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The Colonial Legacies of Internship Programs in International Development

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A Qualitative Case Study of Local Staff's Experiences in Uganda

Author: Martina Frappa

Supervisor: Sara Gabrielsson, PhD

Abstract

Although extensively advertised as a positive practice that enhances students' intercultural competencies, internship programs have been increasingly criticised for reinforcing simplistic understandings of global development. Often involving students from the Global North engaging in placements with development organisations and institutions in the Global South, these programs perpetuate dynamics of systematic inequality rooted in colonial legacies. In this qualitative case study this phenomenon is explored based on semi-structured interviews with local development practitioners in Uganda. Findings highlight extensive elements of white saviourism among respondents' experiences when working with international interns: issues of power imbalance within the workplace as well as interns' tendency to operate with a condescending attitude of superiority towards local staff emerged. The study argues that increasing students' awareness about their positionality and privilege constitutes an essential strategy towards the decolonisation of development education.

Keywords: internship, international development, white saviour, decolonisation, privilege-awareness

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1. INTRODUCTION

International internship programs[1] are an increasingly common experience and often mandatory component of higher education curricula (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). In the field of international development education, testament to the internationalisation of university studies, these programs are defined as formative work experiences where students receive university credits for unpaid short-term placements (lasting usually three to six months) with non-profit organisations (NGOs), development institutions or agencies across the globe (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013). Although prominently described as enriching experiences that can enhance students' personal, academic, and professional growth, these programs have been under increased scrutiny and subject to extensive criticism in recent years for reproducing colonial power dynamics (Villarreal Sosa and Lesniewski, 2021). Research shows uneven flows of international students between Global North and Global South institutions: while a large number of students from academic institutions in the Global North is reported to engage in short-term internship experiences in development organisations in the Global South, students from the Global South tend to pursue full degrees programs in the Global North and very seldomly engage in short-term internship placements (Waters, 2012; Igarashi and Saito, 2014).[2]

Scholars argue that this patter is symptomatic of centre-periphery relationships rooted in colonial power dynamics: international internship programs have been criticised to perpetuate neocolonial power structures with people and organisations in the Global South being used for the benefit of individuals in the Global North (Pailey, 2020; Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). While widely advertised as incredibly beneficial and enriching experiences for the students, an often overlooked component of internship programs are the impacts that

[1] Hereafter also referred to as 'internship programs', 'student internship programs', 'internship placements', and 'internships experiences'.

[2] In this study, the terms Global North and Global South will be used to broadly describe the socio-economic divide (rather than the geographical one) between former colonialist and formerly colonised countries (Mitlin and Satterwaite, 2013; Moyd, 2016). The researcher is aware that this language reflects an inaccurate representation of world economies, perpetuating simplistic and Eurocentric binaries that do not take into consideration the complex socio-economic and political factors that characterise each country (Kothari, 2019). However, the terms were chosen over their most common counterparts (First/Third world, developed/developing countries, high-income/ low-income) which imply a direct element of inferiority (Pailey, 2020; Wilcox, 2021).

such programs have on hosting organisations[3] and local institutions in the Global South (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013). To date, only a very limited body of research has attempted to address how to disrupt internship programs' colonial legacies (Cornwall, 2020; Villarreal Sosa and Lesniewski, 2021; Nadarajah *et al.*, 2022). Moreover, a large number of these studies have primarily focused on the interns themselves, largely excluding the perspectives of local staff[4] in hosting organisations (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). Local practitioners' opinions and experiences are thus often overlooked and under-reported, especially in programs evaluations (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013). In light of the above, the focus of this study is to explore the viewpoints of local staff members in the development sector who receive international interns.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to explore and critically discuss the opinions and experiences of local development staff in Uganda who host international development interns to discern ways to contribute to the disruption of this programs' colonial legacies.

To do so, the study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1- What do local development staff identify as the key advantages and disadvantages of receiving interns enrolled in international development education programs?

2- How can existing programs be reformed to ensure that they do not reproduce colonial power dynamics?

This paper has limited itself to exploring this research problem as a case study in relation to the development sector of Uganda. However, its conclusions may be considered of relevance for the study of the subject matter among other international development contexts. Moreover, the study solely focuses on existing programs in which sending academic institutions in the Global North are exclusively responsible for the program design and recruitment process of students interning in development organisations in the Global South.

[3] Hereafter also referred to as 'receiving organisations', and 'local organisations'.
[4] Hereafter also referred to as 'national staff', 'local/national practitioners', and 'local development staff'.

1.2 Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 (Contextual Background,) presents an overview of the Ugandan development sector and the reasons for being chosen as a research location for this study. Chapter 3 (Literature Review) outlines the existing literature on the subject matter. Chapter 4 (Conceptual Framework) introduces the theoretical concepts used to support this study's findings. Chapter 5 (Methodological Framework) provides a description of the applied research methodology. Chapter 6 (Results and Discussion) presents this study's findings and discusses them in relation to the previously outlined conceptual framework. Finally, Chapter 7 (Conclusion) delineates a conclusive summary of the findings of this study.

2. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

This case study is set in the context of the East Africa country of Uganda, which was chosen due to three primary factors.

First, Uganda constitutes one of the most popular development interventions scenes in Africa, presenting a very rich history linked to NGOs' activities, resources and governance (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2003; Namara, 2009). In Uganda, the NGO sector has consistently grown since the 1980s, when, after years of political turmoil and the overall collapse of its government institutions, numerous charity and volunteer service organisations started developing across the country to meet the needs of the extensive majority of the population living in poverty (National Bureau for NGOs Uganda, 2023). This subsequentially attracted several external development actors, such as international NGOs, bilateral donors, international development agencies and funding institutions. Eventually, the Ugandan Government established The National Bureau for NGOs of Ministry of Internal Affairs as the government body that officially regulates and coordinates NGO activities in Uganda, ranging from their registration, operations and overall monitoring. More recently, although the Ugandan government has been intensifying its efforts to regulate the framework within which NGOs operate in the country, the government still heavily relies on collaborations with the NGO sector to accomplish a wide variety of its welfare and development objectives (Barr, Fafchamps and Owens, 2005; Girei, 2017). Today, according to the most updated National NGO Register (UNNR) more than 2,100 NGO are officially reported to be operating in the territory of Uganda (National Bureau for NGOs Uganda, 2023). Second, Uganda constitutes one of the prime development research sites on the African continent (Ali and Elbadawy, 2021). Due to its colonial history, the most used languages in African research publications are French and English. Out of these, Uganda utilizes the latter not only for research but as its official national language, making it an easy and accessible territory to conduct research projects in (Country Watch, 2021). Consequently, Uganda results as one of the top 10 African countries producing research publications, presenting a particularly flourishing setting for organisations focusing on Research and Evaluation operations (Fosci *et al.*, 2019). Third, the author has lived and worked in the development sector of Uganda herself, all of which makes it a suitable country for this study.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 The 'anticipated' benefits of international internship programs from the Global North perspective

Previous literature often incorporates international development's internship programs as part of the body of research that analyses study tours, academic volunteering experiences, and study abroad programs (Butcher and Smith, 2015; Bandyopadhyay, 2019; Nadarajah *et al.*, 2022). With the increased internationalisation of higher education, more and more students in the Global North take part in what literature tends to define as study tours: short-term unpaid educational experiences that students take outside their home country as part of universities' undergraduate or postgraduate curricula (Jackson and Oguro, 2018). In development studies, one of the most common forms of study tour are international internships or 'service learning' experiences with NGOs. With a time-length ranging from just a few weeks to up to 6 months, international internships placements provide students with practical work experience in a developing country in exchange for formative credits (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). Often grounded on the assumption of enriching students' intercultural competences, professional skills, and, overall, global mindedness, an extensive body of research on internship programs heavily focuses on student perspectives and on the benefits that they will gain from engaging in such experiences (Nordmeyer, Bedera and Teig, 2016; Jackson and Oguro, 2018).

In this regard, several scholars contend that extensive attention should be put on creating a valuable, enriching experience for students via planning internship programs that will maximize their learning outcomes (Critchley *et al.*, 2009; Ware and Winters-Moorhead, 2009; Lynn, 2010). For instance, Lisa Gates (2014) refers to internships and other educational short-term international experiences in the Global South as one of the most resourceful and effective methods to enhance USA college graduates' careers in an increasingly globalised world. The author stresses that students who engage in such experiences should try to "extract the maximum benefit for their own education and path to a meaningful and productive career" (Gates, 2014, p. 39). Moreover, Nadarajah et al. (2022) also describe internships in developing countries as cultural immersion experiences able to provide students with practical, social, and technical skills, as well as potential networking opportunities that will launch their career. In summary, the narrative surrounding internship programs in development education is heavily

focused on students' benefits in engaging in such experiences: participants are encouraged to take part in an internship placement with the promise of enriching their intercultural skills, professional competences, and personal growth (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013).

3.2 Growing critique of international internship programs

International internship programs are increasingly being criticised by development scholars due to their tendency to reproduce neocolonial power dynamics (Simpson, 2004; Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). Research reports uneven flows of international students across the globe engaging in internship programs (Davies *et al.*, 2018). While individuals from the Global South tend to relocate to the Global North to complete full degree programs, a much more extensive number of students from Global North universities are reported to take part in short-term internship placements in the Global South (Waters, 2012; Igarashi and Saito, 2014; Jackson and Oguro, 2018). This uneven flow raises questions among scholars of whether this dynamic perpetuates the logic of colonialism, e.g. where Global South communities are used for the benefit of individuals in the Global North. Moreover, internship programs discourses put a heavy focus on advancing students' careers rather than positively impacting the host communities where the placement occurs (Diprose, 2012; Waters, 2012; Mcgloin and Georgeou, 2016). On this subject, Simpson (2004) notes how sometimes the language used to describe intern-receiving organisations reproduces simplistic understanding of Global South communities: incoming students seem to be required to come equipped of enthusiasm and good intensions rather than relevant skills and qualifications, perpetuating the notion of an 'underdeveloped south' in need of help. In this regard, the argument has been presented that this discourse preserves an erroneous oversimplification of global development, fuelling the notion that labour from the Global North could be the key to solving the development conundrum in the Global South (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). In summary, via perpetuating neocolonial patterns, internship programs have been criticised for ultimately reinforcing "colonial notions of knowledge that privilege Western perspectives and models" (Villarreal Sosa and Lesniewski, 2021, p. 719).

3.3 A missing point of view: hosting organisations' perspectives

On the other hand, an often overlooked and underreported point of view in research is the perspective of receiving organisations who host international interns (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). With an overwhelming majority of research focusing on student's benefits and advantages in engaging in internship programs, little attention seems to be paid on what hosting organisations think.

Gilbertson et al. (2021) discusses this lack of research and attempts to explore possible solutions to the issue. In order to improve the overall structure and outcomes of internship programs, a key structural change suggested by the authors refers to increasing students' positionality and privilege awareness when embarking in an internship experience with an NGO in the Global South. Internship programs "need to be designed to encourage students to reject the idea that unqualified young people from the Global North are able to contribute to development in superior ways to locals" (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021, p. 579). For this reason, the authors stress how exposing students to critiques of development prior to the beginning of their internship should be an integral part of internship program curricula. This recommendation is also shared by Djohari (2011) and Simpson (2004), who discuss the importance of preparing students with an adequate understanding of development critique before engaging in an internship experience in the Global South.

Moreover, another key consideration that emerges in literature focuses on raising local organisations decisional power and integral participation not only in designing internship programs but also in the participants selection process (Namara, 2009; Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Villarreal Sosa and Lesniewski, 2021). Existing literature reports how hosting organisations' agency is often eclipsed in favour of sending institutions' decisional power, forcing local organisations into a position of passive recipients with little to no decision-making authority (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Davies *et al.*, 2018). In this regard, in order to facilitate a shift in power dynamics, scholars suggest the use of different, more inclusive forms of development while designing and implementing such programs. In recent decades, one of the most common forms adopted to enable agency in local organisation, and facilitate the creation of mutually beneficial partnerships, has been defined as 'participatory development' (Mohan, 2002; Davies *et al.*, 2018). Thus, in addition to encouraging student to critically reflect on the history of development, their own privilege and the role they will play during their internship, scholars suggest that internship programs should be designed "according to the principles of

participatory development such that local organisations have the agency to ensure that students' work contributes to local goals" (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021, p. 579). In light of this, Ouma and Dimaras (2013) stress the importance of including mutual benefit at the very core of internship programs' designs, with equal contributions from both sending and receiving organisations.

In summary, previous literature stresses the need for a critical structural change of internship programs. While some scholars propose raising students' privilege awareness prior to their experience as a possible approach, other academics stress the need to extensively increase hosting organisations agency in matters of program design and participants recruitment. To ensure mutual benefit of both parties involved, mutual purpose must be at the core of internship programs, with hosting organisations being actively involved in programs design and students selection processes (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Cornwall, 2020; Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021).

4. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter outlines the conceptual framework used in this research. The findings of this study will be analysed in relation to two main theoretical concepts: the White Saviour Complex and current approaches towards the decolonization of development education.

4.1 White Saviour Complex

The White Saviour Complex (WSC) is defined as a set of social relations between two groups of individuals: the self-serving, condescending 'privileged' people from the Global North who wish to provide help, and the powerless, poverty-stricken 'underprivileged' Others in the Global South who are receiving such help (Cowden, 2020). Subjected to extensive criticism, the concept originated in relation to the increasing phenomenon of volunteer tourism in which white individuals engage in short-term self-serving volunteering experiences in the Global South to provide unrequested assistance to local populations (Wilcox, 2021). The concept later reached global resonance when the Nigerian-American photographer and novelist Teju Cole wrote a set of seven tweets where he criticized current white hegemonic practices across the globe that promote systematic inequality and coined the term "White Saviour Industrial Complex" (WSIC) to address the phenomenon (Gómez, 2021). In a follow-up article in *The Atlantic*, Cole (2012) later addressed white saviourism by condemning practices such as volunteer tourism and celebrities' aid campaigns that see white privileged people receiving attention and praises for their efforts in helping marginalised Others across the globe. In this regard, the terms whiteness and white privilege are broadly defined as "the way in which white people benefit from a racist society [via obtaining] unjustified advantages that are based solely on white skin color" (Bandyopadhyay, 2019, p. 329). However, within the context of this study, the two terms are not used to address specifically only white people who offer help to non-whites, but rather to describe those individuals that use their privileged positions of socio-economic advantage to reinforce a system of oppression and inequality (Yu, 2021). In this regard, the WSC can be understood from a dual perspective. On one hand, at an individual level, the WSC acts as a mindset that encourages privileged people to act as saviours of those perceived as incapable of self-autonomy. On the other hand, inserted into a broader narrative of neocolonial power structures, the WSC is used to describe a "confluence of practices, processes, and institutions that rectify historical inequities to ultimately validate white

privilege." (Yu, 2021, p. 1). In this sense, the ramification of the WSC can be seen through a wide range of domains, from media, politics, and volunteer tourism, to academia, study abroad and internship programs (Yu, 2021). In view of this, some scholars define the WSC as a modern "continuation of colonialism" (Willuweit, 2020, p. 3), where people from the Global North practice 'civilising' actions in the Global South, and ultimately reproduce a system of global inequalities, reinforcing an idea of a superior North and an inferior South in need of assistance (Nordmeyer, Bedera and Teig, 2016; Anderson, Knee and Mowatt, 2021).

There are three key components that define the WSC: a) a superior white subject; b) a condescending saving action; and c) an inferior individual object in need of saving (Yu, 2021). Characterised by strong condescending attitudes and feelings of sympathy, white saviours enact self-serving actions of help towards the underprivileged to claim a status of moral and socio-economic superiority (Anderson, Knee and Mowatt, 2021). Often silence or unaware of their own privilege, white saviours, through their actions, reinforce an oppressive system of unequal relations of power that has several harmful effects on those who are being helped (Hultman and Lanevik, 2020). In this sense, while white saviours position themselves as knowledgeable saviours rather than humble help-providers, the individuals object of the helping action are labelled with negative stereotypes and deemed as incompetent, inferior, and incapable of self-reliance (Bandyopadhyay, 2019). Due to these patterns, the oppressed ultimately believe in their own inferiority and rely on the white saviour for assistance since they are denied of the basic ability to help themselves (Cowden, 2020). Therefore, via imposing their political, economic and cultural ideologies, white saviours maintain and reinforce a system of unjust social relations that oppresses local populations by depriving them of their self-worth and making them reliant on external assistance (Anderson, Knee and Mowatt, 2021). Much like neocolonialism, where "the former colonizer dominates the values, religion, political, or economic system of a less powerful region, the white saviour complex imposes ways of legitimatizing harms through ideology domination" (Yu, 2021, p. 16).

In summary, rooted in colonial power structures, the WSC reinforces systematic global inequality enhancing white supremacy and Eurocentric ideologies via measuring the political, socio-economic and cultural development of marginalised Others against the western standards of power, prestige and progress (Pailey, 2020).

4.2 Decolonizing development education: concepts and approaches

The second theoretical framework used in this study focuses on suggested approaches to decolonise development education. In the field of international development hegemonic notions of colonial power structures and Eurocentric views continue to dominate (Kothari, 2005b). Despite decolonization being increasingly moved to the center of the development discourse in recent years and development actors engaging in ambitious programs such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), development institutions and practices are still rooted in imperialistic power structures that see a few elite countries dominating across social, political, economic and ecologic spheres (Chen, 2020). In this sense, development education has also been called out for playing a complicit role in maintaining these colonial legacies (McEwan, 2019). In the last decade, several student-led protests across the globe (such as the South African's 'Rhodes Must Fall' and 'Fees Must Fall' and the UK 'Why Is My Curriculum White'), called for the urgent need to decolonize academia (Sultana, 2019). Entire degree programs, disciplines, courses' curricula and syllabi have all been the object of vigorous debates and criticism due to their extensive Eurocentric-centred ideologies and representations (Cornwall, 2020). Scholars suggest that, in order to be able to achieve decolonization, a key step forward lies not only in acknowledging these colonial legacies, but also in addressing them with affirmative actions (Elder and Odoyo, 2018; Kajumba and Nemeti Baba, 2021). Therefore, efforts in decolonizing development education are of pivotal importance, since " the students of today will become the development practitioners, policy-makers, and implementors of tomorrow" (Sultana, 2019, p. 33). Decolonizing development education means challenging its deep-rooted colonial hierarchies and asymmetric power structures via disrupting practices such as the universalization of Western knowledge, the privileging of whiteness, and the implicit Othering of marginalised people (Cornwall, 2020).

In academia, the most common efforts toward decolonization usually range from decolonizing program curricula, to questioning and modifying research and teaching methods, as well as professors' recruitment criteria and processes (Noxolo, 2017). Thus, a prevalent initial step taken by educational institutions is the decolonization of courses' syllabi and reading materials, in the efforts to create more inclusive production of knowledge in its theoretical elements as well as methodologies and praxis (Sultana, 2019). The work of scholars from the Global South, as well as of members of marginalised groups such as Indigenous peoples and individuals of colour are brought to the frontline of development curricula in order to expose students to their

otherwise hidden perspectives (Burman, 2010; Chen, 2020). Moreover, due to the fact that universities' curricula largely rely on development research and publication to build their syllabi, scholars stressed the need to critically analyse the way in which knowledge is produced and, therefore, to question current development research methodologies (Noxolo, 2017; Simon *et al.*, 2018). In this sense, the transdisciplinary co-production of knowledge between academics from the Global North and South is highlighted as essential to prevent the perpetuation of racist and imperialistic ideologies that devalue the perspectives of oppressed and marginalised groups (Cornwall, 2020). Ethical and collaborative cooperations are necessary to overcome the "West is best" ideology of academic knowledge production to create more diverse and inclusive research findings (Pailey, 2020). However, in order to achieve respectful and ethical partnerships, the positionality of the people involved in this process of decolonization are to be taken in serious consideration (Sabaratnam, 2017). For these reasons, Sultana (2019) stresses the importance of applying critical self-reflexivity in relation to one's privilege, positionality, and power. Positionality refers to the way in which individuals understand reality in relation to the position they occupy compared to other people. To do so, individuals are required to conduct a process of self-reflection that questions one's privileges, histories, and hegemonic assumptions of power relations (Palmer *et al.*, 2014). Exposing students to critical self-reflexivity leads to nurturing global citizens that not only acknowledge their own privilege but are also capable of addressing it in a critical way and fairly position themselves in the global canvas of power relations (Cornwall, 2020). Ethical field research and practices of co-production of knowledge are possible when the parties involved are aware of their positionality and privilege, act to disrupt Eurocentric ideologies and practices, and commit to build respectful relationships (Sultana, 2019).

To sum up what has been discussed so far, academia has long called for the decolonization of development education. Hegemonic notions of power continue to dominate the development discourse, reproducing colonial ideologies and structures in both the production and consumption of knowledge (Kothari, 2005a). In order to disrupt the colonial legacies on which development is founded upon, scholars argue for radical changes in the ways in which knowledge is created and imparted to future development practitioners (Simon *et al.*, 2018; Cornwall, 2020). In this sense, scholars discuss the essential need to include and apply critical self-reflexivity in development education. Via critically reflecting on one's positionality in the tapestry of global power structures, individuals become more aware of their own privilege, develop anti-imperialistic mindsets, practice humility and reflexivity, and actively attempt to

disrupt colonial ideologies via being silent so that marginalised Others can be heard (Palmer *et al.*, 2014; Kajumba and Nemeti Baba, 2021). In conclusion, decolonizing development education means bringing to the surface what was once silenced or suppressed, and it is a responsibility of those with privilege “to create spaces and opportunities for amplification of erstwhile marginalized voices, whether in texts or in/out of the classroom” (Sultana, 2019, p. 39).

These concepts will be further exemplified and discussed in Chapter 6 in connection to this study’s findings.

5. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 Philosophical Considerations

This section will present the underling philosophical considerations that helped the researcher conduct this study, via illustrating its epistemological and ontological choices. While on one hand, epistemology "denotes the philosophical study of knowledge" (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p. 4), dealing with questions such as "what is knowledge?", on the other hand, ontology is focused on "the existential conditions related to material, social, cultural and political contexts" (Ejnavarzala, 2019, p. 94). In other words, these two concepts help researchers understand the relationship that exists between what constitutes knowledge and the context in which it is created. Taking a stand on these two philosophical concepts, prior to illustrating this research's design and methods, is of the outmost importance since they determine the way in which the researcher understands reality and, ultimately, the way in which this study was conducted and analysed (6 and Bellamy, 2012). Therefore, it is worth noting that, from an epistemological point of view, this research is based on a *social constructivist* approach: this approach defines reality as a socially constructed concept where people construct their knowledge based on their own understanding of reality, influenced by their lived experiences and the consequent reflections on such experiences (Moses and Knutsen, 2012; Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). Since this study aims to present an analysis of data collected via qualitative interviews of individuals' opinions and views on international internship program, this approach was chosen as the most suitable for this study. Moreover, from an ontological perspective, this research takes an *interpretivist* stance (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This paradigm focuses on the ability of the researcher to "interpret what a particular group of people has observed and interpreted as a result of social actions, so it is basically interpreting the other people interpretation of a natural phenomenon" (Kakeeto, 2021). This approach is grounded on the notion that there is not one single, objective reality, but rather that knowledge is a result of socially constructed multiple realities, where individuals interact with each other and consequently create different interpretations of social phenomena (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, as it is also the case of this study, the main purpose of interpretative research is to analyse the way in which people understand the social phenomena they interact with, based on their unique and different perspectives (Pulla and Elizabeth, 2018).

5.2 Research Approach and Design

This study has been developed via the use of a qualitative research approach based on semi-structured interviews. The qualitative approach was chosen as the most suitable method of research for this study for a multitude of reasons. First of all, one of the key strengths of this approach lies into the fact that it enables the researcher to explore under the surface of a social phenomenon from the micro-level perspective of its participants (Maanen, 1979; Silverman, 2013, p. 20). Since this study wishes to investigate the points of view of Ugandan- National development practitioners on the subject matter, this approach seemed the most suitable one. In this regard, Creswell (2007, p. 40) suggests the use of the qualitative approach when the researcher faces a problem that is best explored via "talking directly with people". In its most basic definition, Braun and Clarke (2013) describe qualitative research as the type of research were words, rather than numbers, represent the main data to be collected and analysed. For this reason, this approach appears particularly useful when the researcher wishes to gain "complex, detailed understanding of the issue" via giving voice to silenced individuals (Creswell, 2007, p. 40). It is in this regard that the qualitative approach best fits this study, since one of its key purposes is to give voice to Ugandan development practitioners on international internship programs, asking them to express their points of view which have been extensively ignored in previous research on the matter. Moreover, qualitive research is used to empower individuals, to give them access to a space that enables them to share their stories, views, and voices. Therefore, "we conduct qualitative research because we want to understand the contexts or settings in which participants in a study address a problem or issue" (Creswell, 2007, p. 40). A qualitative researcher's main goal is to investigate how individuals understand the world they live in via analysing the way people give meaning to experiences and social phenomena around them (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, pp. 14–16). Lastly, this research follows a *single instrumental case study* design. Creswell (2007, p. 73) defines the case study as a type of qualitative research design where the researcher investigates " a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information […] and reports a case description and case-based themes". Moreover, given the different types of case study designs, this research adopted the *single instrumental* approach due to the fact that it focuses on one issue (international internship programs in the development sector in Uganda), and then analyses it via collecting data from one bounded case (local development practitioners) (Creswell, 2007). One of the most common

methods to collect this data are qualitative interviews, which will now be presented in the following section.

5.3 Research Method

In light of the above, the research method used in this study is semi-structured interviews. This type of interviewing method, qualitative interviewing, constitutes a particularly appropriate method of inquiry when the researcher is trying to gain deeper access to participant's points of view and values (Silverman, 2013). In this study, semi-structured interviews were chosen among other qualitative methods due to several reasons. First of all, semi-structured interviews are characterised by a flexible inquiry-structure: after establishing a basic guideline of questions on the topic of interest, the researcher is able to explore participants' opinions on the issue without following a rigid structure (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). Moreover, unlike formal questionnaires, or structured interviews, this approach follows a more fluid method of questioning where not only respondents are able to express themselves freely on the given topic, but the researcher can easily adjust the line of questioning based on participants' new ideas or thoughts. Furthermore, Burgess (Byrne, 2004, p. 208) defined semi-structured interviews as "conversations with a purpose", stressing how, thanks to their flexible nature, they allow for a more complex understanding of the subject of study. It is, indeed, due to the flexibility of this approach that interviewees can feel free to raise significant observations that might not be included in the interview guide, allowing the researcher to gain more data and conduct a deeper analysis on the research topic.

In total, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted. These were done in-person and took place in Kampala, Uganda, across the entirety of the month of March 2023. Each interview lasted approximately between 40 to 90 minutes, and, in order to facilitate the creation of a comfortable and safe environment, they took place in a location chosen by the interviewees themselves (Hammett, Twyman and Graham, 2015). All interviews were conducted in English, due to all participants being fluent in the English language and English being the main national language in Uganda (Country Watch, 2021). After obtaining participants' oral consent, the interviews were recorded via the use of a smartphone application to ensure the best sound quality. As Creswell (2007) suggested, both recording and transcribing equipment were carefully organised before every interview took place. In addition to the audio recording, the researcher took copious notes during the interviews to register participants expressions,

emotions, and pauses. The application of this dual recording technique is highlighted in methodology literature as a way to help researchers conduct a deeper analysis of the collected data that would otherwise not be possible via the use of mere transcriptions (Silverman, 2006).

5.4 Sampling Strategy

In order to obtain the most relevant qualitative data for the study objective, interview participants were purposefully sampled following a strategic sampling strategy comprising of four criteria(Silverman, 2006).

The first sampling criterion involved participants' nationality. Since the study targets local development practitioners, being born and raised in the country of Uganda is a key selection criterion for participation in this study. As illustrated in Chapter 3, local development practitioners' perspectives on international internship programs have been widely under researched by literature so far (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). Therefore, a key element of participants selection for this study was for the respondents to be regarded as local staff.

Secondly, participants' selection was assessed based on their academic background and/or years of professional experience in the development sector. Relevant participants were sampled based either on having a relevant academic background on the subject matter, such as bachelor's degrees in development studies or equivalent, or having five to 10 years of work experience in the development sector. This criterion enabled the researcher to access a pool of respondents who had meaningful understanding of the research topic, either because of their previous studies or because of their years of experience working in the development sector.

Thirdly, it was considered beneficial to select participants who had experience working specifically with 'Research and Evaluation' within the development sector of Uganda due to the fact that such units are prone to have well-established international internship programs, with ongoing and long-lasting partnerships between sending academic institutions in the Global North and receiving NGOs in the Global South (Simpson, 2004; Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Gates, 2014).

Lastly, respondents were selected based on the type of job title they held within their Research and Evaluation Unit. Only practitioners who held the job title of Team Leader or Field Supervisor were sampled. The reasons for this selection are that within the workplace hierarchy

of the Research and Evaluation Unit of an NGO, these two positions usually hold similar responsibilities. Dividing their worktime between the completion of office tasks and field trips, both position entail a certain level of leadership and management as well as the duty to cooperate with international interns (Kuruppu and Lodhia, 2019).

5.5 Sampling technique

The sampled respondents were then identified and invited to participate via the use of the snowball (also defined as chain or network) technique (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). Campbell et al. (2016, p. 108) discuss how, in qualitative research, interview respondents can be found in a variety of ways, ranging from "social networks, friends, relatives, or […]through [a recruitment] agency and organization". In this study, an initial draft of four possible respondents was established from the researcher personal network, based on her previous professional experiences in the development sector in Uganda. These potential respondents were then contacted by the researcher from Sweden via social media channels (mainly Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp) during the month of February 2023 and asked to participate in the research. After the scope and aim of the study was presented to the possible participants, and full anonymity was ensured, agreeing interviewees and the researcher decided on a date and time and location for the interview to take place. The respondents were then asked to direct the researcher to other potential participants who could fit the above-mentioned sampling criteria. As a result of this technique, six further participants were found and interviewed. The study sample was then finalised to a total of ten participants, as gender balanced as possible, with six male and four female respondents.

5.6 Coding and Data Analysis

All interviews were carefully transcribed. With the shortest interview lasting approximately 40 minutes and the longest 90 minutes, each interview took approximately four to five hours to transcribe. First, audio recordings of the interviews were uploaded to the website Otter.ai, an online, free software for automated transcriptions of audio files. However, since the obtained initial drafts presented substantial mistakes, the researcher spent a great deal of time reviewing and revising the transcripts. Subsequently, each transcript was merged with the notes taken during the interviews. This process allowed the researcher to add to the transcripts respondents'

pauses, emotions, facial expressions, and body languages, which greatly enriched the transcriptions (Silverman, 2013). Afterwards, each transcription's text was reread multiple times to ensure optimal quality. The researcher then proceeded to coding the obtained data. In qualitative analysis coding constitutes an essential aspect of the research process: small data segments are organised in labels, which are then combined into broader categories or thematical groups to facilitate their analysis (Weston *et al.*, 2001; Creswell, 2007). This process, which allowed the researcher to effectively summarize, organise, and classify the data, was conducted multiple times in order to obtain the most comprehensive understanding of the material possible. Starting with key words, and then proceeding to phrases and sentences, segments from each interview were labelled in relation to the aim of this study. Subsequently, primary codes were created to classify the labelled data into broad categories, which were then analysed and divided into smaller sub-categories. These initial codes categories were then carefully revised multiple times, enabling the researcher to observe the data more clearly and identify new relevant codes and deleting irrelevant ones. The final categories were then combined into thematical groups and analysed in relation to the purpose of this research.

5.7 Scope and Limitations

This research consists of a micro-level perspective study of local staff's opinions, experiences, and perceptions on international internship programs in the development sector in Uganda. Its main purpose is to present a broad understanding of the examined sample group views on the subject matter. Therefore, this study's findings are not aimed at being transferred to other case studies, but to be understood within the boundaries of this specific research only (Creswell, 2007). Moreover, the found results do not wish to provide an explanation of the phenomenon of research in general terms but rather offer to the reader the individual viewpoints of the ten people who have been interviewed on the topic (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). Furthermore, what constitutes one key limitation of this study is the amount of people interviewed. Due to the resources available to the researcher, as well as the timeframe and scale of this project, ten interviews were conducted. Nonetheless, limiting the sample size to ten participants helped the researcher to focus on the quality of the data collected: literature states how smaller sample groups can be beneficial in qualitative research since they allow the researcher to obtain more in-depth information, prevent the data sample to reach an unmanageable size and for valuable information to be potentially overseen (6 and Bellamy, 2012). Lastly, although the gender

perspective has been carefully taken into consideration in all aspects of the research processes, this study does not focus on feminist literature nor wishes to contribute to it as its main objective (Faria and Mollett, 2016).

5.8 Validity and Reliability

To ensure the legitimacy of this study, both validity and reliability have been respected (Silverman, 2013). Both elements are often referred to as signs of quality in a research project and constitute essential aspects of a study when the researcher aims at avoiding what Moses and Knutsen (2012, p. 132) describe as the "measurement error". Reliability refers to the uprightness of a study in regard to "the level of consistency with which instances [could be] allocated" by other researchers or by similar observers at another point in time (Silverman, 2013, p. 108). In other terms, the study design was developed in the most structured and transparent way known to the researcher, so that if it was to be repeated by other observers in the future it could lead to similar results. However, literature also points out how ensuring the reliability of a study that conducts qualitative interviews can prove difficult (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). When asking for people's opinions and perceptions of a specific phenomenon, their responses might not be the same with the passage of time. Therefore, to ensure reliability of a qualitative study like this one, the best approach is to use accurate and precise research tools, via discussing the limitations and challenges of the research process and ensuring a reflective, transparent, and objective position (Creswell, 2007). Validity, on the other hand, describes the accuracy of the results regarding the way questions are posed to study's participants (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). Therefore, to guarantee the validity of its results, this study's questions were developed in a clear and transparent manner in order to avoid possible misunderstandings and misinterpretations by the respondents (Moses and Knutsen, 2012).

5.9 Positionality: Role of the Researcher

In order to be able to provide a righteous representation of this study's findings, the role of the researcher must also be discussed (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). It should be mentioned that I am a female Italian citizen of Caucasian ethnicity, who, as part of my bachelor's degree program from a European university, completed a student internship placement in Uganda within the Research and Evaluation Unit of one NGO. As a result of this, the position I hold

makes me subjective to this study, meaning that my particular academic and professional background, as well as preferences, opinions and life experiences influence the way I analyse and interpret the data collected in this study (Creswell, 2007; Moses and Knutsen, 2012). Therefore, although, as the researcher, I hold a position of observer in this study, I am also aware of my own subjectivity within it. As Kakeeto (2021, p. 102) highlights "researchers are inextricably part of the social reality being researched, i.e. they are not detached from the subject they are studying". For these reasons, I acknowledge the role that my positionality plays in the execution of this study throughout all its parts, especially when conducting the interviews and while analysing the collected data (Silverman, 2013).

5.10 Ethical Considerations

When conducting qualitative research that involves interacting with people, paying attention to ethical concerns is of central importance (Palmer *et al.*, 2014). Scholars stress this concept by underling how in qualitative research "the trustworthiness of the data is tied directly to the trustworthiness of those who collect and analyse the data" (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015, p. 261). In other words, when conducting a qualitative study that requires the researcher to directly interact with people (as it is the case with semi-structured interviews), careful consideration must be put on the moral implications that respondents are involved in because of the study in question. For this reason, most scholars stress how the highest ethical considerations should focus on the individuals that participate in a study via applying what has been defined by literature as the "do no harm" principle (Creswell, 2007; Silverman, 2013). In light of this, literature suggests to focus on three essential factors in order to ensure the respect of these ethical guidelines in a qualitative study: 1) obtaining full consent of the respondents, 2) ensure absolute anonymity of their identity, and 3) guaranteeing participants' clear acknowledgment to be able to withdraw at any stage (Dickson-Swift *et al.*, 2009; Braun and Clarke, 2013). In the implementation of this study, all three of these factors have been carefully followed and respected throughout all the phases of this research, from its designing stages to the interviewing, presentation and analysis of the data.

Firstly, prior to the interviews, respondents were asked for explicit consent (both to conduct the interview and to record it) and informed of the overarching aim and objective of the research, explaining its main purposes and outcomes after publishing, so that they could make an informed decision. Secondly, respondents were ensured that their identity will remain fully

anonymous throughout the entirety of the study, from its data collection phase to its analysis and, ultimately, publishing stage. Therefore, to hide their identities, their real names have been substituted with fictional ones and participants were assured that any possible distinguishable characteristic linked to their persona will not be disclosed. Lastly, participants were made aware of the possibility to withdraw from the study at any moment, for any reason, being it before, during or after the interview took place.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following chapter will present the data collected by the researcher in the field and analyse them in relation to the conceptual framework outlined in the previous sections of this study. After a brief contextual explanation of the roles and responsibilities that Field Supervisors (FSs) and Team Leaders (TLs) hold in the workplace (and how this aspect influenced their responses), the discussion is divided in three main sections. The first section explores participants' reflections on the advantages and disadvantages of internship programs. The second section discusses interns' authority levels in the workplace and the challenges that interviewees faced because of them. The third section presents a series of suggested changes that could be made to internship programs. Lastly, the chapter ends with a 'discussion summary' on steps that can be taken to achieve the decolonisation of development education.

6.1 Team Leaders and Field Supervisors' roles in the workplace

First, a brief clarification must be made in regard to TLs and FSs' duties and responsibilities in the workplace, and how their hierarchical position plays a role in the analysis of this study. Unlike other fixed roles in Research and Evaluation (such as the highest in the hierarchy, Research Fellow, and its opposite lowest, Enumerator) where the hierarchical boundaries between them and the interns are well established and clear, TLs and FSs fall into an unclear hierarchical limbo when it comes to international interns and their relationship within the workplace. As it can be seen in Appendix A, TLs and FSs share a similar set of duties and responsibilities within the workplace, dividing their tasks between field work and office duties. However, although both roles respond to the Research Fellow as their direct supervisor and entail a certain level of leadership and management in regard to enumerators, there appear to be no clear boundaries in relations to international interns. It is this researcher's opinion that this factor played a distinguishing role in the type of answers received during this study.

Moreover, soon after initiating the coding and analysis of the data, two broader patterns emerged: the levels of reflexivity of the respondents varied substantially depending on their professional and academic background. On one hand, as it can be seen in the Respondents Profiles (Appendix B), while all five interviewed TLs held a bachelor's degree in a non-related development subject (either in the field of economic studies or education), they all had more than five years of experience working in the field of Research and Evaluation in the

development sector in Uganda. On the other hand, the five FSs who participated in this study not only could account for more than five years of experience in the development sector, but they also presented more pertinent academic backgrounds for their role, with bachelor's degrees in development studies and master's degrees in management or monitoring and evaluation. According to the researcher's opinion, this distinction influenced participants' ability to engage in critical discussion about this research topic, with some respondents being highly educated about development's colonial legacies, and with some respondents never being exposed to it. For these reasons, the collected data are presented and analysed in some subcategory divided according to the answers given by the two groups (TLs and FSs).

6.2 Pro et Contra: the good and bad of internship programs

This section will present participants' views on the strengths and shortcomings of having international interns working in Uganda for limited periods of time. First, the advantages will be outlined divided in two core areas (hard skills and soft skills), and secondly, the disadvantages will be presented.

6.2.1 Positive aspects: interns' hard skills

The first overwhelming response from every interviewee about the main advantage of internship programs was linked to the numerous hard skills that each intern possessed, showcased, and sometimes shared during their time working together. In fact, all respondents unanimously stressed how the main asset that interns bring to the workplace during their internship experience is their impressive set of technical skills, particularly the ones related to the use of Microsoft Excel, and programming and data management software like STATA and Survey CTO. In this regard, some respondents said:

> "Some are qualified for what they do, which is mostly work on the technical stuff (data analysis, Survey CTO, STATA these kind of things). And they are nice and share the knowledge. When that happens, I feel good and supported. There's a feeling of respect and collaboration." (Sarah, FS)

> "They teach a lot of things, especially stuff that have to do with IT. Those are not things we know. They are really good with Excel, and they show us how to use it. Every time I work with an intern, I learn something new about it." (Robert, TL)

> "They teach us new skills. Lots of it have to do with data management and programming. You know, all the technical stuff that we don't know. These interns always come in knowing a lot of things about STATA and Excel." (Mercy, FS)

This prominent view underlines the deep divide that exist between Global North and South in the access to educational opportunities (Veltmeyer and Bowles, 2022). All participants stressed their lack of knowledge in technical skills, besides all holding an undergraduate degree or a higher academic certification, and admitted how they relied on the interns from the west to learn this kind of skills. As Bandyopadhyay (2019, p. 331) says "The dependency of the Global South on the Global North is strong, leaving these host countries, which are although now independent, with still little control over their resources and land." This is reflected in the White Saviour Complex (WSC) where interns are generally expected to be experts because of their more developed technical skills, although this is more an issue of inequalities in access to education. Despite being interns, hence in a learning position that does not presume advance qualifications, they are still viewed as highly technically qualified. One respondent said:

> "They are very qualified. They are experts! I respect them a lot because they are very good at what they do" (John, TL)

The unanimous perception that knowing these skills is the biggest advantage of having international internship programs shows how the WSC is enacted by perceiving help from the Global North as the only option for people in the Global South to learn certain skills (Pailey, 2020). As such the WSC instils in the oppressed an inferiority complex which further enhances implications of the pre-existing inequalities between the two parties. Moreover, it inhibits any horizontal connection between the two to take place: the relationship is dominated by one side (the oppressors'), and the oppressed slowly come to believe their supposed inferiority and come to rely on the white saviour for help (Nordmeyer, Bedera and Teig, 2016).

When this unequal power dynamics are played out in countless situations and organisations over time it develops into systematic inequality. As Yu (2021) points out, the WSC can be understood in institutional terms not only when actual institutions (government, colleges, individuals) are involved in maintaining and reproducing unbalanced power relations, but also when it appears in the form of "nonaccidental, systematic, and widely distributed" dynamics that results in a "larger system that produces and reinforces the same system of inequality" across multiple domains (Yu, 2021, pp. 2–3). The systematic inequality to which local staff is subjected to is reflected in their lack of access to educational opportunities, which leads them to view the interns as a source of technical knowledge rather than learning students. Two respondents said:

> "One time the intern taught me programming. This was a real advantage because here it would be hard to find someone who can teach you something like that. It was so good to learn about it." (Arthur, FS)

> "They motivate us, team leader. They give us more knowledge on what we don't know, especially on how to use Excel. You know we don't learn this here in Uganda, so it became very easy to learn when the intern was showing me all the shortcuts." (John, TL)

6.2.2 Positive aspects: interns' soft skills

After discussing the above- mentioned technical qualifications of the interns, TLs and FSs alike responded by listing several further positive aspects about working with international interns that were more related to a variety of soft skills. These ranged from creating valuable intercultural connections, to enriching their professional network and personal soft skills sets. To begin with, most interviewees talked about the deep cultural benefits that interacting with international interns can bring both into their personal and professional life. They said:

> "The social interactions are the best thing I think. We share ideas from one side to the other. We come from different places and there's a lot we don't know about each other. You constantly learn something new on how things work in other parts of the world." (Philip, TL)

> "It's always interesting to work with them. You share so much about each other's cultures and way of working. They want to hear how things work here in Uganda, how our families are, how we live our lives. And we want to know how they do things there. You learn how to express yourself better at work, how to dress even. I believe it makes you grow as a person." (Mercy, FS)

> "I learned a lot about punctuality. They would teach us how to keep time. Time management was key. If we were supposed to meet at 9am, we should show up at 9am. And you know us, African timing is a different thing [laughs], when you say 9 it means anything from 10 to 12." (Eleonor, TL)

In their study, Gilbertson et al. (2021, p. 588) investigated this same aspect and reported that local staff "did not understand the value of the experience exclusively in terms of the work students were completing as interns. Instead, they emphasised the value of interactions, cross-cultural learning". Moreover, Palacios (2010) also stressed the advantages that deep cultural immersion can bring to both students and host organisations alike when engaging in an internship program. He discussed how, beside their limited time frame, internships can create long-lasting relationships that can extensively generate social and economic benefits for both the parties involved. Some respondents of this study raised a similar point by underlining the potential networking opportunities that working with an international intern can bring. Jakye and John said:

> "We get to network with them, they become good partners in business. After you work for a while together with someone, they know what you're good at that. It's always good to create this kind of connections, you never know when you might need it next." (Jakye, FS)

> "They bring business. You work with them and if you do a good job they will help you get more work. You know, because of the last intern I worked with I got the job I currently work on now. He needed a Team leader for a project and he remembered about me." (John, TL)

Creating the opportunity for potential future intercultural collaborations, internship programs are viewed as a great business opportunity and interns, in turn, as a valuable networking resource. However, even though these responses were described as part of the positive aspects of engaging in international internship programs, they still portray elements of the WSC. While in the Global North interns are seen as learning individuals who, at the beginning of their career, are trying to work their way into a professional network, in this context instead they are largely seen as well-connected professionals by the local staff. Rooted in a system of western privilege, interns are therefore not described as learning students but rather as resourceful individuals linked to economic well-being and future job opportunities instead (Yu, 2021).

6.2.3 Negative aspects of internship programs

After reflecting on the above-mentioned perceived advantages, participants were asked to discuss possible negative aspects that having international internship programs can bring to host organisations in Uganda. In this sense, several were the points raised. Some respondents discussed the lack of contacts they experienced with the interns after they left. Terry, George, and Eleonor said:

> "I didn't really connect with some of them. I guess we didn't spend that much time working together to create a good relationship because after they left we had zero contacts. These people stay a very short time, 3 or 6 months, sometimes less. It makes it difficult to create proper communication. After they leave, they don't reply to messages and there's no relationships." (Terry, FS)

> "When you work with international internees, you work with them, you create a relationship. But when they leave that is over. Even when you send them a message they don't reply. For instance, I worked for 6 months with this lady. We would message every day during her time here. But when she left, I messaged many times and she never replied again. I thought because things were good when we worked together that the relationship will continue. But that didn't happen. […] This makes me feel bad. It makes me feel like they're good to work with only and then I should let it go. But I can see that they have read the messages on WhatsApp." (George, TL)

> "Sometimes there are no contacts with them after the internship is over, which it's weird because we talk a lot during the experience, we share things, but then they don't say a word after they leave. It led me to think if I did something wrong at work. I doubt my skills and thought that maybe I was not good at my job. [..] when this happens it makes me feel exploited, used somehow." (Eleonor, TL)

These responses further reflect the elements of the white saviour complex linked to internship programs. As discussed in Chapter 3, scholars have widely stressed how internships programs are advertised to highlight the benefits that these experiences will have on students' curriculum and overall skills set. Internships are described as a one-time opportunity to grow intercultural competences and boost students professional experience (Simpson, 2004; Diprose, 2012; Mcgloin and Georgeou, 2016). The lack of contacts after the end of an internship period, illustrated by this study, may, therefore, not come as a surprise. Since these internships programs are predominantly focused on and initiated from the perspective of the intern, little attention is given to the impacts and outcomes on discontinued relationships and communication for the local staff once the intern has left the country. Building on this reflection, one interviewee raised issues of miscommunication that led to episodes of racism and disrespect. Philip said:

> "Sometimes we [Team Leaders] would be slow at taking instructions. It could be for different reasons, maybe the language, the accents, the speed in which someone works and talks. Sometimes you lose focus for one second and you fail to internalise all the words that the other person is using. It has nothing to do with me not being able to understand what you're saying. But if we don't understand right away what they mean, they would treat us differently. As if we were not capable of doing our job. As if we were stupid. They looked at me in a way that felt as if they were thinking 'this Africans don't understand. They take too long to learn'." (Philip, TL)

The behaviour of some interns described by Philip resonates with what Yu (2021) describes as the condescending attitude that white saviours assume in development contexts. As one of the key elements of the WSC, oppressors perceive their knowledge and background as superior, hence diminishing the one of the oppressed as inferior and in need of help. This leads to white

saviours often assuming a patronizing and elitist attitude that stems from the perception of those in need of help as incompetent and unable to complete any tasks (Nordmeyer, Bedera and Teig, 2016). Moreover, as Pailey (2020, p. 730) points out, "development continues to be structured in hierarchies of race and place". With whiteness equating rightness and superiority, socio-economic and cultural dimensions of individuals in the Global south will continue to be deemed as inferior or regressive (Ibid., 2020).

Other respondents stressed the lack of contextual cultural and socio-economic knowledge that interns show upon their arrival, as well as no interest in learning it during their internship experience.

> "They have little experience and very little, or no knowledge at all, on how businesses are run in Uganda. I think if you come to work here you should at least know a little bit of the country. They just think they can act the same way as they do at home, but that is not the case. There are certain ways to talk to people, especially when conducting business in the field, that they know nothing about. The worst part is that they don't seem to care when you point it out. They act as I am wrong for telling them. As if I am the one who doesn't understand how things are done." (Mercy, FS)

In her study "Are expatriate staff necessary in international development NGOs? A case study of an international NGO in Uganda" Sarah Mukasa (2013) collected similar responses in regards to cultural awareness and/or its absence. Interns' lack of respect or interest towards local culture and customs was raised as a point of conflict by several respondents. Arthur said:

> "They are not oriented about the culture and the customs. They don't care. For instance, the fact that here we can easily touch someone while talking to them is not a bad thing, but I had one intern going to management to complain about it because he didn't want to be touched. In other occasions they would not understand the proper way to address people in a business environment. They would just bark orders at us, with not so much as a 'Hello, How are you?' first. They are very direct, and we are not like that. People need to understand that about Uganda when they work here." (Arthur, FS)

The inability and unwillingness of some interns to adjust to the different socio-cultural context they find themselves in, connects to what Pailey (2020) refers to as 'the white-gaze' of development. This concept refers to the assumption that whiteness is the "primary referent of

power, prestige and progress across the world" (Pailey, 2020, p. 733). Just as the white saviour complex, 'the white-gaze' of development enhances northern whiteness superiority and righteousness over every other political, socio-economic cultural context in the Global South. When related to the observations raised in this study, it can be seen how some interns portray imperialistic views of how business operations should be conducted and refuse to adjust their views to the local context. They assume a patronizing attitude, acting as if their way of doing things is the only correct way. In other words, they act as if "white is always right, and West is always best" (Pailey, 2020, p. 733).

In summary, this section highlights the main disadvantages that respondents reported being linked to international internship programs. Findings emphasize issues of lack of post-internship communication, miscommunication in the workplace, as well as racism and lack of cultural awareness.

6.3 Interns' authority levels in the workplace and resulting challenges

In this section, the second key point of discussion of this study will be presented. After asking participants to map some of the positive and negative aspects of international internship programs, this study evolved around investigating interns' authority levels within the workplace and the possible related challenges linked to it, as perceived by the respondents.

It was in this section that answers started to differ between TLs and FSs. Among all the respondents, only one of the TLs said that he felt like there was no authority imbalance between him and the interns and, therefore, never particularly experienced any challenge related to it. He stated:

> "I never felt like they had more authority. We were always equals. While being on the field we would advise each other and work together on the project. I never felt like they were telling me what to do. There was always a lot of respect. It felt good" (John, TL)

Nevertheless, John's opinion appeared to be an isolated case, since, on the other hand, all the other interviewees firmly expressed that in their experiences, international interns always carried a higher level of authority compared to their own. However, when subsequently asked about how this aspect made them feel - and whether it created tensions or raised challenges within the work environment- , answers differed between TLs and FSs. A notable distinction

laid in the fact that some TLs recognised the authority imbalance between them and the interns but did not seem to be particularly bothered by it. Two interviewees elaborated on this by saying:

> "They definitely have more authority than me. They act as coordinators when we work together. They are the ones ultimately deciding what to do and giving me instructions. I never really had any problems with it. I'm here to do my job and they're here to do theirs. I don't see any issue with that." (Robert, TL)

> "Oh they have more authority but I'm ok with it. Most of the time they are good at guiding us [TLs] and telling us what to do. There's been occasions in which they didn't know how to do things (for instance how to use Survey CTO) and I was the one teaching them. Which is not ideal but it's ok with me. At the end of the day they are interns, they are still learning. I feel like there are too many expectations on them. They are expected to know how to do everything, but that's often not the case. And I don't mind helping them." (Eleonor, TL)

Other TLs explained that these challenges were often linked to issues of conflicting instructions and clashes of opinions. George and Philip discussed this point by saying:

> "They always had a position of authority. I don't particularly have a problem with it, but there has been instances in which this created challenges. Because we [TLs] are not involved in who comes and when, we are just told that we are gonna work with these people. Officially they are interns, but they end up taking over a lot of decision-making tasks. I don't particularly have a problem with it, but there has been instances in which this created a lot of confusion. We would be in the field working on a project and getting different instructions from the intern and the Field Supervisor on what to do. And you never know who you should listen to, the intern or the Field Supervisor? This slows things down a lot and it puts us in a difficult position most of the time." (George, TL)

> "Most organisations I worked with valued more the opinion of the interns from Europe than the one of their own local staff. Most interns are put in charge of technical tasks, like managing the data collected in the field surveys with Survey CTO, but most of the time

> they have never actually worked in research before and they don't understand how things work in the field. One time, during a project, an enumerator reported the need to add a comment section to the survey and the intern did not believe it was necessary. I tried to explain the situation to the inter (I knew what the enumerator was talking about and agreed with him). We ended up having to bring the issue to management, which told us to follow the intern instructions and keep on working." (Philip, TL)

These responses show once again how the white gaze and the WSC is enacted, where interns, despite having little or no experience in field research, are valued more than local senior staff with years of experience on the subject.

On the other hand, when comparing the TLs perspectives to the FSs a notable distinction can be seen in the perception that these interviewees had on the challenges they faced. FSs not only seemed to recognise the higher level of authority that was given to the interns over their own, but also addressed the unfairness and inequality that this imbalance leads to in the workplace. Sarah and Terry said:

> "They always have some level of authority. It's not like that at the beginning of the internship. Initially they're shy, but then after a few weeks it changes. They start getting more and more decisional- power and they are put in charge of entire activities from which I am suddenly excluded" (Sarah, FS)

> "When working on certain projects, there are files that we work on. For example, I have been on the Poverty Project[5] for the last 5 years, all the way since when it started. And yet there are tasks that are given directly to the intern who just came in instead of me because I am not allowed to analyse the data. I don't even have access to the Dropbox! So many files are kept away from me but given to the interns to analyse instead." (Terry, FS)

The above-mentioned scenarios are clear exemplifications of the 'Withholding Information' Master Suppression Technique (MST). Being denied access to meetings, documents and minutes are described by Brage and Lövkrona (2016) as some of the most common techniques to deprive individuals of their decision-making powers. The authors stress this aspect by

[5] Fictional Name.

saying: “Knowledge and information is power, and not being included in this regard leaves far fewer opportunities for participation and democracy” (Brage and Lövkrona, 2016, p. 151). From Terry’s testimony it can be seen how, by being denied access to the project’s files, his capabilities were diminished and how ultimately this led to his exclusion from decision-making processes in the workplace. Moreover, this technique can be also witnessed from Mercy’s response, who not only described being excluded from having access to key files but also being blamed for mistakes and/or poor-quality work- delivery. She said:

> “I mean they are interns but they have more authority, they report to higher levels than me. The ridiculous thing is that they need me to do their job. We, the intern and I, would have meetings about what to do with a certain project. I would give a lot of ideas and points, and then the intern would be the one reporting them to management. I’m not even included in that meeting! [..] the worst thing is that the blame comes to me if something goes wrong, never to the intern. And this happens a lot because they don’t know how to communicate. They don’t know the culture and they don’t have enough time here to learn how things work. So I get in trouble every time a report is not clear or the data are compromised. When, in reality, I had little-to-no-say in any of that.” (Mercy, FS)

This response reflects on another MST called Double Bind (Brage and Lövkrona, 2016). This particular MST manifests when “a person is made to feel as if they are doing the wrong thing, regardless of what they do” (Brage and Lövkrona, 2016, p. 152). Not only Mercy is regularly excluded from decision-making processes (such as meetings and project’s files) but she is also held responsible for projects outcomes, even when it concerns tasks on which she had no authority on all along. The Double Bind in this case is, therefore, evident in the way Mercy’s performance is held by different standards. The fact that temporary interns are not held accountable for project’s deliverables after they leave, but senior local staff members are, constitutes another example of systematic inequality in the workplace. In this regard, Jakye described living similar experiences by saying:

> “They are the one with more authority. Especially for everything concerning data analysis, they are responsible for that. [..] We are not given access to the data analysis’ files, so they give me instructions on projects I’ve been working on for years. It doesn’t make me feel

> good but I learned to pull back. I'd rather not create any trouble. I have a family. I can't afford to lose my job. Especially not because of an intern." (Jakye, FS)

Jakye's response echoes once again elements of WSC systematic inequality. While internship placements often constitute short-term CV-enriching experiences in students' lives as part of their undergraduate or postgraduate curricula, local staff members rely on their jobs to financially support their families. In this sense, the limitation of rational choices is described by Yu (2021, p. 17) as a form of indirect coercion in the WSC: "Instead of actively resisting unjust coercive forces, they [the oppressed] acquiesce to their oppression and make decisions that often end up inflicting harm to members of their social groups". Even though Jakye recognises the faults in not being given access to the files, her risk-analysis of the situation makes her chose silence over speaking up, because the consequences of losing her job would extensively impact her family's financial security.

On the other hand, some respondents expressed their frustration in regard to the level of authority given to the interns and talked about situations in which they externalised their opinions. Sarah and Arthur said:

> "Some interns are very selfish. They feel in charge. They come in to give orders and do not want to learn anything from us. This kind of behaviour led to a lot of clashes. I had quite a few arguments with some of them. I was treated like my opinion didn't matter and it comes to a point in which I can't ignore it anymore." (Sarah, FS)

> "They have more authority for sure. Or better, they act as if they had authority. Let me tell you, there was this one case where we had a project going on in the field and the intern was working on the data analysis for it. One day he came in and said that he was firing one enumerator because according to him the guy was faking the data collection. I lost it. We needed to have a meeting with the Research Fellow where I had to insist on not firing that person which I have been working with for years and I know having extremely good work ethic. No one tried to call the enumerator to ask for an explanation. The intern said that the data didn't make sense and according to him the only thing to do was to kick him out of the project." (Arthur, FS)

By not only undervaluing local staff knowledge, but also by acting in the belief of their perceived superiority, these interns assumed positions of authority and power within the workplace that, once again, stem from the WSC (Hultman and Lanevik, 2020). The interns' patronizing sense of superiority described by Sarah and the condescending assumption that their role entitled them to make unilateral decisions (such as firing an enumerator) without consulting with any other staff member described by Arthur, both represent elements of systematic oppression rooted in issues of what Yu describes as "Silence and Denial of Privileges" (Yu, 2021, p.21). These two concepts of positionality and privilege will be discussed in more depth in the following section.

In summary, this section illustrated a series of reported challenges that respondents experienced when working with interns in matters of authority levels in the workplace. The following section will highlight respondents' suggested interventions to improve such issues.

6.4 Proposed modifications to achieve mutual benefit

As it has been outlined in Chapter 3, currently, most of the literature on international internship programs is heavily focused on determining the benefits that the experience could bring to the students from the Global North, with very little attention, if any, on the Global South hosting organisations' opinion on these programs. Therefore, this section will present four key areas where local staff see possibilities for changes to be made to make internship programs more mutually beneficial.

6.4.1 Lack of clarity and involvement in overall program design and selection process

One of the main problem areas identified by the respondents was linked to the overall way in which internship programs are currently designed. Some interviewees expressed the desire to be more involved in the selection process of the interns, voicing their frustration in not having any decisional power or involvement in any step of the recruitment process. George and Jakye said:

> "There should be better communication between the universities and the organisations. We are not involved at all in the scrutinizing process. They just tell us that this intern will work here for 3 months. We don't know when he/she was hired and why. There should be more

clarity about the recruitment process. I would like to be more involved in that, in understanding how interns are selected and to do what kind of job." (George, TL)

> "The selection process. Right now, when people are recruited to come and work here, we (local staff) are not involved at all in the process. They have interviews without the local staff. The people that select the interns have nothing to do with the one they will actually work with. There should be an interview with the local staff. There should be more transparency." (Jakye, FS)

In this regard, Ouma (2021) stresses this point as the first needed change to achieve a mutually beneficial partnership between interns from the Global North and hosting organisations in the Global South. The necessity of a shift in agency is described as an essential element that would help to realign the balance between the parties involved in internship programs (Ibid., 2021). Instead of intern selection being done solely by the sending academic institutions for their benefit, input and involvement from the receiving organisation is also important as it could enhance their benefits too. Therefore, receiving organisations should be in charge of creating vacancy placements (and thus the need of an intern) as well as be fully involved in the selection of the most qualified candidates. Such process would help creating both mutual purpose and mutual benefit for the parties involved. Moreover, one respondent underlined the importance of local staff's involvement not only in the recruitment procedures but also in the projects design processes. Mercy said:

> "We [local staff] should be more involved in designing projects. These interns come to cover all the technical tasks and we [local staff] are not thought how to do any of that. We are excluded from all that concerns project design and analysis. And interns don't know anything about the cultural aspects of working here. We could learn so much more from each other if there was more openness and sharing." (Mercy, FS)

Ouma (2021) addressed this point as well, discussing how the complete lack of involvement of local organisation in aspect of project design leads to harmful results. In this sense, literature shows that the presence of international interns can undermine the credibility of local staff, who are deemed uncapable and inferior of conducting regular work tasks (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013; Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021; Yu, 2021). Mercy's reflections support

this view by addressing the need of deeper cooperations between the parties when designing development projects.

6.4.2 Role ambiguity: interns' unclear tasks and responsibilities

The second key problematic area that respondents wished to address was linked to the lack of clarity of interns' duties and responsibilities. Arthur expressed his concerns about the ambiguity that surrounds interns' roles by saying:

> "There need to be better boundaries. Interns are not given clear tasks and responsibilities. We are not told what they are going to do either. They just show up, do their thing and go. It's very confusing and unclear. Better planning should be put in place, including better communication with us [local staff]." (Arthur, FS)

Role ambiguity is discussed by Palacios (2010) saying that the lack of clarity associated with interns duties and expected achievements during their internship placement compromises workplace power dynamics and overall hierarchical structure. The absence of well-defined interns' role boundaries in regards to their tasks and responsibilities leads to ambiguous expectations both from local staff and the interns themselves on what are the feasible impacts that can be achieved during a short-term placement in a developing country. "Ambiguous expectations can take the form of Eurocentric attitudes […], making both guests and hosts susceptible to frustration" (Palacios, 2010, p. 870). Mukasa (2013), also reported similar findings recognising how, in order to improve projects' effectiveness, the power imbalance in international development organisations' internal structure must be addressed: via confronting the unequal relationships existing between local and international staff, non-profit organisations can improve their operations and hope to achieve meaningful change (Mukasa, 2013). Therefore, clearer boundaries in regard to inters duties and responsibilities, as well as better communication practices with local staff would contribute to the disruption of several elements of the WSC.

6.4.3 The tendency for local staff's knowledge to be undervalued

As a third suggested change, respondents expressed the need to increase the value of local staff's opinions and views over the one of international interns. Eleonor said:

> "I believe change is actually possible in private organisations. I think our [TLs] opinions should be valued more. Right now if we try to give any feedback on technical issues, we are not heard. As a matter of fact, we are questioned about it. The thing is, I worked in the field for years, I have a lot of experience. Things almost never go as planned and you learn a way to fix them as you go. My opinion does matter. But it's not heard at all." (Eleonor, TL)

Undervalued voices are described by Sultana (2019) as an essential point of change in order to achieve the decolonisation of development education. In order to break the colonial structure in which development is deeply rooted in, "listening to marginalized Others and centering voices of the global South" is of key importance (Sultana, 2019, p. 35). As is the point raised by Eleonor, asking for her opinion to be valued more and her extensive experience to be taken in serious consideration when issues arise, is of critical value.

In this sense, the undermining of individuals self-determination is described by Yu (2021) as one of the harmful effects that the WSC has on those who are being 'helped'. The WSC reinforces the erroneous notion that 'people in the Global South need to be saved because they cannot save themselves'. This discourse jeopardizes local staff's efforts towards self-determination, further justifying external interventionists actions and reinforcing a cycle of systematic oppression. Therefore, more actions must be taken to support local populations' self-determination efforts: recognising the value of local staff's opinions and expertise, would help toward the disruption of the cycle of oppression via empowering individuals and raising their confidence (Yu, 2021).

6.4.4 Lack of cultural sensitivity and privilege-awareness

The fourth and last problematic area in which respondents suggested possible improvements is closely linked to the aforementioned point of intervention. In order to disrupt the superiority complex and cycle of oppression that WSC practices enforce, efforts towards locals' self-

determination must be made. One of the most essential ways to achieve this result lies in raising awareness in regard to international interns' privilege and positionality. In his study on the American Peace Corps, Wilcox (2021) addresses the necessity of transformative change in the way the organisation is structured and operates via enhancing educational training on the WSC for its members. On this issue, the author says " Peace Corps members must reject the idea of dominant cultures and use their privilege to work with oppressed groups to dismantle the system, achieving autonomy status as a social justice ally." (Wilcox, 2021, p. 11). The lack of awareness towards their own privilege is one of the key factors influencing interns' entitlement and erroneous assumption of superiority, particularly towards different cultures (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). In this sense, respondents of this study also reported feelings of frustration and concerns over interns' lack of cultural awareness and respect to local customs and traditions. Sarah and Terry said:

> "Interns should be interested, oriented. They should know more about the culture, the country and the people before they come. Right now they just show up and undervalue these aspects a lot. Things here are done differently." (Sarah, FS)

> "They don't respect the culture. They know nothing about it when they come and they don't understand it when they are here." (Terry, FS)

Yu (2021, p.23) reiterates this aspect by saying "To challenge the power hierarchy, the providers of help need to position themselves correctly in the first place—not as saviors but as humble help providers who understand the values of a different culture.". It is via raising students' privilege awareness and via encouraging them to reflect on their own positionality (prior, during and after the internship experience) that progresses can be made to disrupt the colonial legacies embedded in these programs (Yu, 2021). In connection with this, Villarreal (2021, p. 721) states that adding to academic curricula teachings about white privilege and positionality is "fundamental to understand systems of oppression of people of colour and [to raise students'] self-awareness ".

With this in mind, the following section will explore aspects of positionality and critical self-reflexivity as possible steps towards the decolonisation of development education.

6.5 Discussion summary- towards the decolonisation of development education

In light of the above-stated findings, the final point of discussion reflects on the steps that could be taken in order to work towards the decolonisation of development education. Internship programs have increasingly become a core component of tertiary education curricula, particularly in the field of international development (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013). However, as illustrated in this study and validated by previous research, internship programs still reproduce colonial power dynamics and reinforce the erroneous notion of a Global South in need of help (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021). In order to disrupt the universalisation of Western knowledge and the notion of white supremacy, critical steps must therefore be taken towards the decolonisation of development education (Sultana, 2019). Decolonial scholars suggest that merely acknowledging the ongoing colonial legacies that permeate the development sector is not sufficient (Noxolo, 2017; Wilcox, 2021). Decolonising development education means challenging the imperialistic ideologies that development inherited from its colonial past, in particular in relation to the "normalisation that knowledge comes from the 'expert' and the 'West'" (Sultana, 2019, p. 34). Thus, since the positionality of who produces such knowledge greatly influences the type of knowledge that is being proffered, distributed and consumed in academia, an essential element towards the decolonisation of development education lies in the notion of privilege awareness (Cornwall, 2020; Villarreal Sosa and Lesniewski, 2021). Critical self-reflexivity is described by Sultana (2019, p.36) as the practice through which individuals must undergo to question their own "privileges, locations, and histories" and to critically position themselves "within legacies of colonialism, Eurocentrism, and geopolitical power relations" (Sultana, 2019, p. 37). To do so will mean confronting one's privilege and hegemonic assumption of power structures; being faced with emotions of discouragement and discomfort; and, eventually, practicing humility and open-mindedness (Chen, 2020). Yu (2021, p. 22) also stresses the centrality that positionality plays in disrupting the WSC by saying that "the acknowledgment of privilege, awareness-raising, and humility [can] minimize the psychological harms" that white saviour practices have on local populations. By recognizing, and not denying, one's own privilege, individuals can not only position themselves within the tapestry of global power relations, but also engage with the complex historical legacies that development is founded on, and learn to respect and restore the dignity of marginalised social groups (Straubhaar, 2014; Yu, 2021).

In other words, if international internship programs are to remain a key component of higher education syllabi in international development, "ensuring that critical reflection on privilege

and power are integral to their curriculum is an important step towards" the decolonisation of development education (Gilbertson, Parris-Piper and Robertson, 2021, p. 590).

7. CONCLUSION

Internship programs have been increasingly criticised for perpetuating neocolonial practices, reinforcing the idea of an inferior South in need of assistance from a superior North (Cowden, 2020; Yu, 2021). Due to being usually centred on Global North students' benefits, an often-overlooked component of these programs is the viewpoint of local partners in hosting organisations in the Global South (Ouma and Dimaras, 2013). In this qualitative case study this phenomenon has been examined from the micro-level perspective of local development practitioners in Uganda. Results from the study show that notions of white saviourism among respondents' experiences still exists in their working relationship with international interns. Interviewees report of episodes of power imbalance within the workplace as well as interns' tendency to operate with a condescending attitude of superiority towards local staff (Pailey, 2020). Moreover, data show the emergence of four key problem areas that participants want to address: 1) the lack of clarity and involvement of local staff in overall program design and recruitment processes; 2) interns' role ambiguity in regard to their tasks and responsibilities; 3) the tendency for local staff knowledge to be undervalued; and finally, 4) interns' lack of cultural sensitivity and privilege-awareness (Mukasa, 2013). In light of these considerations, and reflecting on avenues to decolonise development education, critical self-reflexivity in future development curricula seem to be a necessary point of intervention. Increasing students' self-reflexivity towards their own positionality, and therefore acknowledging their privileges instead of denying them, could constitute a concrete strategy towards the decolonisation of development studies (Sultana, 2019).

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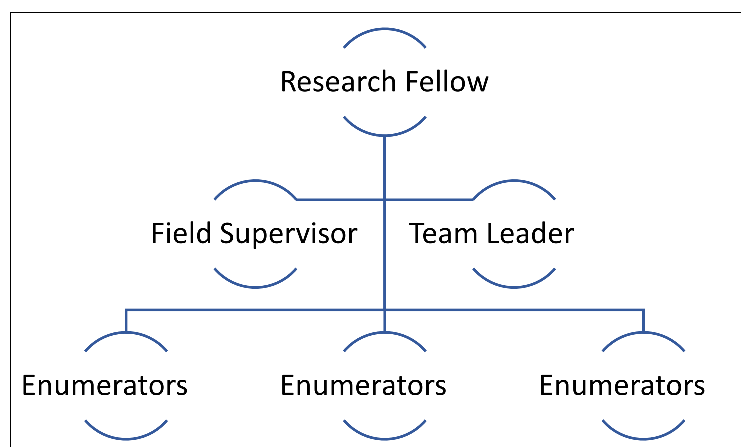
9. APPENDIX

A. Job Descriptions

Workplace standard hierarchical structure in a Research and Evaluation Unit (Elsevier Author Services, 2023).



Source: (Room to Read Organization, 2022; indeed Career Guide, 2023)

1- Team Leader: job vacancy advertisement

Key duties and responsibilities	Minimum qualification and experience
• Properly sample households and identify eligible respondents for interview • Obtain administrative clearance from the selected district and sub counties prior to data collection • Answer questions that the area authorities may ask before, during or after the course of data collection • Ensure that the enumerators comply with the set data collection and ethics guidelines at all times • Lead the assigned team in conducting field data collection, including assigning households for interviews, and ensuring that	• Possess a minimum of a Bachelor's degree in Social sciences or equivalent. Possession of a Master's degree in Public Health, Social Sciences or Statistics will be an added advantage. • Evidence of being a team leader on at least 2 research projects • Proven experience in working with key populations is mandatory • Should have at least three years' experience in collecting quantitative and qualitative research • Proficiency in English and at least one of the local languages (Acholi, Lusoga, Langi, Luganda, Ateso (both spoken and written)

the required number of respondents is covered • Lead data collection and participate in data management processes including validation to ensure quality data collection • Provide the Study Coordinator with daily updates on the work done by his/her team. This includes progress on the work done, any challenges experienced, and suggestions (if needed) in field data collection schedules, among other aspects	• Excellent interpersonal and communication skills • Prior experience in using mobile data collection applications (ODK, Kobo collect or Survey Monkey) • Must have an android phone of version 10 and above and should be willing to use it for data collection • Must be willing to work beyond official working hours in the field

Source: (Makerere University, 2022)

2- Field Supervisor: job vacancy advertisement

Key Duties and Responsibilities	Qualifications, Skills and Experience
• Prepare survey trainings and field plans. • Communicate and organize enumerators Facilitate enumerator trainings. • Supervise enumerators and monitor their data entries. • Manage Logistics (mobile) and financial management of the survey expenses. • Communicate with beneficiaries and local stakeholders.	• Must hold a Bachelor's degree in any field and a Master's degree in Monitoring and Evaluation, Social Sciences or Statistics. • One year of experience in survey coordination. • Extensive knowledge on survey methods and mobile data collection methods. • Impact Evaluation and M & E. • Capacity to train enumerators. • Knowledge on Assets & basic financial management. • Excellent interpersonal and communication Skills

Source: (Great Uganda Jobs, 2019)

B. Profile of the Interviewees

Profile No 1: Robert • Team Leader • 32 years old, Male • Bachelor's degree in economics • 6 years of field experience		**Profile No 6: Sarah** • Field Supervisor • 34 years old, Female • Bachelor's degree in development studies • Master's degree in monitoring and evaluation • 6 years of field experience
Profile No 2: John • Team Leader • 34 years old, Male • Bachelor's degree in education • 7 years of field experience		**Profile No 7: Mercy** • Field Supervisor • 33 years old, Female • Bachelor's degree in development studies • Master's degree in business management • 5 years of field experience
Profile No 3: George • Team Leader • 31 years old, Male • Bachelor's degree in business administration • 6 years of field experience		**Profile No 8: Jakye** • Field Supervisor • 37 years old, Female • Bachelor's degree in development studies • Master's degree in monitoring and evaluation • 7 years of field experience
Profile No 4: Philip • Team Leader • 38 years old, Male • Bachelor's degree in business administration • 5 years of field experience		**Profile No 9: Arthur** • Field Supervisor • 33 years old, Male • Bachelor's degree in development studies • Master's degree in business management • 5 years of field experience
Profile No 5: Eleonor • Team Leader • 32 years old, Female • Bachelor's degree in education • 6 years of field experience		**Profile No 10: Terry** • Field Supervisor • 34 years old, Male • Bachelor's degree in development studies • Master's degree in business management • 5 years of field experience

C. Interview Guide

Pseudonym:
Age:
Gender:
Academic Background:
Years of experience in Dev. Sector:
Current Role:
Past Roles:

1.0 How many times (estimate) have you experienced working with international interns (specifically students that came temporarily to gain university credits)?

2.0 What do you think are the main advantages and disadvantages of these student internship programs?

3.0 Would you say that these students were overall qualified for the tasks they were supposed to complete/ oversee? Did they have relevant skills/expertise upon their arrival? Why? Give examples if possible.

4.0 What role did these students cover within the organisation and for how long (usually)?

5.0 Was it a position of authority? / Would you say that they had more decisional power over you?

5.1 If they had authority over you, how did that make you feel? Would you say it was a productive relationship? Why?

5.2 If you were responsible for them, how did that make you feel? Would you say it was a productive relationship? Why?

6.0 If you could change these programs, what would you change?

7.0 If you could describe these programs with three adjectives, what would they be?