



MSc Thesis

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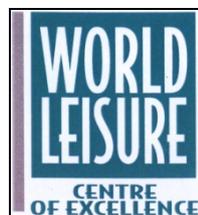
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Abstract

International Voluntary Services/Volunteer tourism has developed as part of the broad development agenda and the ever changing global structure. The end of Colonisation marked the beginning of new relationships of ex colonies and the Northern Countries. However as a lot of commentators have argued that the new relationship is still very unequal, with the North still attempting to dominate the South, politically, social, economically and culturally (Kothari, 2002, Crush, 1995, Smith 1994,Said, 1987). The process has been played out through a wide variety of agents, such as the economic structural adjustment programmes, tided loans, trade and works of Western organisations such as International voluntary organisations, some who are perpetuating “othering” of the South by the North in their promotional material and academic literature.

Key words: Othering, International Voluntary Services and Post colonial theory

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List of Acronyms

Asian Voluntary Association	ASA
Coordination Committee For International Voluntary Services	CCIVS
Danish Association for International Cooperation	MS
Eastern Africa Workcamp Association	EAWA
European Voluntary Services	EVS
International Cultural Youth Exchange	ICYE
International Voluntary Services	IVS
Internationale Vrijwilligersprojekten	SIW
Mozambique Workcamps Association	AJUDE (MWA)
Non Governmental Organisations	NGOs
Non-Governmental Development Organisations	NGDOs
Social Civil International	SCI
Southern Africa Workcamp Cooperation	SAWC
Uganda Volunteer For Peace	UVP
United Nations Association Exchange	UNA- Exchange
United Nations Development Programme	UNDP
United Nation Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation	UNESCO
United Nations Volunteer Programme	UNVP
Union Nationale des Associations Régionales Etudes & Chantiers,	UNAREC
Volunteer For Peace	VFP
Vereinigung Junger Freiwilliger	VJF
Volunteer Overseas	VSO
Zimbabwe Workcamps Association	ZWA

Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

International Voluntary Service has witnessed tremendous growth, since the inception of the modernisation theory by President Truman in 1949. The modernisation theory ushered four point development plans. With this four point development programme more than 100 countries were defined as poor hence in need of assistances from the North (developed Nations). The four point programme introduced structured aid to the South (developing Nations), which was going to be achieved through transfer of skills (volunteers), transfer of funds and technology. This was done to stimulate development, poverty eradication as well as introducing the development discourse in the South. This led to the “othering” process in the development discourse as cited by Said (1978) that the “othering” concept is geographical historical and cultural constructed to portray “others” as exotic. Rose (1995, p 116) defines “*othering as where you belong to the contrast from other places or you are with contrast with other people*”. Wearing (2002), Duim, Peters & Wearing (2005) and Said point out that Othering has been part and parcel of the tourism landscape, whereby other cultures are viewed and analysed as exotic, hedonistic and the dominate cultures regard their culture as superior than other cultures. According to Aitchison (2000) and Simpson (2004) some section of tourism practices and studies have a tendency of representing those in contrast to them as “other” and volunteer tourism is one of the subset used in promoting the othering process.

Volunteer tourism being a subset of the broader tourism landscape plays a crucial role in promoting international understanding through people to people encounters and exchange of best shared practice (CCIVS, 2007). Volunteers play a very crucial role through volunteering their time and labour. In some instances they serve in most neglected places and people around the globe (Simpson, 2004). International voluntary services (IVS) is a cross cutting institution, which uses twin tools of development namely cross cultural understanding and lifelong education. It cuts across political and racial divide to promote community development around the world. Despite the tremendous growth and positive contribution by volunteer tourism, systematic academic research in this field, particularly from the perspectives of the South North exchange of volunteers, is still in its infancy stage. Preliminary research appears to suggest that volunteer tourism is only from the North to the South (Brown, 2005 and Wearing, 2003). The one way exchange from the North to South has

become the truth in the dominate IVS discourse. It is against this back ground that this study seeks explore the South North exchange. The purpose of this study is to raise consciousness about the South –North exchange. This study also sought to broker the link between the uneven playing field and the power politics of the IVS. The outcome of this research will contribute to better understanding of the South North exchange and the de othering process in the volunteer tourism.

1.1 Problem Statement

Transnational participation is increasingly being accepted as a vehicle for development especially by “volunteers” from the north (developed Nations) going to the south (developing Nations) to work in community development projects (Lewis, 2005). However the literature and the practice is silent about volunteers from the South who participate in International volunteer projects in the North as if it does not exist. Service Civil International SCI (1999) host an average of 25 Volunteers from Asia and Africa participate in their international volunteer projects every year in Europe. Other European Organisations which host volunteers from the south in Europe are, Concordia, (United Kingdom) Internationale Vrijwilligersprojekten (SIW) Netherlands, Vereinigung Junger Freiwilliger (VJF) (Germany), Union Nationale des Associations Régionales Etudes & Chantiers, (UNAREC) (France). Literature available is one sided because most of the researches undertaken in volunteer tourisms are done by researchers from the West (Europe, Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America). Most of the studies are done in developing countries from Western perspective (Brown and Lehto, 2005). This has the potential to promote neo colonialism as well as the process of othering. “Othering” is in IVS praxis and promotional material, it projects the South as exotic, wildness as well as the region which is under developed and is in need of assistance in form of volunteers.

Voluntary tourism seems to be one way traffic from the North so called rich countries to the South so called poor countries. But volunteers are crucial in every part of the world e.g. the Sydney Olympics volunteers played a very important role in making the event successfully. According to Stebbin and Graham (2004) about AU\$100 million dollars was contributed as unpaid labour and they also provided social interaction among each other hence, promoting the spirit of intercultural cooperation.

Therefore key two issues we face here are: the dominant IVS representations of developing countries continue to reproduce the colonial vision as the underdeveloped and exotic “Other” and the fact that the traffic between the North and South is always portrayed as going from the North to the south and rarely the other way. This study is going to substantiate that there is general lack of insight and awareness into the flow of volunteers from the South to the North. There is a lot of volunteers from the South who every year participate in international volunteer project in many countries in Western Europe, USA, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, through the CCIIVS and local partner organization in the West. Issues of othering and neo colonization are perpetuated by the dominate discourse of the one way volunteer traffic from North to South and lack of knowledge of volunteers from the South who participate International Voluntary Services in the in the North.

1.2 Purpose of Study

1. To explore volunteer tourism from a non-Western perspective.
2. To challenge the present discourse as well as the status quo that volunteer tourism is one way traffic from the North to the South only

1.3 Research Questions

- Why is IVS reinventing the “othering” process in the tourism field?
- What are the “Othering” tags employed by volunteer tourism to portray the South?
- How is the colonial legacy influencing the present day volunteer tourism?

1.4 Significance of the Study

It is very crucial that organisations and institutions involved in volunteer tourism become aware about the flow of volunteers from the South to the North. If key stakeholders and organisations are aware and informed about this flow of volunteers, this will go a long way in fighting prejudice and stereotype. This will promote the theory that I will conceptualise as the process of “de-othering”. The de othering theory will reverse the post colonial process of othering and raise awareness as well as confirming to the world that volunteer tourism is not one way traffic as it is projected by IVS praxis and promotional material, otherwise its a two way traffic, volunteers go both ways. What only differs is the volume of volunteers. The research will also contribute to the tourism literature by challenging the present discourse in the literature that volunteer tourism is only from the North to the South.

1.5 Character of the Research

The study of othering process using discourse analysis is very appropriate in present context of globalisation age particularly when it is undertaken from the perspective of North-South Divide, which is the dominate discourse in the volunteer tourism. International Voluntary services research is still in its infancy stages in most of the countries in the South, and in this case the power imbalances are of concern because of the structure in the volunteer tourism. It is important to highlight that The South has very little power to challenge the status quo because they are on the receiving end. Hence the problem of the othering process and neo Colonisation are reinvented by volunteer tourism. (Roberts, 2004)

1.6 Structure of this Thesis

Chapter one will give a brief introduction to the study, problem statement, purpose of the study, research questions, significance of the study, character of the research and the structure of the study. Chapter two will conceptualize international voluntary services covering the colonisation process in the South, defining volunteerism, categories of voluntary services as well as giving a brief history of volunteer tourism landscape.

Chapter three will review the theoretical debates on the othering process in the voluntary services. It will display how the present travel patterns are still linked to the traditional travel from the colonial past .It will also review how the volunteer tourism is reinventing the travel patterns of the middle class Europeans to travel beyond their borders in the name of charity and helping the poor.

Chapter four deals with methodology used to carry the study. The chapter will give an overview of the critical paradigm, colonial paradigm, positionality and reflexivity. Content and images analyses will be covered by chapter five. Discourse analysis will be illustrated in chapter six and focus group discussion will be covered by chapter seven. An in-depth discussion about the othering process in the international voluntary praxis will be dealt with in chapter eight. The conclusion of the study will be drawn in chapter nine

Chapter two

Contextualising International Voluntary Services

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will give an oversight of the colonisation process in the South as well the working a definition of volunteerism and the history of volunteer tourism in general. This literature is intended to provide some contextual background for the research. It centred on the general trends of the international voluntary praxis as well as the othering process. More specifically it dealt with the history of voluntary services and how they pertain it interplay with the concept of International voluntary services

2.1 Colonisation

Imperial domination and expansion is an ancient phenomenon, beginning in Roman times. However, from 1875-1900, an extraordinary movement of imperial enthusiasm and colonial expansionism set in amongst the European powers (Young, 1931). The European graded land in different parts of the world. The new colonial masters imposed the European type of administration to the new colonies. The new system of administration failed to take the needs and aspiration of the local native people in their new forms of government Most of countries which were colonized are found in the present day developing countries otherwise known as Third world countries. It was clear that the primary objective of colonial rule was to increase the wealth and power of the colonising state (Roberts, 2004). Colonisation final came to an end in most parts of the world in 1994 when South Africa gained her independence after centuries of oppression.

It is unrealistic to assume that political sovereignty and national independence brought an end to all forms of colonialism as well as to conclude that decolonization marked the end of the empire building. It did effectively signal on the end to Colonisation as a specific form of power but the imperial interests global North continue to be present (Kothari, 2002). Griffin (2004) argued that the former colonizers still controls their former colonizes indirectly through trade, structured aid and international voluntary services. The global powerful Northern states are now using international organisations and multinational corporations to keep their interests in the south as well as to control (Kothari, 2002 and Smith, 1994). The new domination of developing countries by the West has been termed 'neocolonialism' or 'recolonization' (Kothari, 2002)

The relationship between the former colonies and ex-colonial states continues to have major implications for modern global economic, political and social systems. Independence was seen as a new beginning for the ex-colonial states. However, as Kothari (2002) and Crush (1995) note, in reality the transition from the colonial moment to the development process signaled a shift in emphasis rather than the end of one project and the beginning of another (Kothari, 2002). After the considerable effort involved with the establishment of the colonies and subsequent administration, the metropolis were unwilling to relinquish all control.

The transition process was strictly governed by the departing colonial administration: As a result, a new bureaucratic state system was hurriedly constructed based on the Western model (Hoogvelt, 2001). This system was doomed to failure before it even began, as the Northern model of a nation state had developed slowly over hundreds of years and is highly integrated into the history of Europe. However, the ideologies behind liberal democracy had little foundation in the colonized regions' (Said, 1989). This model failed to take in to account the development trends and needs of the South. Roberts (2004) and Griffin (2004) asserts that in order to understand the contemporary development of the countries in the south , it very crucial to understand the colonial history because the west tend to characterize as rationale peaceful, liberal without natural suspicious and the South is irrational degenerate primitive mystical suspicious. This reinforces the othering and representation discourse in to the development agenda being spread through volunteer tourism among other means.

Post-colonial theory is particularly useful for understanding and challenging this new form of domination and the euro-centric model of development currently directing global development agendas. This approach sees development as an institution as being part of the problem, it is considered a bureaucratic force with global reach and an explicitly pro capitalist agenda, operating as a tool of regimes that seek to perpetuate relations of inequality and dependence between the West and the rest, and through representation, to perpetuate the construction of others as post colonial subjects.

The relevance of the post colonial discourse to International voluntary is significant as they are descendants forms of travel associated with the rise of Empire building by the European nations lead by Britain. During the period of empire building Europe was seeing itself as superior than the rest of the world and it gave itself the mandate to spread modern life. The colonial texts which were framed during those days overemphasized attributes, or misinterpreted characteristics in their representation of the other in order to portray the need

for Colonisation. The post colonial theory is useful in this case because it helps to understand the Euro centric model of development which was ushered as the American policy in 1949, currently directed by volunteer tourism and other forms and means.

2.2 What is Volunteering?

Volunteer tourism phenomenon like any concept has almost as many definitions as the number of people trying to define it, this situation in itself presents problem to scholars in the leisure and tourism field. The multi-dimension character of volunteer tourism has continued to trouble scholars and policy makers in their attempt to scientifically define it. There is no one agreed definition in the literature, and all these different definitions are shaped by the ideology behind the organisation or person trying to define this concept. The Coordinating Committee for International voluntary service defined this phenomenon as “*Voluntary service/tourism is an exchange between an individual, or a group of individuals and a local community. The volunteer or group of volunteers offers time, energy and effort to a project of benefit to a community, and via this project the community offers to the volunteer or group of volunteers an opportunity for experimentation, learning and personal and collective development*” (CCIVS, 2007). Wearing (2001: 1) defines this concept as “*tourists who volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment*“. For the purpose of this study the CCIVS definition will be adapted because it acknowledges the mutual exchange between the host community and the volunteers as well as the fact that it is a learning process for all stakeholders involved. These are very important points because International voluntary service in general is trying to achieve these noble goals and objectives. The definition is also silent about the “othering” element in the tourism field as compared to Wearing’s definition which have the “othering” aspect in it. Based on these reasons the CCIVS will be the working definition for this study and it is important to mention that voluntary services is not homogenous, the next section will deal with the categories of voluntary services.

2.3 Categories of Voluntary Services

International voluntary services cannot all be grouped together; a clear distinction must be drawn between long-term 'professional' volunteers and short-term volunteers. According to Jones (2004) there are three areas in which distinctions can be made: First, length of placement. Long-term professional volunteers usually volunteer for a minimum of 12 months, the usual length of a placement is approximately two years (this is the recommended placement time for both Volunteer Overseas (VSO) and Peace Corps). While short term volunteers placements usually last between two weeks up to three months and middle term usual from three months to six months and anything above six months is regarded as long term (CCIVS, 2007). The second clear distinction is long-term volunteers often receive some form of allowance for their work, usually the same wage a local person would receive employed in a similar role such as the European Voluntary Services (EVS) they pay all their volunteers including the cost of the return flight and insurance. On the other hand short term volunteers receive no payment and usually pay for the privilege of volunteering (Jones, 2004).

The third very clear distinction qualifications and experience, Professional volunteers are usually well qualified in the field they are working in and have substantial professional experience, while short term volunteers rarely have any professional experience or qualifications. This can be illustrated by comparing the necessary qualifications and experience required for VSO/UNV volunteers and Teaching Projects Abroad volunteers to teach English. According to the VSO web site to teach English as a foreign language volunteers must have a "*BA degree plus a teaching qualification (CELTA, Trinity TESOL, DELTA, or PGCE in English or Modern Languages) plus one year's teaching experience*". While the Teaching Projects Aboard web site states volunteers need "*need A Level, high schools diploma, matriculation, baccalaureate or equivalent, along with reasonable*

These distinctions demonstrate that there is a huge range in skill levels amongst volunteers working in developing countries and raises a number of ethical questions regarding volunteers, particularly those on short-term projects. If a young person has been educated in the West to A-level standard does this give them the right or indeed the necessary skills to go and teach English in a developing country? It could be argued that here we are bearing witness to a neo-colonial phenomenon, where young westerners are seen to be racially and

culturally superior to people in developing countries, and are therefore considered to be suitable teachers regardless of experience or qualifications. To understand this further it is necessary to examine the history of International voluntary service

2.4 History of International Voluntary Services

The concept of volunteering dates back to the post world war one period, when people from former war enemies were brought together to reconstruct Europe, which was destroyed by the war in 1920. In a dual attempt to remove the causes of conflict and heal the dreadful effects of war, International Voluntary Service or Volunteer tourism were born. Volunteers from former enemy countries were invited to rebuild a small war torn French village, Verdun, next to the German border. This international group of volunteers lived and worked together helping to rebuild the village in the spirit of peace and friendship. From this experience the idea of International Voluntary Service quickly spread throughout Europe. (UNESCO/CCIVS & SCI, 2007, Lewis, 2005)

Again, after World War II, numerous international voluntary service organizations sprang up in Europe to help reconstruct and heal the internal and external effects of war. International Voluntary Service projects brought former enemy populations together in solidarity. In 1948, with the support of the recently established United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Co-coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service (CCIVS) was created to coordinate these new international voluntary service organizations. Since 1948, CCIVS went from a Western European base to an expanded membership that includes youth movements in Eastern Europe and volunteer organizations in Africa, Asia, in the Americas and Arab Countries. (CCIVS, UNSECO & SCI, 2007)

Today, International voluntary service/volunteer tourism, otherwise known as cross-national volunteering is increasing worldwide. But knowledge about the forms and impacts of international voluntary services and understanding about of which practices are effective lags behind (Butcher, 2005 and Jones, 2004) International volunteering service remains an under researched topic (Lewis, 2005). International voluntary service programmes vary widely. They take different forms, have different goals and objectives, operate within different administrative structures and come from different ideological perspectives. Some are

unilateral placements, others are transnational. Some are short term and others are long term. Some voluntary service is performed in groups and some performed individually.

Moreover international voluntary service claims a range of goals for the volunteers and the community in which they serve, including improved skills, civic engagement, cultural integration and economic development. Examples of such voluntary services organisations include United Nation Volunteer Programme (UNVP), Volunteer Overseas (VSO), Danish Association for International Cooperation volunteer programme (MS), Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Services (CCIVS) and Volunteer for Peace in America (VFP). Beyond anecdote, however, there are relatively few studies that systematically examine the impacts and sustainability of the large growing international service sector.

The wave of the modern day international voluntary services/volunteer tourism started in the early 1970s. Academics and researchers from various academic disciplines and fields begin to have some interest in understanding the phenomenon of this growing market segment in the tourism industry (Wearing, 2003). With the growing trend of volunteer vacation, researchers have developed a very keen interest to understand the benefits and the motivation of individual volunteers (Brown, et al 2005). To sum up this chapter highlighted the colonisation process in the South and the link with the present travel patterns of volunteer tourism. The chapter also illustrated the working definition of volunteers for this study and it also covered the history of volunteer tourism. The next chapter will illustrate on the theoretical framework of volunteer tourism.

Chapter three

Theoretical Framework of the International voluntary Services

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will give an overview of the theoretical framework. This chapter looks at contemporary literature and practice of International Voluntary Services. The chapter will cover the, circuit culture model, power politics, the academic “othering” and international voluntary services praxis.

3.1 Circuit Culture Model

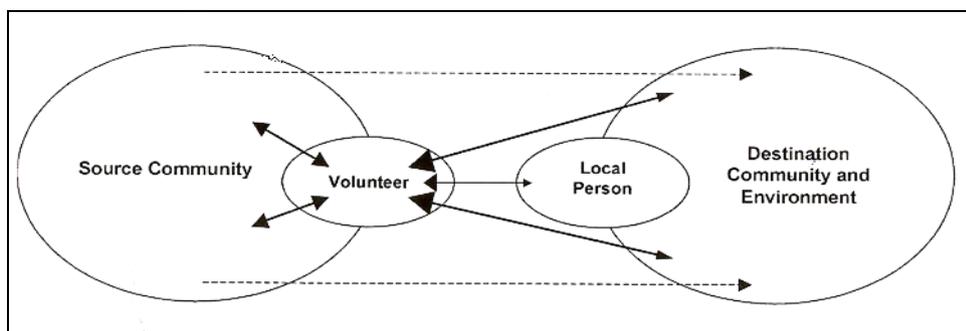
The historical context of international voluntary services projects, incorporates previous forms of travel of the explorers, missionaries and colonisers A framework that has the capacity to deconstruct the myth as well as enables the analysis of the contemporary situation within this understanding is circuit culture model because it has the capacity to challenge the present status quo in the IVS sector. According to Simpson (2004) some of the International Voluntary Services projects are perpetuating post colonial discourse of fostering a circuit culture. Norton (1996) “*defined circuit culture travel that encourages a pervasiveness of middle class young Westerns to continue forms of travel inherited from missionaries of spreading civilization, Christianity and Commerce*”. According Ateljevic (2000) circuit model is derived from cultural studies and is primary concerned on how cultural texts are continuously circle in an ongoing dialogue between the producers and the consumers. The circuit model is now used by a number of fields in the as tourism and cultural geographers especially with their studies linked to media and place of promotion.

A number of authors have debated about the concept of circuit culture within the tourism field (Jenkins, 2003, Dann 1996 and Norton (1996). The debates are centred on how the broader tourism landscape is projected and it is clear that tourism is has some othering element as well as capitalism element. This is illustrated by the self perpetuating process of representation and the expectation between tourist, the media and the industry. There are three stages of interpretation for the tourist. The first is prior to departure usual done through exposure to promotional material and previous experiences, this will force to volunteers to built expectations. The second point of departure is the tourist compares the reality versus the

work if they wish publish their work. It is not only that most of the gatekeepers are males' first generations scholars but they are also Anglo centric. (Pritchard and Morgan, 2007). The four English speaking countries, namely USA, UK, Canada and Australia dominate the tourism knowledge production. Scholars from the South are failing to meet the parameters set by the North, Hence knowledge production remains centralized in the North.

The paradigm shift of international voluntary services to volunteer tourism has raised the interest of the academics and researchers to study systematically this growing sector of the tourism field yet the lion's share of the research and studies are focusing on the movement of volunteers from the Western countries going to the South to help the poor people in the South. Very few studies are interested in the movement of the volunteers from the South who participate in international volunteer projects in the West. This has reinforced the othering theory which started with the days of missionaries then colonization process. Most of the research in volunteers' tourism focused on the impacts, benefits and general the volunteer experience as indicated by the figure 2 below. The diagram was developed by Griffiths for his thesis on the discourse analysis of United Kingdom sources Gap year overseas projects. ” According to Griffiths (2004) “Arrows indicate amount of attention received to that stakeholder. In this case there has been far more attention paid to the impacts made on volunteers from the Destination, Community and Environment than vice versa. Dotted lines indicate assumed, but unmeasured impacts. It is worth noting that the local people only have access to volunteer and not the source community.

Figure 2: Focus of Studies in Volunteer Tourism



Sources Desk Research: Griffiths 2004

The volume of volunteers from the South to North might be smaller as compared to the volume of volunteers from the North to South. This due a number of different variables at

play such as visa regime, disposal income in the South and the global structure which confirms that Europe and the United States as the centre of the universe and the rest of the world is periphery, but this trend is worth to be scientifically investigated, so that new knowledge can be produce in the tourism field and International voluntary services.

3.3 International Voluntary Services Praxis

The historical context of the International voluntary services incorporates the previous forms of travel of the missionaries, explorers and the colonisers. Dann (1996), Simpson (2004), Roberts (2004) and Tubb (2006) asserts that Missionary activities increased, during the period of colonialism and imperialism (Simpson, 2005, Roberts, 2004) It is very important to point out that the relationship between imperialism and missionaries is a very complex one, with a lot of some implications on the general trends of tourism field because of different variables at play. It is equally important to point out that even the present day travel is still heavily influence by colonialism and imperialism that is still visible today in the travelling patterns of the international volunteers and the general tourist. It can be argued that imperialism and colonialism provided both, the possibility and the rationale for travel. Colonialism was not just about conquering the world, but also a conquest about the way the world was known. As Edward Said, describes in his work, "Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient" (Said, 1978), the Orient was not a geographical fact, but rather a historical and cultural creation. He argues that the Orient is not just imaginations, but a consciously constructed image by several generations in order to legitimatise the power relations between the regions involved. Colonialism itself has been dismantled and criticized; however the constructed colonial gaze lingers on, influencing the way developing countries are perceived from a western perspective (Simpson, 2005).

Dann (1996) and Simpson (2005) argued that as the Western Society holds views of the "other"(someone who in contrast with the west) and this is formed through interpretation of language used in the texts, these text have ideology of who is producing them, for who and for what reason is the text produced. Colonisation also attributed a lot to the othering process through the way it misinterpret and portray the South. The Othering process has been reinforced by the post colonial discourse perpetuated by some sections of volunteer tourism which projects the South the same way like the colonialist through the use of words and text. According to Roberts (2004) the colonial gaze has continued to find its way in the present

day tourism landscape, since volunteering is now viewed by some section of the global community as a desired holiday activity.

Aitchison (2000) pointed out that representation of others is a concept which has been crucial for the development of post structural theory and it contributed as well to the leisure and tourism theory. One critical aspects of the tourism theory is that of representation of foreign landscape and people as exotic and others. This Othering concept dates back to the days of the grand tour, missionaries, explorers then colonisation and it was reinvented by the modernisation theory of 1949. This crafted the present day development theory, which seeks to modernise the rest of the globe just like the colonisation process. Simpson (2004) argued that othering process is now reinforced by volunteer tourism because it uses the same notion and principles used by the missionaries of treating the South as fertile ground for experimentation. Most of the young volunteers sent to the South are high school graduates on a gap year before entering University or Training institutions do not have the skills to assist the South in whatever chosen field. Without any proper training they are deployed to the South to work as teachers, in hospitals, Children Care centres etc (Roberts, 2004). These are a professional duty which requires skills and training and in their home countries these young volunteers are not allowed by law to perform the same duties without undergoing training in their respective home countries. This is where the volunteers will experiment in the South because they are not have minimum training required for some of the duties they will be requested to do during their voluntary services (Simpson, 2004).

International Voluntary Service is increasingly being accepted as an instrument for doing development in the South (Jones, 2004, UNDP, 2003 and Butcher, 2004). However its impacts both at individual level and community level are not known because this sector is under researched especially of volunteers from the developing countries who participate in international volunteer projects in the developed world. Very limited literatures exist about their contribution to this growing services sector at global level. There is also need to differentiate between genuine volunteers and those who use the service as means of cheap tourism. It is very crucial to acknowledge that volunteers around the world irrespective of geographical region plays a very critical role in community development as Tubb (2006) explains *“Some of the volunteers offers badly needed skills and forgo the normal wages/salaries they will earn at home. They take total commitment to another culture. But*

there are some sections of the volunteers who abuse this facility and use it as a means to reinvent the colonial stance of projecting the South as weak and poor.

The heart and soul of International Voluntary services is doing development and this notion reinvents the old school of thought of colonization era because the notion frames volunteers' relationships and encounters with the visited others. According to Tubb (2006) Doing development has two major goals personal growth and helping others. The others in some cases are perceived as poor and they need to be liberated from poverty. As illustrated by the quotation from Dr David Livingstone one of the founders of the othering process "*we preach to men who do not know that they are beasts, we came among them as members of a superior race, servant of a government that desire to elevate the more depraved portions of human family*" (Charles, 1927:53 -59). Tourism by nature comes from the capitalist ideology and volunteer tourism comes from an extreme opposite ideology of capitalism. This creates a complete new discourse because the two ideologies are totally different, hence bringing this debate to the power politics within the tourism field.

International voluntary services operate within an arena of global power politics, (Tubb, 2006) According to Simpson (2005) that power politics play a very crucial role in the volunteer tourism because most of the power is invested with the organisation in the North. Actually organisation in the South have got less power in shaping their destiny on the South/North flow of volunteers, since most decision are taken in the North. This scenario complicates the partnership arrangement because some partners are more equal than others. Southern partners in this relation have very limited power to influence decision which will affect them both in the short term and long term. According to Simpson (2005) based on her PhD thesis on Gap year she found out that, the North usual set the limits of the amount to be charged for Northern volunteers. The South are price taker, not price givers. Partners in the North set the standards and the price for the host organisation. But the hosting organisation takes more expenditure as compared to the sending organisation.

The process of essentialising "Others" is promoted through the post colonial theory because the rest of the developing world is regarded as others. Where behaviour norms, value could be subverted and where different identities would not be necessary be tolerated at home could be enacted. Tubb (2006), Simpson (2005) and Dann (1996) pointed out that International Voluntary Services is marketed in developing countries by developed countries within a very narrow view which is influenced by the Western notion values and beliefs. Images and texts

used in the volunteer tourism are inherited from the historical context and they reinforce the concept of othering. It is through these texts and images that the South is perceived as exotic, other and attractive to the international volunteers.

Most of the recent literature seems to be focusing on the broader social context of international volunteering services. It is important to acknowledge that a lot has happened in the field of volunteer tourism since its inception, most of the literature in this field seems to be one way North to South , hence the need to rethink about the whole discourse and phenomenon of this growing tourism sector. Even for the benefits of volunteer in the literature reflects as if the South is benefiting more than the individual volunteers, But in most cases it is a win-win situation the volunteers are benefiting and the society is also benefiting. There is mutual benefit between the volunteers and the host community.

The dilemma is most the IVS praxis only project as if the South is benefiting more than the volunteers, According to Tubb (2006), Simpson (2004) and Robert, (2004) International voluntary services is the vehicle which is used by the North under the powerful representation of development experts intervening in the South, offering a bridge between modern and the traditional ways of life in the South. They will be doing this under the auspices of helping “others”. According to Roberts (2004) this theory has failed to address the root cause of poverty and global inequality, Instead it has only served to limit the participation of people in the South to address problems of development as they see it, and navigating their own paths of change.

Ashcroft et al (1998) and Roberts (2004) asserts that the post colonial development theory has been framed in the language of charity, technical expertise, civil engagement, civil services, volunteerism to mention but a few and all these words are reinforcing othering process because the liberal position of the developed wealth nations in the North have a moral global obligation to assist the poor countries in the South. With the assumption that these countries in the South are willing to receive the assistance. Even at this age of a globalised village the North still perceive the South from the Standard of the North. The whole notions of volunteer tourism reinforce this ideology especially the way they adverts volunteer tourism in the south. Most of the texts and images of volunteers’ tourism is linked to the colonial era. This discourse encourages particular notion of other, and mask them behind celebrated connotations associated with such travel influenced by the colonial legacy.

The implications are that the discourse is blinkered to suit the needs of the particulars and industry, potentially at the opportunity cost of the destination. (Roberts 2004, Griffin, 2004)

Post colonialist argue that these systems remains today between the former coloniser and the colonised even though official control has ceased (Simpson, 2005, Williams and Chrisman, 1993) It is difficult to draw a line between colonial and post colonial discourse because of the power relations which still exist after decades of independence (Simpson, 2004). The colonial as well historical representation remains important in understanding the contemporary perception. Some volunteers prefer to do voluntary work in a country where they have some historical ties. According to UNA exchange a British based Volunteer organisation mentioned that most of their volunteers prefer to go to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana and Zambia, Vereinigung Junger Freiwilliger (VJF) a Germany based organisation mentioned that the most popular destination in Africa for them is Namibia and Tanzania. Namibia and Tanzania are former Germany Colonies and Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, Zambia and Tanzania (*after the world was given to be a British protectorate*) are former British colonies. In this case the othering process is controlled by the past colonial legacy which perpetuates the traditional travel patterns of the missionaries, explorers, and colonisers. To sum up this chapter gave us the theoretical framework for the international voluntary services domain. The next chapter will give an overview of the methodology for this study.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the critical and post colonial paradigm, data collection methods as well as taking stance on my positionality and reflexivity in this study. This chapter is primarily concerned with outlining the way in which the colonial legacy has continued to effect ex colonial states in the present day developing countries in the South and to provide a framework for post colonial theory to be used to study International voluntary services in propagating Northern interests in the South

4.1 Critical Paradigm

The critical Paradigm has its roots from the Frankfurt school of thought. This is a paradigm which seeks to emancipate the masses, to raising awareness among as well as to raise critical consciousness among the masses. Neo Marxist structure, post colonial, feminist theory is under the critical paradigm (Jamal & Everett, 2007). The critical paradigm strives to raise the voices of the marginalised masses as well as creating a very conducive room for the reflexivity of the researcher. This has given me the room to bring my life experience and academic experience in to this research. It is theory driven and it seeks for justice as well as positive change for those disadvantaged by the system, so that they can be emancipated.

The critical paradigm is the appropriate lens to use for this research because of the power imbalances within the international voluntary services as well the uneven playing field of this sector; the North is regarded as the centre and the rest of the world as periphery. It is very crucial to point out that a lot of things are taken for granted in the tourism field such as inequality and the power relation in this field (Tribe, 2007) The tourism landscape has for years be dominated by the powerful voice of from the North and the voices has assumed to be the truth because that is the voice which is dominating the international voluntary services.

This study makes use of the critical paradigm because it has the potential to challenge the existing patterns of power and truth in post modern society, (Chambers, 2007. The critical paradigm is interested in giving a voices to the voiceless as opposed to the traditional positivism approaches which are only interested in understanding as well as explaining the phenomena. The critical paradigm critique the present status quo and its mandate is to bring

change at the end of the day to the mass who has been voiceless. (Chambers, 2007) In order to give voice to the voiceless as well as bringing the much needed change within the tourism landscape the post colonial paradigm will be employed in this research.

Colonisation played a very crucial role in the travel patterns of the West to the South and some of the travel patterns are still in use up to the present day, hence the need to understand the colonisation process. In order to gain a deep insight of the historical and cultural context of volunteer tourism programmes, and illustrate the imbalance in the international voluntary services it is very important to have an overview of the colonisation because thus where the root cause of these imbalances were crafted.

4.2 Post Colonial Paradigm

Colonisation penetrated all aspects of the native peoples lives, rubbishing their cultures and religions and attempting to impose a new culture in which the native people were led to believe that they should serve their 'colonial masters'. This was perpetuated through a number of channels such literature (the bible), education and trade as a way to justify colonising the South (Kothari, 2002) It is essential that the colonized people are indoctrinated to believe that they are inferior to the colonisers. As (Kapoor, 2002) suggests, at times this involves imposing suppressed knowledge and propaganda to subvert any form of resistance. This has resulted in colonial discourse having a profound impact on colonial and ex colonial societies that it is impossible to recuperate any identity un-contaminated by it. If this discourse is to be taken seriously, it can be argued that it is not in the North's interest for the new state to develop to their level, and as Biccum (2002) argues, that the very nature of neo-liberal development policies undermines their ability to do so. The goal of achieving the 'highest levels of humanity' as successfully attained in the North, according to neo-liberal policies, only possible with the assistance of the North. However, according to the idea of supremacy used to subvert the new states, these goals should only be achievable by the North. Furthermore, the inferiority of developing countries is necessary for the North to continue dictating the development agenda in the South as well as to justify the need of the poverty industry spearheaded by the international voluntary services and the global transnational co operations.

The legacy of colonialism is clearly a vital and important component which is necessary to consider in the analysis of contemporary international voluntary services in the South. The

term 'Third World', commonly used to describe ex-colonies has strong neo-colonial connotation, propounding their inferiority and the supremacy of the 'first world nations'. There has been a tendency for the structural adjustment wing of mainstream volunteer tourism and development studies to attempt to fit the ex-colonies into models of Northern political economy, ignoring the political, social, economic and cultural legacies of individual countries. This is known as the neo-liberal approach. Post-colonial theory has articulated an alternative way of viewing development. It questions the legitimacy of much of the existing writing on the history of development and imperialist representations; it also fundamentally denies the argument that the influence of the colonial era is over, by highlighting the contemporary consequences. Post-colonial theory has become an important tool for commentators who adopted a critical approach to the role of the North in dictating the development agendas of 'third world' countries. (Roberts, 2004). The North cannot let go the power of controlling the development process in the South.

The term colonial theory has been often used interchangeable with otherness and difference as a way to differentiate the North and the South. The post colonial theory has pointed out the binary gaze. The binary logic of imperialism has tendency of Western thought in general to see the world in terms of binary opposition that establish a relation of dominance. Binary opposition is structured related to one another, and in colonial discourse there may be variation of one underlying binary. Binarism the establishment of the strict opposition between two categories and it important to point out that one category is always dominating such as black/white, civilised/primitive, coloniser/colonised. (Ashcroft et al,1998). According Ashcroft et al (1998) the binary gazing of the post colonial denies the existence of any grey areas there is nothing in between the two opposing sides it is either you are primitive or you are civilised. The post colonial theory seeks to destabilises these binary opposition which are pointing out the relationships of dominance by acknowledging the fact that cultures are overlapping and hybrid of cultures is emerging between the two opposing forces. It can now be argued that post colonial societies are hybrid and hybridity in most cases resist the dominance of colonial culture. The other strategy to destabilises the binary gaze is through ambivalence (this refers to complex nature of relationship between colonised and coloniser). After colonising the settlers set up school to educate the native people and now the native people are taking advantage of literature to use it as ant- colonisation message but in some cases oppressing their people such as some of the dictators in most of the developing world. This brings a lot of complexities because they are just turning the tables the other way

around with the ant-west rhetoric taking advantage of the past colonial legacy to cover for their own short comings as well. The binary gaze has also found its way in the tourism field because of the relationship between the former colonial masters and colonial states.

According to Echtner and Prasad (2003) the post colonial school of thought in tourism is interested in findings a number of grey areas which are in the main domain of the tourism field. It seeks to understand how people and places are represented in the tourism and to what extent is the representation reinforcing the colonial binarisms of the civilised and the primitive. The post colonial in tourism also aims to why the marketing of tourism in the ex colonies is fixed on the stereotype of the North as well finding out how tourism is a capitalist ideology which serves to perpetuate the political, cultural and economic exploitation of the South. It is also critical at this juncture to highlight that the main context of tourism marketing within the post colonial societies has been controlled and determined by the North and this has contributed to the present day image of the South. It very crucial to point that poverty is not marketed as a failure of the civilizing process of the imperial past, but it is marketed under very different connotations as issues of foreign aid and assistance, hence the need for international voluntary services so that they can go and fight poverty.

Post-colonial theory brings the whole concept of development into question arguing that the pre capitalist 'colonial states' are an indispensable and integral necessity for the existence of 'developed' capitalist states. There is substantial evidence to suggest that it is not only big business and Northern governments who continue to dominate policy in developing countries, but also Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) (Townsend 1999). Decisions on aid project funding are often made in the North, without proper consultation with and proper involvement of local people. NGDOs often have broader agendas; it is important that the development projects funded in the south produce the right message to attract funding in the North. For example, pictures of starving children provoke generous donations while less urgent long-term projects often find it harder to generate support. Projects designed in the North to generate maximum funding will not necessarily address the local needs of the countries in the South (Crewe and Harrison, 1998). This creates a lot of challenges because resources in some case will be channeled to the people who are not in need of them but they have managed to create the image which is acceptable in the north.

It is important to highlight that unlike other social theories, such as Marxism, post-colonial theory cannot be characterised as an ideology of specific set of ideas. (Roberts, 2004) Instead it is used as an umbrella term to refer to a '*diverse range of critical approaches that deconstruct Western thought*' (McClintock, 1994). Furthermore, the term's formulation has not relied upon social science methodology and fieldwork, but instead, has emerged out of the field of humanitarian literature (Kapoor, 2000). With this background the post colonial theory will be used as the lens for this study and it is crucial to highlight that post colonial theory is under the auspices critical paradigm and in order to produce new knowledge under the critical paradigm the following data collection methods were employed, focus group discussion content and image analyses

4.3 Data Collection Methods

4.3.1 Content Analyses

In order to comply with the requirements of critical paradigm approach and more importantly to formulate a true understanding of the othering process and the power relations within the international voluntary Services, I used a content analysis for data collection. This is done in order to gain comprehensive insight into the process of othering associated with volunteer tourism. Content analysis was used, because it is through texts and images that we have shaped and created many things that have given us the idea of truth in International Voluntary Services field (Pinkus, 1996) The main source of data was the websites, journals and books because content analysis is mainly on the talk and texts as social practice (Foucault, 1980). Hence the websites provides a very fertile ground for texts and talks. I employed a content analysis to explore discourse formation in the international voluntary service field because content analysis has the potential to take a critical stance towards issues and things which are normal taken for granted as well as raising the awareness of the fact that the way in which commonly understand the world are historical, cultural and social constructed (Roberts, 2004). My first point of departure of data collection was the content analysis. This was done in order to get an insight the dominate discourse in volunteer tourism

The texts under investigation in this study came from various source of the international voluntary services/tourism field. The texts were drawn from members of the Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Services a global umbrella body for organisation involved in voluntary services in the North and South (not for profit organisations) and

commercial voluntary organisation. Articles from journals from both tourism and development studies, calendar of events from voluntary organisations, books and reports by volunteers.

A content analysis of photo images displayed from various websites was conducted simultaneously with the text analysis reveals significant patterns of representation. 900 photos were counted and photo that were repeated on different pages were counted only once. Each photo was put in to five categories. Adults were the one which the researcher felt that they were above the age of eighteen years old. Locals refer to images of people who are native of region which the photo was taken from. Non locals refers to images who seemingly foreign to the host country. Mixed categories photos that contain both locals and non locals. Non people photos refer to those photos with no humans in them. Others refers to the photos where human are not the main attraction of the photo, landscape, streets scene were the main attraction of the photos. Natural includes natural scenery and objects and these also include man made

4.3.2 Websites

Websites are presented as the primary sources of information. The bulk of the business for most of the volunteer organisation is done via internet. Some International Voluntary services organisation have developed on the similar time scale to the internet and they seem integrated more so than other traditional genres of tourism. It is very important to highlight that brochures are generally not easily accessible from this sector, and the paper text that was attained was done so through the websites. The books, journal and articles are in this regard considered as secondary source of textual information. The primary objective of this analysis is to identify the key themes mediated into the culture circuit. In addition to the content and images analyses the study also used focus group discussions for data generation.

4.3.3 Focus Group Discussion

Two focus groups discussion were conducted in Zimbabwe. This instrument was employed in order to get a voice from the South. The research study followed well-defined procedure that started off by seeking for permission to carry out the research from the Ministry of Home Affairs, the President's office and the local political and traditional leadership in Gokwe District and Norton. This was done in respect of the Zimbabwean laws which require that procedure to be followed. After be granted the permission from the local authority the

volunteers were informed about the dates, time and the venue. Two focus groups were conducted in Zimbabwe in January 2008.

The first focus group discussion was conducted at Gokwe (Sengwa Primary School). Gokwe is situated in Midlands province. Gokwe district service centre is situated about 320km away from Harare the capital city of Zimbabwe. Gokwe has seen a tremendous economic growth due to mining, farming activities and number of NGOs working in different areas of community development.. I was granted the permission to use the school by the villagers because I used to work in the area. Mr. Fine Mpfu who Works with the Zimbabwe Workcamps Association a Youth Volunteer organisation in Gokwe is the one who assisted me in making the conducts with the volunteers from Gokwe and the surroundings areas. The group was composed of 6 people of 5 females and 1 male.

The second focus group discussion was conducted at Norton community centre. Norton is situated 40km away from Harare the capital. It is surrounded by commercial farms and most the people around the area works in Harare Mr. Vitalis Madhau assisted me to make the conducts with the volunteers in Norton and the surrounding areas. The second focus group discussion was composed by 4 males and 2 females

The focus groups were in Gokwe and Norton because there were enough people for a focus group discussion. This was done in order to minimize cost on transport since Zimbabwe is experiencing the worst economic, political and social crisis in living memory. The ages for the volunteers ranged from 27 years to 38 years. The participants were coming from different walks of life ranging from, development practitioners, community workers, Artist, Farmers and Youth leaders. The diversity in the background varied by level of education as well. This was good because it reveal different insights and opinions on international voluntary services. A few commonalities brought them together. They all had extensive travel experience beyond the borders of Zimbabwe, development and they were well educated per Zimbabwe standards. All had participated in volunteer work in Europe. The focus group participants asked to share their thoughts.

During the two focus group discussion I welcomed the volunteers and request them to sign the consent agreement this marked the start of the business. I introduced myself to the group and request for self introduction. After the introduction we started the discussion about the general development landscape in Zimbabwe since most of the participants were coming

from this background. I did this in order to find a common ground as well as to make sure that everyone is taken on board as cited by (Punch 2005 and Jennings 2001). From the General development discourse I moved on to the broad international voluntary services and everyone shared his or her experience. This opening question assisted the group to get in to the mood of discussion. I requested the volunteers to share their volunteer experience and this question probes many more question and discussion about international volunteers' landscape. During the discussion the issues of power relation emerged in. Volunteers started to discuss about the areas where voluntarism was perpetuating the power imbalances between the south and the north. Later on volunteers the discussion moved to the perception of their experience as well as how they were perceived during their tour of duties in the North.

I did the interviewing, taking notes as well as asking the probing questions while my colleague Caleb Godfrey who volunteered to assist me in the data collection was recording the discussion on the tape as well as taking photos. The interview went according to plan, and the both groups were asked the same set of questions. It is critical to point out that the focus groups were conducted in the shona language one of the official languages in Zimbabwe and later I translate it from shona in to English. I have to confess this was a mammoth task. As per Zimbabwean traditional of "*Hukama igasva hunodzadziswa nekudya*" which means that when people meet for a discussion of this nature in order have a fruitful discussion meal should be shared, some snacks and drinks were served. In both discussions people continued with some informal discussion after and they exchanged contact details so that they can continue to keep in touch. The Gokwe focus group requested for the final report and I assured them that I will send copies to them.

This instrument was employed to generate data because I believe this is an investigation that is at its exploratory stage. There are no proven measurements or theories for researchers this particular phenomenon. In addition, unlike traditional quantitative researcher, focus groups were centrally concerned with understanding attitudes rather than measuring them. In academics sense, the goal of focus group is to gain access to more inclusive sets of feeling and emotions that a structured instrument could not capture (Punch, 2005). It is against this background that this instrument was employed for data generations. In order to fulfill the requirement of the critical paradigm, I will take my positionality and reflexivity.

4.4 Reflexivity and Positionality

I employed the critical paradigm in order to deconstruct the power relations in the tourism field and the society in general which result from structures of modernity as well as to take advantage of the self reflective discourse which is embodied critical paradigm. Critical paradigm is crucial because it allows the reflexivity and positionality of the researcher, the researcher becomes part and parcel of the whole research process (Ateljevic et al, 2005). Since it is through discourse that a lot of present day truth was created in the international voluntary services, I will use discourse analysis to deconstruct the truth concerning the South/North Exchange and the broader spectrum of volunteerism as a vehicle for doing development in the South.

Some of the projects in the South are tailor made to safe guard the interests of the Northern Volunteers who have special interests in doing development work. It is very critical to highlight that general these projects are not sustainable because they are not people centred or people driven projects but they are agenda driven. It is important to take the needs and aspiration of the local people is taken into account when designing project in the South. I will like to argue that the beneficiaries of development project should be involved at every stage of project development. It is against this background that I will take a position in this study,

I developed interest in the International Voluntary services while at Mutambara High School, when a group of American volunteers participated in number of community projects at my school and the nearby communities, in the late 1980s. As students we joined them over the weekends for discussion and cross cultural understanding activities. When completed my high school I wanted to pursue my dreams of doing voluntary services in Zimbabwe and beyond the borders of my country. This interest was created by the experience gained through interacting with the volunteers as well the statement from banner of the volunteers. The statement was as follows *“Travelling is important it exercise one’s own imagination, Voluntary services is the vehicle which offers very conducive environment for travelling beyond one’s place of normal residence and get to know the place and people better”* This statement challenged me so much that I wanted to volunteer as well. The racial integration which I experienced with the team of American volunteers amazed me because in our post independence Zimbabwe that thing did not exist people were divided along racial lines. So as a black Zimbabwean I just imagined myself doing voluntary abroad working with people coming from all walks.

I ventured in the world of voluntary services in 1995 soon after graduating from the College. This marked the beginning of my 11 years experience working with different voluntary organisation in Southern Africa. My participation in voluntary work opened windows of opportunity for me to participate in voluntary activities around the world. During these 11 years I managed to participate in voluntary projects in a number of countries in East and Southern Africa, The Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom and Japan. The exposure I gained has broadened my horizons and it challenged my way of thinking about the whole business of voluntary services. The experience and exposure gained made me to see my own culture with different eyes within the voluntary services. At the same time I also saw the power politics within the voluntary services and the development field especially in the areas of the North South Cooperation, exchange programmes and people centred development. I found out the playing out the uneven playing field between the North and the South.

I first encountered the power politics of the IVS in around late 1990s at a international conferences in Maputo. Some Northern IVS organisation issued a warning to all partners in the South that they will not send volunteers which charges more than US\$200 per three week project irrespective of the cost of running a project in different parts of the world. This was a very strange policy because it was like fit all size. Every organisation whether in Latin America, Africa or Asia should fit into that size which was designed in the North. Since most of the organisations in the South depends on the participation fees from the volunteers from the North they were forced to oblige, because it was either you sink or you swim with the Northern counterpart. This proved to me beyond any reasonable doubt that the playing field of the International voluntary services is controlled by some powerful forces in the North.

Now when I pursued my studies further I found out that power imbalance is portrayed by the IVS praxis. The uneven playing fields are reinforced by the theory of development which divides the north and the south based on underdeveloped and developed nations. This south is referred as underdeveloped and the north is referred as developed. This trend has also found it way into the voluntary sector. This perception needs to be re visited because based on my experience of doing international development work with various voluntary organisations in, Japan, Western Europe East and Southern Africa, I would like to argue that development is a process and we are all developing only that we are at different stages of development. Linking development to the South alone as the region which is under developed is an

underestimation because I have also participated in projects in the North which are developmental in nature. Most of the literature on the websites markets doing development in the South as if it cannot be done in the North as well. Most websites and scientific articles are silent of the about the international voluntary services in the North.

Based foregoing this research study has made use of the critical paradigm in challenging the present status quo and structure in the tourism field. The phenomenon of volunteer tourism is at the infant stage in most of the developing countries due to a number of variables at play, hence the needs to critically explore this field so that new knowledge can be produced which can challenge the assumptions that volunteer tourism is a Western agenda. To sum up this chapter gave an insight of the critical, post colonial paradigm. An overview of the post colonial theory was covered as the theoretical framework for this study. It also highlighted the data generations methods employed by this study. I also reflected about my personal embodiment in the voluntary services.

Chapter Five

Content and Images Analysis

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed account about the content and images analysis. This chapter also covered the following themes which emerged during the content and images analysis, post colonial version of missionary work, doing development or helping others, the south as the exotic breeding ground for the north, international understanding and environmental politics.

5.1 Post colonial version of Missionary work

Teaching was one of the most dominate feature of the international voluntary services. Most of the literature from journals, books and websites mentioned teaching in the South. The bulk of the people are teaching English. In some case the volunteers teach a wide range of subjects as well as other core curriculum activities, which will be deemed necessary by the host organisation English is presented in most articles as the means to get out of the poverty cycle as cited by the quotation below.

“Increasingly, English language skills have become crucial to success in virtually any profession, as it is regarded the international language of commerce, technology and opportunity. In many places, knowing English provides a passport out of poverty through employment. Since 1990, Global Volunteers has provided valuable English language assistance worldwide. Any native English speaker can be a valuable resource in a classroom in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Mexico. Even if you've never formally taught a classroom subject, you can teach conversational English skills. All you need is enthusiasm and a desire to help adult and youth students. And, we'll provide you a comprehensive, user-friendly Conversational English Teaching Guide. You can do this!”

Desk Research March 2008

Image 1: Global Vision



Images of the Northern volunteers teaching children are very popular in within the IVS.

5.2 Doing development work and helping “others”

The most shared principle of international voluntary services is doing development work in the South “*helping the others*” who are still backward. The primary goal is to show people in the South how to attain the Western standard of civilization (spur, 1993). The popular roles of volunteers are renovation and construction of schools maintenance of infrastructure for ecotourism and nature conservation. The essence is that the North has the funds and the intelligence, while the South has the natural riches and the North want to control the nature in the South. The primary goal is to make poverty history, hence poverty was one of the main dominate text to come out from the study. Poverty was used as the justification for the need of the volunteers in the South. By volunteering in the south the northern volunteers will be contributing in making poverty history. The text and images are farmed in a way that markets poverty in the south. A very good example about how poverty is crafted is this quotation and image 2 below.

Source: desk research March 2008

Image 2: VIBES

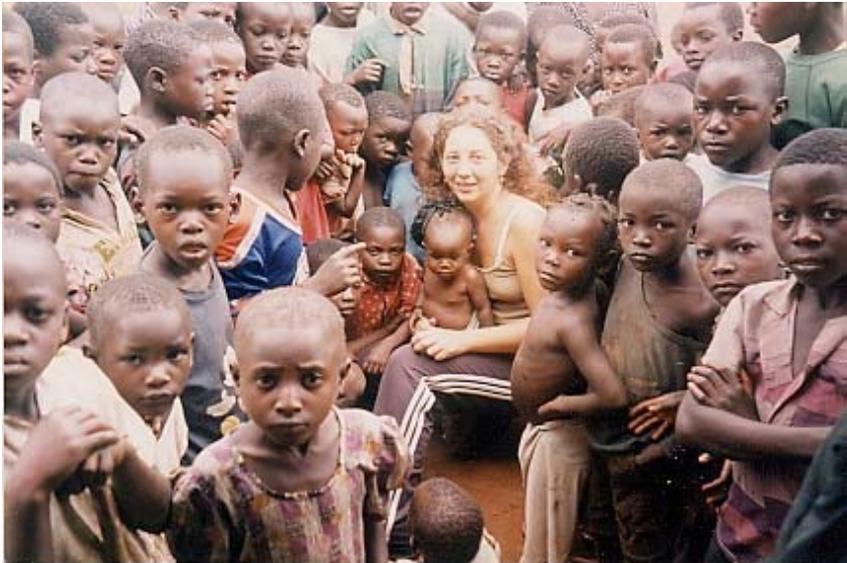


"The picture is a business. Most businesses are like this. If you need a toothbrush, fruit, etc. you go to a place like this to buy it". (Teresa Fitzgibbon-Conroy, 2005) The image above is showing some of the shops in the south. This shop sells basic necessities for the nearby communities

"Globalteer work in poverty stricken countries to provide assistance to those in most need. We send volunteers to schools to provide free education to children who are unable to pay fees to go to local schools. We work closely with centres that care for children providing support and funding to allow a safe and comfortable environment in the most important and vulnerable time in their lives. In developing countries the poorest people are often overlooked as there is little governmental funding available to provide support. We work with projects that help the most vulnerable children and communities. By providing an education and vocational training to children we give them an opportunity to break the relentless cycle of poverty and support their own families by becoming a useful and productive member of their society" (http://www.globalteer.org/about_us.htm accessed On 23/05/08)

Source: Desk research, March 2008

Image 3: UVFP



Images of Northern volunteers surrounded by local children were also very popular in most of the websites, some images the children will be barefooted and without clothes

5.3 The South Exotic breeding ground for the North

Besides being poor the south is also presented as exotic and beautiful especially the landscape with a lot of flora and fauna. People in the south despite being poor are presented in the text as very happy always smiling and ready to work with the volunteers so that they can they can improve the social wellbeing. Young people from the North can go to the south for their career development. This will help them to develop their careers such as nurses' teachers' development practitioners as cited by these two quotations. *"I want to see how a developing country look like and take part in the political life before going to teachers college Inkem exclaims. She teaches Science and Mathematics and also carries out teachers training at an orphanage centre called friends of Don Bosco"* <http://www.tayen.or.tz> : accessed on 24 may 2008

"We have sent the best part 500 people who are middle-class young people, many of whom will have significant jobs in the years to come and they will have lived in a developing country, they will have had the experience of the developing world and not just of the beaches

of Kenya, not just a bit of backpacking but they will actually have lived, and worked in the developing country”. (SIW, 2008) They are using voluntary services for career development before they embark on their training. In this regard the developing countries provide a conducive breeding and training ground for the North.

Source: Desk Research March 2008

Image 4: VFP



This image shows how interacting with local people can be exotic for the Northern Volunteers

5.4 International Understanding

According to Simpson (2004) one of the fundamental principles of International voluntary services is to promote international understanding as well as intercultural learning and communication. This is done through the exchange of volunteers between different countries. By living and working together people from different backgrounds can learn to respect and appreciate each others' difference. Cross cultural understanding other ways know as international understanding was one of the themes which was very dominated in the literature. Some organisations are actual using it as one of their broad objective. *“We promote and support international understanding, cultural exchange and community development whilst at the same time enabling volunteers' personal growth & development. UNA Exchange volunteers always work in partnership with local community groups”* Some organisation believes in volunteering as a powerful force for positive change in the world. The learning that comes from people living and working together contributes to a deeper understanding of

the world, leading to an awareness and appreciation of differences and similarities between cultures. This equips people with the skills, experiences and knowledge with which to make informed choices and decisions about the way they live their lives. Most organisations are committed to involving people from different cultural backgrounds in all in voluntary services. According Jones, (2004) Volunteers overseas, International Culture Youth Exchange and European Voluntary services have started to support young people

5.5 Environmental Politics

Most of the articles and websites visited mentioned the concept of sustainable development through environmental protect. The text was highlighting the need for volunteers from the North to go and assist their counterparts in the South about the modern ways of taking care of their natural resources. In the South there is a lot of Environmental degradation and the North volunteers can go and make a difference in the South through raising awareness and capacity building on Environmental management.

Sources: Desk Research May 2008

Image 5: Global Volunteers



Promoting sustainable environment programmes in the South

This chapter highlighted how the othering aspect of the international voluntary services is crafted by the dominate discourse through text and images. The language of international services is of charity and helping the less fortunate members of our global community. The next chapter will cover the discourse analysis.

Chapter Six

Discourse Analysis

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter illustrated ways in which how dominate groups within the voluntary sector crafted the volunteer tourism discourse. This chapter will give an insight of the following topics, North and South: whose experience is more important, power structure, helping others, cross cultural understanding, poverty in the South as well as an analysis of these themes.

6.1 North and South: Whose experience is more important?

The main emphases of International voluntary services promotional material, scientific articles, books and journals and are based on the experience of the returned volunteers with very little input from the voices of the destinations in the South. This scenario brings more questions than answers because if the voices of the south is not heard, then which voice should be heard, since the industry is claiming to be working for the South. The experience of the local should be also as powerful as the voice of the volunteers since they are partners and both have first hand on experience. The industry is mostly interested with the information of the returned volunteers. In most cases the input of the destination is not very important. The instrument used in shaping this discourse is volunteer projects and the images as well as textual descriptions of the communities in the South.

6.2 Power Structure

According to Mowforth and Munt (2003) tourism landscape consist of power Jigsaw. Within the power jigsaw there are three centres of power namely Ideology, Discourse and Hegemony. These centres of power shape the destiny of the tourism landscape. The tourism literature is dominated by the Northern. Most of the literature which has gained the status of being the truth in the international voluntary services is crafted in the North by the gatekeepers. Pritchard and Morgan (2007) assert *the importance of certain key gatekeepers to the networks of power which shape and determine knowledge production and academic discourse is well established in the tourism field*. The North has managed to control the dominate tourism discourse as well as to monopolies it. The North has crafted hegemony in

the international voluntary services through practice and literature. That is where they get the mandate and power.

Various authors have pointed out the power structure that exists in the development field. Chambers (1997) and Spur (1993) suggests that Western humanitarianism has been criticized as the form of colonial development, inherently shares the same values and notion of the colonial process of othering. Volunteerism is one of the agents used to perpetuate this school of thought because of the power structure which exist in the industry. The North is regarded as a big brother, promoting international understanding as well as community development and empowerment in the south. But the fail to acknowledge the power imbalances in the global structure which makes it very difficult for the volunteers in the South to participate in the volunteer projects in the North. According to Aristide (2004) 80% of the world resources are spent in the global North and the rest of the world is left to share the remaining 20%. The voluntary organisations in the North are taking advantage of this because they have some disposal income. Hence using it to control the south, such as fixing the participation fee, the number of volunteers which each partner organisation can receive in the South and most of the meeting of the meeting for the CCIVS are held in Europe which means that most of the partners members from the developing world cannot participate when it comes to decision making during the meetings. Most of the decision pushed by the North will be endorsed because they will be the majority at the meeting.

6.4 Helping “Others”

Volunteers are central to global social and economic development (Korten, 1990).The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) cites volunteers as critical partners involved in community empowerment and as ‘valuable knowledge brokers, linking know-how with community needs’ (UNDP, 2003) It is argued that voluntary organisations are among the main agents of grassroots, people-centred and participatory approaches in development work (Ehrichs, 2000). International voluntary services claim a wide range of activities and one of the most mentioned activities is helping others to get out of the poverty cycle or to develop like the rest of the Northern world. The question here is who is helping who, We have a situation here where by some as raw as a high school graduate going in the south to help in a nature conversation programme or nurse aid in a hospital working with some qualified and experienced personal from the south. Now the argument is who is helping who. Most of the

literature projects the south as if it is benefiting more than the volunteers. But in most cases it is a win- win situation. The volunteers benefit and the community benefit as well.

6.5 Cross cultural Understanding

Voluntary services create virtuous cycles of social interaction. International volunteers working in developing countries by their presence reinforce some of the key elements of social capital within communities. They also help to build awareness of a citizenship beyond community and country (Randel, 2004). It seems as if the South is a region where people need to be educated to become good citizen of their respective countries and the North has the obligation of sending the volunteers to the South so that the south can learn from the volunteers. But the whole essence of voluntary service is to promote cross cultural understanding. The challenge here is how we can promote cross cultural understanding through voluntary services when the flow of volunteers is projected as one way. For mutual exchange it should be two way traffic. Promoting cross cultural understanding involves working as equal partners which mean the flow of volunteers from both sides should be acknowledged both in literature and practice. With the current scenario volunteers from the north are the ones who are learning about the cultures of the south because of their large volumes to the South.

6.6 Poverty in the South

Tourism is used as new colonial plantation economy in which the capitalist countries in the North try to dominate the market especially in areas where their own citizens travel most frequently, most of the goods and services at the destination are controlled by the former colonial masters, (Michael et al, 2004). They control the business in the former colony through owning the business at the destination such as hotels, tour companies and of late the local voluntary organisations. A good example is organisation like Uganda Volunteer peace being owned by International Culture Youth Exchange. Voluntary organisation in the North take advantage of their past colonial legacy to market the poverty in the South as exotic, But it is important to highlight that not all organisation use poverty in the south as a marketing strategy. But a lot of organisation are using the images of people especially children who are financial challenged to attract the volunteers. Northern voluntary organizations are short charging the volunteers because a three week project in the South cannot make poverty history. But in a more negative scenario it can actual promote the spirit of dependency on the

host communities because they will be assured of getting volunteers who will work for them. The more practical way which is needed is to compliment the efforts of the volunteers by challenging the root cause of poverty which is in the global structure perpetuated by the international regimes such as World trade organisation and the International Monetary Fund who promote policies which are not friendly to the developing countries especially in the areas of trade and the open market economy. These international global regimes continue to implement policies which have failed to improve the welfare of the ordinary people around the world. Images to the world from these global regimes justify the need for the volunteers to go and assist the less developed countries in the South. Images are so powerful in marketing because they can influence the choice of a destination for volunteers.

Images of local people that is deposited into the readers mind is of children in poverty or informal business such as the one 2. This ordering of attractions was noticeable at websites of Volunteer For Peace photo gallery. The first destination was introduced by its landscape, travel opportunities, activities, animals and finally the people. Destination countries can portrayed from an aesthetic gaze, habitually placing people towards placing people towards the end of attractive features, deriving from the noble savage. This process arguably affects between geographically distant people as colonial type images are upheld. Base on the above themes which emerged from the content and images analysis, I will now give some in depth analysis and I think it is crucial to highlight that teaching is one of the most celebrated activities of IVS in the South.

6.7 Themes Analysis

Teaching is one of the corner stone of international voluntary. Teaching English and other subjects such as Geography, Mathematics and Science is very popular with this sector. Graduates from high school, universities and some working people prefer to take a sometime from their paid job in order to go and do voluntary work in the South. According to Simpson (2004) the bulk of the Northern volunteers who participate in volunteer projects end up be involved in teaching programmes. But it is important to highlight that not all volunteers end up in teaching programmes some still carry a number of different tasks depending on the needs and the aspiration of the host organisation. It is also important to highlight that teaching programmes are a niche market for organisation who want to attack youths with very limited

skills because the whole teaching programme is framed in the language of promoting international understanding through voluntary means.

The notion of promoting cross cultural understanding is one of the main objectives of most voluntary organisation both in the north and the South, But the challenge is only one side of the coin is being heard as the other side is silenced through the global structure which does not recognise the flow of volunteers from the South to the North. Mutual exchange involves movement of volunteers from both the South and the North. The flow of volunteers from the South to the North just like the voice of the destination in the South does not carry a lot of weight in this field. The exchange of volunteers from the South to the North is underestimated because of the uneven global structure which claims that the North is the centre and the rest of the world is the periphery.

The north has made it very difficult for the volunteers from the South to participate in the North. The tight visa regime imposed by the North has prompted the CCIIVS to propose a volunteer visa so as to stimulate mutual cross cultural exchange between the North and the South, Unfortunately the efforts of the CCIIVS were fruitless because they failed to convince the authorise that volunteers from the south can make a positive impacts in the North. This will bring us back to the fact that the there is nothing good coming from the South all the good things are from the North. I will argue that authorises in the North still perceive the South using othering lens. But in order for mutual exchange of volunteers rules and regulations of the game have to be revisited and necessary adjustment should be done, so that these voluntary organisation can achieve their noble global goal of promoting cross cultural understanding through voluntary services. If the policies are rules are not changed the image and the script of the South will remain unchanged. The South is undeveloped and the North has a moral obligation to develop the South.

Transnational participation is increasingly being accepted as a vehicle for development especially by “volunteers” from the north going to the south. (Lewis, 2005) and number of authors have written that volunteers promotes community development, empowerment. The development process under the auspices of the international voluntary services seems to be organizational driven as opposed to people centered development. Organizations in North are more interested in attracting volunteers, so the projects in the south should be tailor made to fit the wants of the northern volunteers. The communities in the South with their genuine projects which does not attract volunteers are left out. Develop can never be imposed on

people, Development should come from the people who want to develop and volunteers should just compliment what the community will have initiated. The rest of the world cannot develop the same way as the North developed due to number of variables at play, such as the fact that development discourse has shifted the goal post from just development to sustainable development. A buzzword crafted in the late eighties by the United Nations.

Sustainability development is an ideology because it is interpreted differently by different actors. Each and every actor has its own definition of sustainability depending on which they are representing or the ideology behind that institute or organization to (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). In the tourism the main ideology is capitalism and is the one behind the driving force for tourism industry. This ideology has its roots in the North and it is imposed to the South. The South is be lectured about this concept by the North, But It is very crucial to highlight that the North extinguish it's natural resources a long time ago and no one lectured them how they should have used their natural resources and thus why the North have developed up to this far, they over use their resources . Now they want to limit growth in the South, so that the South cannot achieve the same standards which have been achieved by the North. This done so that the South can remain behind so that they can justify the structured aid and volunteering services in the south. Hence maintaining present status quo of othering the South. The North will continue to gaze the South as poor and exotic. Images of starving people or other extreme situation are the ones used by the IVS to portray the "others" In conclusion, this note this chapter illustrated the discourse analysis within the volunteer tourism. The analysis offered in this chapter focused on the othering aspect of international voluntary services. The next chapter will cover themes which emerged from focus group discussions.

Chapter Seven

Focus Group Discussions

7.0 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the focus group discussions which were held in Zimbabwe. The themes which emerged from the focus group discussion in Zimbabwe will be covered under this chapter as follows, power structure within the IVS, poverty in the south, helping others and cross understanding

7.1 Power Structure

The major themes that come out from the two focus group discussions will be covered under this section. International voluntary services are a game of power politics as indicated by (Tubb, 2006 and Simpson, 2004) that the broad international voluntary service operates within power politics. The point of departure for the discussion was about how they view International voluntary services, some of the participants started by using appreciative enquiry by acknowledging its positive side and then started moving on to the weakness of the broad IVS. Volunteer tourism promotes international understanding as well as cross cultural understanding. The participants challenged this notion that because of the uneven exchange between the South and the North. There is general lack of mutual exchange because the North is dominating the South in every respect. In theory they are equal partners but in practice some are more equal than others and they have more power than others as expressed by Try (Gokwe) “. *In some cases some organisation in the North do not want to be challenged. Once they questioned in about grey areas of the south north cooperation they will change the goal post by stop sending volunteers to that partner organisation in the South as well as portraying it as a bad organisation*” .It becomes very difficult for the for the partner organisation in the South to challenge the dominate forces within the IVS because some organisation are more equal than others. As a follow up to the overview of the volunteerism in general, the discussion shifted to the roots of volunteerism. This generated a lot of debates amongst the participants, it was a well contested debate, they started by finding the local name of volunteerism and come out with some specific examples of the whole concept of voluntary services in before colonisation. A lot of names were through in to discussion and they were debated on length until they through consensus settled for the name “*nimbe*” The participants agreed that because the name of voluntary services is there so there is no way we

can say volunteerism is a western concept. Vitalis (Norton) *“It was only that our fore fathers did not have a culture of writing, they pass on their wisdom through oral traditions, so the concept is not documented in Zimbabwe but it was there since time immemorial.. The fact that the West have a culture of writing does not give them the right to monopolize it”* As stated in the literature review a lot studies about volunteer tourism focus on the impacts on the host communities on the south as well as the promotion of international understanding (Brown and Litho, 2005). However Jones (2004) and others indicated that voluntary services is a crossing cutting issues or a double edged sword and found in most communities whether in the North or South.

7.2 Poverty in the South

The perception about the uneven distribution of the global resources was also very clear. During the discuss with both focus groups, some of the participants mentioned out the experience and how some of the counterparts in the project in the North could not appreciate that someone from the South can come and participate in a volunteer project in the North. A good a example is this question which was paused to Memory she participated in a project in Cardiff United Kingdom: *“How come you have managed to make it here in a country where most of the people are living below 1US\$ per day? The question was asked to her by some volunteers in the project she participated. Victoria “because I was coming from Zimbabwe they thought that I was financial challenged and I could not sustain myself in Europe until I return home, they curious to know my plans after the project and my budget”* The participants linked this to the media that the media in the west only covers the grey areas of the South because that is news to them as opposed to cover also the positive side of the South. In the end the people in The North have a perception of the poor South and the Rich North. They argued that the statement of less than a dollar a day was not a true reflection of the South because of the different variables at play between the North and the South. Money alone cannot be used as the standard yardstick to measure wealth. The discussion moved to how they were perceived in the North as a volunteer from the South and how do they perceived the international volunteer projects in the North. Most participants mentioned that they changed their perception of the North because prior going to the North they thought that the *“North was paradise as indicated by some section of the mass media and general, they found out that the life in the North is not as it is circulated by the mass media, there are also challenges in the North and Western society life is inside the house as compared back in Zimbabwe where general life is outside the house”*. Generally they were perceived as people

who need special attention due to the vast difference between the North and the South. When discussed about the guest host relationship they said that they have very limited interaction with the community hosting the project because of the difference in organising Workcamps in the South and in the north. In the South the host community is part and parcel of the volunteer experience yet in the north in most case only the interaction amongst the volunteers.

7.3 Helping “Others”

In both focus group discussions the issue of protection or warm hospitality was loud and clear. Most of the volunteers were picked up from the airport and upon the completion of the projects transport was organized and someone from the partner organisation to take him or her to the airport. During their stay some of the volunteers indicated that even through it was not on paper and ink, it becomes an informal policy that whenever he/she wants to venture in to some areas the project leader always make sure that someone from the North will accompany her/him. Even though most of the volunteers from Zimbabwe found it weird they enjoyed the company because it made their travel easy. They also highlighted that Volunteers from the North just inform the project leader about their intention and they were never accompanied. They came out with a reasons why they were accompanied such as the host country was afraid that they might get lost in the big cities such Berlin, or they might face some challenges since the did not speak the language, or they were afraid that they might run away from the protect and find work in that country in the North and never to return to Zimbabwe.

7.4 Cross cultural understanding

From the both groups most of the members felt that during the beginning there were some perception problems. Even through the camp language was English nationalities who were more than one tend to use their home language and the volunteers from the South because in most cases they will be very few in most of the projects which will be dominated by the Northern volunteers. A good example of cross of a situation where by cross cultural understanding failed was mentioned by one volunteer who participated in a international voluntary project in Germany (Stuttgart).The team was made of 12 participants 3 French, 2 Italian, 4 Danish, 2 Dutch, 1 Zimbabwean and 1 from Bangladeshi. He said that *“We forced to forge friendship the two of us from the south because of the language barrier, even though we wanted to make friendship with the rest of the participants in the project but this was*

fruitless. this is self defeating because the noble objectives of international voluntary services of cross cultural understanding were not achieved in this project because of lack of the participants could not go beyond their comfort zone ”. He went to relate it to the south/north dynamics. International voluntary services is a crossing cutting institution meaning that IVS strive to promote a wide number of goals such as development, peace, social justice and skills development. In order to achieve this people from different backgrounds should interact and exchange notes and ideas. This was a three week project. He said the group dynamics improved during the last week, but it was too late to cover the lost ground from the previous two weeks.

7.5 North and South: Whose Experience is more important?

Under normal circumstances the host organisation appoints the project leader and the volunteers' elect a committee and co leader for effective running of the volunteers and most of the volunteers indicated that none of them were nominated for any of these post, despite their experience in running voluntary services in their respective countries. They were not given the chance to prove their leadership skills in the North, When probed they were not sure of the reason why they were not offered some of the position which deals with the day to day administration of the international voluntary work. They said most of them failed to get the chance to taste the corridors of power in the projects speaks volumes about the north south divide as well as building the confidence as a way of personal development. Some the co researchers mentioned that they were not give the chance to prove themselves in the project because of stereotype that black people are not good on time and they are not good leaders linked to the linked this to the post independence era when countries in Africa gained their independence and there was a leadership gap. Most of the leaders who led their countries to independence failed to be effective leaders.

The themes from the focus groups discussion will be combined with themes from the discourse analysis and they will used in the discussion in chapter eight.

Chapter Eight

Discussion

8.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide discussion of the research. The discussion will be centred on the circuit culture model, voices transmitted by the circuit cultural model, power politics in international voluntary services, doing development work, making poverty history through education and the new version of missionaries.

8.1 Circuit Culture Model –Revisited

The term discourse is complex because it can be use to express different views by different actors depending on the ideology where they are coming from. It relates to the use of language and power. (Gill, 2000, Punch, 2005) The way in which people and phenomena are portrayed reflects power and authority. This will brings us to how representation of objects, people or “Others” becomes reality itself, such as the case of volunteer tourism. The discourse which was created by the missionaries and colonizers centuries ago still shapes the present travel landscape. The people still perceive the South based predominantly on the representations available to them in the literature and practice of the volunteer tourism. These representations are filtered through the values and agendas of those presenting them, therefore tainting the original message (Norton, 1996). The discourse created by missionaries and other players centuries ago has been sustained through the circuit culture model in chapter two figures 1.

The cultural circuit in Figure 1 illustrate the continual process of international voluntary services as a circular model. The discourse of volunteer tourism acts as a hegemonic fashion because it is influenced by previous circuit models. Expectations are built through promotional materials and other information sources (Dann, 1996). Through circuiting their experience back into their home culture upon coming home the volunteers. In most cases the returning volunteers slightly alters the perception of the destination within the existing framework of discursive indicators in figure 1.

The circuit culture model has shown that the roots of international voluntary services are found in the previous forms of travel of the missionaries, explorers, and colonisers. This is in line with Ateljevic (2000) framework that takes in to account tourism as a nexus of circuits

operating within production and consumption dialectics enabled by the process of negotiated production. International voluntary services consumption is socially constructed defined by those who produce it and consume it. Volunteer tourism images are constructed and sustained by the industry through various channels of communication especially the internet which is so powerful these days. These images and the text have a lot in common with the historical images which was used by the explorers and missionaries.

According to Dann, (1996) and Norton, (1996) the circuit culture dominates the volunteer tourism and the word of mouth has a lot of influence as a marketing tool. Traditional marketing claims truths carry less authority than personal recommendations. This limitation of marketing facilitates the completion of the circuit enabling those that feed from the circuit to feed back into it. International Voluntary Services is used as an opportunity to understand the world of travel, and is presented, represented and reinforced through advertisement both below the line and above the line the image 2 exemplify the way in which this imaginary is represented by International voluntary organisations. The organisations are part of a global network of organisations that continuously seek opportunities for young adults to work and travel all over the globe doing international voluntary work.

By using images in their advertisements for volunteers travel programmes, the industry projects the others such as the image number 1, which generalized the informal business in Tanzania as formal business. As well as the image number 2 where a young Northern volunteer is surrounded by disadvantaged children. The message they install indicates that the South is poor and the volunteers from the North have the solution to make poverty history in the South. In most cases the images and the texts posted on the website do not reflect the true reality of the situation on the ground in the South. The volunteer tourism industry is driven by the voice of the returned volunteers, they are the ones who will be invited to prepare orientation as well as give talk to potential volunteers for the coming year. In most cases the returned volunteers project the South as exotic poor above all different from them, hence promoting the othering process. Images are used in most cases because they are so powerful to convince the potential market so that the industry can continue its core business of promoting the South as different from the rest of the developed world. The circuit cultural cycle is promoted by the returned volunteers they inspire new volunteers, who in turn feel obligated and duly enabled to pass on the enthusiasm to others. I would like to point out that returned

volunteers supply the industry with cheap and effective marketing; at the same time provide schools with positive role models. It is equally important to point out that the message is not only transmitted in these structure forms but through other means as well.

Based on the texts and images in the main domain of volunteer tourism, International Voluntary Services is a post colonial imperialism that has not only reinvigorated the exploitation of the south by the North, but also added former communist ruled areas to the list victims. Former communist countries which are now very popular for teaching English programmes are Russia, Poland, China and others. For countries in the South, international voluntary services is a mean used to perpetuate the othering process because of how it is produced and consumed. According to Ateljevic (2000) Tourism in general is produced according to how it is consumed and then negotiated in to circuits. This school of thought is in line with how the general volunteer tourism is produced and consumed. International voluntary services is a networked based movement and they are the ones who set the agenda about volunteerism should be regulated and controlled around the world. They control the line of production and consumption. It is critical to that in the production side the othering process sells and those who are on the consumption are also interested with the othering aspect of the volunteer products from the south especially the images of the kids wild animals, poverty, and the landscape. These images does not portray the true image of the South. There is more in the South than the images of the kids, wild animals and the general landscape. The voice of the South is not given a fair voice in the main tourism domain.

8.2 Voices Transmitted by the Circuit Culture Model

The voice from the South is underestimated and underutilized because both the promotional material and the general IVS praxis are failing to make use of the voices from the South. The voices are not as dominate as like the voice from the North. The general lack of the voice from the South in the promotion and the cultural circuit in general of the international voluntary services has led to the voice from North has gaining the status of being the truth. It is very important to highlight that a number of voluntary organisation promote their activities in different ways some are more biased to the post colonial discourse, most of the organisation used a mixture of images and texts.

Most organisations failed to put the destination or the voices from the South as the centre of their activities. The Voice of the South is on the periphery and it carries very limited weight.

The voices from the North play the central role in shaping the destiny volunteer tourism in the South and it has become the truth in the main domain of the tourism field. In many senses, viewing the “others” has always been a part of the tourism landscape of the dominant cultures, since the time immemorial (Wearing, 2002) and (Duim et al, 2005) While the dominant cultures have been entranced by own sense of superiority through viewing the “other”. At the same time they have excluded the voices of the “others” from their theoretical analyses because very few studies has been done about the flow of the volunteers from the South to the North.

The voice of the South has been neglected because of the volume of the flow is very small as compared to the volume of the North to the South. Since the tourism industry is controlled by transnational Corporations and these companies are more interested in the profit. With the small volumes from the South the industry is not (interested with small volumes) because it is not good for their business. Since the volumes from the South are very small and tourism is driven by strong market forces, it becomes less appealing to study the small volumes from the South, because the volunteer tourism market strives on big volumes. Despite these short coming it critical to point out that there is a significant number of volunteers from the South to the North especially with organisation such as Social Civil International and International Cultural Youth Exchange because these organisations have set up branches in the South and their goal is to improve the mutual exchange between the South and the North. The focus group discussion also revealed that volunteers from the South do participate in the voluntary activities in the North. But even though they do participate there is a lot of stereotyping as well as the dominate perceived view of the South and the people as poor. It is also important that it is not easy for the volunteers from the South to participate in the project in the North due to the perceived view of the South and the uneven playing field. In spite of these challenges volunteers still travel for personal growth and community development around the world.

Travelling for personal development is not a new scenario in the tourism field, It has been part and parcel of the grand tour in the 16 century (grand tour) where high social value was placed on these expeditions, (Griffin, 2004, Tubb, 2006, Simpson, 2004, Haverig, 2007 and Roberts, 2004) But now the travel motivation have shifted travelling for social and educational status to travelling for sightseeing and pleasure. This is in line with Aitchison (2000) when she pointed that out that representation of others is critical aspects of the tourism

landscape. The representation of foreign landscape and people as exotic and others. In this scenario volunteer tourism as the one used as the means to go and see others different from us. Others are viewed as contrast from the dominate cultures and in the case of volunteer tourism they are reproduced and consumed via the circuit culture model as indicated in figure 1. Most of the trends in the voluntary services are mediated through the circuit model. The circuit cultural model is so powerful, that's why it has continued to be used as a yard stick in the international voluntary services through pre departure orientation. Where the returned volunteers are requested to share their experience to those intending to undergo voluntary services in the South. They have a lot of power because they will be having firsthand experience. In some cases based on the experience of the returned volunteer new policies are crafted and they are crafted without the input of the counter parts in the South and this shows the power relations within this sector.

8.3 Power Politics – International Voluntary Services

Various authors have written about the power relation between the North and the South such as (Tubb, 2006, Simpson, 2005). The North still perceive the South from a position of power, the north is still the centre and the rest of the world is the periphery. This scenario has led to a situation whereby the South is regarded as it depends on the North, but both the South and North depend on each other. Politics are very visible in the way volunteers' tourism by way is marketed in the media. Most of media houses are in the West and these media have an ideology which guards them whenever they are marketing volunteer tourism in the south. Hence most of the website focus on the south on their marketing because their ideology requires them to do so. Since most of the organisations are guarded by an ideology they will be forced to do what their ideology is telling them to do. (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).The South is portrayed as exotic, poor as well as of contrast to the North. The South cannot challenge this notion because they do not have the means and at the end of the day the dominate discourse becomes the reality such as the case of volunteer tourism.

The playing field for International voluntary services is not balanced. Organisation in the North controls the playing field as well as setting the rules of the game because they have more resources than their counterpart in the South. Most of the knowledge production centres in this field are found in the North. This gives the North comparative advantage over the counterpart in the South who does not have the access and in some cases do not meet the

standard set by the gatekeepers (Pritchard and Morgan, 2007). Since most rules of the game and policies at international level are crafted in Europe, this disadvantages the South because some of the rules fail to take in to account the needs and aspiration of the South, but the South does not have the power and means to challenge the status quo. Mowfort and Munt (2003) argued that the uneven playing field also impacts on the flow of volunteers from the South to the North.

8.4 Doing Development Work

Doing development is one of the central concepts of our time in the field of volunteer tourism. (Roberts, 2004, Simpson, 2004 and Tubb, 2006) As such ideas and images of development are inevitably represented in a wide variety of ways, whether within academia, policy, or in the general domain (Lewis, 2008) *To that extent, it can be contended that all forms of development knowledge can be- and historically have been -largely understood as a series of stories. This is true not only in the pragmatic sense that to have an impact on the public opinion, organisational strategy, or within academia, even the most elaborate equations and sophisticated data analyses needed to be expressed in everyday language, but also in the deeper philosophical sense that all knowledge claims are necessary embedded in particular subjective understanding of how the world works.* (Lewis, 2000) The most common shared agenda of volunteer tourist is to “*helping the others*” are in need and are still backward. This will bring us to the discussion whose development? Who is in need to be developed the tourist or the community? Who is setting the agenda for development? The notion is to develop them those who are under developed so that they can attain the same level of development like the North. This is in line with what (Spur, 1993) argued, to show people in the South how to attain the Western standard of civilization. In this case civilisation is measured only the notion and values of the Western world. The rest of local indigenous wisdom around the world is not important. This shows that the South is perceived as others who are still uncivilized, hence attracting a lot of volunteers to go and develop those who are in need of development.

I would like to argue that development is a process and development should be people centered not agenda or money driven. Development cannot be packaged like in the case of volunteer tourism it should come from the people and this will create a sense of ownership. If development is people driven then it will be more sustainable both in the short /long term. The belief shared by voluntary services that the North has the funds and the intelligence,

while the South has the natural riches and the North want to control the nature in the South is a colonial hangover, still remains in the practice of International voluntary services. This colonial hangover is the one now used to legitimize the fact volunteers from the North can go and develop the south, hence making poverty history in this part of the world. I would to point out the fact that sending volunteers alone to the south is not development per se because the root causes of under development and poverty are house in the West by big global organisation such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) World Bank, It is important to point out that these international regime were by products of the modernisation theory. They share the notion that the south needs assistance from the North. The assistance of structured aid from the North and volunteers are part and parcel of the structured aid. It is also equally important to point out that these international global regimes just like the volunteer tourism are perpetuating the othering of the South. In fact what the South needs is not structured aid as claimed by these international regimes, but the South only needs fair trade as well as a balanced a economic playing field which has not be level since these organisation were founded. If these international regimes shift their goal post to more pro- poor policy and the south is allowed to trade with a lot of condition then we can talk of real development not the current scenario. The prevailing scenario is service delivery because it has failed to develop the south as it was intended to do in 1949 when it was crafted. In fact with the development theory we have more poor people than ever before in the human history. The results on the ground has proved that the development theory has actual contributed a lot on to the othering process of the South by the North.

The question which remains unanswered is whether the global structure is serious in solving the poverty industry which is a direct result of colonisation. Colonisation created the poverty industry and the poverty industry is the one now perpetuating the othering process because poverty in the South is justifying the need for volunteers. The literature portray the North as if they have the solutions for the problems in the South and this will create an impression that the North is powerful and it can assisted the South at any given time (Roberts, 2004). But I will like to point out that in order to find the solutions in the South IVS projects should be people driven rather than market or agenda driven as it is like now and the industry should acknowledge that poverty is manmade and is a direct result of the colonisation process.

Most organisations in the North still pursue the colonial tendency of treating of dividing and ruling just like the colonisation process which divided people in the south based on tribe. A

good example is the equal partnership which is supposed to be a corner stone within the partner organizations are under the auspices of the CCIVS claims to be equal partners, but in actual fact these organisation are not equal at all some are more equal than others, because within the same movement organisations from the developed countries of the North have framed another family, which I can call a small family within a big family. The name of the small family is called Alliance Technical Meeting. Within this small family that is where some of the decision are crafted then taken to the CCIVS for approval. Issues such as the participation fee and other cross cutting issues are discussed within this small family. Since most of countries in the south do not have resources they cannot join this elite club. Decision made by the elite club will at the end of the day affect all the members within the CCIVS family which is supposed to be an equal partnership movement. Even through their lot of regional organisation under the CCIVS such as Southern Africa Workcamp Cooperation (SAWC), Eastern Africa Workcamp Association (EAWA) and Asian Voluntary Association. These regional organisations are poor, they hardly have an place of fixed aboard, they reply with partner members to offer them office space such as the Danish Association for international cooperation who provide funding for EAWA and SAWC for Administration

8.5 Making Poverty history through Education

Teaching is one of the practices which is very crucial for IVS programmes that deserve attention. Teaching is one of the most popular practices promoted by the industry and it remains as one of the uncontested event in the South (Griffits, 2004). The whole agenda of teaching in the south reinvents the old school of thought of the missionaries when they regard themselves as spreading Christian, Commerce and Civilization. (Roberts, 2004) A good example is of young people from USA, UK, Australia, and New Zealand as native English speakers travel around the World as English teachers in the name of voluntary services because of their fluency in the language as opposed to merits. This creates a very good opportunity for them to teach abroad earning a lifelong experience at the expense of the destination community because some of the volunteers will be not having the experience to teach. (Roberts, 2004) asserts that teaching in most countries is considered as a honourable role, and volunteering even more so an individual who facilitates the learning of an increasing essential global skills is discursively commendable

I will like to highlight that this practice perpetuates a cultural imperialism to encourage unqualified youth to travel while teaching their language to help people to shift from their

traditional ways of doing things to modernisation because of the pressure from the global systems that has influenced and ultimately dominated by colonial relations. The returned volunteers just like the colonisers and missionaries are praised at individual levels such as the legend missionary David Livingstone in some case are rewarded for their courage and desire to help. On top this they will project how the “Others” were willing to learn English. I would like to point out that this promotes the othering in the tourism landscape because the south is projected as if it is in dire need of the English teachers by going to that extend of employing people who do not have qualification to carry out the teaching practice.

Teaching programmes perpetuated by volunteer tourism are only one way to the South. I analysed literature of International volunteer organisation the dominate discourse of the teaching programmes are in South, no programmes of teaching was ever mentioned in the North. The lion shares of the teaching programmes were in South and few countries in Eastern Europe. Does this mean that people in the North are educated or people in the South are the ones who are uneducated and they should be educated. Why are there no teaching programmes in most of the volunteer programmes in Western Europe? Why is English so important ahead of all other languages around the world? This trend of teaching in the South encourages international volunteer tourism, which is not highly valued but criticised in its potential links to colonisation (Frean, 2006) the colonial attitude associated with teaching in the South is the focus of the programme. The focus is on the volunteer rather than the outcome of her/his teaching programmes in the South. If ones spend three to five weeks teaching in Tanzania for example then leave another volunteer comes on. The kids will be confused by the high turnover of the volunteers. But the volunteers will benefit at the expensive of the pupils. The whole notion is volunteer driven as compared to the needs driven hence promoting the South as other as well as the training ground for the middle class Europeans.

The teaching programmes are reinventing the memories of colonisation and the explorers, which were having a mandate to teach people in the South to be like the counterparts in the North. (Roberts 2004, Simpson, 2005 and Griffiths, 2004) The only different is during those darks years the approach was aggressive as compared to the present day where the approach is more liberal, But it is very critical to highlight that the goal and mission remains unchanged The West want to Modernise the South through transfer of knowledge and technology (as planned by President Truman in 1949 with his modernisation theory) and even

now the actors still remains the middle class who can afford to undertake the mission abroad, But of Late through the European Voluntary Services even the poor kids from Western European can also participate in the international voluntary projects in the South. European Union through European Voluntary programme is paying for the expenses of the poor young people in Europe. This will bring us to the drawing board that poor people are not only found in the South but they are found throughout the whole globe, it is only the level of poverty which differs. So the argument of othering the south as poor can be revisited because the European Union acknowledges that there is also poverty in the North. Poverty is a global phenomena found throughout the world. This will brings us to the correlations found between the present day travel patterns in the IVS and the grand tour, missionaries and explorers.

8.6 New version of Missionaries

The study of the International voluntary Services revealed that correlations can be found between the explorers, missionaries and colonisers with the present day volunteers' motivations. During the age of empire building led by Britain and most of countries in Western Europe some of the motivations were humanitarian, preaching and teaching (Griffits, 2004) .Even today these motivations are still the same: *“In my opinion it is only the players that who have changed, but the script remains unchanged, development and civilisation”* Now there is a paradigm shift from the churches and nation states to the NGOs. Volunteer Tourism as post modern reaction to mass tourism has resulted in another opportunity for members of the global North which is the dominant society to feel that they are participating in making poverty history as well as empowering countries and communities in the South, but in actual fact they will be perpetuating conventional relations of authority (Crewe and Harrison, 1998, Roberts, 2004). These conventional authorities have made the playing field of volunteer tourism to be complex. The complexity of the IVS brings the discussion to one of the most shared objective of international voluntary services which is cross cultural understanding.

A number of writers such as (Brown et al 2005, Butcher, 2005, Jones, 2004 and Lewis, 2004) have pointed out that volunteer tourism plays a critical part in the promotion of cross cultural understating as well as fighting prejudice and stereotyping. It is crucial to point out that international understanding cannot be achieved by looking on one side of the coin such as the present day scenario in the volunteer tourism. International understanding can be more people driven if it involves mutual exchange. Here I am not advocating for equal number in the

exchange but at least to put mechanisms which will promote the flow of volunteers from both the North and the South. This will enhance the whole spirit of promoting cross cultural understanding as well as the use of voluntary services in search of peace and global justice. It is on this positive note I will draw some concluding remarks of the study in the next chapter.

Chapter Nine

9.0 Conclusion

I was drawn to research on International voluntary services because I am interested in the “othering” aspect of volunteer tourism and I would like to contribute on the de othering process. In order to deconstruct the othering process I investigated various discourses associated with international voluntary services. I employed a multifaceted research strategy which includes textual analyses of various sources as well as images from a number of websites from both the South and the North.

This study has contributed to the board of tourism knowledge production by inventing the de othering concept which has the potential to challenge the present status quo as well as reserving the dominate discourse of IVS that the flow of volunteers is only one way (North to South). The de othering process has taken a critical stance by challenging this neo colonisation practice of IVS by raising awareness of the flow of volunteers from the South to the North. The de othering process through post colonial theory has deconstructed the Western thought that IVS is a western concept. The de othering process has confirmed that voluntarism is a global concept shared in most parts of the world by highlighting the grey areas such as the South-North exchange of volunteers. The de othering also gave the South voices from through focus groups discussion and my personal embodiment in this research.

This thesis has demonstrated that some sections of the international voluntary services contribute to the othering process in the tourism landscape. While of most of the Western cultures still reinforce their own culture as superior through viewing other cultures. Wearing, (Wearing, 2002 and (Duim et al, 2005).The investigation revealed that there is a flow of volunteers from the South to the North through the focus ground discussion held in Zimbabwe and reports of returned volunteers from the South. But due to several constraints the volume of volunteers is very small as compared to the volume of volunteers from the North to the South. Since the number of volunteers from the South to the North is very small it becomes less appealing for the gatekeepers in the North to carry out study from the South because the number is insignificant for them since they are used to deal with big volumes of volunteers from the North to the South .On the other hand volunteers from the South face a lot of constraints, if they want to volunteer in the North, such as the visa regime,

the disposable income in most countries in the South is very low as well as the general perception from the authorities in the North as cited in the focus group that people from the South if granted visa to enter western Europe they will not return to their country of docile. This notion is also reinforcing the notion of othering in this case it reflects as if because the south is poor and the volunteers from the south who will have managed to get out of this region will have managed to get out of the poverty cycle. Which is normally associated with the South, in some cases volunteers who participate in voluntary activities never returns to their home countries. But this cannot be used as a blanket ban for all denying genuine volunteers from the South to taste the deep international voluntary waters in the North. The dominate discourse is the one used to justify this blanket cover.

According to Aschroft et al (1989) one of the main features of imperial oppression is the control over language and text and in the tourism field English language has become a de facto official language. This has disadvantaged the voices from the South to penetrate the corridors of the traditional gatekeepers because most of the researches about volunteer tourism have a strong concentration in USA, Australian, European and New Zealand (Brown and Litho, 2005, McGhee, 2002, Campbell and Smith, 2006, Beerli, Diaz and Martin, 2002, Coghlan, 2006, Dolnicar and Randle, 2006, Simpson, 2004).

IVS operates under the laissez faire ideology where free competition is allowed based on supply and demand. Under the free economy the “othering” element of IVS sells that is why it has continued to be used by the industry to attract volunteers. Voluntary organisations around the world are attempting to recast themselves as people friendly. But it is very important point out that some of these organisations are pursuing their post colonial agenda plus the free market economy which relies heavily on marketing (Wearing, 2002). Without the othering element the sales in the voluntary sector will not be impressive as they are today. So the othering practice is a very critical element of the marketing mixture for the International voluntary sector across the geographical divide between the South and the North. The post colonial agenda has contributed a lot on the continued othering practice of the voluntary sector. The fact that the south is regarded as lost hope by the North justify the reason for the continued existence of the othering in the tourism landscape as well continuing sending volunteers.

At this juncture it critical to point out that, it is not possible to describe volunteer programmes as “job creation for the middle classes”, as the participants are unpaid. It may, however, be

possible to suggest that many volunteers travel to developing countries and gain valuable skills and experience which potentially increasing their employability and earning power once they return to their home countries. Thus, essentially recreating the imperial practice of exploiting the colonies for the benefit of the West. The experiences of volunteers, their perception of how their host community views their role and the way they use new found experience once they return to their home countries can provide valuable information regarding the establishment and continuation of Northern cultural hegemony in ex-colonial states. It is clear that both colonialism and volunteer placements articulate relationships between north and south and aim to establish or extend what has been defined in the Northern terms as 'modernity' or 'progress'. A post-colonial analysis of the experiences and perceptions of volunteers can significantly contribute to our present understanding of international voluntary service between the North and the south

Colonialism itself has been dismantled and criticized; however the constructed colonial gaze lingers on, influencing the way developing countries are perceived from a western perspective (Simpson, 2005). The colonial practices are still hunting the present day travel patterns of the middle class western volunteers. Most of the young volunteers are willing to move out of their comfort zone in Europe, but a good number of them are not prepared to venture into completely new situations. International voluntary services are one of the agents which is now used to promote the interests of the former colonial masters in the name of international cooperation and assistance. The travel patterns of most the volunteers still want to travel to their former colonies such as most of the volunteers from Britain are very comfortable to do their voluntary work in countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Ghana because the colonial link . Germany volunteers are very keen to do voluntary work in Namibia and Tanzania.

This study has also illustrated that International voluntary services operates within a field of power politics, uneven playing field between the North and the South. It also pointed out the travel patterns of the IVS is still rooted in the missionaries, explorers and colonisation models which were regarded as mission of mercy by the colonizers and the missionaries. Finally i will conclude this study on positive note by highlighting that International voluntary service provides ample opportunity for people to people encounters, promotes international understanding, encourage sharing and appreciation of cultures through acceptance of reality (Singh, 2004).

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