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"*They come because they know the teachers are gringos*": A post-colonial exploration of the perceived value of volunteer English teaching in Lima, Peru

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ABSTRACT

Over the past three decades, there has been a growing trend among young people from developed countries to spend time undertaking short-term voluntary activities in developing countries before, during or after university. This phenomenon is known as 'volunteer-tourism'. Although typically unqualified, volunteer-tourists participate in a wide range of activities, including English language teaching. There is, however, limited exploration on the dynamics of English language education through volunteer-tourism. Furthermore, literature on the role of English in development indicates an uncritical and positive bias towards English as an international language and a tool of 'development'. This research thus contributes to current literature in two key ways, considering both the dynamics of volunteer-tourism and English language, in a post-colonial context.

The research explores the perceived value of volunteer English (EFL) teaching in both elite and disadvantaged communities of post-colonial Peru. Focusing on a volunteer English teaching agency that operates in both public and private schools in Lima, interviews were conducted with both private and public school staff and former students, agency representatives and volunteers, as part of a qualitative study. A post-colonial lens was adopted to frame the research, addressing the following research questions:

- What motivates different actors' involvement in volunteer English teaching programmes and how do they perceive the value of volunteer English teaching and the English language itself?
- How is volunteer English teaching and the English language experienced and perceived in elite and disadvantaged environments by different actors?

Drawing on a post-colonial analytical strategy, the research discussion highlights three key themes. Firstly, the perceived value of volunteer English teachers is dependent on their having a positive and willing attitude rather than any form of qualification. Furthermore, their role ambiguity means they are absolved of much responsibility both in and outside of the classroom. Secondly, the value of volunteer English teaching lies in its characterisation as a 'cultural exchange', whereby volunteer teaching assistants provide 'authentic', linguistic and cultural exchange with Peruvian school students, host families and staff. Finally, stepping into the wider context in which the research is situated, English language is seen by Peruvian participants as a way of 'opening doors to the world', with direct associations made by all participants between English and the discourse of 'development'.

Overall, the research reveals power relations and subjectivities that are embedded in post-colonial power structures. Elite members of the host community benefit more from the programme and from the English language than those who are less advantaged, and generalisations are made about different groups of actors based on stereotypes that embody post-colonial ways of thinking. Uncritical promotion of the English language as a tool for personal and national 'development' is symbolised by notions of superiority regarding the volunteers and the 'world' from which they originate. This suggests that neo-colonial processes may also be involved in spreading the English language and its associated 'culture'. Nevertheless, while local initiatives such as this one may reproduce systemic inequalities, the positive impacts that participants feel they have experienced should not be overlooked. As such, further research into the overlap between English language and volunteering is required to continue unpacking how these areas interact and operate within underlying power relations, expanding the focus from perceived value, to tangible impacts.

RESUMEN

Durante las últimas tres décadas, ha habido una tendencia creciente entre los jóvenes de los países desarrollados a pasar tiempo realizando actividades voluntarias a corto plazo en los países en desarrollo antes, durante o después de asistir a la universidad. Este fenómeno se llama 'turismo-voluntario'. Aunque normalmente no están calificados, los turistas-voluntarios participan en una amplia variedad de actividades, incluida la enseñanza del idioma inglés. Sin embargo, existe una exploración limitada sobre la dinámica de la educación del idioma inglés a través del turismo-voluntario. Del mismo modo, la literatura sobre el rol del idioma inglés en el desarrollo internacional indica un sesgo positivo y poco crítico hacia el inglés como idioma internacional y una herramienta de 'desarrollo'. Por ello, esta investigación contribuye de dos formas al vacío en el conocimiento actual, ya que explora la dinámica del turismo-voluntario, así como el rol del idioma inglés, en un contexto poscolonial.

La investigación explora el valor percibido de la enseñanza voluntaria del inglés como idioma extranjero (EFL) en comunidades de élite y desfavorecidas del Perú poscolonial. Se enfocó en una agencia voluntaria de enseñanza de inglés que opera en colegios públicos y privados en Lima y se realizaron entrevistas con personal y exalumnos de colegios públicos y privados, representantes de la agencia, y voluntarios, como parte de un estudio cualitativo. Se adoptó un marco de interpretación poscolonial sobre el cual se plantearon las siguientes preguntas de investigación:

- ¿Qué motiva a los diferentes participantes a participar en los programas de enseñanza voluntaria de inglés? ¿Cómo perciben el valor del idioma inglés y el valor de su enseñanza por los voluntarios?
- ¿Cómo experimentan y perciben los diferentes participantes la enseñanza voluntaria del inglés y el idioma inglés en entornos de élite y desfavorecidos?

Basándose en una estrategia analítica poscolonial, la discusión de la investigación destaca tres temas clave. En primer lugar, el valor percibido de los profesores voluntarios de inglés depende de que tengan una actitud positiva y voluntaria en lugar de cualquier forma de calificación. Además, la ambigüedad de sus roles significa que están exentos de mucha responsabilidad tanto dentro como fuera del aula. En segundo lugar, el valor de la enseñanza voluntaria del inglés radica en su caracterización como un 'intercambio cultural', mediante el cual los profesores voluntarios brindan un intercambio 'auténtico', lingüístico y cultural con los alumnos, las familias anfitrionas y el personal de los colegios peruanos. Finalmente, entrando en el contexto más amplio en el que se encuentra la investigación, los participantes peruanos ven el idioma inglés como una forma de 'abrir las puertas al mundo' y todos los participantes asociaron directamente el inglés con el 'discurso de desarrollo'.

En general, la investigación revela relaciones de poder y subjetividades que están integradas en las estructuras de poder poscoloniales. Los miembros de élite de la comunidad anfitriona se benefician más del programa y del idioma inglés que aquellos menos aventajados. Se hacen generalizaciones sobre diferentes grupos de participantes de acuerdo con estereotipos incorporadas en formas de pensar poscoloniales. La promoción acrítica del idioma inglés como herramienta para el 'desarrollo' personal y nacional está simbolizada por las nociones de superioridad respecto a los voluntarios y el 'mundo' de donde provienen. Esto sugiere que los procesos neocoloniales también pueden estar involucrados en la difusión del idioma inglés y la 'cultura' con la que está asociada. Si bien las iniciativas locales como esta pueden reproducir desigualdades sistémicas, no se debe pasar por alto los impactos positivos que los participantes sienten que han experimentado. Como tal, se requiere más investigación sobre la superposición entre el idioma inglés y el turismo-voluntaria para continuar explorando cómo interactúan y operan estas áreas dentro de las relaciones subyacentes de poder, ampliando el enfoque desde el valor percibido hasta los impactos tangibles.

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~

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1 INTRODUCTION

It is no great surprise that any teacher walking into a new classroom of 25 teenagers for the first time should expect some unforeseen encounters. Nevertheless, despite a year of prior teaching experience in Spanish-speaking Peru, when I walked into that classroom of fourteen-year-olds for my first class as a teacher of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in a high school in Lima, I could not have predicted the profound and lasting impact one student would have on me. In the midst of explaining the year's curriculum and answering friendly biographical questions about my strange and unfamiliar New Zealand accent, which was inconceivably neither British nor American, this student raised his hand and asked a question that left me completely stunned (which was possibly his intent): "Are you here to colonise us?" When, rather dumbfounded, I asked him to explain what he meant, he said; "Why should we have to speak your language in our country?" It was at that point that I began to understand that English for Peruvians is by no means the same as Spanish is to New Zealanders, when learning a foreign language in high school. I was soon to discover that English was associated not only with language, but certain cultural and racial stereotypes and a sense of higher status that I, as a young *Pākehā* (Caucasian) woman – a '*gringa*' as I am called in Peru – was assumed to embody[1].

This research follows two and a half years of personal experience teaching English in private schools in Lima, where this student's direct comment ignited a spark of fascination and reflexivity that prompted me to explore the role of English language and post-colonialism in relation to Development Studies. I began to notice advertising around the city that made direct associations with English as a tool to access the world, to improve one's future or simply provide more opportunities. I started to pay closer attention to the conversations I had with Uber drivers who explained that they thought they should learn English even though they knew they would only have a handful of foreign customers per year. I realised that people of lower socioeconomic status would use formal Spanish words when speaking to me, as a way of showing me respect. I realised that while I am a regular, middle-class university student in New Zealand, by virtue of being an English-speaking '*gringa*', I was immediately invited into, and in fact assumed to be a part of, the upper-most circles of Peruvian society. I found myself wondering what was going on to make people think English and English-speakers were so important and whether their

[1] As a Caucasian, English-speaking woman from New Zealand, two terms to describe my positionality with regards to this research have been relevant: '*Pākehā*' is a Māori term for New Zealanders of European descent, such as myself, while the Spanish word '*gringa*' was a label ascribed to me in Peru. '*Gringo*' (and '*gringa*' for women) is a term that normally refers to Americans but is used in Peru as a generic term for Caucasian foreigners.

comments came from mere politeness or a mindset that includes an intrinsic and uncritical belief in the value of English as a form of capital. As a full analysis of the role of the English language in Peru is beyond the scope of a Master's thesis, I narrowed down my focus to a specific form of English exposure that I could see always involved foreign, native speakers who visited my school for short-term placements – volunteer English teaching by unqualified, British university students.

1.1 Research Rationale

This research considers the perceived value of volunteer English teaching through participants involved with a programme in Lima, Peru, drawing on a post-colonial framework to shape the analysis. Taking a qualitative methodological approach, the research explores the perspectives of various stakeholders (volunteer English teachers, volunteer agency staff, host school staff and former students) related to a volunteer-tourism agency which specialises in providing English language services. This research responds to a gap in the literature, by paying specific attention to the complex dynamics of English language teaching in volunteer-tourism (Jakubiak, 2012; 2014; 2016; Stainton, 2018). This includes a consideration of the motivations and perspectives of different types of participants involved with the programme – not only volunteers – and how these findings relate to broader conversation around English as a former colonial language in post-colonial contexts today.

Vandrick (2004) urges scholars to pay closer attention not only to more impoverished communities in developing countries, but also to the middle and upper classes. The volunteer-tourism agency selected for this research is unusual because, contrary to other examples in the literature that focus on low-income host communities, this agency works predominantly with upper-middle class private schools and families. Volunteers from universities in the United Kingdom (U.K.) pay a fee to the agency to complete short to mid-length volunteer teaching placements (4-16 weeks) in 27 private schools throughout Peru, for four days a week. In exchange, the volunteers stay with a host family from the school they volunteer in and have Fridays free to take long weekend trips. The private institutions where they volunteer typically have a high level of English education and may include, for example, qualified native English speakers as full-time teachers. In fact, this was my role at the time of this research, and the implications of this will be explored further in Chapter 4. Although the programme involves volunteer teaching in a developing country, therefore, the host-guest structural inequalities that have been critiqued in other studies play out differently here. Many volunteers even find themselves in homes and with families more affluent than their own in the U.K., expanding on McAllum and Zahra's (2017) observation that volunteers tend to have high quality

accommodation than local people. Furthermore, volunteers also spend one afternoon per week teaching in a public school in a more impoverished district of Lima, in what the agency calls a "charity project". This allows the research to compare findings associated with different socioeconomic settings within Lima. By carrying out this research in relation to both elite and disadvantaged communities, this study provides an opportunity to explore relationships and perceptions between not only hosts and foreigners, but also between people from contrasting socioeconomic backgrounds within the context of a developing country.

Peru has a complex colonial history with on-going effects of Spanish conquest, in terms of race-based stereotypes and associated socioeconomic status and power, which provides a thought-provoking backdrop to interactions between hosts and foreigners. The role of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) as the object of transmission in volunteer-tourism makes Peru a particularly interesting choice of location. According to the literature, English is not only a symbol of status in Peru and Latin America, but it also represents a form of capitalist promise that anyone can build a better life for themselves with the right toolkit – in this case, using English language (e.g. Niño-Murcia, 2003). Nevertheless, except for work by Niño-Murcia (2003), the role of English in Peru specifically has been largely unexplored. This research provides a valuable snapshot of perceptions of the role of English in the post-colonial, Peruvian context.

Literature on both English language and volunteer-tourism have addressed themes of inequality and post-colonialism. However, there has been limited exploration of the interactions and overlap between English and international volunteering, resulting in a gap in the literature which this research aims to address. Furthermore, the volunteer English programme I selected allowed an opportunity to investigate power dynamics in the politically charged context of post-colonial Lima. The programme's involvement in both prestigious private schools, and a state-funded school with limited resources, has provided a unique opportunity to explore host communities at different levels of the socioeconomic spectrum within a developing country, by using a post-colonial lens. Consequently, this research speaks to the overlap between several different areas pertinent to Development Studies.

1.2 A POST-COLONIAL LENS

> *It is no longer feasible to represent the peoples of the Third World as passive, helpless victims.*
>
> McEwan, 2014, p. 139

This research looks at both international volunteering and the role of the English language in the context of a country that is not only developing, but also post-colonial. A

post-colonial lens was chosen as the unifying framework to guide this research and tie it to the field of Development Studies. Post-colonial theory tackles the ideological legacy of colonialism (Radcliffe, 1999), particularly in relation to global and national institutions, class structures and inequalities. Discourses of development and volunteer-tourism are but one piece of the overall context (Sahle, 2011), providing a window through which to view specific colonial legacies. As a post-colonial framework tends to lead to a more critical perspective, McEwan (2014) explains that the framework is more "anti-colonial" than "post-" or "after-colonialism", offering a means of understanding and challenging discourse about relationships within and between countries that may disguise and underscore out-dated, colonial power relations.

Colonialism is the "domination imposed by a foreign minority, racially and culturally different, over a materially weaker indigenous majority in the name of racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority" (Balandier, 1963, p. 28). Consequently, it manifests as a "state of mind in colonizer and colonized alike" (Said, 1993) and for this reason individuals today may not be aware of the power of post-colonial, ideological legacies in which their subjectivities could be embedded. Post-colonial theory, therefore, explores the ways that colonial processes and discourses are present, perpetuated or replicated. In the field of Development Studies, scholars are urged to critique the background behind the ways of thinking and indeed the language used to plan, understand and justify development interventions (Escobar, 1995). As this research focuses in part on the role of the English language, it is important to recognise the impacts of not only the English language in general, but also the specific terminology used in the development sphere. For example, 'the Third World' is a term that is associated with significant generalisations about groups of people, including assumptions of poverty and negative connotations of a "failure to develop economic and political order" (McEwan, 2014, p. 137). It is a term that emphasises difference, implies an unmovable hierarchy and points to the dominance of 'the West' not only economically, but in defining and categorising the foreign 'Other'[2] as incapable of ever being equal to those from the 'First World'. From a post-colonial perspective, this leaves little room for 'development', problematising the whole development sphere. This is one aspect that has contributed in the last two decades to the emergence of alternative and post-development approaches, which emphasise the importance of listening to local voices and working from the ground up.

[2] 'Othering' is the process of ascribing a group, individual or an object the label of 'The Other' as a means of establishing one's identity in opposition to this. This can result in the exaggeration of stereotypes and generalisations and replication of unequal power relations, as emphasis on difference tends to overwhelm any objective similarities.

Furthermore, the kinds of language and texts used in development initiatives and writing are often theoretical and detached from the reality, making these difficult to implement in the world's unique and diverse contents (Crush, 1995). According to a post-colonial approach, the real power of 'the West' can be found less in economic and technological growth and more in the power it has to define, represent, and theorise in a way that becomes dominant (Sardar, 1999). Capitalism, for example, is seen as one means of reproducing structures of inequality while using the language of development (Wainwright, 2008). As such, post-colonial theory "challenges us to rethink categories such as 'Third World'…and to understand how location, economic role, social dimensions of identity and the global political economy differentiate between groups and their opportunities for development" (McEwan, 2014, p. 138). It is thus hoped that such an approach will allow not only the critique of dominant discourses, but also a means of translating these into action that listens to a variety of voices and links these broader concerns with more local, grassroots initiatives in the field. For this reason, post-colonialism is a useful framework for connecting small initiatives, such as the volunteer teaching programme at the centre of this research, to their wider context.

While post-colonial theory typically takes a more critical approach to the research it frames, it should be stressed that there is no pre-conceived bias going into this research to portray 'negative' findings. Rather, the research is motivated by literature recommending a greater awareness and consideration of underlying structural inequalities in helping to overcome many of the cultural misunderstandings and potentially negative outcomes of volunteer-tourism initiatives. This thesis considers the perceived value of volunteer English teaching in Lima from perspectives of multiple stakeholders involved, using post-colonial theory simply as a guide to find greater depth and meaning to the actors' responses. By investigating not only the perceptions and motivations of the actors involved, but also the implications of the complicated political, social, cultural and historical context of a post-colonial country such as Peru, this research hopes to paint a more in-depth picture of how these factors can intertwine and contribute to literature on the overlap between English language and volunteer-tourism.

1.3 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research is *to explore through a post-colonial lens the perceived value of volunteer English (EFL) teaching in both elite and disadvantaged communities in post-colonial Lima, Peru.* In order to address this aim, the following research questions were investigated:

- What motivates different actors' involvement in volunteer English teaching programmes and how do they perceive the value of volunteer English teaching and the English language itself?
- How is volunteer English teaching and the English language experienced and perceived in elite and disadvantaged environments by different actors?

1.4 THESIS STRUCTURE

The following seven chapters of this thesis address the research aim and questions, using a post-colonial lens. In this final section of the introductory chapter, I provide a brief outline of the thesis structure.

Chapter 2: The Voices of Volunteer-Tourism explores literature on the role, motives and impacts of volunteer-tourism, and how interactions between hosts and volunteers can be interpreted as complex relationships between the 'Self' and foreign 'Other'. Discussion of post-colonial perspectives in volunteer-tourism points to the importance of a post-colonial lens in further studies, while a gap is identified in research on the overlap between international volunteering and the English language.

Chapter 3: The Paradox of English as a 'World' Language presents existing literature on the role of English as an 'international' language with a colonial history. English is referred to as a *lingua franca*, a language for 'all' and a tool for accessing greater opportunities. However, the literature suggests that the supposed benefits of English fluency are not experienced equally, and the dissemination of English is often integrated into post-colonial structures of inequality.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology: A Post-Colonial, Qualitative Approach details the methodological approach I used to carry out this research. The research takes the form of a qualitative study, whereby I interviewed 13 actors associated with a volunteer English teaching agency in Lima, Peru that works with both public and private schools. I explain how a post-colonial framework guided the research design, process and analysis of findings and reflect on ethical concerns that are raised.

Chapter 5: The Peruvian Context: Worlds within Worlds establishes the historical, political and sociocultural background of the research context, to show how post-colonial social exclusion and race- and class-based discrimination pervades Peru. Drawing on literature, government policy, media sources and research findings, I also explore the role and perceived value of English in Peru, as a way of accessing the 'world'.

Chapter 6: The Perceived Value of Volunteer English Teaching introduces and discusses the research findings around the perceived value of volunteer English teaching. Overall,

volunteers are perceived to have value when they have a positive attitude and are willing to contribute. Nevertheless, participants indicated that volunteers should be exempt from much accountability and at times expressed post-colonial attitudes of intolerance towards different groups of actors.

Chapter 7: Cultural Exchange and the Hierarchy of 'Worlds' analyses the themes of exchange, difference and inequality that came through in participant responses, particularly with regards to English and volunteering in private schools in contrast to public schools. Participants referred to the origins of other participant groups as different 'worlds', in ways that point to an underlying, post-colonial hierarchy of culture and language both between the volunteers and Peruvian hosts, and within Peru.

Finally, Chapter 8: Conclusions: Post-Colonialism and Possibility draws conclusions and reflects on the research findings. The English language and its associations with a generic, 'Western culture' of assumed superiority may be operating through neo-colonial as well as post-colonial processes. Nevertheless, the unequal power relationships and ingrained post-colonial attitudes this research reveals do not mean that participants' voices, which spoke highly of the value of volunteer English teaching overall, should be overlooked.

2 THE VOICES OF VOLUNTEER-TOURISM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to explore the perceived value of volunteer English teaching and answer the research questions, it is crucial to understand how other scholars have characterised this phenomenon. I derived two key themes from the literature: volunteer-tourism and its impact on individuals or general 'development'; and the role of English as an 'international' language associated with success and 'development'. Although this research addresses the overlap between volunteer-tourism and the English language, limited literature is available on the specific interactions and outcomes that take place when these two areas intersect. For this reason, the two themes are presented in two chapters. This chapter explores literature regarding international volunteering and volunteer-tourism, while Chapter 3 discusses literature on the role and dissemination of the English language today. These two chapters provide an indispensable foundation for the analysis and interpretation of the research findings in the latter half of this thesis, allowing the results to be situated in a wider academic context.

In this chapter, I first look at the complex and ambiguous role of volunteer-tourists, who pay to participate in a wide range of different activities in developing countries around the world, making each volunteer-tourism programme distinct. I then highlight the associated difficulties with drawing any broad conclusions around the impacts that volunteer-tourism has on recipient communities. I explain, however, that scholars do have some general concerns with the potential volunteer-tourism has to reinforce unequal power relations between volunteers and hosts, and ingrain negative stereotypes about the 'Other'. Conceptualising volunteer-tourism as a form of cultural exchange is thus suggested to encourage reflexivity and the formation of more equal relationships, although this may also be ineffective. I then examine literature which takes a post-colonial approach to volunteer-tourism, in which scholars have criticised volunteer-tourism as a vessel for propagating 'Western' dominance through post-colonial processes. Finally, I introduce the limited literature on volunteer English teaching, pointing to the need for more in depth discussion of the role of the English language (in Chapter 3).

2.2 VOLUNTEER-TOURISTS: DOING GOOD OR FEELING GOOD?

'Volunteer-tourism', or 'voluntourism' (Sin, 2009), is a term that refers to a specific kind of international volunteering whereby tourists pay to complete short-term volunteer placements in host-communities as part of their travels (Sin, 2010; Henderson, 1981). In contrast to traditional international volunteering, which usually involves longer-term

placements by more skilled and qualified professionals, volunteer-tourism programmes tend to involve unskilled young people who pay a fee to an organisation for a short-term role in a developing country. The aims of these volunteer activities may "involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment" (Wearing, 2001, p. 1). Volunteer-tourism is also sometimes known as "volunteer vacations" (McMillon, Cutchins, & Geissinger, 2003) "service based vacations" (Ellis, 2003) or "vacation volunteering" (Hall, 2007), and overlaps with "pro-poor tourism" (Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin, 2001) and "altruistic tourism" (Singh, 2002). A range of voluntary activities are carried out, such as supporting construction of local infrastructure, agricultural work, childcare in orphanages, or teaching in schools. Typically, volunteers pay more than they would for a 'normal' holiday in the same location (Wearing, 2001), and engage in short term projects of several weeks, although some longer projects may be up to a year in length (Tomazos & Butler, 2009). The key difference between being a tourist and a volunteer-tourist lies in the organisational and/or personal intent to induce positive change (Wearing, 2003; Singh, 2004). As such, the literature is heavily weighted towards an exploration of the motives and intentions of volunteer-tourists and volunteer-tourism agencies.

As volunteers are expected to contribute to a host community in some way, the language of volunteer-tourism, and international volunteering more generally, has become closely intertwined with the language of 'development'. The focus of volunteer-tourism marketing tends to be on "making a difference", insofar as the industry "has made development fashionable" (Ingram, 2008). It is accessible to those unwilling or unable to make long-term commitments, so that "volunteer-tourism is a blend of development work and activities associated with a holiday" (Keese, 2011, p. 275). The use of the language of 'development' has faced strong criticism. Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) has warned against poorly implemented services, arguing that volunteers risk "becoming the new colonialists if attitudes to voluntary work in the developing world [do not] change" (VSO, 2007). This is because the goal of development aid in the context of these short-term projects with unskilled volunteers is not only "unrealistic" (Palacios, 2010), but potentially harmful to local communities through the creation of a "publicly accepted 'mythology' of development" (Simpson, 2004, p. 682). This 'mythology' refers to the idea that development is "doable", whereby development is seen as a form of 'Westernisation' and volunteer-tourists are "'modelling' a way of living, a lifestyle of cultural and material values" (Simpson, 2004, p. 685) for host communities. The use of broad and general language such as 'make a difference' or 'contribute to development' thus disguises the ambiguity and paradox that is inherent in volunteer-tourism, because despite often being viewed as contributing to development, volunteers are not trained as development

workers. As such, it is the challenge of Development Studies scholars to research and unpack this industry in order to understand its contribution – or not – to development, and the implications of this.

2.2.1 Motives and Role Ambiguity

Despite the label of 'volunteer-tourism', which implies more than selfless 'volunteering' (with the inclusion of 'tourism'), self-interested motivations or insincere altruism on the part of volunteer-tourists are often a point of criticism. Banki and Schonell (2017) cite a headline from the satirical news site, 'The Onion', where a "6-Day Visit to Rural African Village Completely Changes Woman's Facebook Profile Picture", to demonstrate a sense of cynicism about the selfish motivations of volunteer-tourists. Similarly, The Guardian (2007) asks volunteer-tourists to consider whether they would go without a camera. A shift in volunteer-tourist motivations "from empathy to hedonism" has been observed over recent years (Tomazos & Butler, 2012, p. 24) and justice motivations are now often in competition with self-oriented motivations (Nadeau & Lord, 2017). For example, volunteer-tourism can be seen as "an adornment on a university student's curriculum vitae" (Banki & Schonell, 2017, p. 4) as university graduates are believed to be more employable with overseas experience. As such, there is a strong incentive for volunteers to focus first on personal motives, with altruism often as a secondary motive, or even an afterthought (Palacios, 2010). Consequently, while organisations draw volunteers in with the promise of "mak[ing] a difference while creating memorable experiences" (Ingram, 2008, p. 49), the volunteer-tourism industry is moving away from being motivated by "good intentions", towards capitalism and a drive for different kinds of capital for both volunteers and host communities (Stainton, 2017). As such, volunteer-tourism projects are now often promoted as ways for volunteer-tourists to gain social and cultural capital (Lyons, 2012) or to learn and grow through cultural exchange (Wilson, 2015).

It is interesting that a level of self-interest in volunteer-tourist motivations remains a point of criticism, when, by definition, volunteer-tourists are expected to, at the very least, be driven by some touristic motives, alongside specific volunteering goals. This is linked to a reluctance to label certain types of volunteering activities as 'volunteer-tourism'. While there has been a move to a greater emphasis on mutual gain and more self-interested volunteer motivations, some individuals are more reluctant to align themselves with the label of 'volunteer-tourist'. Schwarz (2017), for instance, explained how volunteer-tourists in Kenya distanced themselves from the term, critical of 'volunteer-tourists' and instead referring to themselves only as "international volunteers". Similarly, Gray and Campbell (2007) noted the reluctance of not only volunteers, but staff especially, to classify the volunteers as tourists, despite volunteers having paid to participate. This reluctance suggests that although volunteer-tourists may have a range of motivations

(Tomazos & Butler, 2012), there are negative connotations associated with those that are 'touristic' or more self-interested. What is clear from the literature, therefore, is that the category and label of the 'volunteer-tourist' has a different meaning and connotation to different individuals, pointing to underlying issues in defining the role and expectations of individuals who participate in any kind of volunteer-tourism.

It is perhaps owing to confusion around these innate incoherencies in the role and responsibilities of volunteer-tourists (Brown, 2015), that such focus has been given to volunteers' motivations, because these may be easier to define and research. Scholars have sought to explain not only the personal intentions of volunteer-tourists, but also the systemic structures and influences that have led volunteer-tourists to hold these motives in the first place. Volunteer-tourism has been situated in the field of ecotourism or responsible tourism (Wearing, 2001), or as a form of "social movement" (McGehee & Santos, 2005), while Sin (2010) attributes the growing popularity of volunteer-tourism to a sense of "heightened responsibilities", commenting on how the developed world's "moral exhortation" pressures people to "give back" to disadvantaged communities (p. 983). Furthermore, there is a tension around how the two distinctive roles of 'volunteer' (for others) and 'tourism' (for oneself) should interact, and whether these can be merged in a beneficial way for both hosts and volunteers. While some may argue that volunteering in the purest sense is about giving without expecting something in return, the addition of 'tourism' to this category implies that volunteers, at least when in the 'tourist' role, should also expect to gain something from this experience for themselves. It is evident that the categories of 'volunteer' and 'tourist' contain some innate contradictions (Brown, 2015), with volunteers struggling to "combine the hedonism of tourism with the altruism of development work" (Simpson, 2004, p. 681). The presence of these different positionalities makes 'volunteer-tourism' a complex space for participants to navigate. For this reason, the role of a volunteer-tourist is often difficult to define (Jakubiak, 2016).

Furthermore, it is not only the category of 'volunteer-tourism' that automatically implies differing motivations, goals and roles, but the wide range of activities included in this field. Callanan and Thomas (2005) point out that volunteer-tourism is so ambiguous in definition that it does not distinguish between an unqualified "16-year-old participating in a 2-week project…[and] a 30-year-old builder who engages in a 6-month [construction] placement" (p. 195). Dillette et al. (2017) document the struggles student volunteer-tourists have in balancing their responsibilities with "hedonistic pursuits", while Tomazos and Butler (2012) argue that volunteers are under no obligation to carry out tasks because they are not receiving anything in direct exchange. Therefore, programme managers should be cautious of ascribing too much responsibility to these individuals. Nevertheless, the varied motivations of volunteer-tourists need not be a disadvantage to the objectives

of the volunteer projects; rather, with self-awareness, individual and charitable motivations could work alongside one another without being in conflict (Palacios, 2010). Furthermore, several scholars encourage consideration of 'volunteer-tourism' as activities that are expected to provide "mutual benefit" (Zahra & McIntosh, 2007; Lyons, 2012; Tomazos & Butler, 2012) to both volunteers and host communities.

In summary, with all the different accounts in the literature, it is evident that there is no clear consensus on what constitutes a volunteer-tourist (Lyons, 2003) and that the specific context and actors' perspectives are crucial in understanding the nature of each volunteer-tourism project. The extent to which volunteer-tourism is a "way to *do* good, or to *feel* good" (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017, p. 651) is dependent on the individual volunteer and how they navigate their ambiguous positionality within the specific programme and context. For this reason, Stainton (2016) suggests that volunteer-tourism should be considered as a "macro umbrella term encompassing a number of micro-niches" (p. 2). This points to the importance of further studies which focus not only on the perspectives of one type of participant in a volunteer-tourism, but multiple participant types and contexts, in order to understand more about the specific "micro-niches" of volunteer-tourism. This research contributes to the "niche" of volunteer English teaching.

2.3 IMPACTS ON RECIPIENT COMMUNITIES AND PEOPLE

While discussion of volunteer motives and positionalities contributes to understanding the nature of volunteer-tourism, more empirical research on the impacts of volunteer-tourism projects on affected local people is required (Sin, 2010). In early literature, volunteer-tourism was typically perceived as a positive alternative to less sustainable forms of tourism (Gray & Campbell, 2007), with potential benefits for the volunteers (McGehee & Santos, 2005; Zahra & McIntosh, 2007) and/or their host-communities (Scheyvens, 2002; Uriely, Reichel, & Ron, 2003). Nevertheless, many scholars (e.g. Callahan & Thomas, 2005; Conran, 2011; Sin, 2010; Dillette et al., 2017) have pointed out that understanding the perceived or real impacts of volunteer-tourism from the perspective of the host community is crucial for research in this area going forward. It cannot, for example, be assumed that self-interested or 'hedonistic' motivations will equate to a negative experience for host communities. In the following paragraphs, I discuss a range of cases and arguments both in support of and critical of the experienced and perceived impacts of volunteer-tourism, as well as more neutral stances.

As mentioned above, Stainton (2016) highlights a key issue with existing research on volunteer-tourism, in that the broad range of activities, organisations and contexts included in these studies mean they cannot be easily compared. For example, volunteers

in an orphanage in Africa represent a completely different group of individuals than eco-volunteers on an organic farm in Germany. Another key difference between volunteer-tourism projects lies in the organisations which range from state-owned, to NGOs to profit-based corporations and it is unlikely that the goals of these organisations will be identical or perhaps even comparable. As a result, it is crucial when considering volunteer-tourism to understand the nature of the organisations, actors and activities involved. This is a useful reminder that findings from one academic study cannot automatically be applied to another one in a very different context.

Nonetheless, some general observations of volunteer-tourism in terms of impact are seen in the literature. Firstly, volunteer-tourism projects rely on the harmonisation of personal and institutional expectations with real volunteer capacities (Palacios, 2010), alongside effective design and implementation (Rocques et al., 2018) and a reconciliation of short-term with long-term goals (Prince, 2017). For example, Jakubiak (2012) notes that volunteer English teaching is seen as valuable in the sense of volunteers "lending a hand", rather than placing great and perhaps unrealistic expectations on often unqualified volunteers. In other words, there seems to be an "a priori assumption that anything a volunteer might do is better than none at all" (Jakubiak, 2012, p. 438). The potential benefits of volunteer-tourism to host communities, therefore, lie more in individual and communal "wellbeing rather than development" (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p. 44). Volunteer-tourism could have a positive impact in terms of development, but only insofar as building different types of community capital and addressing the outcomes, rather than the causes, of underdevelopment (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008; Zahra & McGehee, 2013).

In practice, however, the tangible impacts on the communities that volunteer-tourism initiatives work with are relatively unexplored (Sin, 2010). For this reason, many of the possible benefits above can have an equally negative flipside. The idea that "anything is better than nothing" has the potential to allow unskilled volunteers, even those with good intentions, to "wreak havoc" in the host community (McAllum & Zahra, 2017), with volunteers inadvertently reproducing hierarchies and reinforcing existing power structures (Sin, 2010). Lack of awareness of the self and the volunteer-tourist's positionality in relation to the 'Other' – the host community – could significantly affect the ability to make a positive impact. Furthermore, the impact of volunteer-tourism depends on whose perspectives and realities are represented (Gray and Campbell, 2007). For this reason, this research considers multiple perspectives.

2.3.1 Room for Improvement

While many studies point to the potential for negative impacts through volunteer-tourism, some also make recommendations for improvement. Tomazos and Butler (2012),

for example, found that volunteers in a children's home in Mexico could have positive impacts on the everyday lives of the children, but struggled to balance their dual roles of volunteer and tourist. For example, they took part in hedonistic activities at a nearby resort that interfered with their duties in the orphanage. The authors suggest that stronger management of volunteer-tourists could enable more significant positive impacts on host-communities. Furthermore, some potential negative impacts may be mitigated on a personal level, through deep reflection on the "Self" and "Other", which could be a tool to overcome the tendency of "othering" and the perpetuation of stereotypes and power imbalances (Simpson, 2004; Palacios, 2010; Baillie Smith et al., 2013). For example, McAllum and Zahra (2017), in their study on the perspectives of host communities towards the Self-Other relationship, found that self-awareness meant the categories of "Self" and "Other" were fluid and dynamic from volunteers-tourists' perspectives, and this opened up unexpected possibilities for positive impacts on all actors. As volunteer-tourists became aware that they were "culturally inept" (p. 303) and guided by unrealistic stereotypes of the "Other", a new platform for cultural exchange and learning became possible.

Furthermore, volunteer-tourism projects regarding education, as with the programme this research focuses on, can have a unique role in shaping mindsets. This might enable locals to break their own cycle of poverty (Sin, 2010) and generally allows for two dimensional influence, whereby education is received by the volunteer-tourist as much as it is provided (Stainton, 2017). Directly incorporating education on the systemic, global injustices and power structures that may have created this 'Self' and 'Other' distinction into volunteer-tourism projects may also be helpful (Jakubiak, 2016), allowing volunteers to demonstrate greater awareness in their interactions with host communities and avoid reinforcing negative stereotypes. A greater awareness of the underlying, driving forces behind actors' perspectives could thus provide a window of opportunity to counteract the negative impacts observed by some authors in the literature, which is another reason a post-colonial lens is crucial in the context of this research.

The ability of volunteer-tourism to contribute positively to communities and people is influenced by the personal outlooks and political awareness of volunteers, the nature of the programme they are engaged in and management on the part of the organisation or agency. For this reason, it is impossible to generalise whether volunteer-tourism has a positive, neutral or negative impact on the host-communities affected by its projects. Nevertheless, as Sin (2010) reminds us, "underlying assumptions in volunteer tourism suggest that it is a form of tourism that allows the empowering of locals in host communities" (p. 983), although little empirical evidence in the literature currently exists to support this. As such, it is crucial that not only volunteer, but host perspectives, are

represented in on-going research in order to challenge assumptions and better understand the perceived and realised impacts of volunteer-tourism. This is an area that this research addresses, by considering the context, goals and value of a specific volunteer-tourism project from the perspective of multiple actors.

2.4 VOLUNTEER-TOURISM AS A FORM OF EXCHANGE

Taking a step towards considering the impacts on both volunteers and hosts, volunteer-tourism is also conceived as a form of mutual giving and receiving – an 'exchange'. Among other terms, 'exchange' may be used in volunteer-tourism marketing to avoid the complexity of the language of 'development' (Simpson, 2004). According to this way of thinking, exchange is implied in the ideology of volunteer-tourism as the volunteer spends time living in and contributing through "mutual benefit" to a community (Lyons, 2012). Participants exchange intellectual, financial or labour resources in an "interactive experience" (McGehee, 2014) for cultural and transformative learning (Wearing, Young & Everingham, 2017). Volunteer-tourists thus receive touristic and interpersonal experiences in a foreign country in exchange for offering their services to a community. This destabilises the positionality of a 'volunteer' as someone who offers a service without expecting anything in return. As discussed above, scholars have taken issue with volunteers' self-interested motivations (e.g. Roberts, 2004). However, I take the characterisation of volunteer-tourism as an 'exchange' to suggest that volunteers are seen as compensated in some way for the services they provide, thus implying that their motives should not be the sole focus of volunteer-tourism research. As volunteers are seen to receive something in direct exchange for their volunteering services, they may be required to have a higher level of responsibility for their actions, thus alleviating some of the challenges with positionality mentioned above (e.g. Tomazos & Butler, 2009).

Volunteer-tourism also opens up a space for people to learn 'culture' and values from each other, giving participants the chance to grow in confidence (McAllum & Zahra, 2017). As such, volunteers should not approach these projects with the intention to "change the world", but rather as an opportunity to see a new culture, learn from it and thus change themselves (Sin, 2010). Volunteers and English teachers are thus informal cultural "ambassadors" for their countries (Brown, 2005; Shipton, 2010). Culture also has a specific relationship to projects that focus on teaching languages such as English, in that culture is inseparable from language (Buttaro, 2004; Ives, 2006). Therefore, culture and cultural exchange has dual relevance to the context of volunteer English teaching, through both the subject transmitting knowledge – the volunteer – and the object being transmitted – English.

2.4.1 Cultural Exchange and the 'Other'

The trend towards viewing volunteer-tourism as a cultural exchange has some researchers worried, however. Cross-cultural exchange as an interpretation of volunteer-tourism "falls short of radical structural change" (Conran, 2011, p. 1467), which may exacerbate inequalities and negative stereotyping. Malik (1996) argues that culture is a unique category of distinction between people because it is horizontal and thus crucial in developing equal relationships. However, Butcher and Smith (2015) contend that emphasising cultural exchange does not guarantee equal perception of cultures, as cultural relativism comes simply from replacing race with culture as a "marker" of difference. For example, Ingram (2008) points out that the volunteers she studied tended to view themselves as culturally superior, aiding the "'backward' poor" (p. 52), while Park (2018) noted that host members had an association of "whiteness" with "goodness" that shaped their approach to volunteers and the resulting interactions. Furthermore, many volunteer-tourists may perceive impoverished communities as "poor but happy" (Crossley, 2012), a potentially dangerous perception based on stereotypes that attribute poverty and social differences to "luck" (Park, 2018), rather than underlying structural or systemic inequalities. As such, volunteer-tourism can be seen as creating sites for "viewing the Other" (Banki & Schonell, 2017), wherein cultural exchange does not in itself encourage volunteer-tourists to face difficult questions regarding inequalities and differences across cultures (Dillette et al., 2017). As the objective of cultural exchange is to learn about another culture, difference is automatically implied and indeed underscored. The issue with this for many scholars (e.g. McAllum & Zahra, 2017; Simpson, 2004; Sin, 2009; Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017; Banki & Schonell, 2017) is that rather than promoting cross-cultural tolerance and openness, volunteer-tourism serves to further ingrain often inaccurate or incomplete notions of different peoples.

In the specific case of cultural exchange, the othering process is linked to the theme of 'authenticity'; a preconceived notion of characteristics that a person from a particular culture is expected to portray. Park (2018) found that encounters in Cameroon were more likely to be considered "authentic" when in accordance with existing stereotypes, as volunteer-tourism may appeal to individuals as a chance to connect on a "more authentic basis" (Brown, 2005, p. 42). As such, "international volunteering can both perpetuate and disrupt stereotypes and attitudes" (Brown, 2015), especially with regards to perceptions of poverty and race (Park, 2018; Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017) and the notion that volunteer-tourism should promote "sincere encounters" (Prince, 2017, p. 42) between hosts and volunteers. Consequently, a cultural exchange approach may only be successful when all individuals are aware of personal ethnocentric biases and display sensitivity to cultural norms (Park, 2018; Crossley, 2012). Indications for achieving this are vague,

although strong interpersonal relationships between volunteers and hosts may allow the "Self" and "Other" to understand each other beyond initial stereotypes and misplaced notions of authenticity (McAllum & Zahra, 2017; Raymond & Hall, 2008). This depends largely on the context and the individuals involved. Volunteer-tourism may aspire to offer "mutual benefit", therefore, but it may not be most effective when uncritically viewed as a form of exchange.

2.4.2 Interpersonal Relationships

The emphasis on cultural exchange and interactions with the "Other" in the literature also points to the significance of interpersonal relationships – another form of exchange – in volunteer-tourism. Barbieri et al. (2012) found that "some of the intrinsic benefits that volunteer tourists experienced stem from their close interaction with local people" (p. 513) and Conran (2011) found that "intimacy overwhelmingly mediates the voluntourism experience" (p. 1454). Volunteers may refer to their experiences living in host families as irreplaceable (Raymond & Halls, 2008) and these relationships may in fact be the distinguishing factor that makes the volunteers' experiences feel more 'real' than regular tourism (Gray and Campbell, 2007; McLennan, 2019). Interpersonal relationships can thus create "social value" (Wearing and McGehee, 2013, p. 42).

Nevertheless, as with cultural exchange and potential stereotyping, volunteer-host relationships may also disguise or reinforce underlying hierarchies and inequalities. Sin (2010), for example, argues that the "caring relationship" between hosts and volunteers seems positive and compassionate, while noting on the other hand that these relationships are not "equal". For example, host members may view their "friendship" with volunteers as important because it reinforces ingrained, post-colonial norms regarding the prestige of "white" people, more than a valuable host-volunteer relationship (Conran, 2011). Intimacy may also be inhibited by individual morality and unconscious anxiety induced in volunteers when entering an impoverished and culturally different community (Park, 2018). This can reinforce existing power structures (Frazer and Waitt, 2016), keeping the volunteer in a privileged position and ultimately undermining the empowerment of locals. As such, there is a conflict between the search for personal connection that volunteers are often motivated by, and personal coping mechanisms and bias that may inadvertently inhibit relationships with local people in the field. Butcher and Smith conclude that "global citizenship through empathetic experience is illusory" (p. 125), recommending caution when attempting to understand volunteer-tourism as a form of interpersonal exchange. Different types of capital are exchanged by volunteer-tourists and their host communities, but this does not mean the exchange takes place on equal footing. This is another reason why the consideration of both host and volunteer perspectives in studying volunteer-tourism is crucial.

2.5 POST-COLONIALISM AND VOLUNTEER-TOURISM

As highlighted in the Introduction chapter, post-colonial theory tackles the ideological legacy of colonialism, particularly in relation to global and national institutions, class structures and inequalities. I have already mentioned some risks of stereotypes and assumptions that shape one's perception of the 'Other'. A post-colonial lens allows scholars to go one step further in unpacking where these beliefs come from. Many of the countries where volunteer-tourists work are post-colonial and certain systems, structures and ideologies from colonial rule have often remained, albeit in different and shifting ways, after independence (McEwan, 2009). In post-colonial volunteer-tourism literature the most significant concern is that volunteers may be (un)consciously perpetuating colonial ideological remnants including 'Western' or 'white' privilege and ingrained structural inequalities.

2.5.1 The Propagation and Rejection of 'Western' Ideologies

A post-colonial approach draws attention to often underlying and unconscious patterns and power discourses that may shape the interactions between volunteer-tourists and members of the host communities they are visiting. One of the key lines of thought that has been carried over from colonial ideologies, especially among volunteers, is the "racialized, gendered distinctions between an independent, masculine, active rational West, and a childlike, feminine, passive, and irrational non-West" (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017, p. 654). By this rationale, volunteers' efforts to 'help', usually in developing countries, are a way of reinforcing notions of dependency and perpetuating the role of the developed world as the 'parent' or authority figure in intercultural interactions. This notion is said to originate from the basic colonial premise of bringing "civilization to the natives" (Butcher & Smith, 2010, p. 33), pointing to an assumption that the volunteers' culture, or the individuals themselves, are somehow superior. Volunteers offering help to those they see as unable to help themselves can render host communities disempowered.

This has a strong link to missionaries during colonial times, who used religion as a tool for such 'civilising'. In the nineteenth-century British Empire, for example, missionary movements were a way of generating "public awareness of the fact that there was a larger world beyond Britain and that British Christians had an imperial duty towards the rest of the world" (van der Veer, 2001, p. 12). In this way, colonialism was viewed as a tool of Christian virtue (Falola, 1998). British missionaries promoted colonial rule, Christian values and often the English language, by travelling to colonised lands to 'volunteer' and spread their message in these communities. Bandyopadhyay (2018) argues that the volunteer-tourist identity has emerged from a combination of charity with the Christian mission to help the poor and suffering. As such, volunteer-tourism may be "the

contemporary manifestation of imperial, missionary travel" (Bandyopadhyay, 2018, p. 3), having moved away from discourse such as 'civilising', with current goals of 'saving the environment' or trying to 'save' and 'help' those perceived as less fortunate. While British missionaries often utilised English language education under colonial rule as means of transmitting their message, contemporary 'missionary' language projects may use "English language teaching as a means to convert the unsuspecting English language learner" (Pennycook, 2005, p. 137). The overlap between volunteer-tourism as a manifestation of missionary movements, which have a direct link to colonial history, and the way this links to English language education, makes the post-colonial lens I have chosen for this research especially pertinent to studying English-language volunteer-tourism.

Furthermore, because volunteer-tourism "is exemplary of…attempts to 'make a difference' through ethical travel" (Butcher & Smith, 2010, p. 27), this goal of 'making a difference' is precisely what many post-colonial scholars take issue with. For instance, Roberts (2004) is critical of the use of developing countries as a "training ground" for the future careers of volunteer-tourists, arguing that this emphasises the dominant role of developed nations. This is because volunteer-tourists may use the experience they have in developing countries to achieve greater opportunities or capital in their own countries, while there may have been little or no benefit to host communities while volunteering. Furthermore, volunteers often stay in more affluent accommodation than locals because they are not expected to be able to cope with the conditions otherwise (McAllum & Zahra, 2017). This reinforces inequalities between volunteers and their hosts, by placing volunteers in a position of superiority not only figuratively but materially. In this way, volunteer-tourism can be seen a form of exploitation (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017), or even a channel for neo-colonialism and the imposition of 'Western' ideologies by subjects who may not be aware of the doctrine they are propagating (Conran, 2011). As such, the "Western intention of helping underlying the development aid goal is humanitarian as much as it is colonialist" (Palacios, 2010, p. 864).

Moreover, colonial histories are often characterised by romanticised writing about "faraway lands of interest" (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017, p. 648). This can be seen in the emphasis volunteer-tourists place on difference when speaking about their experiences (Simpson, 2004), as well as the dramatic imagery often used to persuade volunteers of the exotic and adventurous nature of the programmes that organisations are offering (Keese, 2011). This romanticised notion of foreign and exotic lands has also been linked to the romanticisation of poverty (Butcher & Smith, 2015), so that "like the colonial encounter, intimacy, goodwill and compassion are used to justify and depoliticize the volunteer experience" (Conran, 2011, p. 1465). Any attempt to offer "help" or

"assistance" to a host community in a poorer country can thus be yet one more means of reproducing patterns of inequality and poverty according to a former colonial or imperial agenda (e.g. Escobar 1995; Ferguson 1990; Gronemeyer 1992; Kothari 2005). Within this line of thinking, no 'development' or so-called 'progress' in developing countries is possible without outside intervention, and there are concerns that volunteer-tourism may present yet one more way of perpetuating this ideology.

Nevertheless, some scholars tend to emphasise that despite the dangers of these ideological legacies, volunteer-tourists are often not aware of their role. As mentioned above, several scholars emphasise the importance of volunteers being reflective and acknowledging their underlying biases (e.g. Park, 2018; Crossley, 2012). However, post-colonial literature suggests that this awareness may not be a solution, but rather a part of the problem. For example, volunteer-tourists may be motivated by the desire to "cleanse developed-world, middle-class guilt" (Kwa, 2007, p. 58), something which may be drawn from the idea that "our collective guilt and denial of responsibility for the destruction of savagery and pleasure can be found infused in every distinctively modern cultural form" (MacCannell, 1999, p. 25). Rather than being unaware of post-colonial ideologies, therefore, it may be that volunteers are motivated by "the rejection of progress and economic development" (Butcher & Smith, 2010, p. 34), frustrated by the idea that 'modern' or 'Western' is perceived to be superior and seeking a way to escape it by going to the 'non-West'. Some volunteers "are conscious of a colonial legacy and see their actions as challenging its contemporary influence" (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p. 105) in an attempt to effect positive change.

This is also the case for volunteer-tourism research. For example, Butcher and Smith (2015) are critical of the way a "post-colonial framework" is used to refer to several different critiques from inequalities, to capitalism to neoliberalism, without clear definition or a link to what they consider post-colonial ideologies in the most specific sense. Furthermore, House (2003) asks scholars to avoid terms such as "(neo)imperialism" and "(neo)colonialism" because these can "pre-determine research and emotionalise discussion" (p. 574). Researchers may thus be inherently biased and unnecessarily or incorrectly perceive and emphasise differences and patterns beneath the surface. It was crucial that I was aware of this in designing and carrying out this research (see Chapter 4).

2.6 VOLUNTEER ENGLISH TEACHING

As mentioned above, Stainton (2016) argues for a redefinition of volunteer-tourism as a "macro umbrella term encompassing a number of micro-niches" (p. 2). It is important,

therefore, to consider the "micro-niche" that this particular stream of research falls under: "English-language voluntourism" (Jakubiak 2012; 2014; 2016) or "TEFL[3] tourism" (Stainton 2017). As with other volunteer-tourism initiatives, English-language volunteer-tourists are typically unqualified and expected to 'make a difference' to impoverished communities or groups, in the sense of enhancing educational or vocational opportunities (Jakubiak, 2012). One scholar who writes prominently in this field is Cori Jakubiak. She argues not only that English-language volunteer-tourism has been largely left unexplored by volunteer-tourism writers (2012; 2014; 2016), but that this is *because* of the focus on the advancement of English language skills. This is related to the symbolism of English language as both a means and ends to "development". Jakubiak (2016) argues that "development within English-language voluntourism…is expressed not through quantifiable metrics but in terms of 'extending a hand'" (p. 245). Additionally, marketing materials and research studies often assume that with the arrival of English-speaking volunteer-tourists in a developing country, 'development' will follow (Jakubiak, 2012; 2014; 2016). Despite the range of literature on both volunteer-tourism and the role of English in development (discussed in Chapter 3), limited studies exist where the two fields overlap – that is, when volunteer-tourists travel to a developing country specifically to teach English. This points to a significant gap in the literature to which this research responds.

2.7 Conclusion

Volunteer-tourism is a broad and growing industry which has inspired increasing academic interest over recent decades, especially regarding the motivations and role ambiguity of volunteers. Because of the broad range of activities that volunteer-tourism encompasses, it is impossible to generalise about the value and impacts of volunteer-tourism on recipient individuals and communities. Furthermore, some scholars (e.g. Sin, 2010; Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017) have noted a tendency to overlook hosts' perspectives in favour of exploring the motivations and roles of volunteers (e.g. Callahan & Thomas, 2005; Conran, 2011; Dillette et al., 2017). There are also concerns that the unequal relationships between volunteers and hosts may contribute to reinforcing stereotypes of the 'Other' (e.g. Butcher & Smith, 2015; Park, 2018). Greater self-awareness and active reflexivity are thus recommended as a way to mitigate these negative effects (e.g. McAllum & Zahra, 2017). In addition, viewing volunteer-tourism as a form of cultural exchange is recommended for avoiding problematic links between volunteer-tourism and development discourse (e.g. Brown, 2015; Crossley, 2012). Nevertheless, volunteer-

[3] TEFL: 'Teaching English as a Foreign Language'

tourism as cultural exchange may also perpetuate inequalities because not all cultures are perceived as being of equal value (Butcher & Smith, 2015; Ingram, 2008). Although different types of capital may be exchanged by volunteer-tourists and host communities, this does not mean the exchange takes place on an equal footing.

In order to analyse the nature of volunteer-host interactions, therefore, some scholars adopt a post-colonial lens to question whether volunteers may be (un)consciously perpetuating colonial ideological remnants including 'Western' or 'white' privilege and ingrained structural inequalities (e.g. Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017; Butcher & Smith, 2010). For example, volunteers' efforts to 'help', usually in developing countries, are a way of reinforcing notions of dependency and the role of the developed world as the 'parent' or authority figure. This is also seen in literature on volunteer English teaching, where unqualified volunteers are perceived to have value simply by "lending a hand" (Jakubiak, 2012). However, there is limited research into the interactions of the English language with volunteer-tourism and this study contributes to that conversation. Furthermore, the potentially post-colonial nature both of the volunteers' role and of English as a post-colonial language (see Chapter 3) means I have adopted a post-colonial lens in order to explore this overlap.

Finally, I have also noted tension in the literature about using strong language such as 'post-colonialism' to guide research. However, although these concepts may be emotionally charged, this thesis will show that they can be critical to understanding how the role of English language plays out both globally and locally, in the context of volunteer teaching. I will now move on to discuss another major theme in the literature that establishes the academic context for this research; the role and colonial legacy of the English language.

3 THE PARADOX OF ENGLISH AS A 'WORLD' LANGUAGE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As I have shown in Chapter 2, volunteer-tourism is a broad category encompassing many different forms, motivations and possible impacts. In this chapter, I focus on a second major body of literature pertinent to research into volunteer English teaching – literature about the role of English language itself and its relationship to development. English has a complex history as a dominant, 'colonial' language in many countries of the former British Empire. However, its prominence in an increasingly globalised world means it is seen in the literature not only as a symbol of oppression and dominance in the developing world, but also as a means of 'development' and individual empowerment. In fact, Jakubiak (2012) argues that in volunteer-tourism discourse, a "near celebratory stance" (p. 448) is taken toward English language and very little literature about the role of English in volunteer-tourism exists at all. Nevertheless, literature on the role of English language dominance more generally points to some concerning observations stemming from the tendency to view English as a 'world' language, despite it not being equally accessible to all people of the world. This is the paradox that I seek to tackle with this research, as I consider the positionality of volunteer-tourists within the broader setting of global power dynamics and the hegemony produced by language and culture. In this chapter, I trace the role of English historically as well as its post-colonial and, as I posit in the concluding chapter of the thesis, a neo-colonial legacy today. This further establishes the academic foundations for understanding the perceptions about the value of volunteer English teaching that this research explores.

3.2 ENGLISH AS A POST-COLONIAL LEGACY

As with volunteer-tourism, there is a link between the rise of English education around the world, especially in developing countries, ideas of post-colonialism and the perceived imposition of 'Western' ideologies. There is a tension between the role of English and other significant, 'colonial' languages in developing countries, and the identity and maintenance of indigenous languages (e.g. Hornberger, 1998; Brock-Utne, 2001; Pennycook, 2005). Colonial languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, French, German and English have had a marginalising effect on native languages and presented one way of promoting colonial dominance. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, the presence of English in schools is strongly connected to class and the country's colonial history, where "school was English and English was school" (London, 2003, p. 287). To learn English, therefore, was to subscribe to, and perhaps even become complicit in, colonial rule. In Latin America, Portuguese and Spanish were the primary languages imposed by

European colonisers and this was linked not only to colonial rule but to the Catholic religion (Markham, 1892). Similarly, English language was a key component of British colonisation and the propagation of Christianity through colonial institutions and missionaries, especially in Africa. In Luganda, for example, bible translations served as a means for teaching literacy in English and also corresponded with the record keeping of colonising powers (Pennycook, 2005). Complex tensions can be seen in history when learning English was considered synonymous with adopting a foreign culture, religion or even accepting foreign rule. That languages such as English, Spanish and Portuguese are a colonial legacy from centuries of European rule in countries all over the world is clear.

The role of English and other colonial languages in colonisation provides the background to the contemporary rise of English as a dominant language, which is fundamental to addressing the research questions of this thesis. However, it is also important to consider how the English language has become embedded in post-colonial structures in ways that not are not only reminiscent of colonial processes, but also utilise modern processes to have the same effect of domination and internalised inferiority; through neo-colonialism. While the British Empire may no longer operate as it did historically, in Chapter 2 I noted how a strong link between missionaries, volunteering and English-language education still exists today. This is related to the expansion of growing emphasis on English language literacy not only in former British colonies, but all around the world, including, for example, Peru and other Latin American countries. Many organisations that offer services in teaching English as a foreign language do so through a Christian or missionary approach, forming a prominent branch of international volunteering with a clear ideological agenda (Pennycook, 2005). The English language was historically, and in some places still is, a means of introducing – or imposing – 'Western' ideology and religious ideas on other countries and cultures. Nevertheless, as this chapter will discuss, this is just one branch of the way that English language is manifest as a 'global' language in the contemporary world. While Spanish remains the primary colonial linguistic legacy in Peru, which is the context of this research, some of the ways English language is being proliferated suggest a relationship to post-colonial structures and neo-colonial processes.

English can overshadow the importance of basic literacy in local languages, contributing to a sense of disconnection, loss of identity, and a negative impact on individual economic opportunities in the local market (Bruthiaux, 2002). For example, emphasis on English in developing countries can lead to reduced focus on local language literacy in educational programmes and initiatives in order to avoid scrutiny from international funders, particularly from English-speaking countries (Trudell, Young & Nyaga, 2015). This is reminiscent of colonial processes of replacing indigenous languages with those of the colonial rulers and is related to a prominent bias that promotes English as a dominant,

global language (e.g. Chew, 2009; Hamid, 2010; Ives, 2006). Appleby et al. (2002) stress that English educational programmes can focus too strongly on "language development", rather than "language in development" and limit the ability of these programmes to make more positive impacts on the lives and opportunities of their students. "Language development" emphasises the education and growth of skills and literacy in a language, while "language in development" does not assume "language" and literacy as an end to a development initiative or project, but rather as one aspect (Appleby et al., 2002). Expanding on this, Jakubiak (2012) makes a distinction between "English for development" – English as a tool for development – and "English as development" – English as a goal of development. Rather than being a tool for development, English is often presented "as development", as a "magical cure-all" (Jakubiak, 2012, p. 448) to a range of development issues. It is important to analyse where this assumption may originate.

3.2.1 English as an "International Language"

English is referred to as a "global" (Ives, 2006), "international language" (McLachlan, 2014; Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996) and a "lingua franca" (e.g. London, 2003; Chew, 2009; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2012; Phillipson, 2011), implying that its scope, role and influence is worldwide. Nevertheless, the whole world is not, of course, fluent in English, and such terms imply a preference for those who speak English, creating a risk of severely marginalising others (Phillipson, 2011). Indeed, literature on "World Englishes" refers to "native" English speakers as the "Inner Circle", those who speak English as a second language as the "Outer Circle" and speakers or learners of English as a foreign language as an "Expanding Circle" (Kachru, 1985). In international English education, speakers from "Inner Circle" countries are sought after as the desired teachers, as they speak the "chosen varieties of English" (Ahn, 2017, p. 59). For example, the "language instructor" visa for South Korea is only available to people from New Zealand, Australia, the U.S., the U.K., Canada or South Africa, despite the fact that there are many other countries in the world that include English as an official language, and indeed many other languages that may be taught (Shipton, 2010). In fact, these "Inner Circle" speakers are referred to as "authentic resources" (Peterson & Coltrane, 2003) for language learning. It is assumed that even without specific qualifications they can "at least relay their culture" so that they are of value to ESL students by "just being themselves" (Shipton, 2010, p. 521). This is crucial for understanding the relatively uncritical approach to English-language volunteer-tourism by unqualified individuals noted by Jakubiak (2012, 2014, 2016).

Such interpretations establish a core-periphery hierarchy of English-language speakers from the exclusive and 'authentic' 'Inner Circle', to those – most of the world's population – for whom it is impossible by definition to obtain this native-speaker classification. Figure 2.1 reflects this core-periphery hierarchy:

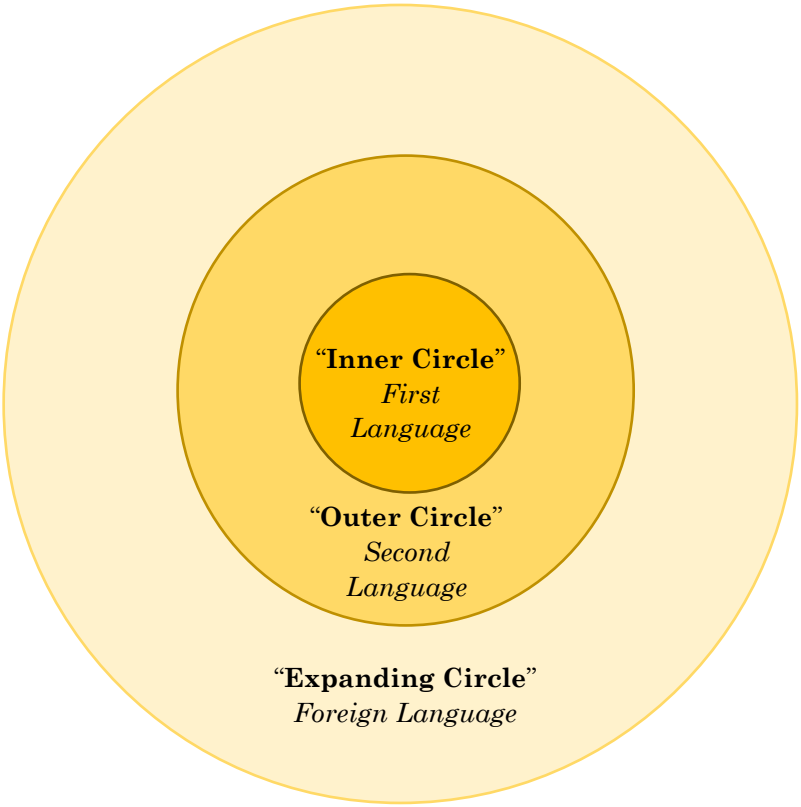

Figure 3.1: 'Circles' of English Proficiency

Furthermore, this hierarchy is not only based on pure linguistics. There has been a recent trend from perceiving "language-as-skill" to "language-as-identity" (Heller, 2010). Languages are seen as having an associated cultural or ideological component, whereby "culture learning is actually a key factor in being able to use and master a foreign linguistic system" (Bryam, 1989). Therefore, "separating the communicative aspect of language from issues of culture, identity and power creates an abstract and rarefied conception of language that avoids any adequate approach to the politics of global English" (Ives, 2006, p. 121). One of the major problems non-native speakers have when communicating with native speakers is achieving pragmatic effectiveness (the intended effect of their communication), owing to a lack of experience conversing with English speakers from different cultures (Renandya & Widodo, 2016). Therefore, cultural activities can be used to develop confidence, language skills and expand a sense of awareness of intercultural concerns (Doganay & Yergaliyeva, 2013) so that "language teaching means, inevitably, language and cultural teaching" (Nabi, 2017). It is evident in the literature that "culture" is inseparable from language. Language is not only a product,

but a symbol of a culture (Gleason, 1961). In fact, language, culture and identity are said to be so intertwined that language contains "a specific conception of the world" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 323) and you cannot give up your own language without giving up a sense of culture and oneself (Ives, 2009). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Malik (1996) proposes a horizontal relationship between cultures according to this line of thinking. However, in the case of the global expansion of English, this ladder is vertical once more, representing a hierarchical relationship based on language ability, in a way which can disguise ideologically charged components of the language related to culture and identity.

3.2.2 The 'Culture' of English

If one requires a cultural understanding to master a language (Peterson & Coltrane, 2003), what then is the 'culture' or 'identity' that is associated with learning English? Renandya and Widodo (2016) point out that due to the wide variety of cultures associated with the English language, even within the "Inner Circle", it is not possible to specify the cultures of all the speakers and teachers that learners are likely to interact with. As such, they need an awareness of the general "norms" of the "culture" of English as an international language. The literature gives no clear answer for this besides the ideologically and politically charged generalisations of "Western" (McLachlan, 2014), "modern" (Sayer, 2017) or even "democratic" (Pennycook, 2005; Kaiser, 2017) culture. This may be because overgeneralisation is important in second language learning (Scovel, 1994). The "culture" of the English language and its native speakers may thus be perceived through generalisations and even stereotypes.

London (2003) reminds scholars that in the 19th century, English was seen as more "evolved" than other languages by the British, and sharing it was considered a "benevolent act of altruism" (p. 302). For that reason, referring to people as "native" or "non-native" speakers implies a risk that "the attitudes that colonialism planted in [non-native English speaking] people's minds still convince them that their own cultural ways, even their ways of speaking English, are somehow inferior" (McLachlan, 2014). In Syria, for instance, graduates majoring in English report that they are afraid to speak for fear of pronouncing incorrectly, due to an ingrained idea of inferiority (Karam, Kibler & Yoder, 2017). English is referred to as a "world language" (McLachlan, 2014) and yet it is still used to emphasise historical hierarchies of difference. Furthermore, the colonial intention behind the spread of the English language was never to make "Englishmen" out of colonised subjects, but rather a hybrid and inferior race that followed British rule, customs and language, without ever being fully integrated (London, 2003). Similarly, no matter how much culture is emphasised in English education as a second or foreign language, it is unlikely that the language learner will ever be able to perceive cultural notions such as Halloween, an English pub or so on, in the same way as an 'Inner Circle'

speaker (Alptekin, 1993). As with the colonial agenda of identity, the 'Expanding Circle' English speakers and learners are not expected to ever fully assume the same position in this linguistic hierarchy as a native speaker.

This system of English education with a focus on culture thus risks producing hybrids with an internalised inferiority complex, thereby mimicking a colonial pattern of domination. Phillipson (2011) calls this "linguistic imperialism", where one language is favoured over others in ways that parallel societal structuring through racism, sexism and class, glorifying the language and privileging its users. The 'choice' to learn English is thus not truly free, as it comes from a place of internalised inferiority and the core belief that a non-native speaker can never truly join the 'Inner Circle' nor adopt the associated culture and worldview which are so sought after (London, 2003). While the strength of English in former British colonies may be more related to engagement in global economy rather than "to any efforts derived from their colonial masters" (Fishman, Conrad, & Rubal-Lopez, 1996, p. 640), Phillipson (2011) argues that that this so-called "engagement in the modern world" means subscribing to an English and 'Western' dominated, globalisation agenda. Consequently, "English serves to consolidate the interests of the powerful globally and locally and to maintain an imbalanced exploitative world order" (Phillipson, 2011, p. 11). The hierarchical legacy left by British colonialism persists today through the dominance of the English language.

Nevertheless, House (2003) advises steering clear of being extreme – by either accepting English uncritically or fighting it because of its 'linguistic imperialism'. They thus recommend that speakers and learners use English creatively for one's own communicative purposes. Scholars such as Chew (2009) also emphasise the importance of breaking this hegemony and considering English as "a plural phenomenon with multicultural identities" (p. 26). However, the complex, colonial history of the language may hinder this. For example, one study researched the role of language and sociocultural adaptation when the roles were reversed – when native-speaking English teachers in Turkey were attempting to learn their host language. It was found that knowledge of the host language might not assist in the process of sociocultural adaptation (Şahan, Şahan, & Razı, 2014), although many scholars have found this to be true in the case of English language learning in particular. The researchers concluded, therefore, that the prevalence of English as a 'lingua franca' in Turkey reduced the necessity of cultural adaptation to the host country, highlighting the power, influence and perceived cultural capital of being a native English speaker. While culture and language are intrinsically linked, not all languages are equal in terms of the level of cultural adaptation said to be required for proficiency. Although the colonial institutions, empire and direct British rule

have fallen away, the dominance of the English language remains as a post-colonial legacy.

3.3 ENGLISH AND INEQUALITY

Despite the linking of the English language to a colonial legacy of internalised marginalisation, it still tends to be spoken about as an international language and a means of global communication that can benefit the "common good" (Ives, 2006). However, as Bandyopadhyay and Patil (2017) remind us; "it should not be forgotten that there are 'first worlds' within 'third worlds' and vice versa" (p. 651). Consequently, there is not only a perceived hierarchy of English-language speakers, but also between those "Outer" or "Expanding" Circle members associated with existing higher or lower socioeconomic status. In fact, despite the sense of unattainability of true inclusion in the native-speaking English 'circle', English skills are increasingly associated with social and economic opportunities and a modern self-image (Butler, Sayer & Huang, 2018). This begs the question of whether correlation equals causation in this context. Is it that English skills allow individuals, especially in developing countries and contexts, to obtain greater opportunities and status? Or is it that greater opportunities and status give people access to English education? The literature suggests that it is perhaps both. Therein lies the paradox of the role of the English language and it is also an area to which this research hopes to contribute.

3.3.1 English for Elites

Historically, as with other aspects of colonial rule, language – both of the coloniser and colonised – was used as way of establishing influence among elite members of the colonised society. Nowadays, a "complementarity between these two types of human capital" – pre-existing elite status and English proficiency – can still be seen (Casale & Posel, 2011, p. 392). For example, despite only 1% of the population speaking English as a first language in South Africa, this colonial language is used for business, government and education and African men with tertiary education are estimated to earn 90% more if they are also English proficient (Casale & Posel, 2011). As such, "higher average earnings among the English language proficient would explain why English is perceived as the language of 'success' and why parents want their children to study in English" (ibid, 2011, p. 392).

Nevertheless, English alone cannot guarantee access to greater opportunities. For example, Korean families tend to criticise the class-based inequalities surrounding English education, while being content with the linguistic capital their children accumulate overseas on exchange programmes (Song, 2017). Similarly, in Japan,

speakers of English as a second language are assumed to have access to a wider range of resources and thus belong to a higher class, as it is not the country's native language (Vandrick, 2014). By contrast, it has been suggested that in the U.S., students studying English as a second language are being prepared for "subservient social roles" (Vandrick, 2014). The capital value of English proficiency thus "depends on other necessary elements on which one's class has a significant effect" (Song, 2017, p. 7). Class is both a factor in accessing English language acquisition, as well as in the return of capital that comes from proficiency. The hierarchy of the 'Circles' of English proficiency thus interacts with people's existing socioeconomic status specific to their context. For this reason, Vandrick (2014) urges other researchers to focus not only on the poor or downtrodden, but on the middle and upper classes, particularly in developing country contexts. In answer to this, my research looks at the role of English in education both in an elite and a more impoverished community.

3.3.2 English for Opportunities

Despite the attainment of proficiency in English as a second/foreign language being more accessible, and arguably more beneficial, to those of higher socioeconomic status, the literature notes a tendency to believe that anyone can attain English proficiency and therefore greater opportunities in life. English is associated with neo-liberalism, contemporary capitalism and the dominant role of the U.S. as an economic and military power (Song, 2017). For example, Song (2017) explains how one Korean mother "supported her children's study abroad experience in the U.S. on the assumption that they would join the Gangnam middle-class community upon their return", thereby providing access to more socioeconomic opportunities (p. 3). Programmes for early English instruction in formal educational settings and notions of "English for Everyone" (Weddell, 2008) can be increasingly found in countries all around the world, based on the premise that English education contributes to "human capital development and…participation in the global economy" (Hamid, 2010, p. 289). In a Syrian case study, for example, although some English teachers feared the erosion of the Arab identity, they all believed that English was important for their students because it is a "global language", a means of international communication and could directly improve students' access to knowledge and hiring opportunities (Karam, Kibler & Yoder, 2017).

Likewise, colonial languages historically were the languages of participation – economically and politically – of elites in colonial settings. The spread of English language thus not only operates within post-colonial structures, but also in ways that imply that participation in the global economy is dependent on English fluency. English may thus have a neo-colonial role in the contemporary world. It is believed to improve access to opportunities, especially for elites, and the assumed linguistic and sociocultural capital of

'Inner Circle' speakers is valued by different people around the world. The literature I discussed on volunteer-tourism in Chapter 2 revealed an emphasis on cultural exchange, and the attainment of sociocultural capital and even 'Western' ideologies in ways that may emphasise power inequalities between the volunteers and hosts. On the other hand, literature on the English language indicates the importance of English as a condition of participation in the global market, as well as providing individual with opportunities in local contexts. English-language volunteer-tourism thus exists in the overlap between two areas operating within post-colonial and even neo-colonial structures. This overlap highlights unequal relationships between and within hosts and volunteers in ways that may serve to further ingrain 'Western' dominance and marginalise the 'Outer' and/or 'Expanding' circle 'Other'.

3.4 English in Latin America

The role of English in development in Latin America, where this research is situated, comes with its own specific set of economic, social and political concerns. Discussing the role of English in South America, Friedrich and Berns (2003) argue that English is seen "as playing a significant, positive role in the future of the continent" overall (p. 83). However, as with English on a global scale, English education in Latin America is not a resource that is generally available for all people equally. There is a direct link between social class and exposure to other languages (Knubb-Manninen, 1988). As such, Niño-Murcia (2003), in her study in Lima, considers where the motivation to learn English comes from and indeed who is perceived to have the "right" or necessity to learn English. English is seen as a way to enable international interactions, although this may not be possible without access to expensive technology and the internet (Mallozzi & Malloy, 2007). Reminiscent of Song's (2017) case in South Korea, Kormos and Kiddle (2013) argue, for example, that "students in lower social classes in Chile might rarely need English for professional purposes" (p. 10) because they have limited access to technology or media resources. Furthermore, they found that social class contributes to differences in motivation, self-regulation and learner autonomy, whereby students of lower social classes are less likely to be motivated to study English, both because of lack of self-esteem and lack of opportunity.

In the Latin American context, the quality of schools that students attend is determined by the financial contribution of their parents. Higher quality English education, in terms of fluency of the teachers and teaching hours, is found in the more expensive schools (e.g. Kormos & Kiddle, 2013; Niño-Murcia, 2003; López-Gopar, 2014; Sayer, 2017; Clemente, 2007). In response to this, Uruguay has implemented the delivery of weekly English classes in many public schools, as a means of what Kaiser (2017) calls "democratising"

English language and making its supposed benefits more accessible to the greater population. In Mexico, on the other hand, English has become a product "sold" by the government as a way to climb the social-class ladder. Children of indigenous Oaxacan elites in Mexico, typically brown-skinned, use English proficiency to challenge the sense of inferiority they experience based on a colonial legacy of race-based discrimination (López-Gopar, 2014). This is because for middle class Mexicans, "English represents a form of linguistic capital that they are adding to their cultural capital" (Clemente, 2007, p. 422). For the working classes, on the other hand, English is less of a priority in their search for capital and public school students experience "limited hours of instruction [and] inadequately prepared teachers" (López-Gopar, 2014, p. 107). As such, in a middle-class context, English teachers are helping to reproduce already existing forms of capital, while in the working-class context they are exposing students to new forms of capital (Clemente, 2007).

In answer to these inequalities, the recent hiring of 98,000 new English teachers in Mexico is "intended to prepare Mexicans for the twenty-first century by emphasising linguistic and digital abilities: meaning a massive increase of English and computer skills in public schools" (Sayer, 2017, p. 257). There is thus a direct correlation between English and modernity and 'progress', linking the acquisition of English language to the access to expensive technology such as computers. This is because English in Latin America is expected to "open doors" and provide opportunities and the benefits of learning English for poverty reduction tend to be taken as self-evident (Sayer, 2017). However, this perceived need for English comes from the "construction of the myth of global English, the ideology that equates the language with positive notions of development, mobility, competitiveness, and opportunity" (Sayer, 2015, p. 269), as discussed in the previous section. In practice though, introducing English as a new subject in school does not necessarily change the underlying structural inequalities. Even the best schools in South American countries may still be disadvantaged in terms of English in relation to, for example, 'Outer' and 'Expanding' circle European countries (Porto, 2016). In fact, English has become "a communicative resource that indexes middle and upper class positions in societies around the world" (Block, 2014, p. 135). It can widen the gap between social classes by creating an illusion of equal opportunity, which means other factors are overlooked (López-Gopar, 2014; Sayer, 2017).

These examples highlight the inseparability of language and culture emphasised by the scholars I mentioned earlier in this chapter (e.g. Gramsci, 1971; Ives, 2009), as well as the way English is experienced unequally not only between 'Inner', 'Outer' and 'Expanding' circle members, but also within those spheres. English language proficiency is associated with moving towards the prestigious 'Inner Circle' to the extent that English has become

a commodity to be 'sold' with not only a promise of increased access to the local and global market, but also greater sociocultural capital.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has traced the complex relationship between colonial history, globalisation and the role of English language in development. From this discussion, the key points to take away are threefold. Firstly, English is often referred to not only as a means, but as a symbol of personal empowerment and even development – it is a commodity that can be consumed and has exchange value in different forms of capital. Secondly, although English is associated with greater opportunities, these benefits are not experienced equally, with social class and English ability interacting in ways that may reinforce inequality. Finally, English in Latin America is directly associated with opening 'doors' to facilitate one's ability to climb the social ladder and obtain increased linguistic, cultural and economic capital. This establishes the wider geographic context of the role of the English language in Peru, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 5.

The discussions on volunteer-tourism in Chapter 2 and English as a 'global' language in this chapter provide a basis for my research project. They provide crucial background information on the academic context that frames this study, as well as fundamental aspects that have informed my research design and methodology, analysis of findings and subsequent conclusions. Furthermore, while there is limited literature on English teaching through volunteer-tourism, both bodies of literature include a strong presence of post-colonial perspectives. This has informed my selection of a post-colonial framework, as well as a qualitative approach, to guide this research. I elaborate on these decisions, alongside the overall research design process, in the following methodology chapter.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: A POST-COLONIAL, QUALITATIVE APPROACH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As I mentioned in the Introduction chapter of this thesis, the aim of this research is *to explore through a post-colonial lens the perceived value of volunteer English (EFL) teaching in both elite and disadvantaged communities in post-colonial Lima, Peru.* In order to address this aim, the following research questions were investigated:

- What motivates different actors' involvement in volunteer English teaching programmes and how do they perceive the value of volunteer English teaching and the English language itself?
- How is volunteer English teaching and the English language experienced and perceived in elite and disadvantaged environments by different actors?

In order to gather findings in response to these questions, this methodology chapter outlines how I used a post-colonial lens to guide the research design, data collection and thematic analysis. The literature presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, and the contextual information I will introduce in Chapter 5, all constitute the crucial foundations of this project. Nevertheless, these foundations can only be effective in conjunction with a well-considered methodology. As such, this chapter presents the research design that ties these different elements together, allowing for the collection of reliable data to be analysed and discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. I begin by introducing this post-colonial, qualitative approach, followed by a discussion on my selection of participants through actor mapping. I then explain my methodology around data collection through semi-structured interviews, and how I selected and invited individuals to participate. Next, I describe how the data was coded, analysed and interpreted. Finally, I provide an overview of the ethical considerations that were important to consider throughout this research, reflecting especially on my own positionality in this context as a crucial part of my post-colonial framework.

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

As discussed in the previous chapters, this research is framed by a post-colonial framework, owing to the relevance of this to volunteer English teaching. Methodologically, a post-colonial approach entails a focus on the relationships between the 'colonised' and 'colonisers', their positions within the wider context and the conscious or underlying ideologies and biases that may guide their perspectives (Bandyopadhyay,

2018; McEwan, 2009). For this reason, the research lends itself to a qualitative approach. The aim of qualitative research is to "create new understandings by exploring and interpreting complex data" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 299). This approach is recommended when there is little existing information about a phenomenon (Snape & Spencer, 2003), which I have explained in Chapter 2 is the case of volunteering English teaching in developing countries.

Furthermore, a qualitative approach recognises that both "the researchers and the people they research have their own values and realities; therefore, multiple realities exist" (Holloway and Wheeler, 1996, p. 1). In other words, qualitative methods are ideal for answering questions about the meaning, interpretations and explanations of individuals and groups associated with particular phenomena (Seale, 1999). Unlike quantitative research designs that "often fail to capture the specific motivations" of participants (Smith & Holmes, 2012, p. 563), a qualitative approach focuses on "*understanding* attitudes, rather than *measuring* them" (Brown, 2005, p. 486). A qualitative approach also allows for the subjectivity of both the researcher and participants and is ideal for research that considers the perspectives of different, inter-connected actors (O'Leary, 2004). Understanding and analysing meanings and interpretations of multiple realities is essential when taking a post-colonial approach because actors themselves may not be aware of the potentially post-colonial attitudes, processes and relationships they may be reinforcing. Therefore, taking a post-colonial lens meant I needed to design a research methodology that allowed me to explore not only what actors saw as the perceived value of volunteer English teaching and the English language, but also to understand and interpret these responses in the wider, post-colonial context. For that reason, it was crucial to establish the academic context in the previous two chapters, as well as the local context of the research (see Chapter 5).

4.2.1 Actor Mapping

Methodologically, the first step to achieving an effective post-colonial research design was the selection of a volunteer-tourism agency that would allow me to explore relationships across and within a web of actors. The agency in this study, as mentioned in the Introduction chapter, works in both the private and public education sector and recruits foreign volunteers who study or have studied at British universities. Potentially unequal and post-colonial relationships exist not only between the local hosts and foreign volunteers, but also *within* the local context. For that reason, I followed a process of research design that first involved the identification of a range of interrelated actors who would be able to provide different perspectives and insights into the volunteer English teaching programme. As mentioned in Chapter 2, researchers taking a post-colonial lens may be inherently biased and unnecessarily perceive and emphasise differences and

patterns beneath the surface. I sought to avoid this by inviting a range of actors to participate in this research in the hopes of representing multiple realities. Beginning with the volunteer-tourism agency, I identified and mapped out the actors involved in their programme in order to establish a base for analysis of the power relations that connected these individuals and groups. Figure 4.1 provides a visual overview of this actor mapping, highlighting the different backgrounds of actors, and how these groups are connected through the volunteer-tourism agency.

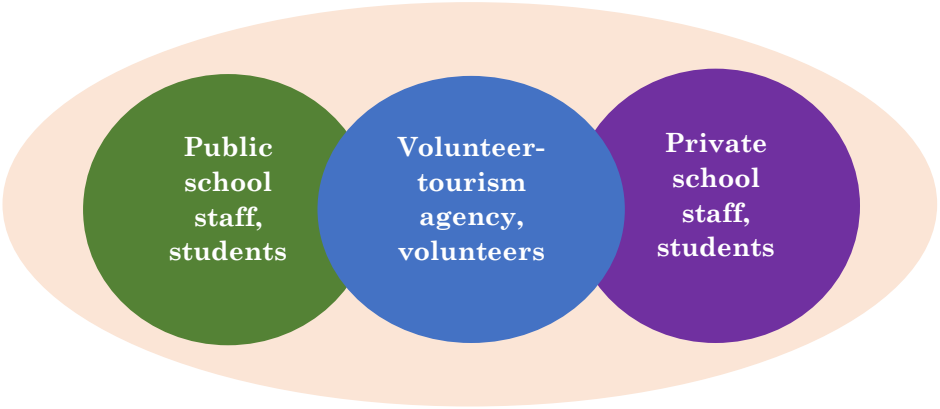

Figure 4.1: Actor Mapping

In Figure 4.1 there are three main groups of actors, with two sub-groups in each sphere. The volunteer-tourism agency, and the volunteers they recruit, work with both private and public schools, and thus lie in the centre. The public and private school spheres were unlikely to have direct contact with each other, with the linking factor being the agency and volunteers. Nevertheless, a post-colonial approach required me to look beyond the surface of this and question the relationship between these groups, even if some actors had no direct contact with each other. For this reason, it was also crucial to select and understand the background and context of each of these groups of actors.

4.2.2 Participant groups

Volunteer Teaching Agency and Volunteers

The agency, advertised as a 'social enterprise', was founded and is currently run by a Peruvian English teacher and her daughter. Established in 1999, the agency has now been operating for 20 years and claims their volunteers have worked with at least 13,000 Peruvian students over the past two decades. They recruit volunteers from British universities to volunteer four days per week in 27 private schools in Lima and other Peruvian cities, while being hosted by a family from the school they work in. In addition, volunteers in Lima offer their services one afternoon per week at a local public school as part of a "charity project". The small, family-run business offers both short-term voluntary placements for a fee, and long-term paid, teaching opportunities. They work with around 60 volunteers per year.

Private School Staff and Students

The volunteer-tourism agency operates in a number of private schools in Lima and other cities in Peru, but the one chosen for this study is where I was working as an English teacher at the time. This enabled me to use personal connections to facilitate interviews and focus groups, rather than relying on the agency as a gatekeeper to participants. Reflections on my positionality in this context are explored in the Ethical Considerations section below. The school is a mid-range private school compared to other, more elite schools in the city. It is affordable for upper-middle class Peruvians, and students have eight to nine classes per day, of which at least two are usually in English. The school is located near an elite gated community in the district of Santiago de Surco.

Public School Staff and Students

The public school receives volunteers through what the agency calls a "charity project" on a weekly basis and is the only public school where the agency operates. As with the majority of public schools in Peru, it operates on a part-time basis, whereby students in the zone are assigned to attend either morning or afternoon classes, because the facilities do not allow all students to attend classes at the same time. Students have four to five classes per day, with around two hours of English per week. The school is located in a less privileged neighbourhood in the district of San Juan de Miraflores.

4.2.3 Data Collection: Semi-Structured Interviews

After establishing the background of the actor groups, it was important to select a data collection method that allowed me to capture how volunteer English teaching is experienced and perceived by these individuals. In order to understand the potentially post-colonial processes at play in this context, it was crucial that research participants were able to speak freely and comfortably, producing a valuable narrative of "lived experience" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 139), guided by the interviewer's questions and giving respondents the freedom to elaborate on their experiences (Sin, 2009). For this reason, I chose semi-structured interviews as my primary method of data collection. Semi-structured interviews are generally preferred by qualitative researchers to their fully-structured alternative, as this avoids confining answers to "preconceived conceptual boxes" (Fife, 2005, p. 8).

In addition to providing the most effective way to analyse the post-coloniality of volunteer English teaching in this context, other researchers have argued that volunteer-tourism is best explored through semi-structured interviews, which allow a narrative dimension to participants' responses (Gius, 2017; Neumann, 1992; Noy, 2004; Wearing, 2001). By listening to the stories that they tell about their experiences with volunteering, researchers can observe and analyse participants' underlying understandings (Noy, 2004;

Urry, 1990). Interviews can also be used to "reveal the sense-making procedures displayed in talk" (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004, p. 605) and to allow the volunteer-tourism researcher to engage "in real or constructed dialogues in order to understand the people studied in their own terms" (England, 1994, p. 82). Therefore, semi-structured interviews were chosen both because of the nature of the subject matter, and the importance of multiple perspectives and narratives in taking a post-colonial approach to this phenomenon.

After choosing semi-structured interviews as the primary method of data collection, I selected research participants from the different groups mapped out in the initial stage of research. I asked questions that encouraged personal reflection on their relationships to other participants, as well as their general positionality (O'Leary, 2004). For example, the inclusion of a question that asked participants to consider the relative value of English and Quechua, the most prominent indigenous language of Peru, was directly relevant to the post-colonial context and prompted many interesting and contrasting responses. Furthermore, based on the emphasis on post-colonialism in the literature related to English more generally, questions were focused not only on the relationships and role of volunteers, but on perceptions of the language itself and its potentially post-colonial or neo-colonial nature. By guiding the participants to consider their responses beyond the surface level, as well as their wider role in relation to English-language volunteer-tourism, and more generally, this study provided a window to view wider post-colonial issues at both a local and global level. Per Brown's (2015) recommendation, the interview questions were grouped around key themes based on the research questions. Recognising the diversity of the participants and their different positionalities in the context, interview schedules differentiated between the different groups of participants I engaged with. The full interview schedules can be found in Appendix 5.

Most interviews were conducted in English, or a mixture of English and Spanish. Only one interview, with one public school alumnus, was conducted entirely in Spanish, and later transcribed and translated with the help of a translator (see Appendix 4: Translator's Confidentiality Agreement). Although I offered Peruvian participants the opportunity to speak with me in Spanish, they all insisted on speaking in English for the interview, with former students only using Spanish to explain more difficult concepts. It was thus important to consider the implications of their determination to speak English in the findings. All interviews with volunteers, former students, and school and agency staff took place at the convenience of those involved and lasted no more than one hour, with a majority taking around 30 minutes. In general, interviews with participants took place in neutral locations, such as quiet cafes, or other places suggested by participants and occasionally via Skype.

4.2.4 Research Participants

Participants were selected to provide a range of perspectives from the groups of actors mapped out above: public and private school staff and students, representatives from the volunteer agency and volunteers themselves. Both current and former members of these groups were considered to add to the range of perspectives. As this research is qualitative, it did not require large numbers (Gray & Campbell, 2007), but rather a range of voices, so that not only dominant presences, such as school headmasters or representatives from the volunteer agency, were represented (O'Leary, 2004). This is especially important to a study framed by a post-colonial perspective. In order to find participants from each group identified in the actor mapping stage, I used purposeful sampling (Coghlan, 2015; Coghlan, 2018; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017; Gray & Campbell, 2007). In particular, I sought participants who presented "information-rich cases" (Patton, 1990, p. 169). To this end, all participants were involved in or exposed to the English teaching volunteer-tourism programme for at least one month prior to the commencement of fieldwork. I made the initial approach to all participants, through personal connections both in and outside my workplace in the private school in Lima, to avoid the ethical complications of using the volunteer-tourism agency as a gatekeeper to participants (Banki & Schonell, 2017). Furthermore, I was able to build a social rapport with some participants, which is believed to improve the respondent's candour (Duffy, 2002). Beginning with staff at the volunteer organisation and the school I worked at as an English teacher, I used the "snowballing technique" (Sin, 2010) to find further participants, with an awareness that those who felt their experience with the programme had had a significant impact on them in some way (Coghlan, 2015) were more likely to respond.

Participant Selection

In total, 13 participants were formally interviewed in the research process. Selection of participants from the volunteer teaching agency was straightforward as there are only two members of staff. Both agreed to participate in the research. Interviews were also conducted with four current and former volunteer teachers. I selected participants who were volunteering in both host schools (private and public) and were in Lima for a minimum of one month before the interview. In practice, as each private school usually only receives one or two volunteers at one time, the volunteer teachers invited to participate included three who worked at other private schools as well. As the focus of the study is on the perceived value of volunteer-English teaching in Lima in a more general context, rather than as a case study of a particular organisation or school, I do not expect this to have a negative impact on the findings.

Two members of staff from each of the schools were also invited to participate – one teacher with experience working with the volunteers and one manager who invites and

coordinates volunteers. Nevertheless, due to a health emergency with long-term effects, the headmaster of the public school was unable to be interviewed, resulting in more data being available from the private school perspective. This in itself points to the challenges mentioned in earlier chapters in trying to represent all voices, particularly those who are more disadvantaged. In this context it transpired that a combination of being over-worked and having limited access to medical care made the interview impossible for this individual. It was thus important to mitigate this in the results by presenting findings with a balance of perspectives from different participant groups and avoiding a dominance of private school voices.

This was achieved by focusing on the student perspective. The students at both the public and private school are the stakeholders that the entire volunteer teaching programme is designed for; they are the recipients of the service the agency provides. As such, it was crucial to interview these former students to understand if the perceived value by the stakeholders involved in the organisation and delivery of this service matches the lived experience and perceptions of the students and alumni. Two former students from each of the schools were invited to participate in interviews. Although they were recent graduates, all were over 16 years old which means they could consent individually to be a part of the research. These alumni cannot be considered a representative sample of the students, but rather act as key informants of the student perspective in the two contrasting schools, providing insights into their environments and their peers through their own observations.

All 13 participants were given a pseudonym and a brief overview of their background is included below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Semi-Structured Interview Participants

Participant Type	Total	Pseudonyms and Background
Volunteer English Teacher	**4**	• **Gemma:** volunteered 4 months total in 2018, studying Spanish at U.K. university • **Sarah:** volunteered 6 weeks total in 2018, studying Spanish at U.K. university • **Ashleigh:** volunteered 4 months total in 2018, studying Spanish at U.K. university • **Kate:** volunteered 4 months total in 2017, current ambassador for the programme at a U.K. university
Volunteer Organisation Representative	**2**	• **Diana:** manages the agency full-time • **Gloria:** founded the agency in 1999 and carries out workshops for newly recruited volunteers

School Staff: Private	**2**	• **Paola:** high-school English teacher who has worked with volunteers in high school for more than 10 years • **Angela:** English teacher who coordinates volunteer assignments to teachers in the school
School Staff: Public	**1**	• **Maria:** English teacher who has worked with volunteers for more than 5 years
Former School Students: Private	**2**	• **Julio:** exposed to volunteers throughout school-life, now studying engineering at a private university (upper-intermediate level (B2) English is an entrance requirement) • **Alejandro;** exposed to volunteers throughout school-life, now studying administration at a private university (intermediate level (B1) English is an entrance requirement)
Former School Students: Public	**2**	• **Micaela:** participated in the 6-week charity project and is a current ambassador for the agency, she now studies English full-time through an institute • **Luciano:** participated in the 6-week charity project in high school, now studying engineering at a public university

4.2.5 Data Analysis

The final stage of my post-colonial research design was my method of data analysis and presentation of findings. Data analysis followed a process of coding and identifying key patterns and themes from all data sets (Dillette et al., 2017; Curran & Blackburn, 2001; Fallon & Kriwoken, 2003). Interview transcripts were then reviewed and approved for release by participants, and translated where appropriate. I subsequently read the transcripts carefully, organising key findings and quotes from each actor under the categories from the Interview Schedules, which were based on the research questions:

- Motivation, role and expectations;
- Relationships between actors and perspectives on public and private education in Peru; and
- Perceived value and impact of English volunteering and the English language.

These categories allowed me to carry out different levels of analysis, beginning with the background of each individual actor, before considering how their positionality and relationships may relate to their views on the perceived value of the programme and the English language in relation to both public and private schools. With the findings coded in this way, I used basic triangulation, "exploring the commonalities and divergences in data derived from…interviews" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 51). This allowed me to be open to a

range of results and enabled the deeper level of interpretation required by a post-colonial framework. Finally, I am aware that although this thesis takes a critical approach towards the potentially post-colonial or neo-colonial role of English as an international language, I am writing in English. This means including some quotations that have been translated from their original Spanish in the process of background research, data collection and analysis. In order to accurately represent the author's or speaker's voice, the original Spanish is included in footnotes. In addition, the abstract of this thesis is presented in Spanish. Upon completion, the thesis has been made available to everyone I worked with, including individual interviewees if they wished. A short, 'user-friendly' summary has also been available in English and Spanish, written and presented in a way that is suitable for a popular audience.

4.3 Ethical Considerations

While I have explained how a qualitative approach was the most appropriate for using a post-colonial lens and exploring the underlying meanings and relationships between the groups of actors, the potential limitations of such an approach were also considered in the research design. Through the "snowballing technique" (Sin, 2010) mentioned above, participants were selected based on their availability, through the contacts I had established, and their willingness to participate. I considered, therefore, that those most likely to participate were those who considered the programme to have a strong impact on them. Furthermore, one of the challenges of semi-structured interviews, which is especially pertinent for research framed by a post-colonial approach, is the nature of the relationship between the researcher and participants. Therefore, reflexivity on my own positionality in relation to the research was crucial in this process, alongside an awareness that I must look for ways not to produce or reinforce difference by studying it (Bloksgaard et al., 2012; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012). These reflections are explored below. Furthermore, contextualising research findings (see Chapter 5) to distinguish between participants' and the researcher's interpretations (McAllum & Zahra, 2017) was important in mitigating these concerns. Supplementary documentation from the volunteer-tourism agency and the schools, such as timetables was also analysed to provide additional clarity to the interviews around the underlying expectations and objectives of each institution (Keese, 2011). This is similar to the approach taken by Jakubiak (2012) in her research into English-language volunteer-tourism. As such, the post-colonial framework has been a useful guide for the research design and data analysis, by attempting to balance an understanding of the complex history of the context with research findings (Crabtree, 2008).

The full ethics review approved by the Massey University Ethics Board on 25/06/18 (see Appendix 6) allowed me to explore many of the potential ethical considerations of the research during the design process. This formal ethics process ensured that my methodology included emphasis on, for example, consent and confidentiality. Semi-structured interviews took place only when informed consent was given. I strove to achieve informed consent in a way that ensured "a potential participant freely and with full understanding of the research agrees to be part of the project" (Banks & Scheyvens, 2014, p. 164). This was achieved by the presentation of a Participant Information Sheet in both English and Spanish ahead of the interview, giving participants a chance to read and ask questions as necessary (see Appendix 2) before signing the consent form (see Appendix 1). With participant consent, all interviews were first digitally audio-recorded so they could be transcribed at a later stage. Transcripts were sent to participants for approval prior to analysis (see Appendix 3) to ensure the accuracy and authenticity of the data (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994).

Participants also understood that research results would be reported confidentially, as a mitigating factor for those who felt their answers could affect their future access to resources (Banks & Scheyvens, 2014). However, despite the use of pseudonyms, it may be possible for some readers to infer who is speaking when they read the results and I made sure that individual participants were aware of this. Because this agency may be the only one operating in private and public schools, it is possible people familiar with the location and context could identify the agency and the schools. To avoid potential negative impacts, questions focused on the value of English language teaching and volunteers on a broader scale, and evaluative questions focused on the agency were avoided. Above all, this research is interested in the relationships and perceived value of volunteer English teaching on a general level, rather than with regards to this specific agency.

4.3.1 Positionality and Reflexivity

O'Leary (2004) argues that "research as a purely objective activity removed from all aspects of politics and power is a myth no longer accepted in the research world" (p. 42). As such, there are multiple different lenses that the research must be approached through in looking at the associated ethical issues – for example, power, gender, sexuality, age, ethnicity, education and social status. Acknowledging the ethical risks of research is but the first step to acting ethically (Wall & Overton, 2006). My own positionality adds a layer of complexity to the research process (Green & Hogan, 2005). Considering ethics in research is thus a personal endeavour. As recommended by scholars in the volunteer-tourism context in Chapter 2 (e.g. McAllum & Zahra, 2017), through conscious self-reflection and awareness, one can identify potential areas of bias and act ethically (O'Leary, 2004). Furthermore, this critical self-awareness was a crucial part of my post-

colonial analytical strategy. It has allowed me to deepen my analysis by exploring not only potentially post-colonial and unequal power relations between participants in relation to the context, but also between my research participants and me as a foreign researcher.

In first approaching this, I acknowledged the "coloured glasses" through which I see the world (O'Leary, 2004, p. 47). There are some advantages of this to my choice of research, in that I resided in Lima during the time of this research, speak Spanish and have first-hand experience and a network in English education there, specifically in a school that receives volunteers. I was originally recruited through this agency (recruitment is another branch of their business) in 2017 to work at another school in Lima. However, it was an independent decision to change to the school I was working in at the time of the research, so my only remaining connection with the agency itself was personal. During the research process, I consistently strove to be professional and clear about the objectives of my research and believe I was successful in doing this by following a clear and well-designed methodological approach. I ensured that I only worked with former students I had no direct teaching association with and reflected on my role and positionality on an on-going basis, using a research journal and discussions with my thesis supervisors (Tomazos & Butler, 2012). Nevertheless, for some participants, there may have been what Conran (2011) terms a "site of confusion" due to my multiple positionalities as a former recruit of the agency, friend of some participants, current English teacher and independent researcher.

Furthermore, my own cultural background may have contributed to this "site of confusion". As a Caucasian woman from New Zealand, educated in 'the West', authors such as Tuhiwai Smith (1999) may still consider my objectives and questions as "white research" (p. 42). While there are some advantages to having been a Peruvian resident for 2.5 years, my own experiences will inform my analysis of the findings, meaning I cannot be completely unbiased from the context I have been living in. Nevertheless, this potential bias is not based purely on my own thinking and cultural background. My positionality in the Peruvian context has also been shaped by the insights of people I interacted with and the broader community of Lima. On the other hand, my role as a '*gringa*' adds another element to the "site of confusion" (Conran, 2011). Being labelled as a '*gringa*' has its own power status dynamics within Peruvian society. This was evident, for example, in the comment from one of my students that I quoted in the Introduction chapter, asking if I had come to Peru to "colonise" them. As such, the ethics of representation, in relation to both my positionality and those of my research participants, have been one of the most important ethical concerns of this research.

For example, I found myself distinguishing between public and private school participants in the interviews, in that I asked the private school participants about the volunteers' role in the public school, but not vice versa. I knew from the contextual information available to me, as a Peruvian resident and private school English teacher, that my public school participants came from a more disadvantaged background and had less exposure to English in school, let alone through the volunteer programme. As such, I did not want to disrupt their subjectivities and positionalities by unnecessarily highlighting a point of difference that might result in negative feelings about themselves or their wider context. This example pointed to the challenges of defining not only what was appropriate to ask in a post-colonial context, but whom it was appropriate to ask. I sought to establish a balance between obtaining reliable research findings and respecting my participants' subjectivities, recognising as well how questions regarding inequality might be perceived by less advantaged actors due to my own positionality. These were the kinds of factors I considered in an attempt to mitigate the potential impact of my personal ethical stance and background on my engagement with local people. This was also important in aiming to avoid the emphasis or replication of inequalities of power (O'Leary, 2004), especially in light of the strong presence of class- and race-based inequalities in Peru that I explain further in Chapter 5. Consequently, the multiple roles and positionalities I have had in relation to the participants were an important detail to be aware of in my writing and representation of this research and crucial to my post-colonial approach. I reflect further upon this in Chapter 8, in relation to the findings and my final conclusions.

4.4 Conclusion

In order to explore the perceived value of volunteer English (EFL) teaching in both elite and disadvantaged communities in Lima, the methodology for this research was designed according to a post-colonial framework. I chose a qualitative approach, using semi-structured interviews, with the aim of understanding and interpreting actors' perspectives, while exploring post-colonial power relations. A total of 13 participants from three different groups of actors related to a volunteer English teaching project in Lima, Peru, were interviewed. The findings were analysed using a post-colonial framework, by coding participant responses and then comparing common themes that emerged. This enabled me to explore how participants' perspectives on volunteer English teaching and the English language could be interpreted in the wider post-colonial context.

This small, qualitative study presents a snapshot of a range of actors involved with a particular phenomenon at one point in time, while the post-colonial lens has allowed me to analyse underlying power relations and the positionalities of all actors, including myself as the research. A qualitative approach also means that the study's small scope is

a source of its value to literature on volunteer-tourism and the English language. It is a window through which to understand how global, hegemonic power relations can be internalised and reflected on a local scale, thus providing a microcosm of post-coloniality both within the Peruvian context and in relation to 'the West'. In exploring this, Chapter 5 establishes the broader Peruvian context and participant responses in relation to the role of English, before Chapter 6 discusses the findings related to the volunteer agency and volunteers. Chapter 7 takes a step outwards and considers the post-colonial context of the relationships between actors, while Chapter 8 draws conclusions and reflects on how the research fits into broader themes and development discourse.

5 THE PERUVIAN CONTEXT: WORLDS WITHIN WORLDS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

McEwan (2009) explains that a post-colonial lens allows scholars to look beyond the surface when studying modern-day phenomena, seeking to understand underlying discourses of power that exist due to the historical and political context. Furthermore, as seen in Chapter 2, critics of volunteer-tourism have stressed the importance of understanding contextual specificities both for research and theoretical development (e.g. Stainton, 2016). As such, this chapter traces key elements of Peruvian history and post-colonial society that allow the research to be contextualised. Peru is a country belonging to what Friedrich and Berns (2003) call "the other forgotten continent" of South America (p. 83). It represents a vastly diverse context with a complex colonial history in which the on-going effects of Spanish conquest, in terms of race-based stereotypes, and associated socioeconomic status and power (or lack thereof) can be seen on a daily basis (Graubart, 2000).

This chapter consists of two main sections. Firstly, I discuss background information about the Peruvian context, drawing both on literature and knowledge gained through my experience as a Peruvian resident for more than two years, to explain how post-colonial processes of social stratification and discrimination remain present today. Secondly, I move to a more specific focus on the role of English in Peru, referring to both literature and findings from the interviews I conducted for this study, to explore how the English language interacts with Peru as a post-colonial context. As my research questions both ask about the perceived value of the English language, this chapter answers this part of both research questions, by situating participants' responses directly in the wider context. Overall, I argue that the English language is being absorbed into post-colonial legacies that remain from Spanish colonisation, in some ways mirroring colonial processes. This chapter thereby provides a crucial foundation on which to continue answering my research questions in relation to volunteer-tourism in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

5.2 DIVERSITY AND UNITY

Peru is as diverse in landscape as it is in peoples. Characterised by the patriotic song, "*Contigo Perú*" ["With you, Peru"], which is almost a second national anthem (El Tiempo, 2017), Peru's strength and ability to 'triumph' lies in the unity of a diverse range of peoples and landscapes. As the lyrics of the song remind Peruvians:

We are your children and we will unite,
And in that way, we will triumph, with you, Peru.
The coast is united,
The highlands are united,
The jungle is united, with you, Peru.
United in work, united in sport,
The north, the centre and the south are united, [with you, Peru]. [4]

Polo Campos (1974)

The country is made up of the 'unity' of the "*costa*", or coast, the "*sierra*", or highlands of the Andes mountain range, and the "*selva*", or jungle. This diversity is illustrated and briefly explained in the following images, which I took while travelling in Peru.

Figure 5.1: "La Costa" - the Peruvian coastal landscape ranges from tropical beaches in the north, to the sprawling, capital city of Lima, to hundreds of miles of desert in the south and the famous remains of the ancient Nazca civilisation (the Nazca lines).

Figure 5.2: "La Sierra" - the highlands of the Andean mountain range are home to Peru's most famous animals – llamas and alpacas – as well as the indigenous peoples of the Quechua and Aymara that have come to symbolise the indigenous cultures of Peru. The highland city of Cusco was the capital of the Incan Empire and the renowned temple of Machu Picchu (where the picture of the llama was taken) remains the most visited tourist destination in the country.

[4] "*Somos tus hijos y nos uniremos / Y así triunfaremos contigo Perú / Unida la costa, unida la costa / Unida la sierra, unida la sierra / Unida la selva, contigo Perú / Unido el trabajo, unido el trabajo / Unido el deporte, unido el deporte / Unidos el norte / el centro y el sur.*" (Polo Campos, 1974)

Figure 5.3: "La Selva" – the jungle regions consists mostly of the Amazon rainforest, with the Amazon River flowing through north-eastern Peru. Most Amazonian villages are not accessible by road transport, with many villages built on the Amazon River (as shown in the image on the right). The indigenous peoples of the Amazon are diverse, with hundreds of different indigenous languages spoken in the most isolated places.

Historian Mark Thurner (2011) explains that Peru was described by 16th century Spanish colonisers as a land that, with all its natural diversity, was a microcosm for the world, a "universal country of nature" (p. 83), whose abundant natural resources made it "the most blessed and universal land on earth" (p. 84). In fact, Peruvian metals were core to the currency that held the Spanish Empire together in the 16th century (Bentancor, 2017). Peru's diverse landscapes are reflected in distinct cultural groups, with indigenous people now characterised in the three main categories of Quechua, Aymara (both are highland peoples) and the hundreds of culturally and linguistically distinct Amazonian peoples. The majority of the population, however, is made up of '*mestizos*', or people of both indigenous and European descent, with a third of the country's population, around 11,000,000 people (INEI, 2017), located in Lima. Lima itself, where the research is situated, is a place of startling diversity. As a former Spanish colonial capital and destination of mass migration from more rural areas, it is made up both of areas of great affluence and make-shift slums on the outskirts of the city. The popular song "*Contigo Perú*" suggests that Peru's strength lies in the unity of this incredible diversity. However, in this chapter I will explore the challenges that Peru has faced, and continues to face, in ensuring inclusion and equality for all its peoples in a post-colonial context.

5.2.1 Conquest

Peru has a history of conquest that began long before the Spanish arrived in the 16th century. It is home to the oldest archaeological site in the Americas, Caral, dating from around 3000 B.C., and evidence of many ancient and sophisticated civilisations from different points over the course of history has been found (Markham, 1892). By the time the Spanish arrived in the 16th century, the Incan civilisation had already conquered many of the smaller tribes and groups of people, their influence beginning in the Andean city of Cusco, part of contemporary Peru, and spreading into territories that now belong to Bolivia, Columbia, Argentina and Chile (Prescott, 2007). The technologically advanced

Incas, led by their 'Inca', or Emperor, imposed both their language of Quechua and their religion, which focused on the worship of the Creator of the Universe (Illa-Ticci-Uira-Cocha) on its conquered peoples, typically peasants (Markham, 1892). In fact, early European accounts suggest that a motivating factor for the Incas was to 'civilise' the native peoples of their Empire. It is for this reason that Peru, alongside Mexico, was said to be one of the most advanced nations in terms of power and refinement upon the arrival of European conquerors (Prescott, 2007). As London (2003) succinctly reminds us, "colonialism could not function without the prior existence of an identity of colonized subjects" (p. 299). In Peru the process of conquest and colonisation had begun before the arrival of Europeans, who replaced one conqueror with another. The Spanish arrived in 1531 and began to establish their dominance with the capture of the Inca Atahualpa (Lockhart, 1994). However, they were only able to overpower the final neo-Inca state after a 40-year campaign when they defeated the Inca, Túpac Amaru, in 1572, who became a symbol of Inca rule and on-going indigenous upheaval against the Spanish (Stavig, 1999).

The Spanish were motivated by certain ideologies that infiltrated into Peru during their rule. Bentancor (2017) explains that the Spanish ideology behind mineral extraction in Peru was that the "natural world was composed of a raw and defective material that had to be dominated from above and directed to a higher end" (p. 1). This way of thinking applied not only to resources, but also to people, so that domination of Peru's indigenous people and resources became a tool for transformation in alignment with the Spanish conquerors' way of seeing the world. This was linked to Catholic ideologies, whereby African slaves and Andean serfs bore the burden of labour for their colonisers, an injustice that was justified at the time by the value of sacrifice and the belief that these suffering peoples would be rewarded after death (Portocarrero, 2012). Furthermore, as in other colonial contexts, religion and language were used as a means of reinforcing power. For example, many churches were built directly on the foundations of Incan temples (Thurner, 2011). In addition, the language which was not necessarily of the majority of Peruvian people, but of their Incan conquerors – Quechua – was standardised and written with Spanish letters as a way to translate religious texts. In this way, not only Spanish, but Quechua (which remains the primary indigenous language in Peru today) were utilised as "a way of subordinating a people and their language to the new rulers" (Klaiber, 2009, p. 644). Colonial Peru's foundations lay in conflict and struggle, and the attempts by the Spanish to restructure society to meet their needs involved a "simultaneous claim to value continuity and legitimacy" (Graubart, 2000, p. 537). As such, some things taken for granted as indigenous in Peru today, such as the Quechua language and gendered labour division, are in fact products of Spanish colonialism.

5.2.2 Independence

Among indigenous elites, there was a surge of critique in the 18th century of colonial policies that undermined indigenous authority and institutionalised their social exclusion through, for example, the enforced labour system and high taxation of the indigenous population (Duenas, 2010). This unrest was reflected in an uprising by native and creole peasants, led by a man who named himself after Peru's last ruling Inca – Túpac Amaru II. Although this rebellion was quashed by the Spanish in 1783 (Stavig, 1999), an on-going power struggle continued for the following five decades and finally culminated in Peru's official independence from Spain in 1821.

However, official 'independence' did not mean that the pervasiveness of colonialism had ended (Warren, 2011). The cultural trajectory of independence is very different than the dates seen on paper. Portocarrero (2012) explains that in the colonial context there were two broad groups of people, the Spanish or '*mestizos*', who were partly indigenous but physically resembled more the European phenotype; and the indigenous Quechua, Aymara and Amazonian peoples. In no way were these groups considered to be equals by the colonial administration. However, after independence, the formation of a republic made these groups equal at an administrative and legal level. Nevertheless, there were, and still are, major problems overcoming what Warren (2011) calls the "coloniality of power", or social hierarchies of power formed by racial constructions. These include, for example, the notion of '*mestizos*' with more Spanish heritage as having superiority, both in terms of class and wealth, over both indigenous peoples (O'Toole, 2012) and urbanised people with more indigenous features, known generally as '*cholos*' (Sulmont, 2010). Stereotypes associate indigenous people with rural locations, low education and a peasant lifestyle and there is some element of truth to this. 80% of Peruvians living rurally in the Andean mountains – typically of Quechua or Aymara origin – suffer from deprivation and poor access to quality healthcare and education, compared to around 20% in urban areas such as Lima (MEF, 2019). Escobedo (2013) attributes this to a colonial legacy of social exclusion of indigenous peoples, from which they continue to suffer.

Writing in 1945, Miñano-García expressed great sadness that there was so little progress with regards to indigenous integration even 125 years after independence. This problem has not disappeared since. The new Peruvian Republic was unable to prevail over colonial hegemony, with usage of racialised ideologies, stereotypes and class divisions remaining (Warren, 2011). Equally as problematic as the negative stereotypes of more indigenous peoples, are those of the '*mestizos*' and especially 'white' Peruvians. Escobedo (2013) posits that "Peruvian society is a consumerist society in which economic success and power are highly appreciated" (p. 130) and positive generalisations such as "development, capability and success" in Peru are associated with "whiteness" (p. 127). For example,

publicity in Peru tends not to represent indigenous and '*cholo*' people, meaning that in addition to historical "white" domination over indigenous peoples, the belief in "whiteness" as not only more powerful and successful, but also more beautiful, has become ingrained in contemporary Peruvian culture (Escobedo, 2013). Panizo (2012) argues that when Peruvians attempt to build the kinds of capital that are associated with 'white' people and stereotypes of success, this may represent a way to "whiten up". As I explored in Chapter 3, associations of the English language with 'Western' stereotypes mean that this idea of 'whitening up' is also crucial to consider in relationship to how English is understood in Peru.

5.2.3 Education and Terrorism

Wilson (2007) explains that "for modern states in Latin America the school became the most noticeable institution for demarcated territory that was actively governed" (p. 719). It is no surprise then that the tumultuous political landscape of Peru and associated class and race-based tensions are reflected clearly in the development of the nation's education. In 1945, Miñano-García suggested that teachers should be trained in native languages to promote bilingual education and integration of indigenous people into the social, cultural and economic life of the country. Nevertheless, public school textbooks from the 1960s emphasised the 'unity' of Peruvian people through the language of Spanish (vom Hau, 2009). This reinforced the notion that indigenous peoples were contributing to a lack of national cultural and linguistic cohesion by not ascribing to the norms of the '*mestizos*'. Nevertheless, in the 1970s, the 'Agrarian Reform' proposed by left-wing President Velasco, promoted bilingual education and better integration of indigenous communities in the educational sector (Klaiber, 1986). However, the private school sector, which offered education to the wealthy and elite, was also affected by these changes due to the proposed pooling of certain resources in local areas and meant reforms faced significant opposition from this sector of society. This may have contributed to the undoing of educational reform and shifting to more neoliberal policies in the late 1970s (Wilson, 2007). By the end of the 1970s, many public school teachers, who felt undermined by the reversal of the Agrarian Reform, unionised and went on strike (vom Hau, 2009). This dissatisfaction and inclination towards what they believed was a more inclusive 'left', contributed to the rise of the radical communist, terrorist organisation known as '*El Sendero Luminoso*' or 'The Shining Path' (Romero & Salazar, 2013).

'The Shining Path', which was not only 'anti'-government but also 'anti'-U.S., was originally made up mainly of dissatisfied professors, university students and rural teachers. They recruited supporters from rural areas, who typically had a lack of access to educational or financial resources (Degregori et al., 2012). Led by Abimael Guzmán, the organisation expanded its focus in the 1980s from not only strikes and protests, but

also terrorist attacks and active warfare against the state. It was under the leadership of Alberto Fujimori, who was initially elected as President in 1990, that the rebellion was suppressed through military action and "punishing terrorists with terrorism" (Luna, 2013), which resulted in Fujimori's eventual imprisonment. The combined destruction by the state and the rebels resulted in at least 69,000 civilian fatalities and disappearances, mostly from the indigenous peasantry (Barrientos-Hernandez & Church, 2003), of whom 75% spoke Quechua as their native language (Degregori et al., 2012). In other words, these tragic casualties during the 1980s and 1990s were experienced most significantly by those whom Degregori et al. (2012) call "*insignificantes*" – those indigenous people who remain today in a position of inferiority and invisibility, based on the same criteria as under Spanish rule. In an attempt to promote reconciliation and post-mortem social inclusion and recognition of these previously invisible victims, the Ministry of Culture constructed the LUM[5] Museum in Lima in 2015, greeting its visitors with the mural in Figure 5.4, which shows an Andean woman still waiting for the return of a son who disappeared three decades earlier.

Figure 5.4: Image of a mural at the LUM Museum in Lima, dedicated to the memory of those who went missing during the time of conflict

5.2.4 "A Winter of Discontent"

Prior to the 1970s, education was seen to be not only a way to impart knowledge, but also to relay 'culture' and values to supposedly 'backward', indigenous communities, who were viewed as "people without culture" or civilisation (Wilson, 2007, p. 73). Traditionally, the dominant image of a teacher in Peru has been "that of the catechising, white-mestizo teacher who imparts Spanish language, discipline and cultural improvement" (Wilson,

[5] LUM stands for "Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia, y la Inclusión Social", or "Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion" (LUM, 2019).

2007, p. 732). The striking connection between this notion and colonial ideologies has led Wilson (2007) to argue that "education [in Peru] was conceived as a crusade" (p. 724), involving the imposition of "an alien universe" (p. 721). As such, the Agrarian Reform in the 1970s, with its emphasis on indigenous integration, threatened the traditional, post-colonial prestige of teaching by providing "subordinate race-class groups with a path for social ascendance" (vom Hau, 2009, p. 146). While the rural and indigenous people saw this as a success and were incensed by the reform being revoked, the Lima-based, usually '*mestizo*' politicians and upper classes saw this as a threat to established social hierarchies beyond the realm of education (vom Hau, 2009). There is thus a large disparity between the upper and lower classes, between teachers of different ethnic groups, as well as between private and public schools.

Education continues to be a key area where the interests of local elites in preserving patrimonial hierarchies and racial and socioeconomic privilege clash with republican notions of developing Peru as a nation (Espinoza, 2013). Not only do private school students have access to more educational resources and teachers, they also have more hours of education, with public schools often dividing their students into two half-day sessions, so their students have only part-time education, because of lack of facilities. Returning to Thurner's (2011) analogy of Peru being viewed by the Spanish as a microcosm for the entire universe, the literature discussed in this chapter suggests that there are indeed different stratified worlds within Peru to this day, which struggle to co-exist. The 20th century's legacy of what Atwood (2001) calls "democratic dictators" has resulted in the transformation of the culture of fear during the time of terrorism and violence (Burt, 2006) into a culture of distrust and political corruption (Vergara & Watanabe, 2016). In fact, every former Peruvian president since the 1980s who is still alive has either been accused, put on trial, or imprisoned, on the grounds of abuse of power or corruption (Congreso de la República, 2019). Although the famous song "*Contigo Perú*" emphasises the importance of unity to the country's success, therefore, one of Peru's greatest challenges continues to be a colonial legacy of unequal power relations within a stratified society. 21st century Peru has seen incredible economic growth, decreasing poverty rates and domestic peace (Taft-Morales, 2009), but a cultural legacy of distrust remains, especially for historically marginalised peoples. For this reason, Vergara and Watanabe (2016) summarise Peru's current state with the following analogy: "[what] should be a golden summer of Peruvian democracy is instead a winter of discontent" (p. 149).

5.3 ENGLISH IN PERU

The contextual information explored above, sourced both from literature and from my experiences and observations as a resident of Peru for more than two years, is crucial in applying a post-colonial lens to the analysis of my research findings. Drawing both on literature and research findings from the interviews I conducted, this chapter will now explore how the Peruvian context and education sector interacts with the English language, further establishing the background to critically consider volunteer English teaching in Peru.

5.3.1 English Opens Doors

In Chapter 3, I explored how English tends to be associated with prestige, especially in countries where English is not spoken as a first language. In the Peruvian context, a country of the "Expanding Circle" of English speakers (Ahn, 2017), this is no exception. Scholarly literature, Peruvian government policy and media-based sources indicate that English in Peru is associated with greater employment, educational and social opportunities; as the advertisement in Figure 5.5 suggests, it is a way to "change your future" for the better. In this advertisement, English is also associated with a combination of stereotypes, including references to "Wall Street" and thus American capitalism, alongside the Queen's Guard from the U.K.

Figure 5.5: "Change your future: learn English" – an example of an English advertising banner seen from the highways of Lima

English is thus not only a symbol of status, but it also represents a capitalist promise that anyone can build a better life for themselves with the right toolkit – in this case, using English language. Headlines in the media such as "Businesses in Peru are looking for professionals who have mastered the English language" [6] (El Comercio, 2016a), or "English, an indispensable requisite for a promotion" [7] (El Comercio, 2015) are

[6] *"Empresas en Perú buscan a profesionales que dominen el inglés"*
[7] *"Inglés, un requisito indispensable para ascender laboralmente"*

complemented by announcements from the Ministry of Education such as "Government undertakes a new English policy so that more Peruvians have access to better opportunities"[8] (Minedu, 2015a). Peru's level of English ability in relation to Latin America, let alone Europe, is considered not only "low" (Education First, 2018), but also decreasing in its ranking compared to other developing countries (El Comercio, 2016b). The Peruvian government sought to combat this in 2014 with new schemes, including bringing 500 teachers from England to teach in public schools and a curricular adjustment in 2017 to increase hours of English education in public schools. In preparation for this, the Ministry of Education published a National Plan for English education in 2015 with the stated objectives that:

> *…the beneficiaries develop communicative skills in the English language, to expand their access to educational, scientific, technological, entertainment and employment opportunities, as well as to contribute to the formation of a more productive human capital and insertion in international markets, with a view to strengthening the country's competitiveness at the international level.*[9]
>
> Minedu, 2015b

This policy is entitled "*Inglés, Puertas Al Mundo*" ["English, Doors to the World"], which, as mentioned in Chapter 3, Sayer (2017) found was a common phrase used in Mexican discourse about English. Niño-Murcia (2003) also noticed this phrase was used by both upper and lower class Peruvian research participants in her research on the role of English in Peru, published twelve years before this 2015 state policy. In both the media and recent government policy, English is presented as a way to access greater opportunities on the individual level and even at the level of the state. Furthermore, the phrase "English opens doors to the world for you"[10] was used by many of the Peruvian participants I interviewed about English-language volunteer-tourism in this study, including agency, school staff and students from both public and private schools.

These 'doors' seem to mean anything from providing more opportunities for education and employment within Peru, to an opportunity to leave Peru altogether. Ultimately, it implies that English should be viewed not only as a tool for opening doors, but as a kind of bridge between 'worlds'. There is a colloquial and derogatory expression in Peruvian Spanish for someone who seeks romantic relationships with foreigners or '*gringos*' – they

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[8] *"Gobierno emprende nueva política de inglés para que más peruanos accedan a mejores oportunidades"*
[9] *"…tiene como objetivo general que los beneficiarios desarrollen las competencias comunicativas del idioma inglés, para ampliar su acceso a oportunidades educativas, científicas, tecnológicas, de entretenimiento y laborales, así como para contribuir a la formación de un capital humano más productivo, y a la inserción en mercados internacionales, con miras a fortalecer la competitividad del país a nivel internacional."*
[10] "*El inglés te abre las puertas al mundo.*" (e.g. Luciano, Former Public School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018)

are called '*bridgeros*', to suggest that they want to use the foreigner as bridge to access the world beyond Peru. I also noticed this message of crossing a figurative bridge in advertising for English institutes plastered around the city, which promised that English will allow you to "take your talent to the world"[11], or "go out into the world"[12], perhaps through the 'doors' that English has opened. All research participants in my study indicated that English language ability was a useful form of capital, especially in giving one an individual advantage over others (Paola, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018). Former student Luciano, for example, explained that English was important to him because "English is useful for everything…it is a language that we have to master because now everything is with English"[13] (Luciano, Former Public School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018), while others were more critical on whether it was the linguistic skills or simply the capital associated with the language that was of value. As Micaela explained:

> *…sometimes you wouldn't use English, but I think that, for example, if you come for an interview for a job and there is a person that doesn't know English and another person who does know English, it's obvious that the person who is going to get the job is the person who speaks English – even when you know that you are not going to use English in that job. That's because here in Peru, if you know English, you are intelligent, and you get respect.*
>
> Micaela, Former Public School Student, Interview, 3rd August 2018

As such, English is a form of capital which individuals seek in order to increase their opportunities. As I discussed above, Escobedo (2013) explains how positive stereotypes around power, respect and beauty are associated with being 'white' in Peru, and a direct link between these kinds of attributes and the English language is made here by Micaela. Therefore, the kinds of capital attained through the English language may represent a form of "whitening up" (Panizo, 2012), which contains clear connotations of internalised inferiority and post-colonial structures of European dominance and superiority. This was also observed by Niño-Murcia (2003) in considering the role of English language in Peru, who explained that her research participants, of diverse backgrounds, saw English as invaluable for improving their lives, even though "in no single instance was English considered an essential function of interpersonal relations" (p. 138).

Private school staff member, Angela, expanded on this line of thinking, explaining that "it could be any other language, but I think English is more commercialised" (Angela,

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[11] "*lleva tu talento al mundo*"
[12] "*salir al mundo*"
[13] "*nos sirve para todo el inglés…es un idioma que debemos dominar porque ahora todo es con inglés*"

Private School Staff Member, Interview, 16th August 2018). It this case, there is a direct link between the English language and economic capital. This connects to the idea of the "commodification" of language "as a resource with exchange value" for different kinds of capital – especially economic and social (Heller, 2010, p. 101). In the case of Peru, Niño-Murcia (2003) also explores how perceptions of English language are closely tied to relationships with the U.S. Economically, for example, the Peruvian currency, '*Nuevo Soles*', are used for small, short-term transactions, while U.S. Dollars are used for larger, long-term ones. This connects U.S. currency with greater wealth and power on a daily basis. As English is the linguistic currency associated with dollars, Niño-Murcia (2003) concludes that "English is like the dollar", in that it is seen as necessary to develop professionally and participate in the global market. In this context, English is viewed as a form of hard currency that can be exchanged for economic empowerment, social and cultural capital, which, as Escobedo (2013) notes, are highly valued forms of capital in Peru.

Furthermore, English is perceived as useful not just for practical opportunities, but also opportunities for growth and development. One agency representative commented that learning to speak English is "very spiritual" (Gloria, Agency Representative, Interview, 25th July 2018), while one volunteer mentioned that it offers "[Peruvians] a different way of thinking as well; instead of just giving them the fish, you can teach them how to fish as well" (Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018). Such attitudes towards English were further evidenced by the structure of the volunteer teaching programme itself. While a range of subjects was covered in English in the private school, "empowering" topics such as "personal identity" or "depression and anxiety" were selected for the English lessons at the more disadvantaged, public school. Agency representative Diana explained that this was because not all public school students understood the value of English (Diana, Agency Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018), revealing a subconscious, post-colonial attitude that underprivileged people do not know what is best for them. Volunteer Ashleigh explained that English is a way of making both individual Peruvians and the country as a whole "appear more developed" (Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018). English language is associated with development, empowerment, and growth, and yet much of this is based not on linguistic ability per se, but on perceptions. English fluency is a useful form of capital because of how it makes one appear. By appearing more 'developed', 'Western' or perhaps even 'white', as some discussion has suggested, there is an expectation that more opportunities will be available. As such, the ways research participants speak about English are imbued with connotations of post-colonial ideologies of the English-speaking 'West' as being more advanced. The English

language provides one means of accessing the perceived benefits associated with an economically and culturally superior 'West'.

5.3.2 English and Inequality

Research participants also emphasised that while "English opens doors", it does not open them for all people equally. In fact, private school alumni were reflective on their own, more privileged position in society, noting that the opportunities afforded to them through private schooling and access to, for example, an exchange to the U.S. or online entertainment in English, had allowed them to master the language more easily than someone from a poorer background. Alejandro explained that with regards to perceptions within Peru, "in the end, it doesn't matter how good the school is, because if you don't speak English, your school must be bad" (Alejandro, Former Private School Student, Interview, 30th October 2018). These students understood, therefore, that they were not "a step ahead of the rest" (Paola, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018) simply due to their English language abilities, but that these skills were complemented by other advantages they had access to; a theme that was also reflected in the literature I discussed in Chapter 3 (e.g. Song, 2017).

Nevertheless, in addition to one's socioeconomic background affecting access to English education, former student, Julio, explained that the way you are perceived as an English speaker "depends a lot on your social status"[14] and was critical of lower class people who try to use English as a way to "demonstrate superiority"[15] (Julio, Former Private School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). Niño-Murcia (2003) explains that this phenomenon is common in Peru, because linguistic ability is related to an individual's pre-existing social class based on complex, post-colonial structures. For example, lower-class Peruvians who attempt to imitate foreigners and the upper social classes by using English words incorrectly (known as "*huachafería*"), while having no communicative purpose for using the language, may face discrimination for not staying where they "belong" (Niño-Murcia, 2003). They are frowned upon by the upper classes whose resources mean they may not need such 'doors' for greater opportunities, thus reinforcing class-based inequalities.

5.3.3 A Hierarchy of Languages

Participants in my study expanded on the association of language with other forms of inequality, when I asked them about the value of Peruvians learning English in relation to indigenous languages such as Quechua. They immediately associated indigenous

[14] "*depende mucho del estado social donde te encuentras*"
[15] "*demonstrar superioridad*"

languages and people with poverty, explaining that poorer people in Peru, first need to learn Spanish so they can be heard by the state. Former student, Julio, explained that "I think that if people with very, very few resources were to learn English instead of Spanish, it wouldn't help them at all"[16] (Julio, Former Private School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). Likewise, Kate noted that "if you have English in that one poorer area, it's actually not useful at all…for jobs that are just restricted to that area". She went on to suggest that public school students "need" the volunteer programme more, as their English level is so low, but on the other hand, their background may not allow them to appreciate the perceived value of it as the private school students do, owing to a lack of "development" of other basic resources (Kate, Volunteer, Interview, 18th August 2018). Furthermore, the suggestion by these more privileged participants that English would not provide any benefit at all to more impoverished people who do not understand its value, was mirrored by public school alumni Luciano and Micaela, who presented themselves more as the exceptions to their peers. These findings were not unexpected, given the literature I have discussed on the of English social class in Peru and Latin America (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, such comments serve to establish a hierarchy between different groups of people and an assumed correlation between less sociocultural and economic capital, and lower English abilities. Participants believed that structural inequalities first needed to be addressed before English could be of equal value to all members of society, but felt powerless in the face of these.

Participants' observations on the unequal relationship between speakers of English, Spanish and Quechua or other indigenous languages, are also reflected at policy level. Recent Peruvian policy explains that there are three main languages that should be considered in the education sector (Minedu, 2016a), especially in promoting the integration of indigenous peoples through bilingual education both in Spanish and their native language (as suggested by Miñano-García in 1945). The relationship between these languages is explained in the 2016 Peruvian National Curriculum, which states that the primary communicative objective is that:

> *The student communicates in an assertive and responsible way in their mother tongue, in Spanish as a second language and in English as a foreign language, in order to interact with other people in diverse contexts and with distinct purposes.*[17]
>
> Minedu, 2016b, p. 15

[16] "*Creo que si las personas con muy, muy pocos recursos aprenderían inglés en vez de español, no les serviría de nada.*"
[17] *"El estudiante se comunica en su lengua materna, en castellano como segunda lengua y en inglés como lengua extranjera de manera asertiva y responsable para interactuar con otras personas en diversos contextos y con distintos propósitos."*

As such, there are three categories of language – the native language (for example, Quechua or Aymara), the second language (Spanish) and the foreign language (English). To explore how these languages feature in terms of hours of education in different types of Peruvian schools, I have compiled Table 5.1. I have drawn on data from the Ministry of Education (Minedu, 2016b; Cronquist & Fiszbein, 2017) and from the weekly timetables of two different private schools in Lima – one of which is bilingual in Spanish and English and one of the most expensive in the country, and the other being the mid-range, non-bilingual, private school where research was carried out for this study.

Table 5.1: Hours per Language of Instruction in Public and Private Schools in Peru

Hours Per Language of Instruction in Primary School (1st Grade Primary)

	Bilingual Public School	*Regular Public School*	*Non-Bilingual Private School*	*Private Bilingual School*
Spanish	25	28	33	0
Indigenous Language	5	0	0	0
English	**0**	**2**	7	**40**
TOTAL	**30**	**30**	**40**	**40**
% English	**0%**	**7%**	**18%**	**100%**

Hours Per Language of Instruction in Middle School (6th Grade Primary)

	Public Bilingual School	*Regular Public School*	*Non-Bilingual Private School*	*Private Bilingual School*
Spanish	**31**	32	33	20
Indigenous Language	4	0	0	0
English	**0**	**3**	7	**20**
TOTAL	**35**	**35**	**40**	**40**
% English	**0%**	**9%**	**18%**	**50%**

Hours Per Language of Instruction in Secondary School (5th Grade Secondary)

	Public Bilingual School (Full Time)	*Regular Public School (Full Time[18])*	*Non-Bilingual Private School*	*Private Bilingual School*
Spanish	40	40	39	20
Indigenous Language	2	0	0	0
English[19]	**3[20]**	**5**	6	**20**
TOTAL	**45**	**45**	**45**	**40**
% English	**7%**	**11%**	**13%**	**50%**

[18] Around 28% of public secondary schools follow this full time schedule – the remaining 72% (around 5000 schools) follow the same time distribution as middle school with only 3 hours of English, or 0 for bilingual schools. Approximately 25% of public secondary schools do not offer English at all, despite the curriculum (Cronquist & Fiszbein, 2017).

[19] In addition to hours, level of English instruction should be considered. Students in public bilingual schools are only expected to graduate with "Nivel 5" (A2: Basic), while those in regular public schools should have "Nivel 7" (B1: Intermediate) (Minedu, 2016b). In private schools, however, the level at graduation tends to be minimum B2: Upper Intermediate or C1: Advanced.

[20] The Peruvian Curriculum notes tension between needing 2 hours minimum in native language and 3 hours in English - schools need to choose how to distribute this and may result in less hours of English.

This table highlights several key details. Firstly, the disparities between the privately-funded schools and state-funded public schools are reflected in the hours of English education. On average from primary to secondary level, at least 50% of teaching hours at the most elite school are in English, around 16% at the mid-range private school, 9% at regular full-time public schools and less than 3% at indigenous bilingual schools. However, as 72% of public schools are unable to maintain these full-time hours, including the public school in this study, these percentages are lower in practice. Indigenous Peruvians attending bilingual schools have virtually no chance to learn English, despite the emphasis that is placed by scholars (e.g. Niño-Murcia, 2003), Peruvian policy (e.g. Minedu, 2015b) and participant responses in my study, on English's vital importance for accessing greater opportunities.

Furthermore, Peruvians who speak Spanish as a first language, do not have to learn an indigenous language. When I asked my research participants about this, most indicated that Quechua is important for recognition of culture and the practice of patrimony, but ultimately has less practical use and value than learning the English language. Although only 13% of Peru's population speak only Quechua (INEI, 2017), Quechua is seen as important for Peruvians to connect to "their roots"[21] and "feel good" (Julio, Former Private School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). Former student Micaela explained that Quechua is "important to know our culture and connect with indigenous people in the highlands" while English is useful "because it's a language that gives you many opportunities not only in Peru, but also in all the world" (Micaela, Former Public School Student, Interview, 3rd August 2018). The theme that came through, therefore, was that Quechua is a tool for harmony and integration of indigenous peoples into post-colonial Peruvian society, a tool to unite contemporary Peru and Peruvians, while English is a tool for opening doors to personal empowerment and opportunities – for "going out into the world"[22] (Luciano, Former Public School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). In other words, English is only useful once one has mastered Spanish and achieved integration into post-colonial Peru; something which, as explained earlier in this chapter, is a significant challenge for many indigenous peoples.

Finally, I observed in my research findings that of the participants I interviewed, it was only the native speakers – the volunteers – who voiced some concerns about English's global spread. Gemma, for example, expressed her distress at the language's dominance:

[21] "*sus raíces*"
[22] "*salir al mundo*"

> *I hate the fact that everyone learns English and everyone thinks English is all you need. It's not true, but it helps [because] employers value English because they can expand in business and travelling…it pains me to say it, but I think there are more opportunities when you can speak English…but in Peru, they seem to consider English to be the only language you need to get anywhere in life…it really frustrates me because it's really closed-minded. But you can't change the fact that they're going to learn English; that's embedded now…so we have to accept that…although I might not agree with it, it is something that really matters to them.*
>
> Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018

While other participants saw learning English as a means of becoming more 'open-minded' (e.g. Sarah, Angela), Gemma's critique of the closed-mindedness of those she sees as blindly pursuing the associated benefits of the English language, ironically shows little reflexivity on her own positionality. Furthermore, her attitude reflects an internalised assumption that poorer people, or at least those of a developing country, may not know what is best for them. It is also important to note the tone of surrender that not only Gemma, but in fact all participants, used in relation to the dominance and perceived value of English as a global language. Whether or not participants agreed with English's perceived role in the world, they felt powerless to change it, because it is so 'embedded'. This is a theme that I will explore in more depth in Chapter 8.

Overall, this discussion highlights how the role of English at the most general level reflects ingrained, post-colonial inequalities present in Peru. Since the arrival of Europeans, Peru has been a country where language differences have been one means of reinforcing social stratification, particularly with regards to the way speakers of indigenous languages are viewed. Despite reference to three official categories of language in schools, there are the two kinds of 'bilingual' referred to in terms of Peruvian education – the bilingual of private schools, where, according to Niño-Murcia's (2003) study, fluency in both Spanish and English is considered an "elite attribute", and the bilingual of indigenous public schools, where fluency in both Spanish and in indigenous language is considered an attribute of "racialized low status" (Niño-Murcia, 2003, p. 125). As such, while it might be assumed that English and Spanish have an equal status in theory, in Peru these languages have a vertical relationship, in that "Quechua is to Spanish as Spanish is to English" (Niño-Murcia, 2003, p. 126). Therefore, while the government hopes that the incorporation of indigenous languages into schooling will promote social inclusion of indigenous peoples (Minedu, 2016b), this policy has the effect of further ingraining difference and, according to the Ministry of Education's own understanding of English as a means of accessing greater opportunities (Minedu, 2015b), may act as a form of marginalisation. English language and the benefits supposedly

associated with it are more available to those a) with more financial means and b) who do not speak an indigenous language as their mother tongue. Although English was present in small pockets of Lima's high society as early as the 17th century (Ferreiro, 2008), nowadays the English language is slowly being incorporated into Peru in a way that interacts with existing post-colonial structures. Participant responses in my research support Niño-Murcia's (2003) conclusion that the incorporation of the English language mimics colonialism's patterns of social discrimination to some degree.

5.4 Conclusion

Peru's history as a country of conquerors began long before the arrival of the Spanish, and themes of colonisation through conflict, religion, language and associated racial and socioeconomic power relations pervade its history. A colonial legacy of poor integration of indigenous peoples and on-going discrimination of more disadvantaged communities based on race and language remains today (O'Toole, 2012). This prejudice applies not only to those who speak indigenous languages, but lower class Peruvians who attempt to learn English, a language associated with greater class and opportunities (e.g. Niño-Murcia, 2003). As such, the spread of English imitates colonial processes, sliding into pre-existing power structures and reinforcing difference between the upper and lower classes. This is manifest in the difference in education between public and private schools, in terms of quality of education, hours in school and the level of English with which they have the opportunity to graduate. Despite variations in the perspectives of my research participants towards the English language, the message remains clear. The idea that "English opens doors to the world" appears to have made its way into the minds and world views of a great number of people in Peruvian society and the perceived value of English more generally has permeated well beyond that. English, therefore, opens the most "doors" for the more advantaged members of society, who tend to look down on those who try to capitalise on the perceived value of English.

In the subsequent two chapters, I go into more detail on my findings regarding English-language volunteer-tourism, using this contextual background about Peru and the perceived value of the English as a foundation on which to continue my analysis. The following chapter, Chapter 6, analyses findings regarding the perceived value of volunteer English teachers and the programme itself in answer to my first research question. Chapter 7 draws a connection between the themes of inequality and post-colonial power structures revealed by participants, and those explored in this chapter on the Peruvian context, focusing on the second research question.

6 THE PERCEIVED VALUE OF VOLUNTEER ENGLISH TEACHING

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Through a post-colonial analysis, several layers of meaning in the understanding of the perceived value of English teaching were revealed. In some instances, participants spoke to the perceived value of volunteers as individuals and at other times they referred to the perceived value of the volunteer English teaching programme more generally. Participants also expressed their views on the perceived value of the English language both in relation to the local context and on a wider scale. For this reason, this chapter, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 will address the research questions from the 'inside out', beginning at the micro-level of the volunteer teachers themselves, before exploring themes of difference and inequality and subsequently reflecting on the wider context and meanings imbued in the findings.

This chapter is guided by the first research question: *What motivates different actors' involvement in volunteer English teaching programmes and how do they perceive the value of volunteer English teaching and the English language itself?* As I discussed the perceived value of English in relation to the Peruvian context in Chapter 5, this chapter focuses on the inner sphere of the data collected in this research study and is comprised of two sections. Firstly, I provide additional background information to contextualise the programme and findings around the recruitment of volunteers and the value of volunteer English teachers as seen by the different research participants. Secondly, I explore the impacts of volunteers' multiple positionalities in this context that came through in participant responses, as well as how their motivations related to the literature discussed in Chapter 2. By discussing how the research findings reveal how participants' subjectivities are embedded in post-colonial ways of thinking, this chapter paves the way for deeper post-colonial analysis of the unequal power structures that are ingrained and replicated through the programme in Chapter 7.

6.2 DEFINING THE VOLUNTEER ENGLISH TEACHER

Further background information on the daily life of volunteers involved in the volunteer teaching programme was gathered through the interviews. Volunteers work from 8am until 1pm, Monday to Thursday, in the private school they have been assigned, and stay with a host family from that school. They are permitted to travel to complete tourist activities on two weekends per month and are expected to spend time with their host families each day, focusing on helping their host sibling(s) improve their English.

Furthermore, volunteers are expected to participate in at least one of the two "charity projects" offered at a public school after school on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. During the time of this research, however, one of the charity projects was cancelled due to a violent attack on a young local woman at the community centre where the classes were supposed to be held. Although no volunteers were harmed, volunteer safety was given a priority over continuing the classes, highlighting an immediate point of difference between the volunteers and the host community in this disadvantaged setting. While the local people and the victim of this attack had to continue living in this environment, volunteers, in their position as more advantaged foreigners, did not have to expose themselves to this potential danger. The foreigners' ability to be protected reflects post-colonial attitudes of privilege and unequal opportunity. Although this second project did recommence in a different location after several months, this meant volunteers were less involved with the public school environment at the time of the research.

6.2.1 Volunteer Recruitment

Recruitment of volunteers for the programme is targeted towards students studying Spanish at U.K. universities. In addition to advertising the programme through the career services at several well-known universities, agency representative Diana visits the U.K. every two years to complete presentations and participate in university networking and career events in order to recruit new volunteers. After applying with a written essay about their intentions and goals related to the programme, short-listed applicants complete a video interview with the agency as a way of screening potential volunteers to ensure they will be committed to their duties while in Peru. Of the roughly 200 applicants per year, only 60 are accepted, and they pay a fee of around NZ$400 per month for the experience. Most volunteers are drawn from British universities offering a modern languages B.A. programme, which requires students to spend one year abroad in their third year of study, in order to practise the language(s) they are studying in a native speaker environment. As most students study two languages in this degree – Spanish and one other language – they usually spend half of their time in a country that speaks their other chosen language, and the other half of the time in a Spanish-speaking country – in this case, Peru. Volunteers are usually recruited from this course and for this reason, most come for 4-month placements, which are offered by the agency as two, 2-month placements in Lima and one other city in Peru. In the literature, university presence in such "gap-year" programmes tends to help these agencies' perception as more "legitimate" (Palacios, 2010), given the institutionalisation of the gap year industry (Simpson, 2005). This is consistent with the way volunteers spoke about their decision to apply to volunteer in this context.

In addition, it is important to note that volunteers sign a contract upon arrival which asks them to comply with the stated working hours, uphold certain standards of dress, social media activity and other behaviour and to not hold the agency liable for any mishaps that might occur. This corresponds with recommendations in the literature where, for example, Banki and Schonell (2017) argue for the importance of a "soft", non-legally binding contract between hosts and volunteers in order to avoid miscommunication and lack of compliance on the part of anyone involved. For the most part, participants perceived volunteers and hosts as complying with the basic requirements of this contract. However, there is one point in the contract not mentioned on the agency's website. The website indicates that volunteers will work in Peruvian schools in general. By signing the contract, however, volunteers must agree that they "understand that [the agency] is focused on the teaching and promotion of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and as a Second Language (ESL) in all its partner schools in the private education sector of the country [Peru]" (Draft Contract, Volunteer Agency, November 2018). When asked to clarify this focus on the private education sector, agency representative Diana explained that this is due to the relationship the agency must maintain with British universities in order to recruit volunteers:

> *Because we work with universities in the U.K., we need to allocate [volunteers] to safe places, with host families who have certain sanitary conditions and can afford having these sanitary conditions. That is the main reason why we choose to work mainly with private schools, because in the public sector we cannot really screen families. When we screen families, we get the psychology department of the schools involved, and we get the heads of English involved as well, before we say yes to a host family. But in the public sector there are so many families and there is a lack of psychologists, so we can't to do a good screening to make sure they are going to be in a safe environment. If we cannot guarantee they are going to be in a safe environment, believe me; U.K. universities won't send us anybody, because they need to make sure that their students are going to be safe and sound whilst they're here.*
>
> Diana, Agency Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018

This quote provides an explanation for the strong bias towards elite, private schools and students, using the keyword of "safe" to indicate an assumption that poverty is equated with danger. Although Peruvian public schools have fewer resources and thus might be in greater need of assistance, agency representatives and volunteers were convinced British universities would not approve of a programme for their language students which offers homestays in these more impoverished communities. There is an implication that the lives of volunteers, because they have a choice to enter a poor neighbourhood, may have more perceived value. In Chapter 5, I discussed the pervasiveness of post-colonial

structures of racial and socioeconomic discrimination in Peru (e.g. O'Toole, 2012; Escobedo, 2013; Portocarrero, 2012). In light of this, it is crucial to question whether using "safety" as a reason for volunteers having less involvement in deprived areas serves to justify internalised, pre-existing attitudes towards disadvantaged communities that both British and elite Peruvian participants may not be aware they have. Volunteers and agency representatives explain that the agency is operating as best it can within the constraints of insurmountable and institutionalised inequalities, injustices and administrative obstacles placed by foreign universities. These assumptions are used to justify why the wealthy receive the most benefit from the English programme, giving them further advantages over their poorer compatriots who attend the public school and have limited access to English and educational resources more generally. This means that volunteer services are disproportionately offered in a privileged environment where students have greater access to English education, thus inadvertently underscoring post-colonial inequalities and differences.

6.2.2 Criteria for Effective Volunteers

In order to better understand the perceived value of the volunteer English teachers, participants were asked about the criteria that an agency should look for when recruiting its volunteers, beyond basic legal requirements such as an International Child Protection Certificate (or equivalent) and a health certificate from a doctor. There is an implication too, of course, that volunteers must be foreign, native English speakers and the perceptions participants had of volunteers as foreigners is explored further in Chapter 7. These factors aside, most participants gave very similar responses when asked about the criteria the agency should have for selecting volunteers, centring not around any kind of qualification or experience, but one pivotal characteristic: attitude. For the participants in this study, whether someone is a good volunteer or not largely depends on their personality traits. In the words of one agency representative, "for the volunteering placement, attitude is enough, because we train them when they are here, and we articulate that they are to work as language assistants, not as full teachers" (Diana, Agency Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018). As volunteers are not expected to take on the role of a "proper teacher" (Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018), qualifications are less important than having a positive attitude because this increases volunteers' willingness to contribute. Volunteers Sarah and Kate reiterated this sentiment, with Kate explaining:

> *Because you're just an assistant you don't need to have qualifications or experience in classroom control and things like that because that's the teacher's job, not yours, and you don't need to know about curriculums or what to teach or anything because again, that's the teacher's responsibility,*

> *not yours. I think previous experience with children is useful, but not necessary, because that could even just be your youngest sibling or something like that – it doesn't have to be official experience. It's just important to be able to work well with other people…and take initiative – don't just sit there until the teacher tells you to do something, go help someone with their hand up. Things like that could be useful. Your enthusiasm and willingness to help out and do whatever's needed – offering to do things...it's definitely your attitude that's more important than any experience or qualifications.*
>
> Kate, Volunteer, Interview, 18th August 2018

This quote is a more literal example of the tendency to absolve more privileged actors of responsibility that was evident in discussion of the programme structure and recruitment; volunteers are not expected to take on any responsibility in the classroom setting. Although a Peruvian teacher is required to train and become qualified in order to teach English, volunteers are assumed to be useful because they are native English speakers and are there at the school at the time. This is further highlighted by agency representative, Diana:

> *There is a very tight line…because we don't want them to feel overwhelmed by us asking them to do lots of things...we don't bring people from the other side of the world to do discipline or deal with bad behaviour.*
>
> Diana, Agency Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018

This quote, and the tone in which it was spoken, point to a hierarchical relationship between volunteers and Peruvian teachers, whereby crucial classroom activities such as discipline are not only beyond what volunteers should be responsible for, but also, perhaps beneath them. The theme of superiority in speaking about the volunteers was seen in many participant responses and I will expand analysis of these attitudes, as representations of unequal, post-colonial structures, in Chapter 7.

Regarding criteria for effective volunteer teachers, former students also highlighted the importance of volunteers being outgoing and social as crucial in defining the value they saw in each volunteer as an individual. They explained that volunteers need to be approachable and willing to build relationships with the students, with one former student explaining that volunteers need to be people who "search for things in common so they can relate to the students"[23] (Julio, Former Private School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). For Luciano, this is crucial for the effectiveness of the programme, because "I've noticed that when the volunteers mingle with or converse with the students, the

[23] "*…buscan cosas en común que te relacionaban muchas veces con los alumnos.*"

students learn more. It's easier for them and they don't get so nervous in class[24] (Luciano, Former Public School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). Therefore, the key criteria sought in the recruitment of volunteers, according to all participants, were qualities that are not always evident by looking at a CV. This is consistent with other studies in English volunteer-tourism discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, in that native speakers are assumed to have value by being enthusiastic, flexible (Kathru, 1997) and simply "themselves" (Shipton, 2010). This means volunteers have little need to reflect on their role and positionality as the power structures in this environment ascribe value to them just for "lending a hand" (Jakubiak, 2012).

6.2.3 Screening of Volunteers

With no emphasis on qualifications, and selection criteria based on volunteers' personalities and attitudes, new challenges arise in creating an appropriate screening process for applicants. For this reason, Diana stressed the importance of the video interview as part of their "very structured screening process" (Diana, Agency Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018), as well as the personal essay potential volunteers must write about their motivations for wishing to participate in the programme. Volunteers Gemma and Kate reflected on how difficult it must be to avoid recruiting volunteers motivated by purely hedonistic pursuits but thought the agency did it quite successfully. Former students tended to agree, all of them referring to specific volunteers as "friends" and Luciano explaining that "the teachers who come are usually not bad people, so there is also a certain kind of filter so that these ones come[25]" (Luciano, Former Public School Student, 13th August 2018). Nevertheless, this quote does suggest that some volunteer teachers may have been 'bad people', and thus do not always have value "just being themselves" (Shipton, 2010, p. 521). Although volunteers are valued at a general level for their positive attitude and native English skills, host participants were still willing to have a critical lens towards some of their encounters with volunteers.

For example, the private school staff were particularly affected by a negative experience in 2014 which meant volunteers were not assigned to high school for some years. One volunteer teacher had failed to adjust her privacy settings on Facebook before accepting the role, resulting in high school students finding several inappropriate pictures of her online. Staff from the school were reluctant to assign the individual complete blame, however. While Angela, a private school staff member, thought that the agency should

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[24] "*Yo me he dado cuenta de que cuando los voluntarios se entrometen o hacen eso de conversar con los alumnos, los alumnos aprenden más. Se les hace más fácil y no se complican tanto y no se ponen tan nerviosos al momento de estar en las clases.*"

[25] "*Los profesores que vienen no suelen ser malas personas, entonces, también hay un cierto tipo de filtro para que ellos vengan.*"

be held responsible for ensuring a proper screening process (Angela, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 16th August 2018), Paola, on the other hand, pointed out that the volunteer in question was being asked by the school to take on responsibilities beyond the agency's regulations. She was supposed to be a teaching assistant, but she had been asked to substitute for a teacher for several weeks, with sole responsibility for classes, which was in violation of the agency's regulations and exposed her to more attention from the teenage students, meaning the pictures were more likely to be discovered (Paola, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018).

As such, while volunteers are held to high standards, as they are working in a school environment with children and teenagers, a willingness to absolve their responsibility in challenging situations remains present, with participants diverting accountability to the agency or the school. In Chapter 2, I explained how Tomazos and Butler (2012) argue that agencies should avoid placing too much responsibility on volunteers, as they are not receiving anything directly in exchange for their services. Nevertheless, although the volunteers are "are usually not bad people" (Luciano, Former Public School Student, 13th August 2018), even ones that do not meet criteria such as having a positive attitude or appropriate social media filters, may not be held accountable for their mistakes. This reinforces their position of power as foreigners from a wealthier country, underscoring unequal power relationships between volunteers and Peruvian hosts.

6.3 Multiple Positionalities

The above example provides important insight into the tension of "role ambiguity" (Lyons, 2003; Palacios, 2010) which, as I explained in Chapter 2, lies at the foundation of volunteer-tourism. While it was clearly expressed by all actors that volunteers should not have sole responsibility of a class, their role as an assistant teacher seemed to include "basically everything" except discipline (Angela, Private School Coordinator, Interview, 16th August 2018), from co-teaching, speaking in small groups, reading texts aloud, leading classroom discussions, giving presentations about their countries and cultures, editing text in English, correcting spelling, answering students' questions, to grading assignments. Participants mentioned the confusion that can arise in occupying multiple positionalities in this context. For example, Paola explained that:

> *…it's not very clear which activities they are not meant to do. I think, again, [the agency] is not that clear – or maybe it is to them – but we don't get that information. I will cite an example. Some teachers ask them to mark their writing tests and some would, because maybe they are nice or they don't know, but some would be like: 'Sorry, this is not my job and [the agency] already told not me not to.'*
>
> Paola, Private School Teacher, Interview, 9th July 2018

Furthermore, a number of different and contradicting words were used in describing the role of the volunteer teachers, including: volunteers, guest, worker, teacher, assistant, family member, onlooker, friends, teachers, students, staff member, "halfway point between student and teacher" (Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018), or "part way between guest and worker" (Kate, Volunteer, Interview, 18th August 2018). Some of these roles, such as a guest and a worker or a student and a teacher, are more or less the opposite of each other, presenting challenges for volunteers in navigating their positionalities on a daily basis. Once again, responsibility comes through as an important theme in analysing these findings and understanding the contradictory roles. On the one hand, volunteers cannot have sole responsibility for a classroom according to the agency's regulations, but on the other hand they noticed a fine line between being a useful classroom resource as an assistant, as opposed to being more of an "onlooker" (Kate, Volunteer, Interview, 18th August 2018).

The implications of this play out in a number of scenarios. For example, the balance volunteers must seek between being "friends" with the students and maintaining a professional distance as adults led one volunteer to question whether or not it was appropriate to accept friend requests from teenage students on social media (Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018). This tension is complicated further because beyond the school environment, volunteers stay with host families with children who attend the private school in which they volunteer. As the children of the host family are referred to as the volunteers' 'host brothers' and 'host sisters', this indicates that the volunteers are at the same level as school students as home, while more in the role of a teacher at school. Both the volunteers and private school teachers commented on the volunteers' loss of independence, attributing this to the difficulties some families had in understanding that the volunteers are usually in their early 20s and from a different culture. Angela from the private school gave an example:

> *I think that having a volunteer in your house, even if it's just for a very short time, is really a great experience not only for the family, but also for the students…but I can remember that one day we had a call from a host mum, and she wanted to treat the volunteer as her little kid. She wanted to know everything about him, where he was going, what time he was going to come home, but we talked to the family and then we saw her problem.*
>
> Angela, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 16th August 2018

The problem referred to here is that the Peruvian host mother was applying the same restrictions to the volunteer as she would her own teenage child, despite the fact the volunteer was in their early 20s. This example shows that the additional role of "family member" to the volunteers' activities can prove challenging, adding another perspective

to existing literature on role ambiguity in volunteer-tourism. A similar experience was also noted by a volunteer who wanted to take a weekend trip to visit a friend in another city and came across some resistance:

> *I think one of the rules is that you can only have two trips over a weekend during your placement – so one a month, which is fine…so, I messaged my host family in advance to ask if it would be okay to use that week, to which they said yes…but now the rules have changed with my family, which is quite strange. They do lots of things with me; they treat me like their daughter. Part of the problem is that they think I'm the same age as their daughter, who is 16, but I'm 21, nearly 22 – which is quite a big difference. Sometimes the mum especially is very overprotective…I very much appreciate that and that's what I came for; this kind of cultural exchange. But the limits are a little bit too much occasionally, because I think they just don't quite realise.*
>
> Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018

There is a tension between volunteers wanting to be free, independent tourists and meeting the expectations of being hosted by a family that receives no monetary compensation for their provision of food and accommodation. In both of these examples, participants assume that host families are inappropriately applying the rules they enforce with their own, younger children on the adult volunteers. In the second example, this tension is also explained in the context of cultural differences, which points to underlying assumptions about the conservative nature of Peruvian society and avoids attributing accountability to the volunteers in adapting to their host families' expectations. Given that host families are selected by the agency based on 'safety' requirements from British universities, there may be a lot of pressure placed on these families to take care of these foreign volunteers who are living in an unfamiliar environment with different, and perhaps more, potential dangers than they are used to. Although volunteers are expected to speak in their native language and have a positive attitude, this example suggests that during their daily lives in Peru they are absolved of other responsibilities, of which they may not be aware. They are not responsible for classroom discipline, the example regarding the volunteer's inappropriate social media suggests they are not always held accountable for their mistakes, and responsibility for their own personal safety is held by their universities, the agency and their host families. This lack of accountability reinforces post-colonial power structures of volunteers as privileged, usually Caucasian foreigners in this post-colonial context.

6.3.1 Motivations of Volunteers

Having discussed the different roles that the schools, host families and volunteers must navigate as part of this experience, it is also important to mention the striking elements

that were *absent* from the participant interviews. Despite the assumed label of the volunteer teachers as 'volunteer-tourists', given that they pay a fee to complete a short- to mid-length placement and complete tourist activities, the word 'tourist' did not appear as a label to describe these individuals at all. This does not mean, however, that the volunteers were driven by purely altruistic motives to be simply "volunteers" – as the above examples on desired independence by the volunteers illustrate. As discussed in Chapter 2, much of volunteer-tourism literature focuses on the motivations of volunteer-tourists (e.g. Brown, 2005; Coghlan, 2015; Sin, 2009) and self-interested motivations are a point of criticism (e.g. Nadeau & Lord, 2017). In fact, Wearing (2003) argues that an intent to induce positive change is crucial in distinguishing the "volunteer-tourist" from a "tourist". While it was beyond the scope of this research to engage with the international volunteering industry more broadly, what is apparent in the participant interviews is that self-interested motivations were not considered to be a negative quality in the screening of volunteers.

Nevertheless, none of the four volunteers interviewed were motivated to come to Peru by wishing to offer their services to communities in need, and none of the host participants appeared to consider this as an issue. The willingness of the volunteers to complete their daily duties in the school, and an outgoing personality, were considered more important than a selfless desire to help others. In fact, besides the alumni, all actors expressed awareness that volunteers were often motivated by a desire to improve their Spanish language skills. In addition, all four volunteers mentioned an interest in teaching as a potential career and that, while they had enjoyed the experience overall, it had helped them to realise that this is not where their passion lies for the next steps in their careers. The volunteers chose this programme, therefore, because it provided them with the opportunity to further their language skills as required by their degree and prototype a potential career. Nevertheless, Sarah and Kate expressed that while they were initially motivated by "selfish" reasons, they came to be really inspired by the possibility of changing lives. Sarah commented:

> *That was my initial thought, like 'OK, just for myself', but afterwards when I thought about it, when I'm really here, when I'm really teaching them and interacting with them, I just feel so much like I really change their lives, you know, make it better and help them to improve; help them to see the value of learning English.*
>
> Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018

This notion of 'changing lives' and making them 'better' are key phrases that were problematised in the literature on post-colonial approaches to volunteer-tourism in Chapter 2. These kinds of phrases point to an underlying assumption that a 'Western'

presence will encourage 'improvement' or 'development' in a disadvantaged 'Other' according to 'Western' ideologies. I also explained in Chapter 2 that Roberts (2004) is critical of volunteer-tourists using developing countries as a "training ground" for future professions, and yet this is part of what the volunteers consider themselves to be doing in this case. Volunteer-tourism is often seen as just "an adornment on a university student's curriculum vitae" (Banki & Schonell, 2017, p. 4) and the attitude of these participants raises the question of whether this needs to be a point of criticism. Why do the volunteers feel so comfortable in expressing their self-interested motivations, and why do the service recipients in the host schools and agency expect, accept and in fact encourage career-minded volunteers to apply? One answer to this may be that despite usage of terms such as "volunteer", the underlying key phrase used to describe the interaction between hosts and volunteers was "exchange". This implies not only "mutual benefit" (Lyons, 2012), but that all actors are receiving a desirable service in exchange for something they are offering in return. The perceived value of the volunteer-tourists in this study lies in participants' framing of the programme not only as a form of volunteering, but as a "cultural exchange", which will be explored in the following section.

6.4 Conclusion

In answering the first research question, this chapter has discussed research findings around the perceived value of volunteer English teachers and teaching in Lima, Peru. Consistent with volunteer-tourism literature discussed in Chapter 2, all participants reported, in their own words, that the most important criteria for a good volunteer teacher was neither skills, experience nor charitable motivations, but rather a positive and willing attitude. Because of the screening processes the agency uses to select its volunteers, host participants expressed overall satisfaction with volunteers' attitudes and contributions, with only one cited exception. Furthermore, expanding on Chapter 2's discussion of the host-volunteer relationship, participants used a number of different labels to describe volunteers and the teaching programme, creating multiple, ambiguous positionalities for the volunteers to navigate. In addition, this chapter contributes to literature on volunteer motivations, raising questions around the significance of the unproblematic acceptance of self-interested motives not only by volunteers, but also by hosts.

By taking a post-colonial lens, these dynamics can be better understood through the notion of responsibility. The examples of the British universities' guidelines on volunteering and the violent attack in the neighbourhood where the other charity project was held may be the reasons used to explain why the programme is not more involved with public schools, but they also serve to justify intolerant attitudes. Furthermore, the role of volunteers as native English speakers may also contribute to a sense of

complacency around volunteer accountability and responsibility, as their value is perceived to lie in 'being themselves'. Post-colonial processes are also revealed in comments that suggest the foreign volunteer-tourist should be protected, unaccountable for teaching English or discipline in the classroom setting, with their "safety" placed above the prioritisation of people in need. This results in volunteer services being offered almost exclusively in elite, private schools. When this is considered alongside the motivation of volunteers to use their time in Peru as a 'training ground' for their British university degrees and future careers, it is clear that the subjectivities of these individuals may be embedded in post-colonial narratives of power, privilege and inequality of opportunities. Elaborating on these post-colonial dynamics, Chapter 7 steps beyond the perceived value of the volunteer, to the wider relationships and power structures that are revealed in relation to the volunteer teaching programme and English language more generally, answering the second research question.

7 CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND THE HIERARCHY OF 'WORLDS'

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I explored the perceived value of volunteer English teachers and teaching, which, in conjunction with a broader analysis of the role of English in Peru in Chapter 5, answers the first research question. This chapter explores how this perceived value is experienced in relation to direct or indirect relationships between and within groups of actors, and elite and disadvantaged communities in particular. In addressing this, the chapter is guided by the second research question: *How is volunteer English teaching and the English language experienced and perceived in elite and disadvantaged environments by different actors?* In Chapter 6, I explained that volunteers and volunteer English teaching are perceived to have value for participants when volunteers have a positive and willing attitude to help out in the schools they work with. Expanding on this theme, this chapter explores how this value is not experienced equally. Firstly, I discuss how notions of 'cultural exchange' are used to understand and justify unequal power relationships between different actors and the groups they are associated with. Secondly, I examine how these unequal relationships are linked to an 'Othering' process that emphasises difference so much that different actors are considered to be from 'different worlds'. Finally, I show how these 'different worlds' have a hierarchical relationship, which is clearly linked to post-colonial processes of internalised subjectivities and the normalisation of inequality. This is due especially to the role of English operating in conjunction with volunteer-tourism in this context.

7.2 VOLUNTEER ENGLISH TEACHING AS A FORM OF EXCHANGE

In Chapter 2, I discussed literature which suggested that viewing volunteer-tourism initiatives as a type of cultural exchange may be a useful way to avoid the language of 'development' and the potential to ascribe unrealistic expectations to what volunteering can achieve (Sin, 2010). While I showed in Chapter 6 how participants used a number of different labels to describe volunteers, contributing to role ambiguity and confusion, there was one point of commonality in participants' descriptions of volunteer English teaching – they referred to it as a form of "exchange". Volunteers, agency representatives and private school staff spoke about volunteers exchanging their linguistic and cultural knowledge for food, accommodation and the opportunity to learn about the Peruvian culture and practice Spanish. The agency too participates in a form of 'exchange', acting as the middle point of navigation between volunteers and the schools (Diana, Agency

Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018) and making profits from the fees that volunteers pay to participate. This adds a commercial element into the discussion of 'exchange', whereby volunteers and private schools participate in an "exchange of favours" (Paola, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018), while the agency works to ensure that "it's a win-win relationship [for all actors]" (Gloria, Agency Representative, Interview, 25th July 2018). In that sense, the value of volunteer English teaching for the agency, also has an economic component when the idea of exchange in introduced. In fact, the fact that agency representatives see themselves as facilitating a programme that allows for mutual benefit through 'exchange' between volunteers and hosts may serve to justify their underlying profit motivation.

Nevertheless, ambiguities lie in understanding this concept of 'exchange'. Volunteer Gemma explained that:

> *I don't mind offering my services as sort of an exchange for the culture...my giving is the English...I receive the experience of being able to teach without pressure, because it doesn't sound too taxing if it's an exchange.*
>
> Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018

On the one hand, Gemma saw herself as "giving" something to the host community, while on the other she acknowledges that the appeal of this programme lies in the notion of "exchange", which implies receiving something in return. This example highlights the blurred lines between "giving" and "exchange". Her perception that the programme is less "taxing" when viewed as an exchange again reflects the volunteers' generally self-interested motivations for participating; "giving" without receiving anything tangible in return was an option volunteers may not have considered. In fact, volunteers were critical that they had not received enough in exchange for what they were offering as native English speakers. Gemma called it an "unbalanced exchange" due to the lack of independence she experienced (Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018) while Ashleigh mentioned her disappointment at not being able to speak more Spanish in the school or at home (Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018). The candour with which these volunteers spoke about what they expected to gain from the experience appeared in stark contrast to some of the literature discussed in Chapter 2, which critiques volunteers for not acknowledging the personal agendas that may motivate them (Schwarz, 2017).

7.2.1 An Exchange of Cultures

Where this candour became problematic, from a post-colonial perspective, was when this critical perspective was directed towards what they learned about Peruvian 'culture'. When asked what they received in what they termed a "cultural exchange", volunteers

explained that the programme offered a way to learn about each other's similarities and differences and expand all actors' "global awareness"; "learning the culture – for both sides" (Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018). Beyond the general benefits of greater cultural awareness and the opportunity to practise Spanish language skills, volunteers tended to adopt a more critical perspective of the cultural insights their experience in Peru offered. Kate, for example, noted her shock when her host mother "confided in me that her greatest fear for her daughter would be that she would be a lesbian" (Kate, Volunteer, Interview, 18th August 2018), while Ashleigh was frustrated by how her host family did not tend to play with or engage with their children, assigning much of the childcare to their nanny (Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018). Both examples emphasise not only difference, but an intolerance of difference, with the irony that Kate's shock at her host mother's intolerance towards homosexuality was in itself a form of intolerance to other ways of thinking. Nevertheless, what makes these critical observations a reflection of post-colonial attitudes is not simply intolerance, but the way these are used to draw generalisations and conclusions that mimic colonial lines of thought. Gemma, for example, commented that:

> *I didn't know how different Peru would be…it varies enormously…I didn't realise how diverse Peru was in terms of nature, food and people – classism and racism specifically...they were also quite shocked by my independence…I don't think they're very good at thinking for themselves.*
>
> Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018

This quote relates to discussion in the previous chapter on the tension between volunteers' independence and their responsibilities to their host families. As I suggested, it is possible that host families may restrict volunteers' independence because they feel a strong obligation to keep them safe, rather than necessarily seeing this independence as a threat to their subjectivity or cultural norms. Nevertheless, Gemma took this to assume that Peruvians are not very good at independent thinking. In Chapter 2, I explained an internalised, post-colonial way of thinking among both volunteers and hosts, which involves "racialized, gendered distinctions between an independent, masculine, active rational West, and a childlike, feminine, passive, and irrational non-West" (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017, p. 654). Assuming that Peruvians are not able to think for themselves has clear connotations of "childlike", "passive" and "irrational" categorisations of 'non-Western' cultures. The post-colonial nature of this assumption is also reinforced by fact that it comes from the perspective of a young, Caucasian, 'Western' woman. Nevertheless, such notions were unlikely to be at the forefront of Gemma's thinking, as she was just trying to convey her experience of cultural exchange as a volunteer teacher in Peru. As such, the example illustrates just how deeply subjectivities

can be embedded in post-colonial narratives, as well as the dangers of attempting to view volunteer-tourism as a cultural exchange.

Furthermore, links to post-colonial ideologies can be drawn in the ways that volunteers speak about what they offer in this so-called cultural exchange. The volunteers explained that they were also offering their Peruvian students a chance to experience another culture – in this case, a British and predominantly white perception of 'Western' culture. As mentioned in the previous chapter, volunteers are expected to make a presentation about their 'culture' to introduce themselves to the students and as a way of reinforcing English language skills. Ashleigh described how she experienced the programme as a cultural exchange, in addition to making such a presentation:

> *I guess even just the way I dress, the way I look, is very different from what they are used to…they would talk about their life growing up and about Peru in general; what it's like to live in Peru as a young person…then I would tell them about the U.K. and how liberal it is…some of the kids were really surprised to hear how different it is being young in the U.K.. And talking with the older members of the family, talking about politics and stuff like that, I think we both learned a lot about each other's cultures. That was good.*
>
> Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018

While some of Ashleigh's other responses indicated that her views may not have aligned with those of her Peruvian hosts, she still saw the opportunity for her and her hosts to learn about each other's culture as positive in its own right. Furthermore, Kate believed that the benefits of this exchange continued even after the programme was over, due to their ongoing contact, making it a "sort of cultural and linguistic exchange, even when I'm not there" (Kate, Volunteer, Interview, 18th August 2018). Volunteers were positive, therefore, in their outlook on learning about each other's cultural differences. Nevertheless, while British or 'Western' culture was seen as one specific way for students to improve their English, volunteers did not view Peruvian culture specifically as a useful tool to improve their Spanish, taking a more critical outlook. Mirroring colonial notions of the dominant 'West' and a more passive 'non-West', volunteers saw the experience as a way for them to learn about Peruvian culture, whereas they saw their Peruvian students as not only learning about, but also learning *through* the volunteers' 'Western' culture.

7.2.2 An 'Authentic' Encounter

Observing and analysing how the diverse range of Peruvian participants (including agency representatives, private and public school staff and former students) spoke about the notion of cultural exchange revealed some commonalities and differences between these views and the volunteers' perspectives presented above. Former private school

student, Julio, when talking about both his experience in school life and that of a friend who had hosted a volunteer, noted that the experience "helps the students and families a lot, because it is an exchange of cultures" (Julio, Former Private School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). Likewise, private school staff member, Angela, explained that "culture is also important…we share, discuss…exchange experiences" because "we have some things that are probably completely different from their culture" (Angela, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 16th August 2018). Moreover, public school teacher, Maria, noted that:

> *The volunteer teachers are from different cultures, different countries and students notice the difference. I think that's what's important; to see a people from a different culture and also to listen to the language they usually practise in a different environment.*
>
> Maria, Public School Staff Member, Interview, 4th August 2018

It is thus the combination of language and culture offered by this volunteer teaching programme that host participants find useful. Diana, for example, accounted her own experience with a similar volunteer teaching programme growing up, explaining that she can speak English fluently today not because of attending an expensive language institute, but because of exposure to English volunteers and their cultures as a child. The presence of volunteer English teaching assistants provided her with "authentic language and culture from U.K. students [and] it was wonderful…because it was not just the English [we] learned in the books, it was real" (Diana, Agency Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018). Maria reiterated this sentiment when she explained that volunteer English teaching is a way to "see the real English, the real context, the real situations" (Maria, Public School Staff Member, 4th August, July 2018), despite not actually being in an English speaking country. In fact, volunteer English teaching was viewed by most Peruvian participants as an 'authentic' encounter with the English language that allowed them to improve their accent, fluidity of expression and pronunciation, while learning common and idiomatic phrases.

Improving these language competencies through 'authentic' encounters has a practical use and can help with communication, which, as Julio noted, is "the main aim of language" (Julio, Former Private School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). For Paola, the benefit of having native speaking volunteers is that "whenever you teach a language, it's better from the horse's mouth" (Paola, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018), while Angela explained that "a real native speaker knows the language and can advise the student with pronunciation and other criteria" (Angela, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 16th August 2018). For similar reasons, the most consistently emphasised linguistic benefit identified by Peruvian participants was the "real", "native"

and "natural" fluency with which volunteers use the English language. This is interesting because Romaine (2015) notes that colloquial and non-standard English expressions are associated with lower status in the U.K. However, these idiomatic phrases are viewed as 'authentic' and 'real' linguistic titbits that have great value to Peruvian participants and are only available through exposure to native speakers. Furthermore, an emphasis on exposure to culture and "authentic" language encounters in relation to English learning (e.g. Peterson & Coltrane, 2003) is a theme explored in the literature of Chapter 3, which highlighted the inseparability of language and culture in language education (e.g. Nabi, 2017; Ives, 2006), the preference for "Inner Circle", native English speakers (e.g. Ahn, 2017) and the benefits cultural 'resources' can have by building confidence in EFL and ESL learners (e.g. Doganay & Yergaliyeva, 2013). In that sense, Peruvian participants saw the volunteer presence as a "sincere" linguistic and cultural encounter, consistent with other volunteer-tourism studies (e.g. Prince, 2017).

7.3 Different 'Worlds': Representations of Inequality

While participants thought the programme was valuable as a form of cultural exchange, the added value Peruvian participants see in the 'authenticity' of the volunteers as English speakers represents a different attitude than that of the volunteers towards their hosts. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Park (2018) noted that 'authenticity' had dangerous implications in her findings, with 'authenticity' in cross-cultural encounters often being equated to potentially negative stereotypes. In my study, all participants explained that the components of cultural exchange involved in volunteer English teaching were positive, allowing them to learn about other cultures and have greater global awareness. However, the perceived value of the cultural information exchanged in allowing an 'authentic' way to learn the language of the 'Other' was a theme that only appeared in Peruvian participants' responses regarding English, rather than volunteers when speaking about learning Spanish. Cultural exchange is viewed positively, but the cultures being exchanged are not considered to be of equal value in terms of what they offer to the participants. Therefore, I expand on analysis and discussion of this disparity in this section.

7.3.1 Peru and 'the West': The Inequality of 'Cultures'

Using a post-colonial lens, I was able to add another layer of meaning to the findings discussed in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and earlier in this chapter, by exploring the ways in which participants spoke about the perceived value of the cultures being exchanged. In Chapter 2, I mentioned that volunteers and English teachers are informal cultural "ambassadors" for their countries (Brown, 2005; Shipton, 2010). Nevertheless, volunteers are treated in this case not just as cultural ambassadors for their countries, but also for

the English language and, as I will discuss here, the ways of thinking associated with English. The word "world" or "*mundo*" in Spanish was used by many participants to express difference between two or more groups of people. Many participants, from all backgrounds, saw volunteer teachers as coming from "a different world". Furthermore, although English is spoken as a native language in a range of countries around the world, volunteers' mastery of the English language was generally considered by all participants not only as a shared form of communication, but a shared "culture" – the "English-speaking culture". In other words, the cultural differences between English-speaking countries are perceived as less than the cultural differences between these volunteers and their Peruvian hosts.

One agency representative quoted several academic studies about the value of culture in learning a language, noting that "if you don't like or appreciate the culture, then you subconsciously reject the language as well" (Gloria, Agency Representative, Interview, 25th July 2018). What does it mean, however, to "appreciate" a culture? Indeed, what do participants mean when they refer to culture in general? 'Culture' seems to be used in a broad sense, referring to various differences between the volunteers and Peruvian students or host families; from a way of thinking, general "cultural information", a differing appearance that inspires "curiosity" and "fascination" in children, to "values" such as "international mindedness" and "respect". Agency representative, Diana, summarised the value of cultural difference to the success of volunteer-tourism in Peru, especially in public schools, when she said:

> *Why is [the programme] so popular? Because the teachers are gringos. They have blue eyes and are blond and speak a different language. They come because they know the teachers are gringos. They look different, they sound different and they come from another world – another country, but it sounds to us like another world. Because you've probably seen the Queen if you're British, because you've probably been to Disneyland if you're an American. You bring the culture: the cultural approach.*
>
> Diana, Agency Representative, Interview, 10th July 2018

Just as I explored how volunteers make assumptions about their Peruvian hosts, these examples highlight how Peruvian actors also made assumptions about volunteers based on their own backgrounds and ways of thinking. Volunteer Gemma assumed that Peruvians were not good at independent thinking, while Diana reinforced stereotypes about Americans and Disneyland and the British and the Queen. Stereotypes are common in volunteer-tourism (e.g. Palacios, 2010; Baillie Smith et al., 2013), but the fact that this form of volunteer-tourism involves language learning poses additional challenges. While stereotyping is critiqued in volunteer-tourism literature (e.g.

Guttentag, 2009; Butcher and Smith, 2015; Crossley, 2012), over-generalisation is considered helpful in second language learning (Scovel, 1994). This is precisely what appears to be happening in this situation. Volunteer English teaching thus presents a paradox in understanding the value of generalisations about the 'Other'.

Nevertheless, there is a key difference in the tone Peruvian participants used to describe this 'English-speaking culture' compared with volunteers' comments about their hosts. While the volunteers had a more critical and even intolerant tone to some of the differences they observed, Peruvian participants spoke about 'English-speaking culture' in an almost celebratory way. Volunteers were seen as "*gringos*" from another 'world' – 'the West'. This in itself this meant it should be an "honour" to host them (Gloria, Agency Representative, Interview, 25th July 2018). Former student, Micaela, explained:

> *I think it's going to be very useful in the future for everybody, because in Peru it's not common to say: "Oh I learned English with British teachers".*
>
> Micaela, Former Public School Student, Interview, 3rd August 2018

Peruvian participants thus emphasised that exposure to foreign volunteers is not only valuable in providing cultural components to their linguistic studies of English, but that the very fact that they are "*gringos*" gives volunteers an additional value. If students enjoy attending classes with volunteers because they are "*gringos*" and are expected to be "honoured" by their presence, this suggests an assumption that the volunteers are not only different, but somehow superior. Furthermore, volunteers also noticed this dynamic when speaking about the different ways they experienced the "reverse gaze" (Maoz, 2006). While Sarah commented on how she "felt like a celebrity" because of her students' appreciation of her foreign nationality, culture and language (Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018), Gemma was concerned that students in the public school were less confident "because they're not used to white people and view them as having an elevated status" (Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018). This reference to the racial features of the mostly British volunteers alludes to the association of "whiteness" with "goodness" in other volunteer-tourism contexts (e.g. Park, 2018; Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017), as well as Chapter 5's discussion of the association of "white" with power and beauty in contemporary Peru (e.g. Escobedo, 2013). The relationship between not only 'Western' culture, but Caucasian racial features, provides another example of how the participants' perspectives reflect underlying, post-colonial legacies of race- and class-based status and power.

Former students also noted how the development of interpersonal relationships with the volunteers allowed them to build cultural and social capital. For Luciano, building interpersonal relationships with the volunteers in "Spanglish" allowed students to

develop both interest and confidence in English (Luciano, Former Public School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). Similarly, Micaela commented:

> *…the important part for me is that I made friends and built a good relationship with the teachers...they talk about their culture, which is one of the best things.*
>
> Micaela, Former Public School Student, Interview, 3rd August 2018

As discussed in Chapter 2, Santos and Katsube (2010) argue that "some of the intrinsic benefits that volunteer-tourists experienced stem from their close interaction with local people" (p. 513) while Conran (2011) notes an emphasis on "intimacy" in describing positive host-volunteer interactions. Participants, especially former students in both schools, prioritised building relationships and "intimacy" with the volunteers as a way to develop both language skills and sociocultural capital. This highlights the value of this English language volunteer-tourism programme not only for learning English, but for making connections between 'worlds'. The perceived value of the volunteers is thus largely dependent on the volunteers' willingness and capacity to relate to and interact with their students in a way that not only provides a window into a 'different world', but also allows them to act as a kind of bridge between these cultural 'worlds' through strong, interpersonal connections.

In this discussion of perceptions around Peru and 'the West', I have highlighted how participants view cultural exchange in a positive light, despite not seeing the cultures being exchanged as having the same kind of value. Volunteers have value for the host participants because they are different in a very specific way; a way that makes them "authentic resources" for not only learning the language but gaining cultural capital. As Said (1993) explained, colonisation exists as a "state of mind in colonizer and colonized alike" (p. 3). In these examples, the volunteers inadvertently adopted the role of a coloniser, bringing their language and culture to a foreign people whose culture they tend to perceive in a negative light. On the other hand, Peruvian participants indicated that they view 'English-speaking culture' in such a way that they not only wish to learn about it, but may also see it as superior on a linguistic and even ideological level. By taking a post-colonial lens, it has been possible to not only report the positive responses participants had about cultural exchange, but to unpack these to understand how, as with the previous chapter, they also reflect internalised, attitudes that may represent post-colonial, ideological legacies.

7.3.2 The Different 'Worlds' within Peru

The cultural exchange element of the English volunteering teaching programme links to colonial assumptions and stereotypes related to the native-English speaking volunteers

coming from a 'different world'. However, the 'different world' theme is not confined to the international relationship. The involvement of the volunteer agency in both private and public schools has allowed me to explore how this theme of 'different worlds' also came through when participants were speaking about differences *within* Peru. As explained in Chapter 4, the fact that the agency works in both of these settings was a key factor in designing this research, as it allows a view of potentially post-colonial processes within Peru's different socioeconomic classes. I found in my research that participants took this description of difference to another level, referring to the public school and its neighbourhood as being from a completely different "world" than their private school counterparts. Reflecting scholars' observations of the unequal distribution of Peruvian educational resources, alongside socioeconomic and racial biases (see Chapter 5), accounts from all participants, including public school alumni, indicated the existence of a disadvantaged, lower class "world" within Peru associated with poverty, poor education and even a lack of *desire* for education.

In the private school, volunteer English teaching was seen as complementing existing English lessons. Per the analysis of the Peruvian curriculum in relation to distribution of teaching hours in Chapter 5, the private schools where volunteers worked were either completely "bilingual" (Spanish-English) or had a well-established English language programme which meant that by the end of high school, students were "basically fluent" (Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018). For that reason, the programme in the private schools was considered to provide students with a "supplement" (Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018) or "edge" to their existing English education (Angela, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018). As such, the volunteers' role was "more tweaking than teaching them how to speak English" (Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018). Both private school alumni acknowledged that they had been exposed not only to lessons in English, but also native speaking teachers and assistants beyond this volunteer programme throughout their entire school career. The role of volunteers in private schools as "assistants" or "more like helpers" (Alejandro, Former Private School Student, Interview, 30th October 2018) was thus generally well-understood. The perceived educational value of the volunteer programme to the development of English linguistic skills in private schools was clear to participants who were involved with the private school.

On the other hand, participants from all groups gave mixed views about the value of the programme in public schools, attributing this more to the environment than the programme itself. Volunteers described the students' poor English levels alongside the "lack of resources" (Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018), "run-down"

buildings and the "bulletproof car" that transported them there (Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018), with Gemma expanding on her observations as follows:

> *In the private school, they are very much given everything on a plate. This is the same in their home life as well…they don't have to make their bed or sometimes even cut their own food...these kids will have the aim of going to university and that is achievable...while the other kids at the public school have half a day of education….it was a very poor school. It was immediately obvious how under-funded, under-equipped, quite dirty, quite cold it was. The private school is very clean, and very white and has nice gardens.*
>
> Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018

When asked to explain what she meant by "white", Gemma explained that it related both to the cleanliness of the white walls of the school, and to the racial backgrounds of the students. In contrast to the previous section, this quote is striking because it refers to the "whiteness" of members of the host community, rather than foreign volunteers, mirroring the observations of scholars I mentioned in Chapter 5 (e.g. O'Toole, 2012; Escobedo, 2013) around racial and socioeconomic stratification within Peru. Other volunteers gave similar testimonies of the contrasting environments, noting how prominent poverty was in the public school in relation to the private schools they worked in. For Sarah "it's a bit different, a bit more rundown and you have stray dogs coming into the classroom, which is quite shocking" (Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018). Ashleigh further commented:

> *As we were put in private schools, it was interesting to see the big difference when we visited the public school. Being in private schools, that's not what education is like for the majority of Peruvians and it was good to see that, even though the [public] schools are so much worse-equipped, the students still seemed really interested in learning and they were so well behaved. I didn't really expect that – they were really nice kids. I mean, they were staying after school to do the class, so they genuinely really wanted to learn English and that was good.*
>
> Ashleigh, Volunteer, Interview, 15th August 2018

Ashleigh's response shows reflexivity on her own positionality, in adjusting her initial assumptions about the students at the more disadvantaged school and expressing her pleasant surprise not only at how "nice" they were, but also their motivation to learn English. It does, however, imply that she had a preconceived idea of these poorer students as unmotivated and not "nice". This notion is reminiscent of power relations between colonial missionaries and the native 'savage', who needed 'Western' intervention in order to become civilised (Butcher & Smith, 2010). In addition, volunteers struggled with the students' low English competency in English. Gemma explained that "most of them

couldn't string a sentence together [in English]" (Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018), while volunteers and private school staff wondered if students had any other exposure to English beyond this weekly programme. Some volunteers thought the students were "uninterested" (Sarah, Volunteer, Interview, 4th August 2018) or did "not think they really knew what they were learning" (Kate, Volunteer, Interview, 18th August 2018). Assumptions of the public school students as incompetent in English and unaware of its assumed benefits again reflect a post-colonial ideology that depicts more disadvantaged Peruvian students as "passive", "childlike" and "irrational" (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017).

Nevertheless, the conflation of a lack of English ability with a lack of interest in learning English was also reflected in responses from former public school students. Micaela's perspective aligned with the volunteers' observations about the lack of student motivation, considering herself to be more of an exception to the general majority there. Micaela felt she benefited greatly from the programme, especially through exposure to British accents and "way they talked and expressed themselves". However, she explained that this was not the same for her classmates because "for me, because I see a purpose in English, it's simple [to learn], but it's really not so easy for the others", who have less interest in learning English. She further noted that there was a drop in attendance from around 30 students at the beginning of the programme, to around 15 at the end, attributing this to poor motivation (Micaela, Former Public School Student, Interview, 3rd August 2018).

Furthermore, Maria mentioned Micaela was the best English student she had taught in years (Maria, Public School Staff Member, Interview, 4th August 2018), while Micaela explained that all of her classmates would receive very low grades in English in their regular classes and that many of the Peruvian teachers were unreliable or irresponsible throughout her schooling career, with the exception of Maria (Micaela, Former Public School Student, Interview, 3rd August 2018). Micaela and Maria thus presented themselves as exceptions rather than a representative sample of a student and English teacher in a public school setting. Micaela believed many of her peers could not benefit from the programme because they could not understand anything the volunteers were saying. Her classmate Luciano, however, had a different perspective. He was confident that everyone saw the value in English and that the drop of attendance was due to practical inconveniences (Luciano, Former Public School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). As the public school only offers half-day education, some students could not attend the after-school programme because their timetables had changed, and they were required to attend other classes. This suggests that the lower attendance, and at times lower motivation, is a result of these students finding themselves in an education system

that does not adequately accommodate their needs. Kormos and Kiddle's (2013) study of English education in neighbouring Chile, discussed in Chapter 3, highlighted how lower class students were less likely to be motivated to learn English, due to both a lack of self-esteem and a lack of opportunity. Micaela and Luciano's observations, in conjunction with those of the volunteers, suggest this finding may also apply in the Peruvian setting.

This disadvantage experienced by public school students is also highlighted by more elite Peruvian participants. Private school teacher, Paola, explained that "there are two different worlds; it's almost scary, because it's the same city" (Paola, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018). In addition, her colleague, Angela, suggested that the value of the charity project is that volunteers "can learn about the different social status in Peru" (Angela, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 16th August 2018), rather than in any specific advantage for the public school students. Volunteers, given the opportunity to work in schools situated in highly contrasting environments, were expected to benefit from seeing the stark difference. Volunteers also suggested this public school context and neighbourhood was a more accurate reflection of the "real Peru" (e.g. Ashleigh; Gemma). Similar to Park's (2018) findings in Cameroon, discussed in Chapter 2, notions of poverty as 'authentic' reinforce negative stereotypes of Peru as a developing country. Furthermore, this implies that the perspectives of the higher class Peruvian families and schools, with whom volunteers actually spend most of their time, are less 'authentic' representatives of Peru. Utilising the public school as a way for volunteers to "view the Other" (Bank and Schonell, 2017) also reflects an orientalist, colonial attitude (Said, 1993) towards poverty that post-colonial literature on volunteer-tourism takes issue with (e.g. Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017; Butcher & Smith, 2010). Reflective on her positionality regarding this, volunteer Gemma noted that the charity project with the public school "bridges the gap for me, but I don't think it bridges the gap for them" (Gemma, Volunteer, Interview, 4th July 2018). While public school participants were positive about their engagement in the programme, they also pointed out how their context in a more impoverished school and district meant their classmates were prevented from experiencing the same benefits.

The volunteer English programme thus operates in two contrasting, unequal environments – two different 'worlds'. Students at the public school, in addition to having exposure to the volunteer programme only once per week, experience other practical disadvantages in their schooling which limit the long-term impacts this programme could have. For participants, a perceived valuable encounter with difference occurs between the private school students and volunteers, where 'cultural' and linguistic exchange benefits both parties in some ways. On the other hand, the encounter with difference between the volunteers and the public school students is considered less valuable, owing

to the lack of interest and baseline education, as well as basic living standards that make the gap between these 'worlds' too wide to bridge simply through volunteer English teaching. Furthermore, former private school student Julio, questioned the harmful effects of poorer people believing that help and aid had to come from foreigners because "they thought that their fellow Peruvians, many times, did not want to help them"[26] (Julio, Former Private School Student, Interview, 13th August 2018). Based on the literature discussed in Chapter 5, the class-based discrimination present in Peru may indeed mean that Julio's concern reflects the truth in some cases. This points to a wider concern in Development Studies around aid coming from foreign sources as a means of reinforcing the dominance of 'the West' as a 'parent' to the 'childlike', 'non-West' (e.g. McEwan, 2014; Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017). As such, while participants interviewed spoke highly of its success as a form of cultural exchange, the programme's inability to tackle the wider, systemic inequalities at play means these are reinforced and replicated, with the majority of volunteers' time spent at schools with the most resources.

7.3.3 The Hierarchy of 'Worlds'

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Butcher and Smith (2015) argue that cultural relativism comes from replacing race with culture as a marker of difference and may still represent unequal relationships. In the participant accounts above, there are many examples that support this point. When participants referred to difference between the volunteers and members of the host community, the term 'culture' encompassed many differences including race, language and ideology that were not perceived to have equal value. Peruvian students are supposed to be "grateful" for the volunteers (Gloria, Agency Representative, Interview, 25th July 2018) although English is referred to both as a "gift" and as a currency to be exchanged for housing and accommodation by a host family. 'Culture' too is something that is supposed to be exchanged, although a great deal more value is ascribed to what volunteers can share, especially by Peruvian participants, with volunteers adopting a more critical approach to Peruvian culture.

The recurring message of "English opens doors", as discussed in Chapter 5, is therefore not the only notion that has been internalised in this context. Complex themes of difference, inferiority and hegemony appear to be internalised by different participants as they take on their roles in the web of actors involved in English volunteer teaching in Lima. Participants believe English is useful for accessing better opportunities not only internationally, but also within the Peruvian context, and experience with native-speaking English volunteers is believed to offer students additional linguistic and cultural

[26] "*…ellos pensaban que los mismos peruanos, muchas veces, no los querían ayudar.*"

capital that will allow them to gain more respect in Peruvian society. This analogy of opening doors can thus be expanded to highlight the value of English and volunteer English teaching not only in opening doors to the *outside* world, but opening doors *between* the different 'worlds' within Peru. In other words, the role of English and the generalisations made about its associated 'culture', are perceived as a way of progressing up a hierarchical ladder of cultural, linguistic, racial and socioeconomic 'worlds' that exist in post-colonial Peru.

There are, I suggest, three 'worlds' that come to the fore – the foreign, English-speaking world that one should aspire to, and two internal worlds within Peru that are differentiated by class, race and language. These can be categorised as the 'first' and 'third' worlds within Peru. In this context, English is only useful if one has already mastered Spanish and infiltrated the elite, 'first world within the third' (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017) that is Peruvian middle and/or upper class society. English opens doors to the world, therefore, but only after one has made it far enough up the social class ladder of post-colonial Peru to use English opportunistically. Expanding on Niño-Murcia's (2003) hierarchy of languages in Peru, which was mentioned in Chapter 5, Figure 7.1 summarises perceptions of English in the Peruvian context based on the findings and interpreted in relation to background literature on Peru. As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, post-colonial theory urges scholars to be cautious about using politically charged terms such as 'First' and 'Third World'. However, as participant responses, interpreted in conjunction with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, tended to represent an over-generalised view towards different types of people, these labels have been used to illustrate the hierarchy implied in these responses.

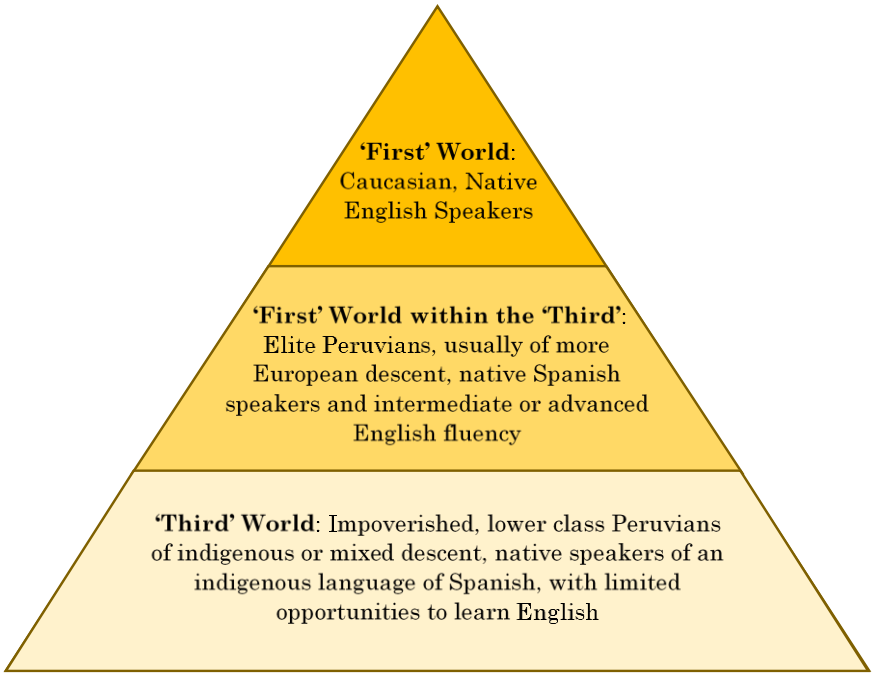

Figure 7.1: The Hierarchy of 'Worlds' by Language and Associated Assumptions

The 'first' world of native English speakers is associated with the U.S. dollar currency and an 'English-speaking culture' perceived to be culturally and linguistically unified. Individuals are perceived as having more opportunities, hence this 'world' is something to strive towards, although impossible to ever fully achieve if not born as a native speaker. The 'first' world within the 'third' represents the elite sector of Peruvian society, as characterised by the private schools, students and their families. Having achieved 'development' and standards of living equivalent or sometimes superior to that of middle-class foreigners from the 'developed' world, children attend private and often bilingual schools, where bilingual refers to Spanish and English. Volunteers assisting with English education in these schools provide additional cultural and linguistic capital that improve students' chances of attaining access to the English-speaking, 'first world' described above, or at least the sociocultural and economic advantages with which this 'world' is associated.

Finally, the 'third' world represents a second broad category of Peruvian society. It consists of a majority of the country's population and is assumed by participants, even those from the public school when speaking about their peers, to include the public school, its students and their families. This 'world' is associated with poverty, a lack of resources and basic necessities such as appropriate sanitation or housing. While this group includes impoverished Spanish speakers, there is emphasis on those people who only speak Quechua or an indigenous language. Government programmes mean that many children outside of Lima also attend bilingual schools, where bilingual refers to Spanish and Indigenous language. All participants indicated in some way that it is necessary to first master Spanish and achieve full inclusion by the Peruvian state before English could open doors for an individual to the 'world' above. Even so, discrimination is to be expected if someone from the 'third world' of Peru tries to use English as a way to improve their opportunities or social class.

In this way, this research reflects the post-colonial racial and socioeconomic class inequalities that remain in Peruvian society, as discussed in Chapter 5. As Niño-Murcia (2003) argues, English in Peru is "like the dollar" and primarily available to the wealthier echelons of society. This also connects to Jakubiak's (2012) concern that English is seen "as development", rather than as a tool "for development". Based on the findings in this research, English is referred to by participants as both a goal and tool of development with regards to increased individual opportunities and status. In this sense, therefore, it is possible to expand on the literature discussed in previous chapters and see that English is neither exclusively a tool for development nor a goal of development, but rather a tool, goal and even aspect of sociocultural capital, *for* the developed. That is, it is perceived not only as more accessible, but as more useful for the sociocultural and economic elite of

Peru, who represent a kind of 'first' world within the 'third'. English and volunteer English teaching serve to maintain the status quo of an unequal, post-colonial society and perpetuate cumulative privilege.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Participants were positive overall towards the value of the volunteer English teaching programme in terms of the role of the volunteers as participating in a cultural exchange. Volunteers exchange their English language services for board and meals, and both groups exchange cultural information. Nevertheless, the cultural information being exchanged did not appear to have equal value for participants. Volunteers tended to show unfavourable, post-colonial attitudes towards their observations of Peruvian culture, while Peruvian participants valued not only the linguistic, but cultural and social capital they felt they gained from the encounter with difference through this programme. This difference was characterised by describing the volunteers, elite Peruvian hosts from the private schools, and more disadvantaged Peruvian hosts from the public school, as being from three different 'worlds'. Expanding on the hierarchy of languages noted by Niño-Murcia (2003), I show how participants' perceptions can be interpreted to indicate a hierarchical relationship between the groups of actors. Volunteers embody the 'first world', associated with English language, 'Western' culture and more access to opportunities and privilege. The elite Peruvian participants occupy a 'first' world within the 'third' (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017), with a number of other forms of capital that facilitate their access to English education and the benefits it is believed to offer. Public school participants are associated with a 'third world' whose members may experience race- and class-based discrimination, especially if they are not native Spanish speakers.

By operating within these wider post-colonial dynamics present in the Peruvian context, the volunteer teaching programme may have value for the participants, but it also reinforces inequalities of opportunity. As such, there was a trend towards accepting the inevitability of such disparities owing to uncontrollable, wider systemic structures. The powerlessness some participants expressed in the face of the such constraints is explored in the following Chapter 8, which considers the wider themes raised by this research and includes final conclusions and reflections.

8 CONCLUSIONS: POST-COLONIALISM AND POSSIBILITY

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The findings discussed in the previous two chapters have highlighted themes that reflect different aspects of the literature discussed in earlier chapters. These include the multiple positionalities that volunteers experience and the emphasis placed on attitude and personality as the most important qualities for effective volunteers. Furthermore, ideas of cultural exchange point to underlying assumptions and systemic inequalities both between and within the different 'worlds' from which that the participants originate. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 addressed the key research questions, providing a window that offers a glimpse into the wider themes of English as an international language and the hegemony of different 'cultural' backgrounds. This chapter steps through that window to explore some of the broader themes raised by this research. Firstly, I consider the potential role of English as a form of neo-colonialism. Secondly, I discuss the sense of helplessness that participants expressed in the face of structural inequalities, and the importance of allowing room for possibility when interpreting research through a post-colonial lens. Finally, I explore some final reflections on my own positionality and other themes that have emerged through this research.

8.2 ENGLISH AS A NEW COLONIALISM

This thesis has considered the perceived value of volunteer English teaching through a post-colonial lens. In so doing, I have argued that the emphasis among both Peruvian and 'Western' participants on 'culture' and 'worlds' throughout the research findings carries an undertone of internalised, post-colonial subjectivities. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Warren (2011) explains that the cultural trajectory of Peru's independence does not match the recorded timeline, with Peru continuing to face challenges that remain ingrained from colonial rule. In that sense, post-colonialism represents a state of being; it deals with the way that power relationships and attitudes are internalised, usually without the individual's awareness. Participants are thus operating in a legacy of previous colonial power structures.

However, this research suggests that these post-colonial subjectivities are not only reinforced through the role of English and volunteer teaching, but that they are also enabled in new ways in this post-colonial context. The hegemony of groups of people and their 'cultures' is normalised by participants, and English language is seen as a 'door' to another, superior 'world'. The processes that enable the on-going reproduction of inequalities and generalisations about the value of people and their 'cultures' in the

context of English language and volunteer teaching thus allow these power relations to be imbued with new kinds of meanings and operate in different ways than they did historically. For this reason, these processes can be referred to as 'neo-colonial' and will be explored further in this section.

The English language is associated with a different 'world', and when volunteer teachers come to share their linguistic skills with students, they are also said to share something more with the students – the 'Western' culture. This is reminiscent of many colonial settings, including Peru, where colonisers often sought to impose not only their "superior" language upon their new subjects, but also their way of living and thinking – their "culture" (Klaiber, 2009). This linguistic and cultural capital was more accessible to elite members of the colonised society, just as English language and its perceived benefits are experienced more by the elite Peruvian schools and students in this research. However, the volunteers do not come to Peru in an aggressive or dominating way as the Spanish conquistadors did. Volunteers have the opportunity to build different kinds of relationships with their students and host families, reflecting more the processes of colonial missionaries (Pennycook, 2005; Falola, 1998).

Nevertheless, the perceived differences between foreign volunteers and Peruvian students can at times be an obstacle to building personal connections, especially in the public school. There is sometimes believed to be too much of a linguistic and/or cultural bridge to cross, for many actors to be able to interact and communicate effectively. While the English language should provide opportunities to disadvantaged people as well, according to interviews with the students and teachers from the public school, inferiority is instead reinforced by the bridge that they must cross in order to attain a level of 'development', status and linguistic ability that allows them to enter the 'world' to which their upper class compatriots already have access. In this way, English language not only operates in, but also reproduces, post-colonial processes in different ways. This suggests that English's global dominance and assumed superiority may act neo-colonially, as a symbol and vessel for dominance of 'Western' economy, culture, values and language.

Neo-colonial ideas also contribute to the theme of elite and poorer 'worlds within worlds' discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7, and the opportunities perceived as available through the English language. Colonialism involved the extraction of people and resources from dominated lands, as well as the imposition and creation of internal hierarchies that supported the colonial administrative system (Balandier, 1963). These themes are also seen in participants' responses. English "opens doors" and thus the language, culture and volunteers are invited into Peru through this programme, while at the same time, English "opens doors" in a way that is supposed to allow Peruvians to "take

their talent" into a more privileged 'world' within and beyond Peru. English is seen by Peruvian participants, especially those from the public school, as a quick fix on the level of individual empowerment, rather than providing any long-term, sustainable solution for addressing inequality, conditions of 'third world' poverty, or inadequate education within the country. As illustrated in the literature discussed in Chapter 3, these kinds of processes are not unique, with examples from Korea (Song, 2017), Mexico (López-Gopar, 2014), Japan (Vandrick, 2014), Syria (Karam, Kibler & Yoder, 2017) indicating an association of English language acquisition with increased opportunities and enhanced sociocultural capital.

Furthermore, the observation that English can provide opportunities at an international level has deeper implications, as this may also involve taking their talent *away* from Peru and to an English-speaking, 'first world'. This emphasis on opportunities abroad, highlighted by Niño-Murcia (2003) as the "illusion that learning English is the key to emigration" (p. 133), may mimic colonial processes of resource extraction, albeit in a different form. As discussed in Chapter 5, Peru's minerals were extracted and refined by Spanish colonisers, and were central to the Empire's currency in the 16th century (Bentancor, 2017). The internalised belief in English's value may allow such processes to continue. Individuals are 'refined' by acquiring linguistic and cultural capital which allows the subsequent 'extraction' of the more elite and privileged members of society to 'the West', either literally, through emigration, or figuratively, through the search for greater immersion and alignment with 'Western' values. This reflects an ideology that to truly succeed, it is important to look beyond, rather than within Peru, even if participants see this as impossible without first rising in social status nationally. This suggests a heavily internalised notion of inferiority in relation to the English-speaking 'world' and this message of "English opens doors" becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy through the prioritisation of English as a social and cultural status symbol and form of capital – even in cases when it serves no practical purpose. This is reminiscent of Phillipson's (2011) claim, as mentioned in Chapter 3, that the imperial – and I would add neo-colonial – nature of the language means the choice to learn English is never truly 'free'.

Overall, this research points to the dominance of discourse around English and individual empowerment for those with existing opportunity. This may mean that important issues, such as addressing broader structural inequalities and achieving social inclusion of all Peruvian peoples, are overlooked in favour of literacy in a foreign language that is believed to offer access to the world (Niño-Murcia, 2003; Phillipson, 2011), especially to elite members of society. In this way, English and English education, especially through volunteers, slide neatly into the post-colonial legacy of power structures that characterise modern-day Peru, operating through neo-colonial processes that inadvertently exploit and

enable ingrained structures and inequalities. Furthermore, the active promotion of English as a vessel for not only linguistic capital, but 'Western' cultural capital, suggests that it may also be functioning as a new type of colonialism for a generic, neoliberal, 'developed', English-speaking, 'first world' that participants feel powerless to resist. According to a post-colonial approach, the real power of 'the West' can be found less in economic and technological growth and more in the power it has to define, represent, and theorise in a way that becomes dominant (Sardar, 1999). This research suggests that through the symbolism of English language as a tool for personal growth, 'the West', often associated with the U.S. and thus the English language, plays a role in defining and representing 'success' and 'empowerment' for non-native speakers through neo-colonial processes that are embedded in colonial legacies and post-colonial structures.

8.3 Room for Possibility?

> *Might it be possible to use other scholarly skills, including the ability to tell a story that both acknowledges imperial power and leaves room for possibility?*
>
> Tsing (2005, p.267)

Post-colonial analysis aims to listen to the voices of local people (McEwan, 2014). Even if English-language volunteer-tourism could be a tool of neo-colonialism, it is important to question whether this should detract from the positive value or impacts that such exposure to English language is perceived to have for people from the different 'worlds'. As Tsing (2005) argues, it is important in critical analysis of imperial power to also leave "room for possibility". This section explores how the voices of participants in this study – which are positive overall with regards to the value that English volunteer teaching can and does have – should not be overlooked just because they are imbedded in post- and/or neo-colonial processes.

While participants demonstrated awareness of the reinforcement of inequalities that occur both in the volunteer English programme and in the wider Peruvian context, they saw themselves as unable to prevent this. As Paola succinctly explained, "that's just the way it is" (Paola, Private School Staff Member, Interview, 9th July 2018). This quotation is indicative of the way many volunteers and elite Peruvian participants felt unable – or unwilling – to change anything at a systemic level. These findings point to a wider concern, especially in the Development Studies context. In Chapter 2, I noted critiques around the romanticisation of poverty (Bandyopadhyay & Patil, 2017) or characterisation of poverty as a result of "luck" (Park, 2018) and how scholars emphasise the importance of considering the wider systemic and institutionalised inequalities that produce poverty (Butcher & Smith, 2015). This thesis has focused on exactly that – understanding the

background of the volunteering industry, the spread of the English language and the Peruvian context itself in order to piece together a post-colonial interpretation of the findings that considers wider and perhaps hidden influences. What has been most striking about the findings, therefore, is that rather than subconsciously mimicking colonial patterns of inequality in different aspects of their day to day life, some participants were critical of post-colonial and neo-colonial structures, while simultaneously normalising their hegemony.

As I explained in the Introduction chapter, post-colonial thinkers in Development Studies encourage scholars to continue problematising and deconstructing the way they speak about development and the relationships between countries and cultures (McEwan, 2014). This study of volunteer English teaching in Peru highlights how racial and cultural stereotypes, as well as post-colonial power relations, feature even in small, local endeavours. Grassroots development theory is rooted in local contexts and projects (Simon, 2006), such as the agency in this research, whose managers reported that they feel they are contributing in some way to their country's development. By including a range of voices, this research indicates how far dominant discourses have reached and been internalised, demonstrating the inseparability of the local from the global (Sardar, 1999).

Participants could thus be considered to be making the best of an unequal system of power relations that they do not know how to escape or truly change. Furthermore, the findings in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 indicate that volunteer English teaching is viewed very favourably overall, especially by the Peruvian hosts. Students are provided with the opportunity to enhance their listening and speaking skills in a foreign language that is normally taught by local teachers. Volunteers also expressed their overall satisfaction at being placed in a home with the resources and security that they are familiar with. In addition, most participants agreed that volunteers can have the greatest impact in an environment where the students already have a strong base in English, so that they can enhance this foundation with improved pronunciation, colloquialisms, idioms and cultural titbits through the short-term exposure to foreign volunteer teachers. As the base level of English varies so drastically between public and private schools, it is logical that participants who share this way of thinking may consider the volunteers to be more effective in a private school setting. Additionally, the agency is seen to stray away from other points of criticism present in volunteer-tourism literature more generally. Although it is not obvious that the programme takes place in private schools from their website, the programme is not advertised as a development project (as emphasised by Ingram, 2008), but rather as a "cross-cultural exchange" (in accordance with McAllum & Zahra, 2017). Furthermore, the volunteers appear to be well-managed and have a well-struck balance

between "work" and free-time (as recommended by Simpson, 2004) and the agency charges what participants consider to be a reasonable fee for their services (unlike examples highlighted by Wearing, 2001).

Therefore, in spite of the complex and unequal context in which these participants interact, the perceived value of volunteer teaching through this programme remains high. Although a post-colonial lens provides a useful analytical tool for understanding and interpreting data in relation to broader aspects such as unequal power relations, of which scholars are generally critical, it is important to avoid undermining participants' perspectives by focusing exclusively on such elements revealed by analysis. It is thus crucial that research through a critical lens also leaves "room for possibility" (Tsing, 2005).

8.4 Final Reflections

This thesis has explored the perceived value of volunteer English (EFL) teaching in both elite and disadvantaged communities of post-colonial Peru. The findings point to a double-edged sword. On the one hand, participants feel there are positive benefits both from learning English through volunteer English teaching, while on the other hand, the way the value is perceived and experienced is a clear reproduction of post-colonial power relations and inequalities. These structures emphasise English language and its cultural associations as a ticket to the 'first world', suggesting neo-colonial processes that reinforce the hegemony of 'Western' culture and language. A foreigner who comes to another country in order to share their language, culture and perhaps values should not be automatically considered an agent of neo-colonialism. However, when foreigners operate in a wider context whereby systemic inequalities, generalisations and an internalised sense of inferiority and/or superiority are at play, their influence has the potential to be neo-colonial. If I return to the question that prompted this entire research, asked by my teenage student in Lima during our first class – "Are you here to colonise us?" – then the research findings suggest that my positionality may indeed have been post- or neo-colonial. While it was never my intention to come to Peru in order to have a colonising effect, the wider context in which I am positioned cannot be ignored.

This has important implications for this thesis and knowledge creation in this context. While I have striven to represent a range of voices in this research, the student participants, especially from the public school, are not a representative sample of their peers. The public school alumni who participated found English had been useful in their lives and were able to talk in an articulate and reflective way about what that meant for them. Nevertheless, they presented themselves as an exception to their classmates, suggesting that a number of marginalised voices were still unable to be represented

within the scope of this Master's thesis. Furthermore, I have explored in this thesis the kinds of value ascribed to '*gringos*' in Peru. Accordingly, self-awareness and reflection on ways I could best represent the voices of my participants may not have been enough to overcome the impact of my positionality as an English native speaker, especially when seen through a post-colonial lens. This research thus includes not only a post-colonial perspective, but may, in some ways, be post-colonial in itself. Like my participants, I have experienced a kind of helplessness in the face of this, unable to change my positionality as a '*gringa*', even though I had no desire to be placed in a position of power based on post-colonial structures of race- and class-based inequalities, and the relationship of Peru to 'the West' and the English language.

I do not believe this should be a point of discouragement, however. As I argued above, voices, perspectives and knowledge created while embedded in post-colonial processes should not be overlooked. Rather, a post-colonial lens allows both the research and researcher's interpretation to be understood to the fullest contextual extent. Furthermore, ethical concerns around knowledge creation and appropriate representation in Development Studies, especially in contexts where subjectivities may be particularly embedded in post-colonial processes, are likely to be found in many research projects. Therefore, this observation should be taken as a challenge to researchers in continuing to strive to find ways of doing research that both acknowledge ingrained power inequalities and seek ways to manage and mitigate them.

It is my fervent hope that this research will add to the conversation on power relations in the areas of international volunteering, volunteer-tourism and the spread of English as an international language, especially when these areas overlap. The research has provided a local window through which to view aspects of several wider concerns in the field of Development Studies, including the dominance of English, the normalisation of post-colonial structures of inequality both in relation to local and international relationships and the sense of powerlessness many people may experience in the face of systemic injustice. Further research into the role of English and volunteering in development is crucial in order to find ways to problematise and ultimately manage the normalisation of this, finding alternative ways not only to question, but to address these concerns.

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10 APPENDICES

10.1 APPENDIX 1: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

English and Spanish

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The Perceived Value of English Volunteer Teaching in Lima, Peru

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name - printed .....

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El valor percibido de la enseñanza voluntaria de inglés en Lima, Perú

FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO DEL PARTICIPANTE EN UNA ENTREVISTA INDIVIDUAL

He leído la Hoja Informativa y la investigadora me ha explicado los objetivos del estudio. La investigadora ha respondido a mis preguntas a mi satisfacción, y soy consciente que puedo hacer más preguntas en cualquier momento.

Estoy de acuerdo con que la entrevista sea grabada (grabación de sonido).

Acepto participar en este estudio bajo las condiciones establecidas en la Hoja Informativa.

Firma: _____ **Fecha:** _____

Nombres y Apellidos: _____

10.2 APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET TEMPLATE

English and Spanish

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The Perceived Value of English Volunteer Teaching in Lima, Peru

INFORMATION SHEET – Volunteer English Teacher

Researcher's Introduction
My name is Johanna Thomas and I completing my Masters in International Development through Massey University in New Zealand, with a background in Social Anthropology from the University of Cambridge, U.K. Research gathered here will contribute to my Masters' Thesis, to be completed by the end of 2018. The aim of this research is to explore English language teaching through volunteer-tourism in Lima, Peru, from a range of different perspectives.

Project Description and Invitation
The purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore perspectives around the ***perceived value of volunteer English teaching*** in Lima, Peru. A range of different individuals associated with one particular volunteer agency, which operates both in more privileged and less privileged schools, will be invited to participate to contribute their unique viewpoints in this study.

Because this project focuses on the perception and experience of English volunteer teaching, every perspective is important, valid and valuable for this research. As such, your contribution would be greatly appreciated, should you choose to accept this invitation.

Participant Identification and Recruitment
To gain a full picture of perspectives involved in English volunteer teaching, I am inviting the following kinds of participants:

- Staff members of an English volunteer teaching agency;
- ***Volunteers who are teaching English both in a private and public school;***
- Staff from two different host schools who play a role in inviting and/or working with volunteer English teachers; and
- Student focus groups from two different host schools, who have experience with volunteer teachers.

There will be between 2-5 people asked to participate in each group. All findings will be kept confidential and the primary aim of this project is to contribute to literature on the role of English volunteer teaching more generally, rather than the specific programme itself.

Project Procedures

- You are invited to participate in a one-on-one interview with the researcher.
- The interview will consist of a series of open-ended questions and general discussion about your perspective and experiences with English language volunteer teaching.
- The interview will take around 20-30 minutes (a maximum of 1 hour) at a location and time that is convenient for you.
- With your consent, the interview will be tape recorded so that the interview can be transcribed and analysed later.
- After transcription, you will have access to the transcription and may review and edit it if you so wish, up until the date specified by the researcher at the time.

Data Management
With your consent, the interview will be sound recorded so that it can be transcribed and analysed later. The data will be stored digitally, on a password protected computer, until the end of the project when it will be destroyed. A summary of the overall research findings will be provided to you and all other participants electronically.

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Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study (before 31st August, 2018);
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded; and
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about the project, please don't hesitate to contact:

Researcher:
Johanna Thomas
johanna.thomas11@gmail.com
+51 920 238 148

Supervisors:
Sharon McLennan
S.McLennan@massey.ac.nz

Vicky Walters
V.Walters@massey.ac.nz

Ethics

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 18/23. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Gerald Harrison (Acting Chair), Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83570, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

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El valor percibido de la enseñanza voluntaria de inglés en Lima, Perú

HOJA INFORMATIVA DEL PARTICIPANTE EN UNA ENTREVISTA

Presentación de la investigadora
Mi nombre es Johanna Thomas y estoy completando mi Maestría en Desarrollo Internacional de la Universidad de Massey en Nueva Zelanda. Tengo una formación en Antropología Social de la Universidad de Cambridge, Reino Unido. La presente investigación cualitativa contribuirá a mi tesis de maestría que voy a completar antes del fin de 2018. El objetivo de esta investigación es explorar el rol de los voluntarios-turistas que enseñan inglés en Lima desde una variedad de perspectivas.

Descripción del Proyecto e Invitación
El objetivo del presente estudio cualitativo es investigar diferentes perspectivas sobre ***el valor percibido de la enseñanza voluntaria de inglés*** en Lima. Se va a invitar a una variedad de individuos a contribuir con sus puntos de vista propios. Todos estos individuos están vinculados con una agencia voluntaria en particular la cual opera en escuelas más privilegiadas y menos privilegiadas.

Debido a que este proyecto se centra en la percepción y la experiencia de los voluntarios-turistas que enseñan inglés, cada perspectiva es importante, válida y valiosa para esta investigación. Por eso, su contribución sería muy apreciada si decidiera aceptar esta invitación.

Identificación de Participantes y Reclutamiento
Para obtener un rango completo de las perspectivas involucradas en la enseñanza voluntaria de inglés, se invita a los siguientes grupos de participantes:

- Miembros del personal de una agencia de enseñanza voluntaria de inglés;
- Voluntarios que están enseñando inglés en una escuela privada y pública;
- Personal de dos colegios, que invitan a o trabajan con profesores voluntarios de inglés; y
- Alumnos de dos escuelas diferentes, que recién tienen experiencia con profesores voluntarios de inglés.

Voy a pedir a entre 2 y 5 personas a participar en cada grupo. Todos los expedientes se mantendrán en confidencialidad y el objetivo principal de este proyecto es contribuir a la literatura académica sobre el rol de la enseñanza voluntaria de inglés ***en general***. Sin embargo, a pesar de estas medidas de confidencialidad, es posible que un observador (astuto) pueda inferir los nombres de la agencia o los colegios.

Procedimientos del Proyecto

- Usted está invitado a participar en una entrevista individual con la investigadora.
- La entrevista va a consistir en una serie de preguntas abiertas y una conversación general sobre su perspectiva y experiencias con la enseñanza voluntaria de inglés.
- La entrevista tomará un máximo de 1.5 horas en un lugar y a la hora que sea conveniente para usted.
- La entrevista será grabada (solo sonido), con su consentimiento, para que pueda ser transcrita y analizada más tarde.
- Después de la transcripción, usted va a tener acceso a la transcripción y podrá revisarla y editarla, si lo desea, hasta la fecha especificada en ese momento por la investigadora.

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Gestión de datos
Con su consentimiento, la entrevista **será grabado (solo sonido)** para que pueda ser transcrita y analizada más tarde. Los datos se almacenarán digitalmente en una computadora protegida por contraseña, hasta el final del proyecto, momento en el que se destruirán. Voy a dar a usted y a todos los demás participantes un resumen de los expedientes generales de la investigación, de forma electrónica.

Derechos del Participante
No tiene(s) ninguna obligación de aceptar esta invitación. Si decide participar, tiene derecho a:

- negarse a responder cualquier pregunta en particular;
- retirarse del estudio (**DATE TBC**);
- hacer cualquier pregunta sobre el estudio en cualquier momento;
- dar a la investigadora información sabiendo que su nombre no será utilizado sin su permiso;
- tener acceso a un resumen de los expedientes del proyecto cuando se concluya; y
- solicitar que la investigadora apague la grabadora en cualquier momento durante la entrevista.

Contactos del Proyecto
En caso de alguna pregunta sobre el proyecto, no dude en contactarse con:

Investigadora:
Johanna Thomas
johanna.thomas11@gmail.com
+51 920 238 148

Supervisoras:
Sharon McLennan
S.McLennan@massey.ac.nz

Vicky Walters
V.Walters@massey.ac.nz

Ética
Este proyecto ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética Humana de la Universidad de Massey: Southern B, Solicitud 18 / 23. Si tiene alguna inquietud acerca de la realización de esta investigación, comuníquese con el Dr. Gerald Harrison, presidente en funciones del Comité de Ética Humana de la Universidad de Massey: Southern B, teléfono +64 6 356 9099 ext. 83570, correo electrónico humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

10.3 Appendix 3: Transcript Authority Release Form

English and Spanish

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The Perceived Value of English Volunteer Teaching in Lima, Peru

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name - printed .....

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El valor percibido de la enseñanza voluntaria de inglés en Lima, Perú

PERMISO PARA LIBERAR LA TRANSCRIPCIÓN

Confirmo que he tenido la oportunidad de leer y modificar la transcripción de la entrevista realizada conmigo.

Estoy de acuerdo en que la investigadora puede usar la transcripción y los extractos editados de la transcripción en informes y publicaciones, producto de la investigación.

Firma: _____ **Fecha:** _____

Nombres y Apellidos: _____

10.4 APPENDIX 4: TRANSLATOR'S CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

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The Perceived Value of English Volunteer Teaching in Lima, Peru

TRANSLATOR'S CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I (Full Name) _____ agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project "*The Perceived Value of English Volunteer Teaching in Lima, Peru*".

I will not retain or copy any information involving the project.

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

10.5 APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

SCHOOL STAFF	
Key Theme	**Questions**

Motivation, Role, Expectations	• Are you involved in the recruitment/selection of volunteers? If so:
	  ○ Why did you decide to invite volunteers to teach English at your school? What other kinds of schools or institutions in Peru could benefit from English teaching volunteers?
	  ○ What are the criteria you consider when choosing an agency to work with?
	• If not: What experience do you have working with volunteer English teachers?
	• How often do the volunteers come to your school? Why?
	• Can you summarise what a typical afternoon might look like for one of your volunteer teachers when they come to the school? How does this (mis)align with your expectations around receiving volunteers?
	• Do you think volunteers provide a service that could be provided by local people? Why/why not?

Relationships	• Can you tell me about the nature of some of the relationships you've formed with…
	  ○ Volunteer teaching agency(ies) and their staff?
	  ○ Volunteer English teachers?
	• Have you ever had any negative experiences with volunteers? What do you think was the underlying cause? What steps have you taken to avoid the recurrence of this in the future?
	• *If interviewing a public school representative*:
	  ○ How do you feel about the volunteers being hosted by families from another school?
	• *If interviewing a private school representative*:
	  ○ Do you view volunteers more as guests or as workers? How do you perceive the balance between 'work' and 'fun' for the volunteer teachers you've had?
	  ○ How are host families to host volunteers? How are the relationships between host families and volunteers? How do the host families feel about the volunteers going to another school once a week?
	  ○ How do you feel about the volunteers going to another school once a week?

Value and Impact	• What do you think are the primary goals of the volunteer agency? The volunteers? Do these align with yours, do you think?
	• Why do you think learning English is important for the children at your school? Why do you think it is important in Peru in general?
	• What is the impact (if any) of English volunteer teachers on…
	  ○ Your teachers and school staff?
	  ○ Your students and their families?
	  ○ The other school they volunteer in?
	  ○ Wider society?
	• Is English or an indigenous language such as Quechua more important for Peruvian students to learn? Why?
	• How would you summarise your understanding of the value of English volunteer teaching in Lima?

FORMER STUDENTS	
Key Theme	**Questions**
Motivation, Role, Expectations	• What experience do you have with volunteer English teachers? • Can you summarise what kinds of tasks these volunteer teachers typically performed? • Do you view volunteers more as guests or as workers? • Do you think volunteers provide a service that could be provided by local people? Why/why not?

Relationships	• Can you tell me about the nature of some of the relationships you've formed with volunteer English teachers?
	• Have you ever had any negative experiences with volunteer teachers? What do you think was the underlying cause?
	• *If interviewing a private school student:*
	  ○ How are the relationships between host families and volunteers? How do the host families feel about the volunteers going to another school once a week?
	  ○ How do you feel about the volunteers going to another school once a week?
	• *If interviewing a public school student:*
	  ○ Were you aware that volunteers spend most of their time at a private school? What do you think of that?

Value and Impact	• Why do you think learning English is important (or not) for you and the children at your school? Why do you think it is important in Peru in general?
	• What do you think is the impact (if any) of English volunteer teachers on…
	  ○ Your teachers and school staff?
	  ○ Your classmates and their families?
	  ○ The other school where they volunteer?
	  ○ Wider society?
	• Is English or an indigenous language such as Quechua more important for Peruvian students to learn? Why?
	• How would you summarise your understanding of the value of English volunteer teaching in Lima?

AGENCY REPRESENTATIVES	
Key Theme	**Questions**
Motivation, Role, Expectations	• What is the history of this agency? What professional background/qualifications led you to play a key role in this agency? • What are your primary goals with this program? With your company? Broader goals in relation to society? • Have there been/Are there other similar volunteer teaching agencies in this area? Do you work with any? How would you compare your organisation? • Why did you choose to work primarily with private schools in Lima? • How did you become involved with the public school in the "charity" project? • Can you describe what a typical day for a volunteer should look like? What are their primary roles/responsibilities/activities? Do they have to sign a contract? • How do you think your goals (mis)align with those of the volunteers? With the schools? Can you give me some examples? • What criteria do you use for choosing schools? • What criteria do you use for choosing volunteers? • What impression do you think volunteers have of Peru after they leave? • What is the balance of volunteering vs. tourism? Are there ever any tensions raised by this? What does cross-cultural exchange mean to you? • What is the purpose/effectiveness of the cultural adaptation workshop volunteers attend upon arrival in Peru?

Relationships	• Can you tell me about the nature of some of the relationships you've formed with…
	  ○ Staff in both schools?
	  ○ Children in both schools?
	  ○ Host families?
	  ○ Volunteers?
	• Have you ever had any negative experiences with volunteers? What do you think was the underlying cause? What steps have you taken to avoid the recurrence of this in the future?
	• What other contexts have you worked in, but later withdrawn from? Why?
	• How do you select host families? Why do you think they offer to host students? Are the relationships between volunteers and host families usually positive? How do the host families feel about the volunteers going to another school once a week?

Value and Impacts	• Why do you think learning English is important? Why do you think it is important in Peru in general?
	• Is English or an indigenous language such as Quechua more important for Peruvian students to learn? Why?
	• Why is it important for the children at schools you work with to receive volunteers? What role does your organisation play in this?
	• What do you think is the impact (if any) of your work here on…
	  ○ Volunteers?
	  ○ Local teachers and school staff?
	  ○ Children in both schools, and their families?
	  ○ Wider society?
	• How would you summarise your understanding of the value of English volunteer teaching in Lima?

VOLUNTEER ENGLISH TEACHERS	
Key Theme	**Questions**
Motivation, Role, Expectations	• Why did you decide to come here? How long have you been/will you be here? • How did you find out about this programme? (*If through university, ask about how that shaped their perspective on what to expect*) • Have you ever done something like this before? Volunteering/teaching? Do you have any professional qualifications that prepared you for this? • What are your primary goals during this time in Peru? • Why did you choose Lima? Did you know much about Peru and its history before you came here? • What can you tell me about Peru/Lima as a country? As a tourist destination? What have you learned here? • Can you tell me about the cultural adaptation workshop volunteers attend upon arrival in Peru? Why do you think this was/wasn't important? • How would you describe Peru/Lima to friends and family back home? • How would you compare your experiences working in the public and private schools? • Have you seen any evidence of injustice (e.g. inequality) in your experience in Peru so far? *If so, please describe your observations.*

Relationships	• Can you tell me about the nature of some of the relationships you've formed here with, volunteer agency staff, staff in both schools, children in both schools, your host family, other volunteers, or others?
	• What has the dynamic been like at the schools? *Supplementary questions:*
	  ○ Have you felt more like a guest or a worker?
	  ○ Did you have to sign a contract?
	  ○ Did you get to choose which age group you worked with or were you assigned to the group with most need?
	• How has the balance been with life with your host family? How do you think they feel about you participating in the charity project at the public school?
	• What did you find most memorable about this trip? Can you tell me one or two stories from your experience here that you will share back home? (especially stories that categorise their experiences to a certain extent)

Value and Impacts	• Can you summarise what a typical day might look like for you as a volunteer teacher? Was this what you expected? • What do you think are the primary goals of the volunteer agency? The schools? Do these align with yours, do you think? • Why do you think learning English is important for the children you've worked with? Why do you think it is important in Peru in general? The world? • Is English or an indigenous language such as Quechua more important for Peruvian students to learn? Why? • What do you think is the impact (if any) of your work here on local teachers and school staff, children in both schools, your host family and the wider community? • How has this trip influenced your world view? • How would you summarise your understanding of the value of English volunteer teaching in Lima?

10.6 Appendix 6: Massey University Ethics Approval Letter

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Date: 25 June 2018

Dear Johanna Thomas

Re: Ethics Notification - **SOB 18/23 - Bridging the 'Wall of Shame'? The Perceived Value of English Volunteer-Tourism in Lima, Peru**

Thank you for the above application that was considered by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: **Human Ethics Southern B Committee** at their meeting held on **Monday, 25 June, 2018**.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise
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