first ensured that the respondents were aged eighteen years or above and gave them the research information sheet, in English for volunteer tourists and Vietnamese for the hosts.

There were four issues in the information sheet (See Appendix B). Interviews were digitally recorded and stored on an encrypted TU Dublin laptop which was password protected. The respondents read the information sheet carefully and they had an opportunity to ask any questions concerning the research. After that, the researcher gave participants a consent form which they were asked to fill in and sign for the purpose of seeking their permission to audio-record the interviews and the use of their words with pseudonyms in publications. The consent form was in English for volunteer tourists and Vietnamese for the hosts. The

information sheet and consent form were printed on institutional-headed paper. No person participated unless his or her informed consent was gained. During the interviews, the researcher had a name tag with the TU Dublin logo in order to be identified. In addition, the researcher always informed his supervisors when he was going to the field, and he checked with his supervisors on a regular basis.

Having presented the ethical considerations, the next section details the methods for data analysis.

3.8 Data Analysis

According to Biklen and Bogdan (2007, p.159), qualitative data analysis is ‘working with data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesising them, and searching for patterns’. The researcher started the analysis of data at the beginning of the data collection. In addition, in qualitative inquiries, the stages between data collection and data analysis are not actually separate from one another, nor are they sequential activities in the research process, but instead these two stages are overlapping to some degree (Denscombe, 2014). In this study, the data analysis commenced conducted during the data collection phase and continue after the data collection phase was completed. Before starting the data analysis, the researcher transcribed all of the interviews. Although this was time-consuming, it was worthwhile because the researcher became very familiar with the data. In transcribing the interviews from Vietnamese to English, the researcher faced some difficulties concerning the English language because it is not his mother tongue. To address these difficulties, the researcher was assisted by a translator to check the accuracy of other parts of the transcription. Then, all the transcriptions were cross-checked with the tape-recorded interviews again, to confirm the accuracy.

A qualitative thematic analysis was applied to the data analysis in this study. According to Robson and McCartan (2016), thematic analysis can be applied inductively where the codes and themes emerge only from the researcher’s analysis of the data. The reason for using thematic analysis lies in its flexibility and accessibility. Robson and McCartan (2016) claim that thematic coding analysis is not necessarily wedded to a particular theoretical framework

and it can also be used in purely descriptive or exploratory studies. In addition, other approaches to qualitative data analysis which call for a considerable time and effort to understand and require an appreciation of their philosophical and theoretical basis to use legitimately, the thematic coding analysis was a relatively easy and quick method to learn and use. Indeed, researchers with little or no experience in qualitative research can use this technique and it can be used in a wide variety of fields and disciplines (Robson & McCartan, 2016). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), and Robson and McCartan (2016), the thematic analysis includes familiarising with the data, generating initial coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report.

The analysis not only sought convergence, but also the differences or contradictions that occurred within the data. The main themes were built by interpreting the meanings attached to the data in relation to the research questions. The thematic coding analysis technique was used to elucidate key themes of the transcribed interview recording and documents. The thematic analysis was used to identify underlying themes that explain the perceptions of the stakeholders within the host communities. Individual analysis of each transcript was conducted using NVivo 11, a qualitative software analysis programme. Finally, the thematic framework was developed linking individual themes and keywords to construct a theoretic model of socio-cultural impacts on host communities. The following sections present the analytical process with six stages.

3.8.1 Familiarising with the Data

The first stage of thematic analysis was the familiarisation of the data which included the listening of the recordings, transcribing, reading and re-reading the data, and noting down initial ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Robson & McCartan, 2016). Recordings were translated to English. After initial data collection, the researcher gave himself time to immerse in the data so that he was really familiar with what he had collected (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Robson & McCartan, 2016). He took notes and wrote memos about ideas for formal coding and initial thoughts about themes (Robson & McCartan, 2016). Apart from the transcripts, the handwritten notes taken throughout the interviews were used for initial codes. Then, the researcher uploaded all audio files, full transcripts, and documents to NVivo which allowed him to create folders and subfolders for informants, and audio files, transcripts, and documents (Saldaña, 2015).

3.8.2 Initial Codes

Based on the data analysis, the process of coding was part of analysis as the researcher was organising the data into meaningful groups (Robson & McCartan, 2016). He developed the categories of codes. Then, the data relevant to each code was selected. The researcher used codes for as many potential patterns as possible (Robson & McCartan, 2016). For this study, initial codes using the conceptual framework as a broad guideline were applied, which generated a total of 206 codes in the generating initial coding phase (see Appendix D.1). This initial coding helped the researcher to split the transcripts and classify the extracts, which is beneficial for further in-depth analysis.

3.8.3 Initial Themes

After the initial coding was completed and having identified a long list of the different codes, the researcher examined how initial codes were linked and how they may connect to an overarching theme (Creswell & Poth, 2017). The researcher used visual representations such as tables, mind-maps to sort the different codes into themes (Robson & McCartan, 2016). Some initial codes ended up as themes such as cultural exchange, educational effects. In addition, some initial codes formed a main theme (i.e. individual effects). The researcher combined other codes to form a theme or sub-theme. Several codes did not seem to belong anywhere and the researcher put these codes into volunteer tourism context and implication. The researcher thought that some of the coding was wrong, and some of these needed to be re-coded. He searched and named the key themes that captured the most relevant elements of the data in relation to the research aim. For this study, a total of 43 initial themes were identified (See Appendix D.2).

3.8.4 Reviewed Themes

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the reviewed theme phase began when the researcher had established a set of initial themes. However, there were some points which the researcher needed to consider including some initial themes which were not really themes, others might collapse into each other, or other themes might need to be broken down into separate themes. Therefore, the researcher applied two levels of reviewing and refining themes to the data

analysis. First of all, the researcher reviewed all coded data extracts for each theme including breaking down, combining, and discarding themes. The first level of reviewed theme was finished until initial themes did appear to create a logic pattern or a thematic map. Then, the researcher moved on to the second level of this stage. Secondly, the researcher applied a similar process for the complete dataset and reviewed the validity of each theme related to the data set (see Appendix D.3). The researcher moved on to the next phase after the thematic map worked. However, sometimes, the researcher returned to further reviewing and refining the coding until the researcher had a satisfactory thematic map (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher used NVivo to track and illustrate changes and save the codebook which included a list of codes for each phase, sources, description, and references. In addition, the researcher maintained the codebook to review individual codes (Saldaña, 2015). As a result, the researcher had a good idea of the key points of discussion.

3.8.5 Defined and Named Themes

The researcher had the thematic map of the data. The researcher defined and refined the themes for each theme and analysed the data with the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher came back to ‘collated data extracts for each theme, and organising them into a coherent and internally consistent account, with accompanying narrative’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.92). In other words, the researcher applied a holistic analysis which was the examination of the entire case (Yin, 2018). In addition, the researcher identified what was of interest about themes and why. Finally, the researcher named the themes, which needed to be concise and make sense the themes to the reader (Braun & Clarke, 2006) (See Appendix D.4). The thematic analysis resulted in the formation of nine themes that explained the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the two farm communities: educational effects, job opportunities, cultural exchanges, relationships, health, awareness of environmental conservation, physical changes, promotion of local products and tourism, and community natural resource development. An overview of the nine themes and their subthemes is presented in Figure 4.3. and 4.4.

3.8.6 Writing Findings

After the researcher had the fully worked-out themes, he wrote the final analysis and findings of specific aspects (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Producing the findings was ‘to tell the

complicated story of your data in a way which convinces the reader of the merit and validity of your analysis' (Braun & Clarke, 2006 p.93). When writing the findings, the researcher used extracts and quotes from individual codes and themes related back to the literature (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). He established assertions by explaining the meaning of and linking the data in light of relevant literature and theories (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Following the instruction of Braun and Clarke (2006, p.93), the researcher had to provide 'a concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting account of the story the data tell within and across themes'. Therefore, the findings of the current study were presented in Chapter Four in light of the research aim.

3.9 Trustworthiness

In seeking to establish the trustworthiness of qualitative research, various terms have been introduced in the literature to describe it. For instance, while LeCompte and Goetz (1982) refer it to the terms internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity, Creswell and Poth (2017) use two broad concepts of validation and reliability. Guba and Lincoln (1994) use four criteria including credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability as the 'naturalist's equivalents' for LeCompte and Goetz's (1982) criteria. In this study, the researcher followed trustworthiness as proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1994) to ensure its rigour and quality. The study can achieve trustworthiness by the perspectives of the research participants were 'authentically gathered and accurately represented in the findings' (Lietz & Zayas, 2010, p.191). Each of these criteria is established throughout the design, implementation, and analysis of the study and discuss in the following sections.

3.9.1 Credibility

A key component of the research design is credibility (Creswell, 2009). According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), the criterion of credibility (internal validity) refers to the extent to which the research findings are accurate and credible from the standpoint of the researcher, the participants, and the reader. There are two threats to credibility including research reactivity and bias (Lietz & Zayas, 2010; Padgett, 2016). Firstly, research reactivity refers to an ability of changing the findings of the study by the researcher or study procedures (Lietz & Zayas, 2010; Willig, 2013). Secondly, research bias refers to how the researcher's background,

values and preconceived ideas, and beliefs may affect the research process, thereby potentially leading to misinterpretation of the data (Lietz & Zayas, 2010; Willig, 2013).

The researcher managed research reactivity and bias by following the suggestions of Lietz and Zayas (2010, p.192). The researcher used an audio-recorder while interviewing with the agreement of the participants. In addition, in order to manage the threat of research bias, the researcher used other techniques such as triangulation, thick description, and member checking to build self-awareness regarding his own influence on the research project (Lietz & Zayas, 2010, p.192). Particularly, this study applied data triangulation including interviews with various actors (i.e. local residents, farm owners, farm workers, local authorities, volunteers, and VTOs). The research also used methodological triangulation with the combination between semi-structured interviews and documents. The current study applied theory triangulation by integrating different types of capital and concepts in explaining the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

Moreover, a thick description of the phenomenon being studied was also employed to enhance credibility (Creswell, 2009). In terms of member checking, the researcher sought feedback from the research participants in order to ensure a true record of their perspectives (Creswell, 2009; Lietz & Zayas, 2010). After the researcher had interviewed participants, he provided some respondents with a description of the main themes that emerges from his interviews. The researcher had a challenge with the response rate of feedback gained from the hosts because he did not have enough time to stay at the farms. The researcher had to send these themes to the hosts by email. However, many respondents did not reply and gave feedback to the researcher. Hence, he solved this challenge by re-sending these themes at least two times for each host resident.

3.9.2 Transferability

Transferability (external validity or generalisability) refers to the extent to which the research findings can transfer to other contexts, theory, practice, and future research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Bryman (2016), while the breadth is the preoccupation in quantitative research, qualitative research entails the intensive study of a small number of respondents, or of individuals with the same characteristics, and the findings tend to be oriented to the contextual uniqueness and significance of the aspect of the social world being studied.

Therefore, it is not possible to generalise the findings to the whole population and the findings cannot directly transfer to other situations (Lietz & Zayas, 2010). In addition, according to Bassey (1981), despite qualitative findings' lack of generalisability and direct application to other contexts, the research findings provided a holistic perspective by including various actors' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. In order for the findings to be transferable, the researcher applied rich description of the two case studies farms context and outcomes. The strength of case studies is the intensive study, via interpretation and an intensive understanding of context, processes, and outcomes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The depth description of outcomes may be applicable to other contexts. Therefore, the researcher used rich, thick descriptions to establish transferability in this study.

3.9.3 Dependability

Dependability (reliability) refers to the extent to which findings can be repeated by other similar research. This means that the findings will be true or probably true and can be repeated if the research is undertaken properly under the right conditions. However, some flexibility and changes may occur during data collection in qualitative research (Lietz & Zayas, 2010). For instance, the composition of the research respondents and the interview guide for the semi-structured interviews may revise after reflecting on its effectiveness during the pilot study (Lietz & Zayas, 2010). Therefore, in order to establish the dependability or reliability of the qualitative research, qualitative researchers need to document the procedures of their study and document as many of the steps of the procedures as possible (Gibbs, 2018). To do this, the researcher followed several reliability procedures suggested by Gibbs (2018). Firstly, the researcher reviewed and checked all of the transcripts. Secondly, the researcher constantly compared data with the codes and by writing memos about the codes and their definitions to make sure that there was no deviation in the definition of the code. Thirdly, the researcher discussed the findings with his supervisors to compare results that were independently derived. In addition, he maintained an audit trail which was a detailed record of the methods and decisions made before and during the research process. Indeed, audit trails 'can help to clarify concerns and increase the confidence of other researchers and reviewers about the conduct of the study' (Lietz & Zayas, 2010, p.196). In line with this, Tie and Ching (2009, p.116) point out that, 'by being transparent in one's work, it allows the

process to be judged by others, not necessarily so that they could replicate the process and reach the same conclusion’.

3.9.4 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the extent to which findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than an outcome of the biases and subjectivity of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). To achieve this end, the researcher used triangulation, member checking, and audit trails to identify and uncover the decision trail for public judgment. These techniques enable external collaborators to evaluate or confirm the research procedures and findings (Lietz & Zayas, 2010). In other words, a way of journaling, a record of field notes, and transcripts provide the reader a chance to evaluate the quality of research.

3.10 Methodological Limitations

There are some limitations in research projects (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Several methodological limitations of the current study include the sampling strategy, translations, and theories. Regarding sampling selection, the case study locations consisted of a self selected sample. The researcher tried to address this limitation by contacting the other nine farms that met the inclusion criteria several times. However, the response rate remained at two. Moreover, the researcher relied on the judgement of the gatekeepers (i.e. the farm owners and other villagers) to choose the respondents. To overcome this limitation, the researcher created clear inclusion criteria and contacted and gave the criteria to the gatekeepers to identify the potential participants whom they deemed appropriate. He also asked local families and their members to make contact with others who met the criteria. Furthermore, translations can pose a problem. The data was collected in Vietnamese but then translated analysed in English. To minimise this issue, interviews and documents were translated into English with the help of an English translator. The researcher also received help from his supervisors to write the thesis in the academic style. In addition, another limitation was that it was difficult to separate social and cultural impacts. Hence, after reviewing several theories, different types of capital theories were integrated with other theoretical concepts to address this problem. This was, explained in Chapter Two.

3.11 Chapter Summary

Chapter Three provided an overview of the chosen methodology of this research. Aligned with the philosophical assumptions, the study adopted an interpretivist approach. This qualitative research followed a multi-level collective case study approach to an inquiry that included semi-structured interviews and documents. To identify the participants of the study, non-probability, mixed-purposeful sampling was implemented. Then, the data collection process, ethical considerations, thematic analysis, and trustworthiness were presented. The chapter concluded with methodological limitations.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The findings chapter includes the overview of the case study farms, the overview of documents, the research participants, and the host perspectives of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities garnered as part of the research process. The results of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism are based on the six stages of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006). The findings are supported by quotes and excerpts from the interviews and documents. Thematic analysis was conducted in order to identify the themes. The socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on farm communities include nine sub-themes: educational effects, cultural exchanges, job opportunities, health, relationships, awareness of environmental conservation, physical changes, promotion of local products and tourism, and community resource development. These nine sub-themes are categorised into two themes namely: (i) individual effects, and (ii) community effects. The chapter begins with an overview of the research context.

4.2 Overview of the Case Study Farms

Table 4.1 presents an overview of the case study farms. Further details about the study sites are presented in the following sections.

Table 4.1 Overview of the Case Study Farms

Vietnamese Farm Community	Description of Host Community	Role of the Volunteer Tourists
Community A	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A social enterprise works with this community• Rural community• The majority of the population are several ethnic minorities• Agricultural (tea-growing) areas• Consists of many disadvantaged hill tribe teenagers, some of whom are orphans, who came from extreme poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Assistant volunteer programmes• Attending to a community project• Helping locals harvest tea• Marketing promoted tea products and responsible tourism services• Supporting vocational training programmes for youth• Helping to develop local business, equipping youth• Assisting with training

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locals leave the community to find work in urban centres or overseas • Very poor housing and high poverty levels 	programmes
Community B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A social enterprise works with this community • Rural community • Located beside a river and subject to flooding • Poor sanitation • Rural community close to a tourist destination when the data was being collected • Locals leave the community to find work in urban centres • Overuse of chemicals in agriculture • No school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural riverbank restoration • Pump installed • Assisting with medical clinics • Underground water • Clearing and removal of rubbish from the streets and community spaces • Recycling high-quality linens • Waste management and composting • Community garden project • Teaching activities • Assisting with training programmes • Providing community infrastructure such as roads, infrastructure system for the garden and library

4.2.1 The first Case Study – Farm A

The first case study site is in A province, which is a mountainous region North of Vietnam's capital city of Hanoi. It is known for a temperate climate with forested mountains and agriculture including rice and maize fields, cash crops such as tea, and livestock rearing (Turner et al., 2016). The unemployment rate in the province is low at 0.44%, however, it was estimated in 2020 that the poverty rate stood at 22%. Across Vietnam, the levels of poverty of ethnic minorities have a higher than 20% compared with the national poverty rate (World, 2009). In terms of ethnicity, A has 29 ethnic groups. These groups have diverse cultures and migration histories (Turner et al., 2016).

Farm A, is located in a tea-growing area inhabited by local minority groups. Farm A is a social enterprise that was established and operated by the farm owner as a commercial

organisation. The farm owner is the CEO of this social enterprise. In other words, the farm owner is a VTO. Volunteer activities are managed by the farm owner who has previous experience working with international volunteers and NGOs. The farm owner, rented a site from a local with accommodation and a classroom. Accommodation included a tea room, a shared room (for the farm owner and male staff), two big rooms with bunk beds (for volunteers, children, and staff), and a kitchen. There were some shops near farm A and a swimming pool, all of which were used by volunteers. At the time of data collection, two staff members were employed at farm A. One staff member supported volunteers and children and another one served and sold tea products to visitors. More than 100 volunteers from different countries came to farm A every year and stayed here from one week to one year. Some volunteers used two days off at the weekends to explore the surrounding areas and the minority cultures. The first farm staff member, who participated in learning English at farm A was hired to support volunteers when they travelled around the region. Volunteer activities in the farm community included (i) providing vocational training courses (e.g. local tour guides) for disadvantaged hill-tribe teenagers, (ii) teaching English to school children, (iii) helping locals harvest tea, and (iv) promoting local products and tourism services. The farm owner decided on these volunteer activities.

The focus of the volunteer activities on farm A was educational programmes for children and adolescents. The educational programmes included practical English lessons, art projects for both the children and adolescents (i.e. poems), vocational training courses (i.e. local tour guides), and swimming lessons. Classes were conducted by both local and international volunteers. Local volunteers (i.e. a Vietnamese volunteer and a family member of the children) and the farm owner were teaching basic literature, culture, and history. The international volunteers assisted with communicative English classes, helped students with practising English, helped organise short-term soft-skill training courses, and supported other activities (i.e. cooking meals, promoting tea products on social media) undertaken with students. International volunteers also taught yoga classes and swimming skills to children. A document provided by the farm owner, farm A highlighted that children did not have the opportunity to study at secondary or high school. Parents did not send them to school. Therefore, these teenagers and young adults wished to have an opportunity to study, get a stable job to support their parents, to make a living, to change their lives, and to rise out of poverty. While farm A provided free accommodation, food, and educational programmes to

some children who come from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds, families from other farms had to pay a fee to the farm owner to allow their children to learn English from volunteers. At the time of data collection, around fifteen to thirty children and young adults aged between 8 and 24 years old lived on the farm in the summertime to attend the educational programme. They lived on the farm with the farm owner, farm staff, and volunteers. In the rest of the year, some of these children only come to the farm two days a week because they had to go to school. Some local residents and children taught traditional games and played musical instruments to volunteers when they lived at the farm. When the children lived on the farm, volunteers explained basic concepts of hygiene to them because some of these children came from poor families and they did not have toilet facilities and proper sewerage facilities. Sometimes, relatives of these children came to the farm to take care of the children. During that time, they communicated with, cooked for, and had meals with the volunteers. Sometimes, volunteers were invited to stay for a few nights at the houses of their pupils' relatives. The farm owner had power in decision-making related to volunteers' staying at the locals' houses because volunteers had to ask and get permission from the farm owner who registered the presence of foreigners with the local authorities. In addition, one of the volunteer tourism experiences was harvesting tea for local farmers. The volunteers paid for this experience, which were equipped with hats and bags to harvest tea. Afterward, volunteers went to locals' houses to make blossom tea and traditional teacakes and to enjoy the tea made by some local residents. Some volunteers made a short film about the tea mountain and then posted it on social media. Some volunteers gave feedback about tea on the farm owner's website after visiting the tea village.

4.2.2 The second Case Study – Farm B

The second case study site is in B province. The West of B is mostly mountainous with a sparse population, while the East comprises of flat plains that offer favourable conditions for agricultural and urban development (Luu et al., 2018b). The main livelihood of people in the province is agriculture, with many small-scale farms (Luu et al., 2018b). 75% of agricultural land is used to plant rice. B has a long coastline and is located in the typhoon zone of South-East Asia, an area which experiences extreme flooding. Successive river floods over many years have caused heavy damage, which directly affects the livelihoods of residents and the socio-economic development of province B (Luu et al., 2018a). Local residents experienced many health problems because of the floods (Navrud et al., 2012). Whilst the annual cost

attributed to natural disaster damage averages around 6.3 % of the province's GDP, this can be as high as 20 % of GDP in years of extreme flooding.

In terms of the host community at farm B, the community is a socially disadvantaged community with many challenges over the past 20 years such as the loss of traditional livelihoods, and changing lifestyles due to a rapid urbanisation process. Added to this, when tourism development took place in tourist destinations, some locals left the community to find work in urban centres. Other local residents were still living and carrying on their traditions and culture passed down through generations.

Farm B, a social enterprise, which manages volunteer activities in this area, has been located in this community since 2015. The farm owner is another VTO. The farm owner, rented a local house in the village with accommodation for herself, volunteers, and staff, and entered into a long-term lease (i.e. 50 years) of land from the local authority to build the farm. The farm also has accommodation and spaces for educational activities for individuals and groups in the form of a small library and an English classroom. The farm is a long-term collaboration between the farm team, villagers, local authorities, visiting experts, volunteers, learners, and development partners from diverse origins. Two local residents have worked at farm B since 2015. Farm staff 1, farm B, who is farm B's manager, supports volunteers when they lived at farm B, and supervises activities at the farm (i.e. building bamboo houses, the community garden, the riverbank restoration, and taking care of visitors). Farm staff 2 looks after the gardening at farm B. Some locals were hired to run the riverbank restoration and build houses at farm B. Farm B was a space for sustainable gardening practices, waste management, and sustainable livelihood programmes. The farm owner organised these programmes for volunteers and local participants. Farm B has around ten to twenty volunteers every year. Some volunteers attended these programmes as students and others were teachers on the programmes. Farm B had built herbal and community gardens with accommodation where volunteers and locals stayed overnight for Lunar New Year, made cakes, enjoyed traditional folklore music, and had parties. The Lunar New Year celebration is a time for gathering, storytelling, and sharing food and drink. Volunteers and locals exchanged English and Vietnamese lessons at farm B. Sometimes, volunteers were invited to stay for a few nights at the locals' houses and had built relationships with some local residents during that time.

The main aims of the farm were to restore and enrich the local natural habitats. In particular, the activities at the farm included a holistic perspective of plant usage, preservation of natural resources and local indigenous culture, and sustainable education of children and adolescents. Volunteers helped local residents with house repairs, for example, fixing electric lights or a water tank. Regarding sustainable education, the farm owner and international volunteers gave some workshops for villagers, students from other cities, and visitors including planting banana trees, learning about habitat recreation and bio-diversity, meanwhile sharing a number of skills in working with materials (i.e. bamboo, organic composting) and the use of tools (i.e. the hoe or fork). In terms of environmental perspective, volunteers helped to clean-up rubbish from the street and community spaces after the village was flooded. Moreover, they restored the riverbank to limit the effect of unpredictable floods due to climate change. In terms of health, volunteers and some Vietnamese doctors arranged the first healthcare clinic in the village and offered health checks for local residents at the weekends. Also, farm B hosted some yoga classes in 2018, which aimed to improve local residents' health. With the goal of improving the quality of the village's drinking water, a water pump was installed in the community garden and water filters were built. Especially, The Soap for Hope and Linen for Life projects at farm B helped to create livelihoods for locals and to bring extra income and a chance for community engagement for people with disabilities. These recycling programmes turned good quality waste from top 20 ranked hotels into soaps and linen goods. A group of disadvantaged people in the village designed and tailored these linens into products that they could sell.

Having provided an overview of the case study farms, the next section begins with a brief overview of the research participants.

4.3 Overview of Research Participants

This section presents a summary of the research participants. To maintain confidentiality, the farms, VTOs and, interviewees have been given pseudonyms, and any explicit information, for instance, specific locations, which may reveal the identities of the farms or VTOs have not been included (see Table 4.2, 4.3).

Table 4.2 Overview of Coding

Code	Name
A	Farm A
B	Farm B
VTO	Volunteer Tourism Organisation
D	Document

Table 4.3 Examples of Coding

Code	Name
AR1	Resident 1, farm A
AFO	Farm owner, farm A
BR1	Resident 1, farm B
BS2	Farm staff 2, farm B
VTO1	Volunteer tourism organisation staff 1

Table 4.4 Overview of Interviewees' Positions

Position	Farm A	Farm B	VTOs
Farm Owner	1 Farm Owner	1 Farm Owner	
Farm Staff	2 Farm Staff	3 Farm Staff	
Resident	11 Local Residents	8 Local Residents	
Government/Local Authority Staff	1 Government Staff	1 Head of the Village	

Volunteer VTO	3 Volunteers	3 Volunteers	1 VTO staff 1 VTO co-founder 1 VTO founder
Total No. of Interviewees	18	16	3

Table 4.4 presents an overview of interviewees' positions in the two farm communities and three VTOs. A total of 37 interviewees participated in semi-structured interviews. The interviewees were based in two farms (A and B) and three VTOs (VTO1, 2, 3): 18 respondents in farm A, 16 respondents in farm B, and 3 respondents belonging to VTOs', respectively. In farm A, a government staff member is employed by a national government department. Her roles include providing suggestions for development policymaking and being a bridge between the government, VTOs, and local residents. She engaged in further partnerships with other local volunteer tourism organisations that received the volunteer tourists. In farm B, the head of the village is living near farm B. He gets monthly financial support from the local authority. His roles include being a bridge between the local authority and other villagers. Three VTOs were located in Vietnam and had partnerships with farm A. Table 4.4 illustrates the overview of interviewees' positions in the farms and VTOs. Further details about the participants at farm A, farm B, and VTOs are presented in Table 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7.

Table 4.5 Participants at Farm A

Code	Gender	Age	Interview Date	Position, Farm A	Occupation	Type of Interview
AFO	F	38	09/8/2018	Farm Owner	Farm Owner	F2F
AS1	F	23	09/8/2018	Farm Staff 1	Sale Staff	F2F
AS2	M	45	10/8/2018	Farm Staff 2	Farm Staff	F2F

AV1	F	31	07/8/2018	Volunteer 1	Copy Writer	F2F
AV2	M	23	10/8/2018	Volunteer 2	Copy Writer	F2F
AV3	F	24	08/8/2018	Volunteer 3	Student	F2F
AR1	F	22	08/8/2018	Resident 1	Agriculture	F2F
AR2	M	37	10/8/2018	Resident 2	Electrical Technician	F2F
AR3	F	40	08/8/2018	Resident 3	Agriculture	F2F
AR4	F	41	08/8/2018	Resident 4	Agriculture	F2F
AR5	M	27	10/8/2018	Resident 5	Tour Guide	F2F
AR6	M	20	08/8/2018	Resident 6	Student	F2F
AR7	M	21	07/9/2018	Resident 7	Tour Guide	Phone
AR8	M	25	07/9/2018	Resident 8	Student	Phone
AR9	F	49	08/9/2018	Resident 9	Business Owner	Phone
AR10	F	43	12/11/2018	Resident 10	Journalist	Phone
AR11	F	42	15/11/2018	Resident 11	Teacher	Phone
AG1	F	45	26/11/2018	Government Staff 1	Government Staff	Phone

Table 4.6 Participants at Farm B

Code	Gender	Age	Interview Date	Position, Farm B	Occupation	Type of Interview
BFO	F	31	23/8/2018	Farm Owner	Farm Owner	F2F
BS1	F	25	23/8/2018	Farm Staff 1	Agriculture	F2F
BS2	M	50	24/8/2018	Farm Staff 2	Agriculture	F2F
BS3	F	57	26/8/2018	Farm Staff 3	Agriculture	F2F

BR1	M	42	28/8/2018	Resident 1	Agriculture	F2F
BR2	F	55	28/8/2018	Resident 2	Agriculture	F2F
BR3	F	65	28/8/2018	Resident 3	Agriculture	F2F
BR4	F	62	29/8/2018	Resident 4	Agriculture	F2F
BR5	M	70	29/8/2018	Resident 5	Agriculture	F2F
BR6	F	52	30/8/2018	Resident 6	Agriculture	F2F
BR7	F	58	29/8/2018	Resident 7	Agriculture	F2F
BR8	M	62	30/8/2018	Resident 8	Agriculture	F2F
BV1	F	23	31/8/2018	Volunteer 1	Agriculture	Phone
BV2	F	32	30/8/2018	Volunteer 2	Agriculture	F2F
BV3	F	24	12/9/2018	Volunteer 3	Student	Phone
BG1	M	59	02/10/2018	Local Authority Staff 1	Gardener	F2F

Table 4.7 Participants at VTOs

No	Code	Gender	Age	Interview Date	Position	Occupation	Type of Interview
1	VTO1	F	40	12/9/2018	VTO Staff 1	Project Manager	Skype
2	VTO2	F	35	12/9/2018	VTO Staff 2	Project Manager	Phone
3	VTO3	M	40	13/9/2018	VTO Staff 3	Project Manager	Phone

Notes:

F: Female

M: Male

F2F: Face-to-Face

Following the analysis of the data, this section presents the findings in relation to the research question. Specifically it focuses on, the host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on host farm communities. Based on the interview and document data, results are presented under nine sub-themes. These nine sub-themes are categorised into two main themes: individual effects and community effects. In the following sections, individual effects are discussed under the subthemes educational effects, cultural exchanges, health, job opportunities, and relationships, to illustrate direct impacts of volunteer tourism on individuals. Community effects of volunteer tourism on the host communities are discussed under the sub-themes awareness of environmental conservation, physical changes, promoting local products and tourism in the community, and community resource management.

4.4 Individual Effects

This section presents the first theme that emerged from the results of the interviews and documents. Based on the data analysis, five main dimensions of the individual effects were generated: (i) Educational Effects, (ii) Job Opportunities, (iii) Cultural Exchange, (iv) Relationships, and (v) Health.

4.4.1 Educational Effects

Volunteer tourism had a number of perceived educational effects which will be discussed here. The first of these, learning English will be discussed first. Based on the data analysis, English language learning emerged as important in the context of the impacts of volunteer tourists on the host community. The farm owner and resident 8, farm A stated that English language learning was the most important activity in the volunteer programme. Resident 6, resident 9, resident 10, and resident 11 (all farm A) highlighted that the ability to communicate in English was a way to improve their employment opportunities.

*I think the reason I learn English is that it will help me in the future. For example, I can use English when travelling to other countries someday. [...]
In addition, I am likely to have more chances of getting a better job with a*

higher income. [...] Indeed, if I can use English fluently, I can think bigger, and even, can do business with foreigners. (Resident 6, farm A)

In fact, the main focus of the volunteer programme at farm A was teaching English to children and adults. Children who took part in the programme had five English classes per week with volunteers, and also had opportunities to communicate with them as both the children and volunteer tourists boarded at farm A. As a result, as highlighted by resident 10 and resident 11 (both farm A), the English communicative abilities of those children improved significantly and their English was better than that of other children of the same age in the community. The continuous flow of volunteers was the source of the sustainability of learning English at farm A. Nevertheless, while some local residents were keen on learning English with volunteers at farm A, others in both farms were not interested. Resident 6, resident 9, resident 10, and resident 11 (all farm A) said that learning English was not a priority because locals were simply struggling to make a living. In addition, resident 9, farm A emphasised that ‘locals do not have a demand for learning English because they would like their children to finish school first and they don’t have enough money to go abroad or have a demand for communicating with foreigners’. At the farm B, the main aim was to restore and to enrich the local natural habitats. Hence, some residents felt that speaking English was temporary at farm B. It was highlighted that some of the locals forgot the English they had learned when volunteers left (resident 4, farm B). The English learning programme was set up differently as the focus was on the environment at farm B. The main difference in the English classes was that English teaching and learning at farm A was part of a structured programme unlike at farm B. Resident 7, farm B asserted that ‘some residents only remembered some common words in English and they did not improve their English ability’. Thus, experiences of residents interacting with volunteers were mixed.

Another educational effect of volunteer tourism was that VTOs provided adolescents and children with opportunities for formal education, as highlighted in Document 2, farm A:

We are helping disadvantaged hill-tribe teenagers by providing free accommodation, food, and orientation training programmes in the suburbs of [A] City. Most of them are orphaned children coming from extreme poverty

families.

However, the VTO's brochure portrayed a picture that was not fully reflective of the reality at farm A. While some children in this study were provided with free education, residents 10 and 11, farm A highlighted that in some cases families had to pay a fee. This was seen as problematic by this resident who complained that the farm owners were benefiting most because volunteer tourists also paid money to the farm owner to volunteer in the communities. Document 1, farm A highlighted that short-term volunteers had to pay 280 US dollars for the first week and 60 US dollars for each additional week. Although volunteer tourism provided local residents and their children with opportunities for English language education, some residents felt that the farm owners tried to manipulate the concept of volunteer tourism for their own benefit and to the detriment of locals and volunteer tourists. Resident 10, farm A highlighted that:

It is unfair for both volunteers and locals. Instead of going to the farm owner's [place], they should go to live with locals and they can do volunteering without paying any expenses.

The volunteer programmes aimed to create opportunities for the future that could change the lives of locals. Volunteer tourists had changed residents' outlook on life by helping poor people in the villages, especially the children who could not afford to go to school (resident 5, farm A). The findings suggested that changing mind-sets could lead to sustainable impacts. For instance, the data highlighted that volunteer tourists had changed locals' mind-set on sustainable gardening at farm B (Resident 1, farm B). By contrast, some residents highlighted that a negative impact appeared to be related to a mismatch between expectations of residents and volunteer tourists. On the one hand, the locals expected that the education programmes would give their children an advantage in the Vietnamese education system. In fact, the educational programme provided by the volunteer tourists, which included practical English lessons and art projects for children, did not appear to align with either the Vietnamese educational system, the Vietnamese school curriculum or the specific knowledge needs of the children (resident 10, farm A). Thus, these expectations were not met. On the other hand, the

volunteers expected that the children would be interested in the classes and that they would be designed to be pitched at the correct level for the children. Therefore, their expectations were not met either. Resident 11, farm A further details:

Volunteers said that they want to help poor children who eager to learn English. In fact, at the farm, although the children even have all necessary learning equipment, they love playing mobile games rather than learning English. Volunteers felt bored and left the farm despite the intention to stay in the long-term at first. There was the volunteer who taught the IELTS to the children and she said that she stayed at the farm for one week. However, she left the farm after two days because the children did not have enough interest in learning English.

There were limited interactions and involvement of local residents in this activity because the farm owner, farm A designed the volunteer programme himself without the involvement of local residents or the local education community (resident 10, farm A). Additionally, the farm owner, farm A, used the same teaching programme for different levels of learners abilities and classes, according to resident 10, farm A. Volunteer tourism may raise concerns of power differences between locals, volunteers, and the farm owners as a result of residents not being involved in the design, development or review of the educational programmes.

Learning new knowledge from the volunteers was another educational effect of volunteer tourism. The farm owner and volunteer 1 (both farm B) asserted that because the volunteer tourists had different backgrounds and came from different places, they had acquired a variety of skills and expertise which they could share with locals. For instance, volunteers shared knowledge about first aid (farm owner, farm B), business and restaurant management (resident 5, farm A), water and waste management (document 1, farm B), classic poetry (resident 6, farm A), and organic manure and biodiversity (resident 1, farm B). Additionally, farm owner, farm B highlighted that volunteers who were doctors had consulted with locals about their health and raised their awareness of environmental health. Furthermore, resident 1 and volunteer 1 (both farm B) revealed that volunteers provided books and newspapers to children. In general, the coming of volunteers brought in new ideas, experiences, and

solutions, which was beneficial for local residents.

The findings also showed that volunteers passed on sales skills. In fact, both farms are close to world heritage sites and tourism has been gradually developing in the communities. Therefore, the presence of international volunteers could help bring in more tourists and stimulate tourism growth in these areas. Resident 4, farm B said that volunteers taught locals how to sell local products to tourists. In addition, being more confident was crucial, which mainly resulted from the fact that local residents had to interact with volunteers and others (farm staff 2, farm A). For instance, according to resident 9, farm A, ‘children used to feel shy when they met foreigners. Now, they are becoming more confident when they interact with foreigners in different contexts’. Being more confident mainly resulted from the fact that children had to speak English and live with volunteers and were eager to teach Vietnamese to volunteers. Resident 1 and resident 5 (both farm A) emphasised that they had developed positive attitudes towards their life. Being more confident suggested the intangible benefits that volunteers provided to locals. Added to this, resident 1, farm A argued that:

Volunteers have affected me a lot not only in daily life but also on my living spirit [spiritual renewal], on knowledge and it changes the way I think. Volunteers inspired me to improve myself, to live meaningfully, to help people around me and so many other things.

In the main, volunteer tourism provided for a number of the educational effects at both farms but these effects were more evident at farm A because the volunteer programme at this farm mainly focused on educational activities. The majority of local residents were positive about the educational benefits that resulted from their involvement with the volunteer tourism initiatives. They highlighted the fact that engagement with the volunteer tourists provided them and their children not only with opportunities for formal English language education but also insights into different cultures, providing spaces for learning about different perspectives on, for example, business approaches. The educational programme created opportunities for the future that could change the lives of locals. However, some residents, when discussing the educational impacts of the volunteer tourism programme, highlighted some negative aspects. These negatives were related to a mismatch between expectations and outcomes on the part

of both residents and tourists and also to a sense of disempowerment on the part of residents as a result of not being involved in or consulted with in the set-up, development or review of the volunteer tourism programmes.

4.4.2 Job Opportunities

The volunteer tourists' presence had a number of impacts on locals' job opportunities which will be discussed in this section. Farm owner, farm staff 1, farm staff 2, and resident 10, farm A and resident 7 (all farm B) highlighted that volunteer activities had direct effects on the communities by creating more jobs not only for locals but also for the farm staff. As mentioned in the previous section, learning English from volunteers was viewed as a way to improve employment opportunities. Two adolescents, who participated in learning English at farm A, became tour guides (resident 5 and resident 7, both farm A). Because, some volunteers at farm A used their weekends to explore surrounding areas and to discover the minority cultures, some local tour guides including resident 5 and resident 7 (both farm A) were hired by the volunteers to travel at weekends (resident 8, farm A). In addition, some locals were hired to run volunteering projects. For instance, some locals at both farms were employed to cook meals for volunteers when they lived in the villages (farm staff 1, farm A and resident 7, farm B). While some locals were hired for the riverbank restoration, building houses, and recycling projects at farm B (volunteer 1, farm B), other residents were employed to sell the farm owner's products at farm A (farm staff 2, farm A). Hence, volunteer tourism contributed to creating a sustainable livelihood for some locals. Indeed, volunteer tourism helped to create some permanent jobs in the host communities (i.e. tour guide and farm workers). A representative from volunteer 1, farm B shared:

Farm staff 2, farm B, who is a local resident, has a permanent job at farm B. In addition, local workers have more other part-time jobs, which are parts of some volunteer activities such as restoring the natural riverbank and building houses at farm B. Locals have jobs in the village so they don't have to go to other places to work. There are direct effects.

Although volunteer tourism helped create jobs in the host society, this was not wholly

sustainable since some jobs were temporary and ended once volunteers were gone. For instance, resident 7, farm B used to cook meals for volunteers, but this employment was seasonal in nature and she worked as a peasant when volunteers left. However, not all impacts were positive. Although there was job creation in some areas, there was job displacement in others. For instance, farm owner, farm A revealed that instead of hiring English teachers and marketing employees, his company had volunteers help with ongoing tasks such as marketing with the aim of saving money. This means that the arrival of volunteers affected the employment opportunities of some local residents in a negative way.

Based on the data analysis, volunteers' spending had a direct impact on the host destinations and thereby the growth of different sectors. Farm owner, resident 1, resident 2, resident 3, resident 4, resident 10, farm staff 1, and farm staff 2 (all farm A), and resident 1, resident 3, resident 4, farm staff 1, and farm staff 2 (all farm B) emphasised that some residents had extra income by selling local products (e.g. tea products, daily products, clothes, and handmade craft) and providing services to volunteer tourists. Moreover, volunteers hired local facilities (i.e. cooking facilities) or used local services (i.e. swimming pools) for running projects, according to resident 7, farm B. In addition, volunteers stayed for a few nights in a homestay or guesthouses at farm A operated by the locals, which contributed positively to the local economy (farm staff 2, farm A). Hence, volunteer tourism facilitated better job prospects in the host communities. A representative from farm staff 1, farm B shared:

Volunteers visited local shops in the community and purchased local products. Selling local products [to volunteers] provides more income for local residents.

While the majority of local residents were happy with the extra revenue which resulted from the presence of volunteers, two residents (resident 10, farm A and resident 2, farm B) noted that their income did not increase as it came from the jobs they do, not the volunteers. Volunteer tourism provided short-term job opportunities to the host society, but the sustainability of these opportunities was not guaranteed because it was based on the ongoing interaction with the volunteers rather than, for example, the starting up of new businesses which could be sustained by the locals in the long-term. While some locals received extra

income by selling local products to volunteers, the marketing activities for these local products were run by volunteers. Hence, volunteer tourism created a dependency on volunteer support.

In summary, residents were positive about employment opportunities and volunteers' spending that resulted from the presence of volunteers in the host society. They highlighted the fact that volunteer tourism helped to create sustainable livelihoods for some local residents but also brought an extra income to the host communities, which facilitated the growth of different sectors, resulting in better job prospects. However, simultaneously, some residents, when discussing the job creation of the volunteer tourism programme, highlighted some negative aspects. These negatives related to temporary jobs, volunteers taking over the jobs of some community members, and over-reliance on volunteer support.

In addition to job opportunities, the two communities for individual effects assign cultural exchanges between volunteers and locals. How cultural exchanges can be assessed is illustrated in the following section.

4.4.3 Cultural Exchanges

The ongoing interaction with the volunteers gave rise to a variety of impacts on the local culture which will be discussed in this section. In fact, volunteer tourism facilitated cultural exchanges between volunteers and local residents. One possible explanation for this is that volunteers lived not only in the farms but sometimes also in the houses of locals, which allowed locals to have an opportunity to have intense, direct, and engaging observations and interactions with volunteers, according to resident 9, farm A and farm staff 2, farm B. Resident 1, farm A:

I am from a [red] Dao¹ minority. Volunteers have minority groups in their countries. We share cultural features between the two countries. Therefore, I

¹ The red Dao minority is one of fifty-four minority groups in Vietnam

gain knowledge in cultures of volunteers' country and in turn, they know more about Vietnamese cultures.

Thus, the evidence seems to suggest that volunteer tourism has the potential to bridge the cultural gap between the volunteers and some of the local residents. According to resident 5, resident 7, resident 9, resident 10, volunteer 2, and farm staff 1 (all farm A), reported that volunteers had told them that were keen to learn the local culture as the community had a long history and rich culture, while resident 7 and resident 10 (both farm A) emphasised that volunteer tourists seemed to want to gain a better understanding of the lifestyle and daily experience of locals. Furthermore, there are fifty-four minority groups in Vietnam, which have different languages and cultures (resident 10, farm A). Resident 5, farm A revealed that 'some volunteers used their weekends to explore the surrounding areas and to discover the minority cultures'. In addition, farm owner and farm staff 1 (both farm A) stated that volunteers had told them that wanted to gain a better understanding of the tea culture of the Mong² minority and resident 8, farm A mentioned that he had introduced the tea making process-using bamboo boxes to volunteers. Moreover, resident 6 and resident 10 (both farm A) and resident 4 (farm B) pointed out that the volunteers learned the Vietnamese language when they lived with locals. There is also evidence that volunteers learned traditional games and how to play musical instruments by interacting with local residents (resident 1 and resident 10, both farm A). Resident 10, farm staff 1, and volunteer 3 (all farm A) said that volunteers went to markets and stayed overnight in the house of the locals to experience their actual ways of life. Some local residents believed that farm owners played an important role in bridging the cultural gap between volunteers and local people because these farm owners made decisions about volunteer tourism including managing the flow of volunteers, planning volunteer activities, and sending volunteers to stay overnight in the locals' houses. Farm staff 1, farm A highlighted that

*Volunteers had contacted the farm owner before they came to the community.
[...] Then, volunteers followed the programmes which were planned and
managed by the farm owner.*

² The Mong minority is a minority group in Vietnam

Volunteer tourists played an important role by instituting cultural preservation programmes where some local residents not only engaged but also passed on their cultural traditions to other local people. For example, volunteers helped to preserve the local culture by learning the tea-making process and then teaching this to other local residents (farm owner, resident 1, resident 5, and farm staff 2, all farm A). However, government staff 1, farm A expressed a concern that heavy infiltration of volunteers affected local culture because volunteers brought their cultures to the host community. She also shared that

Some local residents, especially teenagers, learned Western dance from volunteers and was indifferent to their traditional dance.

While volunteer tourism enhanced cultural understanding, the evidence seems to suggest that the encounters between volunteers and host communities had an effect on the locals' cultural norms. Resident 6, farm A highlighted that volunteer tourists came from a variety of cultural backgrounds and respondents were interested in learning about them. Some participants highlighted that they tried to practice some aspects of volunteer culture such as eating and dressing in the same manner as volunteers and trying to speak their languages. For instance, resident 4, farm A, emphasised that she was interested in volunteers' fashion styles. By contrast, some participants considered it inappropriate for women volunteers to wear short clothes when they walked around the village (resident 1 and resident 7, both farm A). These participants wanted volunteers to dress in a style more in keeping with the Ao Dai, the traditional clothing worn by Vietnamese female teachers, consisting of a long tunic and wide trousers, which ensures that most of the skin is covered (resident 1, farm A). In addition, resident 1, resident 11, and farm owner (all farm A) complained that working with volunteers in different cultures leads to misunderstandings. For instance, while young Vietnamese people showed appreciation for the elderly person, resident 1, farm A emphasised that 'children do not respect old people after they lived and learned with volunteers, as they feel free when they talk with volunteers'.

With regard to another aspect of culture, religion, it appears that local residents and

volunteers were respectful of each other's religious belief systems. While volunteers did not seem to disseminate their religious beliefs to the local people, locals were respectful of volunteers' religious beliefs (resident 9 and farm owner, both farm A). Resident 9, farm A explained:

Volunteers have different religious beliefs such as Buddhism and Christianity. I tell my children that all religious beliefs have some positive things, they should learn these things and respect the religious beliefs of volunteers.

Resident 6, farm A highlighted that the volunteer tourists showed respect for the Buddhist belief of the Vietnamese people by joining them in their prayers and by practising meditation. In that context, some local residents felt positive about volunteer tourism and its potential to develop cross-cultural understanding.

Overall, the majority of respondents believed that volunteer tourism was likely to result in cultural exchanges between volunteer tourists and local residents. They highlighted the fact that volunteer tourism enhanced cultural understanding between volunteers and local residents. Some residents, when discussing the cultural impacts of volunteer tourism programmes, highlighted the important role of farm owners in bridging the cultural gap between volunteers and locals as they made decisions in the setup and development of volunteer activities. However, there were a minority of residents who expressed concerns over the loss of host cultures and locals' cultural norms because of the spread of volunteers' cultures.

4.4.4 Relationships

As mentioned in the previous section, there exist examples where volunteer tourism enhanced the cultural understanding between volunteers and local residents. Participants viewed volunteer tourism as a good means of cultivating friendships. Farm staff 1 (farm A), and farm owner, resident 2, resident 4, farm staff 1, and farm staff 2, (all farm B) emphasised that they had met and established good relationships with volunteers when they stayed a few days with residents. The evidence seems to suggest that these relationships were based mainly on three

factors: their impressions of the dedication and performance of the volunteer tourists (farm owner, resident 2, resident 10, resident 11, farm staff 1, and farm staff 2, (all farm A) and farm owner, resident 2, resident 3, resident 4, farm staff 1, and farm staff 2, (all farm B)), the friendliness of the volunteers (resident 1, resident 4, and volunteer 3, all farm B), and the care displayed by volunteers and participants (resident 4 and volunteer 3, both farm B). Farm owner, resident 10, (both farm A), and farm staff 2, resident 1, volunteer 3, (all farm B), and volunteer tourism organisation staff 3 asserted that volunteer tourists provided assistance to people in poor communities without seeking anything in return. Resident 1, farm B said,

I really do not know how volunteers can cover their daily expenses when volunteering. I am not sure if there are any organisations which fund them or not. For example, [volunteer 2, farm B] did not receive a salary or any financial support from the local people but was very dedicated to volunteering to help the locals. Although this place is not their homeland, they are very devoted to it [...]. They worked here like a real local as they did exactly what locals did, not bothered about anything, even collecting cow dung.

In addition, the evidence suggests that the care between volunteers and participants, which was viewed as an essential element in building long-term relationships were co-created by both volunteers and participants. For instance, resident 9, farm A and volunteer 3, farm B highlighted that volunteers had established relationships with participants by communicating with and taking care of their children. Resident 4, farm B revealed that some local people had told her that they proactively kept in touch with volunteer tourists who had come to help them before. Furthermore, it appears that volunteers brought some level of emotional and spiritual support to participants, according to resident 4 and volunteer 3, farm B. The good spirit, enthusiasm, and energy displayed by the volunteer tourists gave participants hope for the future (farm owner, farm B). Volunteer 3, farm B for example shared that:

The first thing is that a bustling and cheerful atmosphere exuded from every corner of this remote countryside. Previously, this village was very quiet. Suddenly a bunch of youngsters (volunteers) came and made friends with everyone, then organised lively activities that made everyone's spirits go up.

Second, I think I have some good relationships with some of the local people. For example, because of having worked with the farm staff 2's family (farm B), I have a lot of influence on his son. One of those impacts is related to his mentally ill child. Indeed, his illness seemed to get better after interacting with us.

It could be argued that the long-term sustainability of the impacts of the volunteers, which is a key issue in volunteer tourism, was enhanced by the ongoing contacts between volunteers and participants. The evidence indicates that the long-term relationships contributed to the long-term development and improvement within the host communities. Resident 4, farm B for instance emphasised that there were some volunteer tourists who maintained contact with participants and continued to be involved in their lives in different ways. For example, after living in the community, volunteers kept in touch with and provided spiritual support to one participant by sending some messages of support during a time of natural disasters (resident 4, farm B). In addition, some volunteers shared their stories and experiences on social media platforms and launched a fundraising campaign for local children after they finished volunteering in that locality (resident 1 and resident 9, both farm A). The coming together of local participants and volunteers cultivated friendships (farm owner, farm staff 2, resident 1, resident 2, and resident 4, all farm B). However, the evidence also suggests that without further contacts between people, the impact on individuals and the host community remained limited. Volunteer 3, farm B recalled:

In my opinion, when we did volunteer work at [farm B], volunteers played an important role in the community. This is because we were the pioneers in everything including garbage collection, gardening, road construction, and so on, which encouraged the locals to follow the things we did. For example, seeing us collect the rubbish, everyone imitated, or seeing some doing gardening, they all followed suit. However, those things only happened when I was there. Indeed, when I came back to the farm later, I was very upset because when we were gone, everything went back to normal. This means that everything we did only influenced the present but not the future.

In addition to relationships with volunteer tourists, volunteer tourism provided opportunities

to build relationships between some community members (resident 1, resident 5, resident 10 (all farm A) and resident 1, resident 2, resident 6, farm staff 2, volunteer 1, and volunteer 3 (all farm B)). This relationship was based mainly on the time they had spent with each other, the inspiration from volunteers, and volunteers' networks. For instance, some community members had established relationships with others by engaging in English classes at farm A (resident 9, farm A), by participating in volunteer activities such as the community garden at farm B (document 1, farm B), and the inspiration from volunteer assistants. The evidence appears to suggest that volunteer tourism helped participants to have a better appreciation of community spirit. For instance, resident 2, farm B said that:

Before, I only lived for myself without much concern for my neighbours. Volunteers elsewhere come to help people, while I'm the one here. This made me change my mind. [...] I helped the poor women in the village by giving money, food, or helping when they needed it.

Overall, the majority of participants were happy and had a good relationship with volunteer tourists and other community members that resulted from their involvement with the volunteer tourism initiatives. However, some participants had concerns about the long-term sustainability of the impacts after the projects' completion and the volunteers' departure. They highlighted the fact that engagement with the volunteer tourists provided them and their children not only with opportunities for building relationships with others and more civic senses. Some volunteers continued to be involved with the host communities through different activities. However, some participants highlighted concerns about the continuous support from the volunteers and the long-term sustainability of impacts after the volunteers left.

4.4.5 Health

Volunteer tourism had a number of impacts on participants' health which will be discussed in this section. The first of these, access to health care services, will be discussed first. The two communities are located in poor areas which have limited access to public health care services. In fact, farm B experienced natural disasters (i.e. floods and storms) which lead to

many of the health problems displayed by the local people. Some volunteers took initiative in providing residents not only with opportunities to attend health clinics but also by sharing information about health protection practices. For example, according to government staff 1, farm owner, resident 1, resident 4, farm staff 2, farm staff 3, volunteer 1, and document 1 (all farm B), volunteers arranged the first health clinics in the village by collaborating with a group of Vietnamese doctors from another city and by offering health checks for villagers every Saturday morning. In addition, volunteers gave some medicines and health equipment to participants after they carried out a health check (resident 10, farm owner, and farm staff 2, both farm B). Farm owner, farm B, for example shared that:

Some volunteers provided medical assistant for locals. We [volunteers and Vietnamese doctors] walked around the village and gave some medicines and basic health equipment to them. We had a chat with some local people to explore their health issues. Then, we gave some health advice to them.

It could be argued that while volunteer tourism had improved participants' access to health care, volunteers only helped with superficial health issues. But the health problems that locals faced were complex. For instance, health checks for local residents were temporary. However, the village did not have resources to continue this activity after the volunteers had left. A local authority staff member (BG1, farm B) who is a local resident highlighted that:

There was a foreign volunteer who had offered health checks for some elderly people on the weekend. This activity finished [when volunteers left].

In addition to access to health care services, volunteer tourism contributed to enhance participants' health awareness, according to government staff 1, farm owner, resident 7, resident 8, resident 9, and resident 10 (all farm A), and resident 1, resident 4, farm staff 1, and volunteer 2 (all farm B), which can help ensure that the impacts of volunteers on participants' health are sustainable into the longer term. The evidence suggests that volunteer tourism helped to improve participants' health education. For instance, farm owner and resident 10

(both farm A) said that volunteers helped to enhance participants' awareness of food safety. They could reduce health problems and save money by having their own organic garden, according to resident 1 and farm owner (both farm B). Resident 1, farm B also emphasised that volunteers helped him to plant organic fruit and vegetables instead of buying them. Moreover, resident 8, resident 9 (both farm A), resident 3, and farm staff 3 (both farm B) stated that volunteers helped to enhance their health by holding yoga classes, suggesting that volunteer tourists not only shared knowledge but also inspired participants to enhance their personal health. Resident 1, farm B highlighted that:

After I did farming with volunteers, my mind-set, perseverance and the farming method has changed. I adopted a long-term and sustainable mind-set from volunteers, specifically related to gardening practices, food safety, and healthy lifestyles. For example, in the past, I used to go to the market to buy vegetables. Instead of that, in recent times, I grow vegetables myself and encourage people to begin planting their own greens. This activity benefits the community in the long term for us, for example, improving our life, reducing living expenses, and most importantly, preventing disease.

Furthermore, government staff 1, resident 10 (both farm A), and resident 4 (farm B) highlighted that volunteers helped to enhance participants' awareness of air quality. For instance, volunteers explained to some locals that their health was affected by pollution in the environment if they kept animals on the ground floor (government staff 1, farm A). While the issue of air quality has improved at farm B as locals have a waste collection, this issue is difficult to address at farm A because it depends on locals' behaviour. Some local residents keep livestock in a house to protect them from predators, which can certainly affect negatively the air quality. According to farm owner and farm staff 3 (both farm B), volunteers helped to check the quality of water by using equipment to check for traces of aluminium in the water and assisting in the building of a water filter.

The majority of participants were positive about health benefits that resulted from their engagement with the volunteer tourism initiatives. They highlighted the fact that being involved in volunteer tourism activities provided them with access to health care services and

enhanced their health education. However, some residents, when discussing the health benefits of the volunteer tourism programme, highlighted some concerns. These concerns were related to the nature of the provision of health checks. They also noted that many of the health problems experienced by residents were complex, due to natural disasters and limited access to public health services. These complex issues were difficult to address without extensive medical intervention, which the volunteers were unable to provide or facilitate.

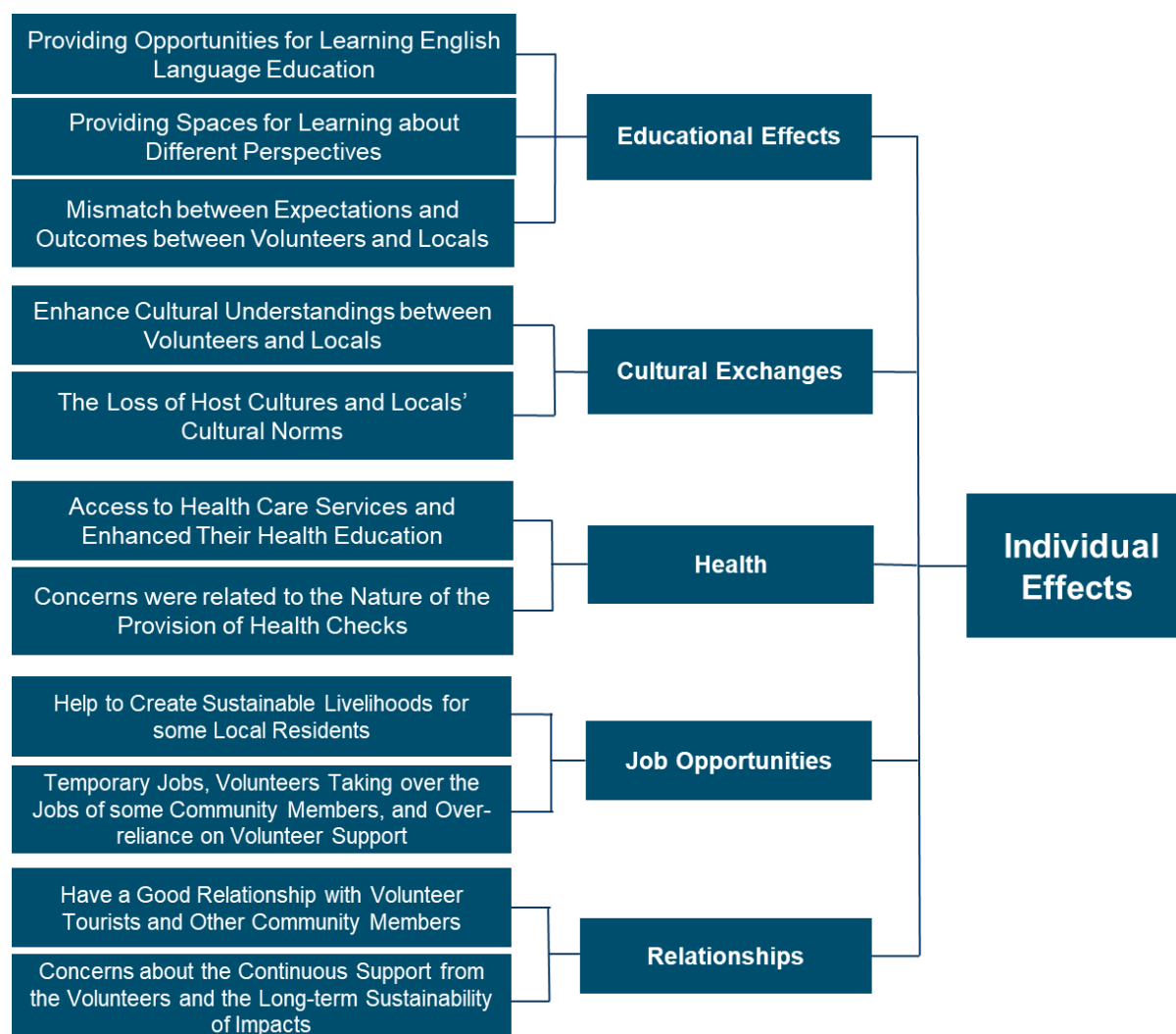


Figure 4.1 Themes and Subthemes of Individual Effects

Having reviewed the individual effects (they are graphically illustrated in Figure 4.1), the next four sections examine the community effects.

4.5 Community Effects

Based on the data analysis, four main themes were identified, namely (i) awareness of environmental conservation, (ii) physical changes, (iii) promoting local products and tourism in the community, and (iv) community resource management. Each of these categories is discussed below.

4.5.1 Awareness of Environmental Conservation

Volunteer tourism had a number of impacts on participants' awareness related to environmental conservation. Environmentally-aware attitudes and habits will be discussed first. While the focus of the volunteer projects at Farm A was on educational programmes for children and adolescents, one of the aims of Farm B was to develop environmentally-friendly practices. Hence, this section focuses more on Farm B than Farm A. Very limited reference was made to the negative consequences of volunteer tourists related to environmental conservation. For instance, only resident 1 and resident 9 (both farm A) complained that some volunteers smoked a lot and left garbage in the environment. By contrast, the evidence suggests that volunteer tourism contributed to developing participants' awareness of the environment and habits which helped to sustain long-term of impacts of the volunteers on the host community. Resident 3, resident 4, and document 1 (all farm B) highlighted that some locals left garbage in the area as the village had never been able to access public waste collection services. Document 1, farm B highlighted that '[volunteers] wanted to do something more than just collecting the litter'. For instance, resident 1 and farm staff 2 (both farm B) explained that volunteers not only picked up garbage but also asked villagers to get involved in picking up the litter. The biggest influence within the community was that watching the volunteers inspired the locals to get more involved in environmentally sustainable practices (resident 10, farm A and resident 1, resident 2, resident 4, resident 7 and farm staff 2, all farm B). It could be argued that volunteers were role models in environmentally-friendly practices for participants. For example, some villagers got involved in picking up the garbage by using a bin in front of their houses and asked a waste collection company to collect the litter every Saturday, according to resident 4 and resident 7 (both farm B). Resident 4, farm B highlighted that,

After the flood came to the village, [...] Volunteers helped to remove rubbish

from the streets and community spaces. [...] In addition, volunteers have enhanced residents' awareness of environmental conservation by providing information on recycling and environmentally-friendly practices to locals. For instance, volunteers taught some locals how to handle different plastic bags that they used to throw in public places and into the river.

In line with this, volunteer tourists undertook an initiative in waste management. Document 1, farm B reflected that 'the common practice for years was to burn the garbage. [...], not many villagers have raised concerns and taken action to address that issue'. Farm owner and farm staff 2 (both farm B) highlighted that 'volunteers set up a waste management pilot project in the village by using a home-made truck to collect garbage around the village'. Another initiative was to turn good quality waste such as soaps, linen, and used oil from hotels and restaurants into soaps and linen goods. The evidence indicates that volunteer tourists empowered participants to take responsibility for the present and future well-being of the community. For instance, volunteers not only provided new experiences for guest students and local participants but also inspired them to take responsibility for their local area (document 1, farm B). Document 1, farm B highlighted:

We [volunteers, farm owners, and farm staff] hosted 17 graduate students with fresh knowledge and practical experiences on Environmental Engineering from [X city], to enjoy the village life and to exchange ideas and hands-on solutions. In one week, farm B designed and facilitated a participatory process between the students, the villagers, and ourselves. Information was collected through teamwork, observation, mapping, and interacting with villagers to address the issues of water and waste management.

Moreover, there was a collaboration between volunteer tourists and tourism businesses related to environmental conservation. Volunteers were the leading operator of a network of people focused on developing sustainable solutions to waste management in the community (document 1, farm B). For instance, volunteers collaborated with tourism businesses to reduce toxic and plastic materials dumped directly into the community spaces (document 1, farm B). Document 1, farm B illustrated that:

'Linens for Life' has started its journey in Central Vietnam with farm B team - we [volunteers, the farm owners, and farm staff] are involving five-star hotels and resorts business, social enterprises, people with disabilities and special skills such as artists and practitioners into giving new life to linens instead of leaving them as waste. [...] We are open for collaborations with individuals and organisations who also think high-quality linens can be a good resource to more hope and fun, more jobs and opportunities, more values and less throw-away.

Although there were changes reported by participants in their attitudes and behaviours in relation to environmental issues, the sustainability of the changes was uncertain. The contextual issues make it difficult for the participants to continue to engage in sustainable practices. The evidence suggests that there was a lack of cooperation between different stakeholders in volunteer tourism to work together on environmental issues. In recent years, an anti-plastic campaign was launched by the government in the hope of educating locals and businesses about the needs to protect the environment (document 1, farm B). However, there was a lack of environmental concern among the local authority, according to resident 5 and volunteer 2 (both farm B). For instance, volunteer 2, farm B said that the majority of locals used too much artificial fertiliser and the local government authority supported them in the use of the chemicals on their farms. A lack of a continuous flow of volunteers' limited environmental-friendly practices to participants (government staff 1, volunteer 3, both farm B). Without support from volunteer tourists, environmental conservation was difficult to maintain (volunteer 3, farm B). Some locals believed that environmental conservation was not a priority in this village. There were some local residents who tended to show inadequate concern for the natural environment as they were still struggling to make a living (volunteer 3, farm B). Not all local residents were involved in the environmental activities (resident 5, farm B). Resident 5, farm B highlighted that

The village has just celebrated environmental activities. However, only one-third of local residents in the village have been involved in the environmental practices. [...] A majority of local residents don't care about environmental activities. There is limited involvement of local residents.

The majority of local participants acknowledged the contribution of volunteer tourism in conserving the environment that resulted from their engagement with volunteer tourism initiatives. They highlighted the fact that being involved with volunteer tourism activities provided them with opportunities to enhance their environmental-awareness and habits and to learn about waste management. However, some residents, when discussing the sustainability of environmentally-friendly practices, highlighted some concerns. These concerns were related to the temporary nature of the environmental activities, the priority of local participants, and limited involvement of local residents in these activities.

In addition to awareness of environmental conservation, the communities engage with the concept of physical changes to some extent which is presented in the next section.

4.5.2 Physical Changes

Besides the influence on the locals' awareness of environmental conservation, volunteer tourism had contributed to improvements in the physical environment of the host communities. Physical infrastructure changes will be discussed first. Resident 1, resident 2, resident 3, resident 4, resident 5, resident 6, resident 7, and resident 8 (all farm B) highlighted that the village had been destroyed by soil erosion which resulted in many families leaving the village. Because of the presence of a concrete riverbank, soil erosion continues to destroy the village (volunteer 3, farm B). Therefore, volunteers helped the community to improve long term safety by restoring the natural riverbank, according to local authority staff 1, farm owner, resident 1, resident 2, resident 4, farm staff 2, and farm staff 3 (all farm B). In addition, the natural riverbank restoration helped locals to have a sustainable living in the village (resident 1, farm staff 3, and volunteer 3, all farm B). For instance, farm staff 3, farm B stated that some locals migrated back and built new houses in the village. Document 1, farm B reflected that 'locals found it [the natural riverbank restoration] gave them hope to stay and to thrive better here in their homeland'. Farm staff 2, farm B, who is a local resident, highlighted that:

The natural riverbank restoration helps to protect soil erosion. If volunteers had

not restored the natural riverbank, locals worried about their life as annual floods destroy the village. Volunteers came to restore the natural riverbank. The natural riverbank restoration helps to keep the land from soil erosion. This is the biggest contribution to the village. If the village does not have the natural riverbank restoration, it would be destroyed [by the soil erosion]. If locals do not have riverbank restoration, the village does not have eco-tourism. [...]. Volunteers came to support [locals]. They brought trees or materials to restore the natural riverbank. Volunteers grew trees into the water. [...] The village has sustainable development by the natural riverbank. [...] Locals used to migrate to other places to live because of soil erosion. However, local residents are living in the village because they have the natural riverbank.

In line with this, it appears that volunteer tourism contributed to stimulating the eco-tourism industry in the host community. Local participants believed that the improvement of the natural riverbank restoration further helped to promote tourism and contribute to different sectors in the village which will be discussed further in the next section (see section 4.5.4).

Moreover, volunteers directly helped by actually assisting in the building of some local houses and public roads (farm owner, resident 1, resident 2, resident 4, resident 5, resident 8, farm staff 2, and volunteer 3, all farm B). For instance, volunteers prepared accommodation and spaces for local participants living and working at the farm (farm owner, farm staff 2, and document 1, both farm B). Some locals did not have enough resources to build public infrastructure (resident 5, farm B) and volunteers provided labour and money to build public roads (volunteer 2, farm B). There was a collaboration between volunteers and local participants to work together on some community activities. For instance, resident 5, farm B revealed that he supported volunteers in building roads in public places by giving advice on these activities. Resident 5, farm B explained that:

Volunteers helped us to build public roads, which locals do not have enough resources to do. They asked me to guide them to build roads and show them which places they needed to go to clean up.

The evidence suggests that volunteer activities (e.g. the natural riverbank restoration) were not run by villagers, the community did not have the resources to continue the volunteer activities after the volunteers left. Resident 3 and farm owner (both farm B) emphasised that some locals lacked resources and time to fix their houses as young people stayed away from home for work. Therefore, volunteers helped to fix the shower and electric equipment (farm owner, farm staff 1, farm staff 3, local authority staff 1, resident 4, and resident 8, all farm B). Resident 3, farm B shared:

There were five volunteers living in my house. They helped me to install new lights and fix electric lighting. They also helped to replace the water equipment to have clean water.

In line with this, resident 3, farm B said that the locals had never been able to access public services for clean water as the village did not have any companies or organisations providing clean water and locals did not have enough money to use water services from other areas. The traditional way to get water was to use a pump to get a rich source of underground water but the pump was ten years out of date and the water system was very old. Therefore, volunteers helped to install a new water pump and take the mud out of the water system (document 1, farm B). In addition, volunteers built a new water tank to provide daily water for locals (resident 4, farm staff 1, farm staff 2, farm staff 3, and farm owner, all farm B). It could be argued that volunteer tourism had improved local participants' standard of living. Document 1, farm B, highlighted that:

A ten-year-old well was got cleaned today. We could see water started getting in the well again after the mud had been taken. Water brings hope!

In the main, volunteer tourism had positive impacts on the community infrastructure which was a key to sustainable development in the host communities. Local participants highlighted the fact that engagement with the volunteer activities provided them not only with opportunities for a sustainable living in the village by restoring the natural riverbank but also

improving their standard of living, for instance, quality of water, providing assistance with house repairs. However, some local residents, when discussing volunteers' assistance with the impacts of the building activities, highlighted some concerns. These concerns were related to a lack of resources to continue the project because local participants did not achieve these activities.

Having introduced the physical changes in the two host communities, the next section presents the promoting local products and tourism in these communities.

4.5.3 Promoting of Local Products and Tourism in the Community

Volunteer tourism provided the local community with the tools and expertise to improve their living standards and the local economy in a sustainable manner. Promotion of local products will be discussed first. It was difficult to involve the locals in promoting local products and tourism activities because they lacked knowledge and experience related to marketing. The farm owners and volunteers took initiative in promoting local products and tourism. Therefore, different stakeholders' perceptions and documents have been used to present these categories.

One of the aims of the volunteer projects at Farm A was marketing of local products. Hence, this section focuses more on Farm A than Farm B. Volunteers helped both local participants and the farm owner to promote tea products at farm A (document 3, resident 3, resident 5, resident 6, and resident 8, all farm A). Community A is located in a large tea-growing area in Vietnam (resident 10, farm A). Volunteers were involved in marketing the tea produced on farm A by sharing their stories and tea experiences on social media (resident 9, farm A) but also by finding new customers for the tea (resident 1 and resident 6, both farm A). For instance, volunteer 2, farm A highlighted that

We start discussing marketing design [...]. [Another volunteer] has documents about tea and he spent a lot of time with local participants although he was hired for running the marketing activity here. He worked on a project that cooperated with the farm owner, farm A.

In line with this, the evidence seems to suggest that volunteer tourism provided a means for some local participants to improve their living standards. However, other local residents have not been involved in and benefited from this activity because the marketing activities undertaken by volunteers were at a small scale. A local resident was concerned about the sustainability of the marketing activity because the volunteers did the marketing rather than showing local residents how to do it. Resident 4, resident 8, and farm owner (all farm A) asserted that local participants had benefited from the marketing activities by selling more tea at a higher price. However, this view was not universal as resident 10, farm A argued that benefits were minimal despite the fact that many volunteers attempted to promote tea on social media. As she highlights:

This is not very clear [the benefits from volunteer activities]. If evaluated in a whole residential area like this, the number of people who can get the benefits is too small while the number of volunteers sent here is too crowded. So it is not easy to evaluate volunteers' impact. Additionally, these voluntary activities are too direct and use the volunteers and are created in the way these volunteers think it will help residents. So it might not be effective for the residents. Well, the tea areas where young people make money are small in scale. The number of people who can benefit from it could only be counted on the fingers of one hand. Farm owner (farm A) has lived here for a long time but he can only help a few people. He should have been helping a lot of people. If you talk about the start-up for young people and if you said that he is successful in the tea selling business and he could open a mini tea factory, why don't we develop a tea factory on a bigger scale? This has not been done. Moreover, he only exploited resources but he did not have measures to improve the resources (soil, people). Well, I'm not agreeing with him. He makes money in the local resource areas but he hasn't helped much at all. However, in the hearts and minds of the volunteers, they will not stop here [volunteer activities were designed by the farm owner], I guess they won't stop here. Because they have a very high level of awareness.

Thus, the evidence indicates that the farm owner based on what they think the residents need rather than what they actually need, designs the volunteer activities. Thus, the farm owner may ignore the voice of local residents about the volunteer activities. Resident expectations could be unrealistic because the farm owner maybe does not have the skills, knowledge, and desire to setup a tea factory.

In addition to promoting local products, volunteer tourism helped to improve local participants' living standards by stimulating the tourism industry in the host community. Very few tourists knew about and visited the locality although it possesses impressive natural scenery (resident 9, farm A). Some volunteers used two days off at the weekends to explore surrounding areas (resident 5 and farm staff 1, both farm A). Additionally, resident 5 and resident 10, farm A, and resident 1, farm B highlighted that after spending several weeks in the village, volunteers helped promote the tourist attractions of the village to their friends and acquaintances. Volunteers actively recommended the area to their friends and acquaintances as a holiday destination (resident 10, farm A and resident 1, farm B). They also shared stories and experiences about the village on social media (resident 11 and government staff 1, both farm A). Resident 1, farm B said that:

Some local residents have increased their income because volunteers, who visited them before, shared information about the village with their friends. For instance, a volunteer comes to farm B for three months every year. Then, she introduced the village to her friends, who travelled to the community. Eventually, local participants have benefited.

This example suggests that volunteer tourism helped to bring in more tourists and directly stimulated local tourism industry growth. In line with this, as mentioned before, while the tourism growth in the host community relied on the sustainable natural riverbank restoration which created safety for the village, the herbal and community gardens stimulated eco-tourism growth. Resident 6, farm B highlighted that after attending the community garden project, she has her own garden and some tourists came to visit her garden and bought some fruits. The evidence suggests that volunteer tourism contributed to creating a sustainable livelihood for local participants. Moreover, volunteer tourism helped to maintain traditional

livelihoods which stimulated tourism growth in the community. Maintenance of traditional livelihoods in the village by developing the community resources will be discussed in the following section.

Based on the data analysis, the majority of participants highlighted that volunteer tourists helped to promote local products on farm A and stimulate tourism growth on both farms. This suggests that although volunteer tourism helped to improve local participants' living standards and the local economy, the impacts seem unsustainable because the expertise lies with the volunteers and was not passed on to the residents. Some local residents highlighted that there was a mismatch between expectations and perceived outcomes of both residents and volunteers. Some local participants expected that the farm owner and volunteers set up a tea factory but these expectations were not met. The volunteers expected that the living standards of the local residents would be improved as a result of their activities. The outcome of marketing activities was not very clear and locals benefits from these activities were small in scale. The promotion of local products and tourism had limited involvement of the villagers and the farm owners designed the activities based on what they thought residents wanted, rather than on the actual needs of the residents.

4.5.4 Community Resource Development

Volunteer tourism on the case study farms had a number of perceived impacts on community natural resources which will be discussed in this section. Document 1 and farm owner, farm B highlighted that volunteers helped to preserve natural resources such as a bamboo sanctuary, in the village. Bamboo is a material used to build houses and to create handmade products (e.g. chopsticks, spoons, and cups) in Vietnam, which means that some traditional livelihoods are related to bamboo (volunteer 1, farm B). Additionally, bamboo was seen as an important part of local life because it is part of a valuable gift parents give sons when they get married (document 1, farm B). However, the village experienced challenges related to the loss of bamboo sources due to rapid urbanisation (document 1, farm B). Therefore, volunteers helped to preserve bamboo by not only developing bamboo sources in the village but also by sourcing of bamboo plants from other places to plant in the village (farm owner, farm B). In addition, they not only used bamboo trees to build houses in farm B and to restore the natural riverbank but also helped to preserve jobs related to bamboo sources (farm owner, farm staff

2, document 1, all farm B). For instance, farm staff 2, farm B, who is a local resident, has experience in working with bamboo. He was hired for supervising the building of bamboo houses at farm B (farm owner, farm B). Some local professional workers were invited to farm B to share with volunteers how to tie bamboo with strings into the solid structure (document 1, farm B). In that way, volunteers contributed to the maintenance of the traditional livelihoods in the village.

Moreover, volunteer tourism helped to develop sustainable gardening practices (resident 1, volunteer 2, and document 1, all farm B). For example, many locals used too much chemical pesticide on their farms (volunteer 2, farm B). Therefore, instead of using artificial pesticides for the farm, volunteers used a natural pesticide made from garlic, ginger, chilli, and rice wine, and a bucket of red worms, according to volunteer 1 and document 1 (both farm B). In addition, volunteers seemed to be the ones among a few people in the village who collected and used existing natural resources such as water hyacinth plants, bamboo leaves, and banana trees to make compost for tree planting. These examples were traditional practices, which were reintroduced by the volunteer tourists, according to document 1, volunteer 1, and farm staff 1 (all farm B). Resident 1 and farm staff 1 (both farm B) observed that watching the volunteers inspired the locals to get more involved in protecting the natural environment. Resident 1, farm B highlighted:

Volunteers helped to make the land more fertile again. Volunteers were concerned with and conserved natural resources and habitats. [...] After a long time of working and doing research, volunteers found out that if we benefit from the land, we need to foster and replenish what we take from it. For example, we just utilise one-third of the land so that we can use the land in the long term. Previously, after each harvest, we have to fertilise the soil. Now, we only have to do it once but it is effective. It changes how we work.

Furthermore, local participants acknowledged the contribution of volunteers in the building of the community garden, the nursery, and the medicinal gardens. The aims of these gardens were to encourage villagers to take part in different aspects of sustainable gardening at the community level and to be more financially independent and ecologically sustainable

(document 1, farm B). Among these, the community garden was nurtured and grown from a barren field that was usually left uncultivated most of the time by the villagers (resident 4 and document 1, both farm B). The community garden was co-created by both volunteers and local residents (farm staff 2 and farm owner, both farm B). The collaboration and sharing of knowledge as part of these activities helped to create spaces for building relationships between volunteers and locals and more sustainable gardening practices. While locals participated in some activities including ploughing, making a fence, raising cattle, growing vegetables, and building a water tank and irrigation systems, gardening practices were piloted by volunteers in this farm (farm owner, farm B). Farm staff 1, farm B highlighted that:

Locals participated in the community garden since the volunteers came to the village. Both local residents and volunteers worked in the community garden. Volunteers and villagers joined dinner at the community garden that they have been a part. It's fun! Volunteers earn trust and collaboration with the villagers in establishing the community garden. The community garden had established good relationships between locals and volunteers.

In addition, volunteers assisted with the building of the nursery garden that helped to preserve indigenous plants and provided seeds to locals (volunteer 1, farm owner, and document 1, all farm B). For instance, some locals came to farm B to ask for seeds (document 1, farm B). Volunteers also provided seeds and indigenous plants to some local residents who left the village for many years due to soil erosion and came back to the village without knowledge related to indigenous plants (volunteer 1, farm B). Volunteer 1, farm B, also highlights that knowledge related to indigenous plants comes from volunteers' agricultural backgrounds and collected experience from old people in the village. Volunteers not only handed out seeds but also passed on that knowledge to other villagers (resident 1, farm staff 2, volunteer 1, all farm B).

Moreover, farm staff 2 and document 1 (both farm B) stated that volunteers planted the medicinal garden in farm B and gave the medicinal herbal greens to villagers. Volunteers also collected information about the indigenous plants and the medicinal garden in the village and shared this information with locals (volunteer 1, farm B). These gardens helped to inspire

communication and shared values between people in the community (resident 1 and document 1, both farm B). However, some local participants expressed some concerns about a lack of success of these gardens (resident 6, farm B). The locals stopped maintaining the gardens after the volunteers left as local participants did not see how they could gain economic benefits from them (resident 1, resident 4, resident 6, and volunteer 3, all farm B). It appears that volunteer tourism did not yield economic sustainability because of the incongruence of goals between volunteers and local participants. Resident 1, farm B, for example, highlighted:

There are no benefits to the community so far, because the community gardening, which the volunteers started in the past did not generate economic benefits. Here, people have 3-4 crops per year. When participating in the community gardening programme, local participants had to wait for a long time to see results, compared to an average time of a crop as usual (about 3-4 months). As a result, they were discouraged and gave up on this activity. In general, the underlying reason is that the local participants' goals are short-term benefits, while those of volunteers are long-term benefits. These two mind-sets are not synchronised with each other, which makes it difficult to maintain this programme.

While volunteers had an awareness of the importance of a sustainable environment for the host communities, some local participants tended to show no interest in the natural environment (resident 1, farm B). In addition, the influx of volunteers to the local community did not provide enough skills and labour to support the community garden (resident 6, farm B). Another reason for this could be the fact that these gardens had been affected by climate change (i.e. global warming) (resident 4 and resident 7, farm B). Although this community gardens initiative was unsuccessful, participating in sustainable gardening practices inspired the local participants to start their private gardens (resident 1, farm staff 1, and farm staff 2, all farm B). For instance, resident 1, farm B explained that after engaging in the community garden, some locals grew organic food by themselves. Moreover, the building of these gardens helped to enhance local participants' awareness of organic farming as they used to believe that growing food and vegetables needed artificial fertiliser (volunteer 3, farm B).

Overall, the majority of participants were positive about the help of volunteers in maintaining traditional livelihoods and building gardens. They highlighted that the presence of volunteer tourists helped to preserve the natural resources and create jobs related to these resources at farm B. It suggests that volunteer tourism helped to develop sustainable gardening practices, for example, having participants' own gardens, preserving the indigenous plants, and sharing seeds with other local participants. However, some resident participants noted that there was an incongruence of goals between residents and volunteer tourists. They also noted that developing gardens stopped due to global warming. Local residents needed a long-term approach to have impacts on sustainable gardening practices.

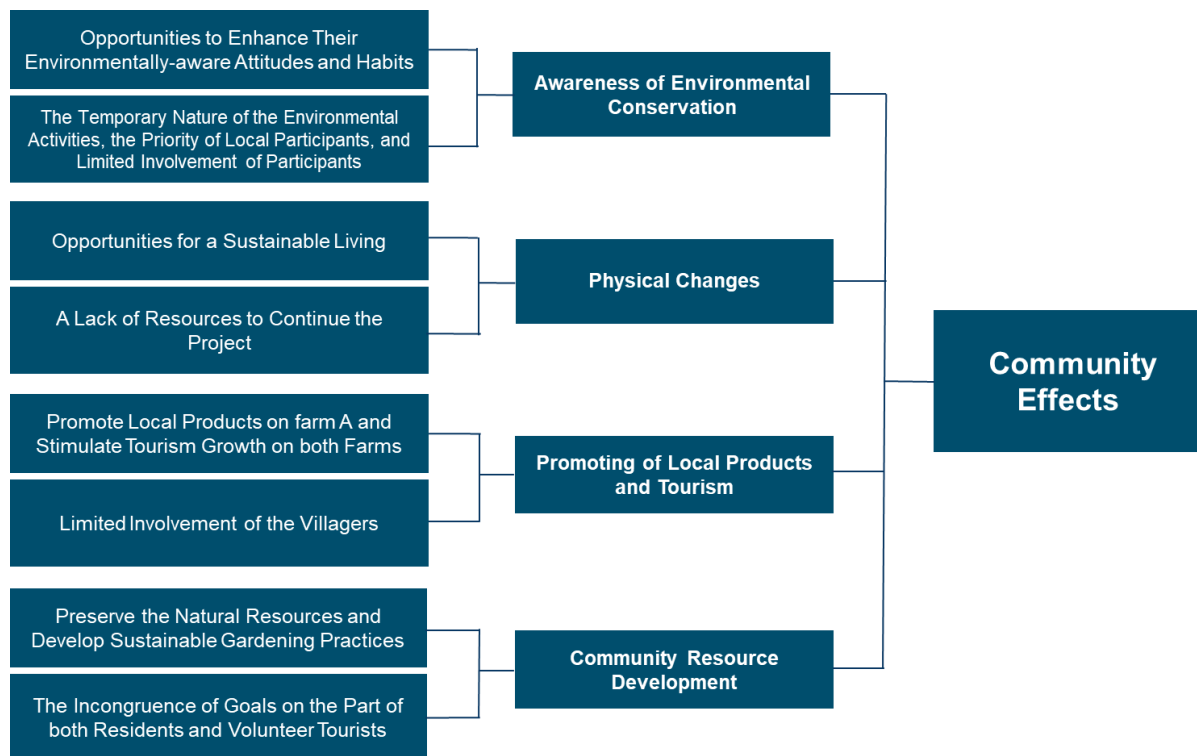


Figure 4.2 Themes and Subthemes of Community Effects

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter illustrated the findings of the study, with individual and community effects employed to provide an in-deep understanding of the different socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the two farm communities. The results were presented under two

developed themes: individual effects (educational effects, cultural exchanges, health, and job opportunities) (Figure 4.1) and community effects (awareness of environmental conservation, physical changes, promoting local products and tourism in the community, and community resource management) (Figure 4.2). These findings are interpreted and discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION CHAPTER

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings in light of relevant literature. Specifically, it is intended to answer the main research aim: to explore and understand host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in Vietnamese farm communities. Drawing from nine themes of the findings explained in Chapter Four, this chapter is divided into five sections. Firstly, the chapter discusses the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism model including the main concepts, actors involved, and the linkages between them. The model helps to shed light on the complexity of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. It also helps to guide further studies. Secondly, the chapter discusses how the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts can be achieved. These impacts were analysed in Chapter Four: educational effects, job opportunities, and promotion of local products and tourism (human capital), cultural exchange (cultural capital), health, awareness of environmental conservation, physical changes, and community resources (welfare capital), and relationships (social capital). Thirdly, the chapter discusses the issue of empowerment arising from these forms of capital. Volunteer tourism, in this study, had a number of impacts on various forms of capital and these types of capital are interlinked. The chapter also presents the interrelationships between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. This section highlights that the more access to and control of different forms of capital local members have, the more sustainable socio-cultural impacts could be for them. Finally, the chapter concludes with the role of VTOs in community empowerment and ensuring the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. The chapter begins with the presentation of the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism model.

5.2 Socio-cultural Sustainability of Volunteer Tourism Model

The current study proposes a socio-cultural sustainability of volunteer tourism model (presented in Figure 5.1), which is based on the findings of this study. It presents a framework of sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities as a visual display of the theoretical contributions of this study. Figure 5.1 presents the main concepts, the actors involved in volunteer tourism, and how they are linked.

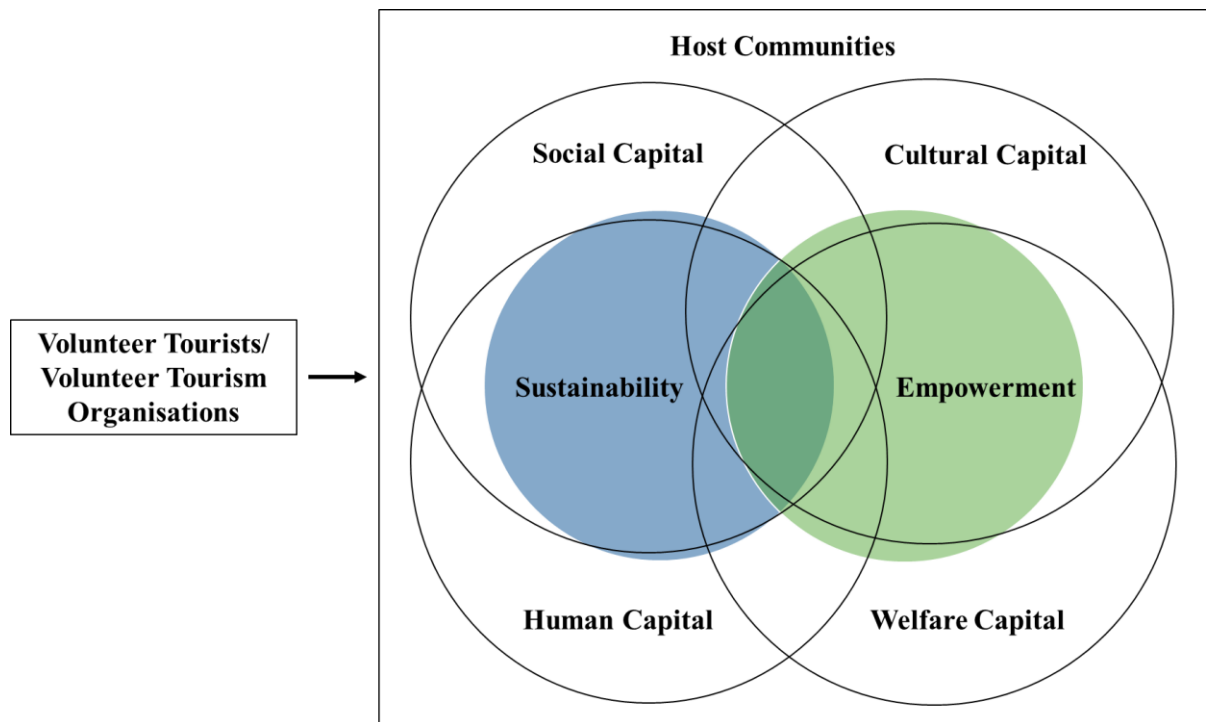


Figure 5.1 Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism on the Host Communities Theoretical Framework

The model provides insights into the socio-cultural impacts and the sustainability of these impacts on the host communities. The current study shows that four forms of socio-cultural capital can be observed, which were described in Chapter Four: relationships (social capital), educational effects and job opportunities (human capital), cultural exchange (cultural capital), and health and awareness of environmental conservation (welfare capital). This thesis is not a comparison between the case studies. However, the two contexts were taken into consideration and the findings revealed differences in the development of different types of capital depending on the context of the communities. The interactions among different forms of capital illustrate that improvements in one can have a positive effect on another and the other way around. Arguably, the more interwoven these are the more sustainable they could be. Improvements in the different forms of capital can synergistically enrich the entire community in the long term. Conversely, disimprovements in one can lead to commensurate degradation in another.

The model in Figure 5.1 illustrates that empowerment arises in different types of capital or dimensions. Empowerment can be attained in one dimension or not in others and little and/or

no empowerment in one dimension can silence empowerment in others (Hennink et al., 2012). Similar to the relationship with sustainability, the current study highlights that empowerment arising from the development of one type of capital can contribute to or diminish, not only other types of capital but can also contribute to the long term sustainability of these forms of capital. Empowerment arising from the development of one type of capital is insufficient for sustaining different types of capital. Thus, the more empowerment arises in these types of capital, the more sustainable they could be. The findings also reveal that empowerment of local communities, by including them in decision-making and planning acts as a pivotal element that potentially strengthens the sustainability of different types of capital. Similarly, the consideration of host community needs is an element of prime importance. If a VTO focuses on the inclusion of community views and tailors activities to address the needs highlighted by community members, it can act as a mediator/gatekeeper or a bridge between volunteers and local residents to facilitate the creation of capital. Although community empowerment was not the initial focus of this current study, this concept emerged as a result of thematic analysis and was seen to be linked to the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities. The influence of empowerment arising in different forms of capital can shape the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Taking into account the sustainability of four forms of capital and empowerment arising from the development of these forms of capital helps to shed light on the complexity of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. VTOs and host communities can use these findings to evaluate socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, establish a more holistic view of the volunteer tourism programmes, and ultimately make better decisions in designing and executing volunteer projects. The interrelatedness of many of the contributions are highlighted and discussed in section 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5.

5.3 Sustainability of Socio-Cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism and Empowerment Arising in Different Forms of Capital

The findings presented in Chapter Four reveal that different forms of capital can be discerned in the context of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities. As mentioned in Chapter Two, socio-cultural impacts are interconnected and have blurred boundaries between them (Page & Connell, 2014). Therefore, different locals have different perceptions of socio-cultural impacts at different levels (Mason, 2015). The findings of this study indicate that the perceptions of socio-cultural impacts were not the same, not only

among respondents but also among the two volunteering projects which provided the focus for this research project. Social capital will be discussed first because the ongoing contact between volunteers and local participants fostered the development of social capital, including facilitating the development of relationships. Social capital plays a key role in stimulating the development of other types of capital in the host society. This finding is supported by the work of many scholars in this area of research (Baker & Coulter, 2007; Okazaki, 2008; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Then, other forms of capital including human capital, cultural capital, and welfare capital will be discussed.

This study provides further understanding concerning empowerment arising from different forms of capital in the host communities. Resident empowerment refers to their inclusion in the planning process and having control over it (Boley & McGehee, 2014). Thus, in volunteer tourism empowerment is concerned with the ability of people to participate in and to be involved in planning, decision-making, and evaluating pertaining to volunteer activities. The findings of the current study indicate that engagement and control in different types of capital contribute to the development of community empowerment. Indeed, volunteer tourism provides opportunities for local residents to foster different types of capital. Each type of capital provides access to power for the host community (Macbeth et al., 2004). Thus, the more access to and control of these types of capital residents have, the more empowerment local residents could gain. Overall, empowerment is dynamic and created by each volunteer interaction. Communities can create empowerment by themselves. Empowerment arising in different forms of capital will be discussed in the following section.

5.3.1 Social Capital

This research and in particular, the findings highlight that volunteer tourists can contribute to building social capital in host communities in both direct and indirect ways. Social capital involves different connections among individuals and groups (Flora, 2004; Putnam, 2000). From the research findings, it is suggested that the presence of the volunteers brought a source of goodwill and potential support to the host communities, similar to Moscardo's (2014) description of social capital in a community. First, the relationships between volunteers and hosts in this study involved what Flora (2004, p. 96) called 'bridging social capital' which refers to external relationships that community members form with external

organisations and groups. Suggested by the research findings, local residents developed external relationships or bridging social capital with VTOs and the volunteer tourists. The findings show that volunteer tourism creates spaces for engagement such as the community garden which facilitate social encounters between volunteers and locals. This study suggests that volunteer tourism may create both physical spaces and virtual spaces for engagement. These spaces, which are part of the community's social capital, have been defined in the wider literature (Moscardo et al., 2017). The findings of this study add to the limited knowledge of social capital by providing insights into the sustainability of social capital in volunteer tourism. The continuation of the social capital builds upon the kind of the relationships and the type of actors' social networks (Fisher, 2013; Lin, 2008). This study reveals that social capital was not only acquired when having volunteers in the communities but also was sustained even after the volunteers left. The sustainability of bridging social capital was possible because some locals kept in touch with the volunteers who had visited them in the past, and who continued to be involved with the host communities through different volunteer activities. Thus, in this study, the long-term sustainability of social capital was enhanced by the continuous support from the volunteers and ongoing contacts between volunteers and local participants. Nevertheless, while the current study contributes to the sustainability of social capital argument, it also provides evidence for the unsustainability of social capital. The evidence suggested that without deep interconnections between volunteers and local participants, the sustainability of social capital in the host community remained limited. Social capital may not be retained by anyone and does not follow anybody at all (Bourdieu & Richardson, 1986). People cannot take social capital with them if they leave the social relationship (Coleman, 1988). The findings show that some locals are concerned about the long-term relationships and the continuous support from the volunteers after the projects' completion and the volunteers' departure. This suggests that volunteer tourism can create social capital in the host community but which may be unsustainable without further contacts between locals and volunteers.

Besides establishing bridging social capital, the data suggests that the local participants had formed good relationships with other people in the host communities including farm owners, farm staff, and villagers. The relationships between local participants in this study involved what Flora (2004, p. 96), Jones (2005), and Zahra and McGehee (2013, p. 27) call 'bonding social capital' which refers to internally oriented relationships within the community. The

findings highlight that volunteer tourists fostered connections and intimacy between members in the village, similar to Zahra and McGehee's (2013) description of bridging social capital which plays an important role in cultivating bonding social capital in the host communities. For instance, it is evident from the study that volunteers were mediators between old people and young local residents who left the village due to soil erosion. Social capital refers to the networks and relationships that are established between individuals and groups (Macbeth et al., 2004). According to this study, connecting people within the community is similar to Moscardo's (2017) description of building social capital in communities including facilitating and providing support for the creation and expansion of social networks and community associations and creating public spaces to encourage and support increased social interaction. In addition, volunteer tourism helped to enhance bonding social capital in the host community by locals participating in volunteer activities such as the community garden and learning English classes. The findings also add to the limited knowledge of sustainability of bonding social capital in volunteer tourism. Based on the analysis in Chapter Four, the study highlights that some relationships (bonding social capital) were sustainable as a result of residents being involved in volunteer activities. For instance, the study highlighted that although volunteers left after the projects' completion, local residents maintained friendships and relationships with other community members which had been formed during volunteer activities, shared farm produce with the neighbourhood, and supported others within their community. While previous research highlights that volunteer tourism facilitates the development of social capital in host communities (Zahra & McGehee, 2013), this study adds to the body of knowledge on social capital by suggesting that volunteer tourism can provide a means of encouraging the sustainability of bonding social capital in host communities.

According to this study, community empowerment through creating social capital is possible. The social capital created by the local participants in this research corresponds with Eyben et al.'s (2008) view of social empowerment. Social empowerment concerns the influence of social relationships on people's lives (Eyben et al., 2008). Social capital is the currency or an outcome of social empowerment (Boley & McGehee, 2014). The results of this study highlight that volunteer tourism has the ability to empower local residents through developing social relationships or social capital that could lead to positive changes in the host community. For instance, the findings show that cohesion of the community is enhanced through volunteer tourism, which, according to Eyben et al.'s (2008), could be a sign of

social empowerment. Additionally, the development of caring relationships between volunteers and community members emerged as an essential element in building long-term social capital. The encounters between volunteers and locals created spaces for building relationships where local residents were agents who created those relationships, while simultaneously acting as caregivers and care receivers. Findings show that local participants provided experience and support to volunteers, which created empowerment by themselves. Thus, there exists community empowerment through creating social capital.

In short, the findings of this study add not only to the understanding of the development of social capital in the host communities, but also explain the complex relationships between volunteers and local residents and the sustainability of social capital. In addition to the impact of social capital from the volunteers, human capital, which is further reviewed in the next section, appears as a key component that ought to be considered as part of the residents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

5.3.2 Human Capital

The findings of this research provided further understanding of the possible impacts of volunteer tourism on human capital. Human capital refers to the development of professional and educational skills (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). Data presented in Chapter Four suggests that volunteer tourism is beneficial for building sustainable human capital in the host society, including facilitating the development of local participants' knowledge, skills, and job opportunities. Teaching is a popular volunteer tourism activity at farm A. This is mirrored in a number of other studies (Bargeman et al., 2018; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Lee, 2020; Wright, 2013; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). This research indicates that volunteer tourism can contribute to enhancing the education of the local participants, similar to Zahra and McGehee's (2013) and Lee's (2020) findings which highlight that volunteer tourism helped to build human capital by, for example, encouraging children to go to school and by introducing new ways of teaching.

The study contributes to the volunteer tourism literature by presenting empirical data on the sustainability of human capital. Volunteer tourists helped to change some participants' mind-

sets leading to more sustainable human capital. For instance, the findings indicate that some local residents displayed a changed mind-set relating to the importance of education. Also, the findings of this current study show that volunteer tourism created more jobs for local participants through the passing on of skills and knowledge by the volunteers, which were harnessed by some locals to start a business. This finding echoes other studies which suggest that local people can become empowered by learning new things which, in turn, can advance their careers (Dillette et al., 2017; McGehee & Andereck, 2009). This study suggests that building more sustainable human capital in the host communities has the potential to create a better future for the locals by improving their employment prospects. These opportunities could contribute positively to local development and the economy by helping create a more sustainable livelihood for the local residents that could change their lives. For instance, some adolescents obtained jobs (e.g. tour guide) after they participated in English classes provided by volunteers. However, these opportunities cannot be assured without careful planning. In this study, because teaching activities were temporary and disjointed due to the control of the farm owners in the selection of volunteers, the lack of manpower to continue education provision when volunteers left, and the limited participation of some children, the sustainable development of human capital in the host communities was impacted negatively. This indicates that to ensure sustainable benefits related to the growth of human capital, volunteer tourism projects must be underpinned by long-term planning characterised by clear goals and clear succession planning. This findings is supported by Guttentag (2011) who highlights the short term nature of volunteer tourism projects which do not engage in strategic planning.

The findings of this study advance the knowledge about residents' empowerment through creating human capital. The findings highlight that volunteer tourism can provide power to local residents because they are facilitated to acquire new knowledge and skills, creating opportunities for the future that could change their lives. There exists community empowerment in creating human capital, which includes the involvement of some local residents in the setting up of the educational programmes in farm A. The study found that some local residents became active agents of change in that they addressed their children's English communication problems by organising tutoring classes. For instance, there were some local tutors who were the parents of the children and the farm owner who was a teacher and who engaged in teaching activities. The parents of the children made a decision on organising tutoring classes, which they can create empowerment in human capital by

themselves. The findings reveal that the involvement in the classes of these tutors has improved the children's English communication. However, the findings also highlight that a mismatch between expectations and outcomes on the part of both residents and tourists and a sense of disempowerment on the part of residents were a result of not being involved in the set-up, development or review of the volunteer tourism programmes. For instance, while some local residents wanted to have different teaching activities for the different levels of learners and abilities, the farm owner used the same teaching programmes for all the children without consulting the local residents or the local education community. Volunteer tourism programmes do not specify any requirements regarding the necessary skills that a participant should have (Guttentag, 2009; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). The fact that the volunteer teachers took it upon themselves to decide what the children needed or did not need and how they should be taught without consulting with local residents or local education providers may be an indicator of their neo-colonial sort of attitude. This situation may lead to locals' feeling some annoyance, anger, or frustration. This study suggests that local stakeholders should be facilitated to input into the planning, roll-out, and review of volunteer tourism activities for the development of human capital to be considered sustainable. Otherwise, as indicated by the results of this study, local residents may disengage or indeed, actively oppose volunteer activities.

In short, the findings of the current study highlight that residents were generally positive about the development of human capital that resulted from their involvement with the volunteer tourism initiatives. However, the results of the study also revealed some concerns related to human capital including teaching activities were temporary and disjointed. This study contributes to the body of knowledge on human capital by presenting the nuances of and sustainability of human capital that will assist scholars in understanding human capital more comprehensively.

5.3.3 Welfare Capital

Another key finding of the study provided further understanding about residents' perceptions relating to welfare capital as a result of volunteer tourism. Welfare capital refers to any improvements in the physical and mental health of community members (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). The findings add to the limited knowledge of welfare capital in volunteer tourism by

providing an insight into the health education and sustainability in welfare capital. There was some overlap in this study between the themes of human capital and welfare capital relating to health education. The work of Zahra and McGehee (2013) highlights that volunteer tourism is beneficial for building welfare capital in a host society, including providing medical supplies to the community healthcare clinics and assisting the medical professionals. This study suggests that volunteer tourism helps to improve welfare capital in host communities by facilitating health knowledge, for instance, health education solutions and behaviour-change practices. In the case study farms, volunteers enhanced locals' awareness of health protection practices, for instance by offering insights into food safety, offering yoga classes, and creating an awareness of the environment. The awareness of local residents about health might not be sufficient for health protection. The findings indicate that volunteer tourism enhanced local participants' environmental awareness by taking their own initiative in conserving the environment, which is key to creating sustainable impacts. Education in environmental protection and sustainability is needed to create sustainable welfare capital in the host community because it 'empowers people to take responsibility for the present and future well-being of human beings and for the planet and to shape a sustainable future' (Sund, 2016, p. 788). The current study reveals that volunteer tourism activities engendered more health-awareness which will help to sustain long-term welfare capital development in the host communities. Knowledge of health and wellbeing and capacity building from these activities provides the necessary foundations for health empowerment among local residents, which, according to Hennink et al. (2012), could influence their ability to make informed decisions and to access health services. Capacity building for locals' health, in this study, includes providing health training (for example by offering organic gardening, home gardens, and waste management) and technical assistance to improve air quality and water quality. The study results indicate that health knowledge and capacity building promote good health practices and contribute to the sustainability of welfare capital in the host community. If local residents are not empowered, the sustainability of welfare capital is difficult to attain. This study suggests that building sustainable welfare capital is about giving the locals the training and skills to develop and maintain the capital after the volunteers have left. Thus, local residents would become empowered through learning new knowledge and capacity building related to health that could change their lives.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the host community at farm B had unpredictable floods which

caused serious health problems for the local people. In fact, the host communities have limited access to public health care services. Thus, volunteer tourism provided local participants with access to health care services (for example by offering access to health clinics). However, some residents, when discussing the sustainability of welfare capital, highlighted some concerns. These were related to the nature of the provision of health care services by volunteer tourists as they depend largely on the expertise of the volunteers present at a particular point in time. The findings of the current study show that a lack of local engagement, which resulted in no health empowerment in the provision of health resources (e.g., equipment, medicine), impacted negatively on the sustainability of welfare capital. Some of the residents felt that the health care services were temporary and finished before the volunteers' departure. The evidence suggests that many of the health problems experienced by residents were complex, due to natural disasters and limited access to public health services. These complex issues were difficult to address without extensive medical intervention and specialist expertise, which the volunteers were unable to provide or facilitate. The findings lend further support to Conran (2011) who argues that volunteers tend to alleviate superficial issues in the host community rather than complex ones. The results of this study reveal that volunteer tourism is beneficial for building welfare capital in the host communities but will not be sustainable if there is not a guarantee that these types of services will be continued.

5.3.4 Cultural Capital

This study highlights that the arrival of the volunteers had a direct and positive impact on the cultural capital in the host communities. Cultural capital encompasses the preservation of folk tales, history, arts and crafts as well as traditional foods and recipes (Zahra & McGehee, 2013). This study answers the call for more studies about cultural capital development in different geographies (Grenfell, 2014; Sullivan, 2002). The current research opens up possibilities to study cultural capital development in a developing country. In fact, Vietnam is one of the top destinations for volunteer tourism programmes given its rich history and diverse culture. It is evident from this research that the volunteer programmes were setup with volunteers living with local residents to facilitate cultural exchanges, which is similar to Lee and Zhang (2019) who argue that volunteer tourism facilitates the spread of host cultures. They conducted a study in Mongolia, a developing country with rich culture and agriculture industry, and found that volunteers were interested in learning the local culture. The findings

of the current study showed that volunteers were keen to learn the host culture which made local residents feel an increased sense of pride in their identity and culture, which is one of the ways to ensure cultural capital can be developed sustainably. A key finding of this study is that cultural capital can be further developed beyond simply spreading host culture. It goes a step further by suggesting that cultural capital can be acquired in the host community by interacting with volunteers' cultures. Due to the lack of understanding of volunteer tourists by locals, volunteer tourism is a better means of bridging the cultural gap between them (Lee, 2020). The findings suggest that volunteer tourists came from a variety of different cultural backgrounds and respondents were interested in learning about them. For instance, different cultures became evident in different work methods, Western culinary arts, and different ways of life. However, the ongoing interactions between volunteers and local people led to the demonstration effect (Guttentag, 2009; Lee, 2020). The demonstration effect refers to the demonstrated behaviour of volunteer tourists when local people have contact with visitors' lifestyles and consumption patterns (Lee, 2020). International volunteer tourists could be viewed as 'modelling a way of living, a lifestyle of cultural and material values' (Simpson, 2004, p.685). It is evident from this study that some young people respond to the arrival of volunteer tourists by trying to imitate the volunteers' cultures such as modern dances and fashion styles, which could produce what some locals might perceive as undesirable cultural changes. This finding is supported by Guttentag (2009) who highlights the concern of the demonstration effect of volunteer tourism which could erode local cultures.

This study adds to the body of knowledge on volunteer tourism literature by providing insights into the commodification of cultural capital. The commodification process is the transformation of physical or immaterial production into a commodity that can be bought and sold through an exchange process, which focuses on the exchange value of that commodity (Shepherd, 2002). Local cultures and experiences can slowly become commodities in some form sold to visitors through a tour operator (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). For instance, representations and artefacts of the host culture can be packaged, priced, and sold by organisations and consumed, photographed, and taken home as a memento by visitors. In the context of volunteer tourism, the commodification of culture is created 'through the trivialisation of cultural ceremonies, festivals, and arts and crafts to meet the needs and expectations of the tourist' (Wearing, 2001, p.39-40). While Hernandez-Maskivker et al. (2018) highlight that social problems and poverty of a community can be sold via a tour

company, the current study indicates that the host culture can become a product sold to volunteer tourists by the VTOs. For instance, the findings highlighted that an opportunity for volunteer tourists to gain an insight into the local culture, traditions, and sight-seeing was sold to volunteers by one of the VTOs. The risk of commodification in volunteer tourism can lead to the overuse of cultural capital, which may only benefit the VTOs instead of local residents (Coren & Gray, 2012). Findings further indicate that the local residents' cultural capital development at farm A was much more superficial than that of the local residents at farm B because their lack of engagement with volunteer tourists. The findings show that the commodification of volunteer tourism influences the sustainability of cultural capital. While some local residents have opportunities to acquire cultural capital resulting from the commodification of volunteer tourism, others may oppose volunteer programmes including cultural activities because they have limited opportunities for inputting into cultural activities. Thus, this study suggests that local stakeholders should be facilitated to input into planning of cultural activities for the development of cultural capital to render these more sustainable.

The findings highlight that social capital and cultural capital are strictly interconnected and almost indivisible and this should be taken into account when analysing cultural capital. There is a strong correlation between the strengthening of social capital and the strength of cultural capital. Cultural capital can be developed from the ongoing interactions between volunteers and local people, which is similar to Bourdieu (1984) and Callaghan and Colton (2008) who argue that social capital plays an important role in shaping cultural capital and people can achieve diverse cultural capital by relying on social relationships. The findings highlight that local residents with more involvement in volunteer activities or interactions with volunteer tourists can acquire higher levels of cultural capital compared to those who lack this engagement. This study contributes to the body of knowledge surrounding cultural capital by suggesting that cultural capital is crucial in the process of social capital acquisition. Thus, improvements in social capital can have a positive effect on cultural capital, enriching sustainability and enhancing the overall impact of volunteer tourism. Conversely, disimprovements in one can lead to a commensurate decrease in the other.

The overall impact of volunteer tourism will not be sustainable if improvement in one is constantly at the charge of capital in another. For instance, as indicated by the results of this

study, the commodification of cultural capital at farm A influences on social capital that local residents may oppose volunteer activities. The findings reveal that the development of cultural capital facilitates the development of social capital. Conversely, the development of cultural capital also relies on the development of social capital. The relationship between these two forms of capital is critically important and will increase the (un)sustainability and overall impact of volunteer tourism.

Another key finding of this study is empowerment arising from cultural capital, which contributes not only to the sustainability of cultural capital but also to the development of social capital. For instance, the findings highlight that residents at farm B had more decision making power in hosting visiting volunteers than residents in farm A. In this way, local residents at farm B had more opportunities to acquire cultural capital and build social capital with volunteer tourists. The findings also show that local residents at farm A had little input into decisions about hosting volunteers, which is similar to Choi and Murray (2010) who argue that sustainability cannot be guaranteed if local residents were not being empowered. The findings further indicate that VTOs play a huge role in empowerment, for instance, volunteers had to ask and get permission from the farm owners to stay overnight at locals' houses. According to Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) and Zhang et al. (2017), in mass tourism, local residents are often performers with a passive position as they are under the tourists' gaze and the subjects of their photographs, etc. This study reveals that although local participants were in some ways the performers, they were also in an active position in terms of sharing their culture with the volunteer tourists. In addition, the findings assert that when local participants engaged in cultural activities, they were onlookers who were inclined to express themselves in an active position by watching the volunteers. Thus, a key finding of this study is that local residents are simultaneously performers and onlookers when they engage in volunteer tourism programmes. The findings in this study mirror Zhang et al.'s (2017) and McGehee's (2012) research which highlight that the host possesses less economic and social power than the tourists. However, findings in this research found that local residents, by nature, possess more power in some domains than volunteer tourists because they were familiar with and in control of space, local knowledge, and culture. Local residents, who are in an active position in volunteer tourism programmes and have control of their resources are more empowered. They can create empowerment by having control of their resources.

5.4 Interrelationships between Different Types of Capital, Community Empowerment, and Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

The evidence presented here suggests that there exist a variety of linkages between different types of capital and empowerment which contribute to making these impacts more sustainable (Figure 5.1). These linkages are discussed in the following sections.

First, the findings assert that volunteer tourism had a number of impacts on four forms of capital in the host communities and the impacts varied depending on the context. A key finding of this current study is that the development of one type of capital can augment, facilitate or be dependent upon the development of another form of capital. The current study highlights that social capital facilitates the development of human capital in the host communities by facilitating the development of locals' educational and professional skills, which is similar to results found in other studies (Bargeman et al., 2018; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Lee, 2020; Wright, 2013; Zahra & McGehee, 2013). While the findings echo other studies which suggest that social capital is the 'lubricant' for other forms of capital (McGehee et al., 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013), this study argues that other forms of capital (e.g. cultural capital, human capital, and welfare capital) can also be lubricants for the development of another form of capital. The findings of the current study reveal that cultural capital played an important role in developing social capital by relying on ongoing interactions between volunteers and local residents. For instance, the findings highlight that local residents with more involvement in cultural activities or interactions with volunteer tourists can acquire higher levels of social capital compared to those who lack this engagement (see section 5.3.4). In addition, the engagement with and control of cultural capital contributes to the development of community empowerment because locals are in control of space, local knowledge, and culture. The development of welfare capital is beneficial for social capital, including creating spaces for building social relationships. For instance, it is evident from the study that local residents extended their social relationships and enhanced the cohesion within the community by getting more involved in the community garden and street clean-up activity at farm B. This study suggests that no one form is more fundamental than the others even if in numerous studies some authors priorities social capital (McGehee et al., 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013), which is a necessary foundation for other

types of capital. Overall, the development of one type of capital can contribute to, and/or degrade the development of another form of capital. Understanding the development of each type of capital and the interconnectedness between them can have important planning and policy implications for developing volunteer tourism in a way that fosters the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

Second, the current study suggests that the sustainability of the impacts may be different in different contexts. Although Lee and Zhang (2019) distinguish three dimensions of sustainability including economic, cultural, and environmental, they do not make any connections between these impacts. This study suggests that one type of capital can be sustainable in one location and not in another. For instance, learning English from volunteers at farm A helped to create a more sustainable livelihood for the locals. The impacts of a similar activity undertaken by the volunteers at farm B were temporary. In addition, one type of capital can be sustainable in both locations. The findings indicate that bridging social capital was sustainable for community members in this study as community members at both farms kept in touch with the volunteers after the volunteer tourism projects are completed. It is evident from the study that volunteers maintained contact with local residents and continued to be involved in their lives in different ways. In particular, volunteers provided spiritual support to local participants by sending some messages to support residents during the time of natural disasters. Volunteers also were helpful in promoting tourism by producing good word-of-mouth information about the host communities. By contrast, the sustainability of the impacts could not be achieved in different projects in a single location, highlighting the impact of context on the sustainability of different types of capital. Callanan and Thomas (2005) highlight that different volunteer tourism projects have different levels of impacts on the host communities. This study contributes to theory by suggesting that different volunteer activities have different sustainability of impacts on the host society. The findings of the current study reveal that welfare capital at farm B was not sustainable as the locals' complex issues were difficult to address without extensive medical intervention and specialist expertise, which the volunteers were unable to provide or facilitate. Similarly, the impact of the community garden at farm B was not sustainable because locals did not benefit from it. This study highlights the complex relationships of the sustainability of the impacts of volunteer tourism.

In addition, the sustainability of the impacts may not be confined to any single type of capital. Full sustainability covers sustainability within each form of capital. Hence, this study suggests that the sustainability of one type of capital is insufficient for the sustainability of the impacts of volunteer tourism as whole. This study contributes to the body of knowledge on the sustainability of different types of capital by suggesting that social capital is particularly important for the sustainability of other forms of capital. For instance, the findings of the current study highlight that the development of relationships with volunteers from outside the communities helped to change residents' mind-sets and to create job opportunities that could lead to more sustainable human capital (see section 5.3.2). Similarly, volunteer tourism helped to sustain long-term welfare capital development in the host communities by engendering more health awareness among local residents (see section 5.3.4).

Third, empowerment may arise in one type of capital and not in another. For instance, the findings of this study show that some local residents at farm B were socially empowerment by social encounters (e.g. volunteers and locals worked together at the community garden, volunteers stayed at the locals' houses) that created spaces for building social relationships. In addition, the current study highlights that disempowerment arising in one type of capital can stifle empowerment arising in other forms of capital. Although community members were involved in designing teaching activities on Farm A, generally their participation in decision-making on what sorts of activities were undertaken by the volunteers and how the activities were set up was limited. This in turn meant that local residents were disempowered in relation to human capital, which suppressed the empowerment arising in social capital. Empowerment may not arise in a single form of capital but arises through the interplay of the attainment of various forms of capital or many volunteer activities and thus is a product of the combination of all forms of capital.

Four, empowerment plays a critical role in sustainable tourism development (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Lee & Zhang, 2019). This study suggests that empowerment is vital for the sustainability of the impacts of volunteer tourism. Sustainability is seen as not only an outcome of empowerment but also a mechanism for achieving it (Hennink et al., 2012). This

study suggests that greater degree of empowerment arising in different types of capital are linked to greater sustainability of these forms of socio-cultural impacts. This study highlights that empowerment is very important for the sustainability of different types of capital because it is at the core of many volunteer tourism development projects and has an effect on residents' support for volunteer tourism. If community members are not empowered, the success of tourism development and sustainability can fail (Choi & Murray, 2010; Cole, 2006). Because residents were not facilitated to input into decision-making of the volunteer tourism programmes, empowerment was difficult to achieve. They had a poor engagement in accessing and managing different types of capital, which resulted in a lack of sustainability of the impacts. For instance, although some local residents were involved in providing health resources undertaken by the volunteers, their participation in decision-making in the planning and execution of health was limited. This in turn meant that there was little health empowerment, which negatively affected the sustainability of welfare capital. In short, this study suggests that the more empowered arising in different types of capital are the more sustainable they could be.

Overall, this study highlights the interconnectedness of different types of capital, empowerment, and sustainability. The study also shows the relationship between different types of capital and community empowerment. The more access to and control of these types of capital residents have, the more sustainable the impacts could be for local residents. The empowerment of local residents is important in shaping the sustainability of impacts of volunteer tourism. Ensuring the sustainability of impacts of volunteer tourism can be quite difficult for a number of reasons. First, contextual differences, for example, the types of farms, the different projects on a single farm, or the different stakeholders involved can affect changes in different forms of capital. Second, different stakeholders have different needs and interests, which refer to various levels of value to the different types of capital (Callaghan & Colton, 2008), and describe different levels of power and empowerment.

5.5 The Role of VTOs in Resident Empowerment and Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

It is evident from the research that VTOs (i.e. farm owners) play a crucial role in the development of different types of capital. Whether volunteer tourism is beneficial is hugely

dependent on how the VTOs manage it (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). The findings of the current study suggest that different interventions by the farm owners could have led to more sustainable outcomes if different volunteer tourist recruitment choices had been made. It is evident from the study that local residents found it difficult to look for volunteers to help them and VTOs acted as a gatekeeper between volunteers and local residents. VTOs, on the other hand, were able to use their power and networks to bring volunteers to the host society by promoting volunteer tourism opportunities internationally. VTOs play an important part in human emancipation for the host community (McGehee, 2012). The findings highlight that in order to act on and address social issues in the host communities (i.e. lack of education, limited access to health services, and awareness of environmental conservation), VTOs set up, manage volunteer programmes, and mediate between volunteers and the host community. It is evident from this research that VTOs helped to facilitate the cultural exchanges (cultural capital), create a group on social media platforms where local residents kept contact with volunteers after they left the community (bridging social capital), enhance the residents' health (welfare capital), and increase locals' education and job opportunities (human capital). Thus, VTOs stimulate the development of different types of capital. This study suggests that continued support from VTOs after volunteers leave are significant in creating and maintaining the development of capital in host communities. Whether the different types of capital are sustainable depends partly on how VTOs manage volunteer tourism and coordinate with the local community because VTOs can be a catalyst for creating more sustainable impacts.

This current study highlights that the actions or inactions of VTOs could determine the empowerment or disempowerment associated with volunteer tourism. The literature states that power can be used, shared, or created by people and their networks in many different ways (Gaventa, 2006). People can use power to exert 'control over others' (Gaventa, 2006, p.24). Volunteer tourism builds power differentials between stakeholders (McGehee, 2012). The findings reveal that in some cases, local community members were empowered by having control some volunteer activities such as providing access to the local culture (cultural capital), improvement of physical facilities and community resource development (welfare capital). By contrast, the findings of the current study highlight that in other situations, local residents are disempowered, as the farm owners control the direction of the volunteer tourism programmes. Although there were some local residents who raised concerns about volunteer

tourism programmes, these programmes had limited involvement of local residents in the volunteer tourism planning process and did not provide a voice for residents in volunteer tourism development decisions. For instance, some residents at farm A raised concerns about the educational programmes provided but these concerns were ignored by the farm owner. Thus, there exists a sense of disempowerment as a result of not being involved in or consulted within the set-up, development or review of the volunteer tourism programmes. The current study supports Hennink et al.'s (2012) findings, which argue that cooperations with such external organisations can be viewed as disempowering because their interventions could lead to more harm to the host community than good. The survival of VTOs creates a commodified environment that served the volunteer tourists (Butcher & Smith, 2010; McGehee & Andereck, 2008). The findings highlight that a VTO offered volunteer tourism experiences to address social issues such as opportunities for learning English from foreigners and to help poor children. This is underpinned by some research studies which found that volunteer tourism programmes may end up only benefiting VTOs instead of local residents (Coren & Gray, 2012; Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018).

The findings revealed that the way VTOs and volunteers set up the volunteer programme was in some way paternalistic. Paternalism in charity occurs when recipients improve their living conditions with the help of donors but at the expense of their freedom and personal preferences (Gangadharan et al., 2018). In this study, beneficiaries are local residents and contributors are VTOs and volunteers. The paternalistic stance of VTOs and volunteers, in this case, implies they felt that the local residents were inclined to make bad choices, either for themselves or for society. For instance, the farm owner at farm A designed the educational programmes by himself with a lack of consultations from local residents or expert. Besides, the volunteer teachers make their own decisions about what to teach and how to teach children. The paternalistic attitude inherent in volunteering simultaneously may also be reflective of neo-colonialism (Devereux, 2008; Simpson, 2004), which is discussed in the literature chapter. The findings show that paternalism arises from the power of the VTOs and the lack of control in the selection of volunteers and in monitoring and evaluating volunteer programmes. Findings further indicate that paternalism is due to the fact that volunteer tourism may not be a priority in these communities and the local residents' power is not sufficient to influence volunteer tourism planning and development. It is found that paternalism in volunteer tourism fostered the development of different types of capital.

However, some problems arising from it, which include a mismatch between expectations and outcomes on the part of both local residents and volunteer tourists, which is similar to Guttentag (2009) and Terry (2014) who argue that the concerns of paternalism include neglecting the desires of the host communities and a lack of locals' involvement in planning volunteer projects.

In order to avoid paternalism, volunteer tourism initiatives must find the appropriate balance of power between volunteer tourism stakeholders. It is important for volunteer tourism stakeholders to work together on the creation of different types of capital and to build sustainable and positive socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities. Community empowerment, for example, is a way to avoid paternalism. The findings highlight the fact that the majority of local residents in this study were not only limited in the volunteer tourism decision-making process but also possessed less power of voice and collective action. Local empowerment is often minimal, hence, the views of residents on volunteer tourism development are often ignored. This study suggests that community empowerment is very important for the sustainability of different types of capital because it is at the core of many volunteer tourism development projects and has an effect on residents' support for volunteer tourism. In order to increase resident empowerment and to have sustainable volunteer tourism development, VTOs should provide more opportunities for residents to share their voices and concerns about volunteer programmes.

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented a critical discussion of sustainability of different types of capital and interrelationships between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. It advances theory by proposing a conceptual framework of sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism to guide future research. What is clear from this research is that volunteer tourism can contribute to the development of multiple forms of capital in the host society. Following this, the findings showed the types of empowerment arising in different forms of capital. The chapter also discussed the interrelationships between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. Finally, the chapter concluded with the actions or inactions of VTOs

could determine community empowerment and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts associated with volunteer tourism.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates how the three research questions were addressed by the current study. The structure of this chapter is based upon the key contributions of this research rather than the order of the research questions. In doing so, this chapter will highlight several theoretical contributions to the extant literature on socio-cultural impacts within the volunteer tourism context. First, the discussion will focus on the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts; then, the issue of empowerment in the context of social capital is illuminated; next, key issues surrounding the interrelationships between the different forms of capital, empowerment, and sustainability are highlighted. Finally, the role of VTOs in community empowerment and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts is elucidated. The chapter concludes with theoretical and practical implications, the limitations of the research, and suggestions for further academic studies.

6.2 Addressing the Research Aim and Key Contributions

The current research provides a detailed insight into host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in the less considered context of farm communities in Vietnam. The aim of the study is to provide a better understanding of the phenomenon studied in the different contexts using evidence from the two case studies to illustrate the different perceptions and conditions that may have given rise to these. The following primary research aim was formulated:

To explore and understand perceptions of the host societies of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in Vietnamese farm communities.

In order to explore the perceptions of the host societies of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, three research questions were developed:

RQ1: What socio-cultural impacts can be observed?

RQ2: How can the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism be achieved?

RQ3: What are the ways/the manner in which socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on farm communities can be mediated by VTOs?

Using an interpretivist approach, this study adds to the body of knowledge of volunteer tourism by exploring an under-researched phenomenon, that is the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, focusing specifically on farm communities in a developing country. Existing research to date tends to focus on the consumer perspective (for instance, motivation, experience, impacts) (McGehee, 2014; Olsen et al., 2021) and the viewpoint of VTOs (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). Community participation in volunteer tourism research, however, has received minimal attention (Aquino & Andereck, 2018; Olsen et al., 2021). Similarly, while a number of possible negative and positive impacts that could result from volunteer tourism have been identified (Aquino & Andereck, 2018), little empirical research has been conducted on the perceptions of the impacts of volunteer tourism by the host communities (McGehee, 2012, 2014; Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Zahra & McGehee, 2013), especially the socio-cultural impacts. The contribution of the current study to this body of knowledge is significant in that it has expanded the extant literature on socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in Vietnam. This study has added the voices of local residents to the study of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, thus adding a previously unexplored nuance to this expanding field of research. This research shows that the host communities' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts arising from volunteer tourism can be understood best as different forms of capital (i.e. social capital, human capital, welfare capital, and cultural capital) (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013), and in terms of the sustainability of these socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism as well as the role of empowerment in attaining greater sustainability. The research findings also reveal the complexity of and interconnectedness of the different forms of capital that make up the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

6.2.1 Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts

As a visual representation of the theoretical contributions of this research, Figure 5.1 gives a framework of sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities.

Several researchers have employed the concept of social capital to explore the impacts of tourism (McGehee et al., 2010; Moscardo et al., 2017) and distinguished different dimensions of sustainable impacts (e.g. social, cultural, and economic dimensions) (Lee & Zhang, 2019), but the question of the sustainability of social capital remains unanswered in the literature especially what the perceptions of host communities of these are concerned. By shedding light on the sustainability of social capital in volunteer tourism, the study's findings add to our limited understanding of social capital. This study revealed that social capital was not only developed in the course of the volunteer activities but was sustained even after the volunteers had left, though not in each instance. The sustainability of social capital was possible because some locals kept in touch with the volunteers who had visited them in the past and continued to be involved in local life in different ways. This study suggests that volunteer tourism is one of the possible solutions to encourage the sustainability of social capital in host communities. In order to make these sustainable, social capital requires investment and cultivation (Lee & Zhang, 2019; Portes, 1998). This study suggests that the social relationships or ongoing contacts between volunteers and locals need to be cultivated by continued contact and co-operations with the volunteers even after the volunteers leave.

In addition to social capital, human capital is a core element within the existing socio-cultural impacts literature (Moscardo, Schurmann, et al., 2013). While previous research, for instance, Abramowitz (1956) and Mincer (1958) focus on human capital in relation to economic development, the labour market, and education, this view of human capital in tourism still requires more investigation. The findings indicate a nuanced situation in which the sustainability of human capital was different in the two locations depending on the context. This study suggests that the benefit of building more sustainable human capital (e.g. tour guide) in the local communities is that it creates a better future for the residents by improving their employment prospects in the future. These opportunities could contribute positively to the community development and economy including a more sustainable livelihood for the local members which could change their lives. However, the evidence also indicates that the

impacts of some activities (e.g. teaching activities and health care services) were temporary and therefore also impacts, which influences the sustainable development of human capital in the host communities. Guttentag (2011) argues that without long-term objectives and planning and continuity volunteer tourism projects have a short life span. Some local residents were concerned about the lack of manpower to continue these activities after the volunteers left. This study suggests that building sustainable human capital is contingent on giving the locals the training and skills to develop and maintain the capital even after the volunteer tourists have left.

While literature to date has suggested that volunteer tourism helps to improve the welfare capital of community members (Zahra & McGehee, 2013), the current study's findings contribute to the limited understanding of welfare capital in volunteer tourism by providing an insight into the health education and sustainability of welfare capital. Local residents' mere health awareness might not be sufficient for health protection. The findings indicate that volunteer tourism enhanced local participants' environmental awareness by facilitating community members to take their own initiative in conserving the environment, which is key to creating sustainable impacts. Generating greater health awareness and capacity building will promote good health practices and contribute to the sustainability of welfare capital in the host community. However, the findings also highlight the complexity of the resident health problems due to natural disasters and limited access to public health services. Some of the locals felt that the healthcare services were temporary and finished prior to the departure of volunteers. Thus, the current study reveals that engendering more health-awareness through volunteer tourism activities will help to sustain long-term welfare capital development in the host communities, while also providing the host communities with opportunities to take greater responsibility for their own society (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Sund, 2016).

This study answers the call for more research on cultural capital development in different geographies (Grenfell, 2014; Sullivan, 2002). While Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital is attained through family and schooling, the findings of this study highlight that cultural capital can be further developed by a cross fertilisation of host cultures and the volunteers' cultures. This study adds to the body of knowledge on volunteer tourism by

providing insights into the commodification of cultural capital. In one of the case study farms, the VTOs sold opportunities to gain an insight into the local culture, traditions, and sight-seeing to the volunteer tourists. Thus, volunteer tourism facilitates the volunteers to add to their cultural capital. While some local residents have opportunities to acquire cultural capital resulting from the commodification of volunteer tourism, others may oppose volunteer programmes including cultural activities because they had limited involvement in volunteer tourism other than being considered a tourist attraction by the volunteers. The findings revealed that this commodification of volunteer tourism influences negatively the sustainability of cultural capital.

The engagement in and control of different forms of capital by the host communities contribute to the development of resident empowerment which will be outlined in the following section.

6.2.2 Empowerment Arising in Different Types of Capital

Another contribution to knowledge includes the identification of empowerment as a key factor in building various forms of capital, which will also contribute to greater sustainability of these impacts. In particular, the social capital created by the volunteer tourists in this research corresponds with Eyben et al.'s (2008) view of social empowerment. The findings of the current study indicate that there exists community empowerment through developing social relationships or social capital that could lead to positive changes in the host community. This study adds to the literature by identifying important opportunities for strengthening empowerment initiatives to create sustainable human capital. For instance, community empowerment through creating human capital in farm A is possible, which includes the involvement of some community members in the setting up of the educational programmes. However, in some cases, the current study highlights that both residents and volunteers' expectations and outcomes do not match up, and inhabitants feel disempowered as a result of not being involved in the creation, development, or evaluation of volunteer tourism programmes. The decision of what the students needed or did not need and how they should be taught was made only by the volunteer teachers, which may be an indicator of a neo-colonial attitude. The neo-colonialism leads to less empowerment because locals lack of input into in planning, roll-out, and review of volunteer tourism activities.

Volunteer activities encourages health empowerment since it builds residents' capacity and increases their knowledge of health and wellbeing, which provides the essential foundations for health empowerment among local residents. According to Hennink et al. (2012), this empowerment could then affect their ability to make well-informed decisions and access health services. However, the findings of the current study show that a lack of local engagement in providing health care services resulted in no health empowerment in this type of empowerment initiative (e.g., equipment, medicine), which is difficult to attain the sustainability of welfare capital.

Another contribution of this research is empowerment arising from cultural capital, which advances the development of social capital while also ensuring the sustainability of cultural capital. For instance, the findings highlight that residents at farm B could be considered more empowered when hosting visiting volunteers when compared to residents on farm A. Local residents at farm B had more opportunities to acquire cultural capital and to build social capital with volunteer tourists. In fact, volunteer activities at farm B create social spaces for engagement such as the community garden, which facilitate social encounters between volunteers and locals. The findings also show that local residents at farm A displayed little empowerment when hosting volunteers. In general, greater levels of empowerment and thus also sustainability of impacts could be observed in farm B. These findings echo Choi and Murray (2010) who argue that sustainability cannot be guaranteed if local residents were not empowered. The findings further indicate that VTOs act as catalysts but also as gatekeepers for empowerment.

This study argues that because community empowerment is at the heart of many volunteer tourist development initiatives and has an impact on locals' support for volunteer tourism, it is crucial for the sustainability of various types of capital. VTOs should give locals additional opportunity to voice their opinions and concerns about and to become involved in the design of volunteer programmes in order to increase resident empowerment and to promote sustainable volunteer tourism development.

6.2.3 Interrelationships between Capital, Empowerment, and Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

A further contribution of this study concerns the linkages between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. Lee and Zhang (2019) distinguish three dimensions of sustainable impacts including economic, cultural, and environmental. However, they do not make any linkages between these impacts. The present study highlights that the sustainability of the impacts may be different in different contexts.

The strengthening of different forms of capital and the sustainability of the impacts are related and need to be taken into consideration when analysing socio-cultural impacts. This study suggests that one form of capital can be sustainable in one location and not in another. Factors that make one more likely to produce more sustainable outcomes than the other are the focus of each farm on volunteer activities and the role of VTOs in the set-up of volunteer projects. In addition, the sustainability of the impacts in a single location can vary depending on the volunteer tourism activities being undertaken. The nature of the projects and how they were organised make them more or less sustainable. In fact, volunteer activities were set up differently between the two farms. For instance, while farm A focused on teaching activities, the focus was on the environment at farm B. A key finding of this study is that the development of one form of capital can augment, facilitate or be dependent upon the development and sustainability of another form of capital. In addition, while literature to date has suggested that social capital is the ‘lubricant’ for other types of capital (McGehee et al., 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013), the current study suggests that other forms of capital can also be lubricants for other types of capital, although these will be context specific. This study argues that no one form of capital is more fundamental than the others even if in many studies some scholars appear to prioritise social capital (McGehee et al., 2010; Zahra & McGehee, 2013) as a necessary foundation for other forms of capital. Understanding the development of each form of capital and the linkages between them can have important planning and policy implications for developing volunteer tourism in a way that fosters empowerment of host communities and the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

In addition to necessity to develop different forms of capital, this study suggests that the

empowerment of local communities is vital for the sustainability of the impacts of volunteer tourism. While, on the one hand, empowerment plays a critical role in sustainable tourism development (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Lee & Zhang, 2019), sustainability, on the other hand, is seen as not only an outcome of empowerment but also a mechanism for achieving it (Hennink et al., 2012). Based on the data analysis, there was empowerment in certain cases in which empowerment may arise in one type of capital and not in another. Empowerment of local communities is at the core of many volunteer tourism development projects and has an effect on residents' support for volunteer tourism. The success of tourism development and sustainability are jeopardised if local communities are not empowered (Choi & Murray, 2010; Cole, 2006). The findings of the study highlight that empowerment was difficult to achieve as residents were not facilitated to input into the decision-making processes relating to the volunteer tourism programmes. As a result, local residents had difficulties in engaging with and in accessing and managing different types of capital, which resulted in a lack of sustainability of the impacts. The current study also highlights that disempowerment arising in one form of capital can stifle empowerment arising in other forms of capital. For instance, it is evident from the study that the involvement of local members in decision-making on designing teaching activities on Farm A was limited. This led to locals' feelings of annoyance, anger, and frustration and they disengaged with and opposed volunteer tourists, which, in turn, local residents were disempowered in relation to human capital, which stifled the empowerment through creating social capital.

6.2.4 The Role of VTOs in Community Empowerment and Sustainability of Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism

VTOs are important stakeholders for volunteer tourism development (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). It is evident from the research that the farm owners play a crucial role in creating sustainable socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism and community empowerment. They act as gatekeepers/mediators, or a bridge, or conversely also as barriers between volunteers and local residents for the development of different forms of capital. The findings of the current study suggest that different interventions by the farm owners and the VTOs could have led to more sustainable outcomes. The dominant power of VTOs in volunteer tourism development influences the empowerment of local communities. In this research, VTOs set up and manage volunteer programmes, some of which empower local community members, for example, by fostering cultural exchanges. Others, however, stifle

empowerment because VTOs control the direction of the volunteer tourism programmes. The way VTOs set up volunteer activities in the farms was in some way paternalistic, for example, by deciding what educational needs local communities had, which hindered the development of different types of capital and created a mismatch between host communities' expectations and perceived outcomes. To sum up, the farm owners can be a catalyst for creating more sustainable impacts and community empowerment.

Table 6.1 A Summary of the Contributions of this Research

Key Contribution	Description
Sustainability of socio-cultural impacts	Social capital: It was not only developed when having volunteers in the communities but also was sustained even after the volunteers had left.
	Human capital: The sustainability of human capital was different in the two locations depending on the context.
	Welfare Capital: Volunteer tourism helps to improve welfare capital including facilitating health knowledge.
	Cultural Capital: It can be developed by a cross fertilisation of host cultures and the volunteers' cultures. The commodification of volunteer tourism influences the sustainability of cultural capital.
Empowerment arising from different types of capital	Social capital: Volunteer tourism has ability to empower locals through developing social capital could lead to positive changes in the host community.
	Human capital: Some local residents involve in the setting up of the educational programmes. The decision of what the students needed was made by the volunteers was an indicator of a neo-colonial attitude.

	<p>Welfare Capital: Knowledge of health and capacity building provide the necessary foundations for health empowerment among local residents.</p> <p>Lack of community engagement in the provision of health resources results in no health empowerment.</p>
	<p>Cultural Capital: Locals have opportunities for hosting volunteers. Greater levels of empowerment could be observed in farm B.</p>
Interrelationships between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts	<p>The development of one type of capital can augment, facilitate or be dependent upon the development and sustainability of another form of capital.</p> <p>Other forms of capital can also be lubricants for the development of another form of capital.</p> <p>Empowerment is vital for the sustainability of the impacts of volunteer tourism.</p> <p>Disempowerment arising in one type of capital can stifle empowerment arising in other forms of capital.</p>
The role of farm owners (VTOs) in empowerment and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts	<p>They act as gatekeepers, or a bridge, or conversely also as barriers between volunteers and local residents for the development of different forms of capital.</p> <p>VTOs set up and manage volunteer programmes, some of which empower local community members. Others, however, stifle empowerment because VTOs control the direction of the volunteer programmes.</p> <p>The way VTOs set up volunteer activities in the farms was in some way paternalistic.</p>
Involvement and	<p>These factors have an impact on the sustainability of the</p>

communication	impacts.
The nature of the volunteer tourism set up (e.g. length of duration, different volunteer activities)	The development of different types of capital depends on the context of the communities and how the volunteer activities were set up.

Table 6.1 provides a summary of the key contributions of this research, the next section presents the academic and practical implications.

6.3 Academic and Practical Implications

The purpose of this study was to explore the host perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The study puts forward a range of valuable implications for volunteer tourism academics and management practice.

Several academic implications broaden the literature in the volunteer tourism context. First, a contribution of this research lies in the integration of the capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impact literature in the context of a developing country, which has not been covered in previous studies. From a local perspective, this study generates greater awareness among academics regarding the potential of volunteer tourism to affect the socio-cultural impacts of the host society. On a broader scale, this research draws greater attention among volunteer tourism academics in other countries to the study of socio-cultural impacts. Second, the conceptual framework that was based on the literature review and empirical findings of this study is the first attempt to illustrate the interrelationships between capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. It is hoped that this study will draw greater attention of academic scholars to the field of volunteer tourism. Third, although volunteer tourism is a subject of a proliferation of academic research, very few volunteer tourism studies have been conducted in Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, where many volunteer tourism projects have been implemented. Only a few volunteer tourism academic studies (e.g. Coren and Gray (2012), Sin (2010)) have conducted in Vietnam. This research is significant in that it has enriched the extant literature on volunteer

tourism in Vietnam and in developing countries overall. Last but not least, there are a lack of studies investigating community participation in the research process. This study has added a local voice perspective to the study of volunteer tourism.

In terms of practical implications, the findings of the current study may aid VTOs and policymakers in the more effective and sustainable implementation of volunteer tourism. The following section outlines how specific findings may promote sustainable volunteer tourism practice.

First, the findings of this study highlight the crucial role of VTOs in the development of various forms of capital in the host communities. VTOs managers and farm owners may use the findings to plan strategy, management, and marketing of volunteer programmes. For instance, VTOs should create social spaces where local members and volunteers can interact and build social relationships. They should also provide more opportunities for local residents to become involved in decision-making regarding volunteer activities and to share their voices and concerns about how the volunteer tourism is set up. Second, partnerships between VTOs and the host communities are the key to sustainable development (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018). The findings reveal that volunteer tourism had a number of impacts on different forms of capital in the host communities and the impacts vary depending on the context. VTOs should take into account their own aims and also the communities' needs. VTOs should identify the needs of local residents match those with volunteers' skills by collaborating with the host communities. VTOs should promote potential social and cultural impacts not only to volunteer tourists but also to the host communities.

Third, the voice of the participants in this study may provide important implications for developing policy in this area. Volunteer tourism is viewed as an important tool for community development and sustainability in the host communities (Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018; Lee, 2020). Although volunteer tourism has become more popular in recent years, which helps to promote tourism in Vietnam, policies to develop and manage it are still limited. Hence, the current study is remarkable in that it has enhanced the existing literature on volunteer tourism in Vietnam. The proposed framework of sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism provides practical guidelines for policymakers to develop and

manage volunteer tourism programmes. For instance, the government could provide support services or training and skills to locals after the volunteers left, which will be significant in developing and maintaining the sustainability of impacts on host communities. The local government should consult VTOs and host communities in decision-making on what sorts of activities are undertaken by the volunteers and how the activities are set up. Government and VTOs could engage Vietnamese volunteers (e.g. students from universities, retired people) to provide a steady flow of volunteers to leading these activities continuously. This study suggests that internal marketing campaigns could help to reduce the potential for the drawback and to explain the positive benefits of volunteer tourism in the host societies. The government should incorporate appropriate volunteer tourism programmes into the national tourism plans. Finally, a further implication of the findings is that community empowerment should be taken into account when exploring the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on the host communities. The local government could provide a bridge between VTOs and the host communities. The findings of the current study highlighted that some local volunteers provided support to volunteers and other local residents. This study suggests that these people could be a bridge between volunteers and locals by identifying the needs of community members and discussing them with volunteers and VTOs.

As outlined above, the findings from the current study provide some key contributions and valuable practical implications, the limitations of this study are presented in the following section.

6.4 Limitations of the Research

This study has its limitations, which could provide the starting point for further research. One limitation is the difficulty to separate the data into social and cultural impacts, which is similar to the works of Zahra and McGehee (2013) and Page and Connell (2014). While some theories may have relevance in one or more different aspects of host perceptions, no single theory provides a theoretical perspective that encompassed the phenomenon of resident perceptions of the impacts of tourism (Ap, 1992). In order to explore socio-cultural impacts, various forms of capital have been used. For instance, Moscardo et al. (2013) propose four subdomains of socio-cultural impacts including social, cultural, human, and political capital. Zahra and McGehee's (2013) findings add the welfare capital into the broad concept of

impacts. This study used four forms of capital to explore the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism including social, human, cultural, and welfare capital. Each form of capital provided a useful lens on the phenomenon. There was some overlap between the different forms of capital.

Although many participants under 18 engaged in volunteer activities (e.g. learning English from volunteers and cultural activities), this study did not include the voices of these children. A further study is needed to examine the opinion of all age groups to present an overall analysis of the entire population in the host communities. Other factors (e.g. employment dependency on tourism, distance from tourism zone, encounters with tourists, personal values, and demographic, stage of tourism development, nature of tourists, seasonality, national stage of development, and density of tourism development) could be investigated (Deery et al., 2012; Sharpley, 2014).

A further limitation concerns the limited ability to generalise and theorise the findings from case study research. The current study focused on two volunteering projects. In addition, the foundations of the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts theoretical framework developed in the discussion chapter are not limited to the specific context of volunteer tourism. The sampling procedure and the recruitment of participants for this research represent additional limitations. Following a purposive sampling and a qualitative desk study, this research relied on a self-selected sample to identify suitable farms. Both farms met the criteria and rationales for selecting the farms. In addition, the current study relied on the experience of the gatekeepers (i.e. farm owners, local authority staff, and community members) to find suitable participants. The recruitment of participants in this study may have limited the variety of the participants and introduced under- or over-representation of any groups. The sample consisted predominantly of local people who had encounters with volunteers. However, volunteer tourism may have an impact on other members who have no contact with volunteers or see them only in passing. Therefore, the findings may display differences if the research was conducted with participants from other types of local residents. This thesis explores how local residents in Vietnam examine the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, but it does not include people in other countries. Finally, the study did not include results from previous studies for comparison. It would be interesting to do comparison studies

between this study and results from previous studies.

In order to validate the findings of the current study and to develop a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, further studies are needed. Therefore, the following sections offer recommendations for future research.

6.5 Recommendations for Future Research

Several areas have emerged from the current study that may provide significant potential for research propositions. This study has taken a grassroots perspective to allow local residents to voice their perceptions about the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. There are subsets of communities within the community (Deery et al., 2012). Future research may explore the perceptions of sub-communities on the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. For instance, future research may compare the voices of local women with those of local men in the host communities regarding volunteer tourism development. The findings of this study highlight that local expectations play a crucial role in the sustainability of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. A potential area for future research may be an investigation of whether volunteer tourism neglects or matches the local needs. Further research may explore how local members in other communities in Vietnam and other developing countries examine the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism, thereby contributing a larger body of knowledge to the study of the socio-cultural impacts.

In addition, the generalisability of the findings is limited. The current study suggests that the sustainability of the impacts may be different in different contexts. Future research may explore factors that influence the sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. An additional avenue of further research may be an investigation of different volunteer tourism projects as well as the role of VTOs in setting up volunteer tourism activities. While this research focuses on farm communities which were involved in volunteer projects of at least three months in duration because these farms represented a more permanent form of volunteering (TRAM, 2008). Future research may have an investigation of similar and different impacts between short-term and long-term volunteers. Moreover, this study suggests that empowerment arising in various forms of capital contributes to the sustainability of the

socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The empowerment concept in the context of volunteer tourism must be tested in future studies to evaluate its validity. This suggests that future volunteer tourism research should focus on the shift from passive learners/beneficiaries (local communities) to active participants (co-creators) in creating different forms of capital in the host communities.

Finally, socio-cultural impacts occur slowly in society (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). Thus, it would be interesting to conduct a longitudinal study, which may arguably provide a more holistic picture of the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism. The current study proposes a framework of sustainability of socio-cultural impacts. The model was developed based on the findings from two host communities. Thus, future research may apply the framework to different types of tourism (e.g. ecotourism, community-based tourism, backpacker tourism, yoga tourism). Above future research may help complement the model developed in this study and build a larger literature on capital, empowerment, and sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism.

In short, all the recommendations above sow the seeds for future studies in volunteer tourism and the wider contexts within which it may occur.

6.6 Chapter Summary

The final chapter has examined the conclusions from the present study. It presented the research aim and questions as well as the key contributions of the research. The current study contributes to a current gap in the socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism literature, that of how sustainability of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism can be achieved, empowerment arising in various forms of capital, and interlinkages between them. Following this, the chapter discussed the practical implications and the limitations of the present study. It also discussed the directions for future research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.1: The Interview Protocol for Local Residents

No	Question
1	Occupation What sort of contact have you had with volunteer tourists in your community?
2.1	What does volunteer tourism mean to you?
2.2	Why do you think volunteer tourists come to volunteer in your community? (Please give examples)
2.3	What are the similarities and differences between volunteer tourists and other tourists?
2.4	What are the similarities and differences between Vietnamese volunteers and international volunteer tourists? (Please give examples)
2.5	What sorts of things have volunteer tourists done in your community? (Please give examples)
3.1	What do you like best about volunteer activities in your village? Why? (Please give examples)
3.2	What do you dislike most about volunteer activities in your village? Why? (Please give examples)
4.1	Does having the volunteer tourism in the community have any impact on your relationship with family members or others in the community?
4.2	Are you better or worse off financially due to having the volunteer tourists on the village? How about your family?

4.3	Have you noticed any changes in your own life because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.4	Have you noticed any changes in your family's life because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.5	Have you noticed any changes in your community because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.6	Has having the volunteer tourists around changed your outlook on life in any way?
4.7	Has having the volunteer tourists around changed how you interact with other people in the community?
4.8	Have you learned anything about the volunteer tourist home countries and has that changed the way you think about things like politics, education, health?
4.9	Do you feel that local people alter their behaviour around volunteer tourists?
4.10	Do you feel safer or less safe? Why?
4.11	Have you learned anything from the volunteer tourists?
4.12	Do you think you have taught the volunteer tourists anything?
4.13	How do you feel that your community is in any way affected by volunteer tourists?
4.14	Are there any other impacts that volunteer tourists have had on you? (Please give examples)
4.15	Are there any other impacts that volunteer tourists have had on your family? (Please give examples)
5.1	Do you want to have volunteers come to your community? Why?
5.2	Is it worthwhile having them here? Have you been given good feedback about them?

	<p>Can you do anything to ensure the positive feeling continues?</p> <p>Have there ever been complaints about them?</p> <p>Could you do anything about the complaints?</p>
5.3	What should the requirements be? Why? (Please give examples)
5.4	<p>What volunteer activities would you like to change in the future in your community?</p> <p>Why? (Please give examples)</p>

Appendix A.2: The Interview Protocol for Farm Owners

No	Question
1	<p>Occupation</p> <p>What sort of contact have you had with volunteer tourists in your farm and your community?</p> <p>Where do the volunteer tourists live?</p>
2.1	What does volunteer tourism mean to you?
2.2	Why do you think volunteer tourists come to volunteer in your farm and your community? (Please give examples)
2.3	What are the similarities and differences between volunteer tourists and other tourists?
2.4	What are the similarities and differences between Vietnamese volunteers and international volunteer tourists? (Please give examples)
2.5	Where did volunteer tourists come from? (Please give examples)
2.6	When did volunteers come to your farm? (Please give examples)
2.7	<p>How many volunteer tourists have you received per year?</p> <p>Why? (Please give examples)</p>

2.8	How long do volunteer tourists work in your farm? (Please give examples)
2.9	How did volunteer tourists come to your farm? (Please give examples)
2.10	Why did you choose volunteer tourists to work in your farm? (Please give examples)
2.11	What sorts of things have volunteer tourists done in your farm and your community? (Please give examples)
3.1	What do you like best about volunteer activities in your farm and your village? Why? (Please give examples)
3.2	What do you dislike most about volunteer activities in your farm and your village? Why? (Please give examples)
4.1	Does having the volunteer tourism in the community have any impact on your relationship with family members or others in the community?
4.2	Are you better or worse off financially due to having the volunteer tourists on the village? How about your family?
4.3	Have you noticed any changes in your own life because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.4	Have you noticed any changes in your family's life because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.5	Have you noticed any changes in your community because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.6	Has having the volunteer tourists around changed your outlook on life in any way?
4.7	Has having the volunteer tourists around changed how you interact with other

	people in the community?
4.8	Have you learned anything about the volunteer tourist home countries and has that changed the way you think about things like politics, education, health?
4.9	Do you feel that local people alter their behaviour around volunteer tourists?
4.10	Do you feel safer or less safe? Why?
4.11	Have you learned anything from the volunteer tourists?
4.12	Do you think you have taught the volunteer tourists anything?
4.13	How do you feel that your community is in any way affected by volunteer tourists?
4.14	Are there any other impacts that volunteer tourists have had on you? (Please give examples)
4.15	Are there any other impacts that volunteer tourists have had on your family? (Please give examples)
4.16	What impacts have volunteer tourists had on the number of local employees?
5.1	Do you want to have volunteers come to your farm and your community? Why?
5.2	Is it worthwhile having them here? Have you been given good feedback about them? Can you do anything to ensure the positive feeling continues? Have there ever been complaints about them? Could you do anything about the complaints?
5.3	What role do government/volunteer tourism organisation play? Are you aware of government policy towards volunteer tourism?
5.4	What should the requirements be? Why? (Please give examples)
6.5	What volunteer activities would you like to change in the future in your farm and

	your community? Why? (Please give examples)
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Appendix A.3: The Interview Protocol for Farm Employees

No	Question
1.1	Where are you from? How long have you worked in the farm? How many volunteers have you worked with per year in the farm? What sort of have you had with volunteer tourists in the farm and your community? How would you describe your interaction with the volunteer tourists? Where do the volunteer tourists live?
1.2	What is your main role at the farm? (Please give details)
2.1	What does volunteer tourism mean to you?
2.2	Why do you think volunteer tourists come to volunteer in the farm and your community? (Please give examples)
2.3	What are the similarities and differences between volunteer tourists and other tourists?
2.4	What are the similarities and differences between Vietnamese volunteers and international volunteer tourists? (Please give examples)
2.5	What sorts of things have volunteer tourists done in your community? (Please give examples)
3.1	What do you like best about volunteer activities in the farm and your village? Why? (Please give examples)
3.2	What do you dislike most about volunteer activities in the farm and your village? Why? (Please give examples)

4.1	Does having the volunteer tourism in the community have any impact on your relationship with family members or others in the community?
4.2	Are you better or worse off financially due to having the volunteer tourists on the village? How about your family?
4.3	Have you noticed any changes in your own life because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.4	Have you noticed any changes in your family's life because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.5	Have you noticed any changes in your community because of anything the volunteer tourists have done?
4.6	Has having the volunteer tourists around changed your outlook on life in any way?
4.7	Has having the volunteer tourists around changed how you interact with other people in the community?
4.8	Have you learned anything about the volunteer tourist home countries and has that changed the way you think about things like politics, education, health?
4.9	Do you feel that local people alter their behaviour around volunteer tourists?
4.10	Do you feel safer or less safe? Why?
4.11	Have you learned anything from the volunteer tourists?
4.12	Do you think you have taught the volunteer tourists anything?
4.13	How do you feel that your community is in any way affected by volunteer tourists?
4.14	Are there any other impacts that volunteer tourists have had on you? (Please give examples)

4.15	Are there any other impacts that volunteer tourists have had on your family? (Please give examples)
5.1	Do you want to have volunteers come to the farm and your community? Why?
5.2	Is it worthwhile having them here? Have you been given good feedback about them? Can you do anything to ensure the positive feeling continues? Have there ever been complaints about them? Could you do anything about the complaints?
5.3	What should the requirements be? Why? (Please give examples)
5.4	What volunteer activities would you like to change in the future in the farm and your community? Why? (Please give examples)

Appendix A.4: The Interview Protocol for Volunteer Tourism Organisation Employees

No	Question
1.1	Occupation What sort of contact have you had with volunteer tourists? Where do the volunteer tourists live?
1.2	Where did volunteer tourists come from? (Please give examples)
1.3	When do volunteers usually come to the farm? (Please give examples)
1.4	Where do volunteer tourists often go to volunteer in Vietnam?
1.5	How many volunteers have the farm community received per year? (Please give examples)

1.6	How long do volunteer tourists work on the farm? (Please give examples)
1.7	What are the procedures around volunteer tourists applying and being offered a place on the farm? (Please give examples)
2.1	What does volunteer tourism mean to you?
2.2	Why do you think volunteer tourists come to volunteer? (Please give examples)
2.3	What are the similarities and differences between volunteer tourists and other tourists?
2.4	What are the similarities and differences between Vietnamese volunteers and international volunteer tourists? (Please give examples)
2.5	What sorts of things have volunteer tourists done in this area? (Please give examples)
3.1	What role does government play? Why? (Please give examples)
3.2	As you understand it, what is government policy on volunteer tourism?
3.3	What should the requirements be for volunteers in the future? Why? (Please give examples)
3.4	What volunteer activities would you like to change in the future? Why? (Please give examples)

Appendix A.5: The Interview Protocol for Government Employees

No	Question
1.1	What is your main role at the government? Where do the volunteer tourists live?
1.2	Where did volunteer tourists come from? (Please give examples)
1.3	When do volunteers usually come to the farm? (Please give examples)
1.4	Where do volunteer tourists often go to volunteer in Vietnam?
1.5	What are the procedures around volunteer tourists applying and being offered a place on the farm? (Please give examples)
2.1	What does volunteer tourism mean to you?
2.2	Why do you think volunteer tourists come to volunteer? (Please give examples)
2.3	What are the similarities and differences between volunteer tourists and other tourists?
2.4	What are the similarities and differences between Vietnamese volunteers and international volunteer tourists? (Please give examples)
2.5	What sorts of things have volunteer tourists done in this area? (Please give examples)
3.1	What role do the VTOs play? Why? (Please give examples)
3.2	Does government have any policy on volunteer tourism?
3.3	What should the requirements be for volunteers in the future? Why? (Please give examples)
3.4	What volunteer activities would you like to change in the future?

	Why? (Please give examples)
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Appendix A.6: The Interview Protocol for Volunteer Tourists

No	Question
1	What sorts of things have you done in this community? (Please give examples)
2	Why did you come to volunteer in this community?
3	What are your experiences when you interact with local residents? (Please give examples)
4	Have you learned anything from others here?
5	Do you think your activities have had any impact on the farms or in the community?

Appendix B: Research Information Sheet

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

THÔNG TIN DỰ ÁN NGHIÊN CỨU



School of Hospitality Management and Tourism

Dublin Institute of Technology

Cathal Brugha Street, Dublin 1, Ireland, D01

11550

You are being invited to participate in a research study entitled

The Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism in Vietnamese Farms

Mời Anh/Chị tham gia vào dự án nghiên cứu

Tác động văn hóa-xã hội của du lịch tình nguyện đến cộng đồng người dân tại các nông trại ở Việt Nam

This research is part of my Ph.D. dissertation at the College of Arts and Tourism, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland. The aim of the research is to provide an in-depth understanding of the Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism in Vietnamese Farms in Hoi An Own Town and in Ha Giang province, Viet Nam. It is conducted by using the Vietnamese Farms as the study site.

Nghiên cứu này là một phần trong Luận án tiến sĩ tại trường Đại học Du lịch, Học viện Công nghệ Dublin, Ai Len. Mục tiêu của nghiên cứu nhằm cung cấp một hiểu biết sâu sắc về “**tác động văn hóa-xã hội của du lịch tình nguyện đến cộng đồng địa phương tại các nông trại ở Việt Nam**”. Dự án được nghiên cứu tại các nông trại Việt Nam, cụ thể ở thành phố Hội An và thành phố Hà Giang.

You are invited to participate in this study because you are participating in the volunteer tourism program/work with local residents at the Vietnamese Farms and possess valuable

information on socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in Host communities. There are no known risks if you decide to participate in this study. The information you provide will help me understand the socio-cultural impacts of Volunteer tourism, which will consequently provide a valuable insight for all stakeholders on how volunteer tourism can be developed, implemented and promoted appropriately and sustainably in Vietnam.

Anh/Chị được mời tham gia vào dự án này vì Anh/Chị đã làm việc nhiều với tình nguyện viên/người dân sống tại các nông trại trên đất nước Việt Nam và biết những thông tin hữu ích **tác động văn hóa-xã hội của du lịch tình nguyện đến cộng đồng địa phương tại các nông trại ở Việt Nam.** Anh/Chị sẽ không gặp bất cứ rủi ro gì khi tham gia vào nghiên cứu này. Những thông tin mà Anh/Chị cung cấp sẽ giúp tôi hiểu được **tác động văn hóa-xã hội của du lịch tình nguyện đến cộng đồng địa phương tại các nông trại ở Việt Nam.** Điều này rất hữu ích đối với tất cả người dân, chính quyền, các tổ chức khác để góp phần phát triển loại hình du lịch cũng như triển khai và quảng bá để phát triển bền vững Du lịch tình nguyện tại Việt Nam.

Your participation in this project will involve: 45-60 minute individual interview asking questions related to your perceptions' socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism at Vietnamese Farms. These conversations will be recorded only with your permission.

Tham gia dự án này, Anh/Chị sẽ trải qua một buổi phỏng vấn cá nhân kéo dài khoảng 45 đến 60 phút với những câu hỏi liên quan đến những quan điểm của Anh/Chị về tác động văn hóa-xã hội của du lịch tình nguyện tại các cộng đồng nông trại ở Việt Nam. Quá trình phỏng vấn sẽ được ghi âm lại nếu Anh/Chị cho phép.

Your participation in this study is voluntary; therefore, should you feel the need to withdraw from the study, you may do so without question at any time. If you do withdraw at any stage, any information you have provided will be destroyed. You can also refuse to answer to any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. The results of the study may be published. However, you are assured of the complete confidentiality of your information, since only pseudonyms will be used in any written and/or oral presentations. All material collected will be kept confidential. No other person besides my supervisors and me will have access to your data. The dissertation will be submitted to the Dublin Institute of Technology and deposited in the Dublin Institute of Technology Library. The data storage will have a password

protected computer. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals. Interview transcriptions will be destroyed two years after the end of the project. If you agree to participate, please sign a consent form to acknowledge your voluntary participation in the study.

Sự tham gia của Anh/Chị vào dự án này là hoàn toàn tự nguyện, do đó, Anh/Chị có thể rút khỏi nghiên cứu bất cứ lúc nào mà không cần xin phép. Nếu Anh/Chị rút khỏi nghiên cứu ở bất kì giai đoạn nào, thông tin mà Anh/Chị cung cấp sẽ bị hủy. Anh/Chị cũng có thể từ chối trả lời bất cứ câu hỏi nào nếu Anh/Chị cảm thấy không thoải mái. Kết quả của nghiên cứu sẽ được công bố, nhưng Anh/Chị chắc chắn được đảm bảo về bảo mật thông tin cá nhân vì nghiên cứu chỉ sử dụng bút danh trong những báo cáo bằng văn bản hay thuyết trình. Mọi thông tin thu thập được sẽ được bảo mật không ai khác có thể truy cập thông tin ngoài tôi và giáo sư hướng dẫn của tôi. Luận án nghiên cứu này sẽ được nộp cho Học Viện Công Nghệ Dublin, Ai Len và lưu giữ tại thư viện đại học này. Dữ liệu phỏng vấn sẽ được lưu trữ trong máy tính có mật khẩu riêng. Tuy nhiên, một vài bài báo về dự án này có thể sẽ được công bố trên những tạp chí chuyên ngành. Phiên dịch của quá trình phỏng vấn sẽ bị hủy sau 2 năm sau khi dự án kết thúc. Nếu Anh/Chị đồng ý tham gia dự án này, vui lòng ký tên ở mẫu chấp nhận tham gia dự án nghiên cứu.

I will be very pleased to discuss any questions or concerns you might have about your participation or your rights in this study. You may contact me at tuan.tran@mydit.ie or at +353 838258693.

Tôi rất sẵn lòng trả lời bất cứ câu hỏi hoặc quan tâm của Anh/Chị về việc tham gia và các quyền lợi liên quan đến nghiên cứu này. Anh/Chị có thể liên hệ với tôi qua email: tuan.tran@mydit.ie hoặc qua số điện thoại +353838258693.

Thank you very much!

Xin chân thành cảm ơn Anh/Chị!

Tuan Tran Nien

Ph.D. Researcher, College of Arts and Tourism, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland.

Trần Niên Tuấn

Appendix C: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW

GIẤY CHO PHÉP PHÒNG VẤN



School of Hospitality Management and Tourism

Dublin Institute of Technology

Cathal Brugha Street, Dublin 1, Ireland, D01

11750

Researcher's Name: Tuan Tran Nien Tên người nghiên cứu: Trần Niên Tuấn	
Title:	Ph.D. Researcher
Chức danh:	Nghiên cứu sinh
Contact details:	tuan.tran@mydit.ie or +353838258693; +84935220589
Thông tin liên lạc:	tuan.tran@mydit.ie or +353838258693; +84935220589
Faculty/School/Department: School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, College of Arts and Tourism, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland Đơn vị: Trường Quản trị Dịch vụ và Du lịch, Đại học Du lịch, Học Viện Công nghệ Dublin, Ai Len	
Title of Study: The Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism in Vietnamese Farms Tên dự án: Tác động Văn hóa-Xã hội của Du lịch Tình nguyện đến Cộng đồng người dân tại các Nông trại ở Việt Nam	
To be completed by the: Người được phỏng vấn	
Participant Code	

Mã tham gia	
Please read the following and indicate your understanding and consent by ticking the box Anh/Chị vui lòng đọc các thông tin sau và cho biết sự đồng ý của Anh/Chị bằng cách tích vào ô bên cạnh	Tick Box if YES Tích vào ô nếu đồng ý
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/letter attached for the above study 1. Tôi xác nhận rằng tôi hiểu các thông tin về dự án	
2. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. 2. Tôi có cơ hội hỏi và thảo luận các câu hỏi về dự án và hài lòng với các câu trả lời	
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. 3. Tôi hiểu rằng sự tham gia của tôi vào dự án này là hoàn toàn tự nguyện và tôi có thể không trả lời hoặc ngừng phỏng vấn mà không cần nêu lý do gì	
4. I agree to take part in this study and that the results of which are likely to be published 4. Tôi đồng ý tham gia vào dự án này và hiểu rằng kết quả của dự án có thể được công bố rộng rãi	
5. I agree to the interview being audio recorded 5. Tôi đồng ý cuộc phỏng vấn có thể được ghi âm lại	
6. I agree to the interview being used as data for this research study 6. Tôi đồng ý dữ liệu của cuộc phỏng vấn được sử dụng cho nghiên cứu	

này	
7. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications 7. Tôi đồng ý việc sử dụng trích dẫn ẩn danh trong các ấn phẩm công bố	
8. I understand that my data gathered in this study will be stored on an encrypted DIT laptop that is a password protected (after it has been anonymised). 8. Tôi đồng ý rằng dữ liệu thu thập được trong dự án này sẽ được lưu trữ trên máy tính có mật khẩu của DIT (sau khi sử dụng ẩn danh) và có thể sử dụng cho những nghiên cứu khác	
9. I understand that I will not be identified 9. Tôi hiểu rằng thông tin của tôi sẽ không bị tiết lộ	
Signed: Chữ ký	Date Ngày
Signature of Researcher: Chữ ký nhà nghiên cứu: Trần Niên Tuấn	Date Ngày

CONSENT FORM FOR NON-PUBLICALLY AVAILABLE DOCUMENTATION

GIẤY CHO PHÉP TRUY CẬP TÀI LIỆU



School of Hospitality Management and Tourism

Dublin Institute of Technology

Cathal Brugha Street, Dublin 1, Ireland, D01

11750

Researcher's Name: Tuan Tran Nien

Tên người nghiên cứu: Trần Niên Tuấn

Title: Ph.D. Researcher

Chức danh: Nghiên cứu sinh

Contact details: tuan.tran@mydit.ie or +353838258693; +84935220589

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Faculty/School/Department: School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, College of Arts and Tourism, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland

Đơn vị: Trường Quản trị Dịch vụ và Du lịch, Đại học Du lịch, Học Viện Công nghệ Dublin, Ai Len

Title of Study: The Socio-cultural Impacts of Volunteer Tourism in Vietnamese Farms

Tên dự án: Tác động Văn hóa-Xã hội của Du lịch Tình nguyện đến Cộng đồng người dân tại các Nông trại ở Việt Nam

To be completed by the:

Người cung cấp tài liệu

Participant Code

Mã tham gia

<p>Please read the following and indicate your understanding and consent by ticking the box</p> <p>Anh/Chị vui lòng đọc các thông tin sau và cho biết sự đồng ý của Anh/Chị bằng cách tích vào ô bên cạnh</p>	<p>Tick Box if</p> <p>YES</p> <p>Tích vào ô nếu đồng ý</p>
<p>1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/letter attached for the above study</p> <p>1. Tôi xác nhận rằng tôi hiểu các thông tin về dự án</p>	
<p>2. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.</p> <p>2. Tôi có cơ hội hỏi và thảo luận các câu hỏi về dự án và hài lòng với các câu trả lời</p>	
<p>3. I understand that I am free to provide documentation to the researcher and I am free to withdraw the documentation at any time, without giving a reason.</p> <p>3. Tôi hiểu rằng tôi thoải mái khi cung cấp các tài liệu cho nhà nghiên cứu và tôi có thể rút lại tài liệu bất cứ lúc nào mà không cần nêu lý do gì</p>	
<p>4. I understand that the results are likely to be published</p> <p>4. Tôi hiểu rằng kết quả của dự án có thể được công bố rộng rãi</p>	
<p>5. I understand that If I provide documentation to the researcher, it may be used as data in the study</p> <p>5. Tôi hiểu rằng nếu tôi cung cấp các tài liệu cho nhà nghiên cứu, tài liệu đó có thể được sử dụng làm dữ liệu cho nghiên cứu</p>	
<p>6. I would like (please choose one):</p> <p>6. Tôi muốn (vui lòng chọn một):</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Information from the documents to be anonymised if used in the study</p>	

<p>Thông tin từ tài liệu sẽ ẩn danh nếu sử dụng làm tài liệu nghiên cứu</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> The source to be acknowledge, if any information from the documentation is used in the study</p> <p>Nguồn cần được xác nhận, nếu có bất kỳ thông tin nào được sử dụng cho nghiên cứu</p>	
<p>Signed:</p> <p>Chữ ký</p>	<p>Date</p> <p>Ngày</p>
<p>Signature of Researcher:</p> <p>Chữ ký nhà nghiên cứu:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Trần Niên Tuấn</p>	<p>Date</p> <p>Ngày</p>

Appendix D.1: List of Initial Codes

Initial Codes
Tea Making Process
Cultural Exchange
Cultural Learning
Volunteer Tourists' Experiences
Volunteers' Style
Orientation Program for Volunteers
Farm Owners' Experience
New Knowledge
Interaction with Others
Sharing Cooking Ways
Cultural Discussion
Communication
Vietnamese Cultures
Learning from Volunteers
Alter Volunteers' Behaviour
Teach volunteers
Cultural Identity Preservation
Language Barrier
Sharing Locals' Experiences
Alter Good Lifestyle
Alter Personal Hygiene
Alter Volunteers' Hobbies
Alter Doing Gardening
Alter Waste Management
Sustainable Gardening
Cultural Value Preservation
Tea Culture Preservation
Introducing Hosts' Culture
Learning Volunteers' Culture
Pride in Cultural Identity
Teaching English Activity

Orientation Career Program
Training Skills
Interaction with Consumers
Vandalism
Educational Effects
Teaching Activity
Community Skill
Social Services
Environmental Preservation
Smoking
Livelihood Models
Recycling
Cleaning Up
Collecting the pile of ash
Giving Back to the Land
Bringing Benefits to Children
Marketing Promotion
Social Media Channels
Tea Network
Community Resources
Migration
Tea Products
Jobs for Farm Staff
Job Opportunities
Income
Farm Owners' Income
Locals' Income
Jobs for Youth
Livelihoods Models
Jobs for Locals
Educational Programmes do not Match Local Needs
The Need of Learning English
Income from local employment opportunities

Volunteers' Behaviour
Volunteers' Motivation
Low Budget
Paid Money
To be Interviewed
Attending to a Community Project
Looking for an Opportunity
Doing Business
Active People
Background Knowledge
High Standard Services
To Learn Something
Volunteer Services
To Make Volunteer Program
Foreign Customers
Volunteers' Demand
Visa
Bachelor Degree
Teaching Skill
Project Location
Volunteers from a Tourism Company
Volunteering Procedure
Similarity
Responsibility
To Make a Difference
Local Needs in the Future
Local Authority or Government Staff Context
Living Places
Contact
Time
Volunteer Activities
Vietnamese Volunteers
Studied Motivations

Country
Arriving Time
Month
How many Volunteers
Duration Time
Coming Way
Assistant Volunteer Program
To Co-operate with Partnerships
To Coordinate Volunteer Projects
To Collect Tea
Working Condition
Fundraising
The Best Volunteer Activity
The Dislike Volunteer Activity
Farm Owners' Benefit
Volunteers' Skill
Occupation
Volunteers' Place
Volunteers' Context
VTO
NGO
Limit the Dislike Activity
Volunteers' Cost
Staff Context
To Exchange Something
Living at the Farm
Farm Owners' Motivation
Requirement
Government Policy
To Want more Volunteers
Prestige
Implication
Local Authority or Government Play

Registration
To Change Volunteer Activities
Farm Owners' Cost
Farm Owners' Want
Positive Feedback Continue
Volunteer Activity Continue
Positive Feedback
Complaint
Reduce Complaint
Volunteer Tourism Meanings
Travelling
To Help Others
Providing Benefits to Hosts
Travelling and Volunteering
Travelling and Doing Internships
Learning and Exchanging Knowledge and Culture
Volunteering
Foreign Volunteers
Vietnamese Youth Volunteers
General Tourist
Volunteer Tourists
Effects on the Community
Sustainable Development
Riverbank Restoration
Creating Ecosystem
Infrastructure Improvement
Changes in Community
Cultural Tourism Community
Farm Tourism
Tourism Development
Facility Improvement
Pump Installed
Tourism Facility Improvement

Building Community Garden
Building Roads
Building House Assistant
Tourism Services
Marketing Volunteer Program
Sustainable Skills
Negative Feelings
Factors Causing Negative Feelings
Safety
Positive Feelings
Benefits for Volunteers
Increasing the Price of Tea Products
Relationship between Locals and Volunteers
Relationship between Children and Family Members
Relationships with the Community
Local Needs
Outlook on Life
Independent View
Politics View
Health
Self-confident
Friendly
Funny
Interacting with Foreigners
Diversified People
Recreational Opportunity
Changes in Individuals
Changes in Families
Lifestyle Changes
Locals' Cost
Health Clinic Services
Healthy Food
Healthy Lifestyle

Cleaning Water
Clean Environment
Farm Staff's Income
To Help Neighbours
Independent Children
Unsatisfied Local Needs
Neglect Local Needs
Cleaning the Environment
To Help Locals Anytime

Appendix D.2: List of Initial Themes

Initial Themes
Learning Volunteer Cultures
Reversing Diffusion of Host Cultures
Awareness of Cultural Values
Pride in Cultural Identity
Establishing Organic Gardens
Alter Waste Management
Enhancing Health Awareness
To Help Neighbours
Language Barrier
Learn and Practice English
Learn New Knowledge and Skills
Waste Management
Recycling
Clean Up of Land
Giving Back to the Land
Travelling and Volunteering
Travelling and Doing Internships
Learning and Exchanging Knowledge and Culture
Sustainable Living
Sustainable Learning and Working

Agricultural Infrastructure
Community Infrastructure
Natural Resource Management
Shared Resources
Tourism Facility Improvement
Local Facilities
Marketing Promotion for Tourism Services
Marketing Promotion for Local Products
Developing Tourism and Hospitality Skills
New Models and Services
Inward
Outward
Job Opportunities
Income from Local Products and Services
Income from Marketing, Tourism, and Education
Healthy Lifestyle
Personal Development and Growth
Safety by Volunteer Behaviours
Safety by Volunteer Activities
Relationships with Volunteer Tourists
Relationships with Family and Communities
Satisfying Local Needs
Neglecting Local Needs
Health Clinic Services
Health Awareness
Environmental Health

Appendix D.3: List of Reviewed Themes

Reviewed Themes
Cultural Exchanges
Preservation of the Cultural Identity
Alter Volunteer Behaviour

Educational Effects
Awareness of Environmental Conservation
Learning and Exchanging Knowledge and Culture
Sustainable Development
Infrastructure Improvement
Community Resources
Facility Improvement
Marketing Promotion
Tourism Development
Income
Lifestyle Changes
Safety
Relationships
Local Needs
Health

Appendix D.4: List of Defined Themes

Defined Themes
Educational Effects
Job Opportunities
Cultural Exchanges
Relationships
Health
Awareness of Environmental Conservation
Physical Improvement
Promotion of Local Products and Tourism
Community Resource Development

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Tuan, N.T, Burbach, R., & O’Leary, D. 2018a. Socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism in host communities: A model from the literature. *The 14th Tourism and Hospitality Research in Ireland Conference (THRIC)*. Waterford Institute of Technology, Waterford, Ireland.

Tuan, N.T, Burbach, R., & O’Leary, D. 2018b. The socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism on residents’ quality of life: A model from the literature. *The 36th European Council on Hotel, Restaurant, and Institutional Education (EuroCHRIE) Conference*. Technological University Dublin, Dublin, Ireland.

Tuan, N.T, Burbach, R., & O’Leary, D. 2019. Host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of volunteer tourism: A case study of Vietnamese farms. *The 10th International Conference Sustainable Niche Tourism*. Duy Tan University, Danang, Vietnam.

LIST OF MODULES

Exploring Research Methodologies. RESM9004 (5 ECTS). Delivered by Dr Deirdre Quinn, Dr Kevin Cunningham, Dr Ruth Craggs, Dr Theresa Ryan, and Dr Catherine Gorman. School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, Technological University Dublin, Dublin, Ireland. January – May 2017.

International Tourism Trends, Markets and Products. TOUR9001 (10 ECTS). Delivered by Dr Theresa Ryan and Dr Gerry Dunne. School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, Technological University Dublin, Dublin, Ireland. January – May 2017.

Tourism Destination Planning and Management. TOUR9000 (10 ECTS). Delivered by Dr Kevin Griffin. School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, Technological University Dublin, Dublin, Ireland. September – December 2017.

Business Research Methods. SOCEXXXX (5 ECTS). Delivered by Dr Tara Rooney and Dr Paul Oreilly. School of Marketing, Technological University Dublin, Dublin, Ireland. September – December 2017.

Introduction to pedagogy for postgraduates. GRSO1010 (5 ECTS). Delivered by Dr Barry Ryan. Graduate Research School, Technological University Dublin, Dublin, Ireland. January – May 2018.

Hospitality, tourism, leisure & event research workshop. RESM9005 (5 ECTS). Delivered by Dr Ruth Craggs, Dr Kevin Griffin, Dr Ziene Mottiar, Dr Bernadette Quinn, and Dr John Ryan. School of Hospitality Management and Tourism, Technological University Dublin, Dublin, Ireland. January – May 2018.