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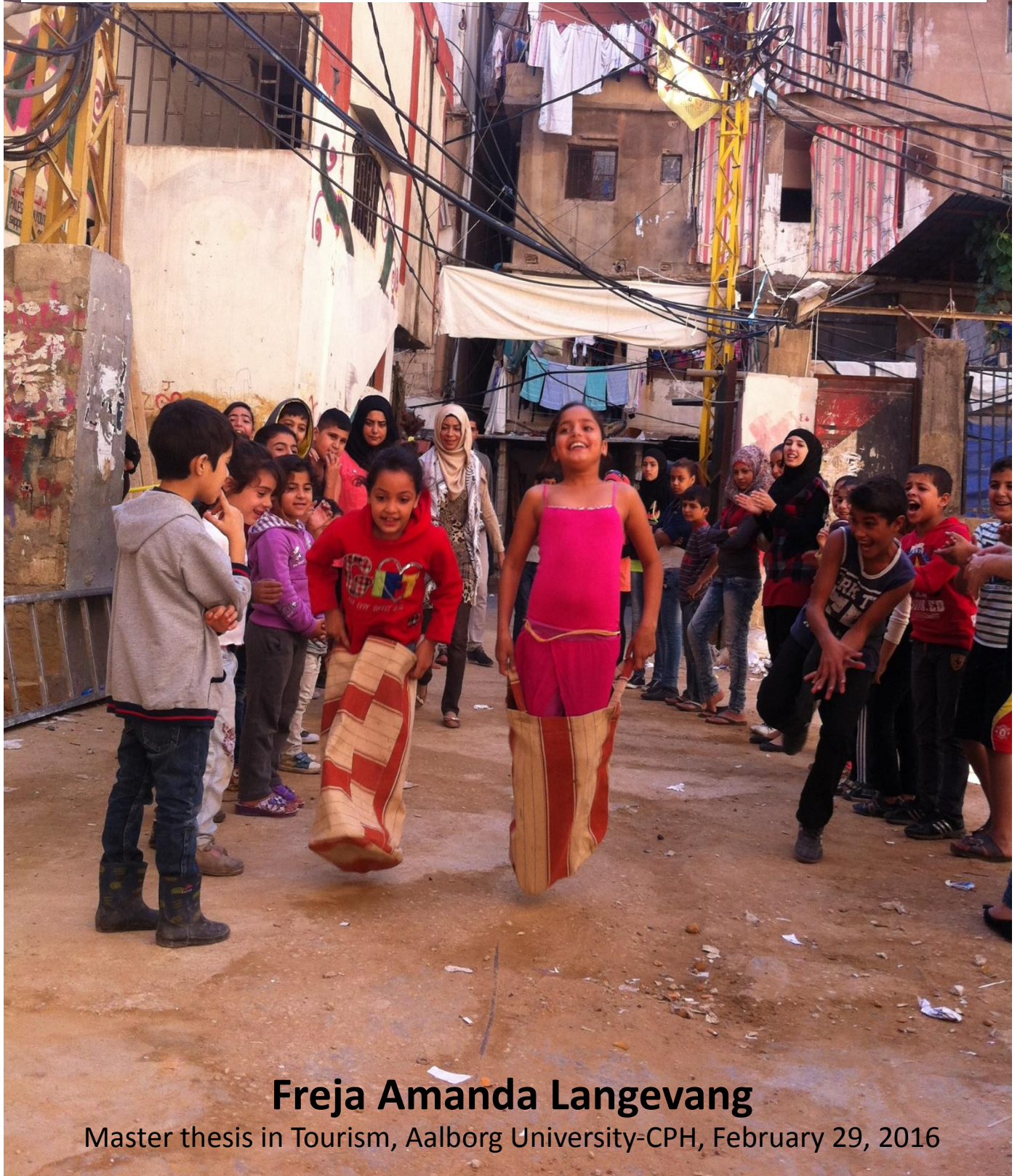
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Serious Voluntourism?

A case study on the Children and
Youth Center in Shatila Refugee Camp



Freja Amanda Langevang

Master thesis in Tourism, Aalborg University-CPH, February 29, 2016

Abstract

This thesis is based on real life experiences and impressions of the vital impact volunteering have on the tourist, the individual and their surroundings. Based on the author's previous fieldwork, this Master thesis sets out to investigate if volunteering in complex, politically volatile destinations is part of a deeper expression of one's interests and life values, or if it simply is voluntourism. By utilizing previous ethnographic research, case study and participant observations, and by applying a contemporary case study, volunteer's drawings of timelines and semi-structured interviews is analyzed.

Life politics are the politics of choices, and emphasizing how individuals through self-actualizing activities are (re-)positioning themselves culturally. Voluntourism (volunteer tourism) is considered a self-actualizing activity. The assumption is that voluntourists (volunteer tourists) are directed by life politics. The multi-motivational nature of voluntourism allows for an abundant number of motivations, those being of both personal and academic nature. It is argued that voluntourists are not only volunteering in the need for adventures and fun, they are also eager to learn, gain knowledge, experiences as well as treating other people well; the altruism is at all times influenced by, and blurred within egoism.

The serious aspect of voluntourism is emphasized by the Serious Leisure Perspective, which provides some more profound insight into why voluntourists are engaging themselves in self-actualizing voluntourism activities. The shared characteristics allow for a merge of the two theories, opening up for the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Perspective (SLV). Utilizing the Travel Career Ladder (TCL) enables the data collection to be put into a framework in order to bring insight for the act of SLV in CYC. These insights allow for a more profound understanding of the motivations and development of the serious leisure voluntourists. Serious voluntourists are not just volunteering because it is fun. Volunteering is a vital importance in their self-actualization, their search for identity and framing of the self.

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Acronyms

CYC – Children and Youth Center, Shatila

SLV – Serious Leisure Voluntourism

TCL – The Travel Career Ladder

VCL – The Volunteer Career Ladder

SLVCL – The Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder

Preface

My endless love and support for the refugees in Shatila refugee camp was my primary motivation for conducting this particular piece of research and for writing this Master thesis. My endless frustrations when I have been lost in translation and lost in the refugee camp. Having to shower in pure saltwater - if we were so lucky that there actually was any water at all. Also, having no electricity and trying to name the cockroaches in an attempt to make them less terrifying. Some frustrations have been trying to deal with the frustrations and despair in the eyes of the many unwashed kids on the street, and sometimes fearing that the sounds of machineguns in the background might be targeted at you, and while running asking yourself why you voluntarily decided to live in such a horrible place, in the first place. All of this is the exact reason why I believe this research to be important, that it has all been worth it. Critics might argue that this type of subjective case study provides little to the world of academic research, but I believe that by trying to understand these conditions and way of life, it will be possible to build on existing theories, which are at times developed in the comfort of academia by researchers with limited field experiences. Through the simple act of voluntourism (volunteer tourism), we attempt to improve cultural understanding throughout the world in the hope of aiding the process of creating better opportunities and equality for the marginalized ethnicities in the world.

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1. Introduction

More than 5 million Palestinians are stateless, and unfortunately, there seems to be no resolution to the crisis, on the contrary, it seems to be escalating on the West Bank and social media and newspapers are all giving words to the third intifada. The many stateless Palestinians are trying to find new countries to live in, and the neighboring country, Lebanon, have since the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, received and are still receiving an abundant amount of Palestinian refugees (Where we work UNRWA n.d.). Shatila is one of the 12 official refugee camps in Lebanon, set up to accommodate the many Palestinian refugees, and it is located in the southern suburbs of Beirut.

International and local NGOs are all working inside Shatila in the hope of providing aid, security, and hope, to the many residents. The Children and Youth Center (CYC) is one of these, a Palestinian NGO providing the children and youth of Shatila with a free space for them to develop their potential (What is CYC n.d.). The money is tight; hence, CYC is very dependent on volunteers to provide an extra pair of hands. The question in need for an answer is why people choose to volunteer in such a complex and politically volatile place? Through self-actualizing lifestyle decisions and activities, individuals has the potential to reposition themselves culturally. Hence, it is believed that Giddens' notion of life politics – the politics of self-actualization (1991) has the potential to provide useful insights and knowledge to the aforementioned question.

The abovementioned self-actualizing life-style decisions and activities are many, for instance the choice of eating meat or not, being a feminist or not, choice of sexuality, and also the choice of where to volunteer. It is believed that through voluntourism (volunteer tourism) individuals gets to reposition themselves culturally through their self-actualizing voluntourist activities. Voluntourism is believed to be mutual-beneficial – for host community and the volunteer - but it is an activity, which has received quite a lot of criticism, due to the multi-motivational nature, and the fact that voluntourist is motivated by multi-motivational factors of both an altruistic and egoistic nature (Hall & Raymond 2008; Wearing & McGehee 2013; Clary & Snyder 1999; Stebbins 1996b). Is voluntourism all about fun and games, or is it actually an activity with the multi-beneficial nature as proposed by advocates?

Through grounded qualitative research, the lived experiences of voluntourists in CYC was explored with a focus on the broader meta-sociological influences on what motivates them. The method of letting the voluntourists draw a timeline of their previous volunteer experiences, provided me with the best lens to understand and interpret these motivations. Thorough semi-structured interviews enabled me to get a more profound understanding of how life-values impact the voluntourists' choice of volunteer experiences. It is through the merging of the theories of voluntourism and serious leisure (Stebbins 1996) that this Master thesis sets out to provide a greater understanding of serious leisure voluntourism in CYC, and with the introduction of the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder, how voluntourists is believed to develop throughout the entire timespan of their voluntourism career.

1.1 State of art

Self-interestedness, self-identity and self-actualization are the main characteristics of Anthony Giddens' notion of life politics (1991). The notion of life politics is according to Giddens' replacing the traditional politics, the politics of emancipation. Instead of politics being about Left and Right and organizational belonging, he emphasizes instead the politics of self-actualization, which entails how individuals can reposition themselves culturally (Giddens in Hier 2005; Butcher & Smith 2015). Giddens believed that there was a clear division between the two politics, emancipatory politics and life politics; emancipatory politics had its origin in the traditional society, which now was replaced by a post-traditional society, a society where life politics had come to life (Giddens in Hier 2005; Sörbom & Wennerhag 2011).

Voluntourism is an act combining traveling with volunteer work, and is considered beneficial for both the volunteers and the host-communities (Hall & Raymond 2008; Wearing & McGehee 2013). Voluntourists and global citizens are often closely linked, due to the emphasis on how a global citizenship is enabling people to develop competencies to make the world a more sustainable place (Oxfam in Butcher & Smith 2015). Both the act of voluntourism and the act of global citizenship are individual life political choices, which provides people with improved global awareness and intercultural understanding (Butcher & Smith 2015). Voluntourism is considered to be multi-

motivational; one as a tourist can be motivated by both academic and personal reasons (Clary & Snyder 1999). This multi-motivational notion also makes room for critics to present their much debated altruism-egoism dichotomy, which according to those critics means that pure altruistic behaviour does not exist (Clary & Snyder 1999; Stebbins 1996b).

Stebbins (1996b) is also addressing the altruism-egoism dichotomy when introducing the term serious leisure, a freely chosen activity where amateurs, hobbyists and volunteers are providing themselves with satisfaction, excitement, external and personal rewards, in order to develop skills and knowledge (Stebbins 1996a; Stebbins 1996b; Stebbins 2001; Falk et al. 2012; Parr & Lashua 2004). Through serious leisure activities, the practitioners have the possibility to form and shape their identity (Stebbins 2001). Various academics has suggested that voluntourism can be described and defined as serious leisure (Stebbins 1996; Butcher & Smith 2010; Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003), due to the fact that they are sharing many of the same characteristics such as being multi-motivational with a focus on self-interestedness (Stebbins 1996b).

The question of motivation has always been raised within the field of travelling, volunteering and serious leisure, hence Pearce developed the Travel Career Ladder Framework (the TCL), a framework with the purpose of describing travel motivations (Pearce 1988). The TCL has the same buildup as Maslow's hierarchy of needs with five different levels shaped as a pyramid, each level representing different sets of motivations in relation to different tourist career levels. Each level is divided into self-directed and other-directed motivation (Pearce 1988; Pearce & Lee 2005). Through the framework, Pearce (1988) is demonstrating how an individual's motivations can develop over time (Ryan 1998). The highest level (Shaw & Williams 2004; Pearce & Lee 2005; Ryan 1998) is considered only to be self-directed and this is where one has dreams fulfilled, understand oneself better and experiences inner peace and harmony, this is the level of self-actualization.

1.2 Research aims

The following will describe the research aims of this Master thesis:

- To explore the role of life politics in voluntourism,
- To critically assess whether theories of serious leisure and the Travel Career Ladder are useful in understanding voluntourism,
- To examine and assess voluntourism in the Palestinian NGO CYC, in Shatila refugee camp, Beirut, Lebanon, through the application of life politics, serious leisure and the TCL.

1.3 Research question

Is volunteering in complex, politically volatile destinations part of a deeper expression of one's interests and life values, or is it simply voluntourism?

1.4 Previous experiences, research and fieldwork

The foundation and point of departure to this research is to be found in my previous experiences and my fieldwork in Shatila. As touched upon in the preface section, my endless love and support for the refugees in Shatila was my primary motivation to commence the adventure of this research. The importance of previous experiences, research and fieldwork is believed to have a predominant influence, and therefore the following sections will describe the different fieldwork experiences prior to the research more thoroughly, in order to give the reader a better idea of what kind of knowledge this research is building upon.

1.4.1 Fieldwork in CYC Shatila, April 2014

My first encounter with both Lebanon, Beirut, Shatila, CYC and the overwhelming large numbers of refugees was in April 2014. The purpose of the fieldwork was to collect data for an AAU student project about motivations of volunteers (Jensen & Langevang 2014). I was travelling with a classmate who had been in Beirut once before, but despite that, I knew very little about Lebanon, Palestinians and the Middle East in general. Therefore, prior to departure, I read a lot about Lebanon's history, Palestinian refugees and the different refugee camps in Lebanon. Despite the fact that I researched the political history, I tried my best to avoid involving myself politically to

avoid emotional bias. I have never been politically interested, except during elections in Denmark, and I think that my lack of political knowledge in general made me try harder to escape it. I was convinced that I could easily engage with the Palestinian cause without really committing to the cause per se. I believed that by neither committing to the cause, nor was I obliged to make up my mind about the Palestinian-Israeli crisis.

During the one month of fieldwork, we lived outside of Shatila in a hostel and worked about 3 days a week volunteering in CYC. This entailed a month full of extreme contrasts, which we often found difficult to deal with and at times impossible to express. We spend hours talking about our experiences and sharing our different perceptions; attempting to make sense of it all. All of this we wrote in a blog, which we named Beirutee Voluntourism, not just for others to read, but also in order for ourselves to be able to remember (Beirutee Voluntourism 2014). Our pre-understandings, bias and prejudice were luckily challenged throughout the fieldwork, and despite the fact that one month of fieldwork does not seem as very much, it was enough for two Danish University students to change, not only their perceptions of the world, but also the importance of empirical research. *“No, again we had misinterpreted the situation and learned the importance of empirical research. You will assume much from a far, you will learn little from a distance, you will comprehend almost it all from up close although time, in this case a month, will be our friend. Every day, we learn more and every day we comprehend just a little more of the complexity that is the strong Palestinian ideology, fierce mentality and positive way of life”* (Beirutee Voluntourism 2014).

1.4.2 Internship in CYC Shatila, September – December 2014

After one month of fieldwork, I knew that something had changed. I have always made fun of people stating something like this, but truth be told, I was unconsciously committed to the Palestinian cause. What I initially thought was something avoidable, was now a big part of my life. I found myself reading large quantities of books concerning the Palestinian-Israeli crisis, I found it difficult not to engage in long discussions about the cause, and I even found myself participating in pro-Palestinian demonstrations. I decided to do a three months internship in CYC, and decided that this time I would do it alone. Despite my genuine interest in the refugees, I must admit that I was also motivated by the thought of adventures and the ability to leave my life behind in Denmark for a while. I decided

to live six weeks outside of camp and six weeks in Shatila in a guesthouse owned by CYC. During the 3 months, I would also collect data for an AAU student project about the meaning and practicalities of voluntourism in CYC (Langevang 2015).

When I arrived in Beirut, I thought that I already knew it all. I thought that I had experienced so much already, and therefore this trip would be 3 months of fun and research. I was wrong. I found myself living a life in a world I desperately tried to understand, but due to my particular cultural lens, it seemed impossible. I volunteered 6 days a week in CYC and the rest of the time, I tried to survive, fit in, observe and learn as much as possible. I carried a notebook with me at all times, even when I was out with friends, because if someone told me something I did not know, I had to write it down in order to research it more thoroughly later on. I also wrote about my experiences and thoughts in a blog, Beirut Voluntourism Vol. 2 (Beirut Voluntourism Vol. 2 2014).

Prior to departure from Denmark, I had considered my actual motivations. Was I being altruistic, or maybe egoistic? Was I being altruistic-egoistic? In November, a couple of weeks before my 3 months stay came to an end, I realized what my motivations in fact were: *"(...) I know why I am sad; I am sad because I am selfish. I have enjoyed the time with these people, I have loved their admiration, I have loved when they high-fived me on the streets, I have loved when they told me how much they loved me, I loved it when they refused to continue the classes without me as their "teacher"; I have just loved that I was something to someone in this, at times, scary refugee camp. I am motivated by a mixture of altruism and egoism; the egoism made it almost impossible for me to let them go, the altruism forced me to let them go today"* (Beirut Voluntourism Vol. 2 2014).

1.4.3 Fieldwork in CYC Shatila, March – April 2015

This month of fieldwork was planned in order for me to collect data for my last AAU student project before I had to commence upon the work with this Master thesis. I wanted to look further into how different stakeholders perceived empowerment in CYC (Langevang 2015). This time everything felt different. I had come to terms with why I was motivated and why I kept on volunteering, and this made me look at many of the challenges connected with volunteering from a different angle. It felt like I had somehow accepted my role in CYC and in Shatila. I would never be one of them, they would

never truly understand my background, but through my experiences, I had learned that my work as a volunteer was not to develop or change the refugees. My job was to be there, be present and try to understand. I had to be open-minded at all times, but also remember never to get my personal boundaries violated. I had learned that if voluntourism had to bring out all the good qualities from cultural encounters, both parties had to be ready. I decided to live in the CYC guesthouse again, because after all this is where my home is in Beirut.

It was during this month of fieldwork that I started wondering about potential ideas for my Master thesis, and despite having many different ideas, all of them were revolving around the same theme: I wanted to look into the motivations of volunteers, but not in the same sense as I had previously done. I had already researched motivational factors (Jensen & Langevang 2014), and the perspectives of stakeholders and reviewed ways of fulfilling the motivational factors and expectations of volunteers (Langevang 2015). This time I wanted to know about other volunteers, and investigate whether they too, had developed through their journeys as volunteers. Thus, my researched is to investigate if *“volunteering in complex, politically volatile destinations is part of a deeper expressions of one’s interests and life values, or is it simply voluntourism?”* (section 1.3).

1.4.4 Fieldwork in CYC Shatila, October 2015

Despite the fact that the contemporary data collection for this Master thesis did not depend on participant observations, I decided to do fieldwork for 3 weeks. The initial plan was to spend time with friends and colleagues in Shatila, whilst observing daily life hoping to meet new and contemporary volunteers, and hopefully gain new insights in order to challenge my ideas about the Master thesis and the research question(s) I had in mind. I decided to live outside of camp this time, because despite the fact that I always felt welcome and as if the guesthouse was my home, I had been warned prior to departure that the violence inside camp had increased due to an escalated political situation in Lebanon and particular Beirut and the Shatila area, and several people had been brutally murdered in camp.

There were no contemporary volunteers in CYC and despite being reunited with friends and colleagues was amazing, life had changed immensely in camp. Many of the more resourceful

refugees had fled the camp in the hope of a better future in Europe or the United Arab Emirates. Poor and traumatized Syrian refugees, Lebanese criminals, and drug dealers had occupied the empty small, dark and humid apartments. I was used to being accepted in the camp. I had been used to most people hardly noticing my presence, others normally high fived me or called my name to greet me. Now, some people scowled at me, groups of young men tried to, and sometimes even successfully groped me. In several incidents I was threatened with guns. This was not the Shatila I knew and loved, and even though I still liked the aspect of traveling and the adventures I had memories of from this place, I was much more motivated by learning and understanding. I quickly realized that I was not able to be open for cultural encounters and sharing of knowledge when I was scared and frustrated. I was not able to smile as much as usual, and I did not have the surplus of mental resources to be open-minded. I knew from previous experience that angry and frustrated volunteers could ruin the established trust quickly, and therefore, I made the difficult decision to leave earlier than anticipated. I was lucky enough to meet one volunteer, whom I got to observe while he drew his timeline that became part of my data collection and which will be described further below, and later on I interviewed him via Skype.

2. Methodology

In order to give the reader an understanding of how the findings of this particular research are interpreted and how the social world has influenced both me as a researcher but also the objects of research, the theoretical paradigm, Social Constructionism, will be introduced. The intersubjective relationship between the researcher and the researched is presented as well as the inductive nature of this research, which is visualized in figure 1. The use of descriptive and explanatory research approaches will also be accounted for. Furthermore, an introduction to how the empirical data was generated, and finally, an overview of fieldwork methods will be provided.

2.1 Ontological considerations

“Social ontology is concerned with the nature of social entities” (Bryman 2012:32). To simplify ontology even more, it can be described as being concerned with how the world is actually perceived (Jennings 2010:40). Which ontological position, one is utilizing it can often be resolved by answering the following: *“(...) whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions build up from the perceptions and actions of social actors”* (Bryman 2012:32). Social constructionism considers that the world is not only constituted by one single entity, on the contrary, it considers that the world consists of multiple realities and that there are many different ways to access these (Gray 2014:19; Jennings 2010:40; Bryman 2012:32), thus the ontological position undertaken here is considered constructionism. Applying constructionism implies that this research is not to be considered representative to the wider population, nor can it be used as a generalization (Langevang 2014:10). Constructionism rejects the stance of objectivism and positivism that propose *“(...) that reality exists external to the researcher (...)”* (Gray 2014:20), hence, this reality can only be investigated through *“(...) the rigorous process of scientific inquiry”* (ibid.). On the contrary, constructionism believes that meaning and knowledge is constructed through *“(...) the subject’s interactions with the world”* (Gray 2014:20).

The notion above leads to the epistemological considerations of this research. Gray (2014) describes epistemology as *“a branch of philosophy that considers the criteria for determining what constitutes and what does not constitute valid knowledge”* (Gray 2014:682). Due to the limitations of this

research, it is not possible to get into a profound philosophical discussion, hence in order to simplify the description of epistemology, one can utilize the description offered by Jennings, which is *“the relationship between the researcher and the participants or objects of research”* (Jennings 2010:40). As a researcher I entered *“(…) the social settings and became one of the social actors acting in the social settings”* (Jennings 2010:40). Hence, this research is by no means to be considered objective. Therefore, the nature of this research is subjective, and the relationship between me and the objects under research and the interviewees is considered to be intersubjective (Jennings 2010:41).

This Master thesis was founded through my interaction with other volunteers during my previous fieldwork in Shatila (section 1.4; section 2.3.1.1), where I explored how other volunteers construct and give meaning to the issues and challenges they are facing when volunteering in CYC. Ultimately, as the researcher, I am constructing a broader understanding of their perspectives. As an insider I selected the potential interviewees, with whom I have met personally at least a couple of times, and they were selected based on a number of criteria (section 2.3.4). I had to make sure that they too could be considered insiders; that they were able to provide me with a picture of the insider's life as volunteers in Shatila. When utilizing such a subjective selection and screening of interviewees, it is again important to keep in mind, as aforementioned that the final results are not to be considered representative to the wider population, nor to be used as a generalization (Langevang 2014:10). This is, by quantitative advocates, considered a great weakness, who question the validity of the knowledge when holding such an openly subjective stance. What quantitative critics find the biggest weakness is by advocates of social constructionism, believed to be one of the greatest strengths (Jennings 2010:42-43). The most effective way to provide the broadest understandings of the researched, is in fact to become the insider, hence allowing multiple realities to be identified (Jennings 2010:126; Langevang 2014:10-11).

As previous mentioned, social constructionism is inductive by nature (Jennings 2010:40-41). This particular piece of research as well, is taking an inductive stance as opposed to deductive research, which is concerned more with hypothesis testing, hence having the purpose of either falsifying or corroborating a particular theory (Gray 2014:17-18). This inductive research had its point of departure in a couple of assumptions, which had been developed primarily through previous

fieldwork as well as drawing from literature (Jennings 2010:21-22; section 1.4; figure 1). Instead of focusing on a particular theory from the beginning, the data collection had the purpose of allowing the data to speak for itself; I wanted to present “(...) *a slice of life from those participants being studied*” (Jennings 2010:22), and through that slice of life I wanted to understand. The analysis and interpretation of the data consisted of a thorough and very critical look into Giddens’ notion of life politics (Giddens 1991; Giddens in Hier 2005; Butcher & Smith 2015), voluntourism (Hall & Raymond 2008; Wearing & McGehee 2013; Butcher & Smith 2015) the Serious Leisure Perspective (Stebbins 1996a; Stebbins 1996b; Stebbins 2001) and the Travel Career Ladder (Pearce 1988; Shaw & Williams 2004; Pearce & Lee 2005; Ryan 1998), which are explained in Chapter 3. The last part of the inductive research process consisted of both reconstruction and reinterpretation of the theory, but also to a certain degree a verification of some of the theoretical considerations (Jennings 2010:21; Gray 2014:17-18; figure 1). To visualize the process of inductive research figure 1 is included to clarify this to the reader.

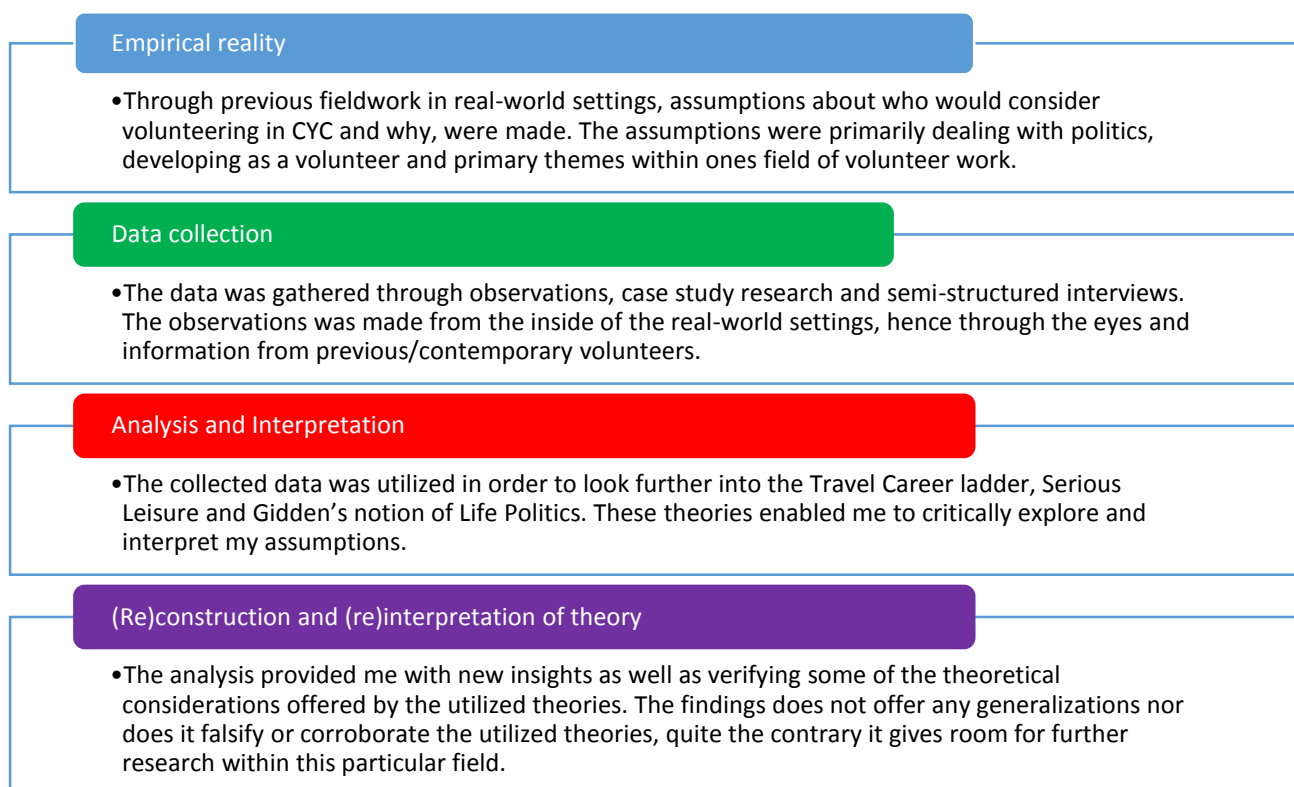


Figure 1: The inductive research process of this master thesis. Developed by the author with inspiration from Jennings 2010:21-22; Bryman 2012:24-26; Gray 2014:17-19.

In research, the researcher has to start somewhere, but that is never a blank starting point on a white canvas. The canvas is already occupied by previous experiences and assumptions. Even though, the stance of this research is inductive, I have considered existing theories beforehand, which could be utilized yet none were picked for sure (Gray 2014:18). Initially, as my thoughts and ideas were taking form of implicit assumptions, I had various theories, theoretical considerations and notions in mind. These assumptions and implicit biases were uncovered through the process of collecting the timelines and through many informal conversations with the interviewees and meetings with my supervisor. Gray describes this by stating that *“the very fact that an issue has been selected for research implies judgement about what is an important subject for research, and these choices are dependent on values and concepts”* (2014:18). Despite acknowledging my inductive research process was not at all free from considerations about existing theories and notions, the research is still inductive by nature, due to the fact that the conclusion will not falsify or corroborate the theories (Gray 2014:18).

2.1.1 Research approach

The theoretical paradigm applied to this particular piece of research is social constructionism, also known as the interpretive social science paradigm or just as interpretivism (henceforth referred to as social constructionism). Social constructionism is fundamentally inductive (section 2.1), and acknowledges the fact that different social realities require different methods, hence, it allowed me to utilize multiple methods through my fieldwork research and interviews (Jennings 2010:40-41; Gray 2014:23). Social constructionism is less so about trying to explain human behavior using casual relationships and more so about trying to understand it (Bryman 2012:30). In order to clarify this, explaining is more about trying to uncover cause and consequence, whereas understanding is concerned with why things are as they are. Social constructionism is fundamentally subjective, hence the relationship between the researcher and the researcher is considered to be of intersubjective character (Jennings 2010:40-41; section 2.1).

In order to be able look further into the research aims described in section 1.2, a mixture of descriptive and explanatory research was conducted. Through descriptive research, I was provided

with *“a picture of a phenomena as it naturally occurs”* (Gray 2014:36). Descriptive research was applied primarily in the initial beginning of the research process and throughout previous fieldwork experiences. I was interested in knowing segment considered volunteering in a place such as a refugee camp, and came to the conclusion that the only method to draw a picture of this group of volunteers, I had to be part of the natural setting in order to observe and identify the volunteers (Gray 2014:36; Jennings 2010:18). One weaknesses, which critics would point out, is the fact that descriptive research does not offer answers to the question of “why” the “who” are doing what they are doing (Gray 2014:36). In this particular case, the “why” is concerned with why the volunteers actually choose to volunteer in CYC. Due to this weakness, and also in order to be able to critically explore the research aims, I added the element of conducting explanatory research. Explanatory research explained and accounted for the already conducted descriptive research, enabling me to answer the “why” and “how” questions, which were neglected through descriptive research (Gray 2014:369). By utilizing both descriptive and explanatory research, I was able to both identify the volunteers, the “who”, who choose to volunteer in CYC, and subsequently, critically identify an understanding of “why” and “how” these volunteers in fact chose to volunteer in CYC (Gray 2014:36-37; Jennings 2010:18-19).

2.2 Generating empirical data

When generating empirical data the choice of methodology is of great importance. As stated in section 2.1 and 2.1.1 the methodologies chosen to this specific piece of research are all within social constructionism’s view of the world. An introduction to the qualitative approach, the theoretical position, ethnography and heuristic research, and case study will be provided.

2.2.1 Qualitative approach

To be able to carry out this particular piece of research a qualitative approach was utilized. In section 2.1 and 2.1.1, the choice of the theoretical paradigm social constructionism, ontological considerations and research approach were introduced. The main characteristics from the two sections, all fitting very well to the qualitative methodology approach. Firstly, the theoretical paradigm is inductive by nature. Secondly, the world is considered to consist of multiple realities

and perspectives, and thirdly, the relationship between the researcher and the researched is considered intersubjective (section 2.1; section 2.1.1).

Qualitative research is data collected in real-life settings, “(...) hence, it goes beyond giving a mere snapshot or cross-section of events and can show how and why things happen – also incorporating people’s own motivation, emotions, prejudices and incidents of interpersonal cooperation and conflict (Gray 2014:161). As opposed to quantitative research which is primarily “based on splitting social reality in units and variables” (Vershuren 2003:125; Langevang 2014:11), the qualitative approach is, as touched upon in section 2.1, providing a slice of life. As elucidated earlier., this ontological stance implies that this research is not to be considered representative or generalizable (section 2.1; Langevang 2014:10). The qualitative approach acknowledges that there can be more than one truth, hence being “(...) open to multiple interpretations” (Gray 2014:162). This allows me as a researcher not only to let the voice of my interviewees to form the basis of the interpretations, but also to include my own reflections, observations and feelings as part of the final data to be interpreted (Gray 2014:162). Furthermore, the qualitative approach is much more concerned with generating theory rather than testing it, all fitting very well to the research aims and research question, which are primarily concerned with developing and understanding, and not testing (Bryman 2012:36; section 1.2; section 1.3).

2.2.2 Ethnography and Heuristic research

Through my previous fieldwork experiences, I had a set of considerations and interests, which I wanted to understand more profoundly. I aimed to understand why people wanted to volunteer in Shatila (section 2.1.1), hence set out to investigate the social realities constructed by the volunteers and to be able to understand this, I had to get to know more about the volunteers in CYC and their experiences within their social realities (Gray 2014:24), and ethnography enabled me to do this. In this particular piece of research, the social reality under study is the community of volunteers in CYC. The volunteers might not have been volunteering at the same time, but it can be argued that they inevitably share a common social reality whilst volunteering in CYC.

“Ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture” (Jennings 2010:168), and by utilizing observations and interviews, in this particular data-collection I as a researcher was embedded in the settings of what I was researching, thus becoming a participant myself. Ethnography falls within the qualitative methodology framework, and is guided by several principles, and instead of exhaustively listing them all, I will account for which principles were the reason for applying ethnography to this particular piece of research. First, I wish to explore lived experiences of serious leisure voluntourists in order to be able to explore the broader meta-sociological influences on what motivates them, hence, the objective of this research is *“a focus on understanding and interpretation”* (Jennings 2010:168). Second, the research was primarily undertaken in natural settings where I observed the volunteers within the social context of their daily challenges and volunteer work in CYC (ibid.). I utilized multiple methods; participant observation, drawing of timelines and semi-structured interviews in order to identify the multiple realities and perspectives (Jennings 2010:168; section 2.3.2; section 2.3.3; section 2.3.5).

In addition to the ethnographic research, heuristic research was also applied. Heuristic research is just as ethnography within the qualitative methodology framework, and it *“legitimizes and places at the fore personal experiences, reflections, and insight of the researcher”* (Jennings 2010:167). Oxford Dictionaries defines heuristic as *“enabling a person to discover or learn something for themselves – a hands-on or interactive heuristic approach to learning”* (Oxford Dictionaries, heuristic n.p., n.d.). In this particular piece of research my previous experiences, research and fieldwork is considered a heuristic lens to understanding others experiences.

As mentioned in section 1.4, this research is founded in my previous fieldwork in Shatila, where my interactions with other volunteers and my own personal experience were the core of my interest into this particular field of research. My very first encounters, as a volunteer in Shatila were both exciting, but also problematic and indeed challenging. Through all of my work in the field I experienced things I thought were so crazy, I found it difficult to talk about, and I developed both as a person and academically. In the beginning, I thought it was possible to volunteer without even considering politics, but I quickly realized that I was unable to work in in a Palestinian refugee camp without committing myself to the political issues associated with Palestinians , and concluded that

it was impossible for me to stay unbiased about the Palestinian-Israeli crisis. Could I as a volunteer be volunteering without dealing with the politics? The heuristic position allowed me to utilize my *“(...) personal experiences, reflections, and insights”* (Jennings 2010:167) to investigate this. Through self-directed search and active experience I got the chance *“(...) to get inside the question by becoming one with it”* (Gray 2014:33). The heuristic approach is subjective of nature, and only concerned with this particular case study, hence it does not pretend to provide a widely generalized picture of voluntourists (ibid.; Langevang 2014).

As with the qualitative research approach in general, and heuristic and ethnography, critics are arguing that the lack of generalizability makes these theoretical positions weak, and that researchers undertaking these particular theoretical positions are too concerned with small research areas (Gray 2014:30). By supporters of heuristics and ethnography believe this to be the core strength since the purpose of this research is not to generalize but to shed light on complex social phenomena. Throughout this research thick descriptions *“(...) of people’s experiences and perspectives (...)”* (ibid.) will be provided in order to provide med with an understanding of the complexity of voluntourism in a complex political destination such as Shatila.

2.2.3 Case study research

One of the strategies of inquiry applied was case study research. Case study research *“(...) is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context”* (Jennings 2010:185). This empirical inquiry *“(...) is strongly associated with qualitative research (indeed, the two are sometimes used synonymously) (...)”* (Gray 2014:163). The reason why qualitative research and case study research are so closely linked is that they both allow for the generation of multiple realities and perspectives (ibid.). As mentioned in section 2.2.1, this characteristic is allowing multiple interpretations, hence both the voice of the interviewees and my voice as a researcher are included as part of the data, hence this can help to *“(...) build up rich and detailed understanding of a context”* (Gray 2014:163).

The chosen case study is the small Palestinian NGO CYC in the refugee camp Shatila in Beirut, Lebanon. A more thorough description of the previous fieldwork research was offered in section

1.4, and a description of both the refugee camp and CYC will be offered in the empirical data collection in chapter 4, respectively in section 4.1 and 4.2.

Critics argue that case study research is too subjective and since the findings only specifically correspond to the case study itself, *“findings are not able to be generalized to other cases”* (Jennings 2010:187). The nature of this research is considered subjective and the findings only specific to this specific case study, which is believed to be the core strength, given that the purpose of this research was not to test the theories (section 2.1; Gray 2014:18). Hence, it is not expected that this case study research on voluntourists in CYC will create a new theory yet does add new research to an existing field and in that sense might aid that process. On the contrary, this research has the possibility to create a better understanding and build upon incrementally existing theories by adding depth, color, alternative meaning and nuanced understandings. The theories brought together and build upon is Giddens’ notion of Life Politics (1991), Stebbins’ Serious Leisure perspective (1996) and Pearce’s Travel Career Ladder (1988).

2.3 Fieldwork methods

In the process of collecting inspiration and data for this particular piece of research, different fieldwork methods were utilized in order to challenge and answer the research aims and the research question. Firstly, I will introduce the different parts and stages in the data collection process. Secondly, I will account for the use of participant observations in previous conducted research, which is considered the foundation of the formulation of the research question. Thirdly, I will introduce the interview design, a design that developed throughout the process and constantly challenged my thoughts and ideas.

2.3.1 Introducing the data collection

The data collection consists of two stages, which are designed to elicit depths of meaning; the first part is the interviewees drawing a timeline and the second part, which has its point of departure in the timelines, an interview with the interviewees. In order for the reader to obtain the optimal understanding of the different stages, and how the research progressed during these, the following

will provide a clear overview of the stages, including some insights on the process of selecting the interviewees.

2.3.1.1 Stage 1: Selecting the interviewees

This stage of the commutative series of experiences was conducted in Lebanon and Sweden during a time span of 1.5 years. During my previous visits in Lebanon in April 2014, September-December 2014 and March 2015 I had formed acquaintances with fellow volunteers in CYC, Shatila. All of the chosen interviewees were either previous, contemporary or future volunteers in CYC. I also went to Lebanon in October 2015, in the hope of finding contemporary volunteers in CYC. My fieldwork was initially planned to last for three weeks in October 2015 (section 1.4.4), but unfortunately, due to the worsening of the refugee crisis in Lebanon and the lack of security, I had to leave due to personal safety concerns. The situation had become more violent, and after only one week of fieldwork I felt compelled to return to Denmark. This posed an unexpected limitation, thus I adapted my research plan due to these unanticipated changes. Despite the shortened time in Lebanon, I succeeded in meeting one volunteer who was planning to volunteer in CYC. Therefore, since the interviews were not to be conducted until mid-November, he was a perfect candidate to be part of the research as a contemporary volunteer.

Through my previous volunteer work in CYC, I was also introduced to an annual peace run in Sweden called “Fredsloppet”. In September 2015, I went to Gothenberg to participate in the run, but also because of the chance of meeting up with the CEO from CYC and two former colleagues. During four days in Sweden, I also participated in different solidarity meetings, all of them hosted by the Swedish foundation of CYC. During these meetings, I met many previous volunteers from CYC, hence all being potential interviewees. It was through this process of engagements that I started to construct my pool of potential respondents, and in section 2.3.4, the selection criteria of the interviewees will be introduced. A general profile of the interviewees will be provided in section 4.4.

2.3.1.2 Stage 2: Introduction of the timelines to potential interviewees

A total of 15 potential interviewees received an email introduction to the research, including a request to make a timeline (Appendix 10.2). Two of these I introduced face to face during a meeting

in Sweden in September and another during my stay in Shatila in October (Appendix 10.1). The remaining 12 potential interviewees received the introduction via email. A total number of five of the potential interviewees either did not reply or declined to participate. All remaining 10 interviewees who all wanted to participate in both the making of the timelines and the interview, received the same introduction (Appendix 10.1; Appendix 10.2). Taking a grounded research approach, hence not wanting to influence the respondents, none of the interviewees received any information about the research question or which theories I wanted to utilize for my research. This decision was made due to the following three considerations; Firstly, the fact that some interviewees potentially would be either negatively or positively minded towards the theories and therefore answering my questions would show their bias. Secondly, many voluntourists who have volunteered in places similar to CYC, are passionate and emotionally attached to their volunteer work and some are politically active. This further, has the potential for the participants to answer questions in what they consider most flattering for supporting the current political notions of Palestinians and/or for CYC. Lastly, I did not want to alienate the respondents by making them more self-conscious than necessary of the fact that their words, experiences and narratives would be analyzed in a certain manner. Additionally, if participants were too emerged in the chosen theoretical framework some might answer using academic terms to fit into my research aims, which would negate the ground up approach sought to extract meaning from the data.

2.3.1.3 Stage 3: Conducting the interviews

All of the participants who had made a timeline were interested in a full interview. The 10 interviews were conducted in November 2015 during a time span of 16 days, seven of which were on Skype, three face-to-face of which two were conducted in Copenhagen and one in Malmö. The choice of method in relation to conducting the interviews will be further examined in section 2.3.5. When commencing on the interviews every participant was given the same introduction (Appendix 10.5).

2.3.2 Participant observations

Even though participant observation was not applied for this research per se, it was utilized as a heuristic tool in the process of formulating the research question. Three former AAU student projects have been written using CYC as a case study (Jensen & Langevang 2014; Langevang 2014;

Langevang 2015) in which participant observations were the primary source for the data collecting. During these observations, it became clear that Giddens' notion of life politics (section 3.1) was of great relevance, and I believed that this could benefit from some more thorough field research. By utilizing participant observations, I had the ability to see through the eyes of both the volunteers and members of the host-communities, which were my subjects of study (Bryman 2012:399). Not only did I take into account the events and life worlds through the eyes of my subjects, the research question was influenced by my own personal experience and problems met whilst volunteering. Hence, I employed the process of heuristic inquiry (section 2.2.2; Gray 2014: 33; Jennings 2010:167).

Participant observations enabled me to provide information first-hand, giving me the opportunity to *"(...) seek to understand a phenomenon from an insider's perspective rather than from an outsider's perspective"* (Jennings 2010:41). Due to my previous visits in CYC, and the fact that I had already met most of the interviewees during my work as a volunteer, I had already established trustful relationships (Jennings 2010:179-180). The relationships were primarily based on trust because of my own role as a volunteer, and the fact that I had both worked and lived with some of the interviewees during my visits.

2.3.3 Timelines

As mentioned in section 2.3.1.2, I asked the potential interviewees to draw a timeline of their volunteer experiences. They chose what year to start and end it and what activities to include. This provided me with a varied data set. All of the timelines are presented in Appendix 10.4. The idea of the timelines developed through many conversations with volunteers, both throughout my different visits in Shatila when collecting data, but also through my own personal volunteer work here in Denmark. Through the many conversations with research subjects, volunteer colleagues and friends, I had experienced that many, even myself included, found it difficult to remember all of their volunteering and quite a lot of people were not even sure how much of their volunteer work they considered "proper" volunteer work. What qualifies as a hobby, just something you do simply because you either want to or feel obliged to do? I was as unsure about my own volunteer experiences as the volunteers I had engaged with, which led me to draw my own timeline. I admit that it proved to be a task requiring many drafts, and I discarded a handful of unfinished timelines,

but the process of drawing the timeline made me remember many volunteer experiences I would otherwise have forgotten, and looking at the final result, provided me with a sense of pride – the final timeline will be presented below. This experience let me to believe that the process of drawing makes one visualize one's entire volunteer experiences with new eyes, and that it would be of great interest to see how other volunteers would give meaning to and construct their timeline. Furthermore, it proved to be a useful tool for easily visualizing potential themes and development within the interviewee's timelines. The timelines hence, enabled me an overview of the interviewee's experiences pre-interview.

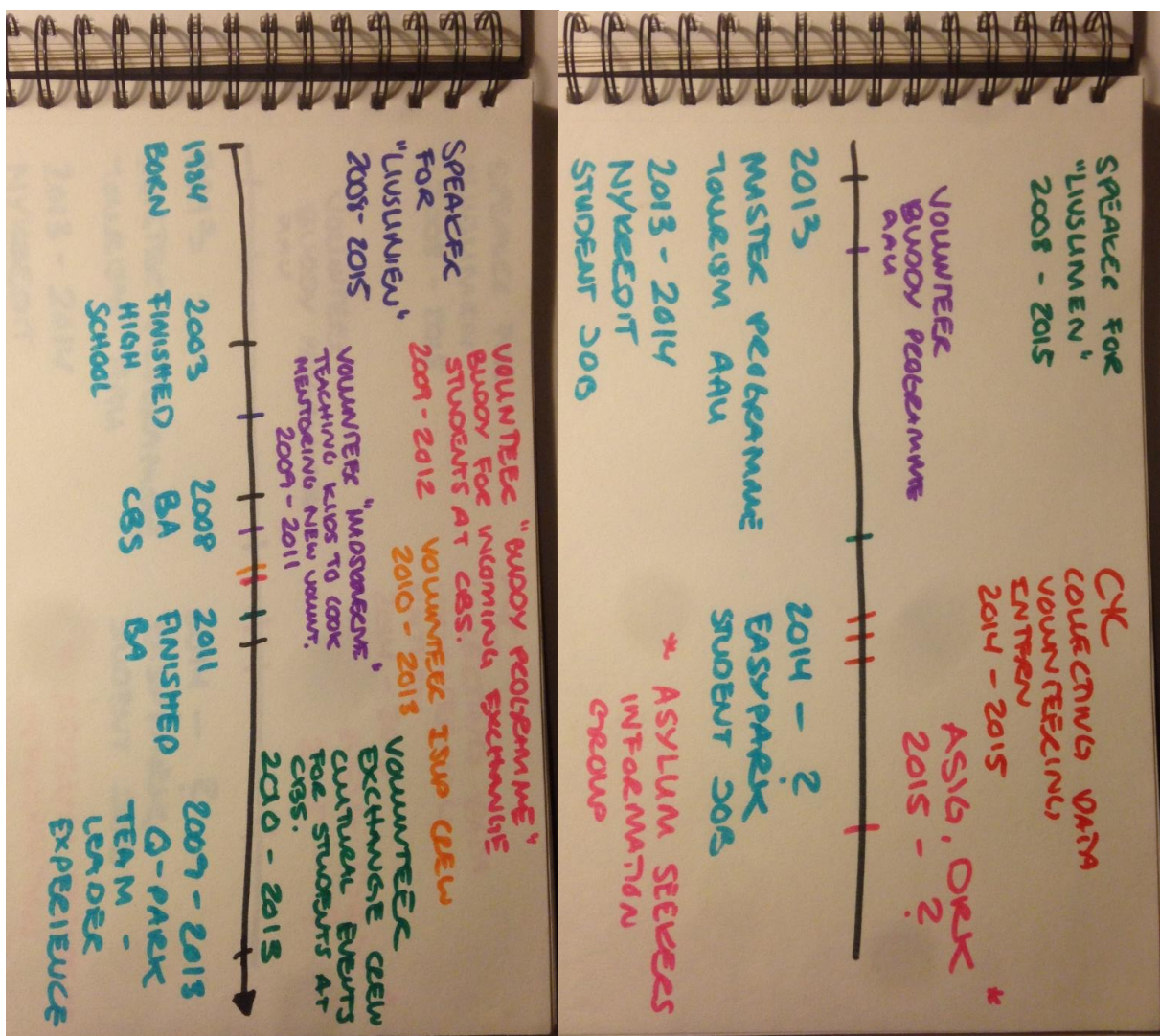


Figure 2: The author, Freja Amanda Langevang's final timeline, 2015.

2.3.4 Selection criteria of interviewees

In section 2.1, I introduced the intersubjective relationship between the interviewees and me. As mentioned, all of the selected interviewees were people whom I had met before, hence, I had a general idea of why these people were volunteering in CYC. This idea made it easy for me to quickly decide whether they could be interviewees for this particular research or not. This might echo rather hyper-subjective, but as mentioned in section 2.1, to become the insider, is an efficient way to provide the best lens through which to understand the researched.

The fact that the interviewees were all people whom I had already met and established some sort of relation to, implied that trust had already been established between me as a researcher and them as the subjects under research (section 2.3.2). Hence, provided a vital access to their knowledge as there were less boundaries between us, which inevitably would have been there had we been strangers to each other. I did not feel that I had to persuade anyone to participate, and many of the participants were very happy to help with both the drawing of the timelines and the interviews. I believe that the degree of trust was of great importance, and that this research would not have come to life without this.

The potential interviewees whom I selected were selected due to the following three criteria:

1. They should be either previous or contemporary volunteers in CYC, Shatila,
2. Their volunteer experience in CYC was not to be part of a study program, e.g. an internship, which meant no obligation was attached to the voluntourism experience,
3. The volunteers were to be neither Lebanese nor Palestinians living in Lebanon.

It should also be noted that, I did not provide a definition of what was considered to be volunteering, hence, allowing the term to be subjectively defined by the interviewees. To elaborate on the second criteria, despite allowing this subjective definition, I had, through previous projects and through the study of voluntourism as serious leisure, “decided” that even though the concept of volunteering is aligned with serious leisure, voluntourism should not be confused with work. Voluntourism always needs to be a freely chosen activity (section 3.2.; section 3.2.1; section 3,3; Stebbins 2001:55;

Stebbins 1996:212), and it can create some kind of confusion whether one can be considered to be volunteering if it is part of a curriculum or a work requirement. Further, despite not having any proper research to support this following assumption, it can be argued that Lebanese and Palestinian volunteers are volunteering due to a number of other motivations yet this does not fall within the scope of this Master thesis. This assumption could be of very great interest to research further, but due to the limitations of this research, it could not be further explored.

2.3.5 Interview design

The interview design was guided by the timelines, all collected prior to the interviews (section 2.3.1.2; section 2.3.3). All of the 10 timelines were collected and studied before I commenced the interviews. This allowed me to reflect and semi-structure the format of the themes to be discussed and questions to be asked. As mentioned in section 2.3.1.3 all of the 10 interviews were conducted during a time span of 16 days. The choice of whether to conduct the interviews face to face or via Skype was based on what was actually possible. The interviewees who were interviewed via Skype were staying in Sweden, Iraq, England, Switzerland, Jutland and Lebanon during the interviews, and despite how eager I was to conduct all interviews face-to-face, it was simply impossible due to the wide geographical dispersed group of interviewees. Why interviewing face-to-face can be considered preferable is solely due to feeling more confident and relaxed with this method. Despite the fact that I have met the interviewees several times, and even Skyped with them before, I personally find Skype a little bit formal, and I wanted both the interviewees and myself to feel as relaxed and confident comfortable during the interviews as possible. All of the interviews were recorded with the knowledge and acceptance from the interviewees. They were also informed that they could withdraw from the project at any time and that all of the personal details would be kept confidential (Appendix 10.5).

Utilizing semi-structured interviews, I developed a list of themes in order to answer the research aims and the research question (section 1.2; section 1.3). This list of themes enabled me to create a context for the interviews and also made me more relaxed when conducting the interviews, since I did not have to fear forgetting any important questions (Jennings 2010:174). These five themes were the following:

1. Demographic information.
2. Explain the timeline.
3. Thoughts on a volunteer career.
4. Thoughts on life values and politics.
5. Future plans of volunteering.

Through every single interview, I made new experiences, experiences that I build upon; hence, I did not ask the exact same questions to all of the interviewees, a process of development possible due to the use of semi-structured interviews. Of further advantages is the fact that “(...) *semi-structured interviews are fluid in nature and follow the thinking processes of the participant*” (Jennings 2010:174). Throughout the interviews, it was of great importance to me to let the data speak for itself, hence the four questions/themes were chosen in order to avoid letting my own bias and prejudice shine through phrased and leading questions. A description of the four themes will be presented in details in the following in order for the reader to understand the thoughts on why these particular ones were selected.

The first theme, comprising several questions about demographic, was to get an understanding of the demographic composition of the group of interviewees. Some of the interviewees were very much concerned about their names appearing in the final Master thesis, due to their previous and future volunteer work in Israel and the West Bank. Therefore, all of my interviewees have received pseudo names and in some cases, I have left out names of places and NGOs in the transcriptions, all in order to honor and respect their confidentiality.

The second theme was in order for me to get a clear idea of what their exact volunteer work had consisted of. Some of the timelines were made on a computer, whereas others were drawn and written by hand, hence, in some cases it proved difficult to interpret what was written. This question also gave the interviewees a chance to elaborate upon their experiences, giving them a chance to remember and highlight experiences as volunteers.

The third theme was asked in the hope that the interviewee would put some words on his/her themes within volunteering. When reflecting upon this, some of the interviewees realized for the first time that they had a theme - a consistency in their choice of volunteering. Depending on the answers, it also enabled me to ask further questions concerning the development of skills and competencies, when continuously volunteering within the same themes, hence giving me an opportunity to look into the theory about serious leisure and voluntourism. Furthermore, it also gave me an idea about whether the interviewees were consciously or unconsciously building some sort of a volunteer career, enabling me to look further into the possibility of the creation of a Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder (Chapter 7). This theme seemed more straightforward than the previous two and compromised a question which some might consider to be framed and leading. Despite this, the straightforward question *“Do you consider yourself having such a thing as a volunteer career”* proved to be the one most of the interviewees were finding difficult to reply to, and many asked about some kind of definition of career.

The fourth theme about life values was to critically look into Giddens’s notion of life politics (Giddens 1991; Giddens in Hier 2005; Butcher & Smith 2015; section 3.1). When the interviewees put in words about their life values, and how these were reflected in their choice of volunteer work, I could critically compare these with Giddens’s notion of life politics. The answers would enable me to try to understand. This theme also encompassed questions about politics and whether the interviewee’s political stance was reflected in their choice of volunteering. This question also proved to be difficult for the interviewees, and many asked what an example of a “life value” could be.

The fifth theme, which only consisted of one single question about future plans of volunteering, was incorporated in order for me to see if the volunteers were still interested in working within the same field(s) and whether they actually were building on some kind of career within their field(s) of volunteering.

As already mentioned, one of the advantages when utilizing semi-structured interviews is the fact that the method allows me as a researcher to build upon experiences throughout the process of interviewing, allowing me to learn from “mistakes” and challenges and improve my questions and

techniques. Furthermore, it enabled me to ask supplementary question, when I found that some of the interviewees' answers were either unclear or if I simply just failed to understand them (Jennings 2010:175). Another advantage is that “(...) *semi-structured schedule provides a more relaxed interview setting*” (ibid.). What might be presented as disadvantages by critics are by others presented as advantages. The fact that not all of the interviewees are getting the exact same questions leads to the questioning whether reliability and validity is present. This refers back to what has already been stated above. It is believed that case studies help provide a picture, an understanding of a phenomena, a current issue, and that is considered a main asset. This research seeks to understand and build upon already existing knowledge.

2.3.5.1 Notes and transcriptions

While observing the drawing of the first two timelines, I was able to observe and take notes (Appendix 10.3.1; Appendix 10.3.2). These notes were made in order for me to remember how the potential interviewees reacted, and they also enabled me to prepare the introduction email (Appendix 10.2) based on the questions the timeline initially posed (Appendix 10.3.1; Appendix 10.3.2).

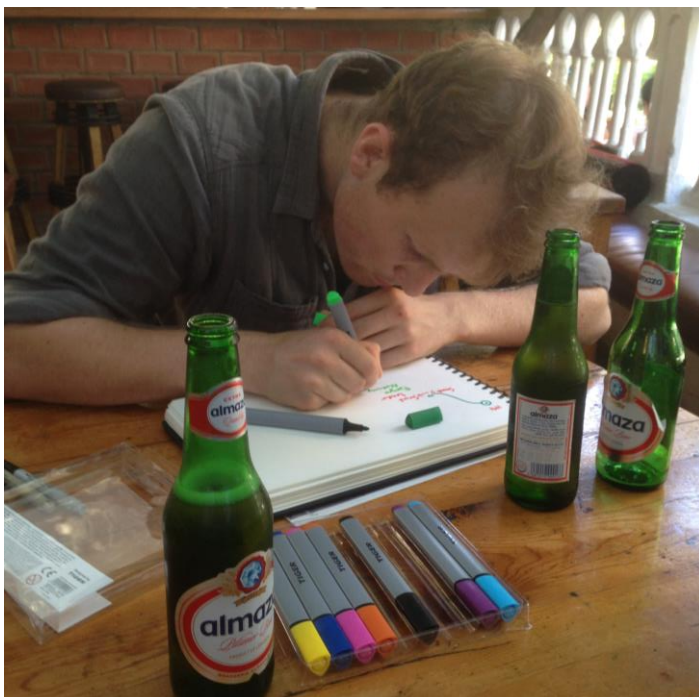


Figure 3: One of the interviewees drawing his timeline in Beirut, 2015. Author's own photo.

While conducting all of the interviews, both the ones face-to-face and the ones via Skype, I took notes (Appendix 10.6). Despite the fact that I had already decided upon transcribing all of the interviews, I found it very useful taking notes while conducting the actual interviews. This process enabled me to note cues, which proved to be extremely useful while transcribing when it was difficult to hear the interviewees' reply. The notes enabled me to constantly learn, improve and build upon my experiences while interviewing. Furthermore, the notes provided me with the ability to locate important quotations, which could be utilized for the analysis (Gray 2014:396). Lastly, the notes allowed me to, at the end of all the interviews, quickly to look through the notes and if finding any contradictory answers or anything I thought needed to be elaborated upon, I could easily ask follow-up questions.

Initially, it was decided to transcribe all of the interviews. The interviewees were informed about this. Additionally, I informed them that if they wanted to tell me anything "off the record" or if they after the interview wanted me to leave out specific details, I would honour and respect their wishes (Appendix 10.5). This was all in order to reassure our confidentiality (section 2.3.5; Gray 2014:397). Transcription was done immediately post-interview. This was in order to have the interviews in writing; hence, being able to learn if anything in the interview design needed to be improved. Despite that the transcribing of all 10 interviews was time consuming, the process proved to be very useful in order for me to discover new views and knowledge through the process. As well as with the notes, the transcriptions provided a tool to locate important quotations for the analysis (Gray 2014:396).

2.4 Limitations and bias

As noted already, the foundation of this thesis has its point of departure in my personal experiences, reflections and insights (section 1.4; section 2.2.2). By allowing myself to be equal with the subject under research, in this case the volunteers in CYC, it is impossible not to be both influenced by the participants as well as them being influenced by me.

The fact that I, as a researcher, handpicked the interviewees is also a bias, but due to the lack of contemporary volunteers in CYC, I had to rely on old friendships and my already established

networks in Lebanon. In the attempt of not framing the interviewees beforehand, I decided not to let any of the interviewees know exactly what my research question was about, neither did I tell them about the theory. I wanted them to be as open minded as possible (section 2.3.1.3), and I hoped that this particular lack of information would give rise to the most honest and least prejudiced answers. In the light of these biases and subjectivity, and in an attempt to keep control, my interview design was of great importance. Thus, the questions were planned in order for them not to be too leading (section 2.3.5).

A couple of limitations, which I had not expected from the beginning, occurred. Firstly, when embarking upon my fieldwork in September 2015, the lack of contemporary volunteers was noticeable, and I only succeeded in meeting one volunteer who was supposed to start volunteering in CYC about a week after I arrived in Beirut. This limitation was easy to overcome, as I could rely on previous volunteers. Secondly, I had to terminate my stay and fieldwork in Shatila and Beirut two weeks before scheduled. As explained in section 2.3.1.1, the situation in Lebanon had worsened since my last visit in March/April, and a couple of incidents, which proved the lack of security in both Shatila and Lebanon in general, made me realize that I was not safe and that I had to return home. This limitation was, as well, overcome due to my other acquaintances.

My endless love for and support to the Palestinians is a vital element in my research and therefore, poses a bias. It is impossible not to let my pre-understanding and knowledge lead this research. However, it seems important to mention that my pre-understanding of voluntourism in CYC, the organization itself, Shatila and the Palestinians, has developed and been altered throughout this research. My own views have been challenged, and I believe that this process of looking through the eyes of the interviewees, allowing their experiences, thus, my data, speak for itself, has taught me more and opened my eyes to a degree I found impossible prior to this research. This is less of a limitation and rather a bias; a strong subjectivity, which is incorporated and embedded in this research.

3. Theoretical Considerations

In this chapter, I will introduce three different theoretical concepts, which have not previously been used to create a theoretical framework together and have not been applied in connection to voluntourism. Firstly, Giddens' notion of Life Politics (Giddens 1991; Giddens in Hier 2005; Butcher & Smith 2015) will be introduced. It is assumed that voluntourists are directed by life politics, hence, life politics being present in all choices concerning voluntourism, which will be accounted for during this chapter. Secondly, voluntourism and Serious Leisure (Stebbins 1996a; Stebbins 1996b; Stebbins 2001) will be presented, and it will be argued that it is possible to apply the serious leisure perspective to voluntourism leading to the notion of the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Perspective (SLV). Thirdly, the Travel Career Ladder (Pearce 1988; Shaw & Williams 2004; Pearce & Lee 2005; Ryan 1998) will be introduced. The TCL framework will be utilized and build upon as a conceptual framework to bring insights for the act of SLV and the development of the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder (SLVCL) in the analysis chapter. In order for the reader to fully comprehend this process, figure 4 has been developed by the author, visualizing the theoretical framework (figure 4). To conclude each section, a paragraph with key insights will be provided. These are included in order for the reader to be able to get a clear idea of the key themes from each notion, theories and frameworks. These key insights will be revisited again in the analysis.

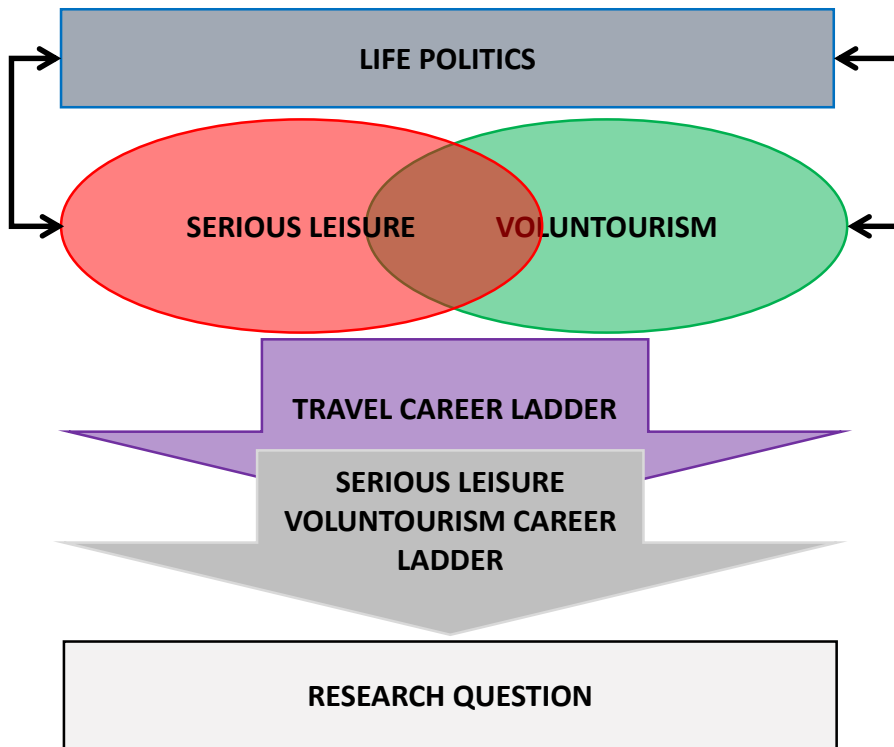


Figure 4: Theoretical framework. Developed by the author.

3.1 Life Politics

In 1991 sociologist, Anthony Giddens introduced a sociological theory concerning a new term, *a notion concerning politics, which set out to reconfigure “(...) the relationship between individual and political issues (...)”* (Butcher & Smith 2010:27) – the term, life politics had come into existence. Giddens developed life politics based on the identification of a shift from what he believed was the traditional politics of emancipation to what in some extent still can be considered emancipation, but more in a sense of politics of choice (Butcher & Smith 2015:82-83; Giddens in Hier 2005:349). Giddens defines life politics as *“(...) politics that involves a reconfiguration of the relationship between individual and political issues, away from the grand narratives of Left and Right, in favor of a politics that takes individual identity as its starting point. This life politics revolves around individuals attempts to reposition themselves culturally in the context of their own lives and through this to try to act upon their immediate environment and also more broadly in the social and political realms”* (Butcher & Smith 2010:27).

Due to the scope and limitations of this research, it is not possible to go exhaustively through all of the aspects of Giddens' work on the matter; consequently, I have made the following caveats. These caveats should not be seen as an indication of them not being important or interesting in the context of volunteering, but in this particular piece of research, I had to decide upon which of the aspects would be most applicable when looking at the research questions and research aims (section 1.2; section 1.3). First, since the objective with this research is to explore the broader meta-sociological influences in voluntourism (section 2.2.2), the primary focus will be on Giddens' thoughts on self-actualization through life politics and the emphasis on life decisions and self-identity (Giddens in Hier 2005:348-350). Second, this is not a comparative study with the purpose of trying to falsify or corroborate Giddens' notion in the context of voluntourists in CYC Shatila (section 2.1), hence none of the interviewees are representing the traditional society and emancipatory politics per se (section 4.3). Third, despite Giddens' emphasis on this aforementioned shift from emancipatory politics to life politics, I will not go into depth with political parties and ideologies. Therefore, the focus will be on life values, self-actualization and self-expression, all important components in life politics and which corresponds with the chosen methodology for this research.

Giddens' notion on life politics is not only concerned with life politics, but also stresses a shift identified by Giddens as a shift from emancipatory politics to life politics (Giddens 1991). In order to be able to understand the concept of life politics, it is vital to comprehend what Giddens sees as the reciprocal from life politics that is the concept of emancipatory politics. Giddens defines emancipatory politics as a collective politics, a politics that revolves around emancipation of individuals and groups by reducing, or even eliminating, such things as exploitation, oppression and inequality, all of which can constrain people from having equality in life and/or lack of control over one's own life circumstances (Giddens in Hier 2005:348). Emancipatory politics provides an opportunity of reflexivity, a reflexivity that made it possible for human beings to *"use history to make history"* (Giddens in Hier 2005:348). Giddens believes that emancipatory politics involves two main elements, that is; *"(...) the effort to shed shackles of the past, thereby permitting a transformative attitude towards the future; and the aim of overcoming the illegitimate domination of some individuals or groups by others"* (Giddens in Hier 2005:348). Individuals and groups might have had different ideas of what general emancipation of humanity exactly meant, but *"(...) in all*

cases the objective of emancipatory politics is either to release underprivileged groups from their unhappy condition, or do eliminate the relative differences between them” (Giddens in Hier 2005:348). Life politics presents itself as a more individualized positioning of the self as opposed to old social movements that position the individual within a group’s set of values (Sörbom & Wennerhag 2011:454). Thus, life politics is no longer about which political party to vote for; life politics is about individual’s life-values, personal life-choices and self-actualization.

As explained above, emancipatory politics is primarily concerned with justice, equality and participation (Giddens in Hier 2005:349) and can be connected with the altruistic motivations of some volunteer tourists (section 3.2; section 3.2.1). The emergence of life politics reflects that Giddens believes that there has been a shift, a shift from collective emancipatory politics to a new and more individualistic politics of life. Even though Giddens believes that life politics also has a little sense of emancipation, this was not his main thought on life politics. Giddens finds that the main difference between the two politics was the shift from collective politics to a politics of self-actualization (Giddens in Hier 2005:349). Whereas emancipatory politics was dealing with the emancipation of individuals and groups towards a more or less classless society, life politics revolves *“(...) around individuals’ attempts to reposition themselves culturally in the context of their own lives and through this to try to act upon their immediate environment and also more broadly in societies and politics”* (Butcher & Smith 2015:75). Giddens argues that this shift from emancipatory politics to life politics has happened due to a shift from a traditional society, a shift from a traditional society to what Giddens refers to as the contemporary society. The traditional society is characterized by individuals guided by traditions and customs to a society where individuals are no longer guided by this; the contemporary society is believed to be post-traditional, hence a society less bound by class, family and religion (Butcher & Smith 2010:30). Movements belonging to life politics are labeled as new social movements and are movements such as environmentalists, feminists, LGBT activists etc. (Sörbom & Wennerhag 2011:454).

Giddens’ life politics have been widely acknowledged, utilized and tested by various academics, and in order to get an idea of the different contexts this has been tested within, I will now introduce some of the academics who have all, to a certain extent, been considered for this particular

research. In 2001, Harry Ferguson tested the theory within the context of social work in late-modernity (Ferguson 2001). Hustinx and Lammertyn introduced a new analytical framework in 2003, which was to make it easier to understand and investigate volunteering in our contemporary society (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003). In 2011, Sörbom and Wennerhag carried out a very critical examination of Giddens' theory in the context of the Global Justice Movement (Sörbom & Wennerhag 2011). Thorpe and Jacobsen took a more thorough look on how Giddens attempted to utilize the notion of life politics in the context of climate change in 2013 (Giddens 2006; Thorpe & Jacobsen 2013). In both 2010 and 2015, Butcher and Smith took a closer look on life politics, to investigate it from a volunteer tourism and development point of view (Butcher & Smith 2010; Butcher & Smith 2015). Whether these researchers took a critical stance towards Giddens' notion of life politics or just applied his theory in their own research, it can be concluded that all of these academics are acknowledging that Giddens' theory does evidence a shift from emancipatory politics to life politics. Accepting this shift does not necessarily involve accepting that there is a clear division between the two and that they do not have the possibility to intervene. The following is an example from my own motivation for volunteering in CYC. As a voluntourist one can easily end up volunteering out of pure life-political reasons; I am living a relatively good life, an emancipated life, where I have a passport, a future and I am discriminated. By engaging in volunteer work with stateless Palestinians who live as refugees in Lebanon, I had a chance to promote diversity and I received a sense of fulfilment. While this would, according to Giddens, be perceived as life-political motivations, by the act of voluntourism it also has the possibility to change the lives of the refugees, but also other people's beliefs towards refugees and the Palestinian political matters, hence the individual action being less individual after all, and demonstrating a collective nature.

The shift from a society characterized by collective patterns of behavior now being replaced by a contemporary society characterized by individual patterns of behavior is to some degree accepted within the world of academia (Ferguson 2001; Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003; Sörbom & Wennerhag 2011; Thorpe & Jacobsen 2013; Butcher & Smith 2010; Butcher & Smith 2015). Even though they accept the premise of a shift from a collective society to a society more characterized by the individuals, academics with a more critical stance find it difficult to accept a clear division between then and now. By utilizing the Global Justice Movement as their case, Sörbom and Wennerhag are

questioning “(...) *the alleged division between life politics and emancipatory politics*” (Sörbom & Wennerhag 2011:454), and in their research on volunteers in our contemporary society, Hustinx and Lammertyn concludes,; “*we consequently do not assume that new volunteer forms are replacing old ones, but that collective and reflexive ingredients are blended together into a personal volunteer cocktail*” (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003:171).

Sörbom & Wennerhag further argue, that even though life-political actions are considered individual and not collective, many actions concerning life politics are still grounded by a desire for a better life, which is often, in the end, about politics, and “(...) *all forms of political actions are more or less collectively oriented*” (ibid.). The difference is that life-political actions are not presupposed organizational membership and these actions can be performed independently from formal political organizations (Sörbom & Wennerhag 2011:455).

3.1.1 Key insights Life Politics

The following four key insights have been derived from the above literature and are considered the key themes concerning life politics in the context of this research. These were used to inform the data collection and the final analysis:

- There has been a shift from the politics of emancipation to politics of choice,
- Collective politics has been replaced by politics of self-actualization, which fits very well with the growth of voluntourism,
- Group and organizational belonging is no longer as important, now the individual identity is the starting point, which suggest that voluntourists travel for particular meaningful experiences,
- Through the choice of life politics, it is possible to reposition oneself culturally in the context of one’s own life, which lead to the question of what impact this have on the evolution of voluntourism experiences?

“Volunteer tourists and others engaged in similar lifestyle political acts often do have a sense of injustice, and a desire to promote fairness, justice and wellbeing. Their politics may make reference

to tyranny and the West, but their focus is on responsibility, caring for others and checking their own privilege” (Butcher & Smith 2015:81). This leads to the assumption that voluntourists are very much directed by life politics, but also very much motivated by emancipatory politics, hence life politics being present in all choices concerning voluntourism. In the next section, definitions and thoughts on voluntourism will be presented.

3.2 Voluntourism

There is a variety of different definitions of voluntourism, but most theorists can agree with the fact that it is an activity combining traveling and volunteer work. This mixture of travelling and working as a volunteer is attracting individuals who are not satisfied with short-term hedonistic commercial tourism experiences (Ryan & Glendon 1998:170). The voluntourists are trying *“(...) to make their mark on the world directly through lifestyle”* (Butcher & Smith 2015:81), and the emphasis is on awareness, responsibility and caring (Butcher & Smith 2015:93). Voluntourism is considered to be mutually beneficial, hence the voluntourism experience being beneficial for both the volunteers and the host-communities (Hall & Raymond 2008:530). In this particular research, the definition offered by Wearing & McGehee (2013), *“those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holiday that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of society, or research into aspects of society or environment”* (Wearing & McGehee 2013:121; Langevang 2014:6-7). This particular definition has been chosen first of all due to the fact *“(...) that it seems fully comprehensive by considering all the aspects of voluntourism; it can be part of or be the entire travel experience, and furthermore, it includes both emergency and non-emergency situations, social-, economical-, and/or environmental problems in a society, and research* (Langevang 2014:7). Second, this particular definition has been applied throughout my previous research projects (Jensen & Langevang 2014; Langevang 2014; Langevang 2015), and due to this Master thesis being an extension of my previous projects I will continue working from this definition (section 1.4; section 2.1).

It is argued that voluntourists and global citizenships are closely linked, hence when someone is a voluntourist, they ultimately too become a global citizen. Global citizenship is a subjective term, but the definition offered by Oxfam is useful: *“enabling young people to develop the core competencies*

which allow them to actively engage with the world, and help to make it a more just and sustainable place. This is about a way of thinking and behaving. It is an outlook on life, a belief that we can make a difference" (Oxfam in Butcher & Smith 2015:90). As a global citizen, you have a choice, and through your individual life choices, you can (choose to) make a difference to other people as well (Butcher & Smith 2015:97). By these individual life choices, voluntourists are leading to a better global awareness due to their promotion of intercultural understanding (Butcher & Smith 2015:90). With the individual identity as the starting point, voluntourists are repositioning themselves culturally in the context of their own life, enabled by life politics – the politics of self-actualization (section 3.1; section 3.1.1).

As mentioned, voluntourism is considered mutually beneficial for the voluntourists and the visited party alike, and those in favor of voluntourism state that *"(...) through individual experience we can develop, decision by decision, a more ethical world, with less suffering, more fairness and greater opportunity"* (Butcher & Smith 2015:100). Butcher and Smith and Wearing and McGehee argue that voluntourism is often only beneficial for the volunteer and the volunteer tourism industry, and it is argued that volunteers engaging in voluntourism are perpetuating a neo-colonial legacy (McGehee & Zahra 2013:22; Butcher & Smith 2015: 5). Most frequently emphasized, as one of the positive outcomes of voluntourism is the interaction between the voluntourists and the members of the host-communities. This opportunity of building special and unique relationships has the potential to develop a better cross-cultural understanding, further having the possibility of destructing existing stereotypes and prejudices (Wearing & McGehee 2013:123; Hall & Raymond 2008:531; Langevang 2014:6). Unfortunately, this very special relationship, which often becomes more of a person-to-person relationship, does not always lead to positive outcomes with subsequent development of better cross-cultural understandings. If not carefully managed, there is a potential risk that the act of voluntourism will represent some sort of imperialism or neo-colonialism, leading to reinforcement of stereotypes, cross-cultural misunderstandings, hence creating a bigger gap between "them" and "us" (Hall & Raymond 2008:530-533; Hammersley 2013:855; McGehee & Zahra 2013:22; Langevang 2014:6-7).

So why do individuals choose to engage in voluntourism? Clary and Snyder (1999:157) argue that there is no such thing as one single motivation to volunteer; on the contrary, it is believed that there is a *“multi-motivational nature of volunteering”*. A volunteer can be both motivated by personal and academic reasons, e.g. a volunteer can be motivated by a desire to help others in need, develop as a human being and gain knowledge that cannot be gathered in one’s everyday life. By engaging oneself in a voluntouristic experience the volunteer will experience great adventures and have encounters with local people, experiences, which might allow one to grow as a person, and at the same time this exact experience will improve one’s résumé. No matter what the primary motivating factor is, it is suggested by MacCannell *“(…) that in a modern world in which authentic human contact is stymied by the market some tourists seek more human and humane personal and cultural relations through tourism”* (Butcher & Smith 2015:76).

Despite the fact that voluntourism is multi-motivational of nature, voluntourists tend to primarily be centered on altruistic motivational factors, thus the motivation is much more centered on the interest of selflessly helping others (Wearing & McGehee 2013:123; Langevang 2014:6). The altruistic motivational factors and behavior of voluntourists are however, discussed by critics who question whether pure altruistic behavior can exist. Many critics argue that the dichotomy of altruism-egoism within voluntourism is vital to discuss. It can be argued that this dichotomy occurs when a voluntourist or the sending organizations are profit-motivated and therefore, might be the only ones benefiting from the volunteer work (Clary & Snyder 1999:157). One could argue that voluntourists want to change the world while at the same time shaping *“(…) their own identity, their own sense of self”* (Butcher & Smith 2015:84). The earlier work of Stebbins also speak of this altruism-egoism by stating that there are two principal motives of volunteering; *“One is helping others (volunteering as altruism), and the other is helping oneself (volunteering as self-interestedness)”* (Stebbins 1996b:213).

When looking at the abovementioned insights and definitions of voluntourism, it is clear that voluntourists are not solely volunteering because of egoism nor altruism. Voluntourism is not just about fun and games, nor is it all about the act of selflessly helping others. So the real question is what is voluntourism really about? According to academic literature on the Serious Leisure

Perspective (Stebbins 1996) this perspective provides a more profound insight into why individuals through the act of serious leisure are engaging themselves in self-actualizing voluntourism activities.

3.2.1 Serious Leisure

Hall and Weiler (1992) made a link between serious leisure and tourism, and from that time onwards, several other theorists and researchers have argued that not only tourism, but also volunteering, can be considered as serious leisure (Stebbins 1996a:948; Stebbins 1996b:211). Before entering a more thorough clarification and definition of serious leisure, a definition of leisure will be introduced in order for the reader to be able to get a deeper understanding of the concept underlying understandings of serious leisure.

Owing to the fact that leisure is a topic covering quite a large area of scholarly focus, it is subject to multiple diverse definitions (Voss 1967:94). Leaving the many different scholars definitions of leisure out of account, the *“normative denotations of the word have traditionally been expressed in terms of free time or activity (...)”* (Parr & Lashua 2004:1). Utilizing this normative definition, leisure can be understood as an activity where one is free to choose what to do, free from obligations and responsibilities.

Serious leisure is different from leisure in the sense that it has a serious purpose, and therefore, it is the adjective, which differentiates the two terms from each other; leisure and serious leisure. Serious leisure is like leisure an activity chosen freely. What differentiates serious leisure from leisure is that the freely chosen activity also provides the practitioner with a set of personal and social rewards, such as; developing skills, abilities, knowledges and simultaneous providing an opportunity to express these developed skills, abilities and knowledges (Stebbins 1996b:216-217). It is important to keep in mind that serious leisure, despite its contributions to developing skills and abilities, is not to be confused with work. According to Stebbins, Serious leisure is not work due to a number of considerations; for instance *“(...) serious leisure is not a livelihood. Furthermore, it carries with it numerous pleasant expectations and memories, doing so to a degree only rarely found in work”* (Stebbins 2001:55).

Who are the people who engage in serious leisure? Stebbins (Concepts – The Serious Leisure Perspective, SLP, n.p., n.d.) have divided the serious leisure participants into three separate groups: amateurs, hobbyist and volunteers. In relation to this particular piece of research, the focus is exclusively on the last group of serious leisure participants, the volunteers, for which reason the amateurs and hobbyist will not be described any further. Should there be a particular interest in learning more about the two first groups of serious leisure participants, one can benefit from visiting the Serious Leisure Perspective Website (Concepts – The Serious Leisure Perspective, SLP, n.p., n.d.).

The last of the three groups, the volunteers, are according to Stebbins, people who freely choose to help other people out of personal and altruistic motivations (Stebbins 2001:54-55; Stebbins 1996b:212). The freely chosen volunteer activity will be both satisfying and have a rewarding outcome for the volunteer (Stebbins 2001:54). This definition fits very well with the one offered in section 3.2, volunteers are *“those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holiday that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of society, or research into aspects of society or environment”* (Wearing & McGehee 2013:121; Langevang 2014:6-7). Furthermore, Stebbins’ definition also encompasses both the multi-motivational nature of voluntourism and the dichotomy of altruism-egoism (section 3.2), which is similar to the definition of voluntourism (ibid.).

By now, we have found that serious leisure is a freely chosen activity that provides the amateurs, hobbyist, or volunteers with satisfaction, excitement and/or meaning. We have found that serious leisure concept has nothing to do with work due to the simple fact that serious leisure is not a livelihood since it is unpaid (Concepts – The Serious Leisure Perspective, SLP, n.p., n.d.). So why do people engage in serious leisure? Is the basic incentive an escape from the monotonous routines of everyday life in search of a more exciting and meaningful life? Stebbins (2001) propose that one of the most important incentive is *“(...) the sense of being part of a bustling, fascinating, all-encompassing social world”* (Stebbins 2001:56). Being part of this social world also offers both a lifestyle and identity for the serious leisure participants. By participating in a certain serious leisure activity, the participants are expressing their core and central life interests, hence forming, shaping and framing their identity as people through this particular activity (Stebbins 2001:56). This notion

emphasizes the presence of life politics in serious leisure activities. It is the individual identity as the starting point and through the individual self-actualizing choices that the serious leisure participants are repositioning themselves culturally. In section 3.2 the same thoughts on voluntourists was presented, thus this thesis puts forward the idea that the serious leisure perspective can be applied to voluntourism. Hence, I take the liberty to let voluntourism and serious leisure merge, thus I introduce the perspective of Serious Leisure Voluntourism (henceforth referred to as SLV). It is important to mention that the inductive research process (section 2.1) is adhered to, since the SLV is not a new theory; it is a merge of two already established theories. In section 3.3, I will account for what characteristics the two concepts are sharing.

3.3 Serious Leisure Voluntourism

In section 3.2, a definition of voluntourism for the purpose of this research was provided, and in section 3.2.1 the definitions of both leisure and serious leisure was offered. The next question is whether it is possible for voluntourism to be considered serious leisure? This thesis will argue that it is possible, thus the shared characteristics are to be accounted for in the following, which leads to the Serious Leisure Voluntourism – the SLV. Firstly, it has been suggested by Stebbins (1996) and Ryan and Glendon (1998) that the act of volunteering can be described and defined as leisure. Secondly, since many forms of volunteering these days are depending on personal considerations, which very often has the purpose of shaping the voluntourists professional biography, the voluntourists “(...) *foster the acquisition and expression of a combination of special skills, knowledge, and experience, can be looked on as serious leisure*” (Stebbins 1996b:211; Butcher & Smith 2010:31; Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003:1729). This also emphasizes the presence of life politics, since it is argued that individuals through these aforementioned self-actualizing personal considerations are shaping and framing their lives (section 3.3).

The fact that voluntourist is primarily motivated by self-interestedness (section 3.2) is one of the main characteristics that links voluntourism with serious leisure, since “*self-interestedness is a cardinal feature of all serious leisure (...)*” activities (Stebbins 1996b:215). Further, serious leisure voluntourists are not just volunteering because it is considered as fun, they volunteer because to enhance their career. Voluntourists volunteer not solely because of altruism, they volunteer

because they have a genuine desire to build their CV's and further gain cultural capital, hence striving to become global citizens (Stebbins 1996b:216; Butcher & Smith 2010:28). It is important to keep in mind that despite the notion of career building within the concept of volunteering as serious leisure, it is not to be confused with work, and it must always be a freely chosen activity (section 3.2.1; Stebbins 2001:55; Stebbins 1996:212).

In section 3.2.1, the importance of the serious leisure experience being both satisfying and rewarding was emphasized (section 3.2.1; Stebbins 2001:54). Stebbins refers to the rewards gained from serious leisure as being uncommon, and being characterized as basically personal and of social character (Stebbins 2001:54). This emphasis on rewards in serious leisure offered by Stebbins suits the definition of different motivational factors within voluntourism well (section 3.2). As mentioned above, volunteering is considered multi-motivational, and the rewards labeled as uncommon by Stebbins fits well with the motivational factors offered by Clary and Snyder of which can be of both personal and academic reasons (section 3.2; Clary & Snyder 1999:157). The fact that both serious leisure and voluntourism can be considered multi-motivational and both being concerned with both personal and academic motivational factors only adds to the idea that the perspective of serious leisure can be applied to voluntourism.

Life politics is present in all of the abovementioned characteristics shared by Voluntourism and Serious Leisure. It is through the act of SLV that the voluntourists are making a mark on the world directly through their lifestyle, consequently life politics – the politics of self-actualization. The voluntourists are motivated by both academic and personal reasons, and the rewards can be characterized as both personal and social. Thus, no matter what motivates the voluntourists, the point of departure is always individual identity, and through the individual self-actualizing choices that voluntourists make, they are repositioning themselves culturally, and making themselves more aware (section 3.1; section 3.2; section 3.2.1).

3.3.1 Key insights in Serious Leisure Voluntourism

The following five key insights derives from the above literature and are considered the key themes concerning SLV as proposed in this thesis and applied in the analysis of the data in Chapter 6 and 7.

It must be noted that they are concerned with the shared characteristics of voluntourism and serious leisure, and therefore, they venture a set of characteristics for Serious Leisure Voluntourism. These insights were used to inform the data collection and the final analysis:

- SLV is an activity combining traveling and volunteer work, and where one is free to choose what to do, free from obligations and responsibilities,
- SLV is multi-motivational of nature, and the SLV activities are providing the practitioner with satisfaction, excitement, personal and social rewards,
- Through SLV, the practitioner are a part of a social world, through which they form, shape and frame their identity,
- Through the act of SLV the practitioner has the potential to lead to a better global awareness, tolerance and intercultural understanding directly through their lifestyle, consequently life politics – the politics of self-actualization and self-expression,
- Most studies of serious leisure and voluntourism explore motivations, quantitative and post-positivistic. Few studies, if any, adopt an ethnographic qualitative approach.

In 1979 Crompton *“(...) noted that it is possible to describe the who, when, where and how of tourism, but more difficult to answer the question Why? – a critical factor underlying all tourist behavior”* (Pearce & Lee 2005:226). The Travel Career Ladder framework, which has its origin in 1988, is trying to describe travel motivations, the why individuals are traveling (Pearce 1988). This question is also of very great interest within this particular piece of research, because why do voluntourists engage themselves in voluntourism, and with the notion of the serious leisure voluntourism, then what happens when the voluntourists are developing and fulfilling their motivations? The objective with this research is not to offer a consumer study of voluntourists’ motivations; I wish to explore the broader meta-sociological influences on what motivates voluntourists. By working from an ethnographic point of view, I wish to explore lived experiences of serious leisure voluntourists. In order to be able to do that, I want to utilize the Travel Career Ladder (Pearce 1988) as a conceptual framework to bring insight for the act of SLV. Thus, the next section will present a definition and introduce the Travel Career Ladder. This will be used as a conceptual

tool in the analysis when the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder (SLVC) is introduced (Chapter 6).

3.4 The Travel Career Ladder

Pearce believed that in order to be able to understand the core of tourist motivation, one needs to accept that *“(...) there exist a developmental, psychological motivation of tourists as a result of past tourism experiences, that this is discernible and lead to changing patterns of behavior over time”* (Ryan 1998:942). This notion of a “career” in the field of tourism has been widely accepted by theorists and academics within the field of both tourism and leisure, it is however, often recognized more as a concept of specialization than a career per se (Pearce & Lee 2005:227). The Travel Career Ladder (henceforth referred to as the TCL) is a theoretical framework, which describes travel motivations, by utilizing Maslow’s hierarchy of needs as a starting point (Pearce & Lee 2005:228; Shaw & Williams 2004:145). Maslow’s hierarchy of needs is presented as a pyramid with the basic needs at the bottom considered as psychological needs and the distinctively human needs at the top of the pyramid considering growth needs. Maslow argues that one cannot reach the top of the pyramid until the basic levels of needs are satisfied (Chandler & Munday 2011:n.p.). The concept of the hierarchy was, for Maslow, to conceptualize the final *“(...) goal of self-actualization, which may be interpreted as a state of psychological maturity or good health”* (Ryan 1998:937). It is important to mention that the normative understanding of the noun “career” in the context of the TCL is believed to be *“(...) a pattern of travel motives that change according to their life span and/or accumulated travel experiences”* (Pearce & Lee 2005:227).

The TCL has the same buildup as Maslow’s hierarchy of needs with five different levels shaped as a pyramid, each level representing different sets of motivations in relation to different tourist career levels (Pearce & Lee 2005:228). In the first four levels, the motivational factors can be either self-directed (intrinsic) or other-directed (extrinsic) – the final level, the top of the pyramid, is considered only to be self-directed (intrinsic) (Jang & Cai 2002:114). When formulating the TCL framework, Pearce tried to demonstrate that individuals’ motivations to travel are dynamic and can develop over time; *“(...) for as people acquire touristic experiences (a career), so their motivations change”* (Ryan 1998:938). This dynamic relationship between experiences and motivations can also be

described as proportional; the more an individual experiences the more should their motivations change.

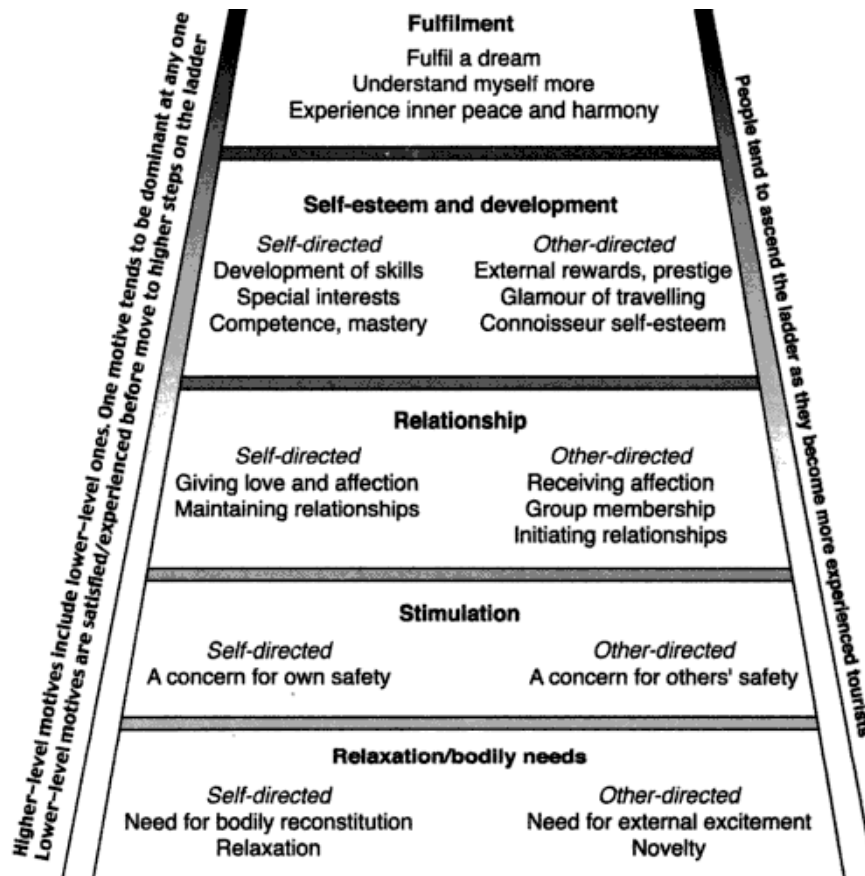


Figure 5: The Travel Career Ladder. Developed by Shaw and Williams 2004 with inspiration from Ryan 1998 and Cooper et al 2002.

The five levels, which in the analysis will be utilized as a conceptual heuristic tool, will be described more thoroughly below, starting from the bottom of the pyramid (Shaw & Williams 2004:145-148; Pearce & Lee 2005:226-227; Ryan 1998:936-940).

Relaxation/bodily needs are concerned with biological needs such as relaxation (intrinsic) and novelty (extrinsic).

Stimulation is concerned with one owns safety (intrinsic) and others safety (extrinsic).

Relationship is concerned with giving love/affection and maintaining relationships (intrinsic) and receiving affection and initiating new relationships (extrinsic).

Self-esteem and development is concerned development of skills and competences (intrinsic) and external rewards and the glamour of traveling (extrinsic).

Fulfilment is concerned with the fulfilment of dreams, a better understanding of one's self and the opportunity to experience inner peace and harmony (intrinsic).

Pearce (1988) argues that a tourist would ascend the ladder over a time span, and that a tourist would not be able to reach the top of the ladder of a better understanding of one's self and fulfilments of dreams until the basic ladders had been achieved (Pearce & Lee 2005:228; Shaw & Williams 2004:145). However, he still argues that different individuals can start at different levels; hence, one from the initial beginning when embarking upon a career as a tourist, one can be motivated by, for instance, *relationships*, because one already feels that *relaxation/bodily needs* and *stimulation* are fulfilled and, therefore, would not motivate one to engage in travel. Additional to the possibility for different individuals to start their career as tourists at different levels, Pearce also acknowledged that tourists could "(...) move through in a progressive way, or, indeed stay fixed in their motivations" (Shaw & Williams 2004:145).

By utilizing the TCL as conceptual framework to try to categorize tourist's motivations to travel, it is possible to acknowledge the fact that tourist's motivations differ from tourist to tourist. Some tourists will ascend the ladder with a primarily self-directed motivations, whereas others tend to jump from one side to another, or even go through both self-directed and other-directed, one level at a time (Ryan 1998:937). Tourist's motivations to travel can develop through the entire time span of an individual's career as a tourist, but on the other hand, it can also stay fixed, hence some tourists might not develop further than, for instance, the level of *stimulation*, and they may stay there the rest of their travelling career (Shaw & Williams 2004:145; Jang & Cai 2002:114).

The abovementioned acknowledgement that tourists are motivated by self-directed motivations as well as directed by others, implies that tourists and voluntourists are sharing the multi-motivational nature. Furthermore, the fourth level in the TCL, the "*Self-esteem and development*" level (figure 5), is concerned with development of skills and competences and external rewards, which is what SLV voluntourists primarily are motivated by (section 3.3; section 3.3.1). These similarities are only

adding to the fact that the TCL can be utilized as a conceptual heuristic tool to explore the broader meta-sociological influences on what motivates voluntourists. It is important to keep in mind that when utilizing a framework such as the travel career ladder, the emphasis should very much be on the fact that it is a framework used to interrogate and build understandings and not a final key. The TCL enables me, relatively easily, to conceptualize the motivations that are relevant when being engaged in SLV. It is believed that by seeking inspiration in the TCL, it is possible for me to conceptualize the SLV's motivations through the development of the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder framework (SLCVL). An all-encompassing framework bringing out how life politics is believed to be present in voluntourism and serious leisure activities, and how the concept/perspective of Serious Leisure Voluntourism came to life throughout this research. The SLCVL will be presented in Chapter 6.

3.4.1 Key insights Travel Career Ladder

The following four key insights derives from the above literature and are considered the key themes concerning the TCL in the context of this research. The TCL will be utilized as a conceptual framework to bring insight for the act of SLV. Further, they are to be included in the analysis in accordance with the introduction to Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder (SLVC):

- The TCL is a conceptual framework used to interrogate and build understandings of travel motivations by utilizing Maslow's hierarchy of needs as a starting point,
- The TCL is a pyramid of five levels, the first four levels are divided into self-directed (intrinsic) and other-directed (extrinsic), the last level is only considered to be self-directed (intrinsic), hence, this level is all about growth needs and self-interestedness,
- The TCL acknowledges that tourists do not travel merely to travel; instead they travel to achieve a certain travel career goal,
- Tourists and SLV practitioners are sharing the multi-motivational nature and wish to develop skills and competences, and receive external rewards. Hence, the TCL can be utilized as a conceptual heuristic tool to explore the broader meta-sociological influences on what motivates voluntourists.

4. Empirical data collection

This chapter's objective is to give the reader an idea of in what kind of place, in which the data collection took place. Firstly, an introduction to Shatila refugee camp, CYC and why CYC needs volunteers will be provided. This section has its point of departure through my previous visits, hence inspiration to these sections are respectfully borrowed from my memory and previous projects (Jensen & Langevang 2014; Langevang 2014; Langevang 2015). Due to the scope and limitations of this master thesis, there is no room for a proper introduction to Shatila, Lebanon and the Palestinian refugees. Despite this, I really feel that an introduction is of great importance, thus I have decided to place an introduction and description from one of my former projects in the appendices (Appendix 10.7). Should one be interested in more reading, two blogs written by the author is also to be recommended (Beirutee Voluntourism 2014; Beirut Voluntourism Vol. 2 2014). Lastly, a short introduction to the interviewees is to be found below in order for the reader to get acquainted with them before the analysis.

4.1 Shatila refugee camp

Shatila refugee camp is located in the southern suburbs of Beirut, Lebanon. Shatila was originally a camp, with tents provided by Red Cross. The camp had the purpose of accommodating the many stateless and displaced Palestinian refugees fleeing from their home country Palestine. This occurred from 1949 and continues today; 67 years later, tall unsteady buildings are replacing the temporary tents (Where we work UNRWA n.d.). It is not only Palestinian refugees who are living in the apartments. Syrians, Nepalese, Pakistani, poor Lebanese and so on are now living side by side. It is no longer certain how many residents who are living in the densely populated camp, but it is assumed to be between 17.000-22.000, who live as permanent residents in Shatila (Where we work UNRWA n.d.). The Lebanese government does not interfere in the daily life of the camp; hence, a committee formed by the inhabitants themselves manages the camp. This committee is primarily consisting of the ruling political organizations such as Hezbollah, PLO – Palestinian Liberations Organization, and PFLP – Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.



Figure 6: Pictures from Shatila, 2014 and 2015. Author's own photos. The picture to the left: the space in front of CYC, one of the few free spaces in Shatila. The picture to the right: one of the narrow streets with the low hanging electricity wires.

4.2 Children and Youth Centre CYC

CYC is a NGO founded in 1997 with the purpose to *“provide space for the children and youth of Shatila and Nahr el-Bared refugee camps, to develop their potential”* (What is CYC n.d.). CYC consists of two centers, CYC Shatila, which is located in Beirut, and CYC Nahr el-Bared, which is located in Nahr el-Bared refugee camp in Tripoli, north of Lebanon. Ali Walid is the CEO of both centers, but his office is located in CYC, Shatila, thus this is where he spends most of his time. UNICEF is currently funding the salaries for all staff, but this is negotiated every year, and Ali Walid wishes to be funded solely by private organization, due to an overwhelming bureaucracy in UNICEF; concerning regulations about the accounting etc. (Langevang 2014:19). CYC Shatila has approximately 6-8 permanent employees. From my first visit in 2014 until now, all of the staff except one has been replaced, and the employee turnover rate is considered high. The education level of the employees vary, but most of them are either studying part time or already graduated from their bachelor. Most of the employees are Palestinians, but several Lebanese and Syrian has as well been employed.

CYC Shatila is open Monday-Saturday from 9-5 a clock and is providing teachers available to help the kids with their homework, but also a broad range of activities, all with the purpose of developing the kids and youth's *“self-expression, self-discovery and self-development”* (What is CYC n.d.;

Langevang 2014:19). Many of the activities are depending on the help of volunteers, hence the activities change according to the volunteers and their competencies and interests. It seems impossible to get a clear idea of how many kids and youth who are daily using the center's activities. Ali Walid is confident that at least 120 kids visits the center daily, but this number is probably a figure used in order to get the necessary funding as possible from UNICEF. During my visits during the past two years, it has become clear that (section 1.4), there is a decrease in children at the center. Somedays, it seems as if only a handful of kids drop by. The decrease is primarily due to the instability in camp, hence many parents does not want their kids to leave home.



Figure 7: Pictures from CYC showing the many activities offered to the kids, 2014 and 2015. Author's own photos. The picture to the left: kids dancing in the library of CYC. The picture to the right: kids immersed in drawing.

4.2.1 Volunteers in Shatila

The money from UNICEF is barely enough to cover the salaries to the permanent staff, thus as aforementioned CYC is indeed depending on volunteers. The volunteers work for free and since they are not included as part of the permanent staff, they do not have set assignments to do. Hence, volunteers function as the much needed extra pair of hands as they are able to offer extra activities, which permanent staff do not have time or competencies to plan and executive. CYC does not have particular needs or functions that the volunteers need to fulfill and as a volunteer, you are welcome to assist and participate in all of the daily activities (Langevang 2014). As a volunteer, you are also welcome to introduce new activities if you possess a certain knowledge, competence or interest: *"You don't have to be a professional, and literally anything is appreciated"* (Volunteers n.d.; Langevang 2014). Unfortunately, CYC has experienced a decrease in volunteers the last couple of

years, and based on my visits in Shatila since 2014 (section 1.4; section 4.2) this decrease seems to have worsened. *“This is of great frustration to Ali Walid, since he believes that the center is very much depending of volunteers to help out the staff members with the planning and execution of the many activities. Furthermore, Ali Walid believes that volunteers have the possibility to act as awareness creators; lack of volunteers equals a lack in volunteers who will return home and act as awareness creators”* (Jensen & Langevang 2014; Langevang 2014).

4.3 The interviewees

As mentioned in section 2.3.4 the interviewees were selected because I had established some kind of relations with them through my previous fieldwork research (section 2.3.2; section 2.3.4; section 2.3.5). In order to get an overview of the 10 interviewees and to get to know them better, they will now be introduced shortly with some basic demographic information and some highlights from the interviews (Appendix 10.8). As mentioned in section 2.3.5, all of the interviewees have received pseudo names in order to respect and honor their confidentiality.

4.3.1 General profile of the interviewees

Seven of the interviewees are females and three of them are men. Despite wanting the group to be equal concerning gender, it seemed close to impossible to find more men who volunteered in Shatila. Throughout my visits in Shatila, I have mostly made acquaintance with female volunteers. Whether this a coincidence or not is noteworthy, but due to the limited scope of this thesis, it has not been research fully and therefore is merely a result of my own observations. The youngest interviewee is 24 and the oldest 34. All of the interviewees have a bachelor degree, five of the interviewees are currently doing their Masters, two of the interviewees have already finished their Masters and one is currently doing a PhD. Five of the interviewees have studied or are still studying within the field of Middle Eastern Studies, and three within the field of politics. It is a coincidence that all of the interviewees are relatively highly educated. Therefore, I did not use education as a criteria for selecting the interviewees (section 2.3.4). The interviewees will now be introduced with some basic information and insights from the interviews (Appendix 10.8)

4.3.1.1 Jeanette

Jeanette is a 28-year-old Danish girl, currently living in Copenhagen. Jeanette has a bachelor in Journalism, and is now doing a Master in African Studies. Jeanette has been volunteering in both Denmark, China, Africa and the Middle East. Jeanette is emphasizing that a recurring theme within her volunteer work is to be working with youth in order to try to improve their lives. Jeanette consider herself political aware, but she is not a member of a political party, but she is very much aware of the fact that her volunteer actions reflects her political point of view. Jeanette found the definition of life values difficult, but her aim in life is to enter other worlds, hence experience and widen her horizon. Another focus is that she is drawn to people who have lived very much different lives than herself. Jeanette is not currently volunteering, but she would like to find something to engage in, but it needs to be something where her help is truly needed.

4.3.1.2 Bjarne

Bjarne is a 24-year-old Norwegian, currently living in Shatila, Beirut. Bjarne is the only one of the interviewees who is currently volunteering in CYC. Bjarne has a Bachelor in architecture and is currently doing research funded by his university, but this is not part of a university degree. Bjarne has volunteered in Norway, United States, Algeria and the Middle East. Bjarne's primary themes within volunteering is cross-cultural encounters, but his heart cause is the people living in the camps in Western Sahrawi. Bjarne consider himself very much engaged in politics, but he is not driven by a political ideology. Bjarne's life values is being a people's person and travelling around the world in order to experience to live the life of others, because he believes that this is the only way one can truly experience the real deal. Bjarne is currently volunteering in Shatila, where he is teaching the teachers of CYC English. Bjarne wants to keep on volunteering since he consider volunteering as a great part of his life as a traveler.

4.3.1.3 Victoria

Victoria is a 28-year-old Norwegian girl, currently living in Oxford where she is doing a PhD about education in refugee camps. Victoria has been volunteering in Norway, USA, Rwanda and the Middle East. Victoria is very much interested in teaching, finding that teaching is a tool to give poor and/or troubled youngsters a better chance in life. Victoria is not engaged in politics at all, hence neither

being a member of a political party. If possible, Victoria would like to avoid the political side of things, but she also acknowledges the fact that working with Palestinian refugee in itself is a political statement. Victoria's greatest life value is equity, not just in teaching, but also in all aspects of life. Victoria is currently volunteering, but she actually does not consider the work as actual volunteering because the work is not for a good cause. Of future volunteering, she is dreaming of teaching again, but she is lacking time these days.

4.3.1.4 Lis

Lis is a 29-year-old British girl living in Britain. Lis has a Bachelor in sociology, but she is currently working as a journalist, even though she is not trained to be one. Lis has been volunteering in Britain, Peru and the Middle East. Lis' theme within volunteering is refugees with a focus on Palestinians. Lis is not a member of a political party, but she does consider herself political active within the Palestinian cause and environmental causes in general. Lis is very much concerned with making a difference, and she believes that a great life value to her is the emancipation of others. Lis is not currently volunteering and she has no proper plans to volunteer either.

4.3.1.5 Martine

Martine is a 25-year-old Danish girl living in Denmark. Martine is currently doing a Master in Middle Eastern Studies. Martine has been volunteering in Denmark and the Middle East. Martine's primary theme when volunteering is refugees. Martine consider herself very much political active, and she is currently very active in a political organization in Denmark. Martine's primary life values are family and the right for freedom to everyone. Martine is currently working as a volunteer within the area of refugees and asylum seekers in Denmark, but due to lack of time, she is considering to cut down on the volunteering next year.

4.3.1.6 Rasmus

Rasmus is a 27-year-old Brazilian currently living in Erbil, Iraq, where he is working as a teacher in the hope of being able to save enough money to be able to attend a Master's program within a couple of years. Rasmus has a bachelor in politics. Rasmus has been volunteering in Brazil, USA and the Middle East. Rasmus finds that his theme within volunteering is education, teaching and through

this empowerment. Rasmus consider himself very much into politics, in particular political events, but he is not a member of a political party. As with the themes, a great life value to Rasmus is the importance of education → empowerment → equality. Rasmus really wants to provide disadvantaged kids with skills in order to be able to break the vicious poverty circle. Rasmus is not currently volunteering; he simply does not have the time, however he wants to spend much more intense time volunteering, so he is hoping to volunteer during his vacations the next couple of years.

4.3.1.7 Charlotte

Charlotte is a 27-year-old Swizz girl living in Switzerland. Charlotte has a bachelor as a teacher and in social anthropology; currently she is working as a teacher and taking a break from the studies. Charlotte has been volunteering in India and in the Middle East. Charlotte is primarily focusing on teaching, in particular teaching disadvantaged people. Charlotte consider herself quite political, but she is not a member of a political party. Charlotte strongly believes in equity and believes that this is her primary life value. Charlotte is not volunteering now, but she is planning to go to Jordan in 2016 to volunteer.

4.3.1.8 Peter

Peter is a 34-year-old Swede living in Sweden. Peter is currently working as a nurse, but in the beginning of 2016, he will commence on his studies in conflicts and development. Peter has been volunteering in Sweden, Middle East and Africa. Peter's themes within volunteering is disadvantaged people with a focus on woman and Palestinians. Peter consider himself very political, but he is no longer a member of a political party, and he does not consider himself political active, which he was when he was young. Peter finds his life values to be equality. Peter are not currently volunteering, but he think that it will come. He wants to listen to his heart.

4.3.1.10 Frederikke

Frederikke is a 31-year-old Swede living in Sweden. Frederikke is currently doing a Master in political science, but her Bachelor was in gender studies. When not studying she is working part time as a project manager. Frederikke has been volunteering in Sweden and in the Middle East. Primary themes has been LGBTQ rights and the Palestinian cause. Frederikke has always been very much

interested in politics and she is an active member of a political party in Sweden. Even though she is an active paying member, she does consider herself more of a 99% passive paying member, only being proper active during elections. Frederikke's primary life value is solidarity. Frederikke is currently volunteering and she plans to future volunteer within the same themes, LGBTQ and poverty in the Middle East. Frederikke has married a Palestinian friend out of convenience, in order for him to come to Sweden and apply for citizenship. This is by Frederikke considered her right and something she could easily do, and something she would consider doing again,

4.3.1.9 Marlene

Marlene is a 28-year-old Dane living in Denmark. Marlene recently graduated from her Masters in Tourism and is currently looking for a job, while working part time and interning at the same time. Marlene has been volunteering in Denmark, Wales, Argentina, York and the Middle East. Marlene has primarily been working with refugees and old people, hence considering these fields as her primary themes within volunteering. Marlene believes that she is very much political aware, but she is not a member of a political party. Marlene's main life values are creating proper relations, sharing and solidarity. Marlene is currently volunteering and has many plans to keep on volunteering the rest of her life, because she feels as if she has been born as a volunteer.

5. Reflections, meaningful thoughts and insights from the interviewees

Before commencing upon the analysis, I will provide some of the main themes, thoughts and insights and characteristics from the interviewees (Appendix 10.8). These will be presented considering the research aims in section 1.2, hence focusing on life politics, serious leisure voluntourism and the notion of a serious leisure voluntourism career. Firstly, answers from the fourth theme from the interview design is presented. The fourth theme encompassed questions about politics and life values to be able to explore the role of life politics in the interviewee's choice of volunteer experiences (section 2.3.5). Secondly, answers from the third theme will be presented. The third theme encompassed questions about the themes within the volunteers choices of volunteer experiences (ibid.), and enabled me to look at the motivations of the volunteers and the serious leisure voluntourism perspective, and thirdly, answers from the third theme will be presented again, this time with an emphasis on the questions regarding a serious leisure voluntourism career.

5.1 Voluntourism, life values and life politics

According to Giddens, there has been a shift from emancipatory politics to life politics (section 3.1). Despite the fact that the purpose of this thesis is not to corroborate his theory (section 2.1) it is interesting to gain an understanding of how much politics in general is part of the SLV experience in CYC (section 2.2.2), thus I questioned the interviewees about politics.

When asking whether the interviewees considered themselves politically active only Martine and Frederikke stated that, they did not only consider themselves political active but they were actually also members of political parties (Appendix 10.8.5; Appendix 10.8.9). Frederikke emphasize that she consider her volunteer work as *"(...) highly political"* (Appendix 10.8.9) and Martine, who was not political before she started volunteering, is giving her volunteer work the credit of her newfound political interest and activity *"I was not political active before I started my volunteer work at DFUNK. Before I did not know much about politics. I knew what my parents voted for and my friends, but I had no interest at all"* (Appendix 10.8.5).

Marlene, Rasmus, Peter, Lis, Charlotte, Bjarne and Jeanette are all considering themselves political aware, engaged or political interested despite the fact that none of them are active members of a

political party (Appendix 10.8). Marlene, who considers herself political aware, elaborates *“Yes, I am very political aware, and what is actually funny is that you can often see what people chooses to volunteer with is very often based on their political beliefs. Someone proper right wing would probably not choose to work in Shatila or distribute food for Syrian refugees in the streets”* (Appendix 10.8.10). When I asked Rasmus if he thought that his political point of view was reflected in his volunteer work he replied, *“Let me just think. Yes, I believe so. I believe that my volunteer work has a lot to do with politics. I am very interested in Middle Eastern politics, so I could go to some Asian country, they also need volunteers, but I would not. I am not interested or involved in their politics. I do not know enough, I am not enough interested. I know they probably need as much help as the Palestinians and the Syrians. I feel more that I should help Arabs. I feel that it is unconscious, but my involvement in Middle Eastern politics makes me want to help the people who are suffering from all these political problems”* (Appendix 10.8.6).

Bjarne and Victoria are the only ones who are not considering their volunteer work affected by their political believes/ideologies. Victoria, who is the only of the interviewees who does not consider herself political, on the contrary, she actually wants to avoid politics; *“I would not be engaged in the political side of things if I in any ways can avoid it (...) but I would not like to get involved with any direct political stuff; boycotting Israeli products and stuff like that. I would never get that directly involved politically”* (Appendix 10.8.3). Bjarne is different from Victoria because he considers himself very politically engaged, but *“I do not have any political ideology that drives me or even leads me to volunteering”* (Appendix 10.8.2).

Giddens’ notion of life politics is concerned with the fact that people no longer volunteer in order to emancipate themselves. It is all about a politics of choice and self-actualization (section 3.1). Hence, it seems interesting looking into whether life values were reflected in the volunteer work in CYC, and what kind of life values the interviewees had.

Many of the interviewees are sharing some of the same values such as the right to freedom, solidarity, equality and emancipation (Appendix 10.8). Marlene also feels that one of her life values reflected in her volunteer work is creating relations (Appendix 10.8.10) which is quite similar to

Jeanette's value of entering other people's worlds (Appendix 10.8.1). Bjarne is as well concerned with the cultural encounters, and he genuinely wants to make people happy (Appendix 10.8.2).

Lis explains why emancipation is an important value in her life and volunteer work *"I want to emancipate them, give them the opportunities I have"* (Appendix 10.8.4). Frederikke perceives solidarity as her main life value *"I think solidarity is my main value somehow. I think it is more reflected in the volunteer work I have been doing recently. When I was doing it when I was younger I was of course interested, but now I felt that I am driven by the solidarity cause. I do not think I have sacrificed anything when I married my friend, I actually think it has given me quite a lot. For me it is an act of solidarity. I have used my right to choose who I want to marry"* (Appendix 10.8.9). Rasmus who is very concerned with empowerment through teaching is only volunteering with the things he cares about, his true life values *"Yes, because I tend to either consciously or unconsciously volunteer with things I care more about. I care about woman's rights, but I care more about education and children, so if I had a choice to choose between volunteering at a woman's center or a school, I would choose the school. My volunteering reflects what concerns me more. I want to provide kids with skills; I want to empower them"* (Appendix 10.8.6).

5.2 Voluntourism themes

As touched upon in section 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4, motivations of both volunteers and tourists has always been of great interest. It is possible to describe the who, when, where and how, but it has always been more difficult to answer the why? (Pearce & Lee 2005:226; section 3.2.1). This issue seems to be the exact same when dealing with voluntourists. In this particular research, I am aware of who they are (section 4.3.1), where they are volunteering (section 4.1; section 4.2) and how they are volunteering (section 4.2). The question in need of an answer is why people choose an activity such as voluntourism in CYC? In order to be able to understand the interviewees' motivations better, I asked them whether they believed that they had a theme within their choice of volunteering (Appendix 10.8).

The interviewees had different themes they saw their volunteering revolve around such as woman rights, Palestinians, people repeatedly treated with injustice, LGBTQ rights, refugees, fighting for

equality, education and teaching, empowering of people/ethnicities, old people, providing disadvantaged people with skills in the hope of them getting better chances in life, cultural encounters and traveling (Appendix 10.8). These themes are just a handful of the themes mentioned by the interviewees, but there seems to be some common characteristic in the themes, which is thought to be the main motivations of the voluntourists in this research; equality, emancipation, empowerment and solidarity.

Jeanette and Bjarne are sharing a theme of volunteering because they like cultural encounters. Both of them are also quite concerned with the true purpose of volunteering, and they both touch upon the dichotomy between altruism-egoism (section 3.2; section 3.3; Appendix 10.8). Jeanette is trying to explain her thoughts on altruism-egoism. Largely, she considers her voluntourism as altruistic-egoistic because she likes to both travelling and meeting new people. *“Volunteering is for me a way of doing this, getting an access to their lives somehow, but I do also believe that both parties benefit from that meeting and that people with different backgrounds who are less capable than I am to travel abroad, are somehow gaining from meeting people from the outside as well. I guess I believe it is a good thing”* (Appendix 10.8.1). Bjarne is primarily volunteering in order to be able to meet other people and having fun *“I think I am both during it out of my life values, I am a people’s person, but I am also during it because it enables me to travel, meet people, and do my research etc. I feel this I very much dealing with the question about whether altruism or not”* (Appendix 10.8.2).

Jeanette, Charlotte, Victoria, Martine, Rasmus, Marlene and Lis are all concerned about empowerment and equality of marginalized ethnicities. All of them have worked or are working with refugees, in particular Palestinian refugees (Appendix 10.8), and these stateless people’s lives are their main motivation for wanting equality for instance (ibid.).

Rasmus, Victoria and Charlotte are trying to improve the lives of the refugees through teaching (Appendix 10.8). Charlotte explains that it is not because she wants to teach, it is more because the host communities where she chooses to volunteer wants her to teach *“I have the skills as a trained teacher so I will help them. If this is what you need, you can have it, but I would also love to do*

something else. I have an asset that they can use. The refugees needs to be able to speak a better English to be able to survive better. They need this, badly. I am qualified as a teacher and a social anthropologist – I do not want to tell them about their culture, but I am also a teacher and that is something they need – me teaching them” (Appendix 10.8.7). Rasmus is not a qualified teacher, but through his volunteer work, he realized that teaching actually could be quite enjoyable (Appendix 10.8.6). Through teaching, he has the ability to provide the kids with skills in the effort of trying to empower them. *”If you are a kid and you do not go to school you will not get a well payed job – then their kids will not go to school either, so you just create an entire generation of poverty, and it is really difficult to pick them up when they have no education and skills. If I teach the kids English or anything, you are giving them a skill. It opens of a lot of opportunities for them – it is empowering them”* (ibid.).

5.3 Multi-motivational serious leisure voluntourism

When the interviewees were asked to reflect on whether their life values were reflected in their choice of volunteer work and if there seemed to be some themes within their choice of volunteer work (section 2.3.5), it became clear that none of the interviewees were volunteering solely due to one motivational factor. There seemed to be an abundance of different themes and life values, and many of the interviewees were interested and motivated by more than just one thing (section 5.1; section 5.2; Appendix 10.8).

Lis is both interested in refugees, journalistic work, eager to know more about Palestinians and travelling (Appendix 10.8.4). Her primary life values are emancipation of others and making a difference (ibid.). Jeanette as well is attracted by different themes and life values; trying to improve young people’s lives, cultural encounters, entering other people’s worlds, creating experiences and widen her own horizon (Appendix 10.8.1). Marlene is focusing on themes and life values concerning refugees, creating proper relations, sharing and solidarity (Appendix 10.8.10). These three voluntourists are all sharing some common serious leisure characteristics; they are motivated by self-interestedness, given that creating proper relations, cultural encounters, creating experiences and eager to learn and know more are considered their main themes and life values reflected in their volunteer work (section 5.1; section 5.2; Appendix 10.8). Despite that, some of these

characteristic can be mutually beneficial to both the voluntourist and the host-community, they are considered as self-interestedness still, hence egoistic and not altruistic, which is why the dichotomy between altruism-egoism comes into play (section 3.2; section 3.2.1). The satisfaction and reward is very much depending on whether the voluntouristic experience is by the voluntourist considered successful and has fulfilled the basic motivational factors (Jensen & Langevang 2014), but one can argue that such a thing as travelling, experiencing, widen ones horizon, and creating relations can be considered rewarding.

Rasmus and Charlotte seems to be motivated by multi-motivational factors as well, but their focus is much more concerned with teaching and they did not mention any self-interestedness motivational factors when asked straightforward. Both are primarily volunteering as teachers, hence they are both very concerned with how they through teaching can provide disadvantages kids and adults with skills in order to empower them so they can maybe get better chances in life (Appendix 10.8). Charlotte is not once mentioning any self-interestedness or egoistic themes or life values, but during the interview she does mention that she wants to improve her Arabic *"I need to improve my Arabic, and that is best to be improved in the Middle East"* (Appendix 10.8.7). So despite the fact that she is pretty consistent in keeping her motivation very altruistic, a statement like this is considered egoistic. Rasmus is very engaged in teaching and how this can be utilized as a weapon against poverty. He is as well multi-motivated by both being able to educate and empower others; Rasmus perceives education as a tool to achieve equality (Appendix 10.8.6). Despite his primarily motivations being altruistic of character, he mentions that he really enjoys teaching and that he is very concerned with and motivated by international crisis and events (ibid.).

Bjarne seems to be the only one eager to admit that he is primarily motivated my self-interestedness and egoism. He consider himself a people's person, and considers voluntourism as a tool for him to travel around the world try to live the lives of others *"I travel and I volunteer. It is my way of dealing with new cultures and countries – it is my way of gaining experiences from cultural encounters"* (Appendix 10.8.2). Bjarne is the only one mentioning altruism-egoism without me mentioning it first, and he admits to reflecting a lot about whether volunteering is altruistic or egoistic; if it is good or bad. *"I cannot see why it is a bad thing that both I as a volunteer and the ones I am helping are*

gaining from the experience. It is not always the case than not just one are gaining from an experience?" (ibid.). Bjarne is very satisfied and finds that he is rewarded for his volunteer work because he *"(...) wants to be happy and make other happy as well"* (ibid.).

5.4 A voluntourism career?

What struck me the most while conducting the interviews was the fact that initially a few of the interviewees did not want to acknowledge that they indeed have a volunteer career. When asked whether they believed to have this (section 2.3.5; Appendix 10.8) many denied this, but when asked clarifying and elaborating questions, many actually realized that they had some sort of career within their voluntourism. When Bjarne was asked if he considered himself having a volunteer career his answer was, without any sort of hesitation *"No"* (Appendix 10.8.2). Then the electricity and internet connection was lost (Appendix 10.6.2; Appendix 10.8.2) and when we were reconnected 15 min. later and I asked him again, his answer somehow had changed: *"I see that it can be easy to make some kind of volunteer career. Maybe I have a volunteer career, but then it is not conscious, because it is not what I am trying to do"* (ibid.). I asked him a new question, and while replying he thoughtfully added, *"It is difficult for me to see volunteering as a career because I am primarily doing it because I find it funny"* (ibid.). Victoria was as well very certain of not having a volunteer career. Victoria explains that this is because volunteering never was a fulltime thing for her: *"I know people who will work in a job they do not necessarily like, and they earn money so that they can go and volunteer for 3-4 months. Then when they are out of money they will go back home, work some more. That for me is more a volunteer career, because volunteering is your whole life. You work so you can take time off"* (Appendix 10.8.3). Charlotte was concerned with what it even means to have such a thing as a volunteer career, and therefore found it difficult to determine due to the lack of proper definition. She did, regardless, state that she did not have a volunteer career (Appendix 10.8.7).

Peter and Lis did not agree whether they had a volunteer career, but both talked about how they felt that their volunteer experiences had shaped their careers (Appendix 10.8). Lis states that despite the fact she does not believe she has a volunteer career because her volunteering *"(...) has nothing to do with my profession or my career in general"* (Appendix 10.8.4). Although Lis does not consider herself having a volunteer career she believes that her volunteering has shaped her career

“(...) it is actually one of my stay in Palestine, which have shaped my career. It was during my stay in Palestine. When working on the website I got my interest for writing. I had never done it before. This was when I realized I wanted to be a journalist” (ibid.). Like Lis, Peter believes that his volunteer work has shaped his choices concerning further studies *“I will now study peace and conflict studies, and definitely, my volunteer work has influenced my choice. I think I need the knowledge. I have been doing a lot, now I need the knowledge. I want to add the formal part. To be able to form my volunteer work into knowledge and then a proper work”* (Appendix 10.8.8).

Martine and Frederikke both consider themselves having volunteer careers; mainly because they both feel, they have developed through their voluntourism (Appendix 10.8). Martine feels that she has developed a lot the last couple of years *“(...) and somehow, I might think my volunteering is affecting my true career”* (Appendix 10.8.10). Frederikke are sharing the same thoughts as Martine *“I have developed through my volunteer work. I have developed to be much more critical. My volunteer work was the thing that gave me the opportunity to have a proper payed job”* (Appendix 10.8.9).

Rasmus and Marlene offers some other thoughts and insights (Appendix 10.8). For instance, Rasmus would love to have a volunteer career, but he cannot afford to volunteer as much as he would love too *“I wish I could volunteer more”* (Appendix 10.8.6). When asked whether Marlene believes to have a volunteer career her reply was *“I would like to say yes, because I think that it sounds really awesome”* (Appendix 10.8.10). She adds *“I think people like to volunteer. I think some people are just drawn to volunteer. I think it is a part of our identity”* (ibid.) As with many of the other interviewees, Marlene feels that her volunteer work has helped her to develop *“I am very proud of my volunteer work, and I feel that it has provided me with skills and made me develop as a person”* (ibid.).

6. Analysis

This chapter will provide an analysis of the collected empirical data in Chapter 4. The analysis takes its point of departure in the research aims introduced in section 1.2, and will be divided into the following three parts: to start with, the serious leisure voluntourism and politics will be addressed. Secondly, the TCL is utilized as a conceptual framework in order to investigate why voluntourists engage in SLV. Thirdly, the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder will be introduced. This conceptual framework has been developed in order to visualize how life politics play a part in all the decisions in the different levels, and also how it is believed that SLV participants are developing and building on previous experiences, all in order to get closer to the final level, the fulfilment of self-actualization and self-expression.

6.1 Reflections Life Politics

When I first came across Giddens' notion on life politics I spend hours reading and trying to understand. Many academic journals addresses life politics and most take a highly philosophical approach, which at times clouds the understanding hereof. At some point, I even thought about not utilizing the notion of life politics, because even while collecting the data, I deemed it impossible to apply life politics, hence, exploring the role of life politics in voluntourism (section 1.3). Through the writing of chapter 5 and as I embarked upon Chapter 6 I attempted to allow the data speak for itself (section 2.1), and it was through this process I came to realize; life politics is in all of the choices made by the interviewees. The choices of where to go on holiday, do they consider themselves travelers or tourists, do they travel to engage in cultural encounters or just to relax? The choices of which food to eat, are they very concerned with ecology or maybe they are vegans. The choice of education, are they interested in humanitarian studies or politics, or are they maybe arguing that you cannot be humanitarian without understanding the politics? Are they single, in a relationship, gay, or straight? The choices are abundant, and life politics encompass that every decision you make is defining whom you are and whom you will be. When defining who you are, you are also implicitly telling the world what you believe in, your dreams and what your political ideology is. Maybe you are not sure whether you are Left wing or Right wing, but your choices in life are framing you and defining you in a way that makes it possible for others to guess, which side you might pick. All of you choices in life are about you, your politics of life, your values and your dreams. The interviewees

in this study provided a data set to support this idea of life politics being an embedded feature in the actions of voluntourists.

Life politics are using the individual identity as a starting point, and it is no longer important whether you are Left or Right in your political stance. The importance is how you make choices in life (section 3.4). From the lowest level of the SLVCL (Chapter 7) to the highest level, it is about the self and self-actualization in voluntourism. Despite the fact that all of these interviewees are volunteering in order to be good towards other people, the altruism is at all times influenced by, and blurred within egoism. The multi-motivational nature of voluntourism is allowing the volunteers to volunteer out of both altruistic and egoistic motivations (section 3.1; section 5.3).

So, in what way is voluntourism and politics visible in CYC? This was one of the questions, I asked myself during my first experiences volunteering in CYC (section 2.2.2). While conducting the interviews, I asked whether the interviewees were members of a political party. Despite that nine of the interviewees consider themselves either interested in politics or very political aware, only two of them are actual members of a political party (section 5.1). This proves Giddens' notion very well, since according to Giddens, one of the main characteristics of life politics is that group and organizational belonging is no longer important (section 3.1). Noteworthy, is it that Giddens state that emancipatory politics (section 3.1) as *"either to release underprivileged groups from their unhappy condition, or do eliminate the relative difference between them"* (Giddens in Hier 2005:348; section 3.1). When taking a quick glance at the reflections and insights from Chapter 5, it is clear that this is what all of the interviewees are motivated by; they want to emancipate people who are not experiencing the same lives as we enjoy in the West. They are fighting for equality, not for themselves but for others. Does this mean that Giddens is wrong about his notion on life politics? I think not.

Instead, it seems as if Giddens' clear division between emancipatory politics and life politics is unclear, at any rate unclear for this research. Sörbom and Wennerhag who researched on Giddens' notion on life politics with the Global Justice Movement as a case study also found that it seemed as if the participants were combining emancipatory politics and life politics (Sörbom & Wennerhag

2011:471; section 3.1). It seems as if the interviewees are less involved with politics explicitly, but implicitly all of their life choices are embedded in their political preferences. Their politics of choice is about the emancipation of others, and this is where the collected data evidence another side to the life politics. The interviewees are still concerned with emancipatory politics, but the notion of self-actualization and egoism is as well very clear (Chapter 5; Appendix 10.8). Hence, it can be argued that the notion on life politics with a notion on the motivation of emancipating other people, who are not as fortunate as oneself, is indeed “applicable” in the context of voluntourists in CYC. It can furthermore be argued that through the development of the SLVCL (Chapter 7), it was evident that despite the fact that most of the interviewees were not members of political parties, many of their life values are implicitly rooted in political ideologies. The emphasis on equality, empowerment and solidarity is the same as the main ideologies of the Left wing parties. Their choices of volunteer work, is their life choices, the politics of their lives.

6.2 Serious Leisure Voluntourism and the TCL

Initially, I attempted to put my own experiences as a tourist into the different categories of the TCL (section 3.4; figure 5). Most of my traveling has been traveling and volunteering simultaneously, which brought on the idea of a voluntourism career (section 1.4). It seemed weird to look at volunteering as a career and at a first glance, their normative meanings are contradictory. Then I began my research. Voluntourism is a verb, and the definition utilized in this research is *“those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holiday that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of society, or research into aspects of society or environment”* (Wearing & McGehee 2013:121; Langevang 2014:6-7; section 3.2). Career is a noun, and the definition offered by Pearce and Lee (2005) in the context of the TCL is *“(...) a pattern of travel motives that change according to their life span and/or accumulated travel experiences”* (Pearce & Lee 2005:228; section 3.4). Looking at the two different definitions, they do not seem as contradictory as originally assumed, because who says you cannot develop as a voluntourist, as a tourist even? Acknowledging that a development is plausible also makes possible a voluntourism career, hence, I wanted to assess whether theories of serious leisure and the TCL could be useful in understanding voluntourism in (section 1.3)

Contextualizing the definitions and key insights of the SLV and the TCL, respectively in section 3.3 and 3.4, it is to be investigated how the SLV experiences of the interviewees can be applied to the TCL framework. This is underpinned by the previous section of reflections, meaningful thoughts and insights from the interviewees in Chapter 5 and of course, the conducted interviews (Appendix 10.8).

6.2.1 Multi-motivational nature – altruism-egoism

One of the reasons why the already existing TCL framework (Pearce 1988) seems suitable for a starting point is primarily because it allows for multi-motivational factors. As a tourist one is influenced by previous experiences, hence higher-level motives includes lower-level motives (section 3.4; figure 5). Despite the notion that lower-levels being fulfilled, results in tourists reaching to a higher level (section 3.4), does not necessarily mean that the lower-levels of motivations are then obsolete. Instead, it indicates that the lower-levels, which are now fulfilled, are not the primary motivational factors. SLV is as mentioned in section 3.3 also considered to have a multi-motivational nature, and this is also often where the dichotomy between altruism-egoism is brought forward. With the division between self-directed and other-directed, each level is either considered altruistic, egoistic or a mixture of both (section 3.4; figure 5).

What comes to question is whether it is possible for motivational-factors to be both egoistic and altruistic. This invites another reflection; are voluntourists motivated by the same kind of levels of motivations in the TCL as tourists? In order to be able to look deeper into this, the different levels of Pearce's TCL will be explored in detail in relation to the thoughts on life values and voluntourism themes provided by the interviewees.

6.2.2 Relaxation/bodily needs

Starting from the lowest-level in the pyramid according to Pearce (1988) the self-directed motivations is a *“need for bodily reconstitution and relaxation”* and the other-directed motivations is *“need for external excitement and novelty”* (section 3.4; figure 5). Both of these are considered egoistic of nature. Both can be achieved through traveling, though it can be argued whether such a thing as bodily reconstruction can be achieved while volunteering in a refugee camp like Shatila.

Despite this, it can be argued that voluntourism does offer relaxation from one's everyday life, and that a need for external excitement and novelty can be fulfilled. Does this egoistic nature of the motivations eliminate the possibility of them being altruistic as well?

As mentioned above, voluntourism can be defined as *“those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holiday that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of society, or research into aspects of society or environment”* (Wearing & McGehee 2013:121; Langevang 2014:6-7; section 3.2; Chapter 5). Voluntourism is, as it can be concluded from the definition, a mixture of both holiday and volunteering. Hence, one can argue that while being a tourist, where one is primarily motivated by egoistic factors, one can actually be involved in altruistic activities. Travelling is enabling the actual act of voluntourism – one cannot have one without the other. Lis, Bjarne and Jeanette supports this statement, all explicitly stating that travelling is a big part of their themes and life-values, which is considered as their main motivational-factors (section 5.1; section 5.2; section 5.3; Appendix 10.8). Despite that these three interviewees believe that travelling is important, Bjarne is the only one admitting explicitly that he is utilizing voluntourism as a tool for him to travel around the world to try to live the lives of others *“I travel and I volunteer. It is my way of dealing with new cultures and countries – it is my way of gaining experiences from cultural encounters”* (section 5.3; Appendix 10.8.2).

6.2.3 Stimulation

The level of stimulation in the TCL is the level that has the clearest and sharpest division between altruism and egoism. The self-directed is *“a concern for own safety”* (section 3.4; figure 5) and the other-directed is *“a concern for others’ safety”* (ibid.). At this particular level, it seems as if it is primarily the other-directed motivations, which can be considered comparable with SLV, given that none of the interviewees in this research did at any time mention any concern towards their own safety. The only time that such kind of egoistic concern was mentioned, was when for instance Rasmus elaborated upon why he did not volunteer at this moment because he needed to work as much as possible in order to be able to start his Master (Appendix 10.8.6). Martine was also worried

about time, money and education, and said that she probably had to cut down on the volunteering due to lack of time (Appendix 10.8.5).

On the other hand, it seems as if the other-directed applies to the motivations of the interviewees. All of the interviewees were concerned with the well-being of other people, in particular vulnerable and marginalized ethnicities. Equality, emancipation, empowerment and solidarity are the main life-values and themes of the interviewees (section 5.1; section 5.2; section 5.3; Appendix 10.8). Jeanette emphasizes that one of her main themes is *“(...) working with young people or children and trying to somehow improve the lives who are less well off from the beginning”* (Appendix 10.8.1). Rasmus is as well very motivated by a desire to improve the lives of others. As mentioned in section 5.3, Rasmus is trying to provide refugee children from war-torn countries with skills, so they can be empowered and get new opportunities in life (section 5.3; Appendix 10.8.6).

6.2.4 Relationship

At this level the self-directed is about *“giving love, affection and maintain relationships”* (section 3.3; figure 5) and the other-directed is about *“receiving attention, group membership and initiating relationships”* (ibid.). None of the interviewees was concerned with organizational or group belongings (Appendix 10.8). A few of the interviewees were actually repulsed by the mainstream definitions of voluntourists and activists. Martine explains how she perceives activists as a particular type, which she does not want to be compared to *“This is not being an activist, because an activist is again related to a certain type of person, and that is not who I am. I do not consider myself that kind of type”* (Appendix 10.8.5). Marlene explains about her volunteering experience in both Latin America and Shatila *“(...) we did not meet new people as in new volunteers, but we were part of this very unique experience (...) I did not care about the other volunteers, but I learned about life in Shatila, I developed as a human being”* (Appendix 10.8.10).

Giving love and affection is similar to the other-directed level in stimulation, where the motivation primarily is concerned with the well-being of other people and the hope of improving the lives of marginalized ethnicities.

The motivation of initiating friendships in relations to voluntourism can be related to the motivations of many of the interviewees concerned with cultural encounters. Marlene, Bjarne and Jeannette are all giving words to the importance of their motivation through engaging in encounters with other cultures (Appendix 10.8). Both Bjarne and Jeanette are considering cultural encounters a primary motivational factor (ibid.). Marlene even states that she is motivated by creating relations; *“It is not just about meeting people and the leaving them again. I want to create proper relations. The more relations you have the more you get to learn about life”* (Appendix 10.8.10).

6.2.5 Self-esteem and development

This level is the fourth and the last of the five levels, which is divided into self-directed and other-directed (section 3.4; figure 5). This level is more or less equivalent in both the self-directed and other-directed part to the serious leisure theory (section 3.2.1; section 3.3). Looking at section 3.3.1 where the key insights of SLV are provided, it is evident that the characteristics of self-directed *“development of skills, special interests, competence and mastery”* (section 3.4; figure 5) is equivalent with the key insights (section 3.3.1). The emphasis on the development of skills within a field of one’s own special interest is as well the cornerstone of serious leisure. Serious leisure activities are providing the practitioner with both satisfaction, excitement, and personal and social rewards (section 3.2.1). Stebbins considers these rewards to be development of skills, abilities and knowledge, and as well providing the opportunity for the practitioner to express these obtained skills, abilities and knowledges (Stebbins 1996b:216-217, section 3.2.1). The other-directed is more about how one gets external awards and prestige, which can easily be combined with the self-directed, given that one easily obtains knowledge, develops skills and simultaneously get the admiration of others and a certain degree of prestige.

As stated in section 3.2.1 and 3.3, it is believed that the perspective of serious leisure can be applied to voluntourism, introducing the Serious Leisure Voluntourism Perspective, and throughout the interviews, the same picture emerged. Lis, Jeanette and Marlene were all motivated by creating proper relations, cultural encounters, creating experiences and eager to learn and know more, all characteristics that can be considered as development of skills, knowledge, but also external rewards in relation to the notion on creating relations (section 3.2.1; Chapter 5; Appendix 10.8).

The emphasis on special interests also makes the statements from Lis and Rasmus very interesting in this particular aspect. Their teaching is primarily in order for them to give special skills and knowledge to others, which is not exactly what the self-directed motivation is focusing on, but Rasmus and Lis are volunteering with something that they have a special interest within, in this case teaching (section 5.4). All of the interviewees are volunteering with their very special interests, interest which they elaborated upon when I asked them about such things as voluntourism themes and life values (section 2.3.5; section 5.2; section 5.3; section 5.4). They are all engaged with Palestinian refugees, an interest, which voluntourism is enabling them to learn more about (ibid.). Through the act of voluntourism cultural encounters and the act of creating relations is made possible (section 5.3; section 5.4).

6.2.6 Fulfilment

The fifth and last level of the TCL is the fulfilment level, and as mentioned, the only level not divided into self-directed and other-directed (section 3.4; figure 5). According to Pearce (1988) this level is not divided because it is, all concerned with self-directed, consequently intrinsic motivations (section 3.3). The fulfilment level is the last level in the pyramid, and as with the fifth and last level in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, this level is the final goal of self-actualization and psychological maturity (Ryan 1998:937; section 3.3). At this final level, you are not only motivated to fulfill your dreams, understand yourself more and experience inner peace and harmony, you are actually experiencing the fulfilment of your dreams, understanding yourself better, and experiencing inner peace and harmony (section 3.4; figure 5).

This level is the one being the most difficult to compare and apply to SLV in accordance with this data set. It can be argued that all of the interviewees are experiencing an ongoing development and ascending the ladder due to the following considerations: first, all of the interviewees are still relatively young (section 4.3.1), thus they are still developing mentally and psychologically as persons. Second, all of the interviewees are still studying, or considering further studies (section 4.3.1), for which reason it is assumed, that they will develop academically as well as personally throughout their further choice of studies, internships, fieldwork etc. Third, all of the interviewees

are very much concerned and interested in refugees, in particular Palestinian and Syrian refugees (Chapter 5). This might be considered a field of interest, which is very popular these days due to the Syrian war and the outbreak of what many believes to be the third intifada at the West Bank. Hence, some might argue that if the interviewees should be lucky enough to experience peace in Syria and a solution to the millions of stateless Palestinians, their field of interest might change. Then they would seek to work for equality, emancipation, empowerment and solidarity for ethnicities in other regions of the world (section 5.1; section 5.2; section 5.3; section 6.2.3; Appendix 10.8).

7. The Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder framework

In Chapter 6, it was looked into how the voluntourist experiences could be applied to the TCL framework. One level at a time was compared to the different statements from the interviewees, and the picture emerging was that many similarities was to be found, and on the basis of these similarities, the figure below came in to being (figure 8). As mentioned in section 3.2.1, it is important to keep in mind that the inductive research process (section 2.1) is adhered to. The SLVCL framework is not a new framework per se; it is a merged framework bringing life politics (section 3.1), voluntourism (section 3.2), serious leisure (section 3.3), and the TCL (section 3.4) together, in order to be able to comprehend and understand serious leisure voluntourism in CYC. This is as well visualized in figure 4 in Chapter 3. The Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder, also to be known as the SLVCL only has four and not five levels in the shape of a pyramid, and came to life in order to examine and access voluntourism in CYC through the application of life politics, serious leisure and the TCL (section 1.3).

The lowest level about relaxation and bodily needs (section 3.4; figure 5) has been left out in the development due to the fact that it is believed that these motivations are already fulfilled, and implicitly a part of all SLV activities (section 6.2.2). It has been decided upon, not to change the names of the different levels, since the purpose of this is to look upon the possibilities of the development of the SLVCL, not to develop a new and innovative framework. The main characteristics from the TCL is utilized in the SLVCL, but characteristics which are not found applicable are left out, and characteristics lacking has been added. The levels are not divided into self-directed and other-directed as the levels in the TCL. This decision has been made because it is believed that voluntourist are multi-motivated (section 3.1; section 5.3; section 6.2.1), and that there is no clear evidence that egoistic motivations cannot be altruistic as well, which is emphasized by Bjarne's reflections (section 5.3; section 5.4; Appendix 10.8.2).

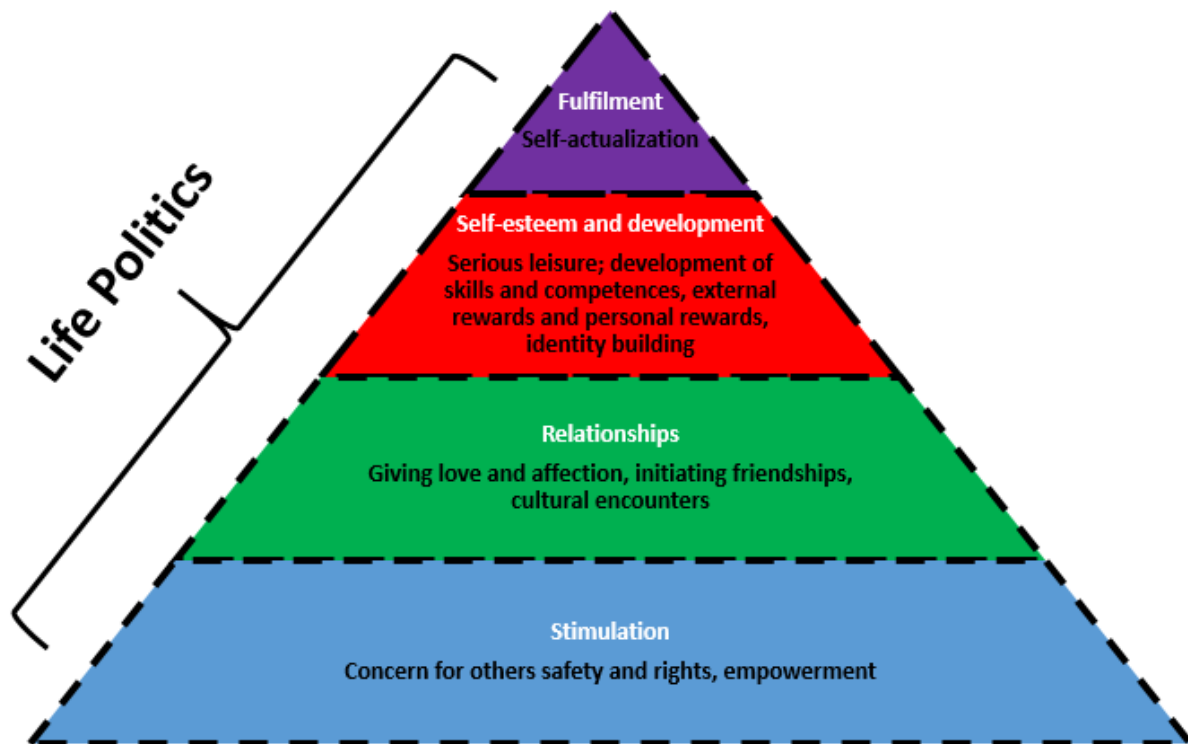


Figure 8: The Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder (the SLVCL). Developed by the author, with inspiration from Pearce's Travel Career Ladder by Shaw and Williams (2004).

Below, each level will be described briefly in order for the reader to fully understand the SLVCL framework.

Stimulation

This level is characterized by a concern for others safety. This is believed to be one of the primary motivations by voluntourist, and the interviewees in this research are emphasizing this throughout all of the interviews (Appendix 10.8). As described in section 6.2.3 all of the interviewees were concerned with the well-being of other people, and the main life-values and themes of the interviewees is equality, emancipation, empowerment and solidarity (section 5.3; section 5.4; section 6.2.3; Appendix 10.8). Hence, concern for others rights and empowerment has been added to the characteristics of the level (figure 8).

Relationship

At this level, the characteristics are giving love and affection, and initiating friendships. It is believed that giving love and affection is very much similar with the concern of other's safety in the level of stimulation (section 6.2.3). Initiating friendships is also of great importance, and three of the interviewees are explicitly emphasizing how much they are being motivated by engaging in encounters with other cultures (section 6.2.4). Hence, cultural encounters has been added to the characteristics of the level (figure 8).

Self-esteem and development

This level is the level which seems to be very much equivalent with the serious leisure theory. This is of great interest, since this research is only adding to the fact that the perspective of serious leisure can be applied to voluntourism (section 3.2.1; section 3.3; section 5.3). The characteristics at this level are development of skills and competences, external rewards and personal rewards. All of the interviewees are emphasizing that learning more is of great importance when volunteering (Appendix 10.8). All of the interviewees are also very much developing skills and knowledge about Palestinian refugees, which can be argued to be their primary field of interest. The development of knowledge is, as mentioned in section 6.2.5 considered as personal and external rewarding. This is also where life politics and the notion of self-actualization and self-identity is very present (section 3.1; section 5.1), hence, identity building has been added to the characteristics of the level (figure 8).

Fulfilment

This level is left blank in the final SLVCL concerning the characteristics of this level. This has been decided because of the fact that it is not believed that this research is adding to whether this level is a level possible to achieve. Is it even possible to research such a level? Is it even a level someone truly wishes to reach? Is the purpose of volunteering to achieve this state of mind – a state of mind where self-actualization and psychological maturity is fulfilled? (section 6.2.6). Looking at the data it is not possible to make any assumptions, nor is it possible to leave out this level. What one can only guess upon is maybe that this is the final goal of the voluntourists, but maybe it is not the point to reach to this level. If one reaches this level, is there then still a need for you to keep volunteering?

Many of the voluntourists seems to be motivated by the dream of a world of equality and solidarity, and at the same time eager to learn and know more (section 5.3; section 5.4; Appendix 10.8). Maybe the point is that you are never supposed to reach this level, because then you are not motivated by anything in particular, and the what?

7.1 Ascending the SLVCL

The main point with Pearce's TCL framework is that tourists are expected to ascend the ladder during a time span of their career as tourists, and one cannot reach the top levels of the ladder until the lower levels have been achieved (Shaw & Williams 2004:145; Jang & Cai 2002:114; Ryan 1998:937; section 3.4). Pearce acknowledge that the motivation of an individual can stay fixed; hence, one tourist can actually stay at the same level their entire career as tourists, feeling that their motivations are fulfilled and not feeling any new motivations emerging (ibid.). In order to be able to discuss whether such a thing as a voluntourism career exist, this notion of development in motivation of the voluntourists needs to be researched further. Are the interviewees developing as well or have they developed their motivations throughout their years of experiences as voluntourists?

In section 5.4 the answers from the interviewees when asked about a volunteer career was presented. It seemed to be problematic for some of the interviewees that they were not offered a definition of what a career actually is (section 5.4; Appendix 10.8). In section 6.2 I investigated the definitions of voluntourism and career, and the normative meaning of the two words did not seem as contradictory as I had originally assumed, and if the meaning of a career is that motivations are changing, then it does seem possible for such a thing as a voluntourism career (section 5.4). It is important to keep in mind that change is to be considered the same thing as developing, since this is the meaning and definition offered (Pearce & Lee 2005:228; section 3.4; section 5.4).

Analyzing the interviews one thing is certain; all of the interviewees feels as if they have developed through their time as volunteers (Appendix 10.8). Peter, Lis, Martine and Frederikke are stating that their volunteer experiences have shaped their career and how their interests have developed through what I perceive to be their voluntourism careers (section 5.1; section 5.4; Appendix 10.8).

Marlene is explicitly stating that her volunteering has developed; *“I feel that it has provided me with skills and made me develop as a person”* (section 5.1; Appendix 10.8.10). This particular research does not have the data to look into whether it is the interviewee’s motivations to develop as volunteers, but it can be assumed that all of the interviewees have ascended the SLVCL, probably unconsciously, and are now all somewhere between the level of relationships and self-esteem and development.

7.2 The SLVCL and future research

This research has provided some insights on voluntourism and the fact that it is not just about fun and games. Serious leisure voluntourism is also about voluntourists and their personal goals – their politics of self-actualization. Instead of assuming that such a thing as altruism-egoism is by default a bad thing, it might be time for critics to accept that just because you are being egoistic, does not imply that you cannot simultaneously be altruistic. It is believed that the acceptance of serious leisure voluntourism as both altruistic and egoistic can bring some useful insights for both the voluntourists and the host-communities.

Since the purpose of this research was not to provide new and innovative theories, it seems very interesting to look further into the SLVCL framework in future research. By utilizing the offered SLVCL framework as a point of departure, it can bring some very much needed knowledge in a field which is very often dealing with the motivations of the voluntourists, and not the broader meta-sociological influences on what actually motivates them. A thorough research can provide an understanding of the exact motivations and whether the voluntourists truly volunteer to be able to ascend the SLVCL, consciously or unconsciously, and not only in a place like Shatila. It could be interesting to look further into life politics and serious leisure voluntourism in other host-communities as well. Maybe the SLVCL would look very different if tested in a voluntourist environment being less complex politically and non-volatile.

This Master thesis provides a SLVCL framework which primary purpose is to bring some much needed insights on the serious notion in voluntourism. A notion which is believed to bring some very deserved appreciation and acknowledgement to the voluntourists, but also it can serve as a

useful tool for host-communities to better understand why voluntourists are volunteering and how to keep motivating them, so that they will keep returning.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the role of life politics in tourism, and the data speaks for itself. Life politics is present in all of the choices made by the interviewees, hence, life politics encompass that every decision they make is defining whom they are and whom they will be, and the interviewees in this study provided a data set to support that life politics is an embedded feature in the actions of voluntourists. Through a combination of emancipatory politics and life politics, they are fighting for equality, not for themselves but for others, while simultaneously actualizing themselves as individuals. Despite the fact that most of the interviewees are not members of political parties, many of their life values are implicitly rooted in political ideologies with an emphasis on equality, empowerment and solidarity.

Voluntourism is not just about fun and games, and the multi-motivational nature of voluntourism is allowing the volunteers to volunteer out of both altruistic and egoistic motivations, so despite that all of the interviewees are volunteering in order to be good towards other people, the altruism is at all times influenced by, and blurred within egoism. Voluntourism is both fun and egoistic, but also serious and altruistic. The Serious Leisure Perspective provides useful insights on voluntourism in CYC, and emphasizes that there is no such thing as a single motivation to volunteer. The voluntourists in CYC are volunteering due to many different and sometimes even contradictory motivations – the dichotomy of altruism-egoism.

The Travel Career Ladder framework proves to be a useful tool to highlight how life political motivations is present in all aspects of serious leisure voluntourism. The Serious Leisure Voluntourism Career Ladder and the data-collection proves that the voluntourist have been developing and are still developing as voluntourists. They are not only developing as individuals, their motivations have also developed, and continues to develop. This provides evidence that such a thing as a serious voluntourism career exists.

Volunteering in CYC, a complex, politically volatile destination is part of the voluntourist's deeper expressions of their life politics. There is no such thing as simply voluntourism, and by

acknowledging that serious leisure is an inevitable important part of voluntourism, paves the way for a new understanding, acceptance and respect for the voluntourist's tireless efforts.

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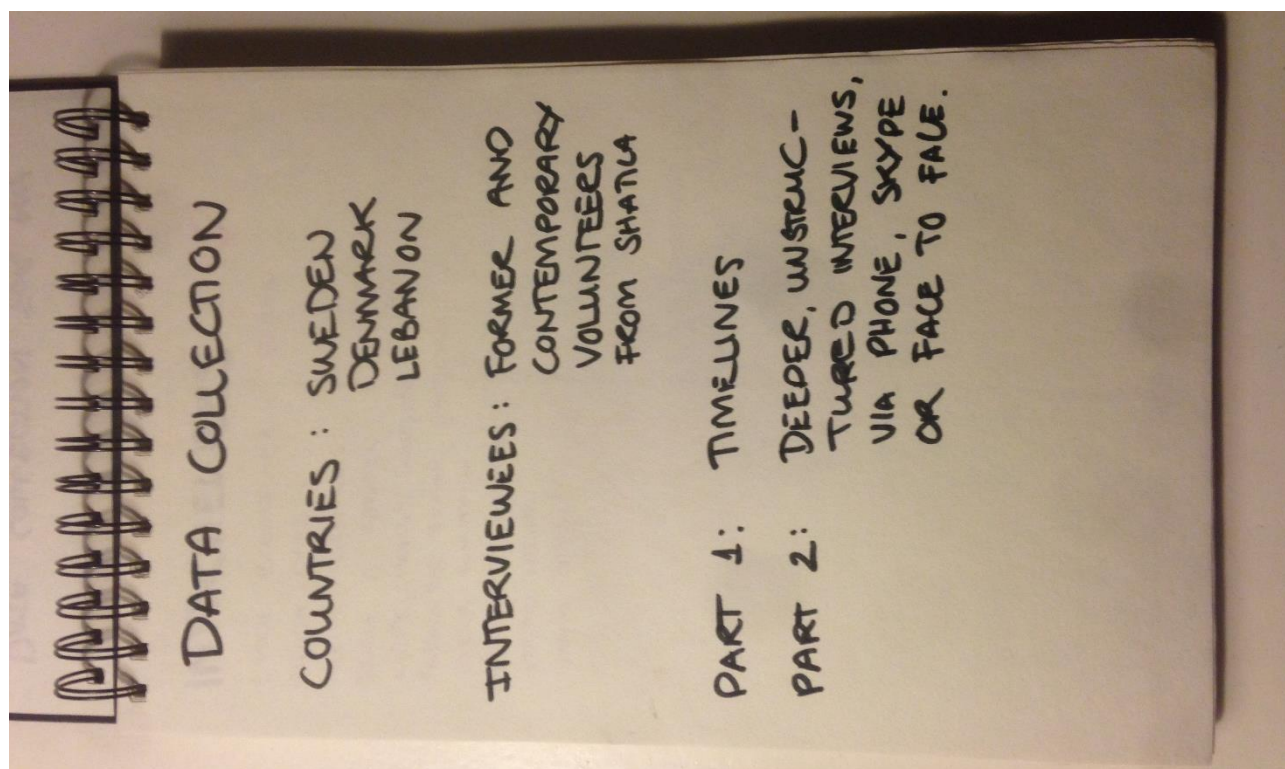
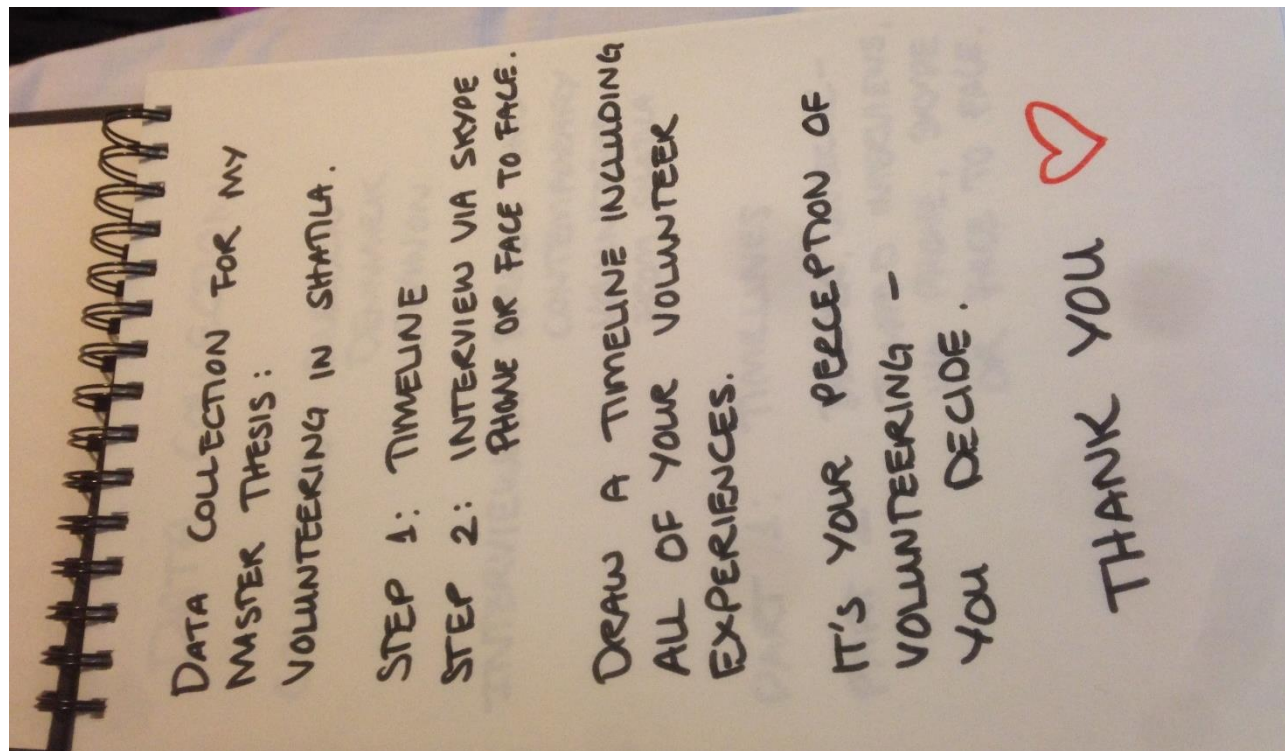
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10. Appendices

Appendix 10.1 Information pre-drawing of the timelines face-to-face



Appendix 10.2 Introduction email pre-drawing of the timelines

Dear X,

Thank you so much for wanting to help me - or at least take a closer look to what I want you to help me with :)

As I have told you I am currently collecting data for my master thesis. I will not tell you much about the research question just yet, hence I want you to be as little biased as possible. The data collection is divided into two parts: part 1 is where I'm getting interviewees to draw a timeline of their volunteer experiences and part 2 is then where I will be asking deeper questions concerning the timeline - this can be via phone, Skype or face to face. I need interviewees who have volunteered in Lebanon and preferably Shatila. Whether your motivations has been political or more due to lifestyle makes no difference, it is all very much of interest to me :) It is important to emphasize that it is your perception of volunteering that counts - therefore if you find a particular working experience or encounters with a group of people as volunteer work, then feel free to include it.

The timeline can be on more than one page and as colorful as one want it to be. It can consist of all volunteer experiences, both abroad and not, and if a particular experience needs to be highlighted, this can be done as well. Volunteer experiences, which you perhaps did not fully engage in due to different reasons can also be included. I have attached a photo of the "guide" and an example of a timeline - just as inspiration. I would love if you would make one? The timeline can be send to me as a photo via E-mail.

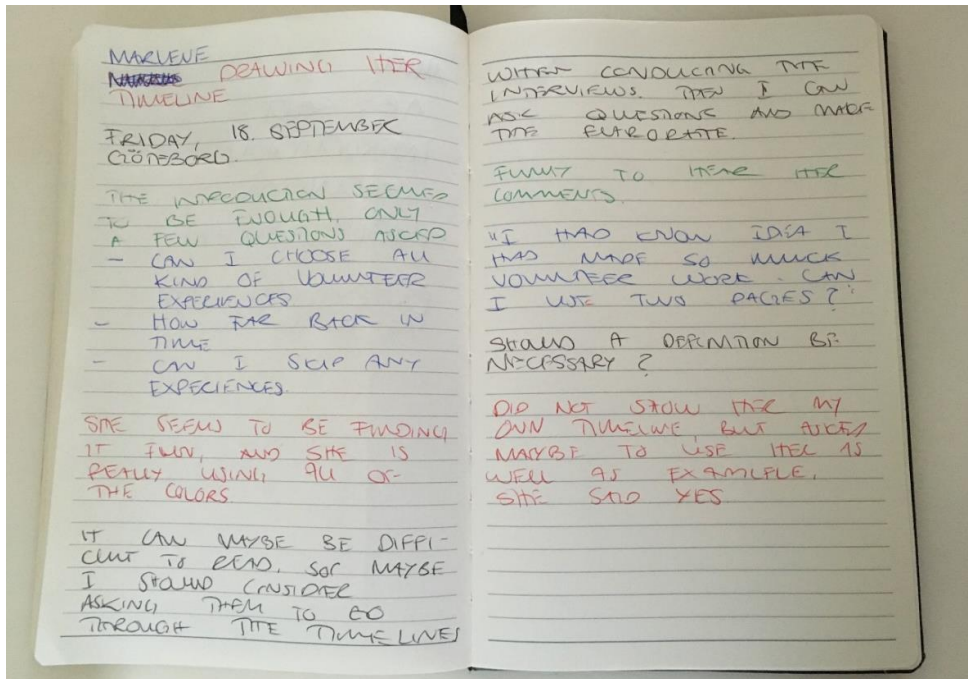
I hope this makes sense - if not, please don't hesitate to ask :) Again, thank you so much.

Happy to hear that life is treating you well :)

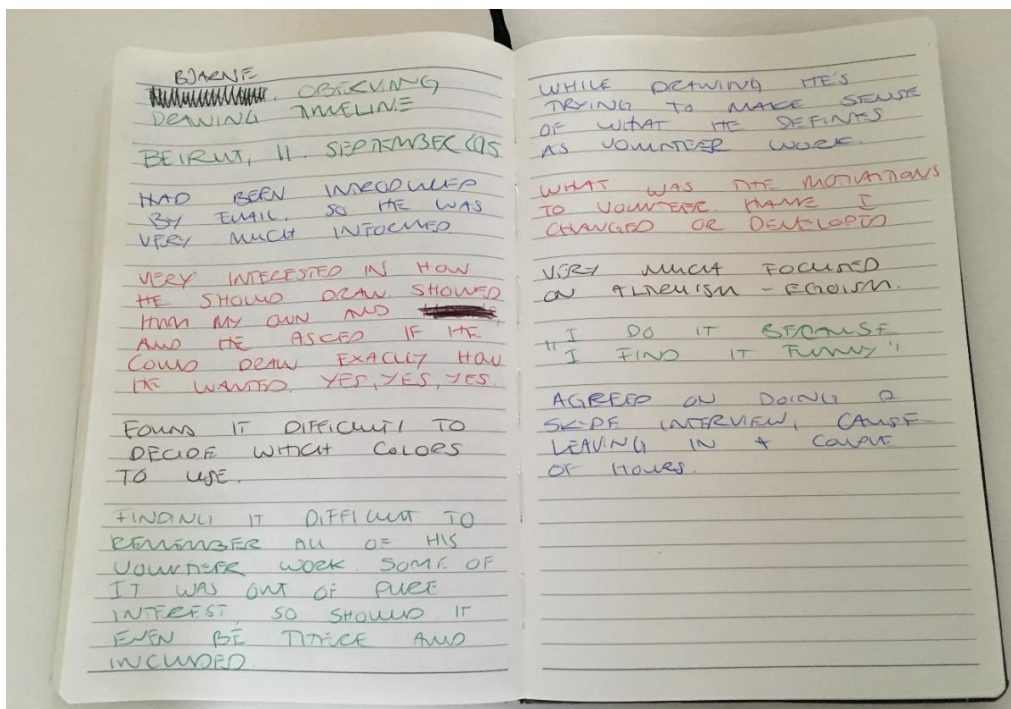
Freja

Appendix 10.3 Notes while observing the drawing of the two first timelines

Appendix 10.3.1 Observing Marlene

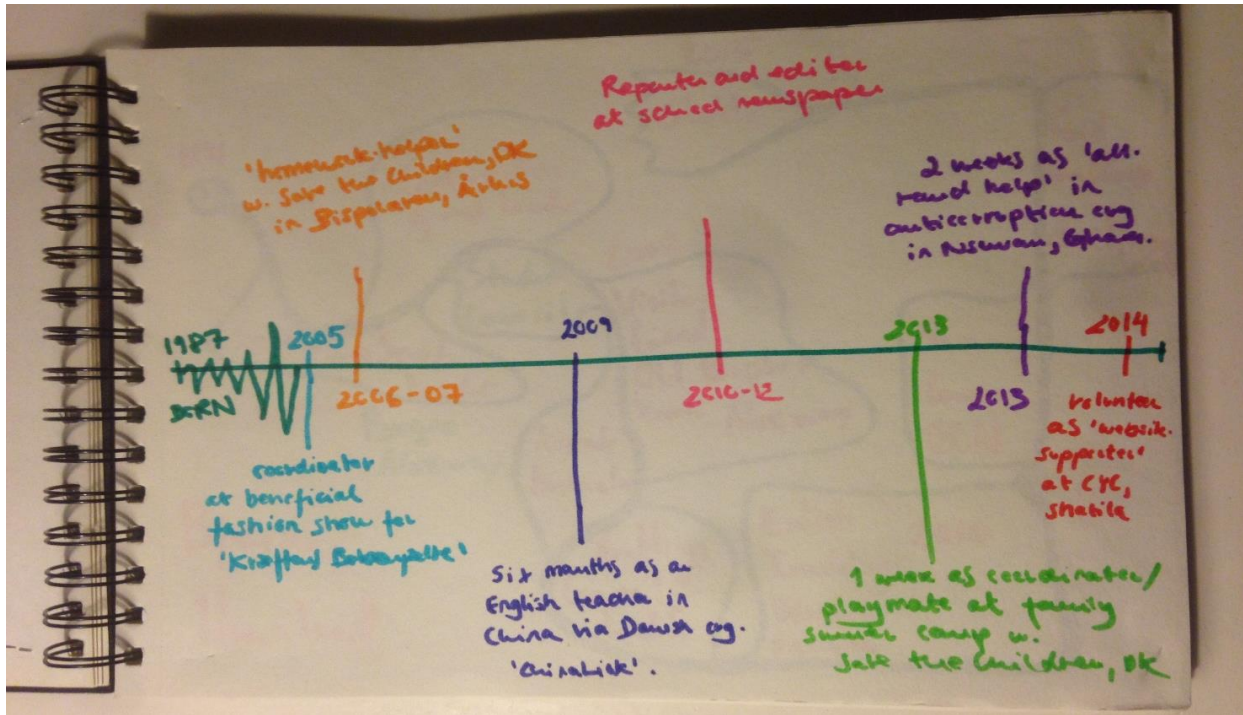


Appendix 10.3.2 Observing Bjarne

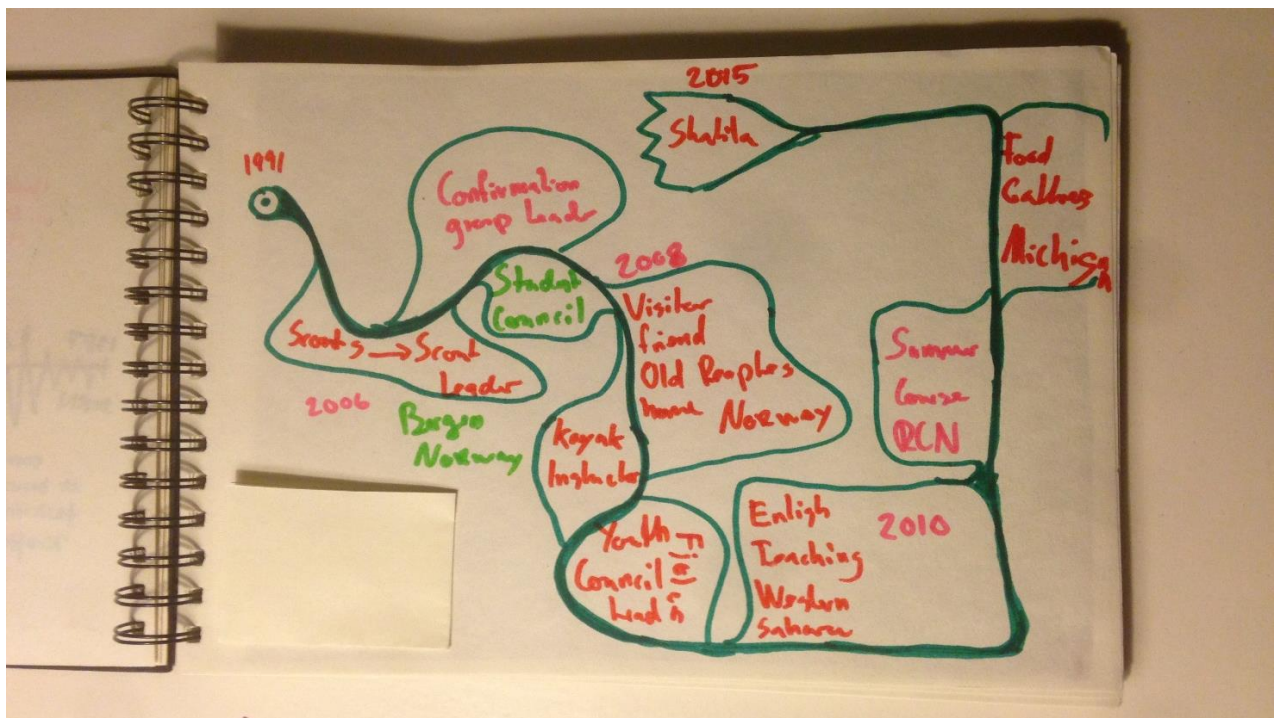


Appendix 10.4 The timelines

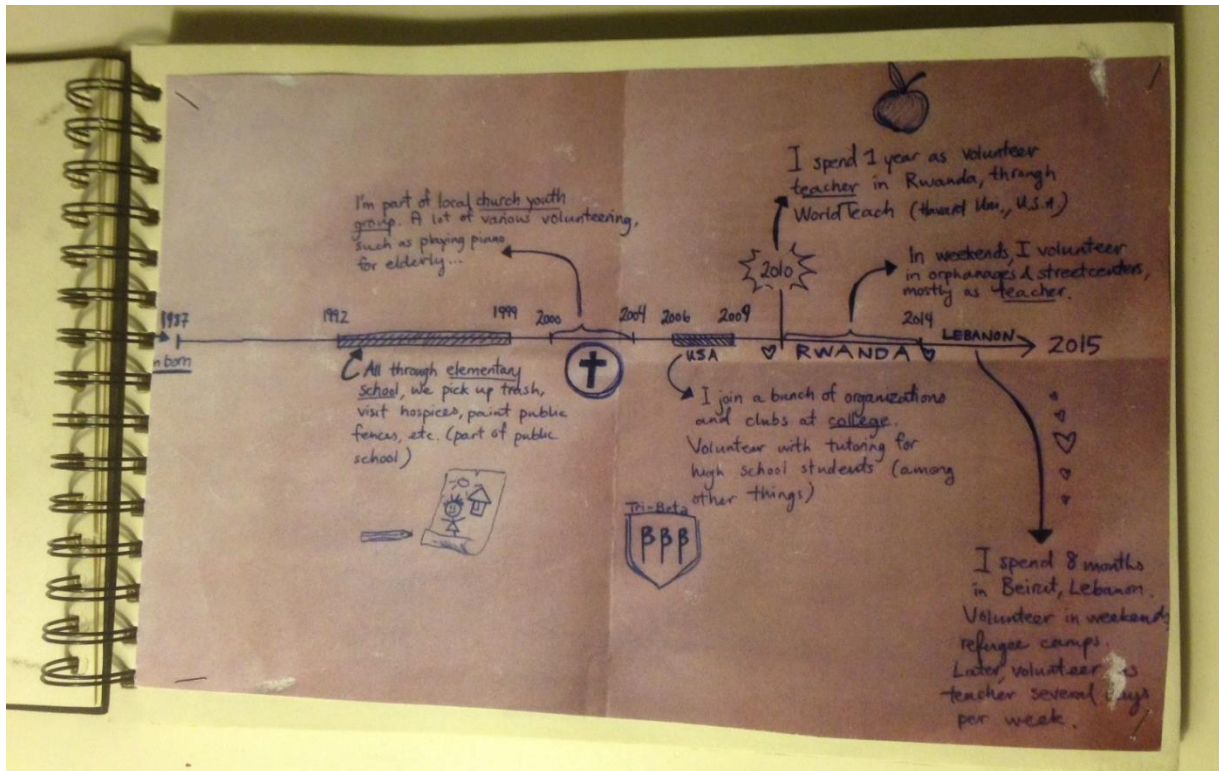
Appendix 10.4.1 Jeanette's timeline



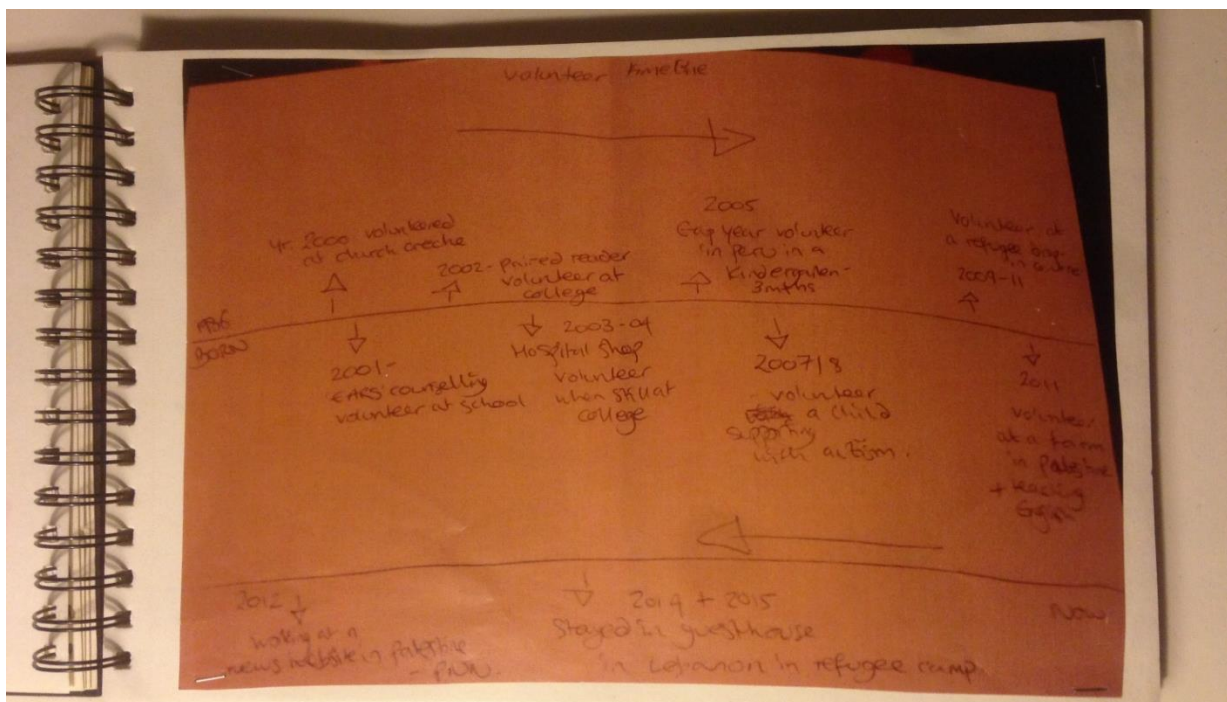
Appendix 10.4.2 Bjarne's timeline



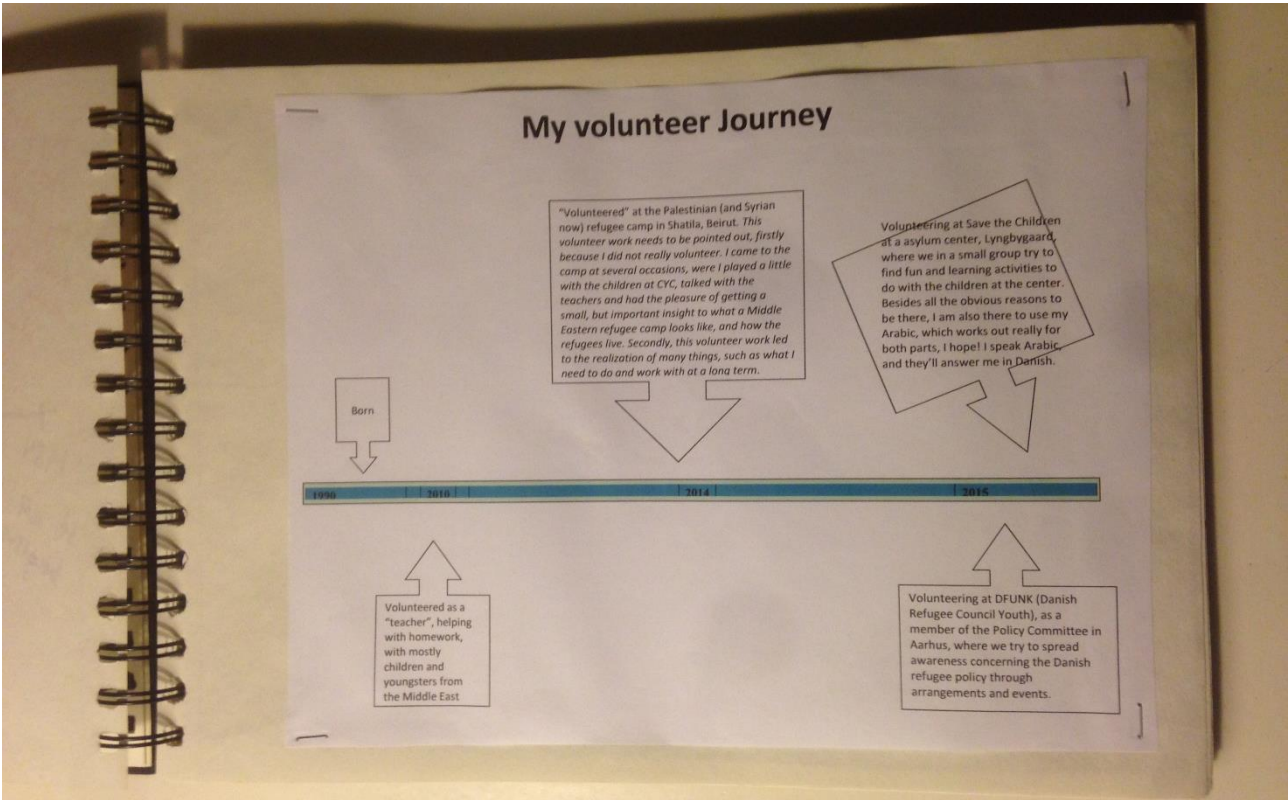
Appendix 10.4.3 Victoria's timeline



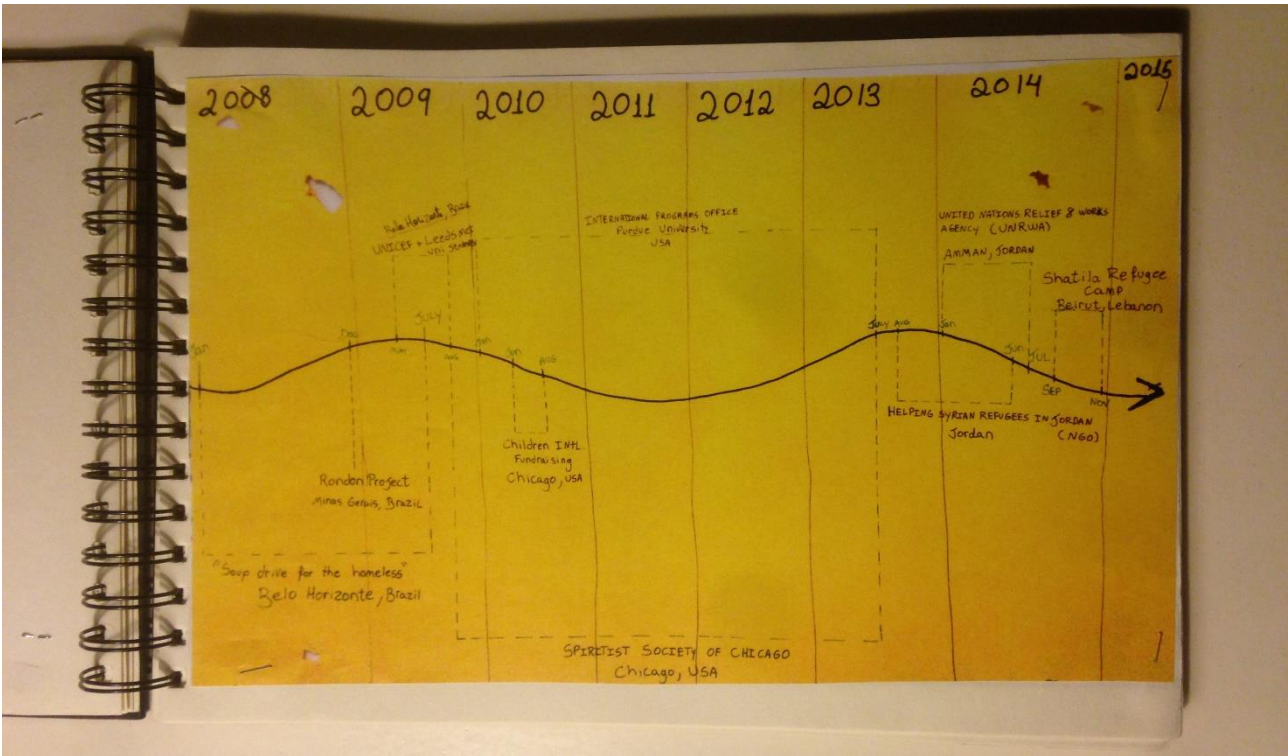
Appendix 10.4.4 Lis' timeline



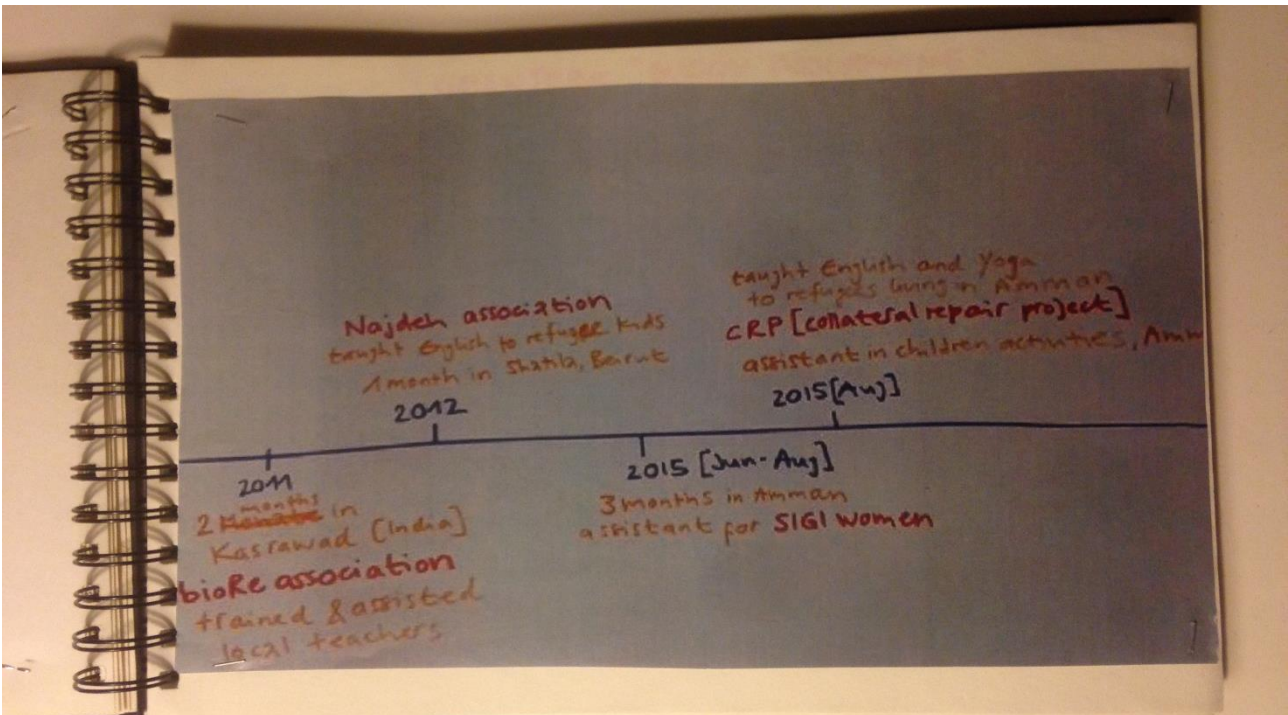
Appendix 10.4.5 Martine's timeline



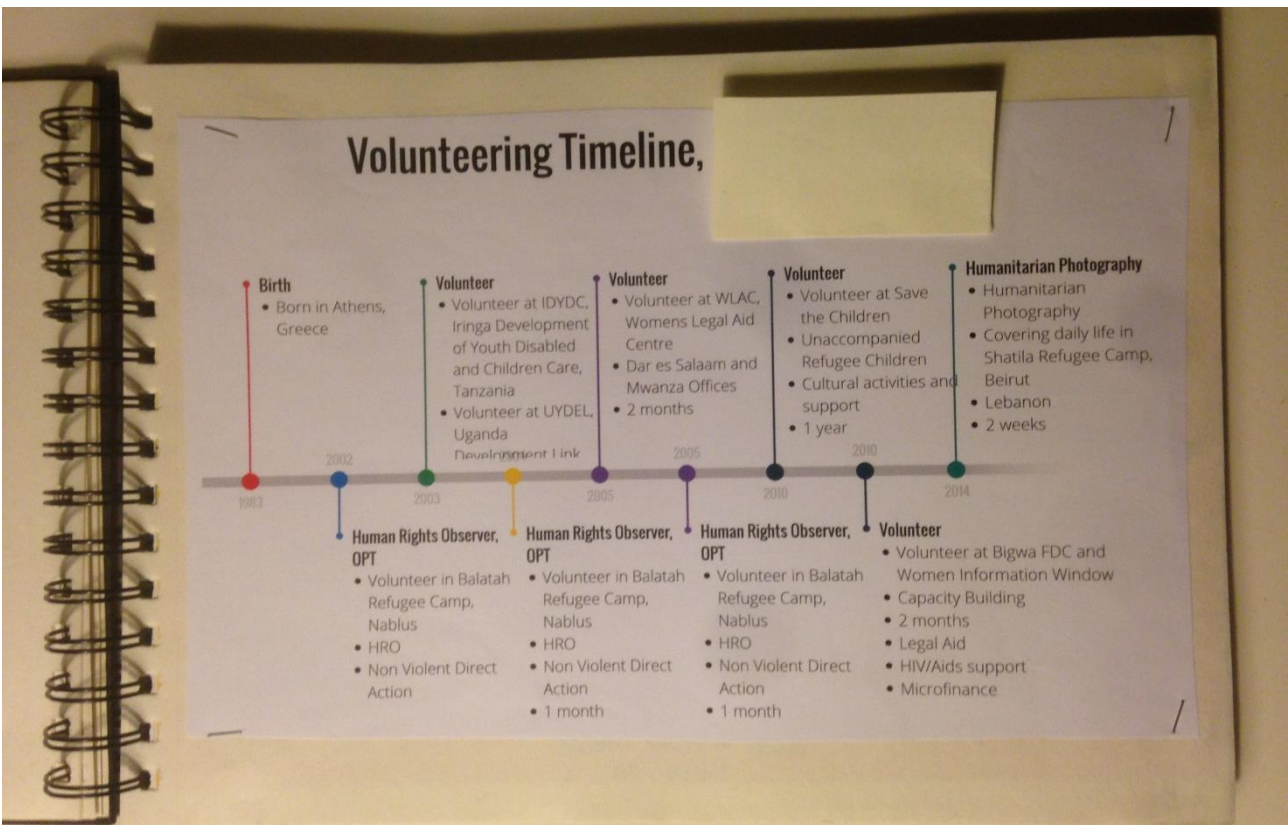
Appendix 10.4.6 Rasmus' timeline



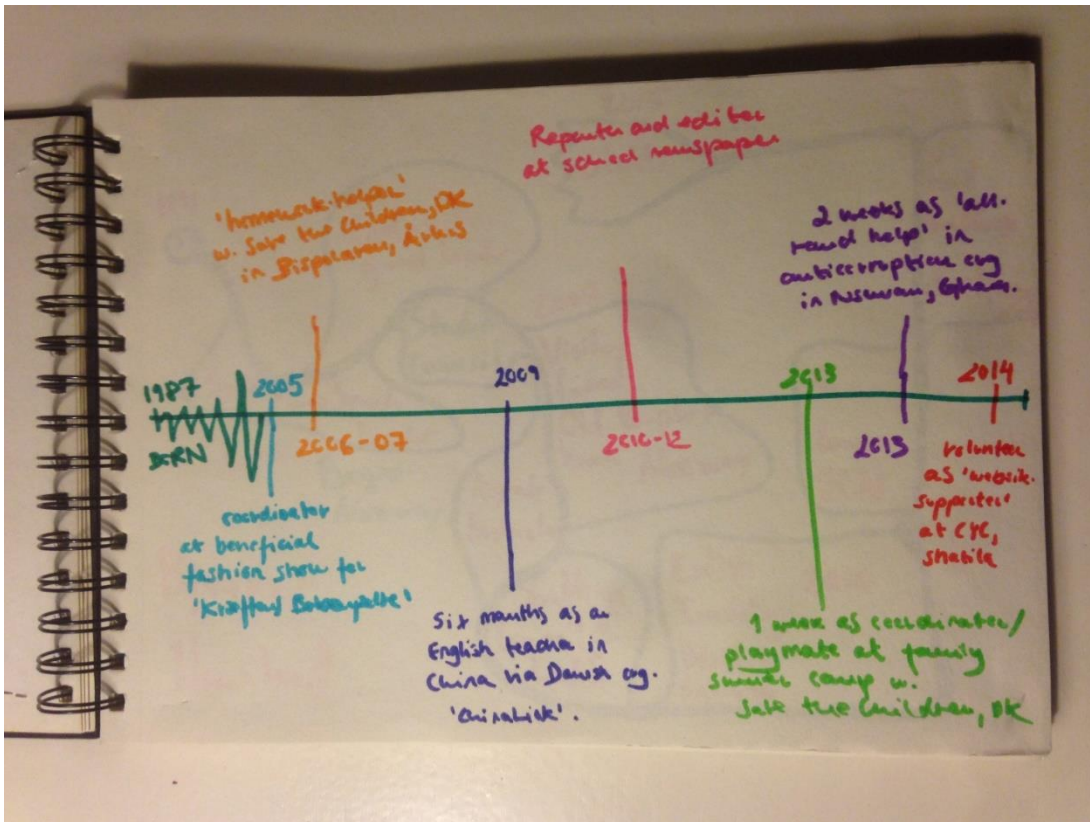
Appendix 10.4.7 Charlotte's timeline



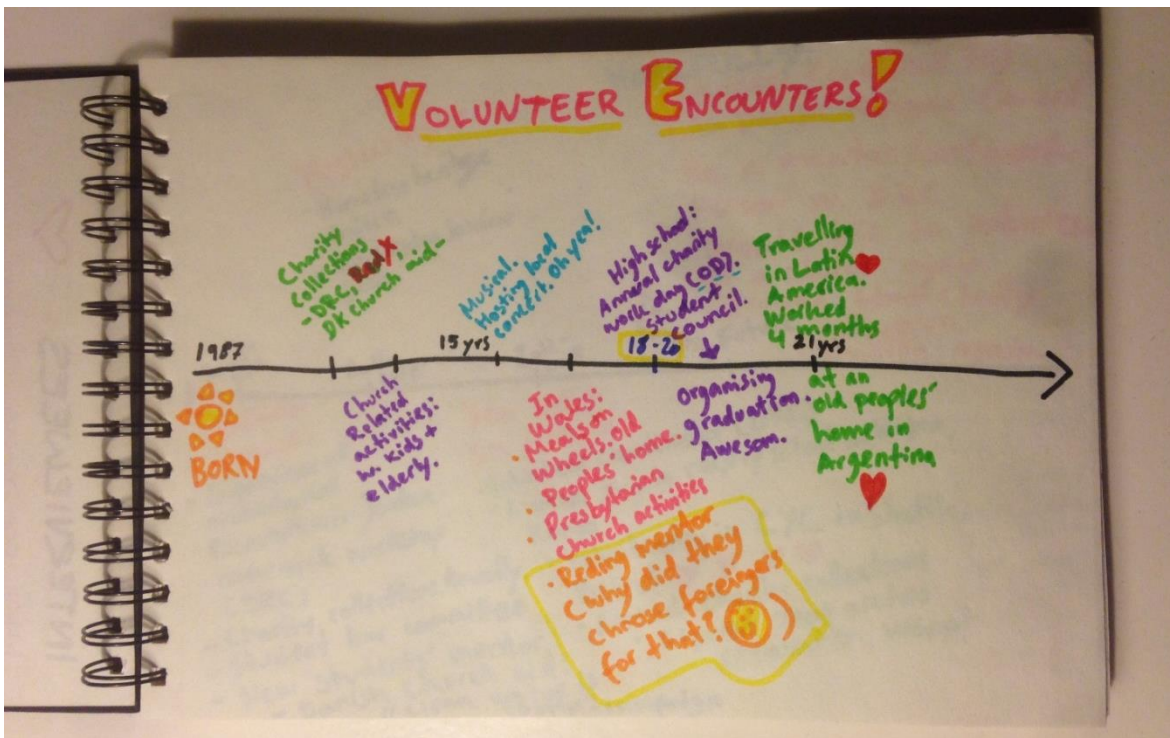
Appendix 10.4.8 Peter's timeline

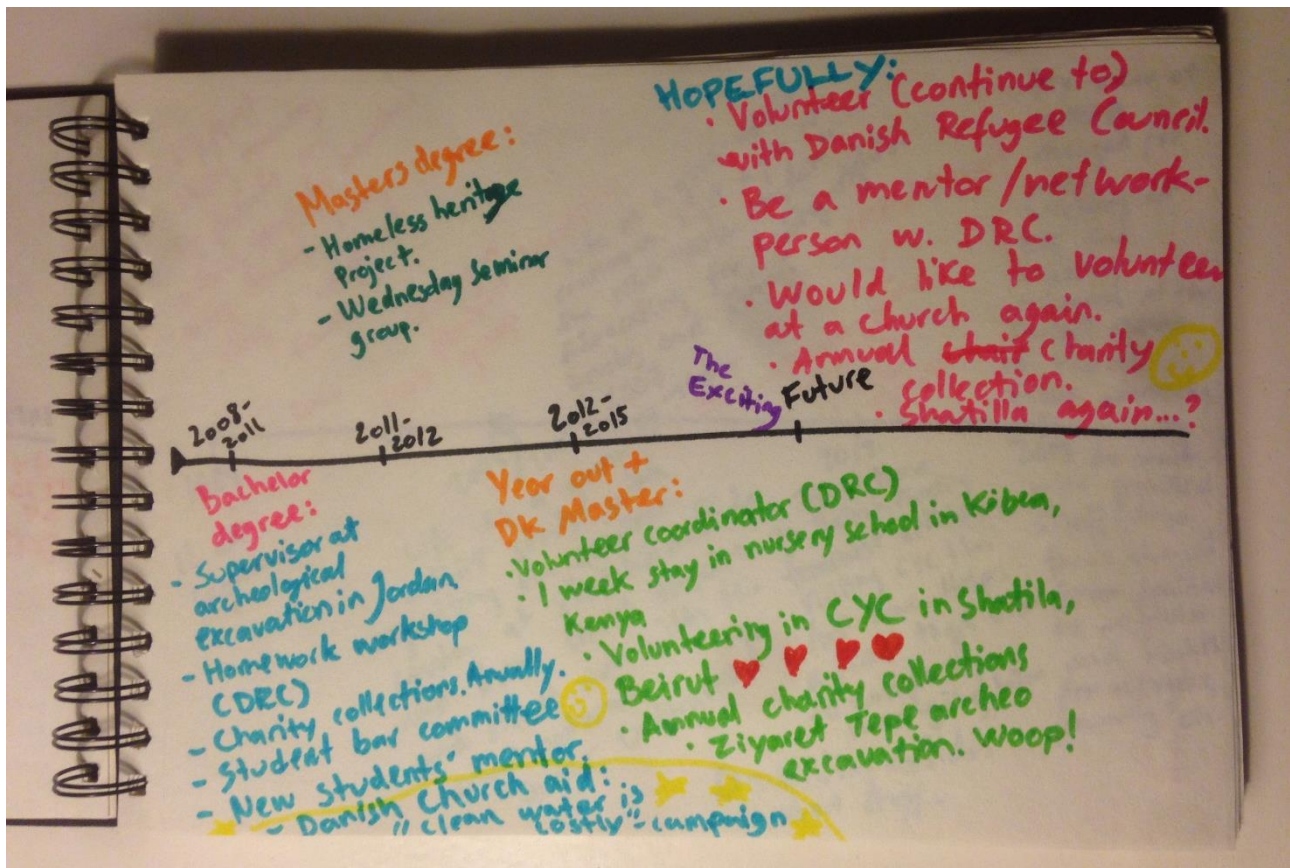


Appendix 10.4.9 Frederikke's timeline



Appendix 10.4.10 Marlene's timeline





Appendix 10.5 Information pre-interviews

Prior to the interviews the interviewees was informed about the following:

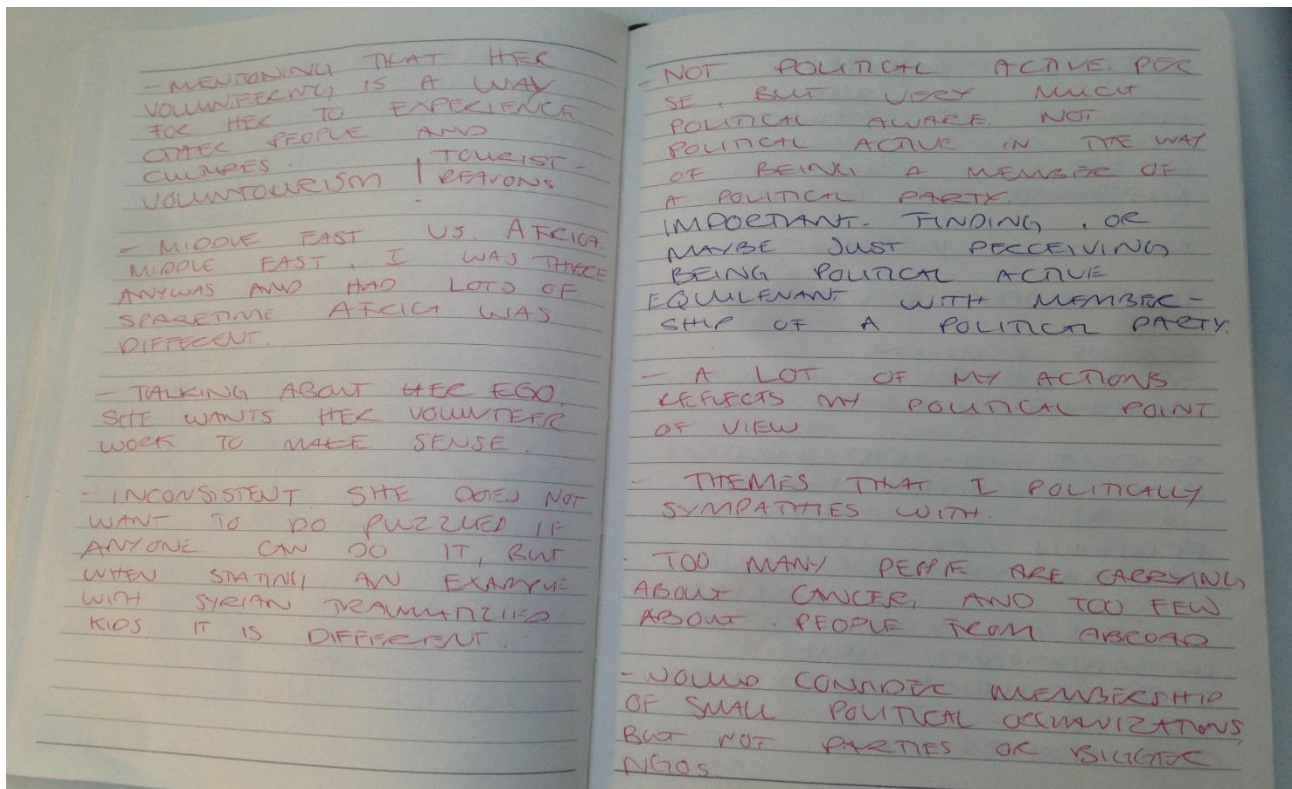
- The interview will be recorded in order for me to be able to transcribe it,
- You will receive a pseudo-name and all personal details will be kept confidential,
- You can withdraw from the project at any time,
- Specific details can be left out in the final transcription,
- Feel free to ask any question if there is any doubt about my questions or if you need any elaborations.

Appendix 10.6 Notes while conducting and transcribing the interviews

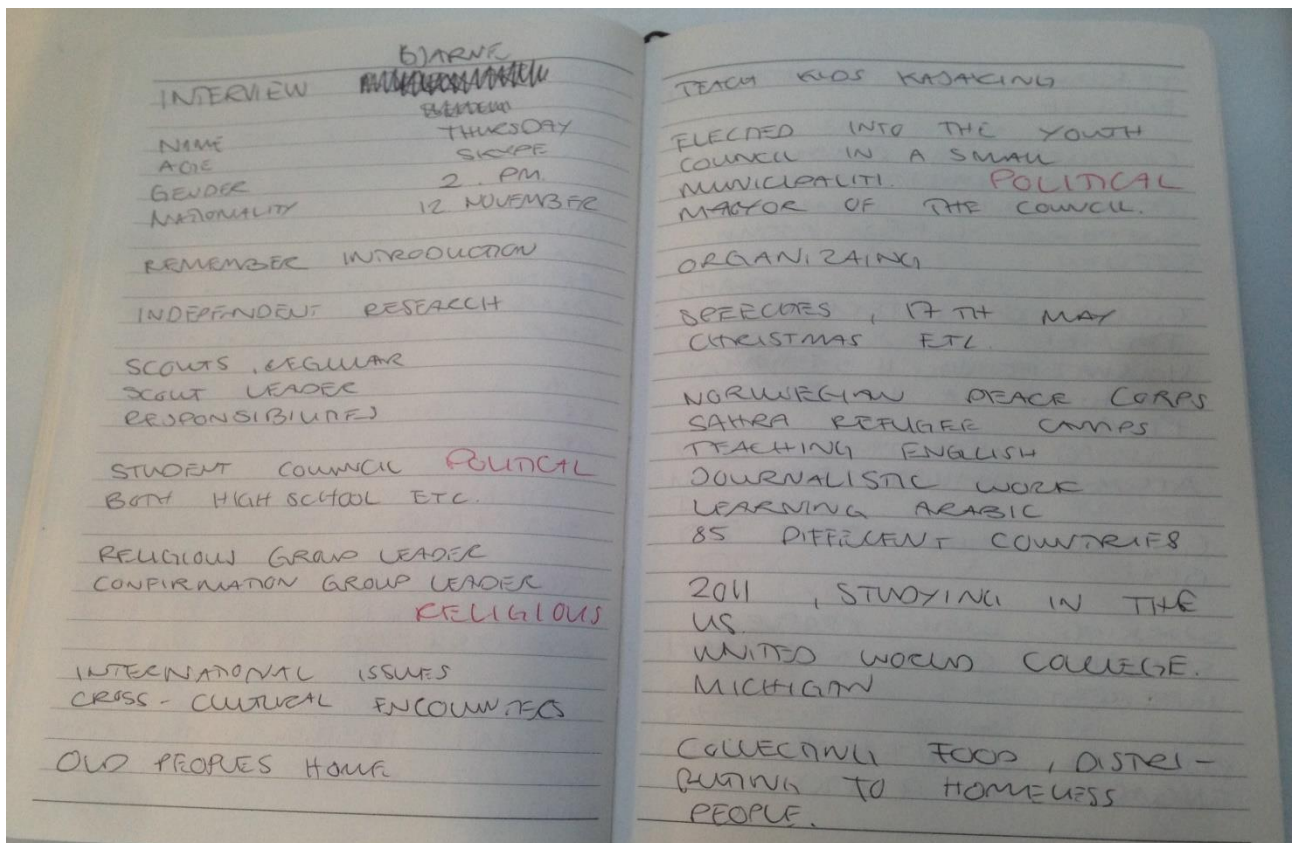
Appendix 10.6.1 Jeanette

INTERVIEW JEANETTE TUESDAY
~~THURSDAY~~
 FACE TO FACE
 NAME 10. NOVEMBER
 AGE 9 PM
 GENDER
 OCCUPATION
 NATIONALITY
 LIVING IN
 THEMES WITHIN VOLUNTEERING
 COLLECTING MONEY
 GROWN SCEPTICAL
 GROWING DUE TO AWARENESS
 AND LEARNING
 ALTRUISTIC - EGOTISM
 WHO ARE YOU, LIFE VALUES
 DIFFICULT
 AFRICA VS. URBAN
 VOLUNTEERING ABOARD OR NOT?

TRAINING, PLACES TO SEE
 NOT ONLY CAREER!
 QUESTION ABOUT POLITICS
 NOT ACTIVE IN A POLITICAL
 ORGANIZATION
 TRANSCRIBING THE INTERVIEW - ANYTHING TO
 WRITE OR REMEMBER?
 - WORKING WITH YOUNG
 PEOPLE OR CHILDREN!
 I MIGHT NEED TO ASK
 WHY!! DUE TO THEIR
 INNOCENCE OR?
 - I WANTED TO FOCUS MORE ON
 WHAT COULD I ACTUALLY
 GIVE THAT NOT ANYONE
 COULD GIVE
 - SERIOUS LEISURE PROSPECTIVE; MENTIONS THAT IN
 THE BEGINNING SHE PARTICIPATED
 IN COLLECTING MONEY
 (NO KNOWLEDGE EXPERIENCE
 NEEDED) AND THEN VOLUNTEERING
 IN CYC WITH
 CHALLENGES CONCERNING WITH
 HER BACHELOR DEGREE IN
 JOURNALISM. CASUAL VOLUNTEERING
 VS. SERIOUS LEISURE
 VOLUNTEERING
 SOMETHING IN THE THEORY
 ABOUT BLOOD DONORS, MAKE
 WRITING ABOUT THIS, SO
 THAT I CAN REFER TO
 THEORY AND THE THING
 ABOUT COLLECTING MONEY AS
 CASUAL VOLUNTEERING
 BUILDING ON A VOLUNTEER
 CAREER OR BUILDING
 ON A CAREER THROUGH
 VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCES?



Appendix 10.6.2 Bjarne



TEACHING THE TEACHERS
ENGLISH.

CONDUCTING A RESEARCH
PROJECT, PARADOX OF
PERMANENT WHICH WAS
SUPPOSED TO NOT BE PERMA-
NENT.

FIELD OF INTEREST
THEMES

VOLUNTEERING IS FUNNY
ENGAGING A LOT OF
PEOPLE.

ALWAYS HAVING FUN

GETTING MORE THAN I
GIVE.

WORKING WITH PEOPLE,
SHARING SKILLS AND
INTEREST.

POLITICAL VOLUNTEERING,
ENGAGED IN POLITICS.

NO POLITICAL IDEOLOGY.

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE
PALESTINANS. IT FITS IN
WITH THE TOPIC I'M
STUDYING.

HEART CAUSE, WESTERN
SHARIA. PEOPLE'S PERSON.

DON'T CONSIDER HIS
VOLUNTEER WORK A
CAREER.

I DO WHAT I'M DOING
NOW BECAUSE OF WHAT
I HAVE DONE BEFORE.
PAST EXPERIENCES.

OTHERS SEE / PERCEIVE
A CAREER.

HARD TO SEE IT AS
A CAREER. HARD TO SEE
DIFFERENT KIND OF
CHALLENGES.

HAVE NOT ADVANCED.
A TOOL TO FIND AND
MAKE NEW FRIENDS.

NOT FOCUSING THE ACADE-
MIC IS THE ONE CHOOSING
THE DIRECTION

LIFE VALUES.
PEOPLE'S PERSON
ALtruISM - EGOISM.
WE BENEFITING
CULTURAL - ENCOUNTERS

FUTURE PLANS

ABROAD
CULTURAL - ENCOUNTERS

AT HOME
COULD BE MORE POLITICAL

I HAVE CHANGED
DEVELOPMENT
BUT DOES NOT CONSIDER
IT A CAREER, BUT IT
STILL CAN BE.

BEING BUSY, CREATING A
NETWORK
SCHOOL WAS TOUGH

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN
NORWAY.
LESS ACTIVITIES ABOUT
TEACHING.

REGIONAL POLITICS IS
EASIER THAN CAMP
POLITICS.

ETHICS OF VOLUNTEERING.

VOLUNTEERING MAKES MORE
TROUBLE.

TRANSCENDING
INTERVIEW

CONSIDER THE PART OF
THE DIFFICULTIES DURING
THE INTERVIEW

NORWEGIAN PEACE CORPS!

SAHRAWI REFUGEE CAMPS
IN ALGERIA

KEPT RETURNING TO THE
SAHRAWI CAMPS, BUT BEFORE
EVERY NEW STAY HE WOULD
ATTEND SUMMER WORKSHOPS,
IMPROVING AND DEVELOPING,
TO BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE
AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE

DEVELOPMENT WITHIN
THE VOLUNTEER FIELD

VOLUNTEERING IS FUN AND
GIVES ME AN OPPORTUNITY
TO ENGAGE WITH OTHER
PEOPLE

SHARING SKILLS AND INTER-
ESTS WITH OTHER PEOPLE
SERIOUS LEISURE

VOLUNTEER WORK NOT
POLITICAL CAN EASILY BE
ENGAGED IN POLITICS, BUT
THAT IS NOT WHAT IS
THE DRIVING FORCE
NOT POLITICAL

DO NOT CONSIDER HIM-
SELF HAVING A VOLUNTEER
CAREER, BUT IT STILL
IS CONSIDERED EXPERIENCE
TO HIM.
BUILDING UPON PREVIOUS
EXPERIENCES

"MAYBE I HAVE A VOLUNTEER
CAREER, BUT THEN IT IS
NOT CONSCIOUS, BECAUSE IT
IS NOT WHAT I AM TRYING
TO DO."

STARTING A VOLUNTEER
CAREER IN HIS APPLICATION

FINDS HIS VOLUNTEER WORK
RIGHT NOW NOT ADVANCED
CURRENT VOLUNTEER WORK
NOT ADVANCED

HE HIMSELF MENTIONS ALTRUISM-
EGOISM

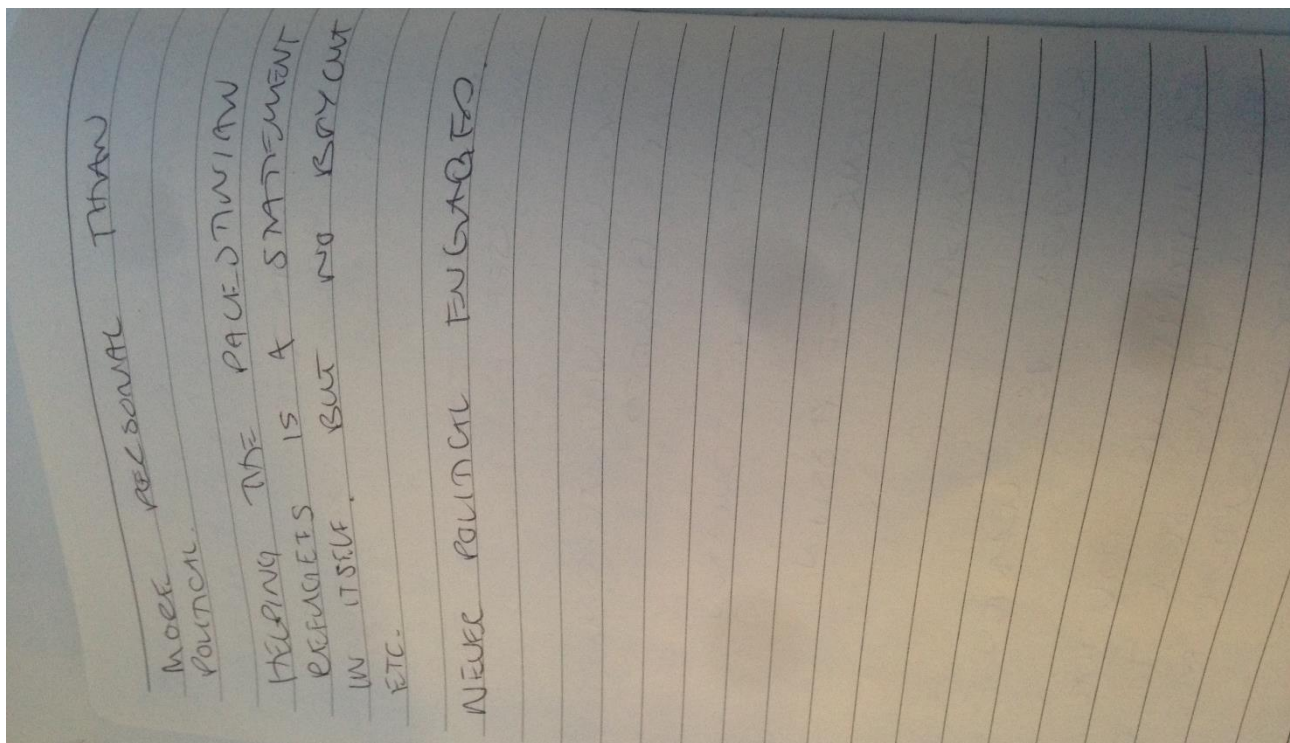
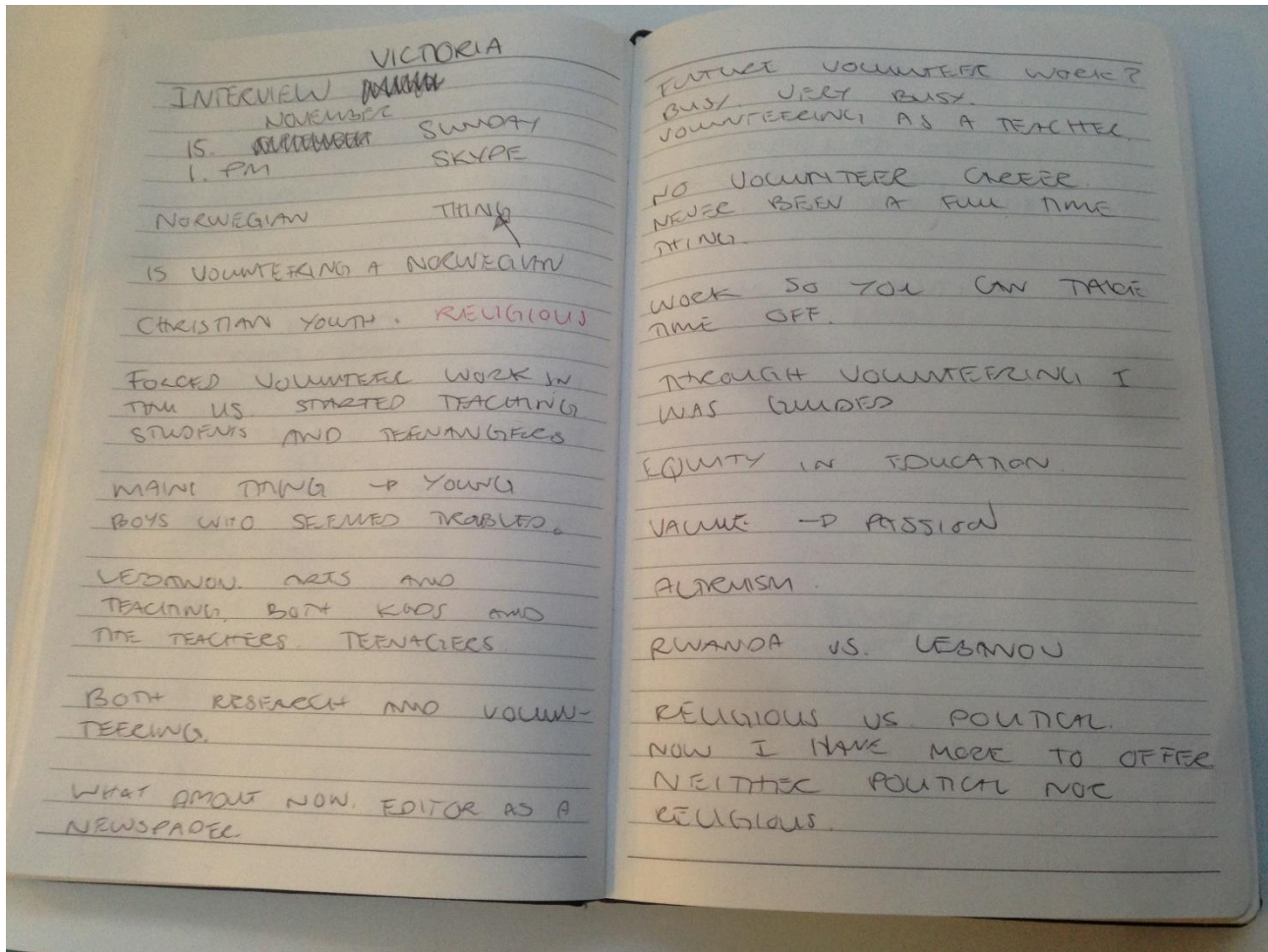
LOVING CULTURAL-EXCHANGE

HAS GROWN AND DEVELOPED
AS A PERSON.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

REGIONAL POLITICS BEING SO
MUCH EASIER TO ENGAGE
IN THAN CAMP POLITICS

Appendix 10.6.3 Victoria



VICTORIA
TRANSEEMING ~~TRANSFORMING~~
INTERVIEW

YOUTH GROUP WITH LOCAL
CHURCH. RELIGIOUS

MANDATORY VOLUNTEER
WORK VS PEOPLE
VOLUNTEER WORK IN THE
STATES.
FORCED VOLUNTEERING!

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE MADE
HER WANT TO VOLUNTEER
IN RWANDA.
BUILDING ON SKILLS AND
EXPERIENCES

VOLUNTEERING IN RWANDA
IS EASY.

YOUNG BOYS WHO SEEMED
TROUBLED.

STATING THAT SHE DOES NOT
VOLUNTEER RIGHT NOW, BUT
THAT SHE ADDS THAT

SHE IS ACTUALLY WORKING
FOR FREE AS AN
EDITOR AT THIS NEWS-
PAPER, BUT SINCE IT'S
NOT FOR A GOOD CAUSE,
SHE DOES NOT PERCEIVE
IT AS VOLUNTEER WORK.
NOT FOR A GOOD
CAUSE → NOT VOLUNTEERING.

1 HOUR OF VOLUNTEER
WORK IS NOT ENOUGH IF
YOU WANT TO HAVE AN
IMPACT.

CAREERING IS PERCEIVED TO
BE WHEN PEOPLE ARE
DOING IT AS THEIR
ENTIRE LIFE THING.

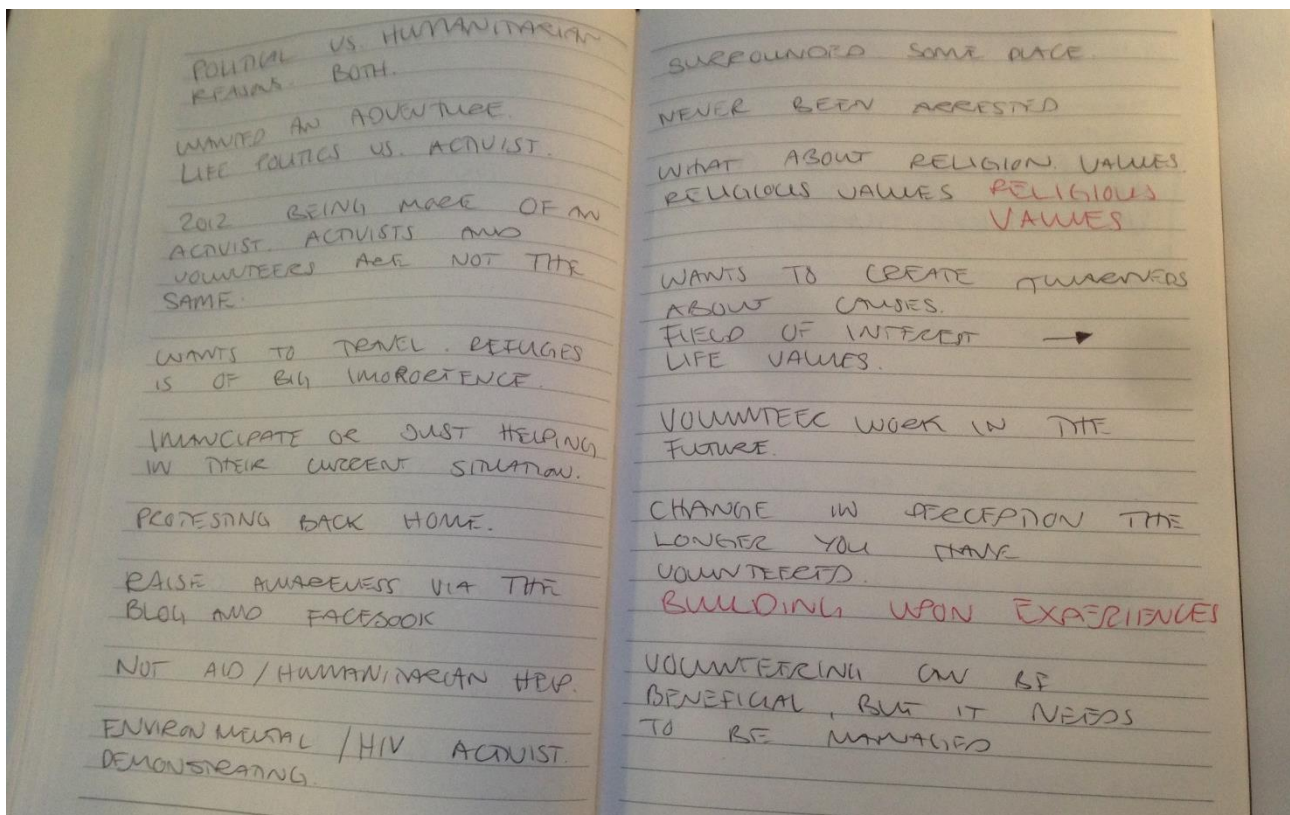
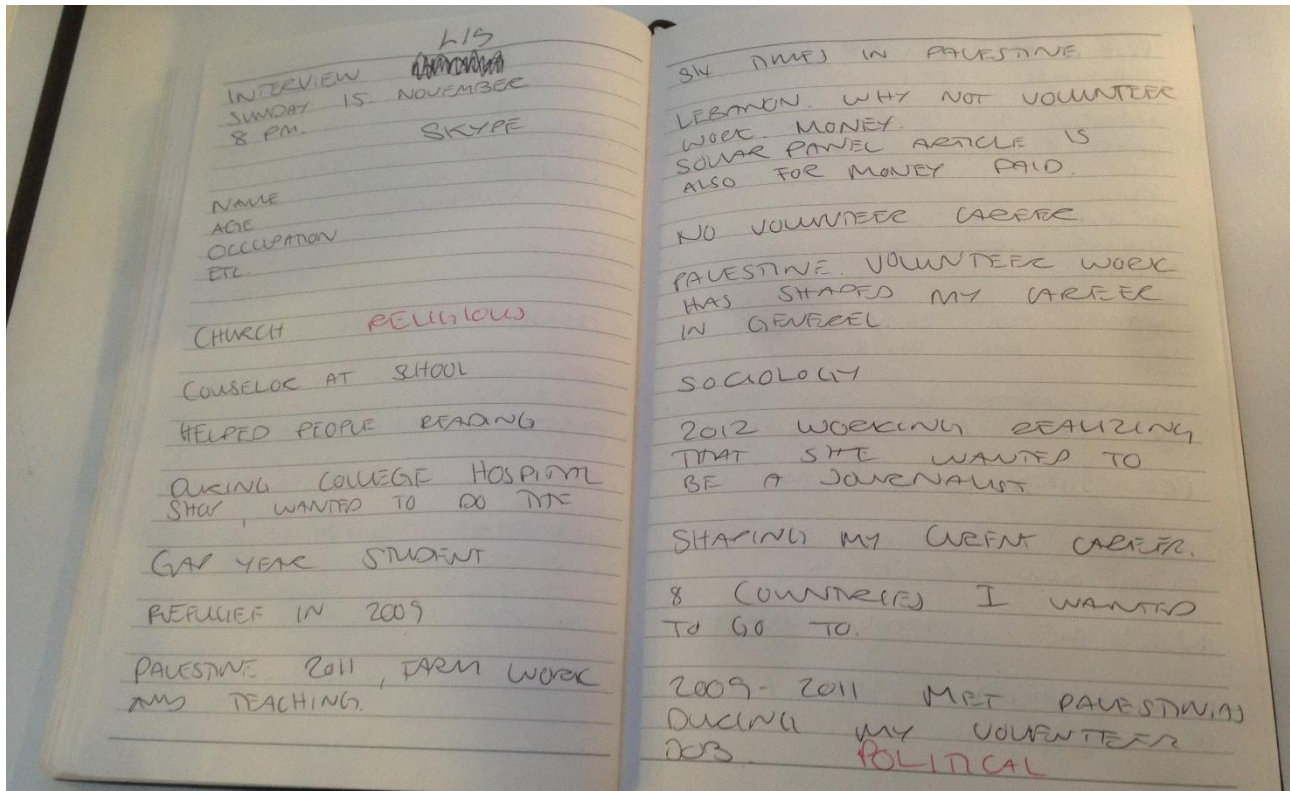
WHEN VOLUNTEERING IS
YOUR WHOLE LIFE.
VOLUNTEER CAREER →
VOLUNTEERING BEING YOUR
WHOLE LIFE.

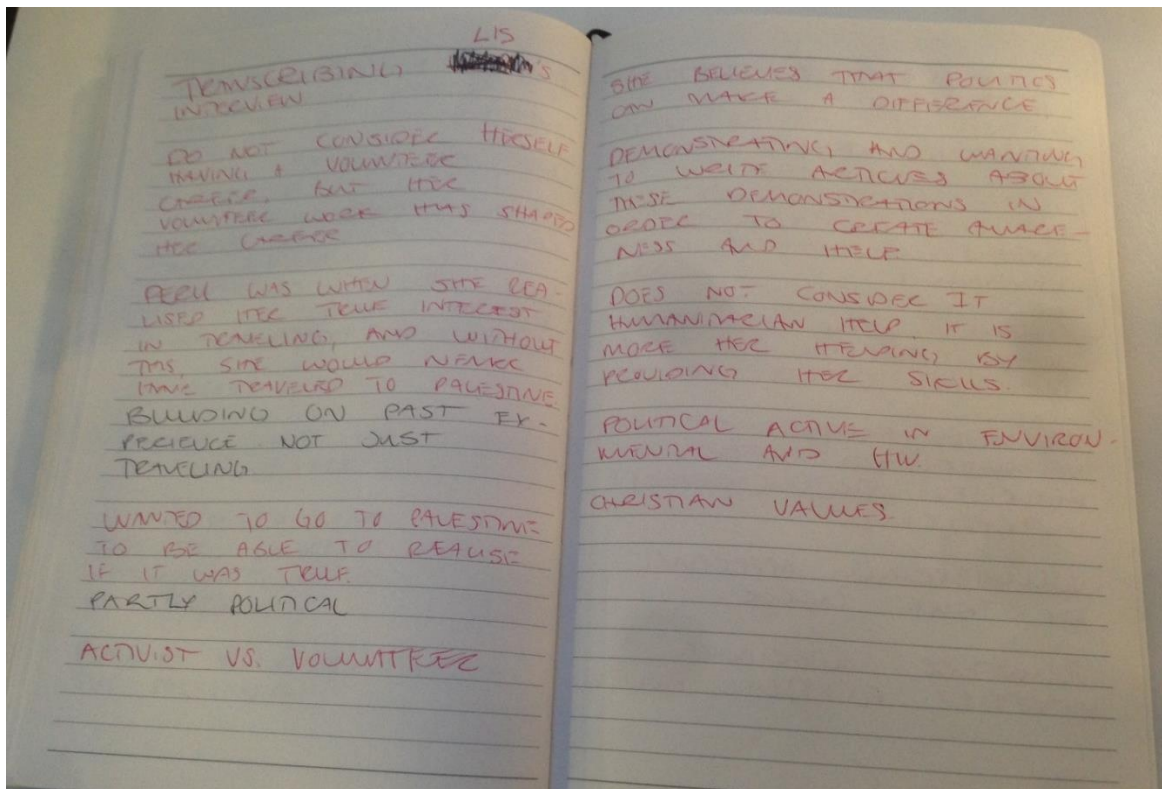
VOLUNTEERING HAVE GUIDED
MY CAREER. I HAVE BEEN
VERY INFLUENCED BY MY
VOLUNTEER WORK.

"I KNOW THAT CHOOSING TO
HELP PALESTINIANS IS A
POLITICAL STATEMENT IN
ITSELF."

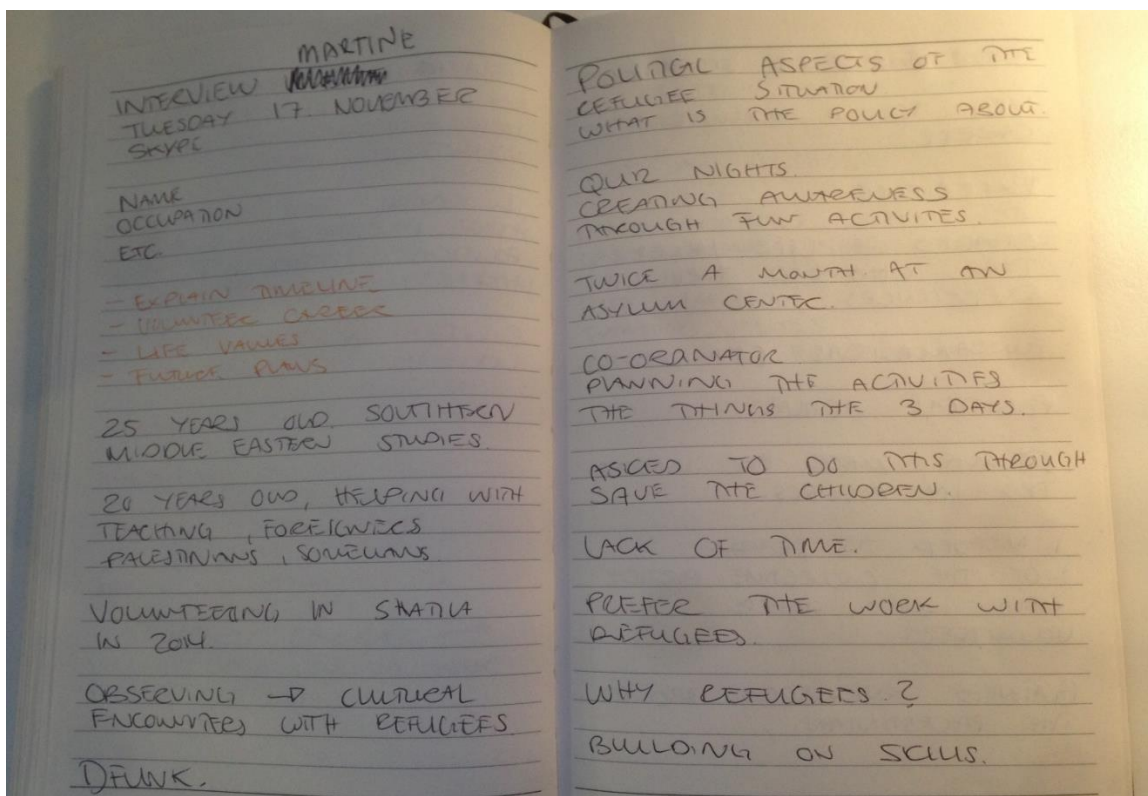
POLITICS IN NORWAY VS.
US VS RWANDA.

Appendix 10.6.4 Lis





Appendix 10.6.5 Martine



THE CURRENT SITUATION.

YES TO A VOLUNTEER
CAREER

EXPERIENCE

CHANGED OF LIFE VALUES.
THEY CHANGED THROUGH
EXPERIENCES

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE.

POLITICAL ACTIVE.

DEUNK MADE HER INTERES-
TED IN POLITICS.

I NEEDED TO LEARN.

NOT THE COLLECTIVE PARTICI-
PATION WITH OTHER
VOLUNTEERS.

GAINED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT
THE PALESTINIAN.

DO NOT CONSIDER MYSELF
A CERTAIN KIND OF
TYPE.

NOT AN ACTIVIST.

DEMONSTRATIONS WITHIN THE
LAST YEAR. SHOW SUPPORT

LIFE VALUES
FAMILY VALUES
RIGHT TO FREEDOM

MARTINE
INTERVIEW ~~MARTINE~~
TUESDAY 17. NOVEMBER
SKYPE

NAME
OCCUPATION
ETC.

- EXPLAIN TIMELINE
- VOLUNTEER CAREER
- LIFE VALUES
- FUTURE PLANS

25 YEARS OLD. SOUTHERN
MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES.

20 YEARS OLD, HELPING WITH
TEACHING, FOREIGNERS
PALESTINIANS, SOMALIANS

VOLUNTEERING IN STATUT
IN 2014.

OBSERVING → CULTURAL
ENCOUNTERS WITH REFUGEES

DEUNK.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE
REFUGEE SITUATION.
WHAT IS THE POLICY ABOUT.

QUIZ NIGHTS.
CREATING AWARENESS
THROUGH FUN ACTIVITIES.

TWICE A MONTH AT AN
ASYLUM CENTRE.

CO-ORDINATOR
PLANNING THE ACTIVITIES
THE THINGS THE 3 DAYS.

ASKED TO DO THIS THROUGH
SAVE THE CHILDREN.

LACK OF TIME.

PREFER THE WORK WITH
REFUGEES.

WHY REFUGEES?

BUILDING ON SKILLS.

Appendix 10.6.6 Rasmus

RASMUS
INTERVIEW ~~INTERVIEW~~
FRIDAY 9:30
SKYPE

NAME 27 YEAR
NATIONALITY BRAZILIAN
OCCUPATION WORK AS

- EXPLAIN TIMELINE ✓
- VOLUNTEER CAREER ✓
- LIFE VALUES ✓
- FUTURE PLANS ✓
- COLLECTIVE VS INDIVIDUAL
- POLITICS ✓

SOUP TO HOMELESS IN
BRAZIL. PAUK + FOOD.

SCHOOL FOR YOUNG KIDS.
TEACHING AND HELPING OUT.
1 MONTH.

HOSTED A GROUP OF STUDENTS
FROM THE UK. THROUGH
THE UK. CULTURAL
ENCOUNTERS.

MOVED TO THE STATES,
CHICAGO.

SPIRITUAL. RELIGIOUS?
4 YEARS OF VOLUNTEERING.

FUNDRAISING FOR KIDS.
HAND OUT LEAFLETS ETC.
DID NOT LIKE THIS.
NOT PEOPLE VOLUNTEERING
WORK. DID NOT HELP
ANYONE.

LEARNING FROM PAST
EXPERIENCE.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM
OFFICE.
BEDDING & CAP!

2013, MOVED TO JORDAN
WHY JORDAN

SYRIAN REFUGEES IN
JORDAN.
WHY SYRIAN REFUGEES?

UNRWA PALESTINEANS
REFUGEE CAMPS RESEARCH
ASSISTANT. GRANT PROPOSAL
FULL TIME VOLUNTEERING
POSITION - AROUND 6 MONTHS.

2014 LEBANON SHATILA
CIC INTRODUCED BY ME!!
DID NOT COMMIT TO ANY
VOLUNTEERING

THEMES IN VOLUNTEERING
EDUCATION AND TEACHING.
ENJOYS TEACHING.

WHY REFUGEES? INTEREST
STARTED DURING THE SYRIAN
WAR.

INTERESTED IN POLITICS

CONCERNED ABOUT THE
KIDS. THEIR FUTURE.
CREATING A LIFE IN
POVERTY

TEACHING THE KIDS
WITH SKILLS EMPOWER THEM
WANTS TO MAKE AN
IMPACT.

WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A
CAREER WITHIN VOLUNTEERING.
WISH TO BE VOLUNTEERING
MORE

VOLUNTEERING DOES NOT
REALLY COUNT WHEN
APPLYING FOR PEOPLE
PAID JOBS. PAID TEACHING.
EMPLOYED POINT OF VIEW.

BUILDING ON A CAREER.

LIFE VALUES. THINKS I CARE
MORE ABOUT. CARE ABOUT
EDUCATION. SCHOOL.

SHOWS MY POLITICAL STANCE
INVOLVED IN UENWA.

MIDDLE EASTERN POLITICS
NOT ENOUGH INVOLVED
IN FOR INSTANCE OTHER
POLITICAL CAUSES.

POLITICS → HELPING
THEM WHO ARE SUFFERING
FROM THE POLITICS.

POLITICAL ACTIVE → NOT
ACTIVE IN A PARTY.

A LITTLE BIT RELIGIOUS.
THE MEMBERS WERE
CHRISTIANS.

CONSIDER YOURSELF RELIGIOUS,
SPIRITUAL PERSON. NOT ONE
RELIGION IN PARTICULAR.

JUST ONE GOOD

FUTURE PLANS OF VOLUN-
TEERING. HEADS ON VERY
INTENSE, FULL TIME.

STILL WANTS TO VOLUNTEER
WITHIN THE SAME THEMES.

UTILIZING SKILLS ALREADY
CAPABLE OF.

COLLECTIVE VS. INDIVIDUAL?
PART OF A GROUP. PART
OF A GROUP DUE TO THE
KNOWLEDGE. MORE COMFOR-
TABLE IN BEING BY
ALONE.

LOVE THE SOCIAL BUT
IT IS NOT SOCIAL BUT
IT IS NOT THE MOTIVATIONAL
FACTOR.

MEANS OF MAKING THE
HAPPEN.

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

RASMUS
TRANSCRIBING ~~REDACTED~~'S
INTERVIEW

DID NOT LIKE FUNDRAIS-
ING. DID NOT FEEL HE
WAS DOING A GOOD THING,
MORE JUST ANNOYING
PEOPLE.

MEETING NEW PEOPLE!

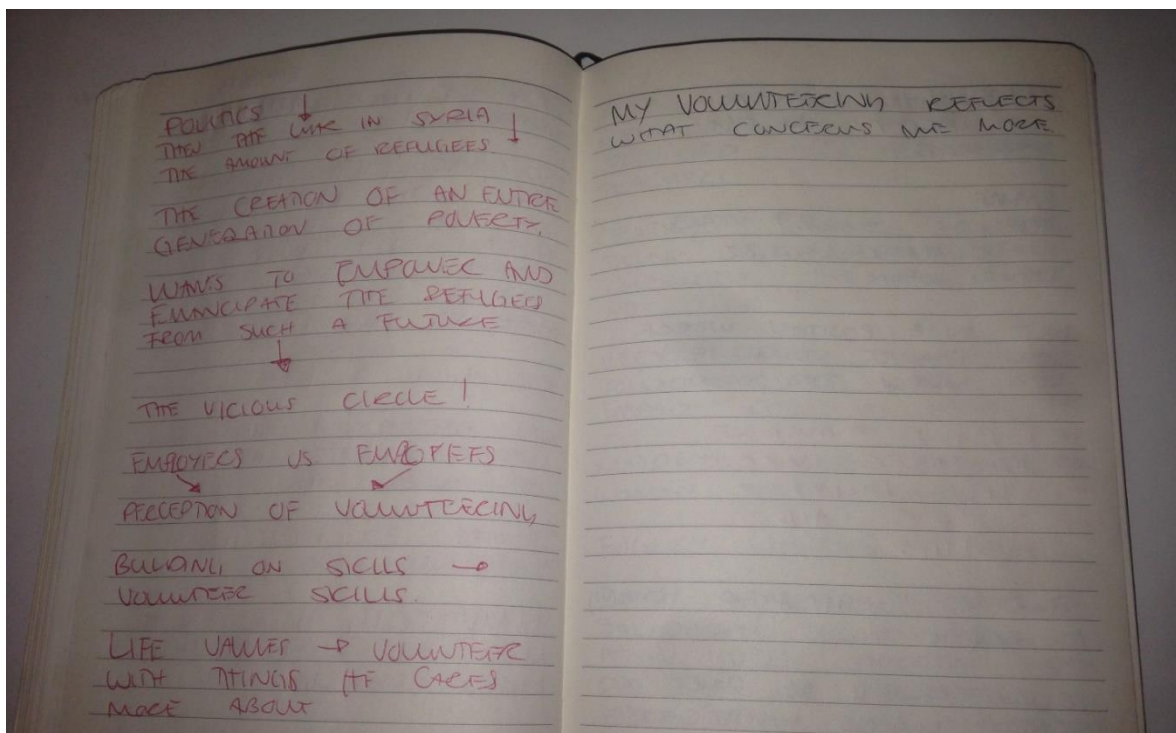
BELOGING A GAP.

WAS OFFERED A PAID JOB AT
UENWA AFTER HIS TIME
OF VOLUNTEERING

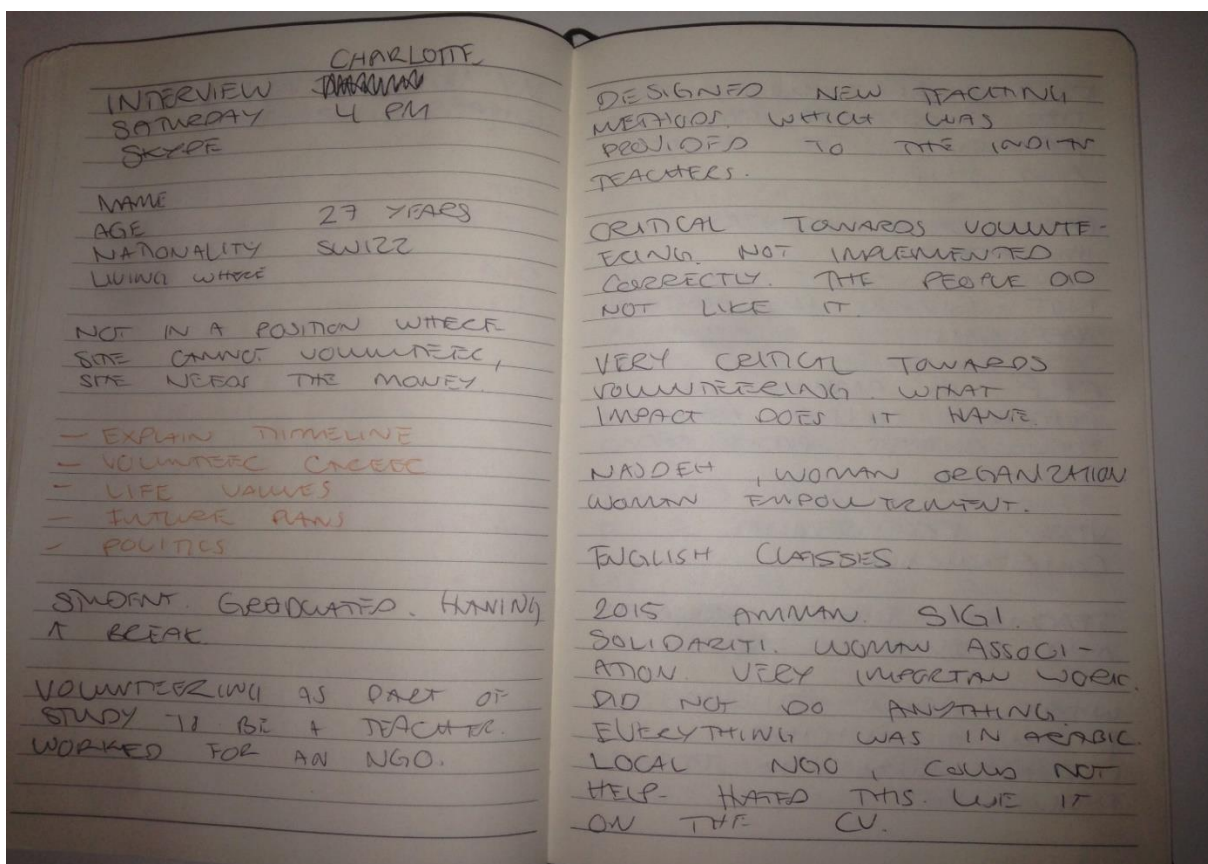
THEMES: EDUCATION AND
TEACHING.

VOLUNTEERING AS A TEACHER
MADE HIM REALIZE HE
LIKED TEACHING

STUDYING POLITICS AND VERY
MUCH INTO POLITICS



Appendix 10.6.7 Charlotte



DON'T GIVE MONEY →
THE JORDANIANS DON'T
APPRECIATE THE ADVICE
AND HELP

PAPER WORK IS VERY
IMPORTANT.

NOT GIVING ME ANYTHING
PERSONALLY

CRP IN AMMAN IN
AUGUST. COLLECT MONEY
FOR COTTES, BOOKS AND
EDUCATION.

VERY PROFESSIONAL
CONSTRUCTIVE.

TEACHING ENGLISH TO MEN
AND WOMAN + YOGA.

WHAT ABOUT THEMES.
I AM A TEACHER
I DON'T WANT TO TEACH
ENGLISH.

THAT IS WHAT THEY
NEED. TEACHING IS GOOD.
ENGLISH IS VERY IMPORTANT.

QUALIFICATIONS → SIGI
QUALIFICATIONS → TEACHING

REFUGEES! LOOKING FOR
PEOPLE WHO ARE DIS-
ADVANTAGED. LACK OF
ACCESS TO EDUCATION ETC.

NOT AT ALL A VOLUNTEER
CAREER. NOT VERY LONG.

SELFLESS SERVICE! BECAUSE
IT IS NEEDED.

LIFE VALUES, VERY MUCH
REFLECTED IN CHOICE OF
VOLUNTEERING.

LOCALS FIRST.

NOT USING THE FACT
IT IS A BUSINESS.

WHAT ABOUT POLITICS?
I CONSIDER MYSELF
I CONSIDER SOET
FROM ALL PARTIES.

POLITICAL

NOT AN ACTIVIST. I AM
VOLUNTEERING BECAUSE MY
HELP IS NEEDED.

NOT POLITICAL WORK
↓
SOCIAL WORK

NOT LOOKING FOR THE
LIST ONLINE, BUT WOULD
NOT CHOSE A PRODUCT
WITH ISRAEL.

VOLUNTEER FUTURE PLANS
CRP IN JORDAN.
WANTS TO WORK WITH THE
LOCALS.

PROPER PAID POSITIONS.

CHARLOTTA'S

TEACHING
INTERVIEW

HAVE THE VOLUNTEERING PART
OF THE STUDIES
SERIOUS LEISURE?

THEY DON'T KNOW ABOUT
TEACHING, OR YOU KNOW,
THEY ARE EDUCATED, BUT
NOT ABOUT STRATEGIES
AND STUFF."

THE FEELING OF DOING AN
EFFECT BUT ABSOLUTELY
NOTHING CHANGING

GREW CRITICAL TOWARDS
VOLUNTEERING AFTER THE
EXPERIENCE

SPEAK BETTER ARABIC
SERIOUS LEISURE

WORKED/VOLUNTEERED THERE
ONLY TO GET IN THE
CV.

TEACHING YOGA TO THE
WOMEN
SELFLESS LEISURE

TEACHING IS A PROFESSION
THEREFORE EVERYONE
WANTS THE TO VOLUNTEER

I HAVE AN ASSET THAT
THEY CAN USE

THEY DON'T NEED ME TO
TELL THEM ABOUT THEIR
CHALLENGE, BUT I CAN
TEACH THEM CAUSAL
I AM A TEACHER

WANTS TO RUN TEAM
THE TEACHING, BUT IT
KEEPS ON GETTING BACK
TO THE

DISADVANTAGES PEOPLE

VOLUNTEER WORK + YOGA
SELFLESS SERVICE

WE SHOULD ALL HAVE
THE SAME ACCESS

I THINK I CAN DO MORE
WITHOUT WHO'S AND
DIFFERENT NGO GROUPS
COLLECTIVE US. INDI-
VIDUAL.

↑ ↑
COLLECT MONEY PRIVATELY

WITHOUT FACE BOOK
STATUS CHANGE AND
ALL THESE SORTS OF
PUBLICATION

DO NOT NEED TRAINING

I AM MORE SILENT
NGOs ARE ALL ABOUT
POLITICS

I DO NOT WANT IT TO
BE A BUSINESS

I AM NOT ACTIVE IN A WAY THAT
AN ACTIVIST WOULD BE

I FIND IT NECESSARY
 TO HELP BY HELPING I
 KNOW I ALSO SAYING
 SOMETHING IS NOT MY
 SOMETHING IS NOT MY
 PERSONAL GOAL

ALL PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE
 THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES
 - EMANCIPATION

I AM NOT TAKING THE
 INFORMATION AND SPREADING
 IT, JUST USE THE
 MOVEMENTS POWER

MORE SOCIAL THAN POLITICAL

Appendix 10.6.8 Peter

PETER
 INTERVIEW
 SUNDAY 4 PM

NAME
 AGE
 OCCUPATION
 NATIONALITY

- EXPLAIN TIME LINE
 - THEMES
 - VOLUNTEER CAREER
 - LIFE JAWWES
 - FUTURE PLANS
 - POLITICS

VOLUNTEER WORK STARTED
 OUT POLITICAL.

LEFTIES → YOUNG
 15-16 YEARS OLD

MASSAGE IN JAVIN CAMP.

NON-VIOLENT, OUT POLITICAL.

INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE.

ACHIEVING !

BEING THE SECOND
WIFE OF A REAL BAD
LIFE A WAR

WAS SHOT AND HAD TO
GO HOME

VOLUNTEER WORK IN
BALADIT. RIGHTS TO
FREE MOVEMENT.

RIGHT TO FREE MOVE-
MENT ♥

PTSD, VERY SERIOUS

MIDDLE EAST →
AFRICA →

MIDDLE EAST → AFRICA

YOUTH IN AFRICA.
GETTING THE KIDS AWAY
FROM THE STREETS

WANTED TO DEAL WITH
THE PTSD BY GOING
BACK TO PALESTINE

FEMINIST VILLAGE

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS BEING
PART OF THE SOCIETY
IS VERY IMPORTANT.
PARTICIPATING IN THE
DAILY LIFE

HIV CENTRE IN AFRICA

CREATING LIFE BOOKS
GIVING THE WOMAN AN
OPPORTUNITY TO CREATE
BOOKS TO GIVE TO
THEIR CHILDREN, SO THAT
THEY COULD BE ABLE TO
REMEMBER THEM

3. TIME IN PALESTINE

WANTED TO HAVE A FOCUS
ON ONE THING AT A
TIME.

DEVELOPED AN INTEREST
WITHIN PHOTOGRAPHY.

THEMES: PRIMARILY
WOMEN. IF YOU GO TO
THE MIDDLE EAST, THEY WILL
BE ABLE TO CHANGE
THE THINGS

WHY PALESTINIAN. I HAD
TO DO IT.

THE GREATEST INDUSTRY
IN THE WORLD.

AFRICA, DUE TO ROOTS.
PERSONAL CONNECTION.

VOLUNTEERING CAREER.
VOLUNTEER WORK -

KNOWLEDGE, FORMAL
PART.

LIFE VALUES REFLECTED
WITHIN CHOICE OF
VOLUNTEER WORK.

WILL NOT USE IT IN HIS
OWN

CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS.
LOVES TO MEET NEW
PEOPLE

NOT POLITICALLY ACTIVE NOW

POLITICS MADE ME RUN
OUT.

NOW ON MY OWN. WANTS
TO BE ON MY OWN.
IT WAS TOO MUCH.

COULD NOT FOCUS ON
JUST ONE THING. AT
THAT WAS TOO MUCH

POLITICAL AWARE

MIXTURE OF POLITICS AND
HUMANITARIAN WORK

FATHER WAS A REFUGEE.

NOT A DECISION, IT'S
A LIFE STYLE.

PETER'S

TRANSCRIBING ~~INTERVIEW~~
INTERVIEW

POLITICAL WORK KICK-
STARTED HIS VOLUNTEER
CAREER.
POLITICAL

FOCUS ON REFUGEE AND
ANTI-RACIST WORK

WAS SHOT AND AFTERWARDS
GOT A SEVERE PTSD

THINKS IT'S IMPORTANT TO
BE WITHIN THE SOCIETY
TO BE ABLE TO DO
ANYTHING.

PALESTINE MAIN FOCUS
AFRICA AREAS

PRIMARY THEME IS WOMEN,
THOSE ARE THE ONES WHO
CAN MAKE THINGS HAPPEN

CONCERNED ABOUT REPEATED

INJUSTICE

↓

PALESTINE

PERSONAL CONNECTION DUE

TO ROOTS

↓

AFRICA

WANTS TO FORM VOLUNTEER
WORK INTO KNOWLEDGE,
WHICH THEY CAN LEAD TO
A JOB.

POLITICS ARE IMPORTANT
MORE POLITICAL AWARE
THAN POLITICAL ACTIVE.

Appendix 10.6.9 Frederikke

FREDERIKKE
 INTERVIEW ~~TRANSCRIPT~~
 WEDNESDAY
 16.04, FACE, NAME
 FACE TO FACE, NAME
 POLITICAL ENGAGE
 LIES IN SWEDEN.
 FEMINIST! GENDER STUDIES
 FROM TAGGING ALONG
 TO ACTIVITY ORGANIZING.
 GROWING AWARENESS
 ABOUT GENDER INEQUA-
 LITIES.
 2007 - INTEREST IN
 THE MIDDLE EAST.
 WOMAN ACTIVISTS, WOMAN
 RIGHTS ETC.
 GOT MARRIED
 POOR LGBT
 POOR WOMAN'S RIGHTS

WORKING WITH REFUGEES
 FROM ADVOCATING TO
 MORE GENERAL ADVOCATING.
 PROFESSIONALS NOT PREJUDICE
 BUT POLICIES.
 THEMES
 LGBTQ RIGHTS
 WOMAN AND A FEMINIST.
 ACADEMIC INTEREST IN
 GENERAL SEXUALITY.
 LIFE VALUES
 SOLIDARITY
 NOW MORE DRIVEN BY
 SOLIDARITY.
 MARRYING → ACT OF
 SOLIDARITY.
 TIME DOES NOT ALLOW ME
 TO DO PROPER LONG
 TERM VOLUNTEER WORK.
 THREE PLANS
 FOCUS ON POVERTY IN
 THE MIDDLE EAST.
 EMOTIONAL ENGAGING
 VOLUNTEER CAREER
 YES. VOLUNTEER WORK →
 PAID JOB
 BUILDING ON SKILLS.
 MASTER IN POLITICAL
 SCIENCE.
 USING VOLUNTEER WORK
 AS A REFERENCE.
 QUALIFIED WORK!
 EXPERIENCE.

FREDERICK'S
TRANSCRIBING
INTERVIEW

WENT FROM TAGGING ALONG
TO BECOMING AN ACTIVE
ORGANIZER.

VERY CRITICAL ABOUT HOW
VOLUNTEERING WITH LGBTQ
THE POOR LGBTQ ARE
THE ONES BEING THE MOST
DISCRIMINATED

ADVOCATING ABOUT THE
ISSUES IS ALSO VALUED -
TEECING. IT DOES NOT
HAVE TO BE MATERIAL
ETC

IMPORTANCE OF POLITICS
AND LEGISLATION.

ACADEMIC THEORETICAL
INTEREST.
SERIOUS USEFUL.

POLITICAL ACTIVE BEYOND
YES. LEFT.
ELECTIONS
THEMES DEMONSTRATION,
PASSIVE MEMBER.
99%.

CHANGE OF INTEREST IS
DUE TO POLITICS.

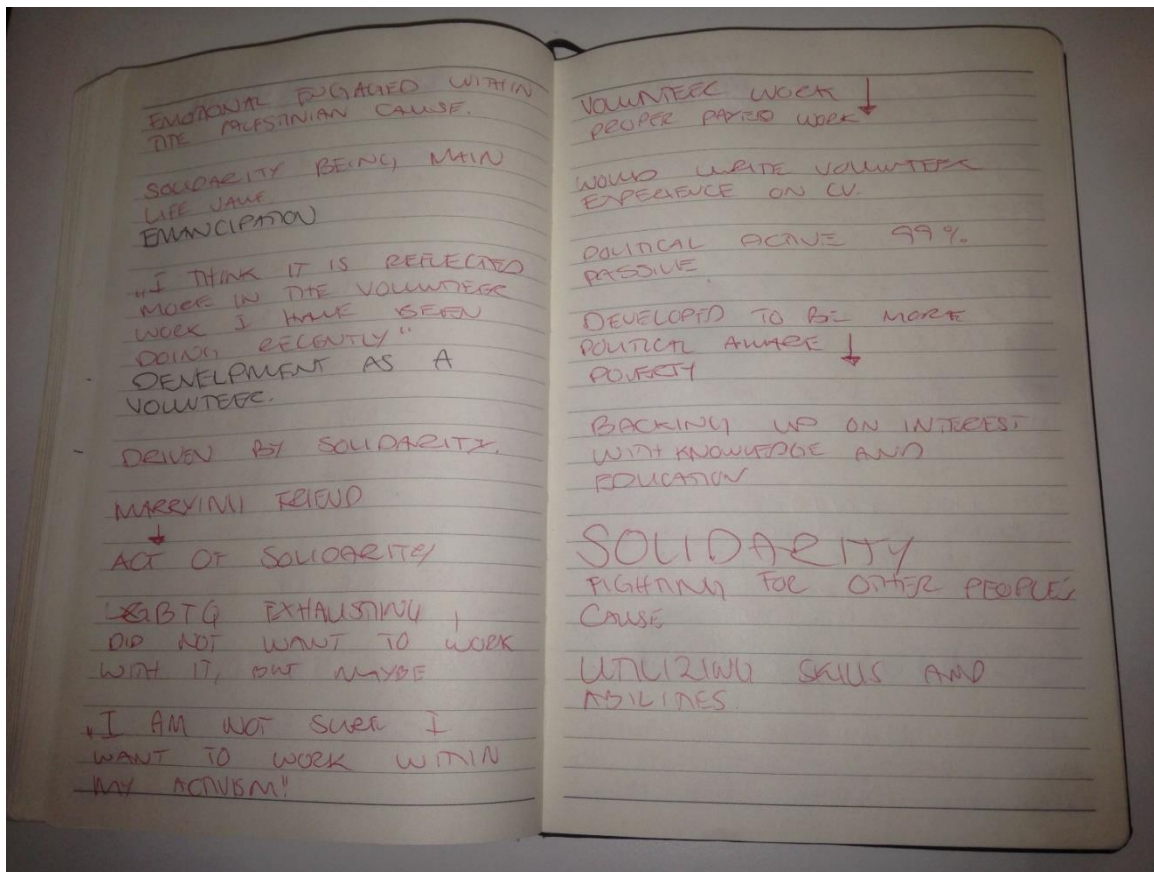
POVERTY → POLITICAL

- FRIENDS FIRST
- CONCRETE IN MIDDLE INSTEAD
- STORY
- EDUCATION

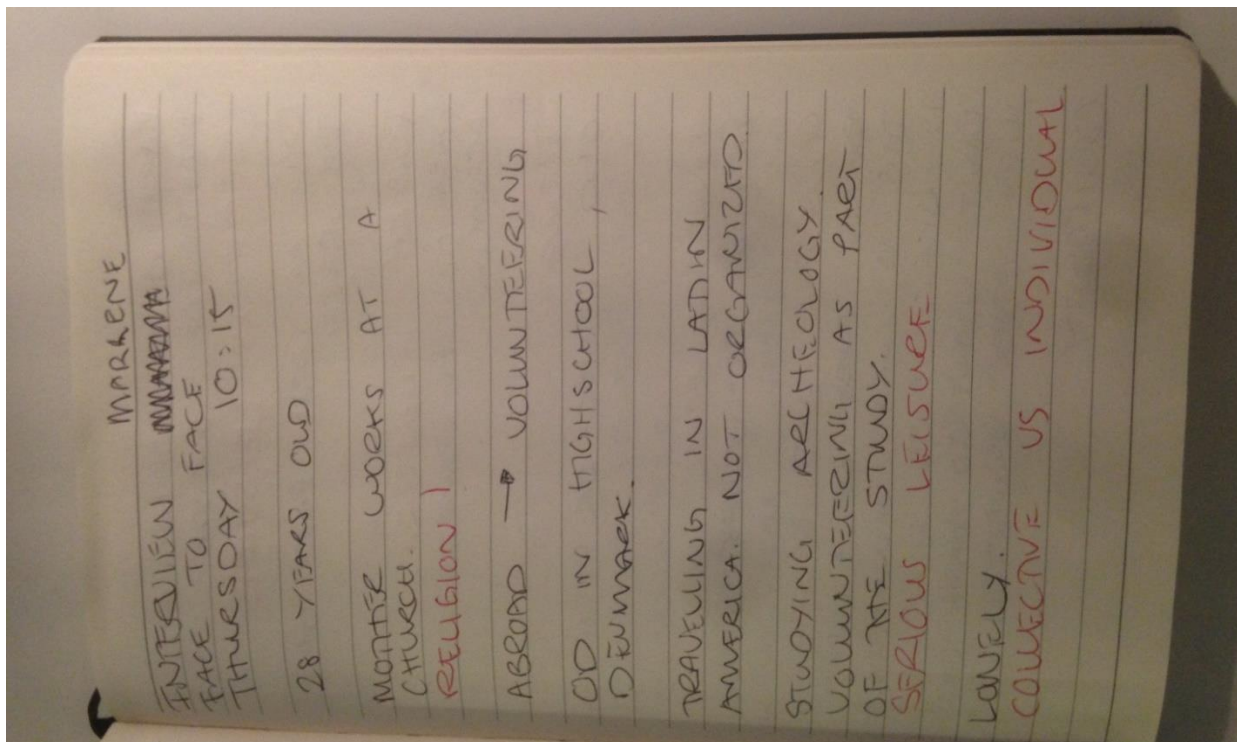
COLLECTIVE VS. INDIVIDUAL
THIS DEVELOPED. MORE AND
MORE INDIVIDUAL.
YOU WILL MEET NEW
FRIENDS

SOLIDARITY - EMANCIPATION

DO NOT DO IT HIGH SACRI-
FICE TO MARK
IT'S MY RIGHT.



Appendix 10.6.10 Marlene



PART OF STUDYING A
MASTER OF TOURISM.

SERIOUS LEISURE

CYC AS WELL PART OF
THE STUDY.

FUTURE VOLUNTEERING
PART OF THE TIMELINE
ACTUALLY.

THEME

OLD PEOPLE OR REFUGEES

VOLUNTEER CAREER

DRAWN TO VOLUNTEERING.

COLLECTIVE VS INDIVIDUAL

BEING PART OF A GROUP
THIS IS WHAT VOLUNTEERING
IS LIFE.

DON'T WANT TO HAND OUT
WITH OTHER VOLUNTEERS

CURIOSITY

MEETING OTHER PEOPLE.
GETTING AN INSIGHT INTO
OTHER CULTURES.

SMALL CHANGES.

VOLUNTEERING AS A TOOL

VOLUNTEERING AS A PROPER
SKILL.

SERIOUS LEISURE ↑

EDUCATED YOURSELF AS
A VOLUNTEER.

VOLUNTEERING → DOING
WHAT YOU REALLY
WANT TO DO.

LIFE VALUES

CREATING RELATIONS

THE IDEA OF SOLIDARITY

THE IDEA OF SHARING

RELIGION PART OF MY

RELIGIOUS
WEAVING NETWORKS.
FRIENDS

POLITICS

HOMELESS HERITAGE

YES, HOMELESS THOUGHT.

EQUALITY POLITICS IS

HOW IMPACT POLITICS IS

AS REFUGEE, PALESTINE.

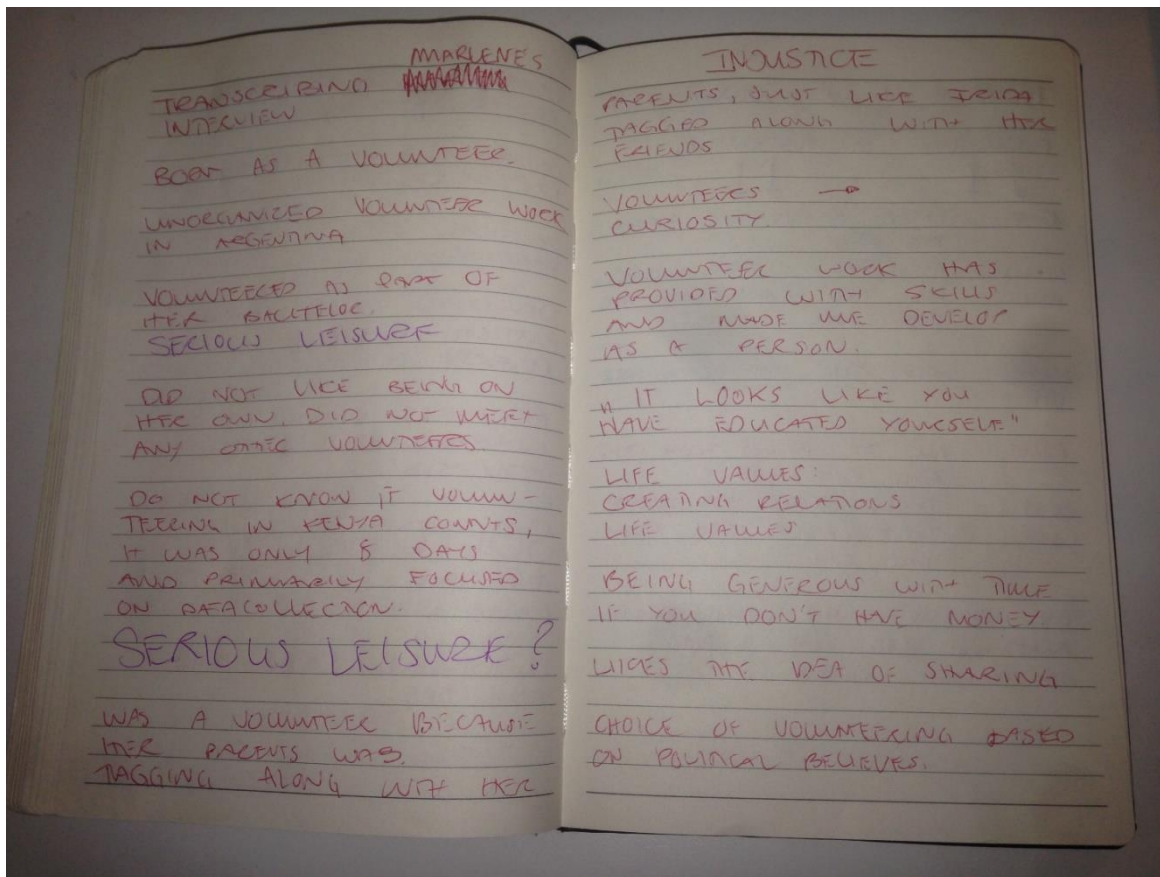
INEQUALITY

EMANCIPATION

PRO - PALESTINE. DON'T

WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN

ANTI - ISRAEL DEMONSTRATION



Appendix 10.7 Historical Context

This section is directly copied from the project "Case Study Research on the meaning and practicalities of voluntourism in the children and youth Centre in Shatila Refugee Camp" by Freja Amanda Langevang 2014.

Palestinians in Lebanon

The Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have their origin in the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, where more than 80% of the Palestinian population was forced to be displaced (Jensen & Langevang 2014:20). The total number of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is estimated to be around 455,000, and the total number of Palestinian refugees worldwide around 5 million (BADIL 2000:6; Where we work UNRWA n.d.; Jensen & Langevang 2014:20).

According to UN Resolution 194 (III), the Palestinian refugees have the right to return to their homes, a right, which is also guaranteed under international law and has been affirmed by several

UN bodies (Elsayed-Ali 2006:13; Jensen & Langevang 2014:20-21). Many different attempts have been made by the international community in the effort of easing the situation for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, but until now, all of them have failed to do so (Jensen & Langevang 2014:21).

Despite the right to return, the Palestinian have now been displaced from their country for over 66 years, and the Palestinians in Lebanon are suffering from the government's maintenance of the status quo (Suleiman 2006:3; Jensen & Langevang 2014:21). The civil war in Syria has in many way worsened the situation for the Palestinians in Lebanon, not only concerning the refugee camps being even more overcrowded, but also due to an increase in the violation of basic human rights (Larsen 2014 n.p.; Jensen & Langevang 2014:21).

Shatila Refugee Camp

Shatila refugee camp is located in the southern suburbs of Beirut and is not what many might perceive as a typical refugee camp; Shatila is not temporary and does not consist of tents. On the contrary, Shatila has existed since 1949, where the International Committee of the Red Cross tried to accommodate the hundreds of refugees from Palestine with temporary tents (Where we work UNRWA n.d.) – tents which now are replaced by apartments. Shatila is densely populated, and it is estimated that the total number of residents in the camp today is more than 22.000. The majority of the residents in Shatila have always been Palestinian refugees, but due to the influx of Syrian refugees and the general instability in Lebanon, all kinds of nationalities is to be found in the camp today (Al-Hout 2004:28; Jensen & Langevang 2014:22).

Shatila has a history of violence and tragedy; Sabra & Shatila massacre in 1982, War of the camps 1985-1988 and during the Lebanese civil war which lasted from 18975-1990 and July war in 2006, Shatila was devastated, resulting in severe destruction of property and displacement of the Palestinian refugees (Where we work UNRWA n.d.; Jensen & Langevang 2014:20-21). The camp has been rebuild and today new buildings are appearing from small narrow alleys where one initially thought it was impossible to make place for new buildings.

Today Shatila is overcrowded, suffering from poor infrastructure, and many are suffering from bad health due to the bad environment (Where we work UNRWA n.d.). The increase of the Syrian refugees due to the Syrian Civil war which has lasted since 2011, has worsened the situation for the residents in Shatila, and it is not unusual for ten people or more to live in just one room (Larsen 2014 n.p.; Jensen & Langevang 2014:22-23).

My personal experience of Shatila Refugee Camp

When walking through the camp one is experiencing many different impressions, but what stroke me the most, is the living conditions which in every possible way are unsuitable for both humans and animals. The traffic is horrible, the pollution from the many scooters and cars makes it difficult to breath, at certain times one can even taste the pollution. Many streets are so narrow that one has to walk sideways, electrical wires are loosely hanging causing the death of people, and the streets are full of garbage, which is causing bad smells, attracting rats and other pests which are spreading all kinds of diseases among the people living in the camp (Jensen & Langevang 2014 n.p.; Langevang 2014 n.p.).

The camp does not have normal water; hence the water supply is pure salt water which is causing skin diseases. The electricity is supposed to be available in the camp 10 hours a day, but it is with rare exceptions that there is electricity available more than 4-5 hours a day. People in houses without generators therefore suffer from apartments almost left in the dark due to the narrow streets where the sunlight does not reach.

During day Shatila is full of life and different, often very loud noises, during the night, the camp is left in the dark and stillness; the only noises to be heard are occasional crying babies or people loudly arguing in neighboring apartments. There are very often big fights and shooting in the camp, and even though it is argued by many that Shatila is a safe place for foreigners (section 10.1.2), the fact that you as a foreigner are not aware of the unwritten code of conduct in the camp, one can often and very easily find oneself in insecure and dangerous situations (Langevang 2014 n.p.).

Appendix 10.8 Transcriptions

Appendix 10.8.1 Interview Jeanette

Interview, face to face in Copenhagen, Monday 10. September 2015

First, I would like you to state your name, gender, age, nationality, where you live and occupation.

My name is Jeanette. I am 28 years old, and now I do not really remember the rest of your questions.

Sorry, I know that was quite a lot of questions. I need to know where you live and what your nationality is.

I am Danish and I currently live in Denmark.

Now I just need to know what your occupation is.

I study a Master degree in African studies at Copenhagen University.

Well, about a month ago you drew a timeline for me, could you maybe just briefly go through this from the beginning to the end. You can emphasize what you like; just pretend that the one listening to this have not at will not ever see your timeline.

I was born in 1987 and the first thing I noticed when I was a volunteer was in 2005, where I was coordinating a fashion show actually for the NGO "Kræftens Bekæmpelse". Later or the year after that, I was helping youngsters in an areas outside of Århus with their homework, people with other background than Danish, this was through the NGO "Save the Children", and I think I did that for about a year while I at the same time finished high school. Then in 2009, I was abroad for 6 months as an English teacher in China with an organization called "China Link" which was also volunteering.

Then when I came home, I started studying at the Danish school for Media and Journalism and then for 2 years I was a reporter at the schools newspaper not a payed job. Then in 2013, I was

working as a coordinator at a family summer camp, also through “Save the Children”. Then in 2013 I was, no, that is not true, that would have been earlier than 2013, but that does not matter. I was in Ghana in Africa, working with an Anti-corrupt organization in a town called Zawam. That was all around help for whatever they needed.

Then finally, in 2014, I was a volunteer in CYC Shatila, where I tried to help the organization improve their website and their Facebook site, through working with the young people at the organization. This was not a complete success but at least interesting for both the young people I worked with and me.

When looking at this timeline and just listening to what you are saying I could easily find a couple of, let us call it themes, which one might argue seems to be of your main interest when volunteering. Could you maybe elaborate a bit about that? Do you see these themes or maybe if there is a particular field of volunteering which is of your particular interest?

Yeah, well I guess a theme; you could definitely call it a theme, is more or less working with young people or children and trying to somehow improve the lives of the people who are less well off from the beginning. I also see some sort of development as throughout the years it seems as if I more and more try to, at least that is how I perceive it, focus on the things I am actually good at, instead of just helping with anything. I am somehow more aware of the fact that even when it comes to volunteer work it makes sense to focus on what you actually have of skills to sort of participate with instead of, well. When I volunteered in China, I had actually already been teaching in Denmark for a year up until that, so I felt like I could actually be an English teacher at a school. It was not only because I was Danish, which made me qualified.

So you felt as if your presence was justified because of your experience as a teacher in Denmark.

I felt as if I did not just have to act as a teacher, in many ways I did feel like I was a teacher, of course without the educational background. It was important for me. I did not just want to volunteer with everything, because I have also been taking part in these national collections of money ringing doorbells, and at some point, I felt as if it stopped making sense for me to spend 3

hours on a Sunday walking around. I wanted to focus more on what could I actually give that not anyone could be giving. Does this make sense?

Yes, it does. Actually, the next question I want to ask you is if you think that you have some sort of volunteer career. Do you feel as if you have been developing throughout the years of volunteering?

I have actually grown more and more skeptical toward the whole idea of volunteer work, because when I was younger I felt it was a 100 percent positive thing that I had the opportunity to give something to someone who had fewer opportunities than I had. Now, I somehow feel that it is at least sometimes problematic because volunteers sometimes tend to instead of being additional help, are maybe taking the place of like payed workers. I mean, it is obvious that sometimes volunteering is for the benefit of the person volunteering than for the person receiving the help. So I think I somehow, I do less volunteer work now than I did when I was younger, and this is not only due to lack of time, it's also because I do not know exactly what I would feel I would be giving if I did it.

So ok, it is about for you to be able to contribute to something or someone, and not just being there in order to contribute with your company or presence. Is it because you want to be able to help to develop these people or change something for these people or?

I want to feel that I am skilled within the thing that I into, so that it is not just the fact that I am blond and Danish that makes me qualified as a volunteer. It is the fact that I have actually gained some knowledge and ability to help. I often feel that this help should actually be coming from someone payed to do the work. I often feel that volunteer work is often less efficient than if it was actually payed labor.

When you say payed labor, do you then mean that the one undertaking the job instead of the volunteers has to be one from the host-community, or could it also be one from abroad, a foreigner working within his or her field of expertise but just getting payed?

It could be a foreigner, but preferably, one from the local community I would say.

You mentioned during the elaboration of the timeline and themes that you were feeling as if you had changed throughout the years because you now are only choosing volunteer work where you are confident that you have the knowledge/expertise. I know it might be difficult to respond to this question, but do you feel that this development is kind of a career within volunteering, or are you just building on your own career through volunteer experiences? You mentioned participating in for instance collecting money for different national collections in the beginning of you volunteering and now only wanting to volunteer where you can utilize your skills, knowledge and education, as you did in CYC where you utilized you knowledge within communication to help the kids/youngsters in CYC with the website and Facebook site.

I think I agree. It was important that I did not just work with anything in CYC, but that I actually was able to contribute with something in particular given the background that I have. As I journalist I felt that communication would be away of using my skills which then they could benefit from. I did not want to be part of planning any games because this is just not something I am really that good at, compared to for instance the locals. So it really made sense for me to try to focus on the things that I could actually give and also skills that weren't there in CYC or even in the local community, because it's a more specific skill.

Do you think that this has changed because you have tried to volunteer and had the feeling of not having the proper skills, and now you want to challenge yourself and the ones you are surrounded by? Or do you think it's just part of a normal development as a human being because you grow as a person and education wise as well you know more?

I think it is more a matter of when I for instance was in Africa; I was there originally to report to Danish based organization. I was send to Ghana with a friend, in order to report back home about what is actually happening. I felt that I could easily be their eyes on the spot, but as I got there I kind of felt as if they wanted to ask me all sorts of questions on how to organize the local meeting and how to write their legal constitutions for the organization. I felt that this is not something that I could help you with, because this is not something I know anything about in particular. The only reason I felt the asked me was because I was white and a foreigner. Maybe the saw me as somehow more knowledgably, which I am not. I do not have anything to give within this field and I felt it was problematic if I even tried to fill in the task that they expected from me. I fell I have

become more aware of only give myself a role that I'm actually able to fill out somehow, instead of undertaking anything just because of me being Danish, foreigner, blond, well, you name it. There are a lot of forces and powers within the local community, which I know nothing about.

Just to sum up and make sure that I truly understand/comprehend what you are saying, I just need to ask you; more or less, from the initial beginning, you did not know much and you were volunteering because you just wanted to volunteer. You quickly realized that they wanted you to fill out some shoes you felt that you could not fulfill, and you then grew into a role being very much aware of this. Since that day being very much aware of that you want to be doing something which you are capable of and you have been building on this ever since?

Yes, exactly. When I was taking part in that summer camp with "Save the Children" I was very specific in telling them that I am really good at playing football and building a fireplace, and that is what I can contribute with, this is what I can bring. On the contrary, I am not good at swimming, so it became important for me to bring things that I could and would bring. I am not the one to talk to the kids who are experiencing some difficult stuff back home, I am not capable of that because I am not a social worker or a psychologist, and I do not know anything about that. I want them to know what I am capable of but also what I am not capable of, my boundaries.

I know that you are aware of the term altruism, but have you ever heard about altruism-egoism?

Yeah, you are saying that all altruism is egoistic in some sense.

Yes, but what do you believe? Just taking your own volunteer experiences and motivations to volunteer as a point of departure. Not your experience with other volunteers, but just you. Are you altruistic-egoistic or do you perceive yourself as genuinely altruistic?

Well, I definitely do this also because I am happy to give to others and I am fully aware about the fact that in CYC for instance, it was also a way for me to see and experience the lives within a refugee camp that is not something you should go and look at as a tourist, in my opinion. You therefore need to get involved in order to see what happens. So yes, I think I do most of the things out of curiosity and out of wanting to meet and see people from different places. Volunteering is

for me a way of doing this, getting an access to their lives somehow, but I do also believe that both parties benefit from that meeting and that people with different backgrounds who are less capable than I am to travel abroad, are somehow gaining from meeting people from the outside as well. I guess I believe it is a good thing.

So despite the fact that you are very much skeptical you still believe in some kind of equal beneficial outcome for both the host-communities and the volunteers.

Yes.

When talking about your motivations to volunteer, how about your life values in general? Do you ever think of your life values and what these values are? Do you feel that your volunteer work is reflecting your life values in general?

I do not know about life values in general. What is a life value for example?

Good question. What do you perceive as your life values? What makes you happy?

It is a difficult question; I am not sure about life values.

Let me rephrase; do you feel that who you are as a person, or maybe even how you truly want to be as a person is reflecting your choice of volunteer work?

Yeah, well, I think I would say so in the sense that my volunteer work is part of what I try to do in order to widen my horizon. See other ways of living; meet other people who have had very different lives from what I know of, so my volunteer work is definitely a way of life entering other worlds. I would consider that somehow an aim in my life to see.

You have been volunteering in both China, the Middle East and Africa. Was there anything in particular that made you choose these destinations or was it just a coincidence?

In CYC Shatila I was there anyways, so that was more a matter of me being already based there and then looking for volunteer jobs because I did have a lot time on my hands. I did not want to take a paid job since I felt I would be taking it from someone who actually needed it more than I did. I wanted to volunteer because I had spare time. In Africa it was different because I went there

in order to do this particular job, and it was a way of seeing a country in a different way than just traveling as a tourist, I went there in order to be a volunteer but it was for tourist reasons somehow.

You have a bachelor degree in journalism and now you are studying African studies. Does that have anything to do with your previous experience as a volunteer or is this due to a general interest or?

I think part of my interest in Africa is this somehow weird power structures between the locals and the outsiders and how they see each other. This was tricked from a visit I had in Tanzania when I was around 20 where I took part in a school program at "Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke". It was like a month of schooling and afterwards most of the group was traveling to other countries and volunteering for 3 months. I felt it was so strange with the whole idea of us 20-year old from Denmark going to African countries to teach English and work at hospitals. What do we really have to give? So yes, my interest in Africa is definitely linked to these experiences.

You told me earlier that you are not doing any volunteer work right now, because you found it difficult to figure out what to engage in. Do you have any future plans on volunteering? Do you have any ideas of what kind of volunteer work you want to be part of?

I would not mind being a volunteer again, but for instance, this summer I actually wrote an Email to this Danish NGO, telling them, I wanted to volunteer in an asylum center, and they got back to me saying that there was an information meeting at a certain date and time. I could not participate that day, but that would like to participate in the next one, and the never got back to me, and I got this feeling that maybe they did not need me that much. Then I just decided not to do any more, cause it sort of has to be a place where I can actually somehow, and I do not know if that is because of my ego, but it makes less sense to like insist on helping if it is not needed.

Are you saying that you need to feel that you are fulfilling a role needed?

Yes. If I were to go abroad, I would do any sort of volunteer work in order to see some place that I would not be able to see. Here in Denmark, it does not make sense to go to an asylum center and do puzzles with kids if there are plenty of people who does it already. I mean, what do they then need me for?

So let us pretend that the exact same NGO contacted you tomorrow apologizing for not getting back to you, and now telling you that they literally only needed help to do puzzles with a group of traumatized Syrian kids, would you then do it? Or would you say no, because you do not feel comfortable dealing with traumatized kids and not really into puzzles?

I would do that because it would be a task that anyone could do, so I would not mind doing it, but if it was a matter of a group of young children who need someone to talk to, I would probably have to say that I am not capable of undertaking such a task. This is not something I would take on, because I would feel that I would not be able to fulfill the role given to me.

Have you thought about if there is a difference in volunteering in Denmark or abroad?

Yes, if an organization here in Denmark asked me if I could help them with their website, I would think that this I could help with, because this is my education. This is something I should be payed to do, so if you do not want to pay me, then I feel like I am taken the job from someone who could get payed, and I do not like that. Considering Danish volunteering, I get a sense of union feelings. This is not something you should just do as a volunteer. But then again, it really depends on the organization. If it is a well-established organization, they should pay me for doing the work, but if it is grass root organization, I would be more than happy to help.

Do you consider yourself political active in general in Denmark? Can you just put on some words about you and your relationship with politics?

Political active, I do not really know. I am very political aware. I am not political active as in being member of a political party. Many of my actions reflects my political point of view. Does it makes sense?

Yes, it does. Do you think your political awareness from the initial beginning made you choose different themes of volunteering?

I have definitely been choosing themes that I politically sympathies with. Today I am much less concerned with for instance "Kræftens Bekæmpelse" than earlier, because today a lot of people are caring about cancer and too few are carrying about humans from abroad. So yes, I think that it has changed somehow.

You said that you are not political active in the sense of being part of a political party. Would you ever consider being part of some sort of organization or political party if it for instance only was dealing with African issues?

If I would sign up for an organization or?

For instance, let us pretend that "Palæstinensisk Venskabsforening" needed new board members, would you ever consider such a task.

Yes, I would be even more likely to do that in such a more political organization than within the organizations that are a bit broader like "Save the Children". I feel it seems too broad, so I would definitely be interested in using my qualification in helping these small specific political organizations.

Appendix 10.8.2 Interview Bjarne

Skype Interview, Thursday 12. September 2015

This interview was in many ways very much different due to two main reasons; first of all Bjarne is living at the CYC Guesthouse and many of my former colleagues came by and wanted to say hallo and participated in the Skype interview which made it impossible to ask any questions due the fact that they were there. Second of all the electricity was bad that day, so the interview was interrupted several times, which sometimes was quite a challenge since it was difficult to begin where we left off.

I need you to start by telling me your name, gender, age, nationality, where you live and occupation.

My name is Bjarne, I am a male, I come from Norway, and I am 24 years old. I am currently living in CYC Guesthouse in Shatila, Lebanon. I am conducting research on architecture in refugee camps.

Does that mean that you are studying now and this is part of a research project or?

I finished my degree and this is part of an independent research funded by my university, but it is not part of any degree.

So, you have finished your bachelor and now you are in between bachelor and masters?

Yes.

You drew a timeline around a month ago when you and I first met in Lebanon. First thing I would like you to do, is to go through the timeline.

It starts in 1991 when I was born. The first thing I listed was me being a scout. I started as a regular scout and then when I got older I enhanced to being a scout leader. Then I would be a junior scout leader and helping with teaching the children and everything from that to first aid and helping around. I got more and more responsibility. In the same period, I was also active in the student council in my school and then in the first year of high school I was in a sort of main student council at the school. I was talking to the director at the school on behalf of all the students.

At the same time, I was in a very religious time of my life, so I also became a confirmation group leader at my church. However, what was interesting was that the same year I became the leader of the group, was actually also the same year I started to lose my faith again. So, I had like 3 or 4 years of intense Christian period. During my time as a confirmation group leader I would be in charge of arranging all sorts of things, like training in the church, going to camps, following up and having a lot of fun. It is like being just a regular participant but with more responsibility.

In 2008, I moved to a college called "United World College". It is a small boarding school in the middle of Norway, which accepts students from all over the world. We were 200 students from around 85 different countries. It has a focus on international issues, cross cultural understanding and peace volunteering service. One of the things I did from 2008-2010 was that I would go to the local elderly people's home to visit a few different old people regularly, talk to them. Many of these old people had for instance dementia or were not having so much family. I would also teach kids how to kayak ones a week. I would also be part of these youth camps where kids and youth could participate ones a year, where they could engage in all sorts of activities with kids from all over the country. The high school I was in ran these summer camps, so we as students were automatically volunteering. Every week I was out in the cold water teaching kids how to Kayak.

This was a very small community and somehow I was elected to be part of the youth council. In the municipalities in Norway, there are both an elderly council and a youth council that are supposed to be checking that the politicians are actually following up on their promises to the elderly and the youth. Their needs are maintained. Then I was elected the mayor of this youth council. As a youth mayor, I had to deal with all the projects and money given to the youth. I was also arranging a lot of different competitions, camps etc. I also had to do different kinds of speeches; I did both the Christmas speech and 17. of May speech.

After I graduated from school, I participated in a program for the Norwegian Peace Corps where I was sent to a Sahrawi refugee camps in Algeria. I was living there for 1 year, both teaching but also doing some journalistic work as well. I also learned some Arabic and a lot about the situation and the refugees in the camp. I was there with about 200 other Norwegian volunteers, sort of

running a language learning center. We were teaching English to young people who had just finished school, but had not been married, mostly young woman. Even though it was mostly about teaching, we were also creating a sort of free time – a legit reason to go out of the house in the middle of the day to go out and meet friends. Later I have been returning to this place several time to do ...

(The internet connection and the electricity went out, and it took us about 10 minutes to get the internet connection back. When we finally got in contact again, a colleague of mine wanted to be part of the interview, hence Bjarne and I did not continue until about 30 minutes after. This long break made it really difficult to continue were we left off.)

I find it difficult to remember how far we got with the timeline. In my notes, I can see that we left off at you returning to the refugees camps in Sahrawi. Can you maybe just start from there? It is ok if you say the same twice; I can easily leave it out from the final transcription.

I helped teaching with the English again. I kept on returning and during projects with them. During the summer, I participated in workshops back in Norway to be able to contribute with as much as possible in Sahrawi. It was many cross-cultural things.

In 2011 and went back to the US to study. Here there was less volunteering. I did some relevant volunteering working a little bit with “United World College Argentina”, but not any sort of major volunteering as such. I volunteered a little bit with this organization, which collects food from companies and people, which are then distributed to poor people etc. Now I am in Shatila.

So what are you doing in Shatila?

I am teaching English to the teachers at the CYC center in Shatila. We are focusing mainly on communications skills, such as being able to talk clearly and being able to produce academic papers etc. I am also conducting a research project on architecture in refugee camps that grow to become permanent places, and how the paradox of being in a permanent place that are defined as temporary. That is what I am doing now. I am also playing a lot of football, smoking agile and drinking coffee.

That was the first part. The second question is when you look at your timeline; do you see a particular theme in your field of volunteering? Maybe you could also elaborate upon your field of interest within your volunteer work.

I think it is probably quite obvious that I do volunteer because I find it really fun, and because it gives me a chance to engage with people. To be honest what really drives me to volunteer is that I always have fun doing it. I gain a lot from it. I always have a feeling of me gaining more from my volunteer work than the ones I am actually working with. I am really enthusiastic about meeting people and my own enthusiasm makes me even more enthusiastic. Working with people and having fun with people. Sharing skills and interests with other people.

First, when I studied your timeline I actually did not notice this, but now, after you explained it to me in detail, it seems as if you have had quite a bit of political volunteering. Both with the youth council, student council and confirmation group. Do you consider your choice of volunteer work being based on any political reasons?

No, not really. It is difficult. I can be really engaged in politics and I tend to have something to say in most issues in politics, but I do not have any political ideology that drives me or even leads me to volunteering.

Now you are in a Palestinian refugee camp. Did you or do you think a lot about the Palestinian cause? Have you determined whether you are pro or against Palestinians? Does it even matter at all for you and your contemporary volunteer work?

For the project, I am doing now, the fact that Shatila is a Palestinian refugee camp has nothing to do with it. The Palestinian situation just fits in really well with my current research. I am only here because of my research, but it is important for me to make it clear that I am pro Palestinians. I do not have a special affinity to this political situation. My heart cause is more with the people in Western Sahrawi than with the Palestinian cause.

You just talked about your heart cause. Can you maybe elaborate upon that?

I am a people's person and I very much fight for the cause of the Western Sahrawi. That is where my heart is.

Do you consider yourself having a volunteer career?

No.

Ok, so why not? Can you maybe provide me with some words on why you do not consider yourself having a volunteer career? (Electricity and Internet connection was lost again, it took about 15 minutes before it was back and we could continue the interview.)

You do not consider yourself having a volunteer career.

No, I do not think. I am doing what I am doing now because I got a big grant which I got because I have been in Algeria and working with the Sahrawi, I applied and I got it because I had a valid way of showing how the project related to past experiences. I see that it can be easy to make some kind of volunteer career. Maybe I have a volunteer career, but then it is not conscious, because it is not what I am trying to do.

The people who granted you the money. They saw something about your previous experience and decided to grant you the money because they saw a potential in you. A potential which could be your point of departure, but which you also would be capable of building upon during this contemporary research, right?

I do not see it as a career. To be honest, in my application I might have written about some sort of career, because I knew that was what they were searching for. Maybe. It is difficult for me to see volunteering as a career because I am primarily doing it because I find it funny. It is hard to see a connection in what I am studying now, and my current volunteer work. There are different kinds of challenges. What I have been doing now the work, the volunteering I am doing here is not really advanced, and even though it is building upon previous experiences, I am not advancing now within this field. Honestly, volunteering right now is just a tool for me to meet new people and to find a place for me here in Shatila. It makes it easier for me to do my research. It is not me seeking

to advance the level of the volunteer work I have been during. Me talking to people and hanging around in Shatila, I do not really consider that volunteering. It is a big part of my current research, meeting people enables me to get some questions answered, which I am not sure I would have been answered otherwise. I know this might sound bad, but I am just being honest.

I do not think it sounds bad and I need you to be honest. What about your life values in general? Do you feel that they are reflected in your choice of volunteer work? Since you just told me that your current volunteer work is more a facilitator for your current research, maybe your volunteer work with the Sahrawi is the best example to use?

I think I am both during it out of my life values, I am a people's person, but I am also during it because it enables me to travel, meet people, and do my research etc. I feel this I very much dealing with the question about whether altruism or not.

Altruism-egoism?

Exactly. When I went to Algeria, I wanted to extend my experience from college, meeting new people with different cultural backgrounds. It is impossible to know what is going on for real without oneself trying to live like that as well. So, I decided to go and live there for a while in order for me to get this experience. Whether volunteering is good or bad, I do not know, because I am benefiting from their bad situation somehow. I think there is a reflection of my values.

Earlier, you said that you are a people's person, does that mean that you are carrying for other people or?

Yes, I want to be happy and make other happy as well. I am conscious about why I do these things, and whether I do it out of egoistic reasons or not, I still feel that there are good things in it. I cannot see why it is a bad thing that both I as a volunteer and the ones I am helping are gaining from the experience. Is it not always the case than not just one are gaining from an experience?

Do you have any future plans of volunteering? If yes, do you have any dreams of plans?

Yes, I do. I find volunteering a big part of me as a traveler. I travel and I volunteer. It is my way of dealing with new cultures and countries – it is my way of gaining experiences from cultural

encounters. If I moved back to Norway now, I would definitely find some volunteer work. I would also love to do something like this here in Shatila.

So it does not matter whether the volunteer work is abroad or back home in Norway?

There are different kinds of experiences. I volunteer for different reasons in Norway and abroad. If I was living in Norway I would volunteer with different youth groups etc., but I think when volunteering abroad the whole experience is very much different. The whole journey and existence is about the work you do as a volunteer.

Would you ever consider volunteering out of political considerations? You have already volunteered in youth councils etc. Is there a difference?

In Norway, I would for sure engage more in the political volunteering. When I am abroad, it is more about the cultural encounters. I have changed a lot. I have moved away from my parents, been traveling and that stuff. I have grown.

(Electricity and Internet connection lost for about 35 minutes.)

You just told me you had changed. Could you maybe tell me a bit more about that? Then we are actually done.

I am no longer 15 years old, and I have not lived in Norway for many years, so it is difficult for me to say what kind of volunteer work I would consider engaging in now. In the US, I did not due much, primarily due to lack of time. Probably I would engage more in cultural activities. There is a less need in me teaching English in Norway, but I could engage in active activities. Thinking about it I would also consider engaging more in politics – regional politics is so much easier than camp politics.

Appendix 10.8.3 Interview Victoria

Skype Interview, Sunday 15. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Victoria, I am 28-year-old Norwegian and currently I am living in Oxford where I am doing a PhD, I just started this fall. It is a PhD about education in refugee camps.

Now I would like you to go through the timeline, systematically, telling me about your different volunteer work.

If I come up with anything more or changes, can I then add that?

Yes, of course, you are more than welcome to do that.

I started all the way back to elementary school. As a class, we did a lot of volunteer work through the school and you could sign up for all of this extra work, which I always did. I probably did it because when volunteering you were allowed to be out of class. I think it was more due to the getting out of the class than doing good stuff. All the way through elementary school, I was picking up trash, and we did a lot visiting at hospices and old people's homes. We would sing, play the piano and stuff like that. We also did stuff like painting public fences or even cut bushes.

As a teenager, around the year of 2000, I was in a youth group with my local church. I started out by singing in the church, but through that, you get many other experiences; picking up trash, sitting old people, a little bit of singing during the holidays for instance. So, I did a lot of work like that.

Then I went to college in the state, and volunteering is quite a big part there. People do it mostly because they want the volunteer work on their CV. Teachers and counselors keeps telling you that you should volunteer, and only because it looks good. So well, then I actually just joined many organizations. It was both mandatory volunteer work and proper volunteer work. I think it was 16 or 17 hours of mandatory volunteer work during a semester. Forced volunteering. It was great even though it was forced, and this was actually how I started working with students. It was poor areas, so I did a lot of teaching and for instance fundraising so that the youth could be able to buy

prom dresses. A lot of different stuff like that. I really was engaged with teenagers and the youth and I really did like that. This experience was actually, why I decided to spend 1 year in Rwanda.

My stay in Rwanda was an entire year of volunteering as a teacher. After 1 year, I decided to stay there, so I actually stayed four more years in Rwanda, but that was a payed position though. The first year was volunteering and the rest was payed. I was teaching at a private school. I actually continued to volunteer in the weekends. I did it just because it is so easy to find opportunities there, and people ask you all the time if you want to be involved. There are so many interesting projects to get involved with. One friend of mine sat up a center for street boys so their parents are either dead of prostitutes or addicted to drugs. My friend build this center and tries to teach them sexual health or just general life skills. So I got involved with that and would be volunteering there in the weekends. It is just brilliant, and my main thing was just my interest in young boys who seemed troubled who are very often portrayed as criminals, and they are really not at all obviously. They do look like criminals, but they are not. They really do look like criminals; they have scars, and they look a bit scary. Some are doing drugs and some are actually criminals, and they will steal because they do not have anything. Then when you get to know them, they are so much different from what they look like. I had this class where I was supposed to teach them about safe sex and stuff, and I came all prepared to just talk to them about remembering to use a condom, but all they wanted to ask me about was actually how to make a girl to fall in love with them. I really really liked working with them, they were just brilliant. I guess that was the main volunteering I did while I was in Rwanda; just a lot of small things, but almost all of these things were me engaging with youth, and in particular young troubles boys.

Then I went to Lebanon in 2014. I started working in the weekends as an art teacher, helping out. Then on a more permanent basis, I started volunteering in Shatila in 2015. Basically everyday I was training the teachers in English, they asked me to help, and even though that was not why I came, I thought I just as well could help where me help was needed. If that is what they want, then why not. Even though I am more into the youth and helping them, I kind of knew, that if the teachers learned better English, then they would be able to pass it on to the kids. Even though I like helping, then main reason I came to Lebanon was to work with the teenagers in the refugee camps. I

wanted to learn more about how the youth perceive violence, to see if their perception of violence is different from others due to the settings they are living in.

Just to make it clear, were you collecting data to your Master Thesis as well during your stay in Lebanon?

Exactly. It was both volunteering but also collecting data. I could teach and observe at the same time. We had classes with the teenagers and the kids, during the classes, we did their schoolwork, and then we just had discussion. At three occasions, I did a focus group discussion on their perception of violence, and we did some class activities, which I used in my Master Thesis. I also interviews the teachers about their perception of violence in the classroom, but that had nothing to do with me teaching.

Are you volunteering now in Oxford?

No, I was thinking about it, but no. I do work for free, but it is not for a good cause. I work as an editor at a newspaper. I really do not perceive it as volunteering, even though it probably is since I am not getting payed.

Do you have any future plans of volunteering? I could imagine that you are very busy with all your work with the PhD.

I thought about getting involved in volunteer teaching here in Oxford. They have a program that will place you, but I really did not like the way they worded it. It was like “spend one hour only and help a poor a family”. That made me think no. I do not want to be placed somewhere and first of all one a week is not enough if you want to have an impact. The thing about the poor family did not just sound that good to me. So I probably will not do that. There is so much going on here with meeting, seminars, sports clubs, so I actually feel slightly overwhelmed, but ones it settles down I hope to be able to find a better volunteer gig, I would love to do that. I really miss teaching, I really do. It would be volunteering as a teacher, I probably would not do anything else.

Next questions. Looking at your timeline, do you consider yourself having a volunteer career?

No.

Ok, that was a clear no. Why not?

Well, it is difficult. Maybe because it has never been my fulltime thing. Except from that one year in Rwanda. Apart from that, it has just been weekends, and an afternoon here and there. It has never been my career. I know people who will work in a job they do not necessarily like, and they earn money so that they can go and volunteer for 3-4 months. Then when they are out of money they will go back home, work some more. That for me is more a volunteer career, because volunteering is your whole life. You work so you can take time off. I do not work so I can take time off. I work with something that I like, and if there is an opportunity to volunteer, I will.

Do you feel as if you have developed within volunteering or do you feel that you have developed through your life and then choosing the volunteer work on the basis of that? I am not sure that this makes sense.

It is actually a really interesting questions, and it does make sense. I think through my volunteering I was exposed to teaching, because teaching has nothing to do with my degree in the states. Through volunteering I realized that I really enjoyed teaching and that I wanted to teach. Volunteering guided my career. You could actually say that I have been very influenced by my volunteer work.

Your volunteer work guided your “real” career.

Yes. I would definitely say that.

Talking about something like life values. Do you feel that your life values is reflected in your volunteer work?

I do. However, I do not know what came first. Now, obviously I am doing a PhD about this, so it is definitely one of my core values.

What value exactly?

Equity. Not just in teaching, but in all aspects of life. That is my one great thing. I study about it, volunteering and write about it, this is what I believe in. However, I am actually not sure if this value was in me before I started volunteering, because I really realized the lack of equity during my stay in Rwanda. I was disposed to the inequalities I live. I might not have had the same values or passion if I had never been abroad and just stayed in Norway my entire life. We will probably never know, but I do really find it very interesting. Sometimes I feel like I have to defend myself. Actually not when I was in Lebanon, people found that interesting and cool. No one ever really questioned me there. It was very much different when I was in Rwanda. Then people were like are you just one of those who think it is possible to save Africa. I do not know why that is. I find myself making fun of myself – making all the bad jokes before anyone else gets to do them. If I say it first they cannot say it. I feel like I have to defend that.

Do you feel that religion or politics had anything to say in your choice of volunteering?

No, not really. I guess that my experiences in Lebanon has changed the way in how I engaged in discussions about the Palestinian issue. Partly because I have more to offer now because I have insights in how the life is and stuff like that. Not more political knowledge, but I now have an idea of the lives of the many stateless Palestinians and can contribute to the discussions. I also have a very clear idea of many Palestinians feeling about Israel. It has changed my perception of the conflict.

Do you think this would make you consider engaging more in the Palestinian cause when you at some point will return to Norway?

I actually do not think. I would not be engaged in the political side of things if I in any ways can avoid it. If I could offer teaching services, I would. Even setting up a fund for money to give to them so that they could be educated. I know that being engaged with the Palestinians as I am, you know like wanting to help them teaching of with funding, I do know that it in itself is a political statement, but I would not like to get involved with any direct political stuff; boycotting Israeli products and stuff like that. I would never get that directly involved politically.

Have you ever been political active in Norway at all?

No, but I did also leave the country when I was 18, so it might would have been different if I had stayed back home. I never actually have been old enough. I have been voting if I was home during election, but besides that, no. The politics is so much different in the US than in Norway, so I never really felt that I could relate, and in Rwanda they have a dictatorship, so that is even worse.

Appendix 10.8.4 Interview Lis

Skype Interview, Sunday 15. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Lis, 29 years old journalist and I am British and living in Britain.

Could you please explain the timeline to me? Just pretend that I have never seen it and therefore you need all the details. If you feel that you have changes or need to add a volunteer experience, you are also more than welcome to say that.

When I was 14, this was in 2000; I started volunteering at my local church. I helped at services and stuff. I 2001, I was in school, my last year, actually. I helped as a counselor at EARS. It is empathy, assistance and referral services. In 2002, I was helping people who had difficulties reading. It was while I was at college, actually.

The next volunteer experience was in 2003-2004. I actually wanted to volunteer at the hospital radio, but since they did not have any vacancies, I ended up volunteering at the hospital shop. I actually really did not like it at all. I actually do not know why I stayed, but I think it was just because I really wanted to volunteer at the hospital, so I had to take whatever they could provide me with.

In 2005, I was a gap year student in Peru. I did mostly travel around, but I also volunteered in a kindergarten for about 3 months. When I came home, I started at university and I did some volunteer work with children who needed special support due to autism. During my time at university, I also volunteered at this refugee center. I did that from 2009-2011. It was a drop-in center for refugees.

After university, I travelled to Palestine. Here I volunteered at a farm but I also did some teaching. I was working at the farm in the mornings. The work at the farm was in the mornings four days a week, and then during the evenings and weekends I volunteered teaching in the city. In 2102, I was back in Palestine where I worked at a new website. This was volunteering, or at least no one ever

payed me. Due to my experience from Palestine, I decided to go to Lebanon to get to know a bit more about the Palestinians who have had to flee Palestine. I was there for about 2 months in 2014 and 1 month in 2015.

How many times have you been in Palestine?

Six times.

So you have been in Palestine for six times but not been volunteering every time?

I have had payed positions all the other times. It is not much money, but it is enough.

You said that you only stayed in Lebanon and did no volunteering, is that correct presumed or?

Yes, I only stayed there, observing. I was not helping anyone. I did some writing, but it was all payed work. I just wanted to learn and know more, that was my main objective.

If you look at your timeline, do you consider yourself having a volunteer career?

No.

Could you maybe elaborate a bit on that no?

Because, it is not a career because my volunteering has nothing to do with my profession or my career in general. Even though it has nothing to do with my career, it is actually one of my stay in Palestine, which have shaped my career. It was during my stay in Palestine. When working on the website I got my interest for writing. I had never done it before. This was when I realized I wanted to be a journalist.

So your bachelor is not in journalism.

No, I have a bachelor in sociology and until this day, I have not done any Master degree. So I am not a trained journalist, or well, how can I put this. I do not have a degree in journalism, but I have been writing ever since my stay in Palestine. In the beginning, it was mostly for free the writing I did, but now I am actually getting payed, so I actually consider myself a journalist. It was actually my volunteer work at the refugee drop-in center and the experience I had gained there, which was

the main reason I was ever considered for the volunteer job in Palestine. Much of my volunteer work has actually helped me to get many of my jobs in general. In a way, my stay in Peru was the thing that started it all. I had never been abroad before, at all of a sudden I really found out how much I enjoyed it. The cultural encounters, the language, the food, the meeting of new people. I would not ever have considered going to Palestine without my previous visit in Peru.

Without Peru, you might not have found your true interest in writing.

I do not think so, because it was in Palestine that I realized I had this interest. I might have found out at a different time in a different place, but who knows.

Did you before your stay in Palestine have an interest in the Palestinian cause?

When I volunteered at the refugee drop-in center, I started to meet refugees, especially a lot of Palestinian refugees. When meeting them I came to know about Palestine and stuff.

Do you then consider your choice of volunteering out of political incentive?

It is both political and humanitarian. The main reason I wanted to go to travel to Palestine the first time was that I wanted to know. I wanted to know if it was true what all of the refugees told me. All the bad things about the Israelis, I found it difficult to understand, so I decided to see for myself. I also wanted to do adventures. I did not only travel to be able to help people. Some people might perceive me as an activist now. I do not think that volunteers and activists are the same, and since I have not been volunteering the last couple of times, I have been much more active as an activist.

Are your life values reflected in your choice of volunteer work?

I guess yes. I do not often think about that. I want to emancipate them, give them the opportunities I have. Actually, now when I am thinking about it, there is a difference from when I am abroad and when I am here in Cardiff. When I am in Palestine, I am very much just living there and observing, trying to learn more. When I am home, I am more activist, I am posting stuff on Facebook, I am writing my blog, and I want people to know. I am posting mostly political stuff. I believe that it can make a difference.

Do you ever participate in demonstrations?

Yes. Not so much in Palestine, but here in the UK I often participate. Mostly, it is demonstrations with the purpose of creating awareness. If my friends in Palestine want to participate in a demonstration, I normally tag along. I try to help by writing about the demonstrations, not only in my blog, but I try to pitch the idea to different magazines and papers in the hope of them wanting to publish an article I could then write about the demonstration. It is no humanitarian help, but it is help where I can provide with my skills.

Have you always been into politics?

Yes, when I was a teenager I was. I have always been very interested in the environment and for instance such a thing like HIV. I did many demonstrations. For instance sitting in front of companies polluting. I have not been arrested though. I was never one of those activists doing anything proper illegal.

You mentioned volunteering at your church. Do you consider yourself religious?

My family is and I have been raised as a Christian, but not really that much anymore. I still have these religious values, which I was brought up with.

What do you believe Christian values is?

Being a good person. Wow, I do not really know. I cannot answer that question. I want to do good things and not be a bad person.

What about the future. Do you have any plans of volunteering?

Not really. I want to keep writing and I want to keep writing about my field of interest, which of course is the Palestinian cause. I also need to live, so I might need to write about other stuff as well, but I want to write and get paid.

How much of your volunteer work has actually been arranged by an organization?

Only my stay in Peru. I have never travelled or volunteered to be part of a group. I want to meet new people – it is all about the cultural encounters, but I do not consider myself a volunteer who needs to hang out with other volunteers.

Appendix 10.8.5 Interview Martine

Skype Interview, Tuesday 17. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Martine. I am 25 years old, Danish and I live in Århus, Denmark. I am currently a student at Southern University where I study Middle Eastern studies.

Perfect. I asked you to draw a timeline about 1.5 month ago. If you could just go through the timeline. Just pretend as if you are explaining it to someone who has never seen it.

Starting from 1990 – this was when I was born. Frist time I came across volunteering I was 20 years old. I just helped some kids with English/Danish at what we call “lektie café” in Danish. This was for foreigners and there was a big part of Palestinians and Somalians. I was actually only there for about three or four months, it did not really say anything for me, so I stopped.

Next encounter with volunteering was not until I met you in Shatila. I did not do anything in between actually. I was there only for about five or six times. I did not actually have anything in particular that I did. I was not supposed to fill a particular role or anything. I talked with the kids, or at least I tried to talk to the kids. We tried to speak in both English and Arabic, and through our conversations, they gave me an insight into their daily routines. I was like a fly on the wall.

Due to this volunteer experience, I decided to do more volunteer work when I came back to Denmark in December. I contacted a friend of mine who is volunteering several places. I then got in contact with DFUNK – Dansk Flygtningehjælp Ungdom. It is a political department where we focus on the political aspects of the refugee situation, you know, the Danish policies, which are concerned with the refugees. We spent a lot of time creating awareness about policies, and how we treat refugees. For instance, a few weeks ago, we held a quiz about information about the refugees in Denmark. We try to enlighten people through fun activities.

I also volunteer at an asylum center here in Jutland. It is through “Save the Children”. Twice a month I volunteer with 3 or 4 other young female volunteers. We arrange different activities, and

for instance, we arranged for Halloween that we were dressed in scary ways, and we made the pumpkin faces with the kids etc.

Now I am actually the coordinator at this camp, where we in the end of November will have three days of activities. It is for refugee kids and these camps first started in Copenhagen, so now it is the first time for them to be here in Jutland.

What do you do as a coordinator?

I am the one in charge. I have to make sure that everything is planned to the smallest detail, for instance, what if someone wants to pray, how we solve that etc.

Did you apply for this job or?

It came up through my volunteer job through "Save the Children". They just asked me if I wanted to be the coordinator and I said yes.

Currently you are working at the asylum center, at DFUNK and as a coordinator. Do you have any plans in the future of volunteering?

No, not at all. It takes too much of my time. My plan is actually to cut down a bit on all the volunteer work – it simply takes too much of my time. Definitely not more. It is only due to the lack of time. I really love what I do, I love to teach the kids new things and I really love what they teach me. I also feel that it is of great importance what I teach other Danish people through my work at DFUNK, but I simply do not have the time. If I had more time, I would prefer to work with refugees. I am very much interested in Syria and Iraq, and since many of the refugees we are receiving in Denmark right now are from there, it is of really great interest to me. This is not just due to the cultural encounter but also it is a genuine interest to me. I would love to volunteer more with these people.

When looking at your timeline, all of your volunteer work has been with refugees. Do you know why?

I think that is what I saw in Lebanon. I came to Lebanon and I saw you. I saw your work in Shatila, the way you were engaging with the refugees. So I came home and thought to myself; what can I do? So now I felt that I had a bit of experience, I knew just a little bit, and since my BA was in Arabic and Middle Eastern studies, I had met Palestinians talking about the lives. Due to the current situation with the refugees, it also feels like the most obvious thing to engage in right now.

Do you consider yourself having a volunteer career?

Yes. I think that I have been developing through the last couple of years, and somehow, I might think my volunteering is affecting my true career.

Have you always been interested in the Middle East and the Palestinians?

Not always. It was actually my experience in Shatila, which awakened my interest. The best way to describe this is that before I went to Lebanon I voted "Venstre" and now I am "Radikale Venstre", so I have really changed.

That is very interesting. Do you feel that your life values is reflecting your choice of volunteer work?

Yes, I do. The fact that I actually have changed my values through my experience in Shatila says it all. What I saw and experienced in Shatila fundamentally changed me. My values are primarily focused on family and the right for freedom for everyone. I want my kids to have the same rights and opportunities as I have. This is a really big priority for me.

Do you consider yourself political active?

Yes.

Have you always been political active?

I was not political active before I started my volunteer work at DFUNK. Before I did not know much about politics. I knew what my parents voted for and my friends, but I had no interest at all.

Did you engage I DFUNK because of the politics?

Yes, I decided I needed to know more, I needed to learn, and I wanted to learn. It was not because I wanted to be in an environment with other volunteers, on the contrary I do not really want that. I feel that volunteers are often a very particular type. I do not see myself as such a type. In DFUNK I have change of learning. I could also consider a smaller NGO; it is just about the politics and me wanting to learn.

Would you boycott Israeli products?

Yes, I am actually doing my best not to purchase anything, which have the slightest chance to have been produced in Israel. This is not be being an activist, because an activist is again related to a certain type of person, and that is not who I am. I do not consider myself that kind of type. I consider myself a person who has been privileged enough to learn about these things, and since I have almost all the rights in the world, I have the opportunity to show and tell my friends and family what is actually happen. I know it might sound as if I am an activist, but I do not consider myself an activist.

Do you ever participate in demonstrations?

I have participated once or twice, but I am not the one in front with a banner and everything – I am just there to show support.

Appendix 10.8.6 Interview Rasmus

Skype Interview, Friday 20. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Rasmus, I am 27 year old, I am originally from Brazil and I currently I work as a teacher in Erbil, Iraq.

I would like you to go through the timeline. Just pretend that you are explaining it to someone who has not seen the timeline.

In 2008 is my first volunteer experience that I remember. In my hometown in Brazil, we had this thing where every Tuesday we would go for a soup drive. Someone would make soup and we would then give it to the homeless. It was soup and sometimes bread. We would get into different cars, and then drive around in the town. Whenever we met a homeless we would stop, talk a little bit and then provide them with the food. This was from January 2008 – July 2009.

In December 2008, I spend one month in the state from where I am from in Brazil. It is as a very poor area. We went there and volunteered at a school for really young kids. We were teaching different things. Whatever they asked me to teach I would help them. It was amazing and a full month of teaching.

In 2009, around May, I hosted a group of students from the UK. They were from Leeds University. I hosted two of the students, and they lived in my house with me. They were helping some UNICEF funded program. It was a slum area where they were part of a program for different activities for kids. Instead of the kids running around on the street, they would come to us and then we would play football, teach, talk, well, just hang out. It was just to take them out the streets a little bit and it was actually really nice. I was actually not a part of the volunteer work and the project, but I was helping the guys from Leeds with translating and stuff. It was really amazing.

Then I moved to the US, Chicago to attend university. As soon as I arrived, I met this group of people. They called the group “Spiritist Society of Chicago”. It was a group where we would meet every week and study like how to improve yourself, how to become better people and stuff like that. I volunteered with them because they needed help with preparing presentations, whatever they actually needed help with. I was there to make sure that the group did not die. That was for a long time, from August 2009 – July 2013. I was also responsible for communications; answering Emails, answering the phone and stuff like that. It was really fun and interesting, I really did learn a lot. That was for a really long time.

In 2010, during the summer, June, July and August, there was this group that would fundraise. It was an organization called “Children International”. They helped kids with funding in Africa. My job was then to do the fundraising. Me and the other guys would then go to the weeks a couple of time a week. We would hand out leaflets and ask people if they would like to make a contribution and stuff. It was really difficult, because people tend to be annoyed when you ask them for money on the streets. I did not feel that I was doing a good thing; I just felt that I was annoying people. So I really would not do that again. Even though it was not something I enjoyed, I did meet a lot of new people, and that was great. I do not think it is the right way to fundraise anything. It is better though and event, selling something. That was what I learned.

Around January 2009 – July 2013 I was part of the International Programs Office. I would always volunteer with them. We would make all sorts of cultural events. For instance, we would plan and host some kind of Chinese cultural event or we would do events to celebrate Muslim students. I volunteered a lot with this office. It was like bridging a gap between the American students and the foreign students. We would make events so that the different cultures could meet each other. It was very fun and university related.

In 2013, I moved to Jordan. Here I got involved with a NGO called “Helping Syrian Refugees in Jordan”. It is a woman who pretty much is the CEO of this NGO. Her goal is to get as many people to do as many good thing as possible for the Syrian refugees in Jordan. I was helping as much as possible. In the weekends, we would go to an area outside of Amman where we would make all

different sorts of activities for the kids, play with them, eat lunch etc. They loved us, because they really enjoyed interacting with us foreigners. That was August 2013 – June 2014. In 2014, I also volunteered with UNRWA. They coordinated all the refugee camps in Jordan that are for the Palestinians. They are only responsible for the Palestinians refugee camps, not the other ones. I volunteered five days a week, so it was full time. I was volunteering as a research assisted, so I would for instance write grant proposals. They had a project to rebuild a shelter, and I would then write to ask money from foreign agencies. The money would then be spend to rebuild the shelters. I was only there for six months and they actually offered me a paid position at the end of my volunteering. The money would not be enough to live in Amman, so I had to say no. Amman is very expensive.

Then I went to Lebanon in 2014. In the time when I was in Lebanon, I met a Danish girl who worked and lived in Shatila, and she told me about Shatila, and it really made me want to go and help. I visited the camp a couple of times, I just wanted to see how the life was for the kids, I wanted to see the condition of the camp and I wanted to participate in the teaching classes. I did not actually commit to volunteering because I had to leave in November. I could not commit then, even though I really wanted to.

I think that was pretty much it. Unfortunately, I have not been volunteering in 2015. This is primarily due to lack of time – I have been working full time all year. I want to save up some money so that I can do a Master in a couple of years. I have to pay everything myself, so I really need some money.

Looking at your timeline, do you then see some sort of theme of the volunteer work, which you have engaged in?

Yes, I do. I think there is a lot of focus on education and teaching. Most of my volunteer work has been related to teaching. I did not know at first that I would like to teach, but my first experience teaching as a volunteer made me realize this. I really enjoyed teaching - I had no clue. I you teach someone something that you know well, then it is quite enjoyable. You can say that I learned that I liked to teach.

Why refugees?

I think my interest with helping refugees started around the time when the Syrian war started. I was still in university in 2011-2012, but also because I was studying politics and I am very much into politics. I am very much interested in international events. The war in Syria in particular was something that really shocked me a lot, because of the many refugees. I started reading a lot about the refugee situation and when I moved to Jordan, the first thing I wanted to do was to help the refugees. I thought these people had to leave their homes, they come here, and they have no schools.

I feel particularly sad about the fact that the kids do not attend school. If you are a kid and you do not go to school you will not get a well paid job – then their kids will not go to school either, so you just create an entire generation of poverty, and it is really difficult to pick them up when they have no education and skills. If I teach the kids English or anything, you are giving them a skill. It opens of a lot of opportunities for them – it is empowering them. Even though I am now working full time and not volunteering, I still come home to make an impact in the students' lives. I want my teaching to be affecting them – I want to empower them.

Do you consider yourself having such a thing as a volunteer career?

I think I would like to, but now I cannot afford to just volunteer. I wish I could volunteer more. I am too much worried about my own future, saving money, and how to be able to do the Master. Right now, I am more concerned about my own career. My plan is to be volunteering in the break time though. Two months during the summer, I will be more than happy to volunteer. What is funny is that when I was applying and doing the interviews for the teaching jobs, unfortunately they do not look at any of your volunteering here in the Middle East. They think that volunteering does not count, maybe because it is not supervised, or at least that is what I think. The requirements was always saying like full time paid teaching experience. They are really specific. That is their point of view; my point of view is different. I think teaching as a volunteer helped me develop my skills. I have been building on the skills that I got volunteer teaching.

Are your life values, reflected in your choice of volunteer work?

Yes, because I tend to either consciously or unconsciously I tend to volunteer with things I care more about. I care about woman's rights, but I care more about education and children, so if I had a choice to choose between volunteering at a woman's center or a school, I would choose the school. My volunteering reflects what concerns me more. I want to provide kids with skills; I want to empower them.

You mentioned earlier, that you were very much interested in politics. Is your political point of view, reflected in your volunteering as well?

Let me just think. Yes, I believe so. I believe that my volunteer work has a lot to do with politics. I am very interested in Middle Eastern politics, so I could go to some Asian country, they also need volunteers, but I would not. I am not interested or involved in their politics. I do not know enough, I am not enough interested. I know they probably need as much help as the Palestinians and the Syrians. I feel more that I should help Arabs. I feel that it is unconscious, but my involvement in Middle Eastern politics makes me want to help the people who are suffering from all these political problems.

Are you active as a member in any political organizations or parties?

No, but I wish I was much more involved, but I am not.

What about demonstrations?

Yes, in Lebanon I would demonstrate, because that is a need they have. It is not like demonstrating, but I would also boycott Israeli products as well.

You mentioned volunteering with a spiritual organization – do you consider yourself religious?

Yes, but my choice of volunteer work has nothing to do with religion. I do not consider myself a Christian, a Muslim or whatever. I try to think of myself as a religious person with no such thing as one Good. I do not want a label. I believe in a Good, but not in one religion in particular. I really consider myself quite religious, but I do not want to be affiliated with just one religion. I am not

agnostic, because I do go to church or in the mosque. I believe there is just one Good. It makes no different whether if I pray to a Muslim or Christian Good.

What about future plans of volunteering?

Absolutely. I want to spend more time. I want it to be more intense. Not in terms of a war, but more like in terms of spending as much of my time as possible. I would love to do that. Fulltime for about one or two months. I really want to engage, just as you did in Shatila. I will keep on teaching and I still want to teach kids and the youth, and it would be great if it could be volunteers. It is the experience I have already gained, it is the skills I already have. I want my skills to be useful.

Actually now I also feel confident to do it on my own. When I was younger I was always part of a group or an organization, but now I can do it on my own. Of course, I like being part of a group and it is awesome with all the social benefits. I think as a group, you can share knowledge. Knowledge is so important. I love the social, but I think it is important to emphasize that it is the cultural interaction with the refugees – the cultural exchange, which I am the most interested in. The means of making the happen – you know that is what cultural exchange is. I have made many good friends through volunteering, not only refugees, but also other volunteers.

Appendix 10.8.7 Interview Charlotte

Skype Interview, Saturday 21. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Charlotte, I am 27 today, but I am actually turning 28 next week. I am Swizz and I have finished my bachelor, I graduated a year ago and just having a small break.

I would like you to go through the timeline. Just pretend that you are explaining it to someone who has not seen the timeline.

First time I volunteered was in India where I volunteered, or, it was actually part of my studies. The volunteer work was part of a course at my university that we had to go to India for 2 months, and engage in a project. We planned what we were going to do in details before our departure. It is a NGO that produces bio cotton, and they also open schools. These schools are for the kids of the parents who work with the bio cotton. The teachers there are educated to be teachers, but not teachers like we know, or they do not know about the strategies and stuff. We designed some new teaching methods to teach some basic stuff, like how to translate, English etc. These things were planned before, and then we went to India. We were there to give the teachers some new ideas on how to teach. I did not teach myself, but we had workshops with the teachers and showed them how to do it.

What we actually found out was that this thing happened every year, you know, foreigners arriving, having all these strategies prepared and then doing the workshops. This made us very critical towards volunteering. I was asking why this happened year after year, what happened? Why was there absolutely no development? No change, no development. It was obvious that nothing really changed, but the volunteers did make an effort, but nothing changed. When the volunteers left, all the implementations were forgotten. It was clear that some of the regular teachers did not like it, and they did not like our ideas. I seemed as if they, you know the regular teachers, did not agree on what we, you know the volunteers, thought was the right way to teach. We had a really big discussion at the end actually, and I decided to be very critical towards volunteering after this experience. What is my impact and stuff.

My second time as volunteering was in Shatila in Lebanon. This was in 2012. I studied Arabic in Beirut and my volunteer experience here happened more or less by chance. I went to a language school in Hamra, and I asked them if I could maybe do some volunteering and they knew about Najdeh in Shatila. They organized everything; I went there and then I started teaching English to these kids. Najdeh is actually a woman organization, but not only for woman, it is more like a woman empowerment organization, but they also have men there. It is like, they offer afterschool activities; homework help, English classes, drawing activities etc. I also met this Palestinian guy, Raji, who introduced me to art classes, so I volunteered with him as well.

Then I did not volunteer for a couple of years. I was home, busy studying for my second bachelor. This year I went to Jordan. I lived in Jordan for some while and had plenty of time to volunteer. I went there and I knew I wanted to volunteer, and I wanted to speak a better Arabic. I do not speak fluent Arabic so I need to work for organizations where they are capable of speaking English as well. I need to speak English to be capable of understanding everything, but I do not want to only speaking English, I also want to speak Arabic, you know. I was there for 5 months and really found it difficult to find one. Then I found this organization. It did not even have an English name, but translated, the Arabic name means "solidarity". It is a woman's organizations and they are providing legal aid for refugee woman. They are doing really important work; helping with divorces, legalizations, paperwork etc. I was an assistant there, but I did not do anything at all. I could not, because it was all in Arabic. I did type something sometimes, but the rest of the time, I did not do anything at all. The refugees speak Arabic, and since the organization is national and not international, it is all in Arabic. I could not help – I knew that they did awesome work, but could not help, and I really hated it. I stayed with them, but only because it would look good on my CV, but beside that, it was absolutely of no use to me or them, actually.

Then I worked with another NGO. This NGO was dealing primarily with Iraqis and Syrians. I like the true cause. They made their house very colorful, and they have after school activities or they collect money to be able to pay for the kids to be able to attend school or for their clothes, books etc. I assisted with very different activities, and I really found it interesting and professional. I was

engaged with what was good and not good, it was really constructive. I was teaching English to the youth. I was also teaching yoga to the woman, it was really nice. They actually have one teacher who trained some of the people there, so they actually kind of knew about it themselves and were kind of trained yoga teachers, but since I was there, they could just as well use me and my skills. It was really nice and interesting. It was a nice organization.

Do you consider that there is some sort of theme that you work within as a volunteer?

I am not sure I understand.

Ok, without putting any words in your mouth, it seems as it has more or less all been concerned with teaching and in two out of three volunteer experiences with woman's organizations within the field of refugees. Do you feel like you have a preference within the field that you want to volunteer within?

I feel that because I am teacher – they always want me to teach. I have no problem in teaching, but I do not want to teach all the time – but this is what they want and need. I have the skills as a trained teacher so I will help them. If this is what you need, you can have it, but I would also love to do something else. I have an asset that they can use. The refugees needs to be able to speak a better English to be able to survive the better. They need this, badly. I am qualified as a teacher and a social anthropologist – I do not want to tell them about their culture, but I am also a teacher and that is something they need – me teaching them. I want to run from the teaching, but it is getting back to me.

Why refugees and not just for instance Lebanese or Jordanian citizens?

The point is not if they are refugees or not, the point is that they are disadvantages. I want to work with people who are disadvantages. People who need access to education or who are for instance not the preferred nationality in a country or in a political instable condition.

Do you consider yourself having a volunteer career?

Not at all.

Why not?

Well, what does such a thing even mean? I mean, first of all I have only volunteered about five times, and not for very long. The problem is, because what is even perceived as volunteering. Volunteering is selfless service – it is supposed to be work because it is needed and not because I want it on my CV. In this regard, then yes, then I have a volunteer career. Being in an organization, exchanging knowledge etc.

Are your life values reflected in your choice of volunteering?

Yes, I think so. We are all on this planet, and maybe we are disadvantaged due to political, social or environmental difficulties, but we all should have the same access to get what we need. So what do we really need? I like NGOs who works on behalf of the locals. I believe that local NGOs implement what is needed and not what is perceived to be needed. It is hard to find an organization that is not taking all the money to the CEO and the managing. I wish I could do more, but I feel that I can do more without NGOs and different volunteer groups. I was part of a Whats App group and helped people translating. I privately would collect money for people that I know. All without NGOs, Facebook status change or all this kind of publication. I believe in this way, this is how I want to work. Even though this seems difficult to attract attention like this. I am more silent. NGOs are all about politics – they cannot survive without the money. I do not want it to be a business. My thrive is without any business. The completion for the money are horrible, this is people's lives we are talking about.

You just mentioned politics. Do you consider yourself a political person?

How can I say. I am not following any political parties, I consider myself free in that regard – I am not following anything. Despite this, yes, I actually consider myself quite political.

Do you consider the political aspect of the Palestinians before you decided to volunteer in Shatila?

I do not think it is political because I am not active in the way that an activist would be. I am maybe doing these things because they are needed, because I find it necessary to help. Of course I want to say something at the same time, but that is not my primary goal. I think that everyone should have

the same opportunities, and I do not think it is fair the way that they are treated. I am not taking this information and spreading it such as movements does. I believe my work is more social than political.

Would you ever consider demonstrating or boycotting Israeli products?

I do not know. I am not sure. I think that if I see Israel on a fruit, I am sure I will not buy it. I would not systematically search for their products. I am not looking online for the list of fruits from Israel that is not the kind of person I am. If I know, I am sure I will not buy it. I would also demonstrate, if there is a demonstration and I am there, I would participate.

Any future plans of volunteering?

Yes, I am planning to go to Jordan in 2016 then I for sure wants to volunteer. I will probably go back to my previous volunteer work, the place with the yoga and the English classes. I will see what happens. There are many interesting; I want the locals, and not all the Americans. I need to improved my Arabic, and that is best to be improved in the Middle East. I actually apply for payed jobs with NGOs in the Middle East, but it is difficult, due to my Arabic skills, or well, my lack of Arabic skills.

Appendix 10.8.8 Interview Peter

Skype Interview, 22. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Peter, I am half-African and half Greek, but I have been living in Sweden most of my life. How old am I? Well, I am 34. I am currently working as an assisting nurse, but I will start on a study in conflict studies in the beginning of the 2016.

I would like you to go through the timeline. Just pretend that you are explaining it to someone who has not seen the timeline.

I will prefer to go through it by my memory – that is the way I like it the most. Is that ok with you?

Yes, you decide.

My volunteer work began when I was engaged in political work. I was part of the young lefties here in Stockholm. I was engaged in many different political activities. Most of them was concerning refugees and anti-racist work. We wanted to open people's minds on these particular questions. I was around 15 or 16 when I entered. When I was 17, the second intifada began in Palestine and I was really eager to go and volunteer in some way, but unfortunately I was too young. All organizations did not want volunteers below 18 years. Since I could not volunteer, I decided to go to Palestine on a personal trip instead. I just want to get accustomed with the country, the culture and the language.

When I turned 19 I read about a massacre in Janin camp in Palestine, and I decided now it is time to go and participate. Now I was finally old enough. Right before Christmas in 2002 I went to Jerusalem and I joined the "International Solidarity Movement". It is an organization that is working with non-violence in the occupied countries. They have training in direct action, Palestinian history and culture. As a volunteer, you are sent to one of the villages that needs you. The movement is run by Palestinians and Israelis. At that time, there was a really bad siege in a city called Nablus in the north with daily invasions in the Palestinian refugee camps. I was sent there so that I was the international presence there. I lived in an apartment, which was set for demolition,

because the family's son was a suicide bomber. They could not demolish the house because we were 10-15 international living in the house. Most of us was from Sweden and Denmark. The work was riding with ambulances, protecting the kids when going to school, observer the checkpoints and stuff. When we, as internationals were present, the Israelis did not dare to shoot us. WE were also acting as witnesses, to be able to tell the world about what was going on. It felt like war, and it was a really tough period due to all of the killings and executions. We brought information to the media. I stayed for 1 month, and I had actually planned to stay there for at least 3 months, but at the end of the first month, I was shot. This really shocked me, so I needed to go home to relax.

One year later, I went back. I did more or less the same work again. The situations was a little more relaxed at that time. We were present at the checkpoints in order to be able to help the Palestinians to the right of free movement. When we were there, they could not be harassed as much. When I left, I really needed a break. Unfortunately, I had developed severe PTSD. Therefore, I started to study development studies with a focus on East-Africa. I started to work with street children in Tanzania. I was doing football training, to get them away from the streets. We provided them with food and language training. Many of the kids we convinced to go to the center never really returned back to the street, they stayed in the center and developed. I was also engaged in a project in Uganda in this project, and they provide emergency assistant to street children. They are more active on the street instead of in a center. Most of the work was actually done at bus stations, because here the street kids slept under the busses and stuff. There was a lot of police harassment, so it was more calm when we were there. We counted them, tried to talk to them and convince them to go to school.

Then I went to Palestine again. Actually, I thought that my PTSD would get better if I came back, and it actually did. It was the best place to be, to be in the place that created all of your fears to begin with. During my stay, there was the building of the separation wall. Much of my volunteer work was in the villages to support them and their resistant against the building of the wall. Everyday there were demonstrations and my job was then to assist at these demonstration. The city I lived in was mainly led by woman and had a very strong resistance. The city survived and was not destroyed by the wall. At the same time I was very active in many different social movements. I

believe that being part of the societies s very important. You need to be inside in order to make a difference – you cannot do this from the outside. We participated in workshops, we went to the orphanages, nurseries etc. We were just present. That made the soldiers not shot. We also once delivered balloons to the children – that was a great day.

Then afterwards, I went back to Tanzania, I think this was in 2005 or so. I was mainly volunteering in a village center – a center for HIV positive woman. The organization was called “Woman’s Legal Aid Center”. They provided legal assistance to the woman who had problems with divorces, domestic violence and death. HIV positive woman was rejected by their families and communities, so that was why the center was needed. My main responsibility was to create books. We called them “Life books”. It was a book where the woman could put down their own stories to give to their children when they died. They gathered all of their history, both pictures, stories and drawings.

Then I went to Palestine a third time. Again, there was a lot of focus on the wall. Again, I just assisted as much as possible. After this stay, I went to Tanzania again. I volunteered at a school. I had different kind of workshops. I also worked for a woman organization, providing assistance for the woman. Economical, focus on agriculture, their children etc. I felt that this was too much. Too many things to focus on at the time, and therefore I found it difficult to find focus. I really did not do much there, it was just too much. I prefer to have a focus on just one thing. This was when I developed my sense and interest in photography, I believe that the pictures can tell the stories. I actually afterwards attended a photography course. It was mostly about documentary photography. I then decided that I wanted to focus more on the Palestinians living outside of Palestine.

I went to Beirut, Shatila, and wanted to document their lives because I genuinely believe that there is too much focus on the Palestinians living in Palestine and not enough on the ones outside. I took all of my pictures in Shatila and the made an exhibition.

Do you consider yourself having some kind of theme within your choice of volunteering?

I think primary my theme is based on the woman, because I believe that if you go to the woman first it is better, because then it will sipper down to the rest. Not only woman, but also just the woman first.

Why did you choose areas such as Africa and Palestine?

I do not feel I had a choice concerning the Palestinians. For me this was the greatest injustice in the world. Palestine has been with me since I was a child. Repeated injustice. I felt I had to do it. The African part is very personal because of my roots and therefore I felt a personal connection to this area. My father is from Senegal, and I always wanted to go there and to be there. I had no clue how it was there, because of the fact that I was raised here.

Do you consider yourself having a volunteer career?

It depends on how you see it. I think I have a voluntary career, which is bigger than most people's volunteer career. I have never worked with it and earned money from it. In some cases, I might have and in some other cases, I might have not. I will now study peace and conflict studies, and definitely, my volunteer work has influenced my choice. I think I need the knowledge. I have been doing a lot, now I need the knowledge. I want to add the formal part. To be able to form my volunteer work into knowledge and then a proper work. I believe in volunteering, but I also need money to be able to survive, I need an income. I need to shift from the volunteer work to something that actually generates an income.

Do you feel that your life values are reflected within your choice of volunteer work?

I think so, yes. I put a lot of effort into being with people and wanting to learn from them and to share with them. It is important that different cultures meet and interact. I love to meet lot of different people and to learn from them. My thoughts and believe in woman being the ones able to change is also very much a big part of me and what I believe in.

Do you consider yourself political active?

I am not active these days, no. I was active when I was younger. I think sometimes things can get to big, and for me, my political activity made me burn out. It was too big and too much for me. Now I am running on my own, when I want and when I want. I am not following anyone. I am forming my own way. When you are political active you cannot distinct one thing from another. If you are engaged in the Palestinian cause that does not make me less interested in fighting for woman's rights etc. I was into all these things, I could not choose. I was part of it all. I needed to focus on something. I as a person cannot value one thing more than another, and it can eat you up. I consider myself political aware, but not political active. The Palestinian cause was both political and humanitarian for me. I have grown up with my parents being active and my father was a refugee himself. I participated in demonstrations when I was a child with my parents. They were very active. I am not sure if I made a decision or if it just happened. I consider it a lifestyle more than a decision.

Do you have any future plans of volunteering?

No, not right now, actually, but I think it will come. When it comes it will come. I follow my heart. If my heart says I need to move to Palestine, then I will listen to my heart. I am not planning anything. I want to keep volunteering for the rest of my life. It is important for me.

Appendix 10.8.9 Interview Frederikke

Interview, face to face in Malmö, 25. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Frederikke, I am 31 years old, I am Swedish and I am a student/project manager.

I would like you to go through the timeline. Just pretend that you are explaining it to someone who has not seen the timeline.

I talk about it is activism; I know that you call it volunteering, but that is probably due to the different denotations of the word - it is at least the lingo we use in my organization.

You can call it activism, and thank you for pointing this out.

It begins before around the year of 2000. I was friends with people who were political engaged in the lefties here in Sweden, the youth department, and I also had friends who were helping to give soup for the homeless in Stockholm every Sunday. I actually just tagged along, both with the political stuff and the soup. I was handing out flyers, helping with different organizational stuff, I protested and participated in different demonstrations. We were also demonstrating in front of stores selling pornographic stuff etc.

I became more and more of a feminist. I started studies in gender at university in 2004 and I also started in these feminist discussion groups and I also started writing about these issues for the lefties magazine. In 2005 I started to work for the Stockholm party as an active organizer. I went from tagging along to being an active organizer. We also had this group which we called "Queer Underground" – it was actually kind of cute. We started it together with a politician from the Green party. It was his initiative, and funny we called us underground, again, really cute. We were exploring these different things together, and it was more like a close group. We were making stickers, we would give the men on signs skirts on, we would divide benches into woman/men, creating some awareness about gender apartheid.

Before I finished my bachelor in gender studies I got a job with a NGO which is a youth organization for LGBTQ rights. I have actually been working there ever since. It was in 2007, and I have been doing quite a lot of different activities. I work there part time while I am also studying my master. I work there to be able to continue my lifestyle even though I am a student.

2007 was also the year my interest for the Middle East began I travelled to Istanbul with my friend. We were a group of friends visiting our friend and at the same time, the pride was in Istanbul. She was working for the Swedish Institute and there was also my professor from gender studies working. She was doing some research and we actually went to clubs – she is like 55 or something. I am still friends with the people I met there – we were not being active there, but they were all part of this Lesbian group of people.

In 2012 I went to Beirut, where I spent my entire summer. I visited CYC, I met up with woman rights activists, and meeting friends. This was also the time I met my husband, we got married so that he could come to Europe – it had nothing to do with love, I had only known him for 10 days. I am not very critical towards my work with LGBTQ. I think the most important is poverty and economic conditions. The LGBTQ people who are the most discriminated are the poor people, because they do not have the resources. It is not the rich Lebanese gay guys in Beirut that are the most discriminated, it is the poor Syrian refugees for instance. The LGBTQ movement in Sweden does not take economy into account, they are really liberal, and I find that very important. The more segmented the societies are, the more economy is important. Like with the woman rights activists in Lebanon. They are more concerned with poverty than why there are not enough female board members. Migrant woman's rights in Lebanon are more important, because they are the ones who are facing the most discrimination and being the most imposed.

My believe in volunteering changed when I worked in CYC in 2015. Here I worked with refugees. I wrote on my timeline that I changed from advocating to more practical stuff, but now, when I am reading this, it is actually not so much about practical stuff, but about poverty and material conditions. I can volunteer to change that through advocating these issues, but I can also do it by giving people food, money etc. I am very focused on politics, because it is policies that are creating

the suffering of the Palestinians. The situation is not created due to only prejudice, but due to legislation.

If you look through the timeline, do you think you have a theme within your choice of volunteer work?

LGBTQ rights has always been very important to me.

Why?

Well, from my experience, first because of me being a woman. I became a feminist when I was 14 or something. I did not like that girl and boy were treated differently in school. Then it was an interest drawing from that. I am not straight myself, but it was more of an academic theoretical interest. I have never experienced any discrimination, so therefore the interest in the theoretical field.

Why did you choose to volunteer in CYC?

My mother is friends with someone who started the organization, but I also went there because I think that I am very emotional engaged in the Palestinian situation. I have many friends who are Palestinians, and just knowing about the discrimination of the Palestinians in Lebanon.

Do you feel that your life values is reflected in your choice of volunteer work?

I think solidarity is my main value somehow. I think it is more reflected in the volunteer work I have been doing recently. When I was doing it when I was younger I was of course interested, but now I felt that I am driven by the solidarity cause. I do not think I have sacrificed anything when I married my friend, I actually think it has given me quite a lot. For me it as an act of solidarity. I have use my right to choose who I want to marry. I travel a lot. Study in one city, live in another, have a boyfriend in a third city etc., so this kinds of stops me from having more volunteer work. I cannot volunteer long term. I would like to do it more permanently. When I live a more stable life, I think it will be a more everyday thing.

You kind of already answered my next question, but do you have any plans of future volunteering?

I will probably keep working within the same field. Focus on poverty in the Middle East. I have a friend who works at Amnesty International in Sweden, and they need LGBTQ experts in Malmö. I might find that interesting, even though I thought that I was done with it. I feel very emotionally engaged in this, and therefore it is very exhausting also working with it. If Amnesty offered me a job, I would not turn it down. My question now is if I want to work within the field of my activism. It has been paying my rent since 2007, but I am not sure I want to keep doing that.

That leads perfectly to my next question. Do you consider yourself having such a thing as a volunteer career?

Yes, I would say so. I have developed through my volunteer work. I have developed to be much more critical. My volunteer work was the thing that gave me the opportunity to have a properly paid job. They offered me the job as project manager because I knew the organization and the different projects. I have used my previous activism experience on my CV if it fits in the job description. When it is qualified work where I have utilized my skills, then I would use it as reference. My masters is within the field of political science and I am much more interested in stuff I have never before been interested in, such like numbers and statistics, so I would love to work with that, but then work with my activism on the side.

You have mentioned politics, so I would like to know if you consider yourself politically active.

Yes. I am an active member of a political party. I am a member of the left party in Sweden. I am active before elections, where I hand out flyers, give information etc. They also have these study groups, and sometimes if the themes are interesting, I would participate. I also participate in demonstrations and stuff. I would actually say that I am 99% passive paying member, and then in times of election I am very much active.

Do you feel that politics and your political beliefs are reflected in your choice of volunteer work?

I consider my work highly political and my change of interest is also very political. I started being more academic, but as mentioned earlier, I am now very interested in politics, due to for instance

poverty. It is the policies that is creating the poverty. I think also that friends are important. You are really affected by your friends, so therefore they also get you very engaged in stuff. I was told much about the Palestinian cause and then I also took a course in Middle Eastern studies that reinforced my belief in injustice towards the Palestinians. It kind of reinforced my opinion. I back my interest up with knowledge and education.

How important is it for you to be part of a group when you are volunteering? You mentioned that you started your volunteering with just tagging along and you just mentioned how important friends are.

I went to CYC on my own. That had nothing to do with me being part of a group. My Lebanese friends even warned me not to go there. When you travel you meet friends, and this is a new circle of friends who are also interested in the same things as you are. I work for solidarity, I am working for other people's right, and I can do that alone or with other people, it makes no difference to me. I want to create awareness. This is important. I might not change their lives, but I try to tell their stories. I use my skills and abilities to do this.

Appendix 10.8.10 Interview Marlene

Interview, face to face in Copenhagen, 26. September 2015

Could you start by telling me your name, age, nationality, where you live and occupation?

My name is Marlene, I am 28 years old, and I am Danish. I recently graduated, so now I have a part time job and an internship at a big Danish NGO.

I would like you to go through the timeline. Just pretend that you are explaining it to someone who has not seen the timeline.

Do you want details on how I got to do the volunteer work or?

Yes, if you find it important.

My timelines starts when I was born. I am not sure why, but maybe because I was born as a volunteer. I started volunteering when I was still living at home, because my mom works at a church and volunteer work seems to be a great part of working in a church. We would do different sorts of charity work, annual collecting money for the big Danish NGOs, helping old people and stuff. Maybe it was not considered volunteering, but I did put in on my timeline.

Then I had a high school year abroad in Wales, and there I had did a lot of volunteering. It is part the school's curriculum that you needed to volunteer, and therefore I volunteered with "Meals on Wheels", where we went out to old people with food – that was actually really funny. I also went and worked at a church, where we collected different sorts of things for the poor and homeless. I also volunteered at an old people's home; I had to help them read their mails, which were written in Welsh, which I did not read, so that was good.

During high school back in Denmark, there is this annual thing called "Operation Dagsværk" (OD), it is a one day of charity that you have to do, it is obligatory. You can choose to go wherever and do one day of volunteering. You can choose to go and work with something at your parent's house, then they will pay you and the money will then go to the thing, which the school has decided to fund that year. I also helped organized the graduation and stuff like that.

Then after high school, I decided to do some traveling and I traveled in Latin America as everyone else. We worked at an Old people's home in Argentina. It was not organized at all. We just called them and then they invited us. It was actually really fun. We met a lot of people.

Then I started my bachelor in Copenhagen, studying archeology. Here I volunteered in excavations in Jordan where I was the supervisor. During my time at university I also did homework help for the "Danish Refugee Council", annual charity collections, the student bar comity and mentors for the new students. We were a very small student group, so it was a nice way of meeting new people. I also worked for "Danish Church Aid" with a campaign called "Clean water is costly", where we walked around to different cafés where we put up these little plastic containers to collect money. This was pretty boring because you were on your own, so therefore you did not meet any other volunteers.

Then during my Masters in York, I was helping at different seminars, this was called "Wednesday Seminars", and then I was also worked for a "Homeless Heritage Project". This was quite interesting, but it was more like an internship.

Then I went back to Denmark and decided to do another Master, and this time in Tourism. I got to be a volunteer coordinator for the "Danish Refugee Council". Then during the first semester, we were to write a project, and then my friend and I went to Kenya. I do not consider it as volunteering, because our primary focus was to collect data and we were only there for 8 days. During my second semester, also in relation to a project, I went to volunteer in CYC Shatila in Beirut. This place I have visited again after, but I only volunteered once there.

I decided to use some of my timeline space to write something about my future volunteering. I hope to be able to continue at the "Danish Refugee Council" where I am now. I am actually during an Internship there now, so I work fulltime for absolutely no money at all. I did write that I wanted to be a network person as well, which I am actually still waiting to happen. I would also like to volunteer at a church again, and of course I would love to go back to Shatila.

When looking at your timeline to you then think you have some kind of themes within your choice of volunteering.

No, not really. Maybe, wait a minute. I think a theme of mine would be refugees and old people. When I did the timeline, I remember I thought about what a volunteer actually is. When I was a kind I volunteered because my parents did it, I was simply too young to be left alone. A lot of my volunteer work during university was just kind of part of the university. I volunteered at the bar and the party committee because it felt like a part of studying. We did not have that many lectures, so it was like to be a part of the whole thing. At that time, I really do not think we considered it volunteering; it was just something you did. Someone has to do it, so why not just do it yourself.

Do you consider yourself having such a thing as a volunteer career?

I would like to say yes, because I think that it sounds really awesome.

Could you maybe elaborate?

I think people like to volunteer. I think some people are just drawn to volunteer. I think it is a part of our identity. I want to do it and develop. For me it is not about being with other volunteers, it is just to be part of anything. I know it sounds vague. When I traveled in Latin America, I traveled with a friend, but we did not work together, so I was there in a sense alone, and that changed me and how I perceive volunteering. We did not meet new people as in new volunteers, but we were a part of this very unique experience, we got to learn so many amazing things. Like when I volunteered in Shatila. I did not care about the other volunteers, but I learned about the life in Shatila, I developed as a human being. You need to be curious as a volunteer. I think if I were asked to describe volunteers, I would use the word curiosity. You get an insight into other cultures, and it is learning about life. People of course want to do something good. I hate it when people or just negative about volunteering. Volunteers might not change the world, but they develop as people, and we need that. I think that can be considered as a career.

Does this imply that you have developed both as a person and a volunteer?

Definitely. I am constantly applying for job these days, and I can see how I always emphasize my volunteer work. I am very proud of my volunteer work, and I feel that it has provided me with skills and made me develop as a person. My experience is rarely from my actual paid jobs. My current boss told me that it looked like I had educated myself very well. I think people like us forget that we should be paid for all the work we do. Money is secondary. We need to survive, but we do what we like. We have often talked about just getting a job, which then could be from where the money for rent and stuff would come from, and then you could just work with what you really believed in as volunteering. I do not think I can get paid to do what I really want.

Do you feel that your life values are reflected in your choice of volunteer work?

Yes, I think so, but then what is life values? Could you maybe just mention one life value?

For instance such values as career, family or a world with equality. Your perception is as good as mine.

When I was little, I really wanted to meet everyone in the world, so I actually believe that one of my life values is creating relations. It is not just about meeting people and then leaving then again. I want to create proper relations. The more relations you have the more you get to learn about life. I might also think a life value of mine is solidarity. I do know that it is a big word. I just believe in doing as much good as possible, trying to be generous even if it is not with money, then you can be generous with your time. I like the idea of sharing.

You mentioned that your mother works at a church and that you would like to volunteer in a church here in Denmark. Do you consider yourself religious?

Yes. I have always been. Or, maybe not always, I might turned a bit more religious when I was in Wales.

Do you feel that your religion somehow can be reflected in your choice of volunteering?

Yes, I think so. I was raised with volunteering; it has been a big part of my upbringing. I feel that my parents have shaped me and I believe that my upbringing has been affected by religion, so

therefore my answer would be yes. Sometimes my parents even think I am volunteering too much, and then I get really angry and be like; you made this, you were the ones who brought me up with this. I believe that your parents and friends are really great in affecting you when you grow up. Let us say I hated my parents, then I might have ended up not volunteering at all. I am just saying that you are affected but you do also have a mind on your own.

What about politics? Do you consider yourself in any sense political?

Yes, I am very political aware, and what is actually funny is that you can often see what people chooses to volunteer with is very often based on their political believes. Someone proper right wing would probably not choose to work in Shatila or distribute food for Syrian refugees in the streets.

So your political beliefs are reflected in your choice of volunteering.

Yes. My best example was when I worked for the “Homeless Heritage” when I was in York. We found it really difficult to get people to be engaged it this, it was kind of hopeless. This situation made me aware of the inequalities and the division between rich and poor. It made me realize how important politics is.

Why did you choose CYC and Shatila?

Well, I remember when I was in high school, I had a teacher who taught us about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and I just remember that I was in disbelief. I could not understand how this could be happening, and continue happening year after year. I went home and talked with my parents about it; I was so disappointed of the world. My mother then told me that she had actually been a part “Danish Palestinians Friendship Organization” since she was 20. Then we ended up having very long talks about the Palestinians, so it just kind of grew in me. Then when I started studying archeology it all came more clear, because in Jordan you work with a lot of Palestinians, and you just realize how much inequality there is. They were treated bad, despite the fact that they were doing their job better than us, it is a really clear injustice. I have always participated in these awareness demonstrations about Palestine. I would never attend a demonstration against Israel. Being pro-Palestine is not the same as hating all Israeli people.