

‘DOING DEVELOPMENT’: THE GAP YEAR, VOLUNTEER-TOURISTS AND A POPULAR PRACTICE OF DEVELOPMENT

KATE SIMPSON*

University of Newcastle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK

Abstract: Over the last ten years the gap year has become a popular and publicly recognized phenomenon. One of the most visible forms of this phenomenon has been the emergence of ‘third world’ volunteer-tourism programmes, which seek to combine the hedonism of tourism with the altruism of development work. Such programmes make the practice of international development doable, knowable and accessible to young travellers. This paper seeks to critique the construction of this public face of development, while also asking, from a pedagogical perspective, what travelling participants learn about ‘the others’ they encounter on, and through, such programmes. Copyright © 2004 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

1 INTRODUCTION

Leaving home, packing one’s bags and ideas and setting out to explore ‘the other’, is a practice embedded in Britain’s past and is at least part of the inspiration behind ‘the gap year’. Over the last ten years the gap year has become a recognized, institutionalized and professionalized phenomenon (Simpson, 2003). Through taking a ‘gap year’ between school and university¹ young people can engage in a variety of work, travel and volunteer practices not previously available to them. While gap year activities cover a broad spectrum of possibilities, from the domestic to the international, from industrial work placements to the voluntary, I focus exclusively on international ‘third world’ volunteer projects. Furthermore, while volunteer-tourism is a diverse practice, in this paper I concentrate solely on short-term programmes (of generally less than six months) where the ‘volunteers’ are all aged between 18 and 20. Such projects receive an estimated 10,000 travelling participants every year (Interview, Year Out Group Employee, 20 September 2002), and have a pandemic geography. In the context of this paper I wish to explore the

*Correspondence to: K. Simpson, University of Newcastle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK.

E-mail: kate.simpson@newcastle.ac.uk

¹Gap years are becoming increasingly popularized as ‘career breaks’ and so the demographics of the gap year are expanding.

role gap year projects play in producing one type of public face of development. Indeed, it is through such projects that some British young people encounter development and are even encouraged to 'do' development. Consequently, gap year projects produce and reproduce particular notions of the 'third world', of 'other' and of 'development'.

The gap year industry includes a diverse range of organizations, which offer programmes structured in different ways. There are important divisions between commercial and charity organizations, and between those that offer group based projects or individual placements. It is the commercial sector that has grown most vigorously in recent years, and propelled the popular rise of the gap year; consequently it is this sector that I focus upon in the following discussion.

This paper is based on a combination of ethnographic work with gap year students² and an analysis of gap year marketing material. The students were all taking part in group based volunteer work with children, and all spent a minimum of three months in South America. In this paper I argue that the gap year produces a 'geography' (a construction of the world where there are simplistic boundaries between two places i.e. that of the north and south) that perpetuates a simplistic ideal of development. This ideal in turn legitimizes the validity of young unskilled international labour as a development 'solution'. The growing popularity of the gap year means that this 'face' of development is both highly visible and consumable. The paper will be structured into two sections. The first section will explore the ways development and the 'third world' are presented and 'sold' to gap year participants. The following section will question how these representations then shape the way participants experience the 'other' that they encounter through their gap year.

2 ENCOUNTERING DEVELOPMENT—LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION

Gap year projects create a publicly accepted 'mythology' of development. The notion of the 'third world' is highly important in the popularity of gap year programmes. Indeed, the very legitimacy of such programmes is rooted in a concept of a 'third world', where there is 'need', and where European young people have the ability, and right, to meet this need.

The dominant representations of destination countries offered by much of the gap year industry are based on simple dualisms and essentialized concepts of 'other'. Homogenous descriptions of groups of people and cultures are relied on to produce evocative and recognizable imagery. The three quotations below are taken from different gap year organizations and offer descriptions of Brazil, Paraguay and Bolivia respectively:

This tropical paradise ignites the Western imagination like no other South American country, and the people of Brazil delight visitors with their energy and joy (Travelers Worldwide, 2003).

Often chaotic and sometimes infuriating, it is a beautiful country where the people are unfailingly charming and welcome GAP volunteers into their homes (GAP Activity Projects, 2003).

²The names of the students interviewed have been changed to preserve anonymity.

With a generally shy and gracious population, Bolivia is one of the safest Latin American countries to visit (Travellers Worldwide, 2003).

All three quotations seek to summarize entire nations of people into simple pairs of descriptors, clearly intended to be recognizable to a western imagination, a point Travellers Worldwide makes directly. The need to create a simple 'geography', one that offers prescribed cultural experiences, and indicators of their successful consumption, in part defines the geography of the gap year. This approach to geographical construction is consistent with Said's *Orientalism*, a concept through which Said proposed Europe has created an 'oriental' space:

The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences (Said, 1978, p. 1).

In a similar manner, the gap year industry creates a space populated by the existence of consumable experiences of 'the other', which is the central commodity for sale, mainly through tourism (Kaur and Hutnyk, 1999). So, whether it is the 'energy and joy' in Brazil, the invitations into Paraguayan homes, or the 'shy graciousness' of Bolivians, a gap year traveller knows what to expect and how to consume the experience.

The 'geography' constructed by the gap year industry defines the places of operation, and also creates spaces of operation. That is, creates spaces where certain practices are not just possible but also legitimate. In effect, I argue, the gap year industry offers a highly simplistic understanding of development, one in which enthusiasm and good intentions are allowed to prevail. This simplicity is, in part, a response to the geography, or even the public face that the gap year industry presents itself as operating, a geography of homogenous peoples, a geography seemingly without history or politics.

3 DON'T MENTION THE 'D' WORD

This paper aims to explore the gap year industry's relationship with the theory and practice of development. However, in doing this there is an apparent paradox, for the language of (international) development is rarely used in gap year marketing and discussion. Searching through the websites and promotional material of various companies it is possible to find many allusions, but few direct references to 'development'.³ Rather, a language of 'making a difference', 'doing something worthwhile' or 'contributing to the future of others', predominates:

You can be proud to contribute towards a brighter future for the people of The Lubombo Conservancy (Quest Overseas, 2002, p. 7).

You will make a difference wherever you go (Teaching & Projects Abroad, 2001, p. 1).

... worthwhile and rewarding gap challenge placement (World Challenge Expeditions, 2001, p. 11).

³The language of development that is present in almost all these organizations is that of 'personal' development.

A further example is Coral Keys, a marine conservation organization that opens its website with a picture of a group of young people entitled 'the change makers'. This image is then accompanied with the claim that they, (the change makers) are:

Providing resources to help sustain livelihoods and alleviate poverty through the protection, restoration and management of coral reefs and tropical forests (Coral Keys, 2002).

The gap year organization i-to-i meanwhile asks:

Are you looking for a travel adventure with a purpose—one that gives you an experience beyond tourism and provides practical help to local communities? (i-to-i, 2002).

A statement that they add to with the slogan:

Develop people. Share cultures. Build futures (i-to-i, 2002).

Despite frequently mentioned 'developments' few organizations actually style themselves as specifically 'development' based. Rather, they emphasize a series of 'good intentions' as opposed to specific objectives or theoretical approaches. One notable exception to this is Student Partnership Worldwide (SPW), a charitable organization, who describe themselves thus:

SPW is a true development organization. We will not send you on an exotic holiday where you can also indulge in a little teaching, or environmental work. You will know that if you participate in one of our programmes **you will be helping to make a real difference**—not only for your CV, but for the people you are working with (Original emphasis, Student Partnership Worldwide, 2002).

SPW's forthright assertion acts to emphasise the omission of any direct statement about development from other organizations. For example, in comparison to SPW, Venture Co., a commercial gap year provider working in Latin America and India, asks:

Does the idea of travel to far off destinations appeal to you? How about the adventure of joining an expedition into the world's greatest mountain ranges? And I expect you'd like to help a disadvantaged community and acquire new skills while working on an aid project At the same time you're probably thinking about how your Gap Year will fit into the broader picture, will it be something to impress future employers and how will it look on your CV? (Venture Co., 2002, p. 1).

The different understandings of 'development' held by these two organizations are apparent in the different ways they present their volunteer projects. For Venture Co. their 'volunteer' project is a *part* of an over-all trip. So 'the project' is an activity comparable to trekking, but where the site to be viewed is a 'disadvantaged community', as opposed to a mountain range. For SPW the volunteer work *is* their project, and they make a clear jibe at would be 'CV' collectors.

By avoiding the language of 'development' many organizations may be trying to avoid the questioning of such an agenda. However, whether the language of development is used or not, the agenda is there, thinly disguised in notions of 'disadvantaged communities' (Venture Co., 2002, p. 1) 'change makers' (Coral Keys, 2002) 'poverty, disease, hunger and monotony' (Gap-Year.com, 2002), or in the names of organizations such as 'Changing

Worlds'. Consequently, questions need to be asked about just how, and to what ends, development is being mobilised by these organizations.

4 GETTING ON WITH IT ...

The language of development may be sparsely used within the gap year industry, but the industry mobilizes its own distinct brand of development discourse. The first point to make about this discourse is the way 'development' is seen as something that can be 'done', and specifically, by non-skilled, but enthusiastic, volunteer-tourists. The gap year industry offers a view that encourages a perception of development as a simple matter, and one that should be just 'got on with':

We provide the materials and get on with it, alongside local people (Teaching & Projects Abroad, 2001, p. 6).

There is little evidence of strategic project planning within many gap year organizations. The dominant ideology is that doing something is better than doing nothing, and therefore, that doing anything, is reasonable. A particular type of 'development' activity is targeted, where the emphasis is on end products, such as 'teach the child', 'conserve the forest', 'build the bridge' (clinic, well, library etc). Questions around long-term strategy, along with questions on the appropriateness and impact of volunteers, appear to be missing from the majority of gap year programmes.

The 'get on with it' attitude fits with a presumption of westernization as a part of the development process. The people enticed 'to get on with it' and assumed to have the skills to do so, are western volunteer-tourists. Development as westernization is inherently linked to modernization models of development and emphasizes a universal 'journey of development' (Sutcliffe, 1999), premised on the universality of not only western economics, but also western social and cultural value systems (Hoselitz, 1952; Narman, 1999). Western volunteer-tourists can then be seen as 'modelling' a way of living, a lifestyle of cultural and material values.

The use of volunteer-tourists as the primary or only resource establishes an 'externalization' of development. That is, that the impetus for change and hence development is based *outside* of stakeholder communities. Like westernization, this is a conceptualization of development that, although assumed for many decades, has come under increasing criticism (Gardener, 1997; Cooke and Kothari, 2001), especially in the light of participatory approaches towards development. Indeed, the mantra of participation has come to dominate development policy and practice, from that of the World Bank to local NGOs (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). By comparison however, gap year organizations remain rooted in an essentially externalised conception of development. This model is based on the assumed value of the enthusiastic western volunteer, who becomes the central, and even only, agent of development. In this sense 'active' participation is perceived as predominantly limited to the external, visiting volunteer, rather than being a local prerogative.

5 IN 'NEED' OF DEVELOPMENT

Mongolia, a land of desert and mountains with a culture older than Genghis Khan, needs you! (Teaching & Projects Abroad, 2003, p. 18).

A key concept, championed within the rationale of gap year projects, is that of 'need'. This concept is treated in a highly uncritical way and forms part of the industry's over simplification of 'development'. Such an argument is not intended to trivialize the genuine needs of many of the communities where gap year projects operate. Rather, it questions how thoroughly such needs are identified, and how well they are met by the short term, non-specific skilled volunteers that form the bulk of the workforce on gap year projects.

Throughout gap year literature and publicity there are multiple references to the 'usefulness' of volunteers, and how they will be 'needed' by the communities or environments in which they work. The quotation above, from Teaching & Projects Abroad, promises 'a culture older than Genghis Kahn needs you!' (Teaching & Projects Abroad, 2003, p. 18). This statement, made seemingly without irony, implies that Mongolia is crumbling for want of a few British teenagers. Meanwhile Venture Co. is keen to stress that:

We have carefully selected the projects that present the opportunity for you to be of genuine value to an indigenous community and to give something back (Venture Co., 2002).

A point that Student Partnership Worldwide (SPW) similarly makes with their promise that:

SPW will not send you where you are not needed. You will not be doing a job that a local could do better than you (Student Partnership Worldwide, 2002).

Whatever 'genuine value', or 'needs' participants will meet, are never spelt out. Indeed, there is a vagueness that permeates the entire industry, and reflects the entire approach taken towards development work. Centrally, what is being promoted, and at times even created, is a 'geography of need'. That is, a series of communities that have *needs* that can best, or only, be met by gap year volunteers. It is such a geography that is able to legitimate statements such as the one below:

It's (*overseas volunteer work*) a great way to soak yourself in another culture; you may find yourself working with people who know only poverty, disease, hunger and monotony (Gap-Year.com, 2002).

In this quotation, the gap-year.com, which acts to promote a broad range of gap years, advertises the possibility to visit places of 'poverty, disease, hunger and monotony'. There is a presumption of 'otherness' here, in the presentation that the above will be that of 'another culture'. Volunteers are therefore able to transgress in search of this 'needy' other. The 'third world' spaces of the gap year industry become defined by needs, which are described in terms that make them simple, predominantly requiring the labour and enthusiasm of non-skilled volunteers.

In this section I have argued that although the language of development may be consciously avoided by the gap year industry, the 'good' intentions are not. A clear mandate of 'change', of 'worthwhile contributions', and a view on the future of others, is highly evident across the industry. Such an approach, and such language, illustrate the gap year industry's understanding of development as a simplistic process, one demanding primarily enthusiasm and labour. Consequently, the industry aligns itself within modernist and westernization development models, encouraging the 'third world' to follow the west's example, and offering volunteers to set that example.

6 DOING, AND KNOWING DEVELOPMENT

The ways in which the gap year industry packages and publicizes the 'doing of development' has implications for the experiences that gap year students have. Through this second section I wish to briefly discuss gap year students' knowledge of development, about the 'others' they encounter, and about the 'third world' that gap year participants are producing through their experiences. Centrally, I argue that participants are reproducing a sense of distance and separation from 'other', where a discourse of 'luck' is allowed to substitute one of justice or equity. In response to this, and in the form of some concluding comments, I argue that questions of social justice need to be asked of the practices of the gap year.

7 CONSTRUCTING AND KNOWING POVERTY

Engaging in travel to, and volunteer work within, the 'developing world' is inherently linked to perceptions and even encounters with 'poverty'. As was argued in the previous section, the gap year industry mobilizes a very particular representation of the 'developing world'; one tied to bleak notions of 'people who know only poverty, disease, monotony and hunger' (Gap-Year.com, 2002). Consequently, gap year participants can often be found on a peculiar quest to observe and even interact with the phenomenon of 'poverty'. The critique offered here asks how they understand that poverty when it is finally found.

The public message of the gap year industry constructs 'poverty' as absolute, and as something suffered by the foreign other. In apparent agreement with the industry, the gap year participants interviewed represented poverty as something that defined difference between the developed and the developing world. In the conversation below between Liberty and Paula, both nineteen-year-old gap year students who had been travelling and volunteering in Peru and Bolivia, Paula identifies two people experiencing 'poverty':

Paula In England you have so much support and stuff, from charities and stuff.

Liberty We do.

Paula I mean if you are like homeless and stuff and you go and plug into a charity and stuff and you really make the effort to pick yourself up and get yourself off the streets and get yourself a job, I think there is quite a lot of scope and potential for doing quite well. Whereas here you are... like that little kid in Rurrenabaque (*Bolivia*) who was working in that restaurant where there were the amazing pancakes with banana and honey, by the river, he is going to be doing that for a long time. He is probably not even going to school, it is so narrow.

The discussion above demonstrates how poverty is given differential validity between places. The point here is how 'difference' between places and people is emphasized, at the expense of shared or structural experiences.

In the discussion below two gap year students debate the relevance of poverty in the UK. Unusually one of the students defends the existence of 'real' poverty within the UK:

Barney Even the poorest people in England look rich compared to some of the people we have been working with.

Dave Yes and no, you get some real poverty in parts of Britain.

Barney Poverty, but not in comparison to here.

Dave I don't know, you do get people who don't eat enough and stuff like that.

Barney But there are institutions set up in Britain to deal with that stuff.

Once again, as in the first quotation, rather than finding commonality between the developed and developing worlds, students are emphasizing difference and establishing a dichotomy of 'them and us'. Poverty is allowed to become a definer of difference, rather than an experience shared by people marginalized by resource distribution. Poverty becomes an issue for 'out there', which can be passively gazed upon, rather than actively interacted with.

Experiences and rhetoric are powerful precisely because they are not passive, that is they inform practice. Within the gap year the tale of 'poor-but-happy' is one reproduced by both the industry and participants alike:

It's a poor country, but rich in scenic splendour and cultural treasures (Travellers Worldwide, 2003).

In part, what is implied in such statements is a trivialization of poverty, that somehow people do not really mind living in poverty. In effect, poverty is romanticized into an equation where material deprivation equates to social and or emotional wealth (Nederveen-Pieterse, 2000). Paradoxically, experiences of encountering issues such as 'poverty', often provided evidence for its justification. In the following quote Sarah, after a month in San Gabriel, Lima, Peru, comments both on the material status and the perceptions of local residents:

Sarah The people here, because they don't have so much, for us we expect a lot, but here they don't have TV's but it doesn't bother them because they don't expect one, I think they are a lot more grateful for what they get, like we take for granted we have nice houses, carpets, TVs, lights, loos, kitchens, clean food . . . oh please take me home!

This statement is factually dubious, as many people in San Gabriel do in fact have televisions. More interesting however is the basis upon which she asserts that people 'don't mind' not having televisions. Without discussing this with local people, and there was no evidence that she had, she is left merely asserting the assumptions she arrived in Peru with, only now with the added authority of 'experience'. The limited critical engagement within gap year projects means that students are able to confirm, rather than challenge, that which they already know. Hence the rhetoric of 'poor-but-happy' can be turned into an experience of 'poor-but-happy', presenting few questions about the nature of, or reasons for, poverty. This in turn allows material inequality to be excused, and even justified, on the bases that 'it doesn't bother them'.

Material conditions may also be explained through the language of culture. By suggesting that people 'do not mind' being poor, or that happiness is a greater wealth than material conditions, a system of inequality becomes justified:

By throwing the cloak of culture over material relationships, as if one had little to do with the other, such a focus diverts criticism of capitalism and Euro-centric ideology and provides an alibi for the inequality, exploitation, and oppression in their modern guises (Mohan, 2001, p. 159).

Gap year programmes are infused with a language of cultural difference. However, they risk teaching that all difference is explained through 'culture'. For, without critical engagement, without the search for commonality as well as difference and with an apolitical language, a discourse based on cultural 'explanations' becomes dominant. Within such a discourse culture becomes the only possible explanation, and one in which questions of material inequality can be ignored under the panacea-justifying cloak of 'culture'.

8 LEARNING TO BE LUCKY

With limited critical engagement in their experiences, gap year students appear reliant on an ideal of 'luck' to explain the inequalities and differences that they encountered. Students regularly commented on how their experiences in Peru made them feel 'lucky', a sentiment expressed in the following conversation:

Barney It makes you feel, how can I say it? Aware of how lucky you are.

Dave I don't feel guilty. You feel lucky in a way to have this kind of thing, you feel fortunate that you are not in the same position as them to a certain extent. But it's, I mean if they were in our position they would be exactly the same so I don't think it is a guilty thing so much I just think it is luck really.

In effect, their experiences of radically different standards and conditions of living are leading students to reflect on their own lives, and recognize their own fortunes. While such reflexivity is interesting, it is also important to question its focus. Namely, students are concentrating on their own position, rather than that of others, and, further, are able to ascribe some form of 'lotto logic' (Quinby, 2002) to the disparities that they observe. 'Lotto logic' is allowed to replace discussions on inequality and oppression. Gross material differences can then be explained through a fatalistic faith in the 'luck of the draw', rather than in structures and systems in which we all participate, and which are, ultimately, open to change. Learning that living conditions and life are products of a randomized process of luck, sets particular parameters for social justice, wherein wealth and poverty are not part of the same process, but attributed independently of one another:

A 'lotto logic' of social justice [...] elevates the luck of the draw regardless of whether one is born lucky or buys the right ticket. On this view, avarice is not regarded as a vice—no one is injured when a winner hits the jackpot (Quinby, 2002, p. 236).

In such a system, constructing a socially just world through action becomes a peripheral issue to the simple question of luck. Social responsibility then is allowed to languish in favour of an optimistic belief in the justice of fate. As long as gap year projects fail to engage in the structural relationships between communities of the developed and developing world, they retain their myopic concentration on the individual. So that, rather than concentrating on mechanisms for increased global understanding or greater engagement between communities, they focus on individual advancement. The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire strongly critiqued education that offered only individual advancement at the expense of collective transformation,

and further saw such education as compounding structural inequalities (Aronowitz, 1993; Heaney, 2001). While Freire's critique existed well before the gap year, his analysis is apt. For it questions the presumption that travel to and encounter with 'others' will be sufficient to generate structural changes and engender cross-community understanding.

9 DESPERATELY SEEKING SOCIAL JUSTICE?

In the form of some final concluding comments I wish to propose that what the gap year experience is lacking is a pedagogy for social justice. Currently, the gap year industry promotes an image of a 'third world other' that is dominated by simplistic binaries of 'us and them', and is expressed through essentialist clichés, where the public face of development is one dominated by the value of western 'good intentions'. Consequently, and perhaps unsurprisingly, these 'public faces' become the frameworks for the experiences of gap year participants. So, participants are able to visit a world in which 'luck' explains inequality, in which change will come through the interventions of outsiders, and where there are few shared experiences between people. Most significantly, there are limited stimulants or frameworks for asking *why* there are global differences, or *how* people's lives in different places intersect. A pedagogy of social justice would seek to bring such critical engagement to gap year experiences.

Social justice, in the simplest of definitions, means recognizing the existence of inequality, and then seeking social change (Bell, 1997; Crabtree, 1998; Wade, 2000). International gap year projects operate in a context of inequality. The processes that allow young westerners to access the financial resources, and moral imperatives, necessary to travel and volunteer in a 'third world country', are the same as the ones that make the reverse process almost impossible. Similarly, the colonial legacy that provides a historical context and an inspiration for modern gap year projects, also carries with it issues of power. Furthermore, the globalizing language of culture, especially when combined with a colonial history, acts as a vehicle of imperialism, which at the very least needs critical engagement (Bell, 1997).

Despite blatant economic and historical conditioning, the gap year industry largely attempts to maintain its right to operate in a 'neutral' environment, one seemingly without history. Such neutrality disguises, rather than mitigates, the inequalities within the gap year. For, as Freire argued, any educational system or process that ignores issues of prejudice and oppression, becomes complicit with them (Heaney, 2001). Consequently, I argue the debate here is not around whether or not the gap year *should* engage with considerations of social justice, but rather how it intends to engage with these issues. A question I answer with the call for a pedagogy of social justice, through which the cultural, social, economic and political positioning of gap year projects can be made visible and engaged with.

The gap year industry promotes a particular public face of development, a face which in turn informs the experiences of travelling participants. Currently this 'public face of development' comprises simplistic, consumable and ultimately 'do-able' notions of development. Critically engaging with this 'face' necessitates asking participants to engage with their own experiences of 'others'. Without employing a social justice approach, issues of inequality will remain substituted by questions of luck, and complexity and diversity replaced with binaries of 'us and them'.

REFERENCES

- Aronowitz S. 1993. Freire's radical democratic humanism. In *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, McLaren P, Leonard P (eds). Routledge: London.
- Bell LA. 1997. Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*, Adams M, Bell LA, Griffin P (eds). Routledge: London.
- Cooke B, Kothari U (eds). 2001. *Participation: The New Tyranny*. Zed Books: New York.
- Coral Keys. 2002. homepage (<http://www.coralcay.org/>), [25 October 2002].
- Corbridge S (ed.). 1995. *Development Studies: A Reader*. Edward Arnold: London.
- Crabtree RD. 1998. Mutual empowerment in cross-cultural participatory development and service learning: lessons in communication and social justice in El Salvador and Nicaragua. *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 2: 182–209.
- GAP Activity Projects. 2003. Country overview GAP Activity Projects (<http://www.gap.org.uk/uwhere/uwhere.html>), [18 October 2003].
- Gap-Year.com. 2002. Volunteer abroad (<http://www.gap-year.com/volunteeringabroad.asp>), [30 April 2003].
- Gardener K. 1997. Mixed messages: contested 'development' and the 'plantation rehabilitation project'. In *Discourses of Development: Anthropological Perspectives*, Grillo RD, Stirrat RL (eds). Berg: Oxford.
- Heaney T. 2001. Issues in Freirean pedagogy *Thresholds in Education* (<http://www.ml.edu/ace/Resources/Documents/FreireIssues.html>), [6 October 2001].
- Hoselitz BF. 1952. Non-economic barriers to economic development. In *Development Studies Reader*, Corbridge S (ed.). Edward Arnold: London.
- i-to-i. 2002. home page (<http://www.i-to-i.com/home.asp?pg=1&hier=1>), [20 October 2002].
- Kaur R, Hutnyk J (eds). 1999. *Travel Worlds: Journeys in Contemporary Cultural Politics*, Corbridge S (ed.). Zed Books: London.
- Mohan G. 2001. Beyond participation: strategies for deeper empowerment. In *Participation: The New Tyranny*, Cooke B, Kothari U (eds). Zed Books: New York.
- Narman A. 1999. Getting toward the beginning of the end for traditional development aid: major trends in development thinking and its practical application over the last fifty years. In *Development as Theory and Practice: Current Perspectives on Development and Development Co-operation*, Simon D, Narman A (eds). Longman: Essex.
- Nederveen-Pieterse J. 2000. After post-development. *Third World Quarterly* 21(2): 175–191.
- Quest Overseas. 2002. *An Assault on the Senses*. London: Quest Overseas.
- Quinby L. 2002. Just Discourse: the limits of truth for the discourse of social justice. *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies* 24: 235–249.
- Said E. 1978. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Penguin: London.
- Simpson K. 2003. *Dropping Out or Signing Up? The Professionalisation of Youth Travel*. Association of American Geographers: New Orleans, Unpublished.
- Student Partnership Worldwide. 2002. Why SPW? (<http://www.spw.org/whyspw.htm>), [4 November 2002].
- Sutcliffe B. 1999. The place of development in theories of imperialism and globalisation. In *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm*, Munck R, O'Hearn D (eds). Zed Books: New York.
- Teaching & Projects Abroad. 2001. *Teaching & Projects Abroad*. West Sussex: Teaching & Projects Abroad.
- Teaching & Projects Abroad. 2003. *Teaching & Projects Abroad*. West Sussex: Teaching & Projects Abroad.

- Travellers Worldwide. 2003. *Brazil Travellers Worldwide* (<http://www.travellersworldwide.com/12-brazil/12-brazil-about.htm>), [18 October 2003].
- Travellers Worldwide. 2003. *Make A Difference*.
- Venture Co. 2002. Ventures, choose your venture, Inca venture (<http://www.ventureco-worldwide.com/inca.htm>), [30 October 2002].
- Venture Co. 2002. *Where on Earth are You Going to Go During Your Gap Year?* Venture Co: Warwick.
- Wade RC. 2000. Beyond charity: service learning for social justice. *Social Studies and the Young Learner* **12**(4): 6–9.
- World Challenge Expeditions. 2001. *Journeys of a Lifetime*. World Challenge Expeditions.