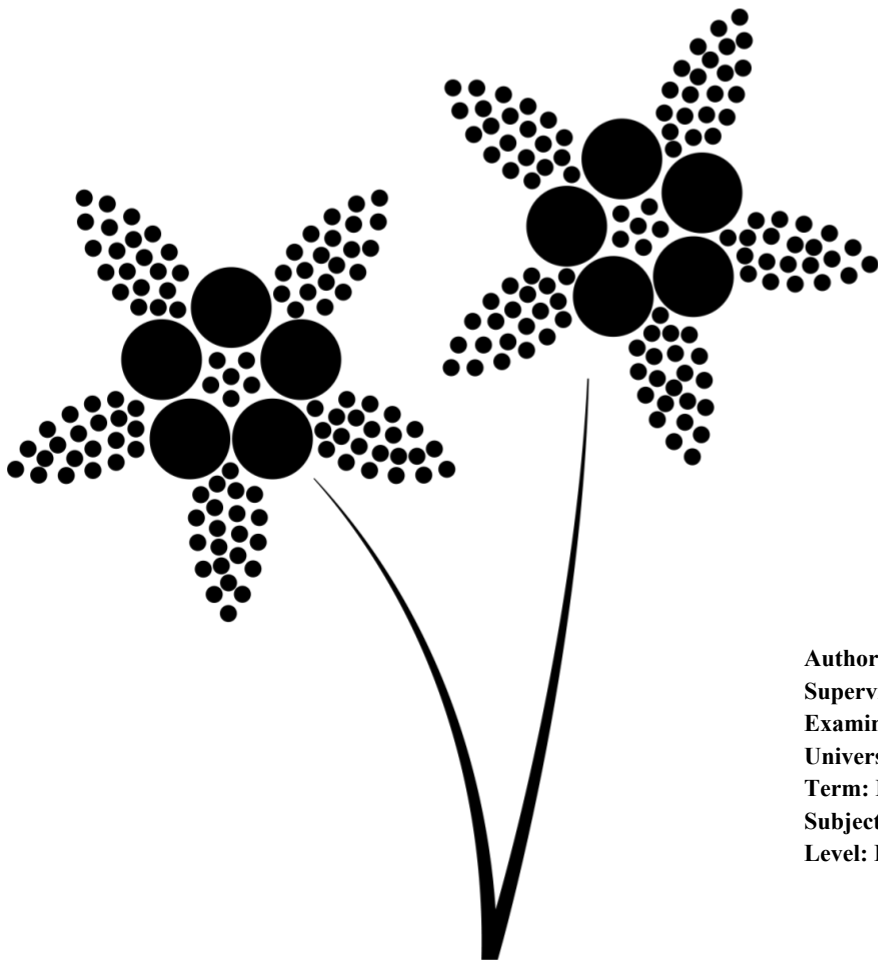


Teaching without training

Motivations and Local Perceptions of Young Voluntourists in Pre- and Primary Schools in Zambia



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Abstract

Voluntourism has become a popular form of volunteering and traveling, especially among young people from the global north. Most of the existing literature focuses on the perspectives and motivations of these volunteers, while the perspectives of the host communities are less explored. This thesis examines the perspectives of both the volunteers and the teachers at pre- and primary schools in Zambia. This is to understand how voluntourism is experienced in the environment of the classrooms. The research is based on survey data collected from volunteers and teachers and is analysed by through two theoretical frameworks: post-development theory and Empowerment theory.

The findings show that volunteers are mainly motivated by personal growth, cultural exchange, and the desire to help. These motivations are shaped through the narrative that is presented by volunteer organizations. However, the data revealed a gap between expectations and realities. Teachers are appreciative of some of the volunteers nonetheless, as the volunteers seem excited to take over small tasks. At the same time, the teachers do emphasize that the lack of preparation and qualifications of some of the volunteers can be a problem in the classroom environment.

Post-development theory helps to explain how the development discourse has shaped the volunteers' expectations and how it reinforced the global power structures between the global south and the global north. Empowerment theory shows that the teachers retain agency and authority within the classroom, although they do not have the same influence outside of it. Their influence on the organization of voluntourism programs are limited. Findings suggests that better coordination between the organizations and schools, stronger preparation, requirements for qualifications, and clearer role definitions would improve the alignments between the volunteers expectations and the classroom realities, and stop the reinforcement of the global power structures.

Keywords

Volunteers, voluntourism, Zambia, pre- and primary schools, post-development, empowerment, development, teachers, host community perspectives

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1 Introduction

The researcher of this study has been a voluntourist in the past, spending 8 weeks in total in Zambia, and 5 weeks in South Africa. Due to this experience, the researcher has taken interest in this topic. Over the past two decades, voluntourism has become a global phenomenon. It attracts thousands of people from the global North who travel to the global South to do short-term volunteer work. Although it has been rising in popularity fast, there is still a substantial research gap. The academic literature that exists around the topic is primarily focused on the motivations of the volunteers and the debates surrounding the controversy of volunteer work (Bandyopadhyay, 2019, p. 328). There has not been as much attention on the perspectives of those that work with the volunteers; the teachers at the pre- and primary schools that the volunteers are placed at. There is some existing literature focused on the perceptions of the people that work with the volunteers, but little to none is focused primarily on the teachers (Wearing & McGehee, 2013, p. 122). They are the ones that witness first hand how volunteering affects the classrooms and the education of their students. The aim of this thesis is to bring these two different perspectives together and analyse them. This will contribute to a better and more balanced understanding of volunteer work in Zambia in an educational context. Zambia was specifically chosen because there is a lack of resources in the country. Most research is aimed at larger regions and then generalized to be applied to a specific country (Miguel, González and Chinchilla-Rodríguez, 2024).

The motivations of the voluntourists have been debated extensively. For this study, however, it is important to analyse these motivations once again, as the research is centered around surveys from both volunteers and teachers who have or are working at pre- and primary schools in Zambia. The perspectives of the volunteers are added to this study as they will be compared to the perspectives of the teachers. It ensures that it is not a one sided research, as previous research has been, focusing on the volunteer perspective (Wearing & McGehee, 2013, p. 122). The volunteers that are part of this research are part of specific categories; between the ages of 17 and 25, short-term placement, and little to no training or experience in teaching beforehand. Their motivations, expectations, interactions and perception of their contributions to the school and education of the students will be studied and compared to the answers given by the teachers who worked with volunteers. Their motivations are not the main focus of this thesis, but it will be used

as a tool to understand their perception of volunteering and compared to how the teachers experienced it.

The main focus is on the teachers and their perception on volunteer work. They have a key role in volunteer work as they are the ones that have to integrate the volunteer into the routines of the classroom. In some cases, they have to teach a class of students while teaching the volunteer how to teach a class. Their perspectives will offer valuable insights into the actual impact of the volunteers, not the perceived one by the companies that market these volunteer placements. By examining the survey responses of both the volunteers and the teachers, it is possible to highlight the benefits and challenges that arise when young, untrained volunteers are placed in pre- and primary schools.

The overall purpose of this this research is to compare the experiences and perspectives of the teachers at Pre- and Primary schools in Zambia to those of the volunteers that volunteer at these schools.

The thesis is divided into the following research questions which will guide the structure and analytical direction of the thesis. With these research questions, a deeper understanding of the perspectives of both groups will be gained, which will add and enrich the existing debates surrounding voluntourism.

1. What are the key motivations that drive untrained young adults to volunteer in Zambian pre- and primary schools?
2. How do local teachers perceive the contributions, challenges, and overall value of these young untrained volunteers in their classrooms?
3. In what way do volunteer organizations influence young people's decisions to undertake teaching placements abroad, and what preparatory precautions do they take in terms of formal training?
4. To what extent do the expectations of young, untrained volunteers align with the lived educational realities of pre- and primary schools in Zambia?

These questions aim to construct a picture of how teachers perceive voluntourists and their help in the classroom.

The responses from the survey will be analyzed through two theories: the Post-Development Theory (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997) and the Empowerment Theory (Kabeer, 1999). Post-Development Theory allows for a different lens on the

answers from the volunteers. It will help shedding a light on what the volunteers think about their own experience and how they perceived it, in particular, their role in the classrooms. The theory will help with situating their answers and therefore the respondents, within the broader global power structures.

Empowerment Theory (Kabeer, 1999), originally focused on women's empowerment, will be used as a theoretical lens when analyzing the answers of the teachers. Although it is originally meant to be used to empower women, it could be applied to this case if used correctly and if the core principles, resources, agency, and achievements, are used correctly. This theory views empowerment as something that individuals need to undergo to be able to make meaningful choices and live the life that they desire. This lens examines how the presence of young, untrained volunteers influences teachers' professional authority, participation, and perceived agency within local educational structures. The empowerment theory will help with analyzing the responses from the teachers through the three different dimensions.

This research is highly relevant as it includes both the voices of the volunteers and those of the teachers. It will contribute to a balanced understanding of voluntourism without being insensitive to an individual's experience and perceptions of those experiences. Most of the existing literature is focused on the perspective of the volunteers, who come from the global North most of the time. The voices of the volunteers are prioritized in a way and their personal development instead of focusing on the teachers who actually work with these volunteers. It has already been proclaimed that volunteering is not ethical and that it is more of white saviorism than anything else, but most of the literature that claims this, has still not included the voices of teachers (Bandyopadhyay, 2019, p. 329; Wearing & McGehee, 2013, p. 122). Their voice and insight can help identify what should be done to make volunteering better so that volunteers can actually help in classrooms or if they should even be in the classrooms. The teachers know best what they need from the volunteers. From there on out, it could help policymakers, schools, and volunteer organizations. It will help with understanding the actual situations at hand and how they can prepare the volunteers.

This thesis does acknowledge the broader ethical and structural issues surrounding voluntourism, such as the power structures between a volunteer from the global north and teachers from the host community in the global south. This will be focused on in this research through an analysis of expectations and interactions between the volunteer and

the teacher. This thesis seeks to highlight the need of more community-informed approaches when bringing volunteers into classrooms for educational support.

In summary, this thesis seeks to fill an important research gap by looking at voluntourism through the eyes of the volunteers themselves and the teachers who work with them. Bringing these two perspectives together with the help of two theoretical frameworks, it will contribute to the academic conversations about voluntourism, which are slowly growing. This thesis will offer insights that could lead to more effective forms of international voluntourism.

2 Literature review

Voluntourism is commonly described as short-term international volunteer placements that are combined with travelling. It has become a global phenomenon and is becoming increasingly popular in the global North. Many of these voluntourists are young and untrained, but they get placed or choose to be placed at pre- and primary schools, this is the case in Zambia as well (Wilson, 2004; McLachlan & Binns, 2015, p. 106). These placements are organized through volunteer organizations worldwide that sometimes have connections with local organizations or hostels that host those volunteers. They offer access to the schools and accommodation. They promote it as an adventure, as they occasionally show the trips you can take while doing volunteer work. Therefore voluntourism is at an intersection of education, development and cross-cultural exchange, making it an interesting growing theoretical phenomenon (Volunteer World, 2026).

The existing literature mostly focuses on voluntourism from the perspective of the volunteers themselves, particularly their motivations. Most of these studies conclude that personal growth, cultural curiosity, and adventure are the main motivations (Benson & Seibert, 2009, p. 298). Volunteer organizations use these motivations as promotional narratives on their websites, emphasizing on the emotional fulfilment and impact that can be achieved by volunteering. However, the critical debates surrounding volunteering focus on another motivation, which focuses more on the asymmetrical power structures that happen within volunteer work. White saviourism is one of the most used explanations when it comes to talking about motivations of volunteers in critical literature (Bandyopadhyay, 2019, p. 328).

There is a call for research centered on the perspective on the host-side, as understanding how local communities experience and perceive the short-term volunteers (Wearing & McGehee, 2013, p. 122). The host communities hold the perspectives that are most important as those of the volunteer organizations and most of the volunteers reflect those of the global north. The difference in perspectives of the host communities, such as teachers at pre- and primary schools, and those of the volunteers may differ significantly. The length of their placements, the different levels of preparedness and training, openness to different cultures, and engagement in the classrooms are factors that the host

community takes into account. Several scholars argue that the focus should shift to the perspectives of the host community instead of the voices from the global north only. This will lead to a better understanding and balance when it comes to volunteering (Loiseau et al., 2016).

Voluntourism in Zambia

Zambia has a long history of hosting international volunteers in different settings, including classrooms. There have been some case studies focused on volunteering in Zambia, which pointed to different opinions and receptions among the Zambian community. The volunteers are appreciated on one hand for their enthusiasm, willingness, and ability to provide material and support. On the other hand there are concerns about the short-term placements and their lack of training and the difference in classroom practices from one to the next (Jänis & Timonen, 2014, p. 103). The volunteers may try to introduce new methods of teaching without understanding the local methods or having previous teaching experience. This issue could become particularly problematic when their placement is short-term and the next volunteer will come up with another new method of teaching (Palacios, 2010).

Zambia released a National Volunteer Policy (2022), which reflects the need for greater coordination, formal training requirements, and the alignment of the volunteer work with the national development priorities. It shows the governance recognition of volunteerism as a benefit and important factor for development in the country, as well as their awareness of the unstructured and unregulated placements across the country. There are placement studies that call for clearer role design to avoid inefficiencies in relation to placements (Sinyemu, 2019. P. 6).

Critical and Postcolonial Perspectives

The concerns about preparedness and practical concerns are not the only subject of critical debates. Within the post colonial and development studies, there has been literature on how volunteering can enforce the ideas of “white saviourism”, a narrative that reinforces the global power structures from the colonial times. It leads to the exoticisation of the host communities (Aue, 2023, p. 10; Carbière, 2020, p. 5). On the

websites of volunteer organisations, the volunteers are positioned as ‘rescuers’ while the host community seems to be happy recipients of the help. This leads to the undermining of the host communities, including the teachers. The representation encourages the idea that volunteers are needed in the classroom, as the teachers are undervalued in agency, experience, and expertise, even though they are the people who possess the knowledge to teach and in some cases have to show the volunteer how to teach (Palacios, 2010).

These issues are highlighted even more when young, untrained volunteers take on teaching roles, along with the authority in the classroom that comes with it. Teaching is a profession that requires training, degrees, academic knowledge, cultural understanding, classroom management, and familiarity with the customs of the nation that the teaching takes place in. Volunteers, often teenagers or young adults without the needed training or experience, are taking on the roles of teacher at a pre- and primary school, they unintentionally are contributing to the disruption in the classrooms and undervaluing the authority of the teacher. It is argued that this reflects the broader colonial legacy, which believes that the practices and customs of the global north are superior and more effective than those of the global south, even in these situations where the teachers of the host community possess more experience and knowledge (Palacios, 2010).

Host-Side Perspectives and the need for balance

There have been calls in previous literature for the perspective of the host community. Their insight is of importance as they are the ones that work closely with the volunteers. There are teachers who welcome the extra help with open arms, as well as there are teachers who do not see it as extra help, but as a burden as they have to teach the volunteer and the class at the same time. It is important to not generalize the experience and perspectives of the host community, like the experiences and perspectives of the volunteers have been generalized in the past (Wearing and McGehee, 2013, p. 124).

Organisational narratives and preparation

In addition to the focus on volunteer and teacher perspectives, some literature highlight the importance and influence of the volunteer organizations. The volunteer organizations are responsible for shaping some of the motivations and expectations of the volunteers.

They market volunteering as “Make a difference” (Naturally Africa Volunteers, 2020). They frame the volunteer work as doing something meaningful and personal growth. By putting such things on their website, they are contributing to unrealistic expectations among volunteers, especially regarding what they can achieve during their short-term placements. The volunteer organizations encourage unrealistic views on what the volunteer work will look like and some claim that teachers are needed in countries such as Zambia (Naturally Africa Volunteers, 2020).

Previous research has pointed out that the pre-departure training that is offered by these volunteer organizations are insufficient most of the time. Some only exist of general cultural briefings, others consist of the basic teaching of teaching skills. It is insufficient to cover the knowledge needed to be able to teach students. It leads to the volunteers not being prepared enough and arriving at the pre- and primary school with little to no knowledge or experience (Strohmeier and Heleta, 2020; Schwartz, 2021).

Remaining gaps in the literature

There is a growing body of literature on voluntourism, yet there is still a large gap that is mainly tied to lack of host perspective input, Zambia focused literature, and research focused on untrained, young volunteers at pre and primary schools.

- The research on host perspectives is growing, but there is still a large gap to close to actually be able to draw certain conclusions (Wearing and McGehee, 2013, p. 124).
- There is limited research that focuses on Zambia specifically, most research is focused on a larger region or other African countries, but research that is generalized or focused on other countries cannot always be used to apply to a specific country, which is why research focused on specific countries and smaller regions is crucial (Miguel, González and Chinchilla-Rodríguez, 2024).
- There is a lack of research focused on young, untrained volunteers at pre and primary schools. Most of the research focused on young, untrained volunteers in the general sense, with not much interest in which roles these volunteers take on. Research is mostly focused on older and more prepared volunteers as well, such

as those that work in hospitals after getting a degree in something related to it (Graham et al., 2013, pp. 8-9).

Addressing these gaps is the aim of this thesis, which will be done by focusing on the host perspective and including the voices of the volunteers in the same research focused on young, untrained volunteers at pre and primary schools in Zambia. By looking and including this in one research, it seeks to clarify misunderstandings surrounding expectations and realities between the volunteers and the teachers and open up the possibility to have more aimed researches instead of generalized ones that cover multiple regions and countries. It will contribute to the discussion of the pre-departure preparations of the volunteers, and support the guidance of future policies on volunteering (Wilson, 2004).

3 Theoretical/analytical/conceptual framework

There are two theoretical lenses used to analyze the answers to ensure that both participant groups are understood correctly.. The Post-Development Theory (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997) and Empowerment Theory (Kabeer, 1999) were chosen as they allow for a critical exploration of the dynamics of voluntourism in the education sector, but still allow room for their personal experiences and perspectives of situations. By using two theories, it allows for a better view of the different perspectives and experiences that have emerged from the data from the volunteer group and the teacher group.

The theories are not used to judge the data or to validate experiences of individuals, but rather provide a starting point to understand the data in different contexts such as social, cultural, and structural. The theories are analytical frameworks that will guide the interpretation and to situate the data in the broader discussions about power, development work, agency, and volunteering.

Post-Development Theory

Post-Development Theory (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997) provides the analytical foundation for understanding the perspectives and experiences of the group of volunteers. The theory argues that development might not be a natural, universal, and inherently positive process, instead it claims that the development course that is mainstreamed nowadays is rooted in Western values and historical experiences. It assumes that progress, modernity, and improvement have to be up to certain Western standards in order to be called as development. Therefore development projects and initiatives often fail to fully consider cultural contexts, existing social structures, and local norms and values.

This framework sees development as a socially constructed concept that shapes how problems and solutions are defined. The theory questions who is to identify what is lacking in a country or region, what needs to be developed and how the development in

those countries or regions should take place (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). The case of voluntourism fits right in with this, as individuals, often from the global north travel to the global south to do short-term volunteer work. The volunteer work often takes place in the educational sector and these volunteers often arrive with limited to no knowledge about the education system. Yet, they are given roles at pre and primary schools that involve authority and responsibility for teaching and supporting children (Palacios, 2010).

By applying Post-Development Theory it allows this research to critically examine how the motivations and expectations by the volunteer are shaped by the narrative set by the global north about helping, development, and moral responsibility. The most common motivations, such as cultural exchange, personal growth, or wanting to help and contribute to a community are seen as personal and individual choices and feeling, however post-Development Theory argues that these motivations are the result of the influence of the dominant development discourse that sees the global south as an area that is in need of help and development and needs the global north's assistance with that. Voluntourism can be seen as part of the global system that is reinforced by ideas of expertise, capability, and most importantly, dependency (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997).

The theoretical lens will be useful to help understand the way the volunteers perceive their roles within the schools and classrooms and how they experience their contributions. Identifying their narratives that will reflect the underlying assumptions about local cultures and power relations is of importance for this research.

It is, however, of importance to emphasize that this research is not in any way, giving critique on the individual volunteers. Its aim is not to blame them or shame them for doing volunteer work. Its aim is to explore the idea that the structure of voluntourism is tied to the ideas that the global north has of the global south. The volunteers that have participated and many other volunteers do their volunteer work with the best intentions, but the reasons behind the decision, how genuine they are, are tied to a larger system and Post-Development Theory will help to place those motivations within that system. Pieterse (2010) argues that development practices are shaped by global inequalities and

historical power relations, which continue to influence contemporary forms of aid and volunteering.

Post-Development theory is primarily used in this research to identify themes related to cultural assumptions, expectations, and perceptions of impact within the volunteers' survey responses. The theory is not aimed or used to dismiss or invalidate the experiences and perspectives of the volunteers, its only aim is to recognize themes from the data that is received. Overuse of the theory could lead to matching the data to the theory instead of matching the theory to the data. The individual voices and experiences are the most important and root of this research.

Empowerment theory

Empowerment theory (Kabeer, 1999), guides the analysis of the teacher's perspectives. The original theory was developed for the analysis of women's empowerment, yet if it is applied carefully, the theory could be useful for this research. It provides a useful lens to examine how the teachers experience and interpret working together with the volunteers in the classrooms.

Kabeer (1999) defines empowerment as a process that individuals need to endure to gain the ability to make meaningful decisions. The three main principles of this theory are resources, agency, and achievements. Resources refers to the material, human and social surroundings that enable individuals to make choices. Agency refers to the ability to create goals and to achieve them. Achievements reflect the outcomes of the decisions taken.

For this study, Empowerment theory is used to help and understand how international volunteers influence the teacher's role and authority in the classroom. Teachers are essential in the shaping of students' learning experiences, especially in pre- and primary schools. Young, untrained volunteers that enter this environment, may change the workload, authority and role of the teachers (Jänis & Timonen, 2014, p. 103).

To analyse if the volunteers contribute and provide additional support for the teachers, the resource principle will be of great use. The extra hands in the classroom might be useful

for some teachers, as it lightens their workload. Other teachers may experience that they need to divide their attention between the students and supporting the volunteers, especially if they lack training and experience. This affects the teachers time, energy and their professional resources (Jänis & Timonen, 2014, p. 103).

The agency principle is used to focus on the teacher's ability to make decisions about the tasks the volunteers do in the classroom. The presence of volunteers at a pre and primary school might support or undermine the teachers agency in their classroom and communication between the schools and organizations play a part in this. If organizations and schools communicate regularly, the schools and teachers might feel more welcome to share any issues they face while working with volunteers (Sinyemu, 2019. P. 6).

How all these dynamics affect perceived outcomes, such as effectiveness and satisfaction, will be examined using the last principle, achievements. This principle will be used to look and analyse the survey questions that asked the teachers to reflect on how having volunteers in the classroom affects them and their work (Kabeer, 1999).

The empowerment theory will, just as the post-development theory, only be used to help understand the answers. It will help with understanding the answers of the teachers and divide the questions and answers into the three principles of the theory. This will make it easier to navigate between all the different answers, but it will not put any of the answers in a "box" either.

Combining the theories

The post-development theory and the empowerment theory ensure a balanced analysis of the survey answers and therefore of voluntourism in Zambian pre- and primary schools. Post-development theory helps to place the volunteers' experiences and perspectives within discussions about global power structures, while ensuring that these experiences and perspectives are not demonized. Empowerment theory will help with giving the voices of the teachers a central place in this research. By combining these two theories, this research can analyse both perspectives that are usually researched separately or under researched (Escobar, 1995; Rahnama & Bawtree, 1997; Kabeer, 1999).

Using two theories ensures that there will not be a one-sided interpretation of the data. This approach allows for both sides to be analysed without judgement, as it acknowledges the complexity on both sides. Applying these two theories to the survey data, this research will contribute to a wider and more community-informed understanding of voluntourism. It supports the main goal of this thesis, which is foremost to open up the conversations about voluntourism behind the ethical debates and focus on how voluntourism itself is experienced by the volunteers and the teachers.

4 Methodological framework

This chapter will outline and explain the methodological choices that guide this research on voluntourism. It will present the research design, methodological approach, data collection, sampling strategy, analytical procedures, and ethical considerations.

4.1 Research Design and Approach

This research adopts a qualitative, thematic research approach. The reason behind this approach is that qualitative methods allow for a more appropriate approach to explore personal experiences and expectations. A quantitative approach would simplify the complex dynamics between teachers and volunteers, and the motivations and experiences (Bryman, 2011, p. 363).

A balance is needed between the interpretation of the theories and the observed experiences of the volunteers and the teachers, and thematic analysis offers that. This approach allows the survey responses to be examined systematically while remaining open to the themes that emerge directly from the participants' accounts. These themes will then be interpreted with support from the two selected theories.

This combination allows for new insights, as existing research covers volunteer motivations but pays far less attention to teachers' experiences. The Post-Development Theory and the Empowerment Theory will guide the interpretation of the findings without determining them, ensuring that the theories help to explain and contextualise the themes rather than overshadow the participants' perspectives (Bryman, 2011, p. 357).

4.2 Justification for a Qualitative Methodology

There are three main reasons behind why a qualitative approach was chosen:

1. Depth and complexity of experiences

The motivations of young, untrained volunteers and the perceptions of teachers could not be captured through numbers as well as they could be through words. These experiences differ per individual and could hold emotional value. Putting those into numbers would not do their voices and experiences justice. The same goes for the cultural dimensions that need to be considered (Bryman, 2011 p. 354).

2. Limited prior research on teacher perspectives

There is a small amount of research on the perspectives of the teachers that work with volunteers. Qualitative research would allow their voices to be heard in the exact way they intend them to be heard. It would also not allow for the voices on one side to overshadow the voices of the other side. This has happened in the past if you look at the amount of research on volunteers and the extensively smaller amount on the teachers' perspectives.

3. Comparative exploration

One of the aims of this research is to compare the experiences, perceptions, and expectations of the volunteers and teachers. To actually see the differences and the similarities between the two groups, a qualitative method is needed, as it will not put everyone in one group in the same category. It will allow for more spread out answers and not cluster one group together (Bryman, 2011, pp. 354, 357).

These are the main and most important reasons that a qualitative thematic approach aligns with the research questions and aims of this thesis the most.

4.3 Methods of Data Collection

This research relies on one main data collection technique which is semi structured online surveys. There are two different sets of questions, one set for the volunteers and one for the teachers.

4.3.1. Semi Structured Surveys

The semi structured survey is the method of data collection, meaning the survey consists of closed ended multiple choice questions and open ended questions where the participants can explain their answers. It consists of a set of open- and closed-ended questions. There are two different surveys, one for the teachers and one for the volunteers.

Practical considerations

- The geographical distance between most of the volunteers, teachers, and researcher make it harder to to in-person interviews
- The accessibility to the internet varies, so a survey will have a better guarantee of being inclusive than online video interviews.
- A relaxed environment and more time to answer the questions will allow them to think more about their experience and therefore give a more developed answer to the questions, than asked in an interview and feeling more pressure by real-time conversations.

Methodological considerations

- Open-ended questions allow for more qualitative answers.
- Closed-ended questions allow to identify patterns and to categories the respondents into categories of who fall into the age category that is used for this research
- A survey will allow for equal opportunity among the teachers and volunteers as some might not have access to the internet all the time, and the teachers might have less time for interviews.

The survey of the volunteers focused on motivations, expectations, preparation, interactions, and reflection of their volunteer work and impact.

The survey of the teachers focuses on their perceptions of the volunteers, the challenges that they encounter with having them in the classrooms, their knowledge of their experiences in teaching and overall feeling of having volunteers in a classroom.

Both surveys were constructed in alignment with the research questions and theoretical frameworks (Bryman, 2011, pp. 352-353).

4.4 Sampling Strategy

4.4.1 Participants

This study has involved two main participant groups, the International volunteers, which were between the ages of 18 and 25 at the time they did their volunteer work. They all

have had to do their volunteer work at a pre- and primary school in Zambia, and have no previous experience in the education sector.

The next group is the teachers, their criteria was that they either have formerly worked with or are currently working with volunteers at a pre and primary school. The last criteria was that they should have been in contact with the volunteers, which would be working in the classroom with them and supporting them (Bryman, 2011, p. 359).

The survey has been completed by 9 volunteers and 6 teachers, therefore there is a slight difference, which could influence the results of the research. The difference between the amount of participants in the groups is not large enough for the data to not be relevant.

4.4.2. Sampling method

For this study, a purposive sampling strategy was used, meaning that these participants were chosen because they met the criteria. They were solely selected on whether they fit the criteria and therefore their relevance for the questions and this research specifically. The reason this sampling method was chosen and will be the most useful is that it ensures that all the experiences will be relevant and specific enough to fit in with this study, besides that it will ensure that individuals who have no experience with voluntourism or teachers who have not personally worked with the volunteers will not be included in the study. It ensured that the received data will be useful and meaningful to this research and it is more efficient to shift through instead of having to check the answers individually and checking which ones of the answers would be and would not be useful (Bryman, 2011, p. 359).

4.4.3. Recruitment process

The participants were recruited through several connections and platforms. Most of the participants were reached out to through established connections in both Zambia and around the world through the researcher's previous experience as volunteer at a pre and primary school in Zambia. Besides that, the survey had been send out through several platforms, such as Facebook and Instagram. There it was posted in several volunteer groups that have active members in Zambia. All the surveys were sent out with an information sheet that stated that participation was voluntary and that participants could

choose to stay anonymous if desired (Bryman, 2011, p. 359). It should be acknowledged that this sample and recruitment strategy could be a limitation, as participants were reached through the researchers personal connections and online platforms such as Facebook. The reason for his recruitment strategy is that it would ensure participants. By reaching out to personal connections, there is a sense of certainty that people would respond. The reason that it was also posted on several Facebook groups was to ensure that the data was not only from the personal connections of the researcher, as that could lead to biased data.

4.5 Data analysis

The data is analysed using thematic analysis, which is guided by Braun and Clarke (2006) six-step approach; 1. familiarization with the data, 2. Generating initial codes, 3. Searching for themes, 4. Reviewing themes, 5. Defining and naming themes, 6. Producing the final narrative report.

The reason this approach was chosen is that it allows for comparison between the volunteer and teacher perspectives and it ensured that themes were not forced into a theoretical category, but are shown as they are.

The data is analysed by reading it thoroughly. It was read multiple times to ensure familiarity with the answers. Once that was created, familiarities between answers were analyzed and coded. Certain themes were created to make sure the answers are not generalised and efficient in reading the data. These codes were then written out with explanations as to why they are placed in these codes and themes (Bryman, 2011, pp. 359-360).

The codes that were mostly used for the data from the volunteers are “personal growth”, “Gap year”, “Tourist attractions”, “Poor country”, “Teaching expectations”, “volunteer marketing”, “Welcomed”, “Personal experience teachers”, “Teaching classes”, “Not prepared enough”, “Different in the future”, and “No experience”. These codes are based on the participants' answers as it allows for it to be read more easily and as a whole instead of 9 different answers for the same questions. It is not generalized, as all the codes are based on the words that are used in the answers or can be used instead of the words used in the answers.

For the teachers, the same was done. The codes there consisted words and sentences like the following; “Found volunteers helpful in certain aspects”, “Enjoyable to work with”, “Different systems based on skills”, “Difference in focus students”, “No big problems”, “tardiness”, “not qualified enough”, “Requirements”, and “Appreciate volunteers”. These are based on the answers as well, and it allows for the data to be read more easily and shows familiarity with the data.

The codes were then used to link the data to previous literature and the theories. By not having so many different answers, it is a more organized process.

4.5.1. Integration of theory during analysis

The theories Post-Development Theory and Empowerment Theory were to be discussed and integrated in a later stage of the analysis, as they are more to explain the answers. If the data was analyzed while using the theories, it could lead to certain answers and experiences not fitting in with the theories and therefore not being useful. These theories are there to help explain the survey questions, not the other way around.

The Post-Development theory was used to analyze the answers of the volunteers and their perception of the differences, their expectations and assumptions of what they would be needed to do and the experiences they have lived.

The Empowerment theory was used to analyze the survey answers of the teachers. It helped understand how they view the classroom dynamics, the professional autonomy and agency they experienced while there were volunteers in the classroom, and how they perceived the help of the volunteers in general.

The end product of this is that it showed a clear overview of the themes that are present in both groups and highlight areas that overlap (Bryman 2011, p. 359-360).

4.6 Reliability, validity, and research quality

This study uses trustworthy criteria as explained by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

For credibility, the surveys were sent out with a information sheet that explained that explained what the data would be used for. As the participants were asked to fill in the

surveys at a place they felt comfortable at and knew what the data would be used for, the data is reliable and accurate.

For transferability, it has a clear description of the context, such as the country, the different volunteer programs and some of the cultural settings in which these schools are located. As this is a case study with personal experiences of participants, the aim is not for it to be applied to other contexts, but to open up the debates surrounding voluntourism that includes the perspectives of the host community.

For dependability, there was complete transparency in the research procedures and all the data was collected through surveys.

As for confirmability, the research acknowledges that their past experience as a volunteer at a pre and primary school and will therefore carefully separate the personal experience from the data interpretation (Bryman, 2011, pp 369-371).

4.7 Ethical considerations

The ethical considerations are essential for this research as it deals with personal experiences of people. Therefore there were certain measures taken, such as informed consent. All the participants received an information sheet that explained why they were being asked to be a part of this study and how their answers would be used. It stated that they had the option to withdraw, but only up to two days after sending in their survey, after that the answers could have already been used and therefore anonymized to a certain extent. At the bottom of the information sheet, the link to the survey was placed. There are two different information sheets, one for the teachers and one for the volunteers.

As for confidentiality and anonymity, no names are mentioned throughout this study to ensure they stay anonymous, no specific locations or schools or organizations are named or identified, and the survey data is stored securely.

The power dynamics should be taken into consideration, especially due to the researcher's experience as a volunteer. All participants were made aware that the survey is voluntary and that the research is not affiliated with any organization.

The culture sensitivity has been taken into account as well, with a focus on the historically unequal relationships that surround volunteering. This research is in respect to

the cultural context, autonomy, and local authority (Swedish Research Council, 2019).

4.8 Limitations of the methodology

The chosen methodology approach has limits, such as the decision to use online surveys, this could have led to answers not being as natural and less in depth than they would have been if an interview had taken place. Internet restraints for both volunteers and teachers could have limited participation. The researcher's previous experience may have introduced unintentional bias, although measures were in place to minimize this. The numbers of participants may be limited as a specific group was studied, this connects to that the study has not taken place in Zambia. If it had been done in Zambia, more participants could have been reached.

Despite these limitations, the methodology remains suitable for this research as it still delivered meaningful insights into voluntourism and the perceptions of it by volunteers and the teacher themselves in Zambia.

4.9 Summary

In summary, this chapter has outlined the qualitative thematic methodological framework that has been used to analyze the data collected through semi-structured surveys and optional interviews. The study has collected rich and comparative data on the experiences of the volunteers and teachers. The thematic analysis is grounded in Post-Development Theory and Empowerment Theory which enabled a nuanced interpretation of the motivations, expectations and lived experiences of the participants that were chosen through a set of criteria. Ethical considerations, sampling strategies, and measures to ensure trustworthiness between the participants and researcher were in place in respect of the researcher's previous experiences.

5 Presentation of findings and analysis of findings

In this chapter, the findings of the surveys distributed among the volunteers and teachers will be presented and analyzed. It is divided into 3 main sections. In the first section, the data collected from the volunteers will be presented and analyzed. In the second section, the data that was collected from the teachers will be presented and analyzed. In the third and last section, the data will be compared and discussed together, the aim in this section is to highlight the differences and similarities between the two data sets and open up the discussion about voluntourism further.

As mentioned before, this research is grounded in two theoretical frameworks; Post Development Theory (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997), which is used to guide the analysis of the data collected from the responses from the volunteers, and Empowerment Theory (Kabeer, 1999), which guides the analysis of the data collected from responses from the teachers. These theories are used as theoretical lenses to contextualize the data. It ensures that the experiences of the individuals that took part in this research are not judged, but simply situated in the social, cultural and structural dynamics that surround voluntourism.

5.1 5.1 Volunteer data analysis

5.1.1 Volunteer backgrounds and placement.

The volunteers that have participated in this study were young adults, most of them being between the ages of 18 and 22. Most of the placements were short-term, ranging from one to three months. All the participants were volunteering at pre- and primary schools. None of the volunteers had formal training or qualifications in education, and the most of the preparation for the placement that was provided by the organizations consisted of short online seminars or courses. Some volunteers did have previous experience with volunteering at pre- and primary schools in other countries.

This aligns with already established literature surrounding the voluntourism debate, which describes voluntourism as young, untrained volunteers, mostly from the Global North, without training participating in short-term placements (Wilson, 2004; McLachlan & Binns, 2015).

None of the volunteers had visited Zambia or knew anyone that had been to Zambia before their volunteer placement. All participants did show interest in traveling before, during or after volunteering. This supports the idea that volunteering and tourism are closely linked.

5.1.2 Motivations for volunteering

Personal development and growth was the main reason for most of the participants to do volunteer work. Many mentioned they were or are doing a gap year or that they were not sure about what they wanted to do in the future. They saw volunteering as an option to broaden their horizon on possible opportunities to gain life experiences and improve their own English proficiency or confidence. Existing literature is in agreement with this, as self-development and adventure are seen as key motivations for voluntourism (Benson & Seibert, 2009).

“I had a gap year, but I didn’t want to just work, make money and sit around my town. I wanted to travel, discover new cultures and different countries, and help others. That’s how I landed on volunteer work; I got to do all of it, in one experience.”

– Volunteer participant

“I took a gap year from my bachelors and didn’t know what to do. I saw a ad about this somewhere and it seemed really interesting! I thought it would be a good way for me to better my own english and also for my personal development while helping people to.”

– Volunteer participant

The participants also mentioned that they wanted to help at the pre- and primary schools as they wanted to work with people, preferably children, out of their own interest and the desire to help. They perceived these pre- and primary schools as an essential space where

they could be useful and do meaningful work that contributes to the educational and personal development of the children. Some participants linked the choice to work at a pre- and primary school to interest in teaching and their future as a teacher; they essentially saw it as an opportunity to explore a potential career.

“Because I like working with children. I study social work now, with a specialisation in youth and children, so that has always been in my interests. I now also still teach in my job and internship.”

– Volunteer participant

5.1.3 Why Zambia?

Numerous reasons were mentioned as to why the participants chose Zambia. Some mentioned the tourist side of Zambia, such as the wildlife and Victoria falls, others answered that their choice was based on Zambia being one of the poorest countries in the world. Zambia has a dual position in the world of volunteering, both as a country that provides tourist attractions and as a developing country where help seems to be needed.

“I was doubting between Tanzania and Zambia, but I read that Zambia is one of the most poor countries of the continent Africa. Also, I heard other people about travelling to Tanzania, but never about Zambia, so I thought it would be interesting to go to a country I didn't know much about”

– Volunteer participant

“It seemed like a really nice place and it was close to the Victoria falls. It also seemed like there were a lot of fun things to do in and around town.”

– Volunteer participant

Post-development theory can provide insight into the dual position. Rahnema and Bawtree (1997) argued that countries in the global south are often seen as countries that endure poverty or underdevelopment because of the development discourse. The poverty, in this study, functioned as a justification for volunteering. This supports the idea that countries such as Zambia needs international intervention and help.

The tourist motivations highlight the usage of development experiences for personal gain. McLachlan and Binns (2015) mentioned that the volunteer organizations often promote the narrative of helping an area in need while also promising adventure and cultural experiences. This allows volunteers to travel while also doing something ethically meaningful.

5.1.4 Organisational narratives and expectations

All volunteers participants in the study mentioned that the volunteer organizations played a large role in shaping their expectations for volunteering. This was done through social media, advertisements, and stories of previous volunteers. This led to volunteers expecting the schools to be in need of volunteers because they did not have enough teachers, or because they needed help around the school.

“I expected to work at the pre- and primary school as more of a back ground figure that would help the children during class. I expected the schools to be maybe a bit less organized that then they were. I hoped that I would be able to connect with the children a bit and also with the other volunteers”

– Volunteer participant

“Mostly on social media and on stuff I saw on the website of the company that got me the volunteer placement.”

— Volunteer participant

“I think mostly on things I saw on social media and the ads from the volunteer organizations. I read some vlogs from other volunteers.”

– Volunteer participant

Many volunteers expected to be teaching classes that did not have a teacher and therefore doing it independently. This aligns with what some volunteer organizations are

promoting, claiming that volunteers are needed to fill in for teachers (Naturally Africa Volunteers, 2020).

The Post-development theory shows that these narratives can and have produced a hierarchical view about the teachers that are teaching at schools. Volunteers are seen as essential for the schools while teachers are described as insufficient or non-reliable. It is described as if there are not enough teachers in Zambia. This encourages power relations that are rooted in the colonial history of the country (Escobar, 1995). This leads to disappointment and surprise when the volunteers arrive and encounter a different reality at these schools.

5.1.5 Classroom reality

The participants all mentioned a disruptance between the expectations and the reality. Most mentioned that they did not feel as needed as they thought they would be. They realized that the school functioned without them and that they were mostly entertainment for the children during breaks. They were more assisting during classes, sometimes teaching a class so the teacher could have a break, or they would grade homework. One mentioned that because their English wasn't sufficient enough to teach a subject or to grade homework, they supervised the children during the breaks and spend most of the day helping around the school with preparing lunch or tidying up the playground.

“The expectation of the joyful and happy children was met. But I came to a school where a lot was taken care of. They basically didn't need my help. I took over a class from a teacher, who then was just sitting in the back of the class, watching me teach the lesson the would've taught them, and he probably would've even done a better job than me, as it is his job, and I don't have any experience. The only times I felt useful was when 1) I taught the class of a teacher who was sick; there was nobody to take over the class, so they were happy that I could do it. 2) When we bought a ton of supplies for the school and for the children, things they really needed: computers for computer class, pans and pots to cook in, etc. Other than that, when I reflect on my journey, I'm happy I was able to experience it for myself, but I do feel like my white privileged self wasn't needed to mingle in a school where everything was taken care of.”

– Volunteer participant

This is in alignment with Palacios' (2010) claim that the need of volunteers is overestimated most of the time and that it grossly underestimates the capacity of the teachers and local community. Most volunteers' recognized that the schools were not dependent on them, which was in conflict with their own expectations and the narratives given by the volunteer organizations.

Post-development theory allows for a more theoretical and analytical approach. The discourse that has surrounded development includes the roles and tasks that come with volunteering. When volunteers come to the schools and realise they are not as needed as they thought they would be, the traditional helper-recipient relationship that has been established is shattered. Post-development theory argues that the development discourse creates a narrative that the countries in the global south lack the ability to develop without intervention of the global north (Escobar, 1999). This idea is rooted in the colonial history of these countries, and it leads to perceptions that the local schools cannot provide for themselves and need human resources from other countries.

5.1.6 Preparation

All the participants have expressed that they did not feel prepared enough for the volunteer work they would be doing. None of the participants took part in real life training, as it all happened online. Some described it as too general and insufficient, especially when it came to the reality in the classroom. Most of the volunteers mentioned that the training was mostly focused on the cultural differences they would experience when going to a new country, but as there were people who were going to completely different continents in those training, it was not helpful to them.

“Yes, an online seminar on the day before I left. It was very general though and in the seminar there were people going to other countries besides Zambia as well”

--Volunteer participant

This aligns with existing literature that discuss the lack of pre-departure training that volunteer organizations provide, as teaching requires professional training, understanding

of the culture and pedagogical skill, which were all not present in the preparations or skill of the volunteers (Strohmeier & Heleta, 2020; Schwartz, 2021).

Post-development theory gives a slightly different perspective, as it focuses on how the lack of preparation reflects on the skill levels of the teachers. The organizations offer short, generalized online seminars as if they are a substitute for the years of education that the teachers in Zambia have. It implies that the teachers, who hold degrees, can be replaced by these volunteers that have no qualifications or degrees. This reflects the global development narrative that underestimates the knowledge of the local communities (J P Nederveen Pieterse, 2010).

5.1.7 Enjoyment, belonging, and the affective rewards of volunteering

Even though the participants mentioned that they did not feel prepared enough, they did enjoy their time in Zambia. This is based on the relationships that were created between them and the children, the teachers, and the other volunteers. One volunteer shared their story of how one of the teachers invited them into their home.

“The teacher I worked with the most invited me to have dinner at his family’s house. I met his wife, his kids and was welcomed into his home. They cooked me dinner, and I got to know so much more about the culture and the way of living in Livingstone. They showed me around the neighbourhood, introduced me to their neighbours, and we became close. I still have contact with them every week, and we keep each other posted on our lives.”
--Volunteer participant

There is a clear connection between the volunteers and the teachers, which is mentioned in some of the literature as well. Benson and Seibert (2009) discussed how personal emotional satisfaction and fulfillment is central to the outcome for the volunteers. They linked this to the social experiences being more important than the educational experiences, thus the volunteer work itself not being the prime priority, but the social side.

This does raise some questions about whose needs are actually at the forefront of voluntourism. The teachers seem very enthusiastic about meeting the volunteers and creating connections with them, inviting them to their homes and showing them around, but that is not the priority with volunteering. This will be further discussed in the analysis of the teacher's perspective.

5.1.8 Post-placement reflection and emerging awareness

Most of the participants said that they would not do volunteer work again, or at least not in the same way. Some said they would not volunteer again, others have said that they would do it if they had more and better preparation or if they had a different role.

“No, probably not. As much fun as it was, I don’t think it was the best thing to do. I would definitely want to go back there and see everyone and visit the school, but I would not want to do the volunteer work it self again.”

--Volunteer participant

They reflected on their experiences and learned from it, which is important when looking at it through the post-development theory lens. The realities in the classroom challenged the participants expectations and views. It also highlighted the limitations of their preparations, and short-term placements. This reflection on volunteer work happened after participation, which means it will not change the system, as it seems that people need to experience something in order to address the issue.

5.1.9 Summary

This section focused on analysing the perspectives of the voluntourists, who are often untrained and come from the Global North. It highlighted their motivations, expectations, and experiences, which are shaped and supported by development discourse and the narratives presented by volunteer organisations. The findings show that many volunteers arrive with expectations about helping and making a meaningful impact in the classroom. However, the data also reveals a gap between these expectations and the realities they encounter once they start volunteering. Limited preparation for teaching roles was a recurring theme, as many volunteers only received short introductions or online training

before entering the classroom. In addition, the need for personal fulfilment and the desire to have a meaningful experience played an important role in shaping how volunteers perceived their role at the school. These findings illustrate how broader development narratives influence both the expectations and experiences of volunteers within this context.

5.2 5.2 Teacher data analysis

5.2.1 Professional background and awareness of volunteer competence

All the participants from the teacher surveys indicated that they hold degrees in education, most of the participants had a degree in primary education only. All have worked with volunteers at pre- and primary schools. This is a good foundation for the analysis, as it shows they have the professional pedagogical knowledge and experiences in the classroom, along with familiarity with working with volunteers.

Most teachers reported that they were made aware in advance if volunteers had teaching experience or training. It was not always communicated well how much experience a volunteer had. This is reflected in the previously mentioned literature, as there are some concerns in current debates about role clarity and coordination communication (Sinyemu, 2019).

Empowerment theory (Kabeer, 1999) shows a different aspect, as the teacher's professional qualifications can be seen as a resource through this theory. Their educational background gives them the capability to structure classroom activities and educational decisions within their classroom. When there are untrained volunteers, however, it changes the dynamic as the teachers suddenly have to guide and supervise volunteers who do not have the same educational and professional qualifications. Sometimes the teacher's status in the classroom can be questioned because of this, as a volunteer that does not have the same professional background will be seen as an equal to the teacher in the eyes of the students and others. This raises important questions about the authority and professional expertise that are discussed within classrooms.

5.2.2 Volunteers as resources: Support, relief, and added capacity

Most of the participants described the volunteers as helpful. They explained that the volunteers assisted with grading homework and supervised children during breaks. This could add to the teacher's focus on the students, as it took away from the tasks they had to do during the day.

“They were helpful as they could do tasks such as grading homework while I was teaching the class. Sometimes they would take over the class if I had to attend a meeting.”

– Teacher participant

From the perspective of Empowerment theory, the presence of volunteers can be understood as resource (Kabeer, 1999). In this research, the volunteers function as human resources in the classroom. Their presence can reduce the workload of teachers. For example, volunteers may assist with smaller tasks such as grading homework or temporarily taking over the class when teachers have meetings or other responsibilities. In this way, the volunteers can support the teachers in achieving their professional goals, which in this case relates to the education and development of the students. However, the extent to which volunteers function as a useful resource often depends on their level of preparation and experience in teaching.

Jänis and Timonen (2014) had mentioned this in their research, claiming that volunteers are appreciated for their willingness to take over tasks. They are supportive roles in the daily tasks of the teachers rather than an authority figure in the classroom, meaning they do not disrupt the classroom structure.

5.2.3 Supervision and the redistribution of professional labour

The helpfulness of the volunteers was described as dependable on their previous experience, meaning that not every volunteer was as helpful. Some of the participants mentioned that they did not feel like the volunteers took away from their attention on the

students, but some did. If a volunteer did not have experience or training, the participants mentioned that they would need to take time to explain things to them, such as grading homework.

“I sometimes had to show them how to grade homework, or how to teach a class or things like that.”

– Teacher participant

The resource and agency dimensions of the empowerment theory allow for a different analysis of the human resources that the volunteers provide. While they do provide more human resources, some volunteers can also require more attention and energy from the teachers. Therefore volunteers do not necessarily only reduce the workload, they can increase it too. Their presence may demand more work from the teacher.

From an agency perspective, the teachers have control over how volunteers are integrated into classroom routines. Many of the participants mentioned that they observe the capabilities of the volunteer and then decide what they can do. That alone demonstrated the teachers professionalism when working with volunteers.

“If it was the first time, the volunteer has to observe you teach then you allow him or her to teach”

– Teacher participant

However, having to guide the volunteers can also constrain the full agency of the teachers. While teachers generally hold authority within the classroom, the volunteers require them to spend time supervising them and helping volunteers understand the classroom environment. In addition, the organisational narratives and expectations that volunteers bring with them may create a form of pressure for teachers to involve volunteers more actively in teaching than they might otherwise consider appropriate. Although none of the participants mentioned experiencing direct conflict with volunteers, the broader way in which voluntourism is organised may still influence classroom dynamics. Because volunteer placements are often arranged through external

organisations, teachers have limited control over who enters their classroom and what level of preparation the volunteers have (Sinyemu, 2019).

5.2.4 Educational value: Conditional contributions

The participants showed different opinions on whether volunteers add to the education of students. Some felt that they did add positively to the classrooms by introducing new ideas or perspectives, while others expressed that volunteers could be adding to the education, if they possessed some kind of experience.

“It depends on the volunteer. In my experience, volunteers that have no experience do not necessarily add to the education of the students.”

– teacher participant

All the participants expressed that not all volunteers were qualified to teach at a pre- and primary school. One respondent mentioned a volunteer whose English was not up to standards to teach. This aligns with some previous literature that mentions the requirements that are needed to be able to teach and the minimal preparedness of some volunteers (Strohmeier & Heleta, 2020; Schwartz, 2021).

“some of them were not qualified to be in front of a class. They could only do the easy tasks as grading homework. We had a few volunteers whose English was not up to standards to teach.”

–Teacher participant

The achievement dimension in the empowerment theory is focused on one thing, and that is whether the volunteers add to the education of the students, as that is the ultimate achievement. The data suggests that the achievements are very uneven and dependent on the experience and preparedness of the volunteers. This is in contrast with what some of the volunteer organizations claim about helping out at a pre- and primary school and teaching children.

The professional authority of teachers is central to the education of students. The volunteers are working within the system that these teachers set for them within the classroom. This is in contrast to the white saviourism discussion that often clouds volunteering in debates (Bandyopadhyay, 2019, p. 329). That is not to say that there are no structural power systems, but at the local level, within the classrooms, the teachers remain mostly in control over the teaching decisions.

5.2.5 Classroom dynamics, student reaction, and professional standard

All the teachers mentioned that the students enjoyed being taught by a volunteer, although some teachers did mention that some of the students were distracted by having a volunteer in the classroom. Besides that, all the participants agreed that not all volunteers were qualified or prepared enough to teach at a pre- and primary school. The participant mentioned that having some kind of requirements regarding experience should be in place.

This aligns with Zambia's National Volunteer Policy (2022), which discusses and emphasizes the need for coordination and alignment with the development priorities in Zambia. Other existing literature such as Sinyemu (2019) calls for clearer role design and more preparedness of the volunteer as well.

“they liked it, but they were very distracted if a volunteer was at the back of the class, but they listened well in general.”

– Teacher participant

This reflects on the dual position volunteering holds in the world, it can lead to educational purposes for students, but also create disruptions in the classroom.

Empowerment theory focuses on how these interactions affect the agency of a teacher. If the presence of a volunteer peaks the students interest, it can add to their education and therefore the teachers achievements. If the volunteer, however, creates a distraction in the classroom, it takes away from the professional achievement of the teachers.

As for the participants agreeing on not all volunteers being qualified enough, the perspective of empowerment theory, qualification requirements can strengthen the resources and agency of the teachers. It would protect the professional boundaries of the teachers by not putting a volunteer with no training on the same level as them in front of a classroom, reduce the workload of teachers by having them guide and instruct volunteers, and ensure that there is a clear role design; the volunteers know what they are going to do and the teachers are aware of the volunteers capabilities in advance.

5.2.6 Finances, expectations, and misalignments

One participant mentioned the money that the volunteers raise is important for the schools, and therefore the volunteers are important. Other participants mentioned the support they receive on the educational aspects, and other participants mentioned the connections between students and volunteers and teachers and volunteers are important. Some of the participants expressed that volunteers have told them they expected to be more needed at the school. The volunteers arrived believing that they would be more needed and involved in the teaching at the pre- and primary schools.

“I think the money they can add to the school is important”

– Teacher participant

“Multiple have told me they expected to be more needed or to do more teaching.”

–Teacher participant

Empowerment theory sees these financial contributions are material resources that can enhance the school, the social connections are social resources, which broadens the social networks and opportunities of the teachers, students, and the volunteers.

This, however, also enforces dependency on the volunteers, as they are expected to some degree to make a donation to the school, and the school can become dependent on these donations. This leads to inequalities as these volunteers bring in money which have been discussed in previous development literature by Pieterse (2010). It enforces the idea that

the historical power relations are still relevant, as volunteers are needed to bring in money for the schools.

Empowerment theory gives a perspective of the disconnection between the organizational narratives and the realities in the classroom. Teachers must discuss the realities with the volunteers while remaining professional, which can affect the teacher's agency, especially if volunteers are not as acceptant of not having a bigger role in the education of the students.

The unrealistic expectations of the volunteers are based on the volunteer organizations that claim help is needed in the classrooms (Naturally Africa Volunteers, 2020). The narratives from the participants claim otherwise.

5.2.7 Overall perceptions and balanced evaluations

Most teachers did not report major conflicts with volunteers,, most of the issues lie within preparedness and lack of experience. The participants mention their appreciation for the volunteers and their willingness to do the tasks that the teachers do not always have the time for, but they do emphasize the need for requirements for the volunteers are pre- and primary schools.

“I think volunteering is great, but I do not think it is always the best for pre- and primary schools”

– Teacher participant

Through the lens of empowerment theory, observing the capacities of the volunteers and deciding on which role the volunteer would assume within the classroom shows the teacher's agency within the classroom. The limitations, such as no requirements for the volunteers form the conditions for the agency of the teachers, are they have no influence on this.

5.2.8 Summary

The analysis of the data received from the teachers at pre- and primary schools in Zambia give an insight on their perspective on voluntourism and how it affects them. Although the teachers recognize the benefits of having volunteers, as they bring human resources, financial support and social connections. They do, however, emphasise the importance of having requirements for the volunteers based on experience and qualifications.

Empowerment theory (Kabeer, 1999), can help understand the data through the dimensions of resources, agency, and achievements. The volunteers are seen as resources and they can bring in additional resources. Their impact and resources are dependent on their own capacity. The teachers's agency in the classroom is significant, but there are limits to it, as they do not have an influence over the volunteers that are placed in their classroom. Outside of the classroom structures, they do not have a lot of agency in the voluntourism structures. The achievements are the educational achievements, which means the actual education of the students. This is dependent on the volunteers skills and are therefore not guaranteed.

This aligns with the existing literature that has called for more research on host-side perspective. A clearer role design and more regulations and requirements for the volunteers would be beneficial for the teachers and students (Wearing & McGehee, 2014; Sinyemu, 2019). The findings also imply that the situation is not necessarily negative, as the teachers have expressed their appreciation for the volunteers, and some teachers mention that they do think having volunteers in the classroom is good for the education of children.

5.3 5.3 Comparative analysis

This section will compare the two data sets. By comparing the data, it is possible to highlight the areas that align and the areas that create tension. It allows for this research to be placed within the broader debates surrounding voluntourism. Post-development theory (Escobar, 1995; Tahnema & Bawtree, 1997) and empowerment theory (Kabeer, 1999) guide this comparative analysis chapter.

5.3.1 Motivations and professional realities

As the starting point of this comparative analysis chapter, the motivations of the volunteers are compared to what the teachers need in the classroom and their professional background. The volunteers describe doing volunteer work for personal growth, cultural exchange, and travelling. This aligns closely with existing literature that describes personal development and growth as the main motivations for many volunteers (Benson & Seibert, 2009). The participants did also mention that they had the desire to help. As one volunteer mentioned in the survey, they wanted to help as Zambia was one of the poorest countries in the world, the need to help was based on the idea that Zambia was in need of help. It needed saving from external organizations and people, and in this case, that is the volunteers. In previous literature, white saviourism or the white men's burden has been mentioned as an explanation as to why young, untrained volunteers wanted to do volunteer work. Bandyopadhyay (2019) calls development an "invasive white enterprise" (p. 328) and links volunteering to the colonial past of the global north and global south. The discussion about untrained volunteers going into a classroom in Zambia and expecting to be on the same level as a teacher, also included the discussion about white saviourism. Some volunteers go to Zambia with expectations and ideas of what they will be doing and how much they would be needed, assuming that they can do the same job as a teacher that has studied for the job for years and holds degrees to obtain the positions as a teacher at a pre- and primary schools. A volunteer with no experience or training assumes to be on the same level, or to be at least a good stand-in to teach a class.

The comparison between the two datasets reveals a clear misalignment between volunteers' expectations and classroom realities. Volunteers often arrived expecting to be highly needed in teaching roles, reflecting the narratives presented by volunteer organisations. Teachers, however, indicated that schools could function without volunteers, although they appreciated the additional support and occasional financial contributions.

Post-development theory allows for a different perspective on the volunteers' motivations and expectations. It shows that the motivations could be shaped by the narratives about the global south that are presented and supported in the global north. It sees the global south as a space that is in need of help, no matter where that help is coming from or who

is going to provide the help (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). These narratives and expectations were shattered when the volunteers arrived in Zambia. The participant realised that they were not as needed as they were told they would be. The teachers in the classrooms were thankful for them, but also expectant that they would bring something to the classroom. These expectations of each other and the setting did not always match, leading to tensions in terms of the education of the students.

Empowerment theory reflects on the difference in starting points of the positions that the teachers and volunteers hold in the classroom. This is done through two dimensions from the empowerment theory, resources and agency. The volunteers have the resources and agency to go to Zambia and do volunteer work there. They have the resources to teach at a pre- and primary school without qualifications and they have the agency to decide where to go and what to do with their gap year. Teachers, on the other hand, have agency and resources within the classroom, as they decide what the volunteer will be doing in the classroom, but they are still reliant on some of the resources that the volunteers bring. At the micro-level, in this context it being the classroom, the teachers hold agency, which is interesting, as most of the previous literature mentions that the power balance in the classroom is out of balance because of the volunteers (J P Nederveen Pieterse, 2010; Palacios, 2010; Bandyopadhyay, 2019).

5.3.2 Preparation, qualification, and professional authority

What all the participants agreed on is the lack of preparation. The volunteers are aware of the poor preparations that the organizations offer, as some of these pre-departure seminars are called too general and not informative enough to fully understand what is to be expected at the volunteer location. All the preparatory seminars were online, and some volunteers mentioned that they were not country specific, as there were people in the seminars that were going to completely different continents.

As for qualifications, none of the volunteer participants had any skill or experience with teaching, as some mentioned they were doing this to figure out if it is something they want to do in the future. The volunteer organizations do not have any requirements for the volunteers that will be teaching at pre- and primary schools.

Some of teacher participants have indicated that some of the volunteers they have encountered were not fit to be teaching in front of a classroom, with one participant mentioning that they had a volunteer whose English was not up to standards to teach a class.

This lack of preparation is also discussed in previous literature (Strohmeier & Heleta, 2020; Schwartz, 2021). It had been said that it is too general and does not cover everything that is needed to put the volunteers in front of a classroom (Strohmeier & Heleta, 2020; Schwartz, 2021).

Post-development theory gives an insight that has been mentioned before; volunteers being put on the same level or on a nearly equal level as teachers that have a degree in teaching. Volunteer organizations are allowing untrained young volunteers into the programs where they will be teaching in front of a class under the disguise that the volunteers are necessary at the schools, but the teacher participants mention that the volunteers are not always as helpful if they do not have the right qualifications or experience. There is a clear misconception there, and as communication between every organization and school is different, it is hard to pinpoint how and where it is going wrong. What is clear, however, is the narrative that is put forth of the global south, that it is in need of saving and help, and that people from the global north are needed, This comes from the idea that the global north, or the West is developed and that they have figured out how to develop other countries now. Post-development theory does not agree, as it argues that the countries themselves know best what they need in order to develop. External help is not always needed, and yet organizations send volunteers that have no experience or training to pre- and primary schools that do not necessarily need them (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997).

Empowerment theory clarifies the impact of this on the teachers. The volunteers can lessen the workload, but they can also add to it. If a volunteer that has no experience comes in, the teacher has to spend time with them to guide them in the classroom system. Volunteers are then no longer resources, as they were called before in the context of empowerment theory. This affects the teachers personal resources, such as their time. The

students are not the priority for a moment, which affects their personal achievements too (Kabeer, 1999).

5.3.3 Emotional fulfilment and social connections

Most of the volunteers mentioned that the cultural change and personal improvements such as growth are of importance during their volunteering, which is similar to the teacher's answers. They too mentioned that the personal and social connections that are formed during the placements of the volunteers is important.

Benson and Seibert (2009) discussed the personal fulfilment that volunteers get from volunteering is essential for their experience. Seeing that the teachers reciprocate the feeling of importance when it comes to social connections, it does raise the question of whose needs are actually prioritized?

The volunteers have different outcomes that are of importance, such as personal growth, improving their English, and cultural exchange. For teachers, these personal fulfillments are more secondary, as the first priority is professional. The education of students and the management of the classroom is their main priority. This is not to say that personal fulfillment and social connection can not be of importance for them, as it is. Some of the connections between volunteer and teachers last for years and are mutually beneficial, but the volunteers are not present at the pre- and primary schools purely for those connections.

Post-development theory interprets this as part of the broader systems that are present at the global level. As some of the volunteers mention personal growth, their interactions with local communities can be seen as superficial as it serves their own goals. The need to help that they mention as a motivation has already been classified as a product of white saviourism in accordance with the post-development theory, so personal fulfillment could be linked to it as well (Escobar, 1995).

In empowerment theory, the achievement dimension refers to the realization of achieving the goals that are set (Kabeer, 1999). For the professional aspect of teachers, this is the

education of students. Personal fulfillment by having social connections with volunteers does not necessarily fit into that, although the personal fulfillment of the students do. Their connections with the volunteers are of importance, as it allows them to have a cultural exchange. This is of course dependent on each individual volunteer, as not all social connections between the students and the volunteers are mutually beneficial for the students.

5.3.4 Financial contributions and structural inequalities

The teachers have mentioned that the financial support and contributions that the volunteers bring are important for some of the schools. The teachers are thankful for these contributions, as a few of the schools seem to be dependent on the money that the volunteers bring in. One of the volunteers mentioned that giving resources to the school was one of the moments they felt the most needed and important at the school, which encourages the idea that financial support is needed and appreciated at the schools.

These contributions do reveal the inequalities that are rooted in the structures. Previous literature has discussed this, as development is tied to the global relations and the narratives that are set forth by the global north about the global south. The volunteers are enforcing the dependency of the global south on the global north (Palacios, 2010; Pieterse, 2010). The volunteers from the global north are seen as the financial contributors of the school. The hierarchy of the global south being dependent and helpless without the global north is encouraged.

Post-development theory has a nearly identical view on it, as it certainly does encourage the global power structure. The idea that the global north has to give money to the global south as it is otherwise helpless comes from the narrative that they are dependent on it. This is not to say that it is not the case in some situations, as some teachers did mention that the financial contributions are of importance. Contributions to the education systems in the global south are a well known thing in the global north, with multiple organizations active in multiple countries. It does not make them any less of a product of colonial history and power structures, however needed or helpful they are (Escobar, 1995).

Empowerment theory sees the contributions as an increase of resources, which in turn can increase the capacity of the agency of the teachers. The agency increases the capacity of achieving their goals, such as the education of the students. The donations can certainly strengthen the dimensions of the empowerment theory, it can also limit their agency. If the schools are reliant on the contributions, the capacity to make decisions can be affected (Kabeer, 1999).

5.3.5 Regulation, policy, and structural responsibility

Both the participant groups agree that better regulations are needed. The volunteers mention that regulations in forms of better pre-departure seminars would be useful, especially to maintain expectations. The teachers on the other hand call for requirements in terms of qualifications that would be beneficial.

Zambia's National Volunteer Policy (2022) is in agreement with this, as clearer role design and the coordination between organizations and schools could be improved as well (Sinyemu, 2019). Other existing literature calls for better pre-departure seminars and workshops too, as the expectations could be maintained then as well (Strohmeier and Heleta, 2020; Schwartz, 2021).

Post-development theory does not agree with the concept voluntourism as a whole, but requirements on qualifications would be a step in the right direction. It has been said before that placing untrained and young volunteers on the same level in a classroom as a teacher that holds a degree can be linked to white saviourism, but it is something that post-development theory opposes strongly. It is a clear example of how the development discourse has put the global north above the global south and how it has made it out to be the saviour that is needed to develop a country (Escobar, 1995).

Empowerment theory emphasizes that qualification requirements would expand the agency of the teachers. Having someone in the classroom that could help out without needing constant supervision and guidance could lessen their workload and help them focus on their goals and achieve them (Kabeer, 1999).

3.5.6 Overall comparative insights

Having compared the two sets of data, it becomes clear that there is some overlap between the two groups. The volunteers are mainly motivated by growth and their expectations are shaped by the volunteer organizations. When they get to the location of the volunteer work, they are surprised by the reality of the classrooms.

The teachers are professionals and maintain authority in the classroom structures. They evaluate the volunteers from a professional point of view, but do point out that the social connections are of importance for them.

The comparison reveals the gap between expectations and reality. These narratives are mostly shaped by the volunteer organizations and the general development discourse that is narrated by the global structures. The volunteers point out that they were not prepared enough to know what they would actually be doing while doing volunteer work. The teachers say that some volunteers were not prepared enough to do volunteer work at pre- and primary schools in general. The contributions that the volunteers bring to the school, the financial and human resources, are conditional. The human resources depend on the skills and qualifications of the individual volunteers and the financial support is appreciated, but can be linked to the hierarchy of power distribution in the world.

Teachers retain authority in the classrooms.. It has been said in previous literature that volunteers come in with new ideas for teaching and learning and that with every volunteer it is different, but with the teacher holding the authority and deciding what the volunteers will be doing, this is not necessarily true (Palacios, 2010). It is not a given that the volunteers teach in the classrooms or that they bring in any ideas that are acted upon in the classroom. The agency of the teachers in the classroom does not seem as affected as it has been made out to be.

The combination of post-development theory and empowerment theory allows for two different views on the comparative analysis, one that is focused on the power structures within the classroom that can be linked to the global power structures, and one that focused on the local level. By doing this the data can be analysed in a way that could not be done just by critically discussing it.

The findings of the comparison suggests that a community-informed approach should work better, in this case that being the teachers. Clearer role definitions, and stronger preparations and requirements for the volunteers. This will reduce the misalignment between the expectations and the realities and it will ensure that the volunteers are actually reducing the workload of the teachers instead of adding to them. Having volunteers that are qualified in the classrooms will also produce less of a narrative that the global north is needed to develop the global south, as the teachers have equal qualification and could therefore work as actual equals.

6 Conclusion

This thesis has examined the perspectives of both the volunteers and the teachers at Zambia pre- and primary schools that host volunteers. Voluntourism has often been the centre of discussions, but those discussions were based on the perspectives of volunteers or the organisations. The experiences and voices of the host community have not received as much attention. By analyzing both the volunteers and the teachers, this research aimed to provide a more balanced narrative and understanding of how voluntourism affects and functions within the classrooms in Zambia's pre- and primary schools. The analysis was guided by two theories; Post-development theory (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997) and empowerment theory (Kabeer, 1999). Together these theories allowed for an examination of both global power structures and the dynamics in the classroom.

The findings of this research conclude that the experiences of the volunteers are shaped by expectations, motivations and professional responsibilities that differ from those of the teachers. The volunteers have described their motivations as personal development, cultural exchange, and travelling. Many of the volunteers were taking a gap year and saw volunteering as an opportunity to experience a new culture and environment. Previous research agrees with this, as it has been identified before that self growth and intercultural experiences are key drivers for many volunteer tourists (Benson & Seibert, 2009). The volunteers that participated in this research did, however, mention that they felt the desire and need to help communities, some mentioned that it was based on Zambia being one of the poorest countries in the world.

The teachers have a slightly different approach on the presence of the volunteers as their primary focus was the education of the students. The teachers expressed their appreciation towards the volunteers, as they provide additional support. They did evaluate the volunteers based on their preparedness, experience and therefore their ability to

contribute to the classroom. The teachers emphasized that volunteers that have no experience or are not prepared, do not contribute as much to the classrooms, and can give the teachers more workload, as they have to guide the volunteers.

The misalignment between the volunteer expectations and the reality in the classroom became clear throughout this research, and is an essential finding. The volunteers expected to be essential in the classroom and to be more needed. These expectations were mostly shaped by the narratives that the volunteer organizations present to them. The teachers have mentioned that the schools would be able to function without the volunteers and that most volunteers take on roles that would support the teacher, such as grading homework.

This misalignment highlights the development narrative that is produced by the global north. Post-development theory provided a framework that helps understand how these narratives are constructed and how they affect the world of volunteering and voluntourism. The development discourse has historically portrayed the countries in the global south as if they are in need of help to develop. This is to legitimize the interventions of the global north (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). These narratives ensure that voluntourists are seen as necessary to support the education systems in these countries. This research, however, has provided findings that show that teachers seem to think that the school are capable of providing education themselves. They have the knowledge and expertise to teach students and do not always need international intervention to take care of it.

Empowerment theory does not focus on these structural narratives, but instead focuses on the local structures within the classrooms. The Empowerment theory emphasizes three dimensions; resources, agency, and achievements (Kabeer, 1999). With the context of this theory, volunteers can be seen as possible resources, as they provide human capacity and financial contributions. The findings do show that all volunteers are not necessarily resources that are beneficial to the teachers. If a volunteer is not prepared enough or does not have the experience to take on some of the work load of the teachers, they do the opposite. The teachers have more work on their hands, as they have to supervise and guide the volunteers in the classroom. The capacity of volunteers being resources is conditional and dependent on their qualifications.

The findings of this research also highlights a slight difference with previous studies. It has been said that the power imbalance that is created by voluntourism is related to global inequalities (Palacios, 2010; Bandyopadhyay, 2019). The findings in this research are that teachers remain in power and hold the authority within classrooms. The teachers decide what the volunteers do and how they are integrated. This ties into the empowerment theory, as the teacher's agency in the classroom structure remains. At the local level, in this context that being the classroom, they remain in power. Outside of the classroom, when it comes to requirements for volunteers, they seem to have not as much authority, as they have called for more requirements and mandatory preparation training.

Another finding is the financial contributions that volunteers provide to the schools. Several teachers have mentioned that the financial contributions are important for the school, and are appreciative of it. From an empowerment perspective, these contributions support the material resources and therefore the potential of teachers achieving their educational goals. On the other hand, the reliance on these donations enforce and highlight the inequalities between the global north and global south. Previous studies argue that it enforces power relations and creates a dependency (Pieterse, 2010). There is a dual status of these contributions; as they provide benefits to the schools, but they also ensure the global power inequalities.

The findings of this research are not intended or suggesting that voluntourism at pre- and primary schools is entirely negative. The volunteers and teachers both expressed there were positive experiences that were mostly related to social connections. Some volunteers and teachers still have regular contact, years after the volunteer placement took place. The volunteers are positive about their interactions with the students, teachers, and other volunteers and the teachers are appreciative about the willingness of the volunteers to help with tasks.

Both groups did identify the need for better preparation training and requirements for the volunteers. Volunteers expressed that the pre-departure training is not sufficient and very general. Teachers have reported that having requirements for the students would improve

the teaching environment. These findings align with previous research that call for better coordination, role clarity, and preparation (Sinyemu, 2019; Strohmeier & Heleta, 2020; Schwartz, 2021).

The information that is provided by the volunteer organizations should be more precise so there is no misalignment between the expectations of the volunteers and the realities at the schools. Qualification requirements would improve the helpfulness of the volunteers at the schools and allow the teachers to be fully focused on the students while having someone that can fully support without needing guidance or supervision.

In conclusion, this research demonstrated that the impact of voluntourism at pre- and primary schools is complex. Volunteers can be a valuable resource, but it depends on their skills and preparation. The findings highlight the importance of recognising that teachers remain in power in the classroom structures and have full agency.

The findings suggest that volunteer programmes would benefit from adopting a more community focused approach. The local teachers should play a greater role in defining the responsibilities and requirements of the volunteers. An approach like that could ensure that the volunteers role is in support of the educational goals while respecting the expertise of the communities and without supporting the global and hierarchical power structures.

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Appendix 1 – Survey questions Volunteer

- What is your name?
- What year were you born?
- What year did you do volunteer work?
- How old were you at the time?
- For how long did you do volunteer work?
- Have you done any other kind of volunteer work besides teaching? If yes, please specify what kind of volunteer work
- Before going to Zambia, did you attend any kind of course/class/training about teaching? If yes, could you please specify what this course/class/training consisted of?
- Do/did you have any teaching qualification or experiences before going to Zambia? If yes, could you specify what those qualifications or experiences were?
- Did you do any volunteer work in any other country besides Zambia?
- Do/did you know anyone that did volunteer work in Zambia before you went?
- Have you ever been to Zambia before going there to volunteer?
- Are you intending to/did you travel before, while or after volunteering in Zambia? (Directly before or after)
- What made you decide to do volunteer work?
- What made you decide to do it in Zambia specifically?
- Why did you decide to do teach at a pre- and primary school?
- What did you expect before going to Zambia?

- What were these expectations based on? (e.g. marketing by companies that organize volunteer placements, social media, etc)
- Were your expectations met? Please be as specific as you can
- What kind of work did you expect to be doing at the school?
- Do/did you enjoy doing volunteer work?
- How did they welcome you at the school?
- What kind of support did you receive from the teachers and school?
- What is/was your favorite experience from doing volunteer work?
- What kind of work do/did you do at the school?
- Do/did you feel like you were prepared enough for the work? Please explain your answer
- Would you choose to do volunteer work again and to teach again at a pre- and primary school again? Please explain your answer
- Would you be open to being interviewed if I have any follow up questions?
- If yes or maybe, could you leave your email address or any other contact information so that I could reach out to you?

Appendix 2 – Survey questions Teachers

- What is your name?
- What school do you teach at?
- What teaching qualifications do you have?
- Does/did the school you work(ed) at have/had volunteers in the past years?
- Do/did you work with these volunteers?
- do/did you know if the volunteers had any previous experience with teaching?
- In your experience, what do/did the volunteers bring to the classroom in terms of teaching?
- Do/did you enjoy working with the volunteers?
- How do/did you handle it when a volunteer comes in that has/had never taught a class before?
- Do/did you feel like you could focus all your attention on the students when there was a volunteer in the classroom?
- Do/did you feel like having volunteers in the classroom adds to the education of the students?
- In your opinion, did the students enjoy being taught by a volunteer?
- Were there ever any problems with a volunteer? If yes, could you explain the situation if possible
- Do you think having volunteers is important for the school in general?
- In your opinion, were all the students that you have work with trained enough to teach at a pre-and primary school?
- What kind of tasks do the volunteers have if they are in your classroom?
- How often are there volunteers at the school (e.g. nearly every week, every month, etc.)?

- Is there anything you would like to change in terms of preparations of the volunteers (e.g. training before they go to Zambia about teaching, requirements to have experience or qualifications in teaching, etc.)?
- Is there anything you would like to share about your experience with volunteers that you feel like you haven't shared yet?
- Would you be open to being interviewed if I have any follow up questions?
- If yes or maybe, could you leave your email address or any kind of contact information so that I could reach out to you?