BARBIE SAVIOR: POLITICIZING VOLUNTOURISM THROUGH INSTAGRAM PARODY

by

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Barbie Savior: Politicizing Voluntourism Through Instagram Parody

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ABSTRACT

This Major Research Paper explores the Barbie Savior parody Instagram account to understand how the account attempts to politicize voluntourist/local relationships and how its posts constitute a strategy of social critique. Barbie Savior Instagram posts parody the white saviour complex enacted by short term missionaries who post their volunteer experiences on social media. A mixed methods approach provides quantitative and qualitative insights into how this intersectional critique addresses the phenomenon of voluntourist selfies on Instagram that promote a self-brand centered on touristic and religious authenticity through strategic use of captions and hashtags.

Key words:

Voluntourism; Short Term Missions; Instagram; Parody; White Saviour Complex; Authenticity

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1. Introduction:

Barbie Savior was created in 2016 as a joke, by Emily Worrall and a friend, to expose the white saviour complex often enacted by young voluntourists on social media. This parody Instagram account has amassed over 166,000 followers and features striking photos of a Barbie doll superimposed into scenic African landscapes, complemented by witty captions. Several of the themes presented on the account are animal rights, poor children, under-qualified volunteers, religion, white privilege, and the creation of various development initiatives (Barbie Savior, n.d.). The Barbie Savior Instagram account parodies the white saviour complex enacted by young white women who post their volunteer experiences on social media. This research will investigate the use of parody on Instagram. I will consider how the Barbie Savior parody Instagram account, in its component parts—including the use of a Barbie doll, reproduction of problematic photographic practices, and captions—and as a whole, work in tandem to expose and critique issues in the voluntourism industry.

Combined with the rich detail from the account alongside captions and hashtags that allude to current events, Barbie Savior's intersectional critique provides nuanced humour to expose problematic practices within short term missions. While the parody Instagram account is the focus of my analyses, the Failed Missionary podcast, on which Worrall makes frequent guest appearances, provides context and insight into her creative choices. Worrall's parody is largely based in her own experiences as a reformed short term missionary, who founded her own NGO before changing her views and taking a supporting role in a local Ugandan NGO. What makes Barbie Savior such a poignant parody is that it uses the medium that it is parodying. With captions, hashtags, followers, and a worldwide community of Instagram users who can like and comment on public posts, the audience for tourist photography and its critique has grown significantly. Broadly, this research seeks to understand the critique of power relations imposed

on locals by tourists in the context of voluntourism and short term missions, and the reproduction of these relations online through tourists' self-presentation on Instagram.

2. Objectives:

The purpose of this research is to understand how the parody Instagram account, Barbie Saviour, contributes to the social critique of voluntourism. I will consider the ways through which Barbie Savior represents the white saviour complex in voluntourist encounters with local communities. A common critique of voluntourism is that is depoliticizes global inequality (Mostafanezhad, 2014), therefore the overarching questions are: How does Barbie Savior, as a parody Instagram account, attempt to politicize voluntourist/local relationships? How do the Instagram posts constitute a strategy of social critique? The affordances of Instagram, as a medium, and Barbie, as a cultural object, will also be considered. A content analysis and close reading of four posts provide the tools to analyze this account.

3. Literature Review:

Three layers of analysis will provide a nuanced understanding of Instagram parody and its role in politicizing voluntourism. Postcolonial cultural analysis is used to understand the dynamics of voluntourism while postfeminism is used to understand the social media practices of voluntourists. The use of parody is also considered, as this account is parodying voluntourist activities. Together, these lenses will allow for a nuanced interpretation of Barbie Savior's Instagram parody and its contribution to discourse surrounding voluntourism and short term missions.

3.1 Postcolonial Cultural Analysis:

Adopting a lens of postcolonial cultural analysis will allow for "the elaboration of theoretical structures that contest the previous dominant western ways of seeing things" (Young, 2003, p.5). Building on Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism*, Homi K. Bhabha's (1994) work on stereotypes—which arise from the perspective of the colonizer—and his theory of mimicry describe several aspects of the voluntourist/local relationship. Especially relevant to this analysis is Bhabha's (1994) concept of mimicry, pertaining to the colonizer mimicking the colonized. It resembles actions of voluntourists seeking authenticity, but experiencing a staged version based on stereotypes and intended for their consumption (Urry and Larsen 2011). My analyses are also informed by the concept of the White Saviour, which is rooted in colonialism. Teju Cole (2012) offered a more nuanced interpretation of the concept, coining the term "White Saviour Industrial Complex," and describes it as validating privilege with Africa and often serves as a backdrop for white fantasies of conquest and heroism. This White Saviour Industrial Complex can be enacted through voluntourism, which applies to tourists who volunteer or undertake holidays for the purposes of poverty alleviation, environmental restoration, or research into aspects of society or environment (Guttentag, 2009). Thus, the postcolonial relationship of young white women and local communities will be examined in the context of voluntourism. In particular, I will use various concepts of the gaze and specific studies on voluntourism and short term missionaries to add nuance to my arguments.

3.2 Voluntourism and Short Term Missions:

Wearing (2001) defines voluntourism as the combination of "travel with voluntary work, attracting individuals that are seeking a tourist experience that is mutually beneficial, that will contribute not only to their personal development but also positively and directly to the social,

natural and/or economic environments in which they participate" (p.1). Volunteers are often attracted by a sense of guilt and responsibility that is felt today about the history of colonialism (Sin, 2010, p. 989). Vodopivec and Jaffe (2011) argue that voluntourism is neoliberal development practice, in which development is privatized and packaged as a marketable commodity by NGOs (p.112). Voluntourism is promoted as a sustainable form of travel and a valuable gap year option, often encouraged by schools, universities, churches, and governments (Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011, p.114). McGloin and Georgeou (2016) note that voluntourism is driven by profit and occurs within an unregulated industry that appropriates language of humanitarian development to attract people who want to help others in need. Every year, more than 1.6 million voluntourists from the global north spend approximately $2 billion in the global south (Bandyopadhyay and Patil, 2017 p.645). The majority of these volunteers are white women (Bandyopadhyay and Patil, 2017 p.645). With the popularity of both voluntourism and social media, there are an abundance of pictures documenting the activities of these young tourists. Emotive imagery in humanitarian campaigns, and arguably in individual social media posts, has been referred to as 'development pornography,' due to its role in naturalizing Western intervention (Mostafanezhad, 2013, p. 491). When voluntourists document their interactions with locals, this photographic surveillance aestheticizes the poverty that voluntourists tourists seek to ameliorate (Mostafanezhad, 2014, p.115). A narrative that children in the global south require care from people in the global north emerges, which naturalizes global inequality, and is extended through photographic and social media practices (Mostafanezhad, 2013).

The Barbie Savior Instagram account focuses on short term missions, arguably a sector of the voluntourism industry. Short term missions (STM) can be understood as a hybrid of tourism, pilgrimage, and mission, and a separate entity, through which one temporarily leaves their ordinary life to have a sacred voluntary experience, resulting in personal transformation (Howell,

2012; Priest, 2006). Previously short term missions had been conceived of as training for long term missionary work. While both voluntourism and short term missions focus on work believed to be beneficial to communities and transformation of the self, attempts to distinguish STM trips from voluntourism may be a strategy to validate this form of travel (Freidus and Caro, 2018, p.348). An estimated 1.5 million American Christians go on STM trips each year and two out of three short term missionaries served for two weeks or less, blocks of time which fit into holidays or school breaks (Priest et al., 2006). Evangelical Christian critics have voiced concerns that the time commitment required for STM trips is not long enough to be considered missionary work, which is generally characterized by a lifelong commitment to international missions. Despite this reluctance, an "adapt or die" mentality has taken hold as Christians who oppose the practice of STM still seek to encourage youth involvement in the church (Howell, 2012, p.115).

Anthropologist Brian Howell's (2012) ethnographic research, as a participant on an STM trip to the Dominican Republic with a group of American evangelical high school students, is centered around the narratives of short term missions. More specifically, how the purpose of the trip, training, and narratives formed before the trip inform participant narratives during and after the trip. According to Howell (2012) an STM trip is defined by the cultural and social location of the traveler and he distinguishes it from tourism, pilgrimage, and mission. For Howell (2012), tourists and pilgrims find inner transformation through introspection, education, and a quest for personal growth, while STM travellers look to be transformed through humble service and the relationships that result (p.191). This focus on relationship building has the effect of "blinders" to experiences that do not fit this narrative (Howell 190). In other words, emphasis on personal and spiritual growth and interpersonal relationships result in disregard for the effectiveness of the work being done and the political and economic conditions that contribute to a country's poverty. The transformation undergone by short term missionaries through helping others in

distant places will ideally spill over into their lives at home (Priest el al., 2006, p.434). According to PEW Research Centre's 2011 Global Survey of Evangelical Protestant Leaders (2017), 80% of global evangelical leaders "think the focus of evangelization efforts should be on changing individual hearts, not social institutions," with evangelizing the non-religious being a top priority. STM trips are part of the American evangelical church's larger mission of spreading the word of God, which is seen by adherents as necessary.

Howell's (2012) focus on the construction of cultural narrative is particularly relevant to analysis of the Barbie Savior Instagram account because it parodies how young women create a narrative of authenticity by posting their volunteer experiences on Instagram. As short term missionaries are currently under-researched, I will use both terms "voluntourist" and "short term missionary" throughout my research, short term missionaries being voluntourists with specific religious motivations. While the history and evolution of short term missions is different to voluntourism, Christian ideologies were central to formal colonial processes and continue to play an important role in voluntourism (Bandyapadhyay and Patil, 2017). Many of the racial and gender stereotypes throughout the Barbie Savior Instagram account can apply to both voluntourists and short term missionaries. The two practices have evolved in tandem and continue to influence each other.

3.3 Photographic Practices of Voluntourists:

With the popularity of both voluntourism and social media, there are an abundance of photographs documenting the activities of young tourists, aestheticizing poverty and playing a role in naturalizing global inequality, and extended through photographic and social media practices (Mostafanezhad, 2014). Lutz and Collins examined National Geographic photographs and argue that they shape American understanding of the world outside the United States (1993).

Of particular relevance is Lutz and Collins' (1993) discussion of the photograph as an intersection of gazes (the photographer's, the reader's, the academic's, and the subjects') which allow viewers of the photograph to negotiate a number of different identities for themselves and those pictured, in ways that reveal class, racial, and gendered differences. Mostafanezhad (2014) states that voluntourism, in particular, perpetuates a popular humanitarian gaze that contributes to discourses of North–South relations that naturalize political, economic and social inequality. As I will be analyzing a parody account, it is necessary to analyze the social phenomenon being parodied.

Urry and Larsen (2011) theorize the tourist gaze, which is a set of practices and a vision, structured according to class, gender, ethnicity and age, constructed through photography and other representational technologies (p.2). Gazing is framed by culture, circulating images of the destination, personal experiences, and memories (Urry and Larsen, 2011, p.17). Images generated through different tourist gazes over time through the media have become the basis for tourist's selection of potential places to visit (Urry and Larsen, 2011). As tourists seek to reproduce photographs they have already seen elsewhere, power relations between tourist and host resemble those between colonizer and colonized (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016; Urry and Larsen, 2011). Urry and Larsen (2011) describe the tourist as "a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other 'times' and 'places' away from that person's everyday life" (p.10). Tourists show particular fascination with the "real lives" of distant others (Urry and Larsen, 2011, p.10). Urry and Larsen (2011) liken pilgrims and tourists, as both pilgrims and the tourists "worship" shrines which are sacred and gain an uplifting experience (p.12) It is interesting that Urry and Larsen (2011) relate tourists to pilgrims, and describe tourists as worshipping sacred shrines, because that is literally what short term missionaries do. They worship God through humble service to others and by teaching His word in developing countries. Nevertheless, in his

book on short term missionaries, Howell (2012) differentiates between the motivations of tourists, pilgrims, and missionaries, in his description of short term missionaries. Urry and Larsen (2011) build from Sontag's (1977) theory of photography, that to photograph someone is to appropriate the thing photographed and to assume a position of power (p.9). Due to the relational nature of the gaze, those who are gazed upon gaze back (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016, p.132). This provides the perspective of a local through either the mutual gaze or reverse gaze, which reflect some power and agency from the locals or hosts in their interactions with tourists (Gillespie 2006; Maoz 2006). These gazes are enacted through tourism, represented through photography, and shared on social media.

The Barbie Savior Instagram account is critical of the photographic practices of voluntourists and the posting of these photos on social media. Christopher Garland (2015) explores the visual rhetoric of voluntourists and aid workers in post-earthquake Haiti. He accompanied a small group of nurses and doctors to a pop-up medical clinic in an impoverished area (Garland, 2015, p.80). Garland (2015) was interested in the way voluntourists and aid workers in Haiti documented their activities by taking pictures with cell phones and digital cameras, and the circulation of those images via social media platforms (p.79). Watching the interaction between the photographer and his or her subject, Garland (2015) noticed that the subjects often appeared uncomfortable (p.80). Similarly, Gillespie (2006) noted that there is a reverse gaze present in tourist/local interactions, when the tourist feels shame and embarrassment when confronted with the discomfort of their subjects. Elsewhere Haitians would protest about having their photo taken by tourists, but in the space of the clinic, the power dynamic between the photographer and the photographed was altered as the photographed were seeking free health care and the photographers were the ones providing the services (Garland, 2015, p.81). Power dynamics are similarly demonstrated through encounters between voluntourists or short term

missionaries and local communities, where benevolent white volunteers offer their services to poor locals. For contact between white and black subjects to signal the absence of domination and an oppressor/oppressed relationship, it must emerge through mutual choice and negotiation (hooks, 1992, p.371). In these instances, without the possibility for mutual choice, the oppressor/oppressed relationship is upheld.

Garland (2015) notes that Americans working at the Haitian clinic would actively seek out photographic subjects and post the photographs on social media, with an audience of family, friends, and followers in mind (p.89). People volunteering at the clinic stated that these photographs would be used to elicit further sponsorship for NGOs (Garland, 2015, p.89). In this way, photographs of Haitians waiting to receive treatment at a makeshift clinic were commodified for the purposes of a North American NGO (Garland, 2015, p.89). There is the belief among volunteers that this type of intervention is helpful. Images circulated online perpetuate the idea of Haiti as the national manifestation of the frightening "other," and encounters with otherness are generally marked as more exciting, more intense, and more threatening (Garland, 2015; hooks, 1992). So, there is the presumption that voluntourists have the right to gaze upon the misery of those they are helping because it spurs them to do good (Garland, 2015, p. 95). Barbie Savior represents similar photographic practices.

In his study on travel writing and the colonial narrative in tourism, Smith (2018) argues that consistent visual motifs on Instagram present tourist destinations as available for possession and consumption (p.172). When local residents are featured, they are configured as exotic to add to a tourists' perception of authenticity, and Instagram users perform their encounter with authenticity by depicting themselves as the quintessential local (Smith, 2018). As such, tourist photography on Instagram "contributes to the imagined and real perpetuation of unequal power relations in global tourism, which continue to privilege wealthy tourists over local residents"

(Smith, 2018, p.172). Photographs set tourists' expectations and informs what they are supposed to do at a destination (Smith, 2018, p.174). As a new multimodal form of travel writing, Instagram offers increased accessibility and a largely uncritical space for antiquated notions of travel to be more widely broadcast and imitated (Smith, 2018, p.198). Instagram users visit locations that will accrue the most "likes" once photographed and posted to their accounts, thus, colonial-era norms are reflexively performed by tourists for the attainment of "likes" (Smith, 2018). The role of social media in the tourist experience requires further exploration. This research builds on Dinhopl and Gretzel's (2016) conceptualization of the self-directed tourist gaze, facilitated through social media, where the self becomes the focus of tourist photographs as tourists seek the extraordinary within themselves (p.126).

3.4 Postfeminism, Self-branding, and Aspirational Labour:

Voluntourists document their trips and share their experiences through the circulation of photos on social media. Beyond Barbie's voluntourist activities, her documentation and sharing of these activities on social media is central to the critique. The Instagram account follows Barbie's visual account of her experiences in Africa through posts shared with her followers. She is documenting her creation of various NGOs and aid initiatives made possible by follower support solicited through her Instagram account. The Barbie Savior account provides an avenue for the intersectional critique of how young women choose to present their own voluntourist activities on social media.

According to Gill (2017), some prominent features of postfeminist discourse are; a focus on individualism, choice, and empowerment, along with an emphasis on self-surveillance, monitoring, and discipline, a marked sexualization of culture, and an emphasis on consumerism and the commodification of difference (p.149). These features are displayed to varying degrees

in several instances throughout the account. For example, Barbie's preoccupation with her appearance is shown in stark contrast to the basic survival needs of the African poor. Her personal journey of self-discovery as an entrepreneur is also highlighted. While postfeminist discourses present women as autonomous agents free from inequalities and power imbalances to make their own choices and be themselves, Gill (2017) notes that power has shifted from "an external, male judging gaze to a self-policing narcissistic gaze" (p.151). The Barbie Savior parody critiques how Barbie presents herself online, drawing on her concern with camera angles and how her activities will be received by her audience. She is self-reflective and arguably displays this self-policing narcissistic gaze that Gill (2017) describes. In addition, contemporary self-help discourses turn the self into a site for evaluation, discipline, and improvement (Gill, 2017, p.155). Young voluntourists and short term missionaries are often transparent about their quest for self-discovery and self-improvement, although these are usually described as by-products of their altruistic trip to help others. Gill (2017) sees emphasis on the self as fitting within neoliberalism which constructs individuals as entrepreneurial actors (p.163). Likewise, Banet-Weiser (2012) notes that under a neoliberal moral framework, it becomes the duty of the individual to cultivate a self-brand (p. 56). So, the Barbie Savior Instagram account is not only parodying the short term mission trips, but the resultant social media posts and the construction of a young short term missionary's online identity, or her self-brand.

Sarah Banet-Weiser (2012), examines cultural spaces that people often consider "authentic"—self-identity, creativity, politics, and religion—and the way these spaces are increasingly branded, structured by brand logic and strategies, and understood and expressed through the language of branding (p. 5). Barbie is young, white, middle-class, heterosexual, American woman who is trying to brand herself and her missionary experiences as authentic. This is a strategy to turn her passion for helping others into work through her online presence

and lifestyle blog, detailing her involvement in a variety of initiatives in Africa. Banet-Weiser (2012) believes that within contemporary consumer culture, it is expected and tolerated that authenticity, like anything else, can be branded. Self-branding can be intentional or unintentional, through feedback that one receives online from others through evaluation, ranking, and judgement (Banet-Weiser, 2012, p.57). Cultivating affective relationships is recognized as valuable among bloggers, and social media users more generally, as they try to increase their followers and likes, and rethink the content they produce based upon audience feedback (Duffy, 2015). Emphasis on quantification suggests that in the context of social media the number of followers or comments gets coded as success (Duffy, 2015, p.450). Barbie Savior parodies a young short term missionary's lifestyle Instagram account, that is an attempt to cultivate a relationship with her audience, quantified by likes, comments, and follower growth. By contrast, the followers of the Barbie Savior parody account are showing their support for the critique, acknowledging the hypocrisy and issues inherent to these trips.

Duffy (2015) also discusses authenticity, in the context of the "aspirational labour" of fashion bloggers. Barbie makes reference to a blog and writes lengthy captions under her posts. Neoliberal individualism is present in work, especially as the advice to "do what you love" describes employment through which pleasure, autonomy and income seemingly coexist (Duffy, 2015, p.442). Additionally, work has become feminized, with more opportunities to work from home and create your own work, but much of this labour is unpaid and precarious (Duffy, 2015, p.445). Duffy (2015) argues that activities that young women engage in can be conceptualized as "aspirational labour," which she defines as "a forwards-looking, carefully orchestrated, and entrepreneurial form of creative cultural production" (p.446). In many ways, the Barbie Savior Instagram account parodies the aspirational labour of a short term missionary and her excitement about sharing her journey online and gaining new followers. Aspirational labourers seek to mark

themselves as creative producers in hopes of receiving compensation one day (Duffy, 2015, p. 446). In efforts to appear relatable, Duffy's (2015) fashion blog interviewees downplayed a baseline economic capital required for success, including leisure time, and access to technologies for producing and distributing their content, which is often rationalized as an investment in their future careers (p. 448). This celebration of realness is an indication of class and is also present in the Barbie Savior critique. How does Barbie have the means to fund her mission trip to Africa or to start so many initiatives? Worrall's parody is based on her own experiences as a young short term missionary who founded and ran her own NGO before realizing the harm she and others like her were causing. She speaks candidly about her experiences through regular guest appearances on the Failed Missionary podcast (Pigg, 2018). Whether or not Barbie Savior is intentionally critiquing branded authenticity online and the aspirational labour of young Instagram users, this parody provides avenues to explore these topics.

3.5 Social Media and Parody:

Social media research is a growing field, and several approaches and insights can be applied across platforms. Highfield discusses parody accounts on Twitter and presents a type of parody Twitter account based on stereotypes or perceptions of people or groups that mock and challenge these common perceptions and stereotypes (2016). Once a tool of professionals, social media is making satire and parody increasingly accessible. In the new media environment, the audience is also biased by the comments of others (Crittenden et al., 2012). Parody accounts on social media have been researched in the context of topical discussions on Twitter (Highfield, 2016), in terms of how the creation of parody accounts is triggered in response to organizational crises (Wan et al., 2015), and in terms of political parody and satire globally (Kumar and Combe, 2015). Currently, Instagram parody accounts are under-researched.

Linda Hutcheon (2000) offers a theory of parody that is relevant to visual content, as she discusses parody in the visual arts. Hutcheon (2000) defines parody as a form of imitation "characterized by ironic inversion, not always at the expense of the of the parodied text" (p.6). As parody is a form of imitation, it is necessary to analyze both the parody and what is being imitated. This analysis will look at parody in the context of the social critique of voluntourism and will consider the role that racial and ethnic stereotypes play in Barbie Savior's visual humour (Rosenthal, 2016). In practice, parody can be textual, visual, or intertextual in nature. Neal's (2017) work investigates the role of religion in fashion by examining the impact of evangelical t-shirts and questions of authenticity that this apparel raises (p.225). Although Worrall is using a different medium and is not specifically exploring fashion, she is exploring tourism and the ways through which voluntourists attempt to construct "evangelical authenticity" through their self-presentation on Instagram. Despite being a polarizing subject with the potential to offend, religion is often the subject of parody. This analysis will also explore the connotations that Barbie dolls give to parody, as they have been used extensively as a tool of visual humour.

The Barbie Savior Instagram account has been used as a hook for numerous news stories and journal articles covering the issue of voluntourism. Colourful posts and their provocative captions provide a catchy introduction, framing critique and relevant discussion about voluntourism and short term missionaries. However, the Instagram account itself can be a valuable object of study to examine the gendered social media practices of voluntourists and the role of humour in critique. Wearing et al. (2018) argue that while Barbie Savior is a productive reminder of the symbolic violence of racialized inequality, the critique itself inadvertently "perpetuates the ahistorical and apolitical racial, ethnic, gender and class-based binary thinking that it seeks to condemn" (p.500). Their argument is valid, and perhaps the use of a Barbie doll and stereotypes throughout the critique can be interpreted as unintentionally glossing over certain

important issues of race, class, and gender. Wearing et al. (2018) contend that their analysis of popular critiques of voluntourism through the lens of Barbie as "White Saviour" provides a starting point for more nuanced interpretation of media criticism of voluntourists (p.510). They also call for more sustained analysis of gender, race, and class in the voluntourism industry and its encounters (Wearing et al., 2018, p.510). As such, a closer analysis of individual posts and related Failed Missionary podcast commentary will provide the opportunity to discuss the performance of race and class, and in particular, the gendered use of social media critiqued throughout this parody account.

4. Methods:

I will take a mixed methods approach to understand how the Barbie Savior Instagram account attempts to politicize voluntourist/local relationships and how the posts constitute a strategy of social critique. All 113 Barbie Savior posts (existing as of March 31st, 2018) will be used for the content analysis, four of which have been selected for deeper critical analysis based on their relevance to themes that appear throughout. I will explore the use of hashtags and comments alongside supplementary material from the Barbie Savior blog, news articles, and commentary from Corey Pigg's (2018) Failed Missionary podcast, on which one of the creators, Emily Worrall, is a regular guest. Using Schreiber's (2017) framework for analyzing visual communication on social media, Instagram will be viewed as a set of practices, with pictures on platforms (p.41). In particular, my analyses are informed by Albers and James's (1988) methods for studying the intersection of tourism, ethnicity, and photography, through content analysis and semiotic analysis (p.135). I will also draw upon Smith's (2018) example for analyzing Instagram posts, considering visual tropes, textual captions, and hashtags to provide a close reading of four selected posts (p.173). Smith (2018) argues that Instagram functions as a form of multimodal

travel writing, where social media is a stage on which users enact mediatized travel performances and perpetuate colonial-era norms. As a parody account, Barbie Savior critiques these travel performances and the perpetuation of colonial-era norms. My analyses consider which norms enacted by young short term missionaries are being critiqued and how the critique is constructed.

Schreiber (2017) outlines a methodological framework for empirical research into visual practices on social media (p.41). She proposes a triangulation of methods, through which visual, textual, and platform analyses are used to understand practices, pictures, and platforms (Schreiber, 2017, p.38). For Schreiber (2017), practices are the main object of research and can be analyzed through interviews, ethnographic accounts, and comments on social media (p.41). Schreiber (2017) describes pictures in their broader sense, to include screenshots containing multimodal data that allow for analysis of both practices and the platforms themselves (p.41). Specific pictures are authenticated by being shared on a specific account on a specific platform, while simultaneously displaying taste, aesthetics, and embodied performances (Schreiber, 2017, p.39). Schreiber (2017) notes that the platforms' interfaces, defaults, and affordances can be accessed through screenshots and that analysis can be extended to multiple factors (p.41). As such, I collected Barbie Savior Instagram posts by taking screenshots. Schreiber (2017) argues that her framework should be systematically adapted and related to the research questions (p.41). This analysis will focus more heavily on the picture and practice elements described in Schreiber's (2017) framework, and to a lesser extent on platform affordances. I will adapt Schreiber's (2017) qualitative framework by adding an additional quantitative element to my analysis of Barbie Savior's parody Instagram posts through a content analysis. My analysis will combine content analysis of 113 Barbie Savior posts based on nine themes and qualitative analysis of four individual posts.

4.1 Content Analysis:

Albers and James (1988) implement content analysis for travel photography (p.145). As a methodological approach, content analysis provides an empirical foundation to compare and contrast appearances within large data-sets (Albers and James, 1988, p.145). The first step is to establish a set of focal themes that indicate the subject at the centre of the picture and its properties, around which the content and composition of travel pictures can be analyzed (Albers and James, 1988, p.145). In the study of ethnic imagery, several general categories tend to be significant, including; subjects (i.e. the number of people and their age and gender), dress, presentation (i.e. candid or posed, formal portrait or action shot), and surroundings (i.e. studio or outdoor setting, indigenous village or specially built tourist attraction) (Albers and James, 1988, p.145). The themes of this analysis do not fit neatly into the focal themes listed above, however, many of them do relate to gender, age, and the surroundings portrayed in the posts. Other categories relate more to captions and intended parodic meanings of posts through specific references to religion or popular culture. While Albers and James (1988) consider traditional photography, their methods can be applied to Instagram, which is a largely visual platform.

Content analysis allows for researchers to make sense of large amounts of data. From content analysis, "one can infer or predict possible interpretations for the prevalence or absence of specific types of content and composition" (Albers and James, 1988, p.146). However, to determine whether these inferences have any validity the researcher must go beyond content description alone (Albers and James, 1988, p.146). Recently, researchers in different fields have used content analysis to make sense of a variety of Instagram accounts and posts. To conduct content analysis on Instagram, researchers generally search for a particular hashtag and narrow down their selections of accounts and posts according to pre-established parameters or codebooks. Recent Instagram content analyses have been conducted on; junk food marketing

(Vassallo et al., 2018), the brand image of cities (Acuti et al., 2018), fitspiration imagery (Tiggemann and Ziccardo, 2018), body positivity posts (Cohen et al. 2019), parents' over-sharing on Instagram (Choi and Lewallen, 2018), and vaping (Laestadius, et al., 2016). These content analyses generally use posts from numerous accounts relating to a chosen topic or social trend and consist of a sample of between 500 and 600 posts, coded for specific visual and textual elements. Another way to approach the study of voluntourism and short term missions could be to conduct a content analysis using posts found by searching #voluntourism or #shorttermmission on Instagram. However, the focus of my research is the Barbie Savior Instagram account that parodies the social trend of voluntourism and short term missions. As my analyses are focused on one account, the posts that I have chosen are all Barbie Savior posts. My content analysis determined the frequency of themes that emerge in the posts and how often the creators invoke these themes as well as the relationship between themes by considering them in combination. My content analysis was done using Excel.

The content analysis begins with a frequency table to determine the frequency of the nine selected themes across all 113 Barbie Savior posts (as of March 31st, 2018). The data was collected by taking screenshots of the 113 posts that had been posted at the time of the data collection. Since the coding and content analysis, there have been three additional Barbie Savior posts, making the total number of posts 116 (as of March 17th, 2019). As the account is still active, the number of posts will continue to increase at the discretion of the creators. I coded for nine themes, including; Religious References, Pop Culture References, Poverty Porn, Madonna and Child, Bros (Masculinity in Voluntourism), Entrepreneurship, Orphans, Wildlife Conservation, and Cultural Appropriation. By viewing the posts, reading their captions and hashtags, making note of relevant topics that are explored, and supplementing the Barbie Savior content with additional research, I chose nine themes that encapsulated many of the critiques

presented throughout the account. These themes were coded subjectively, based on my own

interpretation grounded in relevant research. Next, the four most frequently coded themes were

compared with the nine total themes to determine the frequency of these top four themes in

combination with the other themes across all 113 posts. The final part of this content analysis

consisted of a frequency table of coded themes for the top 10% of posts based on number of

comments, in which the four most frequently coded themes were compared with the nine total

themes once again. Comments were chosen to quantify the top 10% of posts because

commenting on a post is a more active form of engagement than liking a post, and because likes

increased substantially in later posts, in part due to the account's follower growth. These three

steps allowed me to determine the frequency of the chosen themes across 113 posts, and the

frequency of certain themes appearing in combination. Complemented with a close reading of

four selected posts, these analyses should provide a more thorough understanding of the account

as a whole and the way the themes described below contribute to its critique.

4.2 Content Analysis Themes:

      I chose a total of nine themes to represent the topics covered throughout Barbie Savior's

Instagram parody. Posts were coded according to both visual and textual information and

grounded in research on topics outlined throughout the posts.

1. **Religious References:** The primary goal of short term missions is lasting personal,

   emotional, and spiritual growth achieved through sharing the gospel and saving the poor

   (Freidus and Caro, 2018; Howell, 2012; Priest et al. 2006). For many short term

   missionaries, their travel destination in Africa is irrelevant, as long as it meets the criteria

   of being "poor, simple, joyful, and spiritually fertile" so that they can find their authentic

   selves through interactions with people who are more reliant on and therefore closer to

God (Freidus and Caro, 2018, p.355) Captions and hashtags in this category refer to being blessed, chosen, a religious calling to volunteer, bible verses, and explicit mentions of "God" or "Him."

2. **Pop Culture References:** Posts in this category have captions that include modified song lyrics, movie and television references, and branded products. These are mainly American references that would be easily understood by many North Americans, and by those who consume American media.

3. **Poverty Porn:** Many voluntourists and short term missionaries expect to encounter material poverty on their trips. While Worrall uses the term "poverty porn" to critique short term missionaries' encounters with poverty, it can also be used to describe observing people living in poverty in other situations. "Development porn," is a more specific term used to describe emotive imagery in humanitarian campaigns that naturalizes Western intervention and encourages participation in private development initiatives (Mostafanezhad, 2013, p. 491). Crossley (2012) questions whether it is morally permissible for financially privileged tourists to visit places for the purpose of experiencing where poor people live, work, and play. Short term missionaries often understand poverty as productive, as it allows people to rely more on God, and romanticize life in African countries as simpler and more relaxed compared to American life (Freidus and Caro, 2018). Short term missionaries construct Africans as "simultaneously suffering in their poverty and living in joy" (Freidus and Caro, 2018, p.349). Tourists' Instagram posts help to construct a normalized and romanticized view of poverty (Nisbett, 2017, p.37). This category comprises of posts with the hashtag poverty porn or posts with a backdrop of substandard housing.

4. **Madonna and Child:** The Madonna-Child image evokes associations of Mary with Jesus and is visually powerful in Western religious discourses (Shome, 2011, p.395). It connotes salvation and love and has historically functioned to represent the compassion and morality of white women (Shome, 2011, p.395). This category is comprised of posts with Barbie in close physical proximity to a child or cradling them protectively.

5. **Bros (Masculinity in Voluntourism):** Worrall's choice to describe the other male dolls as "bros" indicates that they are part of a wider "bro culture," based in hegemonic masculinity (Chrisler et al., 2012). Although disputed, "hegemonic masculinity" can be described as a set of values that combines; "a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power (over women and other men), and the interplay between men's identity, men's ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy" (Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). The behavior and attitudes of bros are shaped by popular culture, peers, and authority figures, who encourage the display of hegemonic masculinity by endorsing womanizing, homophobia, displays of power and status, and harassment of men who do not follow the hegemonic "rules" (Chrisler et al., 2012). Relations of distance and dominance over other men's bodies can be established through sports, leisure, and eating practices that deploy their wealth (Donaldson and Poynting, 2004). This category comprises of posts that feature male dolls, Ken and his bros, either by themselves or with other dolls. This includes hashtags like #brorphans that include the word "bro," and specific mentions of Barbie and Ken's relationship.

6. **Entrepreneurship:** Through voluntourism, development is privatized and packaged as a marketable commodity by NGOs (Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011). Similarly, short term missions are privately organized and run through churches and made possibly through fundraising and appealing to networks of family and friends for donations (Howell,

2012). Neither practice is regulated. The theme of entrepreneurship is directly related to Worrall's own experiences creating and running her own NGO, that she left after changing her views on her work and role in Uganda (Pigg, 2018). In this category, posts relate to Barbie's creation and involvement in various fictitious NGO initiatives (Harness the Tears, Rodents in Heels, essential oils, etc.). Additionally, these posts will relate to the promotion of these initiatives via social media, as Barbie Savior parodies the marketing of NGO initiatives on social media.

7. **Orphans:** There are many specific references to orphans made in the posts, who are often the focus of volunteer trips. The common usage of the term orphan refers to a child who has lost both of his or her parents, but in the context of voluntourism, and especially orphanage tourism, the term orphan for statistical purposes is "a child under 18 years old who has lost one or both parents" (UNICEF, 2019). Posts coded with the theme orphans associate the image of a child with a hashtag or caption that explicitly referred to orphans (i.e. #orphans).

8. **Wildlife Conservation:** Wildlife conservation falls under the umbrella of ecotourism, which was conceived of as low impact nature tourism, providing revenue to local communities to conserve, value, and protect habitats and species (Goodwin, 2015, p.40). In Southern Africa, wildlife-based tourism occurs in protected areas containing biological diversity and other natural attractions (Mbaiwa, 2018). Due to the history of European exploration and colonization, iconic African wild animals are ubiquitous in Western visual media and serve in the Western imaginary as a wild and natural backdrop (Garland, 2008, p.51). Posts in this category reference efforts to save various animal species, including squirrels, hippopotamuses, zebras, and ostriches.

9. **Cultural Appropriation:** Cultural appropriation occurs when tourists wear recognisable or stereotyped clothing as local dress and "appropriate the identity of those who call the destination home, effectively claiming the destination (temporarily) as their home, too" (Smith, year, p.183). This can extend more generally to the inappropriate adoption of other customs and practices. Posts in this category relate to local clothing and hairstyles that Barbie Savior wears during her stay in Africa. These will also have captions or hashtags explicitly relating the content and Barbie's actions to cultural appropriation.

4.3 Close Reading of 4 posts:

A critical approach in travel photography focuses on the context of tourism and its relationship to photography (Albers and James, 1988, p.150). Semiotic analysis offers a framework for discovering the meaning of pictures and various ways of interpreting them by treating each picture as a whole, containing patterns and structures (Albers and James, 1988, p.147). However, the major limitation of semiotic analysis is that it does not explain "either how certain pictorial appearances get conventionalized or why they emerge in particular contexts" (Albers and James, 1988, p.150). Albers and James (1988) believe it is necessary to situate pictorial analysis in a broader social and ideological context and this can be achieved through critical analysis (p.150). As such, the posts will be situated in their ideological contexts. Another method of contextualizing in this analysis will be situating posts on Instagram as a platform. Smith's (2018) analysis of nine posts from popular travel Instagram accounts, to uncover consistent visual motifs which contribute to the perpetuation of unequal power relations in global tourism, will be used as a model for analysis.

This analysis of four posts was done by selecting photos that are representative of the themes found throughout the account. Posts were coded with multiple themes, so themes are

counted more than once in the top ten posts. Further research into sub-themes was conducted, with the addition of specific details and commentary from the Failed Missionary podcast, on which Worrall is a frequent guest. Qualitative analysis of small samples of Instagram data allows for Instagram post components to be understood as a unit, rather than considering images, videos, hashtags, captions, comments, and likes independently (Sloan and Quan-Haase, 2017, p. 581). Based on the trends revealed through the content analysis, four Barbie Savior Instagram posts were chosen that are representative of the themes and combinations of themes outlined above. The posts were collected as screenshots to incorporate additional elements to the photograph and caption. Screenshots are a simple form of data collection that include the shared post and its framing through the inclusion of captions, likes, comments, and show the platform on which the post was shared (Schreiber, 2017, p.42). Screenshots of selected posts are included at relevant intervals throughout the analysis section to illustrate various points of argument. Posts were analyzed as a whole, considering captions alongside images, to interpret this intertextual form of parody. A mixed methods approach was adopted in an attempt to provide breadth and depth to this analysis.

5. Analysis:

5.1 Content Analysis Results:

The content analysis of the Barbie Savior Instagram posts reveals the prevalence of the coded themes, and which themes appear most often in combination. To give an idea of the number of likes and comments a Barbie Savior post typically receives; as of March 31st, 2018, the average number of likes per post was 2847 and the average number of comments per post was 351. As others discover this account, and the number of followers increases and fluctuates, these averages will change.

From a frequency table of all coded themes, several key insights emerged about the top three most prevalent themes. First, 74% of all posts are coded "Religious References," 59% of all posts are coded "Pop Culture References," and 20% of all posts are coded "Orphans" (See Appendix A). Thus, the majority of the posts contained religious references, while over half contained pop culture references. By contrast, the least prevalent themes are posts coded "Current Events" at 11%, posts coded "Bros" at 9%, and posts coded "Cultural Appropriation" at 8% (See Appendix A). Many of the posts feature Barbie witnessing or misunderstanding the culture she is being exposed to instead of appropriating it, although there are several instances of Barbie dressing in local clothing, wearing traditional braids, or going topless, imitating certain local customs.

Worrall and her co-creator's choice to convey certain messages seems to align with research on who voluntourists actually are and their studied motivations. The Barbie Savior Instagram account started as a critique of short term missions following Worrall's disillusionment with the practice and is littered with religious references accordingly. Pop culture references are also made throughout, possibly to emphasize the materialism of young white American women, and were coded quite generally, to include captions, hashtags, and visual references to movies, song lyrics, games, and branded products. These numbers provide some quantification of the frequency of the themes across the posts to convey their overall importance to the parody.

The two themes that appear together the most often in combination are "Religious References" and "Pop Culture References," appearing together in 38% of posts (See Appendix B). Much of the humour throughout the posts is in the form of funny hashtags that refer to movies and other branded cultural products, like Starbucks, that can be read as superficial aspects of American culture that are completely unrelated to the poverty and suffering witnessed

in Africa by short term missionaries. The association of oppositional themes is one of the ways the creators of Barbie Savior add humour to their posts. Adding pop culture references to posts that include religious themes also implies a lack of dedication and religious motivation among some short term missionaries. Significantly, "Orphans" and "Religious References" appear together in 16% of the posts, while "Madonna and Child" and "Orphans" appear together in 12% of the posts. "Pop Culture References" and "Entrepreneurship" also appear together in 12% of posts. The theme "Religious References" appears together with "Entrepreneurship," "Poverty Porn," and "Madonna and Child" in 11% of the posts respectively (See Appendix B). As "Religious References" is the theme that occurs most often throughout the posts, it follows that it appears frequently in combination with other themes. The top ten posts, based on the number of comments each post received, were also determined. I chose to use the number of comments because commenting indicates more meaningful engagement with a post and its content, whereas liking a post is a more passive form of engagement. The combinations of themes listed below resulted in the highest level of engagement based on number of comments. Within the top ten posts based on number of comments, "Madonna and Child" and "Religious References" appear together in three posts, "Orphans" and "Madonna and Child" appear together in three posts, and "Religion" and "Pop Culture References" appear together in three posts (See Appendix B).

When the Barbie Savior account was started, the creators were very consistent and posted several times a day, with the majority of their posts spanning from March to December 2016. This was followed by less frequent posts coinciding with holidays and some of the latest posts have been made in relation to other partnerships the creators have done with Radi-Aid and the Failed Missionary podcast. Later posts also contributed to continuity in Barbie's story, providing updates on various initiatives and referencing earlier posts. Over time the content of the posts has changed somewhat, with the earliest posts focusing on religious calling to volunteer work in

Africa. These religious references have given way to various pop culture references, perhaps in an attempt to be relatable to a wider audience, or voluntourists more broadly instead of just short term missionaries.

5.2 Analysis of 4 posts:

The Barbie Savior Instagram account comprises of a variety of thought provoking and nuanced posts, using both image and text to convey the parody. The qualitative analysis of four individual posts that follows will attempt to capture some of the subtleties throughout the posts and draw attention to specific themes, and the underlying issues that Worrall and her co-creator are addressing. I chose these four posts because they represent a range of themes present throughout the account and they each touch on unique points of critique. Following Smith's example, of highlighting significant elements of several posts, and combining this with research into related areas of tourism, this analysis seeks to provide both breadth and some depth by adding specific details from the Failed Missionary podcast and Instagram captions. The selected posts will explore some issues that are prevalent in voluntourism and STM, to reveal what is being parodied and specific uses of parody.

5.3 Post #1:

Figure 1. Posted on March 29th, 2016.

This image of Barbie holding an African child protectively in her arms or holding hands appeared in 17 out of 113 posts. The Madonna-Child trope, which evokes associations of Mary with Jesus, is visually powerful in Western religious discourses (Shome, 2011, p.395). In this post, Barbie is fulfilling the role of saviour and mother of this child from the global south. Visual imagery of "Western women saving, rescuing, or adopting international children from underprivileged parts of the world" is now commonplace and even fashionable (Shome, 2011, p. 389). Shome (2011) argues that in some cases, young white women are emulating celebrities like Princess Diana, Madonna, and Angelina Jolie who have become the faces of humanitarianism. This narrative that children in the global south require care from women in the global north implies failure of non-white non-Western mothers (Shome, 2011, p.398). Somehow the premise that this care can be delivered in a few short weeks is accepted.

The creators use the hashtag #attachmentissuesarentcute to express a common critique of volunteer interaction with orphans within the context of orphanage tourism and voluntourism more broadly. Richter and Norman (2010), who advocate against the exploitation of children in sub-Saharan Africa through "AIDS orphan tourism," note that children in institutional care tend to approach all adults with the same level of sociability and affection, even those they have just met, exhibiting indiscriminate friendliness and an excessive need for attention (p. 224). As such, immediate friendly greetings by children have become an expectation among volunteers. Children in more orthodox family environments tend to be wary towards newcomers and show differential affection and trust towards their intimate caregivers (Richter and Norman, 2010, p. 224). In the case of orphanage tourism, the attachment a child forms with an adult volunteer is broken after the volunteer leaves, and this process is repeated with each new volunteer to whom that child becomes attached (Richter and Norman, 2010, p. 225). While children do receive attention from volunteers and benefit from acquiring some English language skills through these short interactions, there is little empirical evidence to prove the effects of these volunteer-orphan interactions. The caption of this post betrays Barbie's motivation for holding the orphaned child is above all a photo op. From the first word of the caption, the creators draw the reader's attention to the fact that the child Barbie is cradling protectively in her arms is an orphan. The short term nature of the trips and the fleeting relationships that result likely prompted the hashtags #whatsyournameagain, #attachmentissuesarentcute, and #notazoo.

The term "orphan" carries several meanings. In common use, an orphan is a child with no surviving parent to care for them. However, UNICEF (2019) defines an orphan for statistical purposes as "a child under 18 years old who has lost one or both parents." The UNICEF definition makes the number of orphans seem very dire, making appeals to specific kinds of western intervention that fulfill the demand of volunteers. As such, some criticism of orphanage

tourism has centred on the manipulation and deception of volunteers because of these conflicting cultural, common use, and NGO-specific definitions of the term "orphan" (Phelan, 2015, p.130). Conflicting definitions aside, orphans are constructed as sites for adult intervention through their material and social vulnerability, and adults become transformed morally and emotionally by helping them (Carpenter, 2015). Similarly, short term missionaries look to be transformed through humble service and relationship building, with many short term missionaries describing their interactions with children as the highlights of their trip (Howell, 2012, p.191). The motivations of volunteers have become conventionalized over time and are sometimes unexamined by later visitors (Carpenter, 2015, p.20). This includes the largely unquestioned notion that one should volunteer in the first place, which is particularly well developed among teenagers and twenty-somethings (Carpenter, 2015, p.20).

There is an unmistakable self-serving motive in orphanage tourism, perhaps exacerbated by religious beliefs. Beyond altruism and the desire to make a tangible difference in the world, one motivating factor for going on a volunteer trip is the expectation of building relationships with local people, especially children (Freidus and Caro, 2018). Even if the project a volunteer or short term missionary is working on fails, he or she can feel fulfilled by the relationships built with locals. Western logic tends to hold individuals themselves, rather than historical and structural factors, as determinants of success or failure, so there is a preference to help innocent children who are not held accountable for their own poverty (Carpenter, 2015, p.20). The emotional bonds formed between orphans and volunteers through orphanage tourism is the inspiration behind the term "hug-an-orphan" vacations (Guiney, 2017, p.126). Through her post, Worrall illustrates the importance of the intimacy of these experiences visually, by creating an image of Barbie literally hugging an orphan.

Considering UNICEF's definition of an orphan that includes children with only one parent, culturally held beliefs about the responsibilities of caregiving falling to the extended family should be considered. While there are certainly orphans without any legal guardian and in need of care in southern Africa, many have living relatives. Through Phelan's (2015) research on the experiences of voluntourists in orphanages in Botswana, she found that orphanages have become overcrowded and cannot provide adequate supervision for children, leading to socially underdeveloped children who lack parental bonds (p.130). Despite demand for orphanages, a traditional support network may prove better than institutions for all involved. Outcomes for children can be especially precarious as they can be placed in institutions and isolated from their social networks (Freidus, 2017, p.1308). Efforts should be made to place orphans with relatives, with funding and programs to help keep them there.

Concerns about the potential damage caused by orphanage tourism include; "corruption, paedophilia, trafficking, attachment disorders, and other developmental issues" (Guiney, 2017, p.126). Guiney (2017) argues that within orphanage tourism, emotional labour can be capitalized on for economic value (p.126). Orphanage directors report that volunteers and visitors become emotionally overwhelmed by their experiences and even break down crying in front of the children (Guiney, 2017, p.130). Perhaps these visitors feel unprepared and uncomfortable being confronted with their privilege in the face of unfiltered poverty. Since the emotional labour of voluntourists can increase business, some orphanage directors encourage children to engage actively with tourists and to behave in certain ways (Guiney, 2017, p.131). Locals acting in ways that align with Western perceptions of what these touristic environments should be is consistent with Urry and Larsen's (2011) notion of the tourist gaze and was also a point of discussion on the Failed Missionary podcast in terms of the staging of humanitarian photography as a marketing tactic. As a guest on the Failed Missionary podcast, Emily Worrall recounts a story

she heard about someone who was told to cry on camera while telling a story, to fit a "sad African" stereotype, because the film would be shown to western supporters (Pigg, 2018). In this way, situations and media are constructed to provide volunteers and short term missionaries with the emotional experiences they expect.

Some volunteers, however, are looking to be shocked and transformed by their experiences, recreating the "life-changing" experiences undergone by previous voluntourists. All of the voluntourists in Proyrungroj's (2017) study expressed wanting to make the lives of the children better, while at the same time benefiting from their own contribution and believed it was possible to do both (p.577). Volunteers confuse attachment problems and staging encouraged by adults in positions of power for genuine emotion. Chances to interact with children are staples in voluntourism because an innocent child from another country can be loved, ignoring the historical and structural inequalities that could not be as easily ignored when interacting with adults (Shome, 2011, p. 402). Using a more all-encompassing definition for the term "orphan" leads those in the global north to overlook potential aid initiatives that would support vulnerable children living with extended family. It is imperative that the long term effects of orphanage tourism on young children who have been institutionalized and have interacted with foreign volunteers throughout their stay are researched. This would include how they fare in adult life and how well the orphanage system prepares children for adult life when they leave.

A search of this Barbie Savior post's second hashtag, #orphans, uncovers approximately 172 000 public Instagram posts. A brief scroll through the posts reveals that many of them are photos of young white people surrounded by black and brown children, indicating the prevalence of this type of "humanitarian photography" on Instagram. The superficial nature of the encounter is shown through the use of hashtags like #whatsyournameagain, and #strangers2secondsago. There is some ambiguity when looking at the image of Barbie holding another doll but reading

the image together with the caption leaves no doubt that this parody is poking fun at white girls who take pictures of back babies and post them on social media. This begs the question of whether taking photos and posting them on social media is a motivating factor for some to volunteer in the first place. Barbie is holding the doll close and touching the black Barbie's face, which is an intimate, motherly gesture. In tourist photography, the camera draws people together as families enact signs of loving and intimate family life physically through touch (Urry and Larsen, 2011). Tourists also enact photography creatively for those present or with a future audience in mind (Urry and Larsen, 2011, p.213). It is also telling that Barbie is looking directly at the camera, and towards her followers, while the black Barbie doll is looking off in the distance. This could be indicating that Barbie is looking to her followers for approval while holding the child. She's "doing it for the 'gram."

Barbie is gazing at the misery of others, and putting the orphaned child on display, but she remains the central focus. Her relationship with the child, her trip to Africa, and her presence alone is what makes the photo worthy of being posted. The image from this post is photoshopped into another photo in a later post where Barbie is recovering from malaria in a hospital after being airlifted out of Africa. On the wall next to Barbie is the image of Jesus holding a black child, perhaps serving as her inspiration. This reinforces the religious motivation behind Barbie's short term mission, while adding a sense of continuity between the posts, and making it clear to the audience that the entire account works as a parody, not simply as individual posts. Just as the intertextuality of the posts, with image and caption being read together adds nuance and layers of meaning, so too does the sequence of posts, and the progression of Barbie's story in Africa.

5.4 Post #2

Figure 2. Posted on July 14th, 2016.

Barbie Savior's focus on women is consistent with the fact that 80% of voluntourists are women (Mostafanezhad, 2013, p.319). While there is limited data on international volunteers globally, 90% of American volunteers are white in contrast to the 5% who identify as black (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015, p.209). Overall, white Americans are most likely to volunteer, both in the United States and abroad, and voluntourists are disproportionately middle-class, female, college-aged, and white (Schneider, 2018, p.690). Wearing et al. (2018) critiqued Barbie for being simplistic "by pointing to the individual, primarily female voluntourists as the primary offender at the centre of the industry" (p.502). They argue that these critiques do not account for the broader structural context of voluntourism and the neoliberalization of international development (Wearing et al., 2018, p. 502). Given that the vast majority of voluntourists are young, white, middle-class, women, Barbie Savior is not misrepresenting the demographics of

volunteers. It is also worth noting that the goal of this parody is to start a dialogue, not to provide a detailed report of structural inequalities of voluntourism and short term missions, although the creators allude to many of these issues through their use of captions and hashtags.

While Barbie and her volunteering experiences are the focus, there is an ongoing narrative about Ken and his bros' voluntourist activities throughout the account. The creators' choice to make one of Ken's bros black is noteworthy considering that black men form a negligible subsection of voluntourists and short term missionaries. While anecdotal accounts of voluntourists of different races can be found online in personal blogs and articles, academic research on the perspectives of non-white volunteers is lacking. The experience of voluntourism and short term missions, like any other experience, is necessarily different based on the lived experience of participants, which includes their own perceptions as well as how they are treated. For example, how does a black American male reconcile his identity as both privileged in a sense, while confronting complex racial politics that are foundational to the practice of voluntourism?

Lough and Carter-Black's (2015) research concerning how recipients of developmental aid in Kenya come to view their relations with international helpers provides some insight into the perceived advantages of different international volunteers (p.215). One of the community member respondents explained that working with a black international volunteer from another country in Africa is like working with a brother who went away and came back (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015, p.215). However, the preference of many respondents was for white international volunteers who are perceived to be more trustworthy, wealthy, and well-connected (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015, p.213). Logistically, interviewees noted that projects are more likely to be funded if white people are involved because of the belief that funding organizations have more respect for white volunteers (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015, p.214). Not only do

white volunteers believe they are better equipped to deliver aid, but this feeling is reinforced by African recipients of aid who have internalized the belief that white benefactors can provide help more effectively.

In the post, there is one black volunteer, whose assumed American nationality and association with Ken necessarily set him apart from local black people. Americans entering largely non-white and developing countries, enter contexts that have been subjected to Western influence with pre-existing understandings of what whiteness and Americanness mean, such as the belief that Westerners are more knowledgeable than locals (Freidus 2017; Schneider, 2018). In addition, many development projects are administered by white people, creating a sense among recipients of aid that these projects belong to white people (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015, p.210). As such, recipients of aid place high expectations for assistance on white volunteers, and local staff members by association, causing frustration from both sides if expectations are not adequately met (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015, p. 213). Despite staff member endorsement of the competency and skill level of locals and black volunteers from other countries, Lough and Carter-Black (2015) note that there is "an internalized and intergenerationally embedded view within the black Kenyan culture that white opinion and actions are elevated," meaning that black volunteers did not receive the same level of respect from community members (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015). By contrast, white volunteers receive positive reinforcement from both friends and family back home and local aid recipients. Two Ugandan guests, Moses and Zion, and Emily Worrall discuss this positive attention on the Failed Missionary podcast, including instances of missionaries being brought to the front churches, celebrated, and welcomed in surface level performances (Pigg, 2018). So, people are treated with relative importance by virtue of their skin colour alone, and locals, tourists, and even young children are aware of this dynamic.

Overlapping labels in alternative tourism mean that tourists can negotiate several identities at once, they can be voluntourists, short term missionaries, backpackers, teachers, and may choose to self-identify differently. How they view themselves and their purpose may differ from how others see them, fellow tourists and locals included. Orphans are used as props, being worn by Ken and his bros in what appear to be traditional cloth wraps, who have traded in their Northface backpacks to carry orphans instead. This post featuring Ken and his bros is referring to backpacking, a form of alternative tourism that often overlaps with short stints of volunteer work. This is made explicitly clear through the use of hashtags, including; #babybackpack, #savethenorthface, and #butwhoislefttowearthenorthfacebackpacks.

Backpackers are predominantly young travellers on extended holidays who prefer budget accommodation, a flexible and informal travel itinerary, who seek authentic and positive contact with locals (Maoz, 2006; Ooi and Laing, 2010). In her research on Israeli backpackers in India, Maoz (2006) found that backpackers tend to engage in free and permissive behaviour, experimenting with drugs and sexual freedom, often disregarding local customs and laws (p.223). Backpackers travel to more remote locations through their search for greater "authenticity" (Ooi and Laing, 2010, p.192). The irony of backpacking is that it contributes to the commercialism of these remote areas, which travellers claim to avoid, leading to widespread criticism of backpacking for its growing resemblance to mass travel (Ooi and Laing, 2010). By contrast, voluntourism is viewed as an increasingly sustainable form of travel (Ooi and Laing, 2010, p.191). Not only does voluntourism generally receive positive reception but travelling to developing countries to help the poor through these trips is encouraged by schools, universities, churches, and even governments (Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011, p.114). Many see backpacking as a form of "escape" and a way to experience to explore foreign countries and cultures before they must return to a responsible adult life (Ooi and Laing, 2010, p.194). By giving Ken and his bros

the label of "backpackers," Worrall and her co-creator are making them more casual volunteers than even Barbie herself, ready to move on after a brief stay. The topic of backpacking highlights the blurring of boundaries of different types of niche tourism, many of which are marketed as alternatives to mass travel and conforming to the wants of tourists from the global north who are seeking to make a difference, however misguided their actions may be.

The creators used the hashtags #helloladies and #thisonewilldefinitelyworkforTinder to draw their audience's attention to the potential uses of voluntourist photography. Tinder is a popular dating app, started in 2012, that boasts 1.6 billion swipes per day, 1 million dates per week, 20 billion + total matches, and is used in over 190 countries (Tinder, 2019). Tinder users are exposed to all other users in a geographical, age, and sex-defined area and must navigate through these potential matches by swiping right if they would like to match (Ward, 2016, p.1647). The first impression Tinder users have of a potential match is his or her main profile photo, usually taken from the user's Facebook profile, combined with some text (Ward, 2016, p.1645). Through Ward's (2016) research on self-presentation on Tinder, she found that users want to portray themselves as "ideal yet authentic," demonstrating both the kind of person that they are and the type of person they want to attract, studying other users' profiles for inspiration. Generally, Tinder users like those who are the same age and race as them, with similar educational backgrounds (Ward, 2016, p.1654). Through the purposeful construction of their Tinder profiles, using a photo taken while having an "authentic" experience caring for orphans, Ken and his bros are likely experimenting to construct an ideal Tinder profile that will attract like-minded women of approximately the same age, in close geographic proximity.

Given that there is an entire Tumblr blog sustained by follower submissions dedicated to making fun of Tinder photos like the one pictured above parodying Ken and his bros surrounded by African children, it appears that these are not isolated incidents. The blog "Humanitarians of

Tinder" exposes Tinder users from all over the Western world, who have chosen to present images of themselves in humanitarian or volunteer settings outside of the West, posing while holding racialized children to attract potential partners (Mason, 2016, p.822). Mason (2016) argues that hierarchies and norms of race are reproduced online, and that the "Humanitarians of Tinder" "demonstrate the ways in which one desires, and even fetishizes, contact with the other as one wishes for their boundaries to remain intact" (p.834). Tinder users may be successfully attracting desirable partners by using these profile photos to create their first impressions. These photos will likely attract those who share similar values relating to short term missions and are presumably supportive of voluntourism more generally. Although Ward (2016) found that evaluation of superficial characteristics like physical attractiveness was a primary reason for swiping left or right on a profile, she also found that attraction is subjective and that users overwhelmingly reported searching for people like themselves (p.1653). This means that voluntourists posting on Tinder may be looking for other seemingly "do-gooder" voluntourist types, or those that would be attracted by this quality in others. While the idea of people using these types of photos to attract partners on Tinder may seem ridiculous, Worrall's parody is simply drawing attention to an existing phenomenon.

It seems somewhat contradictory that an Instagram account focusing on short term missionaries discusses Tinder, which is commonly referred to as a hookup app and an emblem of a wider hookup culture. This post reconciles religiosity and Tinder for groups who would presumably share conservative values in the areas of relationships and dating. Perhaps this is making Barbie Savior posts more relatable to a wider audience in addition to the Christian audience for whom it was initially intended. With the ability to upload only a few photos, Tinder users must be selective when choosing specific photos to attract the right people. To many, featuring a photo of oneself surrounded by poor orphaned children on a Tinder profile is in poor

taste, however others may find this attractive. In the construction of their own Tinder profiles, users research and decide which aspects of other profiles they like, strategically creating profiles to attract particular types of people through a process of trial and error (Ward, 2016, p. 1654). This means that Humanitarians of Tinder receive positive reinforcement for their profile choices, inspiring others to use similar photos to attract partners. Also, by bringing up Tinder in her discussion of the bros, Worrall and her co-creator are implying that bros are more likely to use the photos with African babies as their photos for Tinder. Concerning Tinder use and gender, "women use Tinder more for friendship and self-validation, while men use it more for hooking up/sex, traveling, and relationship seeking" (Ranzini and Lutz, 2016, p.80). However, it is worth noting that throughout the "Humanitarians of Tinder" blog, young men and women are fairly evenly represented. Additionally, although Tinder is one of the most successful dating apps, there are numerous other apps on which similar photos are likely circulating.

The hashtags also reference Pokémon Go, which was very popular in the summer of 2016, changing the familiar "Gotta Catch 'Em All" catch phrase to "Gotta Save them All." These pop culture references become more frequent in later posts, which adds to the humour and signals a shift away from more overtly religious messages. In a different post, one of the hashtags reads #werenotsomuchfaithbasedasBarbieSaviorbased, signalling the creators' acknowledgement that this shift was intentional. Some critics of the Instagram account remark that this is not an exclusively white problem and on the prominence of Barbie throughout the account. Worrall comments on this criticism, stating that although she identifies as a feminist, this account is not about feminism and that those who are concerned that Barbie is the focus instead of Ken are missing the point (Pigg, 2018). Corey Pigg from the Failed Missionary podcast and Emily Worrall of Barbie Savior agree that people are looking for ways to discredit and deflect in order to cast blame elsewhere when they recognize themselves as the subjects of

critique. Worrall ultimately sees this Instagram account form of expression (Pigg, 2018). The Failed Missionary podcast receives similar critiques. It seems that Worrall's intention is not to critique Christianity as a whole (many of the guests and the podcast creator himself, Corey, identify as Christian), but the ways through which some evangelical Christians choose to share their faith and "serve" others by participating in short term mission trips.

The degree of ambiguity in many Barbie Savior posts depends on the backgrounds and pre-existing knowledge of voluntourism and STM, of those interpreting the parody. American Evangelical Christians may automatically associate these posts with short term missionaries, but others may need a second or third glance, or even closer inspection and analysis to uncover the religious nature of the parody. Worrall may also be using pop culture references to show that short term missionaries are not focused on religion and have other self-serving motivations, which may be at odds with the helping narrative of short term missions. Post #2 gives some interesting insights into gender and racial differences in voluntourism, while also drawing attention to the different motivations and perhaps divergent priorities of certain short term missionaries. Ken and his bros' brief stay in Africa reinforces that Barbie Savior is not simply a gendered critique, but a broader critique of STM and voluntourism.

5.5 Post #3:

Figure 3. Posted on April 7th, 2016.

"Harness the Tears" is the first initiative that Barbie supposedly starts during her stay in Africa. Barbie's entrepreneurial spirit is highlighted by her concern that at the age of 20 she should be working towards her goal of one day becoming a CEO. Volunteer trips are marketed to university students as a way to make a difference while gaining valuable experience to build their CVs. Large tour operators, such as ME to WE, capitalize on the growing voluntourism market, creating projects without properly consulting local stakeholders, and are mainly focused on attracting volunteers regardless of the actual needs of local communities (Rattan, 2015, p.110). Some volunteers are motivated to test their skills, acquire work-related experience, or try out a new career without making a long-term commitment (Proyrungroj, 2017, p.572). Highlighting resume benefits and work experience is an effective marketing tool, with young job seekers anxious to distinguish themselves from the competition. In addition, many volunteer trips

and short term mission trips are promoted through church groups and other private organizations, for their potential to ignite spiritual transformation and personal growth.

Called not qualified is the first hashtag in the post's caption and also the name of the first series of the Failed Missionary podcast on which one of the creators of Barbie Savior, Emily Worrall, is regularly featured as a guest. An issue raised in the first episode is the unquestioned religious calling that legitimizes modern missions. The contributors discuss a popular phrase "God does not call the qualified, he qualifies the called," used to encourage Christians out of apathy and as religious justification for volunteering without having qualifications to do the work (Pigg, 2018). Early Barbie Savior posts focus on Barbie's religious calling to volunteer with references to bible verses and hymns. As such, Barbie Savior started as a critique of short term missionaries, who are driven by the idea of confronting social and economic poverty, sharing faith, and returning to inspire others (Occhipinti, 2016, p.260). Missionaries imagine the lives of locals in ways that reproduce inequalities of power, negative stereotypes, and romanticize volunteering as a way to respond to poverty (Occhipinti, 2016, p.266). The podcast guests also make the point that unqualified strangers would not be permitted to build houses, schools, or teach children in the global north, which marks a clear difference in the standard that is seen as acceptable for us compared to them (Pigg, 2018). The religious objectives of sharing the gospel and motivations of spiritual transformation through helping others in poor countries can distract short term missionaries from the real needs of locals and how best they can help.

A line from the caption, "Please donate as much as your emotional self allows before your rational self questions any of my qualifications, legitimacy, or effectiveness," brings up several issues present in short term missions and voluntourism more generally. Barbie's emotional appeals to her followers are soliciting donations to fund the creation of her new fictitious NGO. Voluntourism and short term missions are both heavily involved with emotions.

While short term missionaries are funded by specific churches or solicit donations from family and friends who share their religious beliefs and support their endeavour of spreading the gospel, voluntourists are expected to fund the trips themselves, many of which costs several thousand dollars for a few short weeks. Part of the narrative and expectation of the trip is the demonstration of God's love through hard work, service, and often the inefficient effort of relatively wealthy North Americans in the presence of the poor (Howell, 2012, p.184). Perhaps this is to reconcile the fact that volunteers often perform work for which they are undeniably unqualified (Howell, 2012, p.184). One short term mission manual suggests "that it is precisely in the inefficiency of North Americans laboring in the presence of the poor that Christian service is most effectively rendered" (Howell, 2012, p.185). Emphasis is placed on "just being there" because "lasting benefits or long-term solutions to structural social inequality are seen as impossible, irrelevant or impractical" (Howell, 2012, p.184). Westerners will put themselves through physical hardship to attain spiritual transformation. This attitude allows some to ignore structural and economic inequality and value the futile efforts of untrained volunteers.

Facing the pain of others is often an uncomfortable experience, even in a familiar setting surrounded by like-minded people. In the context of voluntourism and STM, witnessing the pain of others draws attention to social difference and privilege (Frazer and Waitt, 2016, p.177). Volunteers often romanticize poverty and transform it into a sense of moral redemption through greater appreciation of their own wealth, ignoring or erasing their own empathic pain caused by the inequalities they encounter (Frazer and Waitt, 2016, p.184). Additionally, witnessing the pain of others, and feeling a degree of pain oneself through empathy, is seen as a personally transformative experience. Crossley (2012) argues that "othering" can obstruct the development of empathy with local people (p.237). Poverty can be viewed as a force for internal moral

transformation, a feature of an exotic landscape, and an element of the lives of the "happy poor," but remains threatening and unsettling for voluntourists (Crossley, 2012, p.242).

There is an expectation about the type of poverty voluntourists will encounter. Through Howell's (2012) ethnographic research on STM, he found that short term missionaries on his team expressed that the poverty was not as bad as they had expected, and the reality of poverty did not meet their expectations of authentic poverty (p.161). Poverty was imagined by the short term missionaries that Howell (2012) accompanied as a spiritual blessing but a physical curse (p.178). The trip was understood as an exchange through which the missionaries' time and sacrifice would result in receiving spiritual insights and blessings from not only the locals they served, but ultimately from God (Howell, 2012, p.178). In this religious context, Howell (2012) found that need was framed in spiritual and relational terms, rather than social or economic ones (p.175). The spiritual experience of short term missions is thought to come "through the self-sacrificial giving and humble receiving that is expected to take place when wealthy North Americans give themselves to the poor and come to recognize their own bondage to wealth" (Howell, 2012, p.179). There is a belief among some Americans that avoiding the trappings of capitalist consumer society allows Africans to express more joy in their daily lives, and that the poor accept and embrace their poverty because they "don't know any better" (Freidus, 2017, p.1312). Interestingly, some volunteers are concerned that the poor would be robbed of their joy and simplicity if their material circumstances were improved (Freidus, 2017, p.1312). Misunderstandings like these about poverty stand in the way of real aid work being done.

The caption of this Barbie Savior post states: "Given the fact that I've always wanted to be a CEO and I'm already 20 years old, I figured it was time to get moving!" Through her appearances on the Failed Missionary podcast, Worrall reveals that the parody is largely based in her own experiences as a short term missionary in search of meaning, starting with a two week

trip to Uganda at the age of 17. Worrall admits that she became "addicted" to mission trips and continued going back until finally moving to Uganda. At the age of 20, the same age as Barbie in the post, Worrall founded her own NGO and sarcastically describes herself at the time as "*so called, not qualified*" (Pigg, 2018). She decided to leave the NGO several years later after changing her views on the work she was doing and her role in Uganda, however Worrall still lives and works in Uganda, in a behind-the-scenes role in a local NGO (Pigg, 2018). While this level of commitment is uncommon among voluntourists, there are a number of cases of former voluntourists who return from their experience and create new voluntourism organizations (Tomazos and Butler, 2010, p.369). The posts follow Barbie's creation of different NGOs, her promotion of these NGOs, and partnerships.

The name of Barbie's NGO, "Harness the Tears" is funny because in the context of the post, the idea of harnessing tears is taken literally, providing Africans with water collected from the tears of sad foreigners. In a figurative sense, voluntourism organizations and short term missions through churches and other private institutions harness the emotions of potential participants, and are especially reliant on white women's tears, a long-critiqued concept. Emotional appeals are common throughout marketing and promotional materials, as well as individual social media content. Volunteers and particularly short term missionaries are seeking a transformative experience, especially in the case of short term missionaries, they seek spiritual transformation through emotion and physical hardship.

5.6 Post #4:

Figure 4. Posted on November 27th, 2017.

This post of Barbie taking a selfie next to an African child in a hospital bed reinforces that Barbie is the primary focus. The caption, in particular, draws the audience's attention to vast differences in Barbie's privileged life when compared to the struggles of the child sitting next to her. The practice of taking selfies with poor children in developing countries at their most vulnerable is parodied.

In the caption of this post, Barbie remarks on the lighting and seems to be more preoccupied with the aesthetics of her selfies and her own appearance than the child beside her. Christopher Garland (2015) found that subjects photographed by voluntourists and aid workers in a Haitian medical clinic often appeared uncomfortable (p.79, 80). However, the subjects did not protest like they did elsewhere because they were at the clinic to receive free health care and the photographers were the ones providing the services (Garland, 2015, p.81). American

voluntourists and aid workers who posted their photos on social media believed that these photographs would be used to elicit further sponsorship for NGOs (Garland, 2015, p.89). There is the presumption that voluntourists have the right to gaze upon the misery of others because it motivates them to help (Garland, 2015, p.95). In addition, many voluntourists are forgoing issues of informed consent when taking photos with poor children and ignoring the long-lasting impact of posting these photos to their Instagram story or Facebook timeline. Moses, one of the podcast guests, believes that African parents should be empowered and say "Sorry, you can't come into my house to take a picture of my child," and short term missionaries should consider how American parents would feel if they knew where and how images of their children were being circulated (Pigg, 2018). Taking someone's photo when they are in a vulnerable state and might not want their picture to be taken, or are not in a position to easily refuse, highlights an unequal power dynamic and is ethically questionable.

Not only does Barbie's caption about her experience with orphans in a hospital in Africa seem self-centered and narcissistic, but the act of selfie-taking in this context reinforces this notion. Dinhopl and Gretzel (2016) conceptualize "selfie-taking as a new way of touristic looking in which tourists become the objects of the self-directed tourist gaze" (p.126). Of note, they view the selfie as a practice as well as a photographic object, with smartphones, accessories (like selfie-sticks), and social media sharing contributing to the creation of the selfie practice (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016). As tourists seek to capture the extraordinary within themselves at the tourist destination, they gaze with their own eyes as well as with those of their imagined audience, carefully selecting and editing what they choose to share to elicit desired reactions (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016). While tourists follow implicit conventions that dictate what selfies can and should look like, they must repeatedly come up with different variations to compete with the selfies of others and their own previous selfies (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016). This could

explain different types of selfies and variations within types, enough for there to be over 100 different photos and selfies featured on the Barbie Savior parody Instagram account.

Tourist photos are taken in front of mandatory sights and act as proof that one was there (Dinhop and Gretzel, 2016, p.133). Such sights have traditionally included the Eiffel Tower in Paris, the Great Pyramid of Giza in Egypt, and the Taj Mahal in India. Have poor African children become a mandatory sight that volunteers must pose with to prove that they took part in a trip to help the less fortunate? The Barbie Savior Instagram account parodies certain established conventions that voluntourists use such as; the use of hashtags, the specific poses, and the choice of hospitals and orphanages as backdrops. These conventions have become mandatory because of their anticipated positive reception with the imagined audience of social media followers and friends of voluntourists. While voluntourists must adhere to certain conventions of selfie-taking generally and the expectations of their imagined audience, they must also find new and exciting ways to show what they are doing. Perhaps this desire to differentiate their voluntourist selfies from those of others leads to more extreme photos being taken, like Barbie sitting next to a small child at her most vulnerable in a hospital bed.

Significantly, Dinhopl and Gretzel's (2016) self-directed tourist gaze is "characterized by othering the self, stylized performing, and producing/consuming the self" (p.131). As the self is the product tourists consume, "othering and stylized performing of the self become prerequisites for the production and consumption of the self" and selfies ensure that the self takes centre stage (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016, p.134). Although Dinhopl and Gretzel (2016) were conceptualizing tourism in general, the practice of taking selfies while on holiday aligns with the narcissism and self-serving motives that can underlie the practice of voluntourism. Through the practice of taking selfies and posting them on social media, voluntourists and short term missionaries draw the audience's gaze to themselves and their experience in a developing country.

Chouliaraki (2010) notes the emergence of a style of humanitarian communication, through which ironic double-voicedness works to remind people of the otherness of their own cultural habits against the background of the African poor's daily struggle for survival (p.115). This is consistent with the Barbie Savior parody, that uses captions and hashtags to compare the lives of the African poor with Barbie's first world problems. Barbie's preoccupations with her daily beauty regimen and toned thighs, as well as her description of selfie-taking as an art form, highlight her focus on the materialistic and her appearance, making her seem quite narcissistic. The differences between white and black, rich and poor, sick and healthy, American and African are presented textually and visually. The photo and caption serve to increase the distinctions between the two instead of drawing attention to their similarities. Barbie, like the celebrities she emulates, has built her body up with gym equipment, yoga, and other body-care technologies that are "visually juxtaposed with the starving and undernourished bodies of children in the global south" (Shome, 2011, p.397). The cultural habits of a complicated beauty regimen would be relegated to a category of otherness, when compared to the pressing health issues faced by a sick child. Voluntourists "other" themselves by comparing themselves to the young African children they interact with. In this post, Barbie is not telling the child's story, but foregrounds her experiences and her health and beauty regimen, using the child as a prop in the background. This post serves as just another selfie with another poor child that Barbie can post as part of her African adventure to share with her Instagram followers.

6.1 Barbie, the White Saviour:

It is interesting that the physical representation of a young female voluntourist is a Barbie doll. Barbie Dolls are iconic and divide opinion as either a symbol of female liberation, or as an agent of female oppression (Forman-Brunell, 2009). The dolls have come under attack for

reinforcing traditional gender stereotypes, being unintelligent, having limited life choices, and setting unattainable standards for beauty (Best, 1998). Barbie has also been accused of promoting capitalism, ageism, sexism, and racism (Best, 1998). Together Barbie and Ken have been heavily critiqued for years about the unrealistic body images these dolls portray for young children. Views on the significance of a Barbie doll as a cultural object are divergent, and as such, Barbie lends herself to ambiguity. This structural feature of the posts is important as the doll is used as a tool to suggest a critical reading of Barbie, and by extension, the social media practices of voluntourists.

Barbie Savior's Instagram bio reads "Jesus. Adventures. Africa. Two worlds. One love. Babies. Beauty. Not qualified. Called. 20 years young. It's not about me...but it kind of is." This description molds Barbie Savior into a young short term missionary while retaining the meanings already attached to a Barbie doll. Through multiple iterations of their plastic Barbie doll, Mattel has revealed some narrative information about Barbie, such as various characters who surround Barbie and a general sense that she is a young twenty-something single woman, however she ultimately remains a mysterious figure (Phillips, 2002, p.129). Kendall R. Phillips (2002) examines the material manifestation of Barbie who can be viewed as an object of hegemonic femininity, an exemplar of postmodern consumerist culture, and a queer icon, among other readings (p.123). Barbie is "defined by the specific activity she engages in or the clothes she is wearing" (Phillips, 2002, p.133). The material manifestation of the doll reinforces a cultural subjectivity of fluidity and adaptability (Phillips, 2002, p.134). When the creators of Barbie Savior dress White Savior Barbie in traditional African attire, manipulate her plastic body to interact with other dolls and her photoshopped environment, and imply that the captions of the post are her own, they are morphing the Barbie into a short term missionary, with the associated meanings of this particular subjectivity. Just as playing with a Barbie doll involves manipulating

the doll to change its appearance and shape its identity, so does using a Barbie doll for the purposes of parody and social critique.

By attaching the word "Savior" to the name of their parody Instagram account, the creators of Barbie Savior leave no doubts that the goal of their parody to critique the white saviour complex. The concept of the White Saviour is rooted in colonialism. Teju Cole (2012) offered a more nuanced interpretation of the concept in a series of tweets he crafted in response to a video about KONY 2012. Cole (2012) argues that "The White Saviour Industrial Complex…is about having a big emotional experience that validates privilege." He states that Africa often "serves as a backdrop for white fantasies of conquest and heroism" and "a space onto which white egos can conveniently be projected" (Cole, 2012). One such fantasy is the discourse of global motherhood, through which white women take on the role of mother in the global community, offering visions and hopes for a multicultural global family (Shome, 2011, p.389). From this perspective, white women are seen as more capable mothers and can provide for needy foreign children in ways that their own mothers cannot, implying failure of these mothers (Shome, 2011). Barbie is used as a vehicle to critique the normalization of the practice of white western women saving children from underprivileged parts of the world (Shome, 2011, p.389). Thus, Barbie Savior is positioned in her role as a white saviour.

It is worth noting that there are plenty of examples of parodies using Barbie, including several other Barbie parody accounts on Instagram. Molding Barbie's plastic form into a tool of critique injects the established cultural meaning of Barbie into any topic the creator is critiquing. Even in 2002, at the time Phillips' article was published, she remarks on the seemingly endless parodies of Barbie which highlight the doll's "almost infinitely plastic subjectivity—remolded to fit the tiniest details of any context" (Phillips, 2002, p.131). Banet-Weiser (2012) notes that popular culture artifacts, like Barbie, are often used in ways that transform them into objects of

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resistance (p.65). While the creation of parody Instagram accounts is a recent phenomenon, there has been a book dedicated specifically to Barbie parodies, a YouTube channel dedicated to Barbie parody videos, not to mention the everyday acts of resistance that young girls undertake regularly in their bedrooms through subversive modification of their Barbie dolls.

Phillips (2002) notes that play with Barbies centres around changing her appearance through dressing her and doing her hair and make-up, reinforcing that the image Barbie is one of constant change and adaptability (p.130). As such, Barbie adapts to her external context— unfixed from subjectivity or explicit agency—and can be cast in a variety of roles; a doctor, a lawyer, a gymnast, a model, a pilot, or any other role to suit the desires of the person using the doll (Phillips, 2002, p.130). Barbie is what she wears and what she buys and there are endless possibilities for reconstruction of her appearance (Phillips, 2002, p.131). Many young middle-class women in North America are privileged in the sense that they can change their clothes and accessories, are encouraged under neoliberal capitalism to buy things, and can diet or even undergo cosmetic procedures to shape their appearance to suit their preferences. Worrall and her co-creator have cast Barbie Savior as a short term missionary, taking on a caretaking role for children in the global south, and enacting the role of white saviour. Photoshopped into an imagined African village, Barbie's characteristics take on new meanings, far removed from her original context of a young girl's toy, into an object of resistance.

The Barbie Savior Instagram account makes use of several secondary Barbie dolls who have relationships with Barbie, and in some cases, this is a very superficial relationship. The orphaned African children that Barbie "saves" are little black Barbies, purposefully chosen as visual representations of the dynamics of race enacted through voluntourism. Sharon Raynor (2009) reflects on her personal experience of receiving a black Barbie doll as a child and considers how black barbies may help in the construction of the self and identity (p.179). She

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posits that exploring the Barbie image can serve as a form of resistance for black girls and women, "or it may even help address issues of domination, racism, sexism, and class exploitation" (Raynor, 2009, p.179). Raynor (2009) says that her first black Barbie became a symbol of acceptance, identity, and power because it gave her something to identify with that somewhat resembled her (p.181). However, use of black Barbies for the critique of voluntourists puts the doll in a context in which the lines of race, class, and gender are drawn and power relations are clearly marked. The white and black barbies are in opposition, a have and a have not, the saviour and one the one in need of saving. Although usually these power relations are explicitly stated in the caption, the visual images quite clearly convey the stereotype that black Africans need saving from white western women.

Barbie's ambiguity means that she lends herself to various forms of cultural critique. She is especially popular as a form of parody. The mysterious and changing narrative of the doll, since her initial production in 1959, means that her steady features can be adapted to fit many different narratives (Forman-Brunell, 2009). The same is true of the Barbie Savior parody Instagram posts. Without the captions, the posts could be read as supportive of voluntourism. Barbie is a visual representation of a young white woman in her twenties, but her adaptability allows creators to imagine their own Barbie narratives. Using Barbie dolls as a tool of resistance is effective, especially because of the poignant connections she draws to hegemonic femininity. As such, the creators of Barbie-related parodies are free to impose narratives of resistance on the doll. Worrall and her co-creator have executed their parody in such a way that it can only be read as subversive, and in doing so viewers will either enjoy the humour or take offense. Photoshopping Barbie onto a realistic African landscape can be read as Barbie Savior, the plastic doll, polluting an authentic landscape.

6.2 Captions and Hashtags:

On Instagram, pictures are accompanied by captions describing the photo and adding complexity to the message the audience is meant to receive. Captions not only describe what is happening in the post, but also contain editorial content, which is parodic content in this case. Captions allow Worrall and her co-creator to maintain continuity across posts and to critique multiple issues across several related posts. This strategy also works to delay the punchline, adding to the comedic effect of the parody. Lutz and Collins (1993) describe Barthes' understanding of captions having an "anchorage" function for photographs (p.77). A caption burdens an image with a culture, a moral, and an imagination, directing the reader toward some meanings and away from others (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.77). Lutz and Collins (1993) provide an example of a 1949 National Geographic photograph that depicts three white men and a guide sitting in a cart, being pushed across a log bridge by two Formosan men (p.77). The photograph contrasts the "comfort and pleasure of the white travellers and the exertion of the Formosan labourers" (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.78). They contend that while colonial relations are clearly depicted, the caption directs attention to the dangers of the ride and away from the human relations (Lutz and Collins, 1993). Barbie Savior uses captions in a different way. By using satirical captions, the creators are specifically attempting to draw attention to the human relationships depicted through the posts, instead of away from them. While caption writers for National Geographic are expected to resolve most of a photograph's ambiguity, Barbie Savior is trying to play up the ambiguity to allow the audience to think critically (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.80). National Geographic is concerned with legality and avoiding causing offence. Barbie Savior's purpose is not to offend; however, the broader goal is to start a dialogue. It has no intention of being neat, clean, or politically correct.

There is a contrast between the intercultural relationships portrayed in the captions and the reality of the situation. One post's caption reads: "This little one's greatest joy in all her life is sitting on my lap and drinking CocaCola!" while another one is: "I can't wait to see the joy on each child's face when I bestow upon their first UGG boots and they take their first big sip of pumpkin spice latte." There are several layers of meaning here. There is the clear indication that Barbie, portrayed as the ridiculed stereotype of an UGG boot-wearing, Pumpkin Spice Latte-drinking white girl, is trying to share her culture with locals. Barbie believes the introduction of these things to a poor child in a developing country would be helpful and bring them joy, which is likely not the case. While the post's presentation is exaggerated, the unequal relationship between Barbie and the African child is highlighted through Barbie's ignorance of the child's more pressing needs. This is reminiscent of the ignorance that often accompanies the goodwill of voluntourists. In addition, Barbie is advocating consumption as a way to improve lives in developing countries. The contrast between the image and the caption is what makes the posts so ridiculous and comical. Although exaggerated, there is an element of truth to these depictions of volunteer's attitudes, which also adds to the humour.

A significant contributing factor to the humour in the posts is the series of complex hashtags that accompany the caption. Generally, the use of hashtags is for the purpose of public posts to become easily searchable and attract viewers of similar content. Through Smith's (2018) work on travel writing on Instagram, he notes that hashtags, like #wanderlust align images with others like it, most of which present travel as a means of self-actualisation (p.175). Smith (2018) also notes that Instagram travel writing "remains troublingly colonial in outlook" (p.175). In the case of the Barbie Savior parody, the hashtags seem to be for the purpose of wordplay. Therefore, it can be assumed that the creators do not intend to make their posts more searchable by incorporating the hashtags.

Barbie Savior's hashtags are an essential part of the parody. Although Worrall and her co-creator have constructed complex and nuanced posts, the true parodic nature of the posts appears through the captions and hashtags. If the photos of Barbie were posted without captions, users would be free to interpret Barbie in their own way, attaching their own meanings to the scene photoshopped by Worrall and her co-creator. When the text does not match the image in the post, it promotes a counter-reading of the image. The detailed description, exaggeration, and ridiculously long hashtags, some of which are puns, work together to ensure that the audience understands that Barbie Savior is a parody. While users may not agree with Worrall's critique of short term missionaries, they will likely recognize that Barbie Savior is not supportive of short term missionaries.

6.3 Gazing at the Other:

Lutz and Collins (1993) examined National Geographic photographs; culturally valued media that have shaped American understanding and responses to the outside world (p.xii). Of particular relevance here is Lutz and Collins' (1993) discussion of the photograph as an intersection of gazes through which viewers negotiate a number of different identities for themselves and for those pictured (p.187). Lutz and Collins (1993) describe the photographer's gaze. While the National Geographic photographers expressed sympathy for the disadvantaged people they met, they confront them across distances of class, race, sometimes gender, and also from behind the camera (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.193). From a different perspective, the reader or audience may read the message differently from what the photographer or the caption writer intended (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.195). They note that there is not one reader's gaze, instead each individual looks with his or her own personal, cultural, and political background (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.196). Within the photographs themselves, Lutz and Collins (1993) describe a

"direct western gaze," which can serve a validating function by proving that the author was there, in the case of National Geographic (p.204). Lutz and Collins (1993) use an example of two female travellers who are smiling at a native African man who has an ambiguous expression on his face. Their gazes do not meet, and this lack of reciprocity makes this gaze distinctly colonial (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.204). Another example is of a picture taken of tourist posing with Indigenous people in South America, depicting the act of looking at unwilling subjects who appear unhappy, even coerced, and the tourist satisfied (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p. 213). In the context of voluntourism, Mostafanezhad (2014) develops the "popular humanitarian gaze" to describe institutions, cultural practices, and actors (i.e. celebrity humanitarians and voluntourists) that play a critical role in the privatization and depoliticization of popular humanitarian interventions (p.112). She states that voluntourism, in particular, perpetuates a popular humanitarian gaze that contributes to discourses of North–South relations that naturalize political, economic, and social inequality (Mostafanezhad, 2014, p.112).

Lutz and Collins (1993) also describe their own gaze, that of the "Academic Spectator" who critiques images "in spite of, because of, and in terms of their pleasures" (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.214). In this way, the academic spectator's gaze is influenced by theory and they see beyond an aesthetic or literal reading (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.215). Although the Barbie Savior audience may not be academic or heavily influenced by theory, the creators ask their audience to think critically about the subject matter through the structure and content of their posts. They are also likely attracting a more critical audience. It is unlikely that followers of the Instagram account are adopting an "Academic Spectator" gaze, but they are being prompted to adopt a critical stance. While the audience can interpret the posts in different ways, the structure of the posts is pushing for a specific intended reading.

Conceptualizing tourism in particular, Urry and Larsen (2011) describe the "tourist gaze" as a set of practices and a vision constructed through mobile images and representational technologies and structured according to class, gender, ethnicity, and age (Urry and Larsen, 2011, p.2). Images generated through different tourist gazes over time through the media have become the basis for tourist selection and evaluation of potential places to visit (Urry and Larsen, 2011). However, Urry and Larsen (211) also note that gazing is interactive and mediated by the presence and gazes of others (p.201). Currently, gazes are also mediated by the practice of selfie-taking, facilitated by smartphones and social media use (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016, p.126). Dinhopl and Gretzel (2016) state that tourists become the objects of the selfie-directed tourist gaze as they seek the extraordinary within themselves (p.126).

Other perspectives focus on the mediation of the tourist gaze by the locals they encounter and afford locals some agency and power. Maoz (2006) considers the existence of both tourist and local gazes, that affect and feed each other, resulting in a "mutual gaze" that regulates the behaviour of both sides, resulting in mutual avoidance and negative attitudes and behavior (p.225). Gillespie (2006) puts forward a different take on tourist/local interactions with the concept of the "reverse gaze," which refers to the gaze of the photographer on the subject as perceived by the photographer (Gillespie, 2006, p.343). Tourists find themselves caught in the reverse gaze when taking a photograph of a local, especially when they catch looks of disdain or sense discomfort in their subject, causing the tourist to feel shame and embarrassment (Gillespie, 2006). As tourists often attempt to differentiate themselves positively from other tourists, this negative feedback they receive from locals can challenge how they see themselves (Gillespie, 2006, p.359). Challenging preconceived notions of what is appropriate to photograph and when would be a productive exercise for voluntourists and short term missionaries. Are their behaviours really so different from the ones they scorn? This may reveal to some tourists the

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hypocrisy of their actions. Young people undertake forms of alternative tourism and volunteer abroad because they want to be more than "just another tourist." As such, they may not be entirely receptive to a parody critiquing their actions, especially for those who cannot conceive of their presence as being harmful. Depending on the type of travel the tourist is engaged in, and the historical relationship between the two groups of people, power relations can play out differently. However, there is an undeniable degree of privilege afforded to the tourist by virtue of their race, nationality, and passport. Local communities are not necessarily happy to receive voluntourists and short term missionaries in their communities, although they may seem welcoming. The power and direction of the gaze throughout the parody is heavily skewed in Barbie Savior's favour.

As described above, numerous theorists conceptualize different ways that tourists and voluntourists gaze at others with different intentions and understandings of what they are seeing. In her influential work, *On Photography*, Susan Sontag (1977) states that photographs promote nostalgia—that "an ugly and grotesque subject may be moving because it has been dignified by the attention of the photographer" (p.15) Simple living conditions, sometimes lacking basic necessities or conveniences that North Americans may take for granted are documented through photography. Pain, hunger, and sickness are also captured and shared for followers to see. Capturing the ugly and grotesque can highlight the gravity of a situation while drawing the focus of posts to hardships endured by the voluntourist or short term missionary in their attempts to help a local community. In the context of voluntourism, there is nostalgia for a simpler life free from distractions, responsibilities, and obligations that accompany a lifestyle common to many affluent young North Americans. Voluntourists and short term missionaries heighten their subjects' vulnerability by reinforcing negative stereotypes and accepting the power dynamics seemingly inherent to local communities—vestiges of colonialism. Morbid fascination with the

pain of others and experiencing some of it briefly before returning to the comforts of North American life seem to be some of the appeals of voluntourism. Now, tourists are gazing with their own eyes as well as those of their imagined audience (Dinhopl and Gretzel, 2016, p.129). The validation of subject choice is increasingly found via social media.

Sontag (1977) also tackled issues of travel and the power relations that occur as different people undertake these activities. Through photography, voluntourists appropriate local people, and assume positions of power (Sontag, 1977). Throughout their trips, tourists take photographs, captioning them according to their own values, deciding how and where the photographs will be circulated, often without properly consulting the subject or receiving consent. Ultimately tourists do not have control over the reach of their content, given the nature of social media. Sontag (1977) notes that tourists feel compelled to take photographs of remarkable things they encounter and that stopping to take pictures appeases anxiety for those who feel as though they should be productive in some way while on vacation (p.10). In addition to being productive during a vacation, posting pictures on vacation can be seen as a form of aspirational labour (Duffy, 2015). The blending of leisure time and work time is more pronounced for short term missionaries and voluntourists, as they have the explicit task of doing work to help locals. Taking pictures and posting them on social media is an important task for short term missionaries, not only to show those who support them financially that their funds are being put to good use, but to maintain their Barbie Savior self-brand.

Candid shots or photos with the appearance of being taken without the knowledge of the subject are common on Instagram and across other social media platforms. Looking away from the camera may be a response to the close examination of the photographed subject, including scrutiny or the face and eyes and by extension feeling and personality, that is permitted by facing the camera (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p.199). In their work on National Geographic, Lutz and

Collins (1993) found that "those who are culturally defined as weak—women, children, people of color, the poor, the tribal rather than the modern, those without technology—are more likely to face the camera, the more powerful to be represented looking elsewhere" (p.199). In addition, the frontal portrait has historically been associated with lower classes and seen as unsophisticated, as those with higher status in society would turn away from the camera to make themselves less available (Lutz and Collins, 1993, p. 200). Although Barbie Savior is representing a woman, she is an affluent young American woman, giving her a relatively high degree of privilege. Barbie is often looking away from the camera, off in the distance, or at the other person in the shot. When Barbie Savior is posed next to black Barbie dolls, they are almost always looking directly at the camera, indicating their weaker position. She seems to be mimicking poses that appear elsewhere on Instagram and on social media more generally. By Barbie looking away, the audience is directed by her gaze to focus more intently on the other.

An overarching theme present in this Instagram account is the representation of race and desire for the other. In "Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance" bell hooks (1992) provides the example of the fall Tweeds catalogue, that shows the way contemporary culture exploits "otherness" through visual images and text (p.372). One photo in the catalogue features a white man holding an Egyptian child in his arms. In this catalogue, darker-skinned people become the background, "scenery to highlight whiteness, and the longing of whites to inhabit, if only for a time, the world of the Other" (hooks, 1992, p. 372). This "imperialist nostalgia," described by hooks, is a common theme throughout the Barbie Savior Instagram account. Barbie is presented holding an African child protectively or holding hands with one in various instances. Barbie is represented as desiring contact with the Other, and the captions show that she also wishes for boundaries to remain intact (hooks, 1992, p.372). Shome (2011) states that helping children is popular because they appear innocent and unthreatening to white people in the west and can be

imagined without histories. Due to unequal allocation of wealth, the caring relationships formed

between the volunteer and members of the host community are unequal (Sin, 2010, p.991). As

tourists are often uncomfortable with inequality, they regard "the host community members'

poverty as authentic and cultural" (Mostafanezhad, 2013, p.156). Volunteers rationalize the

differences between their own privileged existence and the situation of disadvantaged

populations so that contact with the other is enacted in a way that fits into a hegemonic

neoliberal western worldview. The captions, if read in their literal sense, reinforce the volunteer

wanting boundaries to remain intact, and critiques this view if read in their intended parodic

sense.

6.4 Authenticity: of the Self, Staged in Tourism, and Performed on Social Media:

Authenticity is performed in several ways in the context of voluntourist Instagram posts;

witnessing authentic poverty in a real place, doing real work with real people, and representing

these experiences in a way that will allow voluntourists to brand themselves as authentic. The

performance of authenticity is parodied through Barbie Savior's negotiation of her identity as a

white woman and a tourist in ways that allow her to construct an "authentic" identity to perform

on social media. The expectations of voluntourists are determined in part by the marketing

efforts of NGOs, tour operators, and church communities that entice young people with the

possibility of genuinely making a difference. Voluntourists may also be looking to document

their experiences online to replicate an Instagram aesthetic of authenticity created by other

voluntourists. MacCannell (1973) examines accounts of travellers in terms of Erving Goffman's

(1959) front versus back distinction. MacCannell's (1973) notion of "staged authenticity" refers

to the staging of local culture to attract visitors by creating an impression of authenticity to fulfill

a tourists' expectations. Tourists like to go backstage to have a truly authentic experience, so

tourist settings are arranged to produce the impression of authenticity. Locals preserve an

"authenticity" that no longer exists or never did and some abandon traditional work for lucrative

jobs that sell this neatly packaged authenticity to tourists (Maoz, 2006). Unfortunately, what

many tourists are seeking is this produced authenticity instead of a deeper understanding of local

culture (Maoz, 2006, p.234). Tourists are generally looking for something novel and different to

their own culture.

Volunteer trips and short term missions align with dominant Western perceptions of what

the "real" Africa is. Short term missionaries, in particular, have expectations about the "sacred

spaces" they visit, and the "authentic religiosity" they expect to encounter in Africa (Freidus and

Caro, 2018, p.348). Volunteers also enter new "unpolluted" places with preconceived and

romantic expectations about their role in the developing world (Schneider, 2018, p.697). Freidus

and Caro (2018) found that their short term missionary respondents imagined the United States

as a place of abundance, where people have everything (p.356). However, this abundance can

clutter people's lives, preventing them from "connecting with their true selves through God"

(Freidus and Caro, 2018, p.356). For short term missionaries, the spiritual restoration of their

authentic self and an improved relationship with God are best accomplished by travelling to

impoverished places among the religiously dedicated and joyful poor, with like-minded

Christians (Freidus and Caro, 2018). Similarly, Schneider (2018) found that volunteers only

expressed a vague desire to help or immerse themselves in a new culture but were more

interested in personal growth and escape from their daily routine (p.698). Personal growth

leading to a more authentic experience and a more authentic self is sought by volunteers, whether

or not their motivation is religious. In this way, voluntourists stage their own authenticity.

Throughout the Instagram posts, Barbie presents as an ideal neoliberal subject and online

entreprenuer as she negotiates her identity as a white woman and a voluntourist in ways that she anticipates will allow her to construct an "authentic" identity.

Generally speaking, authenticity can refer to someone being their "true self," which can be interpreted subjectively. Dubrofsky (2016) characterizes authentic behaviour as behaviour "that appears un-premeditated, spontaneous, unplanned, without forethought, not under a person's control, and behaviour a person is unable to repress or regulate" (Dubrofsky, 2016, p.187). She explores the notion further in context of visual surveillance. Where a camera is capturing the action of real people doing real things, emotional transparency, such as tears or anger, is prized (Dubrofsky, 2016, p.187). Performing and being authentic are in opposition, but authenticity affirms a stable core beneath the performance (Dubrofsky, 2016, p.187). Authenticity is verified through surveillance or appearing to behave in a manner that does not involve performing, what Dubrofsky (2016) calls "performing-not-performing" (p.186). Thus, the ability to be one's true self in spite of surveillance is a mark of authenticity. Barbie's creation of a successful lifestyle brand centering on voluntourism is largely the result of her ability to convince her followers of her authenticity.

Authenticity claims are validated by constant testing from others, as a result of the intense level of interactivity intrinsic to digital platform affordances (Cunningham and Craig, 2017, p.74). According to Banet-Weiser (2012), authenticity is itself a brand. Young short term missionaries and voluntourists build a self-brand, some inadvertently, through their Instagram posts. Tourists return home from their experience abroad and benefit from an increase in their cultural capital, which can be gauged in some cases by the amount of likes an Instagram post receives (Smith, 2018, p.184). Instagram offers a vast audience for tourists to perform antiquated and colonial notions of travel for the attainment of likes (Smith, 2018, p.189). In this environment, posts can be more widely shared and imitated by anyone with a powerful passport

and disposable income (Smith, 2018, p.189). Short term missionaries seek to validate their Christians mission by spreading the gospel abroad and through social media posts that prove the good work they have accomplished. The positive reinforcement they receive from family, friends, and followers serves as encouragement to do it again and inspires others to follow their example.

6.5 The Contribution of Parody and Critique to Humanitarian Discourse:

Like many other parodies, the Barbie Savior Instagram account is more than a comedic tool. It adds another voice to the discussion about the way aid is carried out in the global south. Criticism regarding development efforts can seem harsh and unproductive at times and some are of the opinion that at least trying to make a difference is better than doing nothing. Ferguson and Lohmann (1994) consider this stance alongside their critique of a failed development project in Lethoso. While they agree that responding to the question of "What is to be done?" with "Nothing," seems to imply hopelessness, they contend that the choice is not between "getting one's hands dirty by participating in development projects" and "living in an ivory tower" (Ferguson and Lohmann, 1994, p.181). Ferguson and Lohmann (1994) believe that one of the most important forms of engagement is political participation, particularly in the West (p.181). Many problems facing developing countries are complex, including "serious problems of governance, of infrastructure, of democracy, and of law and order," and are intensely local (Cole, 2012). In terms of how to help, Cole (2012), and Ferguson and Lohman (1994) seem to agree that it begins with respect for the agency of people in their own lives and activism by changing foreign policy. Whether or not the audience viewing the Barbie Savior Instagram account share this notion of national political engagement as a means of contributing positively to development, the challenge of opposing beliefs can be productive.

It can be said that the views expressed through this Instagram account are very cynical and may detract others from trying to make a difference. However, the creators are trying to open a dialogue about harmful practices that are prevalent in voluntourism. The creators state that studying, traveling, and working abroad has left them cynical and jaded enough to create Barbie Savior, and they want the Instagram account and accompanying blog to be a space of dialogue about strategies for changing aid work (Worrall, 2016). They also recognize the power, privilege, and responsibility that comes with the ability to travel and publish what they think (Worrall, 2016). Prominent images in marketing materials and on social media illustrate an aesthetic of the "world traveller," a title earned through access to the world's most beautiful destinations (Smith, 2018, p.180). Not only do tourists in the global south often enjoy much greater wealth and passport privilege than most locals, but tourist destinations also privilege wealthy tourists over local histories and land ownerships (Smith, 2018). Barbie Savior is a jet-setter, she travels when and where she wants, and has the ability to share her experiences on social media.

Foreign volunteers are one part of a development system that fosters aid dependency. Reliance on foreign donors can undermine the capabilities of the local state and reinforce the trust of white people in decision-making positions over local development partners and black leaders (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015; Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011). Barbie Savior critiques the depiction of Africans of all ages as being without agency and in need of saving from short term missionaries. While there is acknowledgment that attempting to make a difference is noble, it can lead to misguided efforts if the local social, political, economic, and historical context is misunderstood (Freidus, 2017). This in turn leads to wasted resources, faltering projects, and children not having their needs met (Freidus, 2017). Cole (2012) believes that "there is much more to doing good work than making a difference," one must also consult those being helped and must not cause harm in the process of helping. Lough and Carter-Black (2015) propose that

immersive and prolonged encounters between locals and international volunteers may help to reduce racialized assumptions and expectations, as both parties move beyond stereotypes into dialogue (p.210). This was a common theme throughout the Failed Missionary podcast, with host Corey Pigg (2018) and guests telling first-hand accounts of arriving at their destination unprepared or disappointed when confronted with the reality of participating in various short term missions. The podcast guests are unanimous in their opinions that short term missions should be stopped altogether. Howell (2012) argues that short term missionaries should be better prepared to experience different cultures and to encounter the realities of poverty in a developing country, instead of simply focusing on religious justification and pre-mission fundraising. Overall, this is a parody Instagram account that can bring awareness to certain issues that may be routinely overlooked but it is not a vehicle for actionable policy change. Barbie Savior is relatable to former short term missionaries and a space to question assumptions about short term missions that may seem objectively positive and reinforced by trusted sources as such.

As a conclusion to the Failed Missionary Podcast's series on the white savior complex, Worrall proposes the follow questions that those considering mission trips should ask themselves:

1. Does your mission work create dependency?
2. If you had no money and your child was sick, would you allow someone to exploit your child on the Internet to get help?
3. Do you feel you have more privilege in the country that you'll be working in than the local community does?
4. Why do you genuinely want to do missions work?
5. If you were not allowed to take your camera or post on social media, would you still go?

6. Would you work for the same salary as your colleagues who are local to the country you're working in (Pigg, 2018)?

The contributors note that these are not easy questions to answer. They require genuine introspection and research into trips and often lead to uncomfortable realizations that may conflict with existing religious beliefs. While these questions were created with short term missionaries in mind, they can apply to other areas of the broader field of voluntourism, especially the questions pertaining to social media use and the exploitation of vulnerable children on the Internet. The Barbie Savior Instagram account's witty critique provides a space for former voluntourists and short term missionaries, like Worrall herself, to laugh at their mistakes and engage in necessary dialogue, while encouraging others to reconsider their trips.

7. Conclusion:

Short term mission trips centre on the notion that making a tangible difference in the lives of others while attaining personal and spiritual transformation is possible in the span of a few short weeks. This idea is recycled on social media with volunteers branding themselves as authentic by doing real work, in real places, and confronting real poverty, while outdoing fellow volunteers who post similar selfies. A content analysis and close reading of four posts were used to understand how Barbie Savior, as a parody Instagram account, attempts to politicize voluntourism and how its posts constitute a strategy of social critique. The Barbie Savior audience is called to think critically about how misguided efforts of affluent young volunteers from the global north are often fueled by white saviour fantasies. Emily Worrall and her co-creator critique the touristic and religious search for authenticity that consumes short term missionaries and marketing materials that spur more would-be voluntourists into action. Self-branding has become ubiquitous on social media allowing young people to turn short term

mission trips they love into work through aspirational labour. The posts successfully capture some photographic practices and social media conventions that are eerily similar to candid shots and staged authenticity of lifestyle influencers. Barbie Savior is an intersectional critique in parodic form that tackles issues of gender, race, and class, highlighting the self-serving motives for undertaking volunteer trips and exposes the dark side short term missions. It provides a timely critique aimed at exposing issues in short term missions to prompt genuine introspection from aspiring short term missionaries about their motives for posting selfies with vulnerable children on social media. The Failed Missionary podcast offers additional perspective by giving a platform to former short term missionaries to share raw first-hand accounts of how missionary work can negatively affect both participants and local communities. While many critics believe voluntourism, in its various forms should be stopped altogether, it is likely that the practice will continue. The Barbie Savior parody opens dialogue about potentially harmful behaviours and activities through humour, important conversations that will hopefully one day lead to better and more sustainable ways of doing aid work.

Table 1. Frequency of Themes in all Posts

Themes	Sum	Frequency of theme
Bros	10	8.85%
Cultural App	9	7.96%
Current events	12	10.62%
Entrepreneurship	21	18.58%
Madonna and Child	17	15.04%
Orphans	23	20.35%
Pop culture	67	59.29%
Poverty Porn	15	13.27%
Religious	84	74.34%
Wildlife	14	12.39%

In Table 1, the total number of times a theme appeared overall was determined. (For example, in "Bros" was found in 10 posts. In order to calculate the frequency of appearance, it was divided by the number of posts (n=113), therefore 10/113).

Table 2. Total Number of Combinations of Themes

	Religious	Pop Culture	Orphans	Entrepreneurship
Bros	5	8	1	4
Cultural App	8	5	0	1
Current events	10	9	4	2
Entrepreneurship	13	14	1	*
Madonna and Child	13	8	14	2
Orphans	18	10	*	1
Pop culture	43	*	10	14
Poverty Porn	13	8	5	2
Religious	*	43	18	13
Wildlife	9	10	0	3
Sum	**132**	**115**	**53**	**42**

In Table 2, the total numbers of combinations were recorded. The (*) means that the combination was not required as it was the same theme.

Table 3. Percentage of Combinations from all Posts

	Religious	Pop Culture	Orphans	Entrepreneurship
Bros	4.42%	7.08%	0.88%	3.54%
Cultural App	7.08%	4.42%	0%	0.88%
Current events	8.85%	7.96%	3.54%	1.77%
Entrepreneurship	11.50%	12.39%	0.88%	*
Madonna and Child	11.50%	7.08%	12.39%	1.77%
Orphans	15.93%	8.85%	*	0.88%
Pop culture	38.05%	*	8.85%	12.39%
Poverty Porn	11.50%	7.08%	4.42%	1.77%
Religious	*	38.05%	15.93%	11.50%
Wildlife	7.96%	8.85%	0%	2.65%

In Table 3, the total percentages of the combinations were recorded. The (*) means that the combination was not required as it was the same theme.

Table 4. Total Number of Combinations in Top 10 Based on Comments

	Religious	Pop Culture	Orphans	Entrepreneurship
Bros	0	0	0	0
Cultural App	0	0	0	0
Current events	0	0	0	0
Entrepreneurship	1	1	0	*
Madonna and Child	3	2	3	1
Orphans	2	1	*	0
Pop culture	3	*	1	1
Poverty Porn	1	1	0	0
Religious	*	3	2	1
Wildlife	0	0	0	0

In Table 4, the total number of combinations within the top 10 most commented on posts was recorded. The (*) means that the combination was not required as it was the same theme.

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