

Angels of the night: exploring street-aid volunteer tourists and faith-based volunteer tourism

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies have started to discuss volunteer tourism and religion, and this study aims to build on this research momentum. The paper explores street-aid volunteer tourism as a micro-niche and, more specifically, Faith-Based Volunteer tourism (FBVT). Drawing on qualitative data, this study explores the activities of three organisations and their volunteers in an international setting. In the process, the author uses the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) to examine the motivations of faith-based volunteer tourist and what these motivations mean in today's secular society. The author confirms that religiosity, which is complex and multi-layered and requires further attention, should be a separate measurement. Thus, a clear framework or understanding of intrinsic/extrinsic or personal/ institutional religious motivations would help better understand religion's complexity and a deeper study of spiritual psychology.

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Introduction

Over recent years, volunteer tourism has changed the tourism scene by combining tourism and leisure with service to others and work (Tomazos, 2020). The sector is described as a mass niche form of tourism, but its exact size is difficult to ascertain (McGehee, 2014). Hernandez-Maskivker et al., 2018 use the work of Biddle, (2019) to estimate that the industry is worth \$2 Billion annually, involving approximately ten million volunteers worldwide. The difficult task of estimating the industry's size and scope is made more challenging by the various definitions that lead to inconsistencies when trying to deliver industry estimates (Cousins, 2007). This ambiguity and confusion have prompted leading researchers in volunteer tourism to call for the industry to be segmented further into micro-niches (Wearing et al., 2020) so that researchers can capture its sharp growth and expansion (Wearing & McGehee, 2013).

Volunteer tourism has been criticised as neoliberal commodification of development volunteering (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). Coghlan and Noakes (2012, p. 123) recognise that 'Money' and 'mission' have essentially become trade-offs in this context, and legitimate organisations must use their profits to achieve their social mission (Coghlan & Noakes, 2012; Devereux, 2008; Tomazos, 2012; Lacey, et al., 2016). One of the key criticisms that volunteer tourism receives

is that it is challenging to measure or ascertain its positive impact in development terms (see Atkins, 2012; Butcher, 2011; Lyons et al., 2012; Lyons & Wearing, 2008; Mostafanezhad, 2013; Palacios, 2010; Simpson, 2004; Sin, 2009; Tomazos & Cooper, 2012; Vodopivec & Jaffe, 2011). However, it is essential to distinguish between development volunteering and volunteering for development. One uses sophisticated techniques and experts to meet an identified need or solve a problem or a crisis. The other uses young, untrained volunteers who think they can make a difference (Simpson, 2004, p. 683).

In this context, this does not mean that volunteer tourism has no impact, it does, but maybe it is at a more personal level, not just for the volunteer but also the lives the volunteers touch or influence. In effect, volunteer tourism is not development volunteering or volunteering for development but something different. This paper discusses Faith-Based Volunteer Tourism (FBVT) in the context of street aid volunteers to illustrate this point and add to the growing literature supporting that volunteer tourism has a more existential and esoteric underpinning (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017; Mostafanezhad, 2013; Noy, 2004).

There has been a gradual rise in faith-based volunteer tourism (FBVT) groups working within the night-time economy offering support to individuals in inebriated states (Knight, 2012; van Steden, 2014, 2018). There is

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slight recognition of their presence within the UK by academics, analysing how their presence impacts the socio-economic rhythmic of the night-time economy (Middleton & Yarwood, 2015). Some view these groups as filling a gap within service provision (Wickham, 2012), whereas others argue these volunteers have 'no service provision accountability' (Knight, 2012, p. 20). However, numerous UK city commissions have begun recognising street aid volunteers' role within crime and harm prevention (Ashton et al., 2018; Butcher, 2019; Knight, 2012; London Night Time Commission, 2019; Westall, 2019). It was inevitable that these volunteers would also emerge in tourist party destinations. Most party reps lack adequate training to deal with tourists' excessive behaviours (Bell, 2008), and they regularly disregard the rules (drug policies) themselves and permit tourists' mindlessness (Hesse et al., 2008; Santos & Paiva, 2007). In addition, tourism service workers use the party enclave to experiment with their behaviours, further enticing tourists to partake in excess (Bell, 2008). Media portrayals also reinforce the party narrative, displaying acts that tread on the 'edge of legal and discursive boundaries that weaken standard discipline modes' (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021, p. 7).

The role of the volunteers is linked to what is described as a multi-agency approach (Santos & Paiva, 2007). Agencies ranging from 'tour operators, airlines and airports, event organisers, health protection organisations, sexual health experts... [to] health services abroad' (Bellis et al., 2000, p. 5) collaborate, creating initiatives regarding the effects of alcohol on tourism (Monterrubio, 2016; Nofre et al., 2018; Santos & Paiva, 2007; Strzelecka et al., 2015). In this context, volunteer patrol groups within the night-time economy offer support to those highly inebriated (Knight, 2012; van Steden, 2014, 2018; Westall, 2019; Wickham, 2012). Middleton and Yarwood (2015, p. 504) state these volunteer groups have '*affected the socio-rhythmic spaces of a night out*' by encompassing this routine space of the night-time economy. They foster interactions that would not exist unless an altercation occurred that required medical or police attention – i.e. they fill a gap in service provision. Volunteer tourists, and in this case, Christian volunteer tourists, have become part of this growing phenomenon, and they travel to international party destinations to make a difference.

In their discussion on volunteering and Christian travel, Ron and Timothy (2018) highlight four typologies of activities that Christian volunteers undertake. These are short-term missions, solidarity visits, long-term missions, and volunteering at biblical archaeological sites. This study examines a micro-niche of short-term mission Christian volunteer travel that falls within the definition of

volunteer tourism - episodic travelling with a purpose (Wearing, 2001) and working for a particular organisation or cause without remuneration (Tomazos, 2009).

Using semi-structured interviews, this paper offers food for thought, raising questions on the motivations of volunteers, their perceived impact and the overall viability of faith-based volunteer tourism organisations in today's secular society where 'God is dead' (Nietzsche, 1882).

Theory

Religion, spirituality, and volunteering

Tourism has been deconstructed as a sacred (Graburn, 1989) or profane journey (Belk et al., 1989) that allows participants to seek existential goals and higher meaning (Belhassen et al., 2008; Wang 1999; Zhang & Xu, 2019). Recent studies in volunteer tourism have also highlighted the existential aspect of the volunteer tourist experience (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017), emphasising transformational change (Magrizos et al., 2020; Sheldon, 2020; Soulard et al., 2020). The struggle between the ephemeral and the spiritual is at the heart of following a religion in our times. In secular empiricism, the supernatural battles to fit under one niche definition. The statement 'God is dead' sums up this disposition. Undoubtedly, epistemological discussions and the natural sciences brought about the inevitable decline of the monotheistic God of Judeo-Christianity. However, when Nietzsche expresses this statement, he also voices concern (rather sadistically) for the human psyche upon the death of God. Nietzsche foresaw the consequences of losing moral structure and faith in true world theories (i.e. there is a better life to follow). The death of God would lead to individuals falling into a state of nihilism (the conviction that life has no meaning/purpose). Nietzsche believed most would return to God, although he believed to live free of God was the way to achieve true existential authenticity - a state of being and living. Nietzsche accepted that though the Bible is intellectually flawed, wishing to lay out a moral structure to life is no worthless task. However, he continues to posit that no man will ever 'bear the least resemblance to the Christian ideal' (Nietzsche, 1882, pp. 39–40). Still, belief in the Christian ideal instils 'an amused sense of superiority' (p. 54). He continues that humans are full of hidden 'insights' into life. Most importantly for this paper, he argued that by helping and caring for others (i.e. volunteering), we are only inciting this sense of power that we are God's 'chosen people'.

French sociologist, Jean Baudrillard, argues God never even existed. He reasons that society has become heavily saturated with simulacra (representations of

something once real) to an extent where 'reality is only recognised when reproduced as a simulation through signs and symbols (Baudrillard, 1981). These signs and symbols replace authentic reality with a reality that precedes and determines our existence until we are in a state of hyperreality where our conscious mind cannot distinguish truth from a simulation of reality. In effect, he affirms that the existence of the simulacrum necessitates the loss of God. God is merely an embodiment of religious signs and symbols as no one has seen God.

Another existentialist, Søren Kierkegaard, stands in opposition. Kierkegaard believes that '... the most authentic way of life is religious ... the human has to experience a direct relation with God in order to fulfil his existential quest' (Bårli, 2017, p. 585). Thus, the focus is to live life passionately untroubled by social order, using God as a means of providing morals, meaning and balance – i.e. a true existentialist lifestyle.

Whether one sides with Baudrillard and Nietzsche or Kierkegaard, one of the main aspects of the Christian religion (among others), helping your neighbour, is expressed in the act of volunteering. The idea of circles of responsibility / care, outwards from the self, family, community, nation, world, is central in several religious systems. Other religious traditions such as 'Tikkin' and 'Tzdaka' (Judaism) focus on healing and repairing the world, while the Quran also preaches the virtues of generosity. Together and separately, these traditions play a role in influencing/motivating religious individuals to volunteer (Arli & Lasmono, 2015; Cnaan et al., 1996). The parable of the good Samaritan and the help afforded to a stranger of another place, without thought for oneself or personal recognition is reflected in the volunteering tradition of the Red Cross (and later the Red Crescent). The work of the Red Cross inspired Pierre Ceresole, the founder of Service Civil International, the grandfather of volunteer tourism which evolved into the Peace Core and later, through entrepreneurial initiative, transformed into volunteer tourism (Tomazos, 2009). The catalyst for this transformation has been the attraction of a business proposition that makes simultaneous demands on people's time, effort and money (Tomazos & Butler, 2012). The other critical factor is the heroic narrative and the hybrid nature of mission and fun that have swelled the numbers of predominantly young volunteers looking for experiences with a difference (Wearing, 2001). The result is a model of neoliberal consumption-led citizenship that ticks all the right boxes by offering a clear consciousness while engaging in tourism - the most conspicuous form of consumption (Butcher, 2017; Vrsti, 2012). In the context of this paper, in Christian lore, the Good Samaritan parable sets the tone for

what it means to be a good Christian (Arli & Lasmono, 2015; Yeung, 2004). In Lutheran theology, man is not righteous in the eyes of God by his deeds but is instead liberated by God's grace to respond to the calling to serve (volunteer) (Von Essen et al., 2015).

Religious virtues are often consistent with the culture of service to others. Volunteering can act as an evangelising channel (Yeung, 2004), directly proselytising to convert people to their faith. Clerkin and Swiss (2013), in their study of Christian volunteers, found that they were primarily religiously motivated, the adults more so than the youth volunteers. In particular, two types of religious motivations were identified: (1) personal religious motives (e.g. 'I volunteer because it makes me feel closer to God') and (2) institutional religious motives (e.g. 'I volunteer because my faith encourages me to do so'). The study also showed that 83% of respondents were motivated by personal motives, compared to 75% motivated by institutional motives.

In their work, Musick and Wilson (2008) emphasise the importance of subjective dispositions in explaining who volunteers. These dispositions, borrowed from Moen (1997), cover many concepts, including personality traits, motives, self-conceptions, attitudes and values (p. 133). What binds these different dispositions is that they can be used to understand volunteer motivation based on how individuals perceive themselves and the world around them. These, in turn, are shaped by other factors such as age, gender, race, socioeconomic status, and the social context. No explanation of volunteering can stand without them (Son & Wilson, 2011). Upon reflection, volunteers are expected to invoke ethical considerations such as giving back and an obligation to help those in need (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1998, p. 243).

Furthermore, Musick and Wilson (2008) concluded that the church teaches more than just value-based reasons to volunteer. Social motives are also important, primarily due to the community embeddedness of the church, as are enhancement motives highly correlated to spirituality and closeness to God. Erasmus and Morey (2016) identified value as the primary motivator, as 'faith-based organisation [s] ... [have a] strongly driven mission attachment belief system' (Erasmus & Morey, 2016, p. 1354).

Littlepage et al. (2007) found that spirituality was the highest predictor of volunteer motivation as volunteers expressed a 'love thy neighbour' approach. Religious activity is split into two groups: (1) Those with an individual worldview: to tackle social issues and change the individuals who display inadequacies; and (2) a communal worldview: 'to address social problems is to change social institutions', as individuals are subject to 'social, economic, and political factors' (p. 15).

Besides religion, volunteering has also been associated with other forms of spirituality. The concept of spirituality is complex, with academics defining it through various terms (Peng-Keller, 2019). Reaching one definition of spirituality is complicated, as the concept is subjective to the individual (Willson et al., 2013). However, to link altruism, spirituality, religion and volunteer tourism, this paper adopts the Carrette and King (2004) view that spirituality is a force for healing, feeling whole within yourself and personal transformation.

Altruism and volunteer tourism

Altruistic motives to participate are, at least in theory, central to volunteer tourism (Chen & Chen, 2011; Coren & Gray, 2012; Everingham, 2015; Palacios, 2010; Pan, 2012; Sin, 2009; Thompson, 2021). There is an underlying assumption that the motivations of volunteer tourists are either beyond reproach 'positive' or 'altruistic' (Broad, 2003; Brown, 2005; Wearing, 2001), or 'egoistic' and instrumental (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017; Sin, 2009). Others take a more balanced view discussing 'social egoism' (Coghlan & Fennell, 2009) or ideas of enlightened self-interest and ethical egoism (Tomazos, 2009). The result of this is that motivation is grounded as a zero-sum game or as too fluid, and as a consequence, the focus shifts on whether volunteer tourists are self-centric or cause-driven (Everingham, 2015; Palacios, 2010).

Yeung (2004) argues that giving behaviour possesses outward (altruistic) and inward (self-interested) dimensions. In physio-biological terms, altruism and self-interestedness are measured by the same area of the brain (Duke University Medical Center, 2007), clarifying why they are treated as 'dichotomous concepts' (Von Essen et al., 2015).

While neuroscience and physio-biology are working on a comprehensive solution to the altruism's riddle, it is safe to argue that volunteer tourists are influenced by the natural desire human beings have to help others (Tomazos, 2009). A growing body of literature on volunteer tourism underlines their motivations (Broad, 2003; Brown, 2005; Sin, 2009; Tomazos & Butler, 2010; Tomazos, 2012) and their experiences (Conran, 2011; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017; Simpson, 2004). However, a gap remains in the role of religion, spirituality and personal values. They elude scrutiny, relegated to an ancillary component of the experience, often couched in normative terms of 'positive' and 'negative', 'benevolent' and 'egoistic' (Kahana, 2021). Therefore, complex ideas, conceptions and beliefs about spirituality, religion and underlying values remain under-researched.

Still, research has found a clear connection between religious beliefs and the propensity to visit or volunteer at specific locations. There is also consensus that religion fits the motivations of volunteer tourists due to its cathartic nature and its powerful transformative effect and 'psychological relief through the expression of strong emotions' (Zahra & McIntosh, 2007).

The relative lack of religion-specific research in volunteer tourism means that we need to revert to the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) and its relationship with religion to understand Faith-Based Volunteer Tourism (FBVT).

Religion and volunteer tourism

The influence of religious beliefs in volunteer tourism is relatively underdeveloped. On the contrary, there has been significant emphasis on the heroic narrative (Tomazos & Butler, 2010) and the image-enhancing potential of participating in volunteer tourism and posting about it on social media (Fitzpatrick, 2021).

This perceived reluctance to engage with the religious side of volunteer tourism has been linked to the perception that studies relating to religion may cause controversy and debates between organised religion and secular society (Wearing et al., 2013). However, recent studies have started to discuss volunteer tourism and religion, and this study aims to build on this research momentum. A study by Bandyopadhyay (2018) highlights that religion driven volunteer tourism, or what this paper terms Faith-Based Volunteer Tourism (FBVT), is inexorably linked to a history of colonialism and capitalism reinforced by the hegemonic connotations of privilege and the politics of poverty. While this is a valid point, the present study looks at religiosity outside the confines of privilege and colonialism. Those aided in this study are not the poor or the suffering, but they are '*lost souls*' (emphasis added) who like to party too much.

Another study by Han et al. (2020) looks at how the loyalty of volunteer tourists is reinforced by religion. Commitment takes centre stage given the hybrid nature of volunteer tourism. Butler and Tomazos (2011) affirm volunteer tourism is a tourism first activity, incorporating volunteer services. Mustonen (2007) echoes, that it is a behaviour that combines volunteerism and tourism – a form of consumption. This builds upon Brown's (2005) vacation-minded (hedonism) and volunteer-minded volunteers (altruism) – in line with Tomazos (2010) Work-Leisure Continuum. Vacation-minded volunteers aim to incorporate volunteerism and leisure (consumption) into their volunteer experience (Brown, 2005). This 'hybridised approach' questions

the self-interestedness of the motivations of volunteer tourists. Han et al. (2020) also found that volunteer tourist organisations struggle with long-term survival, often resulting from struggles in recruiting and retaining volunteers.

While Ron and Timothy (2018) introduce the four typologies of Christian volunteer travel discussed in the introduction of this paper, Zarandian et al. (2016) make a notable contribution with their research note on jihadi volunteer tourism and the ordinary realities of acts of kindness and altruism in the Islamic world. Their work, while in progress, offers a different dimension to the world of Islam and the term jihadi. This paper, in a way, addresses similar issues, as religious individuals are also at times ridiculed in popular culture, and religiosity has become a side-show, trivialised and watered down, reduced to generalised altruistic acts. Finally, Wearing et al. (2013) found that religiosity reinforces the altruism of multi-dimensional volunteers. These volunteer tourists are not out to proselytise, but they just enact their values. This paper expands on this work by aiming to articulate the motivations through an expanded VFI.

The VFI and religion

Though their model is over 20-years-old, Clary et al.'s (1998) Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) has been reliable in measuring volunteer motivations. The VFI identifies that 'empirically, all motives could be rated important' (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 57). Through Likert Scaling, the VFI's adaptation to account for a singular action serving multiple functions enabled greater comprehension of which motivations are of greatest importance or appear equal (Table 1).

The VFI has been extensively tested and verified by other academics in volunteer psychology (Allison et al., 2002; Erasmus & Morey, 2016; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Thoits & Hewitt, 2001). However, it has not avoided criticism. It has been criticised for being severely outdated and too simplistic. It is unlikely that there are only six

motivations to volunteer, and it fails to look at motivations outside of a functional approach.

As a result, researchers have been enhancing the VFI to include other functions over the years. Allison et al. (2002) added three additional motivations to the VFI – enjoyment, team building and religiosity. The importance of religiosity to the VFI was highlighted by Clerkin and Swiss (2013), as was also spirituality and closeness to God as a means of personal enhancement (Littlepage et al., 2007). Musick and Wilson's (2008) study brought to the fore the social side of religiosity, likely due to the social embeddedness of the church. The last function to be added to the VFI was generativity as a '... state of mind ... which ... predispose[s] [people] to engage in activities, such as volunteer work, that will have lasting benefits for other people' (Son & Wilson, 2011, p. 645).

According to Erikson (1963), generativity can be described as support of and solidarity with future generations by transferring one's life expertise and experience to others. Musick and Wilson (2008) express disbelief that generativity is not discussed more within the literature as the desire to 'give something back' to society and benefit future generations' well-being. Snyder and Clary (2004) confirm that generativity is positively associated with all motives of the VFI. However, VFI functions are generally linked with personality traits, which tend to be fixed, whereas generativity appears gradually. It is also hard to distinguish whether an individual chooses to act upon generativity through volunteerism or a response to volunteering. Still, there is enough literature to justify that generativity may play a role in faith-based volunteer tourism motivations, the context of this study. So it features in the extended VFI framework used in this study (see Table 2).

The conceptual framework highlights motivations predicted to be positively associated. Erasmus and Morey (2016) identified the enhancement and understanding functions were similar in terms of research question creation and participant response. It can be expected that both functions shall yield similar responses. Values shall likely be positively associated with both religiosity and generativity functions. The literature on religiosity, particularly when focusing on congregationalism, recognises the effects of religious involvement on social integration (Musick & Wilson, 2008). Therefore, it is presumed that religiosity and social functions are positively associated with social and team-building functions.

Method

There are different models that scholars have employed to measure the motivation to volunteer. Among the

Table 1. The VFI.

Function	Definition
Values	The opportunity to express one's values and or extend values to another
Social	The opportunity to meet people and/or spend time with current family and friends
Understanding	Permits new learning experiences and/or acts as a means of exercising existing skills
Enhancement	Acts as a means of developing one's ego. e.g. promotion of own happiness
Protective	Acts as a means of protecting one's ego. e.g. the avoidance of feelings such as guilt
Career	Advancement benefits or personal development

Note: Devised from the work of Clary et al. (1998).

Table 2. The enhanced VFI.

Function	Definition
Religiosity	The opportunity to express one's religious values and/or extend religious values and beliefs to another
Values	The opportunity to express one's values and/or extend values to another
Social	The opportunity to meet people and/or spend time with current family and friends
Enjoyment	Permits the volunteers to have fun while working
Team Building	The opportunity to work within a team towards a common goal
Generativity	The opportunity to contribute to society, help future generations and/or express concern for the welfare of others
Enhancement	Permits new learning experiences and/or acts as a means of exercising existing skills
Understanding	Acts as a means of developing one's ego, e.g. promotion own happiness
Protective	Acts as a means of protecting one's ego, e.g. the avoidance of feelings, such as guilt
Career	Advancements, benefits, or personal development

Note: Devised from the work of Allison et al. (2002); Clary et al. (1998); Clerkin and Swiss (2013); Musick and Wilson (2008); and Snyder and Clary (2004).

most important methods are the 'Volunteer Functions Inventory' (VFI) (Clary et al., 1998), the 'Attitudes toward Helping Others Scale' (Bales, 1996; Webb et al., 2000), the 'Helping Attitudes Scale' (Nickell, 1998), and the 'Helping Power Motivation Scale' (Frieze & Boneva, 2001). Due to the complexity of the literature review and the micro-niche being studied (Lakshman et al., 2000), this study uses an enhanced version of the VFI to analyse data from semi-structured interviews to allow for greater participant input.

Some participants were interviewed in person, and others via ZOOM. A standardised script was utilised to help 'orient the data collection efforts' (Nightingale & Rossman, 2015, pp. 470–471), but the author intervened when necessary with prompt questions to guide the discussion (Adams, 2015, p. 493).

This study offers 11 in-depth interviews; eight volunteer tourists from three different organisations and the three managers from the three different street aid organisations were examined. The participants were selected because they had, and/or continue to, volunteer within the context of Faith-Based Volunteer Tourism (FBVT). The studied FBVT organisations operate in a specific niche market, not yet broken into by mass volunteer tourism suppliers meaning that they work with few paying volunteers.

The study received approval from the author's institution's ethical research committee. A participant information sheet and consent form were provided before the study's commencement to ensure the participant understood the nature and purpose of the research. Written consent to participate was requested by the participants following a study and interview structure debrief, to which all participants consented willingly.

Questions regarding volunteer tourist motivations were devised in light of the theory with extensive insight from Allison et al. (2002), Clary et al. (1998) and Musick and Wilson (2008) (See Table 3). The participants were also asked questions about their sending organisation, structure, participation cost (plus any extra costs), the criteria and requirements, and any training offered (see Table 4). All interviews were conducted casually, remaining 'pleasant, neutral and professional' (Adams, 2015, p. 502). The relaxed tone of the discussions enabled participants to discuss their experiences freely and openly. Due to the nature of the experience, storytelling embedded itself well within the interviews' flow. However, this often off-set the interview course, emphasising the necessity of prompt questions and the need to refocus on the original agenda.

Interview transcripts enabled the authors to create written and visual interpretations of the raw data through coding (Stuckey, 2015). The participants were also asked to rank the functions of both the standard VFI, and the enhanced one. The generated codes, subthemes, and themes identified patterns and trends, creating an overall review of the raw data and its components. The first stage drew codes and sub-themes dictated from the exact text within the transcripts. Following the coding of sub-themes, the literature was cross-compared to link the theory to the data presented through coded analysis organically (axial coding) (Blair, 2015). Axial coding allows for a more accurate representation of the data. Selected quotes with significant importance are used to illustrate the findings and build the study's findings and discussion using an extended proposed framework as a conceptual hook.

Findings and discussion

Profile of participants

Table 3 summarises the interviewees' profiles. The participant sample size reflected the micro-niche market in which these organisations operate. Some of the participant's status within their organisation (managerial ranking) and intimate knowledge of their sector provided a unique insight into their funding, training processes and structures. The participants reflect on the asked questions describing how they offer physical, emotional, and spiritual support to tourists or emotional and spiritual guidance. While all participants operate on international grounds and offer support and guidance to tourists in the night-time economy, they work on behalf of different organisations, and interesting comparisons can be drawn.

Table 3. Profile of participants.

P	Age, Gender, Nationality	Denomination	Occupation	Role within Organisation	Destination of Experience	Organisation
1	59, M, British	Anglican	Nurse Manager	Manager	Yarra, Australia	A
2	50, F, UK	Not specified	Marketing Director	Manager	Magaluf, Spain	B
3	41, M, Dutch	Not specified	PT Website Designer	Director	Various	C
4	27, M, UK	Church of Scotland	IT security	Volunteer	Magaluf, Spain	A
5	36, F, Irish	Catholic	Restaurant Manager	Volunteer	Malia, Greece	A
6	34, M, Australia	Orthodox	Business Owner	Volunteer	Glasgow, UK	C
7	21, F, Greece	Orthodox	Student-History	Volunteer	Cambridge, UK	B
8	38, F, Austria	Catholic	Human Resources Manager	Volunteer	Magaluf, Spain	A
9	58, M, UK	Anglican	Teacher	Volunteer	Koh Pha Ngan, Thailand	C
10	62, F, Australia	Not Specified	Retired Police Officer	Volunteer	Various	B
11	31, M, UK	Catholic	Hotel Manager	Volunteer	Various	B

The organisations: introducing street aid faith-based volunteer tourism

As illustrated in Table 5, all companies differ slightly in their structure and business model. Organisations A and B have the most similar service offering, funding, and costs. Organisation A has intensive training processes, which require the volunteer's presence. They expect participants to complete their training with the international parent organisation at home. Conversely, while Organisation B describes their experiences as 'coming on holiday with a mission', there is a significant absence of training, relying only on the goodwill of volunteers (Wearing et al., 2013). This mini-mission model aligns with what Ron and Timothy (2018) describe in their first typology of Christian volunteer travel, short term missions. The lack of training is surprising considering the volatile environment volunteers are expected to work (Hesse et al., 2008; Santos & Paiva, 2007). However, this can be explained when considering the small participation fee. Organisation B relies predominately on volunteer tourists but has local volunteers too. Volunteer tourists (likely) avoid participation because the training sessions require the volunteer's presence and are spread out over several months – this implies financial restrictions as volunteers are to fund themselves (Tomazos, 2010).

On the other hand, Organisation C offers a more elaborate package of services and intends to widen the destinations available to volunteers, securing more tourists from different nationalities. They cover the cost of the volunteer's stay, down to the bed linen, and include a greater variety of activities outside of volunteering in the night-time economy – all activities are faith-based and focus on self-reflection (Han et al., 2020). Programmes range from £300 to 600 for a week's stay. Training sessions are not compulsory but are advised, especially for newcomers, but a mandatory training session is held upon arrival at the destination.

All organisations are interdenominational; to volunteer with Organisation A and C, one must be Christian. Organisation B, however, allows secular volunteers and

other religiously affiliated individuals to join, as long as they can uphold Christian values. Organisation C has similar policies; volunteers must treat other volunteers and people equally despite individual differences. Interestingly, Organisation A has a long list of volunteer requirements; Christian volunteers have to belong to a church, attend church for over a year, be over 18, and go through multiple personal checks.

When the managers were asked about their organisation's contribution, the discussion turned to their role and mission. When reflecting on the contribution and mission of volunteer tourism organisations, Simpson (2004) and Devereux (2008) highlight the importance of distinguishing between development volunteering and volunteering for development. In this light, it would be misguided to judge the contribution of volunteer tourism organisations with international development criteria, the context, and the scope matter. It is difficult to define a set of standards for the organisations examined. They engage in social engineering, not proselytising (Wearing et al., 2013), while also offering support to vulnerable individuals. The main criterion should be how well they use their generated resources to achieve their social mission (Devereux, 2008). As Middleton and Yarwood (2015, p. 514) point out, street aid volunteers 'fill a gap in service provision', and it can be said that all companies are effective in doing so. Both aim to provide physical and emotional help in the night-time economy, and from the stories discussed, the organisations are successful at what they do. In terms of generating resources to serve the cause, Companies A and B are very transparent. However, on the other hand, Organisation C requires a programme fee that varies in price (up to £600), and it is not clear how much of that is spent on serving the cause.

The work

When asked about their work, participants mentioned that they have to deal with smashing glasses, vandalism, noise, and public urination. These behaviours have been

Table 4. Street aid volunteer organisations.

	Company A	Company B	Company C
Structure	Shift work. Free time outside of volunteering in the evening. No volunteer restriction period.	Shift work. Free time outside of volunteering in the evening. No volunteer restriction period.	Daily structured programme: faith-based activities, self-reflection exercises and volunteering in the evening.
Costs for Volunteers	Self-funded: flights, food, accommodation, insurance, and any other costs – as well as a small programme fee.	Self-funded: flights, food, accommodation, insurance, and any other costs – must source own accommodation	Single fee (£ 300-600) covers cost of accommodation, food, evangelistic materials, bedlinen, local transportation, insurance, and reservation costs
Requirements	Interdenominational organisation but must be Christian. Belong to a church, over 18, friendly, and go through multiple checks: working with children, DBS, and referencing.	Interdenominational organisation but invite secular individuals and different faiths – all must be accepting and comfortable upholding Christian values.	Interdenominational organisation but must be Christian. Policies stating the way volunteers must behave toward other volunteers and party tourists
Training	12 training sessions at the destination. Individual safety, drug safety, community training – from the police, housing officers, social workers, and drug and alcohol advisors.	Absence of training. Rely upon the underlying values, compassion and goodwill implied in the volunteer's intent to volunteer.	Training sessions held throughout the year; not compulsory but advised – new-comers often attend. A 'team day' in June.
Extra Costs	Training, uniforms, and night-time economy materials.	Stationery, bracelets, wristbands, flip flops, t-shirt printing, first aid bags, and uniform jackets.	Process training session is held upon arrival. Uniform t-shirts and barbecue materials
Funding (Organisation)	Costs are funded by volunteers. Volunteers unable to fund programme fee, can be sponsored or funded by Company A. Relies on volunteer donations and others supporting the cause.	Never held any type of fundraising but has received funding from the British Consulate upon bringing issues in the night-time economy to their attention.	Costs incurred are covered by donations, primarily by volunteers. Aims to secure more donations from party tourists when invited to their barbecue.

identified in the literature as the most typical anti-social behaviours linked to tourism, along with rowdiness, excessive noise, violence, and transgressive behaviours (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021; Hesse et al., 2008; Nofre et al., 2018). As illustrated in the quotes below, fighting is common among male and female tourists. Carlisle and Ritchie (2021) discuss tourists using illness and injuries to achieve infamy, which seems to be the case with the participant's stories.

... there's always people throwing things and punches.
... [and] there's lots of ... attempted fights ... (P2)

... fighting happens all the time. ... sometimes you have fights with 10–20 people with police ... that occurs daily.
(P9)

The participants indicated that they worked closely with local police, paramedics, licensees, and drug and alcohol advisory groups to help people in an inebriated state. Most participants highlighted vomiting as the most common condition observed linked to excessive drinking or drug-taking and acute injuries, such as cuts and bruises. Each participant had several stories about tourists behaving in ways that led to minor or more severe injuries that needed care. None of the participants had an experience with extreme circumstances, such as rape and death, but was aware of such cases. Tourists' behaviours leading to vomiting or becoming ill from inebriation reflect the literature, whereas '(minor) self-destruction' does, in fact, 'prove commitment to the partying cause' (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021; Tutenges, 2012, p. 146).

Analysis of motivations

Applying the VFI

When looking at the functions from Clary et al.'s (1998) study, a similar pattern to previous studies has emerged. When the participants were asked to rank the functions in terms of their importance to them, career and protective functions were shown to be of little significance to the volunteers, compared to values that supersede all functions as the primary motivator (Erasmus & Morey, 2016) (see Table 5). Table 5 illustrates how the participants ranked the importance of each of the functions included within the VFI. The table also includes a traditional ranking for reference to previous studies. It has to be noted that the volunteer tourists are multi-dimensional individuals (Wearing et al., 2013), so it is to be expected that the experience will mean different things to different people. However, religiosity and love of God or help thy neighbour (Ron & Timothy, 2018) stood out as the key motivator for the volunteer tourists in this study.

Table 5. Ranking the VFI functions.

Function	Definition	Traditional ranking	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11
Values	The opportunity to express one's values and or extend values to another	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Social	The opportunity to meet people and/or spend time with current family and friends	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	4	3	2	
Understanding	Permits new learning experiences and/or acts as a means of exercising existing skills	3	4	5	5	2	3	3	5	4	3	2	3
Enhancement	Acts as a means of developing one's ego. e.g. promotion of own happiness	4	3	3	4	4	5	4	4	2	5	4	4
Protective	Acts as a means of protecting one's ego. e.g. the avoidance of feelings such as guilt	5	5	4	3	5	4	5	2	5	2	5	5
Career	Advancement benefits or personal development	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6

All participants stated that they strive to help people and express their love and compassion through volunteering. While values and religiosity are closely intertwined, their measurements were separately measured to distinguish what were truly faith-based influences instead of personality traits (or relatively common values). This echoes the findings of Han et al. (2020), who highlighted how the loyalty of volunteer tourists is reinforced by religion.

All participants expressed how socialising with people through volunteering was especially important. Volunteering has allowed them to create a wider social circle with like-minded individuals (Son & Wilson, 2011). Interestingly, however, P9 stated that while they had made new friendships throughout their time, it is not their 'main reason' for volunteering; instead, they are 'obedient to God'. Social benefits are not a motivator but rather an indirect, unsought reward. This finding is in line with Zarandian et al. (2016), who underlined the social and emotional value of acts of kindness as manifestations of the love of God (Littlepage et al., 2007) through volunteer tourism.

Understanding played little importance for all participants. The volunteers' new skills were minimal, and there stood little mention of volunteers exercising their existing skills. In some cases, volunteers pointed out the excitement of experiencing something new (Everingham, 2015). P2, for example, said that 'each night you go out is different from the last', implying that new experiences are made available to the volunteers frequently, but this was not a primary motivator, as was happiness 'very much an added benefit. P10 expressed the view that volunteering enables her to break away from the social confinement of Christianity, opening a gateway to meet individuals who walk a different path in life (Son & Wilson, 2011).

This experience can bring about positive emotions for volunteers (Musick & Wilson, 2008) who would not have been afforded this opportunity on an ordinary day. Conversely, P11 reasons that volunteering has spoken to him

'emotionally and physically', allowing him to practice their values practically. He asserts that volunteering can present some 'awfully bleak' situations, but it is a source of intrinsic satisfaction to help individuals in these situations (Devereux, 2008).

... that sense of satisfaction ... you've gone out and done something ... That wasn't ... for your benefit at all. It was someone else's but has ended up benefiting you. (P11)

The satisfaction derived from doing good reinforces the motivation of the volunteer tourists to participate (Han et al., 2020; Wearing et al., 2013), with participants affirming, 'I actually want to do this'. Volunteering is not undertaken by avoiding feelings, such as guilt, but rather through compassion for others (Zahra & McIntosh, 2007). P7, however, does state they felt they 'had to be [t]here' to help others, and by not doing so, feelings of guilt may have emerged – but later reaffirms 'I really want to do this'.

The focus on helping others remained strong when the participants were asked whether their participation could enhance their career prospects. They firmly stated that furthering their career is not a motivator when selecting volunteer opportunities and argued that volunteering means focusing on others other than themselves (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1998; Zarandian et al., 2016). This was further affirmed by participants' responses to questions regarding direct rewards. Direct rewards were next to none, aside from opportunities to meet people within the media field. For example, P2 has met people from TV (ITV) and radio (Songs of Praise and Radio One).

Beyond the VFI

With one foot in the world of mission and the other in the world of tourism (Butler & Tomazos, 2011), volunteer tourism stands as a hybrid of work and leisure. Accordingly, the word 'fun' was quoted 35 times and the words 'funny' and 'laughing' were also quoted several

times. Enjoyment seemed particularly important to all participants but was referred to as an added benefit of volunteering instead of being a primary motivating factor (Everingham, 2015; Palacios, 2010; Tomazos, 2009). P7 and P11 refer to volunteering as holding a place within their hearts due to enjoyment. Consensus exists among the participants that they volunteer as they 'like' and 'want' to do it, outwardly proclaiming enjoyment.

... it just somehow gets in you. It's in here (*points to heart*). I just think it fills me ... I remember walking down the street thinking this is amazing ... (P7)

However, P2 believes that whilst they benefit from said functions, such as enjoyment, volunteering was not undertaken for that reason. Instead, she identified something higher as her primary calling

Very important for my happiness but not God's. God needs us to do this ... it is not about me or us. It is about them and God. (P2)

This statement highlights the volunteer's desire for others to connect with God as they do (Littlepage et al., 2007). While their happiness and enjoyment are essential, it is not the defining motivator.

What was underlined by the participants was team building and camaraderie (Zahra & McIntosh, 2007). Street aid volunteer tourists are expected to work within teams and collectively help those in need within the night-time economy, so it is logical for the team building function to be critical. Volunteers desire to get on with their team members and build personal relationships by dealing with sensitive incidents. Once more, P2's comments stood out as she stated that team building and making friends is vital to her as an individual, but her single primary motive is serving God.

Bringing people together is God's work; the time we share and spend together is what will count in the kingdom of God. (P2)

Another socially linked aspect of the participation was trying to help young people, provide them with a moment of reflection on one's path, and highlight the need for change. Seeking to offer others nightly *road to Damascus* incidents fit within the context of generativity (Erikson, 1963). Generativity is split into two domains; giving back to society, making a difference, and giving back to help future generations (Snyder & Clary, 2004). All participants expressed an intense desire to help others and show them compassion.

... It is just a second you know, a very brief moment, but we were able to make a difference. Every now and again, someone will contact us and be like, you know, you've

really helped me here ... you just feel like you're part of someone's big story really. And that's what's so amazing about it all. (P9)

P4 and P5, when reflecting on this impact, recognise they are rarely aware of their effect upon others, if at all, but express optimism and hopefulness that they have impacted individual lives through volunteering (Kahana, 2021). When discussing impacts on future generations, all participants take a slightly different perspective. Some expressed a desire to help future generations and took on a somewhat logical, slightly pessimistic view that it is unlikely those they encounter will even remember the volunteers helping them due to their inebriated states (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021). P11 recognises that those they encounter often are inebriated and driven by personal and emotional conflict but hopes their encounter provides enough guidance to encourage them to seek the help they need. P2 offered a fascinating approach to generativity with her firm belief that the work undertaken by her and her peers can impact future generations, to step away from a life fuelled by excessive drinking and turn to God for guidance.

... the behaviour of people that they build up during their 20s is depending on if people drink a lot ... they continue what they do then, when they are 30 or 50 ... then they have children the same age as them, they say well, you can do that as well ... So, it's also a problem from generation to generation. We stand here holding the line ... doing God's work ... all you can do is hope that it will be enough. (P3)

Lastly, all participants were primarily religiously motivated. However, they viewed things differently from one another. P6 reasons that volunteering is 'an expression of my faith' and 'of God's love'. This participant does not volunteer because they feel required to 'respond to God's calling' (Von Essen et al., 2015) or act by way of salvation (Wymer, 1997). 'I think it's like an expression of what's got you believing' – loosely translates to the values taught and expressed through Christianity can later be practised through volunteerism. In the eyes of P6, volunteerism acts as an individual religious vehicle.

On the other hand, P4 argues volunteerism is a 'practical way to show Jesus' that the work they do is like bringing the church down the street' meeting people in an environment they feel most comfortable and approaching them that way, as opposed to preaching directly to them (Musick & Wilson 2008). P2 believes that the church is outdated and cold, and volunteering has completely improved their church views. This participant felt summoned to volunteer in Magaluf but only after witnessing what was happening within the area.

It was never a calling from God, but I found myself there and felt drawn to what was happening ... I started to think of myself and others and that place. I was seeking salvation in a way when I started the work but no longer. Now the work speaks to me emotionally, physically, and spiritually. (P4)

Conversely, P9 is fervently devoted to responding to God's calling but recognises that God does not rely on her. She appears to have a deeper spiritual connection with God and holds devotion to God somewhat differently. Despite the closeness of their relationship with God, the participant does not believe she receives any faith or spiritual rewards. The participant's devoutness to God translates to a commitment to the cause.

...we are made not to live for our own... we are made to please God, but also to please people and through that actually experience the presence of God... That's very inspiring... but not an eternal perspective...if God can use a monkey, [He] can use me as well... but [He] is not depending on me. (P9)

Enhancing the VFI

A different picture emerged when participants were asked to rank the factors a second time, with the additional elements discussed above. Looking at Table 6, religiosity and values were the highest-ranking motivators, and protective and career motivations were still ranked with minor importance. This is consistent with prior VFI studies (Allison et al., 2002; Clerkin & Swiss, 2013) and studies with volunteer tourists (Han et al., 2020; Ron & Timothy, 2018; Wearing et al., 2013). Participants stated social, enjoyment and team-building functions were of greater importance to them, implying a relative degree of self-interest (Everingham, 2015) and desire for personal social integration. Interestingly, all participants understood that volunteering fosters positive personal emotions, and they understood that this plays a role in volunteer retention (Tomazos, 2020).

Intriguingly, only P2 and P9 were concerned with the religiosity, values, and generativity (altruistic) functions. They affirmed that all other parts of the work were side benefits but never motivations.

Faith-based (Christian) volunteer tourism in a post secular society

None of us think highly of ourselves, there's no super-duper person ... it's an expression of faith. For example, the Good Samaritan ... two people walk by one person gets off their donkey ... and goes and helps. Cleans their wounds, gets them to an inn, gives the innkeeper some money and they look after them ... Notice that that guy didn't go preaching ... He just picked him up, got him to a place of safety and took care of him. So that story alone ... is a picture of it. (P2)

The above quote would have made Nietzsche smile; for Nietzsche, though the volunteer sees themselves as inferior compared to God, they are still instilled with a sense of power and superiority over others under, what he terms, the Christian illusion. Nietzsche argues man is no more than honouring his own accomplishments than helping others to honour their own. '... it honours itself in them and in the right, it cedes to them' (Nietzsche, 1966, p. 188). At the time of writing, this great thinker could not have predicted the advent of social media. Still, it only takes a short internet search to see how volunteer tourists endeavour to communicate their superiority and signal their virtue through their social media posts (Fitzpatrick, 2021).

Interestingly, Nietzsche would draw on this egoistic notion; when viewing it in terms of the altruism paradox (Butler & Tomazos, 2011), we know that individuals help others for altruistic and egoist reasons, despite religion proclaiming itself as altruistic by nature. If we add Kierkegaard to the equation, then we can see that becoming a street aid volunteer tourist serves an existential purpose of pursuing authentic living

Table 6. Ranking functions on the enhanced VFI.

Function	Definition	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11
Religiosity	The opportunity to express one's religious values and/or extend religious values and beliefs to another	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Values	The opportunity to express one's values and/or extend values to another	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
Social	The opportunity to meet people and/or spend time with current family and friends	3	3	3	4	3	5	4	3	3	3	3
Enjoyment	Permits the volunteers to have fun while working	6	9	6	6	6	7	6	6	6	6	6
Team Building	The opportunity to work within a team towards a common goal	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
Generativity	The opportunity to contribute to society, help future generations and/or express concern for the welfare of others	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	4
Enhancement	Permits new learning experiences and/or acts as a means of exercising existing skills	7	7	7	7	7	9	7	8	7	7	7
Understanding	Acts as a means of developing one's ego, e.g. promotion own happiness	8	6	8	10	9	6	8	7	8	8	8
Protective	Acts as a means of protecting one's ego, e.g. the avoidance of feelings, such as guilt	9	8	10	8	10	8	7	9	9	9	9
Career	Advancements, benefits, or personal development	10	10	9	9	8	10	10	10	10	10	10

(Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017) by serving God (Bårliba, 2017). Drawing again on the work of Fitzpatrick (2021), we can argue that his authentic living can be further rewarded with the validation and satisfaction derived from thousands of likes on social media.

Giving more credence to the above, when the participants were asked to reflect on the value of their work, there was clear evidence of this illusion.

I really believe that Jesus wanted us on the streets. And if he was walking here on this earth, I think he would make a beeline for Magaluf and help people ... I know I'm doing what Jesus would do ... (P2)

... sometimes people talk about evangelising, it sounds too like salesy. Like you're selling God ... it's not at all. ... its actually just sharing love to somebody else. (P9)

Nietzsche proclaimed that Jesus was the only one to resemble the Christian ideal closely. Drawing on Baudrillard and his notion of the simulacrum (1981), we can argue that our God-loving mask, or serving God, is only recognised when reproduced by the signs and symbols of volunteering and altruistic behaviour. The quotes above show that the participants think they are enacting the work of Jesus through volunteering, giving them a sense of superiority, echoing Nietzsche and his view that religion is a means of achieving power (or the illusion of control) within society. Although P9 states evangelism is not selling God, the volunteers' encounters still have this underlying intention. This further emphasises this 'missionary power' (Rowland, 2015); power provided to those God has shown His face to and do His work.

... God is using us, and I think [it] is worthwhile to obey his calling. But he's not depending on us ... I can't bear the whole world on my back. (P2)

... I don't get a better place in heaven ... but something like that [*laughs*]. The experience is very worthwhile; [to] actually experience the presence of God, and the hand of God. Seeing God working. (P6)

While Wearing et al. (2013) have distanced the work of Christian volunteers from proselytising, the findings of this study show that it is virtually impossible to separate the two in the context of street aid volunteer tourism. They are working and talking to people about the error of their ways and trying to help them if they appear to be trying to get them to the same path as themselves. While the volunteers were quick to say that they were not worthy of doing so, some more than others also believed they were instruments of God and that God is working through them but does not depend on them. Nietzsche would applaud this sense of importance and superiority. He argues that

man is further diminishing himself, convincing himself he is unworthy even after witnessing God's 'hand' and enacting God's work. This sense of superiority is a constant theme of volunteer tourism, and it is inexorably intertwined with the hegemonic connotations of colonialism and privilege (Bandyopadhyay, 2018).

Even after considering the volunteer's use of religion to attain a sense of power and superiority (in Nietzsche's eyes), the statement 'God is dead', or 'God never existed' (Baudrillard) can be disputed. The comments above prove that God is very much alive to these volunteers, especially for people like P2. Kierkegaard was a firm believer in using Christianity as a way of setting out a moral code, and absolute faith in God is the only way to 'fulfil [man's] existential quest' (Bårliba, 2017, p. 585). In some way or another, all participants discuss how they are enacting God or Jesus' work. Either indirectly, having been inspired to do so (the Good Samaritan parable or finding inspiration in Jesus) or directly (being obedient to God's calling). The above findings align with Clerkin and Swiss (2013) and contend with Nietzsche and Baudrillard serving as proof of post-secularisation in Faith-Based Volunteer Tourism. Nevertheless, what is most intriguing is that in his work *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche warned that with the demise of God, people would fashion gods consistent with the natural order of rank and the highest aims of man (Nietzsche, 1966). Is the number of likes the new order of rank, and neoliberal ethical consumption the new highest aims? The example of volunteer tourism as a hybrid of service to others and tourism consumption would suggest that this is the case. As people find new ways to signal their superiority to others through their good works, the lines between religion, altruism and tourism will become even more blurred.

Conclusion

This paper used qualitative research to investigate the micro-niche of street aid volunteer tourism and faith-based volunteer tourists' motivations in a post-secular society. Building on the VFI, the analysis examined faith-based volunteer tourists' motivations, confirming religiosity should be a separate measurement. It has also shown that religiosity is complex and multi-layered and requires further attention. The motivations also showed that faith-based volunteer tourism (FBVT) organisations pre-condition post-secularisation. This paper has demonstrated that religious grounds for volunteering are incredibly complex, and there is a need for exclusive faith-based volunteer tourism motivational studies. This study also contributes to our understanding of a micro-niche of

volunteer tourism (Wearing et al., 2020) by going into much greater depth than existing street-aid studies that focus on a singular organisation (Middleton & Yarwood, 2015; van Steden, 2018), or incorporate their findings into city commission reports (London Night Time Commission, 2019).

Furthermore, the study showed that the organisations and the volunteers examined operate in a post-secular environment offering a foundation for further research. The research suggests that a volunteer-driven multi-agency approach is practical. The evidence shows that organisations maintain a strong relationship with local police, paramedics, licensees, and drug and alcohol advisory boards to help those within the night-time economy – an arguably effective step in crime and harm prevention. Future research should further explore this trend by considering other stakeholders, including foreign police, licensees, and tourism operators who permit and encourage excessive behaviour. While multi-agency approaches can be effective, laws and regulations must be imposed to reduce the harm faced by vulnerable individuals in the night-time economy and resident liveability issues and damages to the environment. At the time of writing, party enclave stakeholders have the opportunity to change the dynamics within the party scene for the better; COVID-19 is enabling businesses to ‘try again’ and set the tone when international borders reopen.

Finally, this study has shown that religion as a motivator is more complex than first recognised. Thus, a clear framework or understanding of intrinsic/extrinsic or personal/institutional religious motivations would help better understand religion’s complexity and a deeper study of spiritual psychology.

The context of street aid volunteer tourism offers great scope for further study. The consensus was that excessive behaviours would persist – or become worse. As the manager for organisation B put it ‘If you saw the way people behaved before they were locked away for a year, you would understand’. Organisations B and C have had multiple volunteers express an interest in joining them over the past year. However, A has struggled to recruit and retain volunteers before the pandemic and is finding it even harder now. The manager of A has gone so far as to say they may even stop their work if they cannot secure volunteers for the season ahead, which will have to keep up with the demands of the youth travellers (depending on international travel restrictions). If COVID-19 does not restrict research, an ethnographic study combining observations and storytelling from various stakeholders would be recommended to investigate this fascinating micro-niche of volunteer tourism further.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributor

Konstantinos Tomazos is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Strathclyde Business School and his main research interests include: volunteer tourism, tourist motivations and behaviour, ethics, and tourism niches.

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