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Postdevelopment Assistance Made Possible?

A Qualitative Analysis of the ICLD's International Training

Programmes in Tanzania from the Local Stakeholders' Perspective

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Abstract

Development is a contentious concept, praised by some for enabling progress and criticised by others for perpetuating global power imbalances. Development assistance tends to strengthen the donor-recipient dependency, which, according to critics, primarily serves the interests of the Global North while neglecting the needs of the Global South. Mainstream market-driven strategies have exacerbated inequalities in developing countries provoking the need for exploration of alternative solutions, such as those proposed by postdevelopment.

This thesis examines the possibility of integration of postdevelopment into current development programmes. It is based on the case of the International Training Programmes (ITPs) conducted in Tanzania by the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD) and it aims to assess if the ITP participants' perspectives, needs, and values were considered when these programmes were conducted. By incorporating the voices of the development assistance recipients, the author endeavours to acknowledge their ownership over the development processes.

The literature review in this thesis presents the deficiencies of development practice and is followed by the presentation of the postdevelopment theory, its key aspects, critique, and prescriptions as well as possible postdevelopment scenarios. The data was gathered using qualitative semi-structured interviews with a sample of 14 ITP participants and analysed by applying the thematic analysis approach. Complementary methods, that is observations and semi-structured interviews with the ITP organisers, were used to triangulate the data. In the methodology chapter, the author also reflects on his positionality and ethical aspects.

The results show multiple aspects of development assistance from the perspective of the ITP participants and are divided into two sections, that is the applicability of the programmes and power relations. Their presentation is followed by a discussion in which the author connects the results to the theory. The findings served to present the experiences of the Tanzanians involved in the ITPs and how they relate to postdevelopment. It allowed the author to conclude whether development assistance could be compatible with the postdevelopment agenda.

Keywords: development assistance, power relations, international training programmes, postdevelopment, Tanzania

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1. Introduction

1.1. Problem formulation, aim, and research questions

Development is an ambiguous concept, and opinions on it are divided. While many adore it for providing ways to exercise their will to improve, others take a critical stand denominating it a failed strategy that perpetuates power imbalances between the countries (Sumner and Tribe, 2008, pp.11-16). As the concept of development is not explicit and has a myriad of interpretations, it makes it somehow vague and prone to conflicting perspectives (Sachs, 2019, p.xxiii). However, if development is recognised as a process that leads to the well-being of all, then its shortcomings can be reviewed and transformed to better address global challenges and achieve its ultimate goal. To succeed, it is key to listen to critiques, reflect on them, and implement their suggestions for improvement. This is the central thought of this thesis.

Most scholars agree that international development assistance creates uneven relations between donors and recipients. These power relations tend to toughen the dependency of the poor on the assistance sent from the rich. The idea of development, although it looks beneficent at first, its critics argue that it rather serves the interests of the Global North while disregarding the real needs of the Global South (Escobar, 2012; Rist, 2019). In many cases, donor countries have forced market-driven solutions when implementing development programmes, which led to rising inequalities in the fragile economies of the developing world (Rist, 2019, pp.257-262). Hence there is a need of looking for new alternative ways of providing assistance.

In the last decades, this problem was recognised by academia and led to the formulation of new concepts and theories, one of them being the postdevelopment theory. This study wanted to explore whether lessons from this critical theory were visible within the framework of current development programmes, and thus answer the question posed in the title on whether postdevelopment assistance was possible. It relates to Agenda 2030 in the scope of Sustainable Development Goal 17, which focuses on strengthening the means of implementation and revitalising the global partnership for sustainable development, especially regarding targets 17.9, 17.15 and 17.16 (United Nations, 2023). For the case study, I chose the International Training Programmes (ITPs) conducted in Tanzania by the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD), an organisation I had the opportunity to work for as an intern.

This study aimed to reach out to the recipients of the ICLD's international training programmes, listen to their experiences and understand to which extent their perspectives, needs, and values were considered when such programmes were implemented. The conclusion

should help reflect on the accuracy of their design and make foundations for their better adaptation. It is not only ethically right but it also has the potential to increase the effectiveness of the assistance by incorporating the voices of its recipients and thus enhancing the sense of ownership over the development processes.

The research was conducted to answer the following questions:

1) What were the experiences of the Tanzanians involved in the selected international training programmes conducted by ICLD in regard to applicability and power relations?
2) How do these experiences relate to the postdevelopment theory?

1.2. Presentation of ICLD

ICLD is a non-profit organisation financed by Swedish public funds, which aims to strengthen local democracy on a global scale. In all the activities, ICLD applies their four core values, which are: equity, participation, transparency, and accountability. They attempt to contribute to the alleviation of poverty and increased inclusion through the implementation of democratic practices at the local level, which is believed to be a well-suited path to solving the problems of the people. They do so by implementing development programmes in several countries, the main programmes being: Municipal Partnership Programme (MPP) and International Training Programme (ITP) (ICLD, 2023a).

Through the MPP, ICLD fosters collaborations between Swedish local authorities and their counterparts in other countries. The teams work together on identifying a common challenge related to local democracy issues and create a project aimed at improving the situation in both settings. These programmes facilitate the mutual exchange of knowledge and experiences between local authorities from various countries with diverse perspectives (ICLD, 2023b). The ITP focuses on capacity building through workshops and study visits for their participants, who are mostly local politicians and administrative officials from OECD-DAC list countries. One of the workshops called the Swedish Phase takes place in Sweden and lasts around two weeks. The ITP aims to enhance the capacities of the participants and make them become agents of change by helping them acquire new skills and providing knowledge on how to strengthen local democracy (ICLD, 2023c).

During my internship at ICLD in the autumn of 2022, I mainly worked for the ITP unit. While I saw the MPP aligning well with the premises of the postdevelopment theory, especially by encouraging new North-South alliances that are free from dominance, the ITPs seemed to stick to a traditional model of providing development assistance where the North-South

dichotomy persisted. My experiences from that time encouraged me to reflect on the design of the ITPs. I got inspired by the reality check approach that emphasises the importance of understanding the experiences of development assistance recipients, which allows us to 'uncover the unintended consequences, positive and negative deviance and practicality of interventions' (Reality Check Approach, 2017, p.4). As a consequence, I decided to conduct a qualitative study with interviews to directly interact with the participants of the ITPs and listen to their experiences.

In the following subsections, I present three ITPs selected for the analysis. They were selected due to being the only ITPs active in Tanzania in the last four years, which could assure a still vivid memory of the programmes among their participants. In the subsequent chapters, 'the ITP' and 'the programme' are used as synonyms.

1.2.1. Public Financial Management and Local Economic Development

Public Financial Management and Local Economic Development was an 18-month-long training programme managed by ICLD in cooperation with the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF). It focused on issues related to local economics and finances, such as municipal financing, budgeting processes, transparency in financial management, local economic development, and municipal investments. The programme was thought for local government officials that were accepted in teams of two to three people, each team representing one municipality or organisation. At the time of applying for the programme, the teams defined a municipal challenge and then transformed it into a change project that they developed throughout the programme. Apart from Tanzania, the programme also gathered teams from Botswana, South Africa, Uganda, and Zambia. The teams from all these countries met four times: three times in the countries listed above and once in Sweden. In addition to the support from ICLD and UNCDF, the teams received guidance from mentors coming from the same country as the team (ICLD, 2019, p.3).

1.2.2. Gender Mainstreaming

Gender Mainstreaming was a programme lasting 18 months, destined for local government officials from Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia. It focused on developing gender equality in local authorities and contributing to gender-equal lives for all citizens. The participants worked throughout the programme in teams of three persons representing one local authority. Before the programme started, the teams had sent an application with a description of an internal challenge that they wanted to work on during the ITP. During the programme, the teams received support and knowledge from international experts, local mentors and fellow

participants from other local authorities. Each team was expected to carry out a change process in connection to the training, using the gender mainstreaming method. The teams met four times: three times in the countries listed above and once in Sweden (ICLD, 2020a, p.3).

1.2.3. Women's Political Leadership

Women's Political Leadership (WPL) was a 12-month-long programme organised by ICLD in cooperation with the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR). It differed notably from the two previously described programmes since the participants took part in the WPL individually. It was dedicated to women holding an elected seat in a local government. During the ITP, they worked on developing political leadership skills. The aim was to strengthen democracy by empowering and strengthening women politicians for them to become good role models, and contribute to more participation of marginalised groups in the decision-making. This ITP was open to candidates from the OECD-DAC list countries. Throughout the programme, the participants meet three times, of which once in Sweden. The participants were supported by Swedish mentors and women politicians (ICLD, 2020b, p.3).

1.3. Study location

The history of development differs significantly between Sweden and Tanzania. After declaring independence in 1961, Tanzania took a unique development approach called 'ujamaa'. It was a socialist strategy of self-reliance implemented by the one-party regime, which passed on the means of production to collective ownership, however, without a big role of central control. Subsequently, the country embraced a multi-party system and moved towards neoliberal economics through the enforcement of structural adjustment programmes imposed by the Global North (Maxon, 2009, pp.271-282; Rist, 1995, pp.125-139). Like many other countries in Africa, Tanzania is considered an electoral autocracy by the V-Dem Institute (2023), meaning that although multiparty elections exist, they often are not free and fair and democracy is constricted with insufficient levels of fundamental freedoms. At the same time, Sweden was classified as a liberal democracy where multiparty elections are free and fair, and civil liberties and freedoms are guaranteed. Visions for how to stimulate development might be clashing between Swedish donors and Tanzanian recipients, making it an interesting setting to conduct a study on international development assistance.

Another factor that convinced me to select Tanzania was the feasibility of this research. Due to the extended presence of ICLD and the implementation of several international training programmes in this country, there was a numerous group of local stakeholders, current and former ITP participants, which could become my interviewees. I chose Dar es Salaam as the

main location of the study because the majority of the potential interviewees were based within its metropolitan area.

Thanks to receiving the ICLD Fieldwork Grant, I had the opportunity to conduct fieldwork in the Dar es Salaam area, which lasted 4 weeks starting the 5th of February 2023. Whenever possible, I met the stakeholder related to this research in person but I also used online tools to conduct interviewees with people living outside of that area. Since my grant was awarded by ICLD, the organisation whose activity was analysed in this study, it was important to refer to the issue of positionality (see Section 3.4).

2. Background and theoretical framework

In this chapter, I review the literature on the shortcomings of development practice, putting additional focus on the language issue, something especially relevant in the Tanzanian context. Subsequently, I present the postdevelopment theory, which constitutes the central part of the theoretical framework for this research, with references to postcolonialism as its arguments are inherently connected to postdevelopment.

2.1. Critique of development practice

In order to analyse a development assistance programme, it is important to review its possible shortcomings described in the existing literature. One of the most recognised works presenting failures of development projects was Ferguson's (1994) book based on his experiences from Lesotho. He claims that development interventions are shaped more by political endeavour than socioeconomic concerns. They are initiated to serve the political interest of the donors promoting their ideologies and agendas to a larger extent than responding to the needs of the recipients. He criticises the technocratic approach to development as limited to the implementation of simplistic solutions like constructing infrastructure and economic reforms, which overlook the local complexity but significantly affect the lives of recipient communities. He also highlights the process of depoliticisation of issues that development projects aim to address. This claim was supported more than two decades later by Telleria (2017) based on his discourse analysis of the programmes implemented by the United National Development Programme (UNDP). Through the deployment of bureaucratic processes and administrative structures, development projects tend to diminish the importance of local politics and disempower local communities, and by that, ignore local knowledge and practices. Ferguson (1994) presents a concept of 'development subjects' used by those who create development projects. These are new categories of individuals who are expected to follow the rules of the project, which often leads to the imposition of new norms and values that do not reflect the existing local practices. Finally, in his view, the above-described processes often bring unintended consequences that create new challenges or worsen the already existing problems. An example of that is the construction of infrastructure which provokes displacement of communities, disruptions of local economies and thus deepening of social inequalities.

These arguments are emphasised again by Li (2007) who noticed similar dynamics of development interventions during her stay in Indonesia. She identified a desire of development agencies to make the world a better place, which she called 'the will to improve'. In her view, these agencies often replicate power imbalances between donors and recipients, forcing

changes unwanted by the local community and resulting in weak outcomes. For the sake of operationalisation of the will to improve, development agencies must render their actions technical, which, as Li (2007) argues, makes the assistance purely technocratic and depoliticised and thus ignores important factors of local reality. Ferguson (1994) and Li (2007) advocate for reshaping development assistance by incorporating local knowledge and practices.

Subsequent research supports this narrative. Khaled (2018), based on his study about development intervention in a local market in Egypt, claims that the inability to respond to local dynamics between the stakeholders is one of the key factors for the failure at achieving sustainable results when development programmes are exercised. He calls on development practitioners to recognise existing local power structures and their legitimacy. He adds that securing the participation of stakeholder groups is believed to improve ownership and sustainability of results. The stress should be put on identifying the right participants from the stakeholder groups, the ones with legitimacy and power on one hand, and their representativeness on the other. What is important is the ability of participants, through their networks and resources, to contribute to the decision-making processes (p.797). The analysis of the activity of Korean NGOs in Cambodia by Yang (2021) shows that local participation and ownership are key factors for development activities to succeed and donors need to pay attention to empowering local staff who have strong connections with local communities.

Dübgen (2012) explored the misrecognition in development practice, concluding that one-directional methods of assistance imposed in lieu of reciprocal learning may result in 'devaluation of capacities and knowledge that were already in place before the international expert arrived' (pp.75-76). Such one-directional transfer of good and knowledge additionally strengthens conditionality, favouring those with more power (Collins and Rhoads, 2009; Dübgen, 2012). Schöneberg (2017) notices that, despite the awareness within international organisations, the development apparatus keeps perpetuating power structures between donors and recipients through the imposition of rules and restrictions reproducing dependencies and disabling the local communities to shape their development alternatives. International agencies intervening with development assistance are not able to control social change in the long term. They should acknowledge the agency and resilience of local communities and engage with practical hybrids, which can address everyday needs by incorporating the local context. It applies to different types of interventions with examples of providing legal aid in cases of domestic violence in Timor-Leste (Kirk, 2015), increasing cassava yields in Cameroon (Tafon and Saunders, 2015), and adapting to climate change in Nepal and Bangladesh (Ireland and McKinnon, 2013). There is also a big potential for South-South cooperation since the

experience of the Global South also can offer important lessons to different countries and generate new development alliances García (2018).

2.1.1. Language issues in development practice

When implementing a multinational capacity-building programme, it must be decided in which language to conduct it. Tanzania is a country with a complex language structure where Swahili and English play the most significant role on the national level next to multiple ethnic languages used locally. Swahili has been used as a lingua franca in East Africa since the 18th century while the usage of English was intensified since the late 19th century throughout the colonisation period. After the independence, the status of English was challenged to promote Swahili as the national language of all Tanzanians. However, English still plays a significant role as it is the language of instruction in most secondary and higher education. While English is widely known, for many it is their second or even third language, often not practised daily (Ochieng, 2015; Mapunda, 2022). Therefore, they may feel a language barrier when participating in training conducted in English.

Tesseur (2019) claims that language issues in development work tend to not be treated carefully enough and this may negatively impact the results in capacity building. Overlooking the linguistic issues can hamper the efforts for equalising power relations since the language barrier may hinder the creation of equitable relationships based on trust and respect. Thus she recommends making use of the languages of the recipients of development assistance, at least for essential activities and documents; recognising the burden of translation for those who do 'the informal work of language mediation […] in addition to their normal work'; and ensuring financing for translation and interpreting (p.223).

Another observed issue regarding the language concerns its perception. As English was a language imposed by the colonisers, its usage might be affected by how Tanzanians relate to this fact. Tanzanian language researchers such as Ochieng (2015) and Mapunda (2022) advocate for maintaining English as one of the instruction languages in the educational system. They add that despite the colonial and imperialist connotations, English maintained its importance in society and its usefulness for international relations and business outweighs its colonial past.

2.1.2. Research gap

The literature on international training programmes is scarce and mostly limited to documents written by the organisations conducting them or evaluators contracted by these organisations. They usually take the form of guidebooks (see Schulz, Gustafsson, and Illes, 2005) or

evaluation reports measuring results against expected outcomes (see Chatiza and Makanza, 2017; Wångdahl Flinck et al., 2016). There is a lack of literature on the research undertaking assessment of these programmes in academic rigour, applying a range of theories. Thinking in postdevelopment terms, there is also a considerable lack of perspectives from the recipients of development assistance in the existing literature. As Dannecker (2022) argues, there is a need of switching the research focus from technical improvements of development programmes to studying respective contexts and power structures, especially in North-South collaborations. This thesis attempted to add new findings to this underresearched topic and therefore contribute to filling the research gap.

2.2. Postdevelopment

Development studies is a discipline created to help societies modernise through science, technology and religion. Consciously or not, this maintains and reinforces colonial ties. Therefore, development understood by postcolonial thinkers is seen as a product based on Eurocentric principles, unaware of, or even purposely ignoring alternative interpretations of the world and what progress can be. Eurocentric perception of the Global South as being poor, uneducated, and passive is challenged by postcolonialism, which refuses to see progress solely in terms of economic growth – a popular approach in the Global North. These contestations of the development agenda prompted a broader discussion, especially from the 1990s onward, creating a new postulation for transforming development. Up to that time, postcolonial studies and development studies, although intertwined, somehow ignored each other. The former tried to understand the issues of identity and representation, while the latter focused on economics and politics in the developing world. Postcolonialism started to influence research in development studies, resulting in the appearance of postdevelopment, which centres around grassroots movements and community-based development, claiming that this is a more appropriate way forward (Mahmoud, 2016; Willis and Kumar, 2009).

2.2.1. Key aspects of postdevelopment

Escobar (2012), a prominent advocate of the postdevelopment theory, argues that the concept of development and the actions taken under its name has been used by industrialised nations to maintain their dominance over the so-called 'Third World'. He states that it was a strategy of those in power to fortify relational structures allowing control over their former dependencies, which had become independent states after World War II. This viewpoint is shared by Sachs (2019) who agrees that in the postcolonial era, development emerged to be malignant, especially for the mental infrastructure of the world as it fortified the position of the West as

the global leader enabling it to exercise its imperial power (p.x). Although the strive for development was prompted by the Global North, it was not simply imposed on the rest. The civilisational model of the global superpowers has created a pattern within which the Global South is trying to fit. Many Southern nations embraced the mainstream understanding of development making them look for recognition and equity within its frames. Despite the decolonisation in the political and economic spheres, decolonisation of the imagination has not yet taken place, making the South 'the staunchest defender of development'. The world's nations tend to follow the same path set by the pioneers of social evolution although the Western model of wealth cannot be generalised as it emerged under specific circumstances (pp.xxi-xxiv). Development became the main aspiration of the independent nations in the Global South, regardless of whether they were dictatorships or democracies and development nomenclature became embedded even in the language of grassroots movements (p.xxviii).

Even in postcolonial times, African nations despite their great diversity, kept measuring the progress in terms adopted from Western modernity, such as economic development. Some thinkers criticise African elites for prolonging the colonial enterprise in new forms even after the independence, trying to imitate Western values for the sake of constructing modern and prosperous nations (Mahmoud, 2016). As Sachs (2019, p.xxii) states, the strive for more income and power among the global middle classes is executed by scarifying the fundamental rights of the poor. When the elites, including governments and businesses, enforce development projects, often the living space, culture and traditions of the powerless, such as indigenous people and small farmers, are under great pressure. He criticises the attempts of turning 'traditional man' into 'modern man'. To him, it was a failed strategy that made many people vulnerable and caught 'in the deadlock of development' (p.xxxi).

2.2.2. Connections to postcolonialism

Escobar's (2012) poststructuralist approach centres on the discourse surrounding development, which is vital if one wants to understand power dynamics (p. vii). Through the analysis of the discourse, one can notice the process of labelling described by Escobar (2012, pp.109-110), which consists of forming client categories by development agencies such as 'pregnant women' or 'slum dwellers', which reduce a person's life to a single trait. These labels tend to shape the image of the 'underdeveloped' nations and influence how development policies are designed. It is a stance aligned with the postcolonial view, which exposes how the use of development language creates a division between 'us' and 'them', placing countries with advanced economies on one side and the 'underdeveloped' on the other. This dichotomy determines most

North-South interactions. It is closely connected to postcolonialism which advocates for the recovery of voices of the marginalised through the reconstruction of knowledge production. Moreover, postcolonialism emphasises how capitalism reproduces inequalities in the name of development and thus calls for the understanding of development through the lens of those who make daily decisions in situations of conflict, despair, uncertainty, ambivalence, hope, and resistance since alternative knowledge is already present in local contexts (Jönsson, Jerneck, and Arvidson, 2012, pp. 61-62; McEwan, 2014; Said, 2004). In line with the postcolonial vision, Escobar (2012) advocates for the 'advance in the formulation and implementation of alternative social and economic proposals' (p.212) and calls for the preservation of local values and cultural diversity.

Postdevelopment and postcolonial theories often complement each other due to their similarities in opposing the dependency reinforced by North-South interactions. According to Omar (2012), one of the postcolonial thinkers, development should be 'a mutually negotiated and collectively implemented process of social, political and economic reform' in which accommodating basic human needs should be the main driver of any intervention with the satisfaction of needs of all involved parties (p.46). The individuals and groups should have 'the capacity to create their own systems of subsistence, manage their own affairs and participate in their autonomy' (p.46). In his view, the agency is a central concept, as there does not exist any universal path to enhance development. Diverse perspectives should be taken into account, which favours alternative and more equitable alliances between the Global North and the Global South (McEwan, 2014). As postcolonialism is a very broad school of thought that investigates a multitude of dependency aspects, not only those directly related to development assistance, I decided to limit my theoretical framework to the postdevelopment theory, which itself comprises many important postulates of postcolonialism.

2.2.3. Critique of postdevelopment

The postdevelopment perspective gained a lot of attention among a broad audience in academia. However, many academics did not feel convinced by its argumentation. Despite being grounded in the critique of development, it itself became a subject of critique. It is said to be stuck in a rhetorical tailback. By using discourse analysis ideologically, it provokes a political impasse. Nederveen Pieterse (2000) says that its 'alternatives to development' are meaningless as they do not offer concrete solutions.

Matthews (2017) critically examines the implementation of postdevelopment theory in practice, providing examples from Africa. She underlines that little is written on how this theory

is seen from the African perspective, thus failing to adequately comprehend the local experience of development. She also argues that postdevelopment theory has difficulty in confronting the desire for development shared by many people in Africa, which continues despite many failures of the development agenda. She stresses the importance of 'being attentive to the range of experiences of those in the South' (p.2659) by acknowledging their different wills: the one of preserving traditions and traditional way of life as well as the one of having an urban and materially comfortable lifestyle. The complexity of engaging postdevelopment theory in practice in an African setting is well visualised in an example of a Senegalese organisation Enda Graf Sahel. Although they reject many provisions of mainstream development, following the marginalised communities' own priorities, they decide to implement projects, such as capacity-building programmes, which are compatible with mainstream development (p.2657).

Based on another example connected to the energy sector in Africa, which is characterised by its reliance on fossil fuels and desire for access to electricity, Andreasson (2017) states that, despite the expectations of postdevelopment, industrialisation and economic growth are continuously the policy aims of African countries. Therefore, the project of development cannot be seen as outdated and depleted. He concludes that while postdevelopment is proficient in posing questions about the nature of development, it is less advanced in identifying alternatives to it.

2.2.4. Prescriptions of postdevelopment

While Escobar (2012) admits that there is no overarching solution to the current development agenda that can be universally applied, he draws inspiration from various approaches to addressing different challenges. It is important to not construct solutions at an abstract, macro-level but to look for alternatives in the practices of grassroots groups and their resistance to dominant interventions (p.222). His notion of 'hybrid cultures' suggests that traditional cultures are not condemned to disappear, but can endure 'through their transformative engagement with modernity' (p.219).

Hybridity is also important in the work of Bhabha (1994) who establishes a framework for understanding the complexity of cultural identities and the potential derived from cultural interactions. To him, hybridity is seen as the mixing and blending of different cultural elements, which challenges the notion of rigid identities by acknowledging that cultures are not fixed and cannot be categorised in a binary way but they are in constant flux, being shaped by encounters and exchanges. This approach shows that the formation of identities is multi-layered and that there exists a great productive potential from the fusion of multiple cultural practices, ideas,

and traditions. According to Bhabha (1994), hybridity becomes a form of cultural resistance, especially in the postcolonial context since it allows marginalised groups to increase their agency as well as challenge existing power structures and mainstream narratives. It is thanks to the disruption of the hierarchy of cultures, which leads to the creation of new forms of identity and cultural expression that transcend the previously established boundaries.

Following Bhabha's logic, Escobar's (2012) understanding of hybridity is not constrained by a dichotomous division of cultural heritages but encourages to adapt and appropriate these heritages. It allows to preserve and explore cultural differences and contributes to the production of different subjectivities (p.220). Therefore, it can be claimed that modernity should not be imposed on local cultures, but they can rather freely and selectively incorporate some of its achievements. Hybrid situations may offer paths for 'other ways of building economies, of dealing with basic needs, of coming together into social groups'. The preservation of cultural differences is essential to resist the hegemonic form of modernity and capitalism (p.225).

In his critique of development, Berg (2007) underlines the need for more cultural relativism in efforts aimed at achieving social change and general development goals. Nations of Africa and other states of the Global South should be given the possibility to evolve on their own unique cultural principles that are specific to their people, instead of imposing the development agenda and discourse of the Global North. The cultural values understood as a tool for the survival of social and environmental needs of a person, represent solutions to development. Therefore, the alternatives to development should incorporate the understanding of local culture, as what works well in one culture, does not necessarily work for another. Multiculturalism is considered valuable while homogenisation is to be avoided. Berg (2007) believes that this change can 'ensure a satisfactory quality of life for all the world's people' (p.553). McGregor (2007) added in regard to his analysis of development assistance in Timor-Leste that the greatest potential for the postdevelopment approach does not lie in discarding the development apparatus but in 'utilising its power and prestige by attracting the support of those who work within it' (p.169).

Regarding African experiences, Amílcar Cabral, a Bissau-Guinean and Cape Verdean intellectual and revolutionary advocated for the decolonisation of the mind as a continuation of political independence, which was considered crucial for real decolonisation by him. In order to achieve progress, each African society should be able to create its own culture, acquire techniques for self-regeneration and self-renewal, and liberate its own productive capacities. Positive values coming from diverse African societies should merge while tolerance for

diversity should advance. These ideas do not contradict the possibility to learn from others, which he considers advantageous as long as it does not come at the expense of cultural origins and values (Mahmoud, 2016).

2.2.5. Postdevelopment scenarios

Postdevelopment theory has many critics who strongly advocate for development understood in conventional frames. Nonetheless, Ziai (2017), based on his analysis of development studies textbooks, argues that the relationship between development studies and postdevelopment is a mix of rejection and integration. Although many scholars do not consider themselves postdevelopmentalists, they acknowledge that the development discourse is paternalist, Eurocentric and affected by power relations. Ziai's (2017) study proved the growing influence of postdevelopment core arguments, despite the critique of its alleged shortcomings.

Throughout the decades, development has predominantly been seen in statistical terms, using the Gross Domestic Product for creating rankings of the world nations, and thus limiting the interpretation of poverty to economic terms. However, as observed by Sachs (2019, p.xiii), since the 1970s, a new approach emerged in the development discourse, which introduced the idea of 'development-as-social policy' in contrast to the dominant idea of 'development-as-growth'. He adds that the development idea has already eroded, which can be seen even within the UN Agenda 2030 (p.xii). He states that development no longer intends to promise progress but it has come to be more about achieving the minimum level of environmental conditions and human rights. Agenda 2030 was modified also by incorporating all world regions, not only those of the Global South (Scholte and Söderbaum, 2017). Sachs (2019) calls for rerouting the desire for equity from economic growth to other notions that are community- and culture-based. Sources beyond money that people have can make communities more resilient against crises (pp.xxv-xxvi).

Although initially postdevelopment was rooted in experiences of Latin America, a region to which Escobar (2012) and fellow theorists dedicated most of their attention, later academics proved that postdevelopment is a theory adaptable and applicable worldwide. Postdevelopment is not homogenous and the alternatives to development are many – they highly depend on the conceptual and geographical context. Schöneberg et al. (2022) provide examples from three continents of alternative ways to societal and economic transformation. In the example of Tanzanian smallholder farmers who advanced food sovereignty and practised agroecology, they illustrated how grassroots movements caused the hybridisation of ancestral knowledge with agroecological practices and, as a result, sustained the rural sector. The farmers

challenged the hegemonic development paradigm, reducing the expansion of corporate agriculture, which deepens capitalism and coloniality. The hybridisation effectuated by the farmers became 'an alternative and non-hegemonic transformation for survival-oriented strategies' (p.1231), which represents key arguments of postdevelopment defined by Escobar (2012). This Tanzanian example and the other two cases from Iran and Haiti show the need to resist hegemonic development based on modernity, capitalism, state domination and patriarchy, and offer different localised alternatives.

Cupples, Glynn, and Larios (2007) presented a postdevelopment scenario from Nicaragua where 'the reworking of discourses and narratives that construct the spaces, places and subjects of development' (p.798) could lead to the creation of new subjectivities and improve people's sense of self and their living standard. Demaria and Kothari (2017) explore further two scenarios different to the logic of capitalism and state socialism. One of them, 'swaraj' (radical ecological democracy), emerged from Indian civil society, encompasses communal self-rule and self-reliance and provides a comprehensive path for human well-being with respect to the Earth's limits and the rights of other species' rights. The other one, 'degrowth', an approach more popular in the Global North, calls for 'a downscaling of production and consumption in industrialised countries as a means to achieve environmental sustainability, social justice and well-being' (p.2594). These efforts can contribute to creating alternatives to Agenda 2030 promoted by the United Nations and thus transform the world toward the pluriverse: 'a world where many worlds fit' (p.2596).

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I present the methodology applied in this thesis. I start by explaining my ontological and epistemological positions, introducing the methods used for gathering and analysing data, describing the study population and end by discussing the validity of this study, my positionality and reflexivity as well as referring to the ethical aspects.

3.1. Ontology and epistemology

The methods used in this study are chosen based on my ontological position, which focuses on 'people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, stories and narratives, language and discourses, experiences, interactions, perceptions, sensations and so on' and treat them as 'meaningful properties of the social reality' (Mason, 2018, p.111). This constructivist approach says that reality is socially constructed by individuals and their perceptions. Therefore, people's experiences are the most significant object of my research (Pernecky, 2016).

This ontology connects to my epistemological position stating that 'a legitimate or meaningful way to generate data on these ontological properties is to talk and interact with people', which should be done by asking questions, listening to them, and therefore getting access to their accounts and articulations (Mason, 2018, p.111). Assuming that knowledge is constructed by the individual, I call my epistemological approach subjectivist, which emphasises the importance of interacting socially with individuals and asking them questions to gather meaningful data. It also acknowledges that knowledge is situational with no objective truth or reality, but it depends on the person experiencing reality and the researcher as an interpreter (Mason, 2018), which makes the issues of positionality and reflexivity vital in such research.

3.2. Methods

This research is based on a case study, which is an empirical inquiry used to investigate contemporary phenomena in depth and kept in their real-world context (Silverman, 2005). Researching a case study enables us to reach a lower level of aggregation, which has significance for this thesis as it allows promising findings on how development assistance work in a specific setting (Bigsten, 2017). Case study research is appropriate when three criteria are fulfilled: the inquiry is built on 'how' and 'why' questions, it focuses on contemporary events, and the researcher is beyond the control of behavioural events (Yin, 2014). The choice of applying a case study was made as my inquiry fulfils these criteria.

3.2.1. Data gathering

Thanks to the possibility of conducting fieldwork, I decided to use qualitative semi-structured interviews as the main data generation method, which conforms with my ontological and epistemological positions. I also believe that interacting with people and asking for their accounts is probably the only feasible option for me to reveal the knowledge I need to answer my research questions (Kvale, 2007; Mason, 2018, p.115). Semi-structured interviews were chosen over other types of interviews due to the combination of flexibility and focus on specific topics. My interview guide (see Appendix 2) contained questions organised in thematic sections; however, unplanned follow-up questions allowed me to deepen interesting aspects and better understand the given account (Mason, 2018, pp.109-110).

3.2.2. Data analysis

Thematic analysis was the main method to analyse data in this thesis. It is a qualitative approach aimed at identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns, called themes, in the studied dataset. This process permits to develop a narrative out of the analysed material, which results in a collection of the most significant groups of meanings therein (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

I started by sorting out biases and establishing an overall impression of the data. Subsequently, I looked for recurring patterns across the data to identify common themes. After that, I annotated the transcripts with the support of the software 'NVivo', using codes to label words and sentences, to further align the data with themes. In the final stage, I collected my findings and insights from the analysis to build conclusions that give responses to the research questions (Kuckartz, 2014, pp.51-52).

I used the inductive approach in generating codes, which aligned better with the epistemological foundations of this thesis since not having any predetermined codes allows for detecting unexpected results. This approach is also more relevant for underresearched topics like the one studied by this thesis (Chandra and Shang, 2019, pp.91-92). Since this thesis focused on the experiences of individuals, inductive coding also left space for coding interesting findings, even if those occurred in very small samples. As argued by Boddy (2016), it is still worth presenting these findings, even from individual accounts, if they can add new valuable perspectives, especially in constructivist research driven by the postdevelopment theory. For this reason, the results and analysis included not only elements repeated in many interviews but also those from smaller samples.

The themes that emerged from the thematic analysis were listed as subsections in Chapter 4 and can also be seen in the codebook (see Appendix 3). For the sake of

operationalisation, the themes were grouped into two sections inspired by postdevelopment. These are:

1) applicability of the ITPs in the local context – focusing on WHAT was done,
2) power relations appearing during the ITPs – focusing on HOW it was done.

3.2.3. Sampling and study population

In my research, I followed non-probability purposive sampling rules, which allowed for conducting the study on a small sample in a short period of time. It means that the sample was chosen based on the most relevant attributes (Bryman et al., 2022, pp.80-82; May, 2011, p.100). As my research universe was limited (36 people in total in all regions of Tanzania), I decided to propose an interview to every person fulfilling the criteria. In order to participate, a person must have been a current or former participant of the ICLD's international training programmes representing Tanzanian local authorities. I believe to have reached the point of saturation since during the coding of the last three interviews I did not generate any new codes nor noticed an occurrence of new perspectives (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson, 2006).

I conducted 15 interviews, of which 12 took place in the Dar es Salaam metropolitan area and 3 were online due to the interviewees being out of that area. I recorded (using a voice recorder for face-to-face meetings and digital tools for online meetings) and transcribed (with the support of the software 'Descript') 13 interviews. The other 2 were not recorded due to not having adequate circumstances. However, right after the meeting, I wrote down notes as accurately as possible and sent them for authorisation to the interviewee by email. The interviewee responded approving my notes. In the second case, the language barrier occurred to be too significant to receive answers to my questions, thus I decided to exclude this interview from the analysed sample. Additionally, one of the contacts, although initially agreed to an interview, sent me the answers in a written form instead. Thinking about the validity of the research, I also decided to exclude it from the sample since the answers were significantly shorter and thus not comparable with oral interviews. Lastly, I included 14 interviews in my analysis. Each interviewee from the sample participated in only one ITP.

Table 1 presents the distribution of the interviewees' characteristics. The ratio between male and female respondents was relatively equal. There was a lower number of interviewees from the WPL programme due to the generally lower number of participants from Tanzania in that ITP but there was an equal number of respondents for the two other programmes. The proportion between the respondents who had completed the ITP and those who were still participating was also equal. During the Covid-19 pandemic, ICLD applied an online modality

for the workshops instead of face-to-face meetings. Among my study sample, 5 respondents participated in cohorts with the prevalence of the online modality. As a consequence, these 5 interviewees did not visit Sweden during the ITP. The number of respondents who have not yet visited Sweden was higher since some of them were still before the Swedish Phase at the time of our interview. These characteristics were presented to understand the diversity in the study population, however, this thesis did not attempt to compare accounts of different groups of respondents.

Table 1: Characteristics of the Interviewees

Attribute	Value	Number
Gender	Male	6
	Female	8
Programme of participation	Women's Political Leadership	2
	Gender Mainstreaming	6
	Public Financial Management and Local Economic Development	6
Participation status	Programme completed	7
	Programme in progress	7
Programme modality	On-site	9
	Digital	5
Been to Sweden	Yes	7
	No/Not yet	7

3.3. Validity

Internal validity, meaning that the measures used in research adequately reflect the studied phenomenon, is not easy to achieve as there is always potential for subjectivity from the researcher's side (Babbie, 2004, p.143). I used primary data generated through the interviews and strived to increase the consistency of my coding by making my perspective and questions precise. I ensured the transparency of my research process to assist the reader to understand the way I interpreted the data. This way, I believe to have ensured the internal validity of my research (Bazeley, 2013, p.148).

External validity, that is the ability to generalise results, was achieved to some extent (Kuckartz, 2014, p.154). The case study approach assumes that social phenomena may have similar traits, however, they are unique and must be studied within their complexity (Stake, 1995). This uniqueness limits the possibility to transfer results on different grounds, especially when other organisations or development programmes are in question. Nonetheless, it is still possible to refer to these findings when looking for suggestions for improvements for similar

international capacity-building programmes. To enable greater generalisability, the study should be replicated, for example, in other countries.

3.3.1. Complementary methods

As qualitative research is considered to be an inherently multi-method approach in social sciences, I decided to triangulate the analysis by applying two complementary methods, and thus increase the validity of my results (Bryman, p.222). These methods are: observations and semi-structured interviews with ITP organisers.

The observations were collected during my stay in Dar es Salaam as I was invited by ICLD to their workshop as an independent observer. The 3-day workshop (7-9 February 2023) was dedicated to one of the programmes covered by this study and was attended by some participants from my study sample. Three semi-structured interviews with the ITP organisers (coordinators from ICLD and local mentors) were realised online after I finished interviewing the participants.

I used these methods to incorporate multiple perspectives on the studied phenomenon. Nonetheless, I decided to include these complementary findings separately after the analysis of interviews with the ITP participants. This clear division aimed to put the main priority on the ITP participants' experiences and reduce the risk of biases from my and the ITP organisers' side.

3.4. Positionality and reflexivity

Between August and December 2022, I had the opportunity to intern for ICLD in the ITP unit, working mainly with the ITP for Zimbabwean local politicians and local authorities (see ICLD, 2023d). My previous collaboration with ICLD as an intern as well as the fact that I received a grant for my fieldwork from ICLD raise the issue of positionality.

For me, it was crucial that my research remained free from any interference from the organisation, even in the form of self-censorship. I feel that I was able to ensure this since, on all occasions, the staff at ICLD was expressing support for my research without imposing any requirements or even suggestions on how it should be conducted. They also provided me with all the documents I needed for my fieldwork. To retain the grant, they asked me for four deliverables, which consisted of: the final version of my thesis (after its publication), a financial report indicating how the grant was spent, copies of flight tickets indicating the duration of my stay in Tanzania, and a final fieldwork report with information and reflections on how the fieldwork went but without asking specific questions that could be problematic regarding the academic code of conduct. I had to realise the chosen topic in the chosen location but the choice

of theories, methods, and other research aspects were entirely to be decided between me and my university supervisor. I recognise that my connection to ICLD made it unlikely to become a fully neutral data collector. I thus rather strived to be as reflexive as possible throughout the data generation process to analyse my own role in the research and preserve the quality of its findings (Mason, 2018, pp.114-115).

As Leslie and Storey (2003, pp.77-79) suggest that 'investigating the sources of your funding and considering how your research participants view these sources may resolve such ethical dilemmas', I saw the need for reflexivity concerning ICLD being my fieldwork sponsor. During my internship at ICLD, I had the opportunity to meet two Tanzanian teams who were participating in the ITP. Several months later while conducting my fieldwork, some of them became my interviewees. Although my study and grant were independent of my internship, they still might have seen me as a part of the organisation and, therefore, it might have affected the answers they gave during the interviews. Having this in mind, I tried to approach interviews with sensitivity and awareness of potential power dynamics between myself and the interviewees (p.149).

The issue of positionality has also impacted my choice of study location. When interning at ICLD, I was involved in a programme dedicated to Zimbabwean local authorities. Naturally, my first thought was to conduct research in that country as I already had more knowledge of their local context. However, my involvement in the programme and close relationships with its participants would have negatively affected the analysis by exacerbating my personal biases. Additionally, it would be more difficult to collect critical accounts from my potential interviewees who got to know me as an ICLD intern and thus might still see me as one of the programme coordinators.

In addition to the reflections on my connection to ICLD, I also want to refer to my positionality in terms of characteristics, such as age, ethnicity, gender, and class. As a white man from the Global North studying issues of the Tanzanian reality, I focused on being reflexive on how my research may affect the local setting. Despite the risk of using exploitative methods that fail to benefit the local communities, according to Scheyvens and Storey (2003, pp.2-8), development fieldwork like mine has value as it challenges Western ethnocentrism, provides knowledge of marginalised places, challenges taken-for-granted understanding of the Global South, and offers new perspectives that might otherwise be overlooked. I believe that my research adhered to these premises and therefore has the potential to contribute to the empowerment rather than exploitation of the studied location. Nonetheless, it implied my constant attention to preventing imbalances in power between the researcher and the

interviewees, such as placing myself in positions in which my informants were comfortable, even if it meant stepping outside my own comfort zone (p.151).

The choice of thematic analysis as a method for this thesis strengthened my reflexivity as it encouraged keeping track of any peculiarities that were found in the text. These were collected by me as memos – notes containing thoughts, ideas, assumptions, or hypotheses that emerged while analysing the data (Kuckartz, 2014, pp.51-52). I applied memo writing not only for data analysis but also during data gathering, that is after each interview, with the following example:

> *'I am wondering whether I am too chatty and reassuring when talking to my*
> *interviewees. However, it is more of a question to myself concerning the*
> *academic quality of my interviews, nothing else. With my engagement in the*
> *interview, I am trying to make them feel safe, understood and also minimise*
> *the language barrier.' (Interview memo, 9/2 2023)*

These memos served to help me memorise my observations from different stages of the research process and explore my personal bias (Magaldi and Berler, 2020).

3.5. Ethical considerations

Every research should be guided by ethical guidelines, especially if it involves fieldwork. Protecting the confidentiality of all parties involved in the study and preventing the reproduction of prejudice was central to me at each step to avoid any kind of harm (Madison, 2005, pp. 116-118). The study was conducted following ethical principles, including obtaining informed consent from interviewees before their participation. This consent was based on an exhaustive explanation of the purpose of the research, my identity as a researcher, funding sources, data storage methods, and other relevant information. Every interviewee had the opportunity to ask questions about myself and the study, refuse to participate, and also withdraw from the study at any time (Scheyvens, Nowak, and Scheyvens, 2003, pp. 142-143).

I had an ethical dilemma about getting access to the potential interviewees as the only feasible way was to ask ICLD for their contact details. After consideration, I decided to use the courtesy of ICLD and sent interview invitations to the ITP participants (each person individually) in smaller portions to control if my message would not be received as intrusive. Some people ignored my message but thankfully a big part responded by accepting my invitation. After expressing initial interest in participating in my study and before scheduling a specific date for the meeting, I sent my study information sheet to every participant (see Appendix 1), and the interview guide (see Appendix 2). The most important information was

repeated orally before starting each interview. Only if consent was received, we proceeded with the interview.

Both the recordings and transcriptions were only accessed by me and after completing the analysis, the recordings and their transcriptions were deleted. The interviewees could choose a location in which they felt comfortable. In most cases, they invited me to their workplace. The interviewees were given instructions that they could modify their statements or withdraw their participation from the study at any time until the publication of this thesis. For the sake of protecting confidentiality, all the interviewees were anonymised. None of them decided to withdraw their participation.

As this research was performed in a non-democratic context, there was a need to evaluate how it might put the interviewees in danger (Koch, 2013). To avoid any harm, I emphasised the aspect of confidentiality and made sure that the interviewees felt comfortable by, for example, not exploring topics that could occur to be problematic. Although I asked about the issues of local democracy in Tanzania, I did not notice any constraints from the interviewees' side to present their points of view. The political context seemed to not have much influence on my research, at least no significant impact I could notice. Nonetheless, I must acknowledge that despite my preparation before the fieldwork, it was the first time I visited Tanzania and my knowledge about the local complexity and dynamics was still limited, which might have resulted in overlooking some aspects.

Due to the respect for the autonomy and beneficence of the interviewees, reciprocity is essential for me (Hintz and Dean, 2020). To express appreciation for their involvement and acknowledge the value of their experiences, I decided to contact each of the participants, providing them with a digital copy of my thesis once it is published (Scheyvens, Nowak, and Scheyvens, 2003, p. 156). The thesis will be also shared with ICLD for their future considerations on the design of the ITPs as well as published in Lund University's repository for scholarly publications for the dissemination of the result among academia.

4. Results

In this chapter, I present the results of the thematic analysis. The results are divided into two sections according to the operationalisation outlined in the begging of this thesis, that is regarding the aspects of applicability and power relations. In the last section of this chapter, I also present the collection of suggested changes to the ITPs voiced by the participants, which are presented separately to grant them more visibility.

4.1. Applicability

4.1.1. Relevance of the programme

All the interviewees stated that the knowledge received during the training was useful or very useful, saying that it helped them realise how to connect different issues, such as financial management or gender empowerment, to local democracy and how to translate the received knowledge to fit in their local context. Additionally, almost all the interviewees said that the ITP was relevant for addressing local challenges. It showed them how local authorities from other countries fulfil their mandate, giving examples of how to increase revenue collection or how to prepare a gender-sensitive budget. More than half of them listed examples of specific workshops or study visits that they found particularly interesting and helpful. Some added that the obtained knowledge on corruption and similar topics had a big impact on them and helped change their mentality. Some others acknowledged that the sessions on sustainability induced changes in management and made the municipal project more durable and efficient. They said that the important thing about the ITP was the focus on strengthening knowledge and skills on how to incorporate universal values into any kind of action, which then can be replicated in many areas. One of the interviewees highlighted the importance of providing capacity-building programmes in their localities, saying:

> *'You know, if somebody gives you knowledge, it's even better than giving money. Because money you can eat and finish, you can even misuse, but knowledge doesn't die. You can give from one generation to another, if we find people who are really ready to bring those changes to take the lead and bring what is supposed to be brought in.' (Interview 9, 22/2 2023)*

The ITPs were said to be a very complete training going from the beginning of the project planning until the end. During the inception phase, they realised what are the problems of local communities and how to tackle them. Many respondents underlined the importance of their training in Sweden as the place where they learnt the most. It made them understand the

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importance of strengthening local democracy, for example through the inclusion of marginalised groups in municipal activities and also get an intersectional perspective. It also taught them how to make an impact even without funding and that capacity building is possible without big financial resources. It empowered them to stand up for issues and lead the change processes. Some interviewees appreciated the presence of local mentors, which helped them connect the discussed issues to the local context.

The majority of the interviewees talked about the practical implementation of their learning in local communities. However, almost half of them also noticed constraints impeding their efforts, such as an insufficient level of education in their local setting, lack of decision-making power, and financial constraints. Two interviewees were more sceptical about the relevance of the programme, with one of them stating that they spent too little time together to make a real impact.

4.1.2. Possibility of adaptation

The interviewees were directly asked about the possibility of application of the knowledge gained during the ITPs in Tanzania. The majority said that most of the solutions based on the Swedish example could be implemented. They pointed out examples to illustrate the similarity between the situation in both countries, one of them being how people in rural areas organise themselves to induce important changes. They said that the ITP helped them achieve new perspectives and necessary skills to enhance the change processes and help influence the mentality of local communities, for example, in terms of gender norms, which was seen by several interviewees as an obstacle to progress. As a result, they had more ideas on how to involve more groups in municipal projects.

A few interviewees noticed challenges when implementing changes in the local setting. An example of that was the introduction of electronic tax collection machines that failed to do their work due to a lack of stable electricity and internet connection – a potentially helpful invention but with limited utility in that specific context. The relatively low level of technological advancement and financial constraints were expressed by some as factors hindering the implementation of solutions seen in Sweden. Other unfavourable factors noticed by the interviewees were the demographic pressure and lack of precise data to address social issues in Tanzania. They talked also about the difference in the prioritisation of issues between the two countries. One of the interviewees was impressed by the care for animals in Sweden (when referring to protecting fences on motorways) but also stated that this was not the priority for Tanzanians.

When asked about which solutions seen in Sweden are not applicable in Tanzania, most of the interviewees stated that they did not see such things and could not give examples. Nonetheless, one of them pointed out that homosexual marriages could not be applied as the Tanzanian culture was very different to the Swedish culture.

4.1.3. Impact on the participants

When the interviewees were asked what the programme meant to them personally, they referred to deepening their understanding of their work for the local community and gaining new knowledge and practical skills, such as public speaking and delegating tasks. It allowed them to meet new people, see other countries, and learn what they do and what can be transferred to their localities, which led to confronting their perceptions. Participation in the ITP was called by some as a personal achievement since it gave them international exposure. One of them underlined the importance of the ITP for their personal development, saying:

> *'Throughout my life, I have been doing finance. I know all the finance. […]*
> *But now with this program, it brought something else. It brought now the*
> *interpretation of the finance.' (Interview 1, 7/2 2023)*

It was followed by the statement that thanks to the programme, it was clearer how finances might affect local people, and how one should communicate about finances with local communities. A few interviewees said that after the ITP they could name themselves experts in their interest area, adding, for example, that as gender experts, they make an impact on women empowerment in their workplaces.

Without any exceptions, all of the interviewees answered that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their participation in the programme. They thought the best parts of the ITP were the following: meeting together and learning from peers; travelling, getting exposure and going on field visits; gaining new knowledge and skills; training being more practical than theoretical. When talking about the worst parts of the programme, the interviewees were mostly abstaining from commenting on the programme negatively. They rather gave suggestions for its improvement, which are presented in Section 4.3.

All the interviewees expressed why they wanted to participate in the ITP. Summarising their reasoning, I call 'the will to learn' and 'the will for exposure' as the two main driving forces behind their decision. 'The will to learn' refers to their wish to acquire new knowledge and skills for better service delivery in their local settings and also for personal development. Often they decided to join the ITP when they saw that their content corresponded to their working tasks. By 'the will for exposure' I mean the desire the interviewees had for going

abroad and interacting with people from other countries. For some of them, it was the first occasion to leave Africa or even Tanzania. It connects to 'the will to learn' but it is more focused on getting multiple perspectives by comparing experiences with people from different countries. The possibility to visit other countries and spend time with the international group was chosen as the best part of the ITP by the majority of the interviewees, with one of them saying:

> *'To me the exposure, the interaction you are getting, knowledge you are getting, it brings me to another level of understanding and doing my own things.' (Interview 11, 23/2 2023)*

There was therefore a noticeable disappointment in the group that took part in the programme during the pandemic and thus could not travel abroad. The lack of physical meetings was said by them to be the most unfavourable part of the ITP.

4.2. Power relations

4.2.1. Perception of Sweden

The Swedish Phase, when the ITP participants travel to Sweden for around two weeks, was the essential event for the participants that shaped their perception of this country. By many of them, it was considered the most important and memorable moment of the programme. When I asked them about their perception of Sweden, all of the interviewees expressed a positive view.

Among the majority of the interviewees, the initial perception was that Sweden was a rich country with nice people and environment and this perception did not change during the ITP. During their stay in Sweden, they observed the cultural diversity that created an image of being a welcoming and inclusive country. The majority of the interviewees had a vision of going to Sweden to learn from the experience of a developed country, learn from ICLD seen as a competent international organisation and form collaborations with Swedish municipalities. They believed that Sweden was ahead of Tanzania and wished to develop their country to the level Sweden was developed. Two interviewees mentioned time management typical to Sweden as being a remarkable factor allowing the enhancement of development, which should be taken more seriously in Tanzania.

A few interviewees saw similarities between Sweden and Tanzania, such as the self-organisation of people in rural areas to provide change for themselves. However, they noticed more differences, such as how local government run their activities in both countries in the provision of social services, and the resources that both local governments had. They also talked about a big discrepancy between being poor in Sweden and in Tanzania. While the former

usually had access to water, electricity and other services even in the village, the latter did not have it even in cities. Then there was an issue of translating poverty between these two settings. These different poverty perceptions were seen in various layers. One of the interviewees praised that rich Swedes rode bicycles just as people with a lower economic status. To him, this was unimaginable in Tanzania as riding a bicycle was considered to be for the poor.

4.2.2. Perception of Tanzania

The interviewees stated that Tanzania followed the rules of democracy, for example by securing periodic elections, although recognised that it could be flawed at times. More than half of them stressed that the bottom-up approach was replacing the top-down governance so they can better accommodate the local needs. However, a few noticed that it rather applied to planning activities than to real access to the financial resources, which were granted to local authorities not directly but through the central government. Half of the interviewees mentioned the mentality as a hindering factor for democracy and development. To them, local authorities had a problem with acknowledging their responsibilities, blaming others for failures, not being transparent, and lacking capacities like leadership skills. A few added that there were also people infringing other people's freedoms so there was a need for more time and education to improve the situation. Some of the problems of Tanzania were evoked during the interviews, such as: gender imbalances in political leadership and community life, low level of participation of civil society in decision-making, high poverty levels, lack of access to services such as electricity, low technological advancement, reluctance to paying taxes, and a lack of adequate funds and data. All in all, there was a noticeable commitment in Tanzania to strengthening democracy such as in Sweden. When comparing the situation of local democracy between the two countries, one of the interviewees concluded:

> *'So they are doing what we are doing to our level based to ensure local democracy being met. Yeah, I don't think there is much in terms of structure. Maybe in terms of traditional culture, beliefs and awareness, that's where much investment is still needed.' (Interview 11, 23/2 2023)*

There was a general feeling that the situation in Tanzania related to democracy and development issues was improving as nine of the interviewees expressed it, although I did not have a prepared question for that. Only one interviewee was hesitant about it, saying:

> *'Tanzania is a good place. It's a good place. It is. But it's not a good place. It's not the place where you can say: I'm going to learn.' (Interview 2, 9/2 2023)*

While the interviewee had a generally good view of Tanzania, he still considered it a country behind others, probably referring to advanced economies, which was also expressed by some other interviewees. They believed that they should learn from richer countries to reach a higher state of development. By contrast, a few other interviewees noticed things that Tanzania should be proud of and could teach others about, such as soft loans helping people get away from poverty.

When comparing Tanzania to Sweden, the interviewees mentioned several aspects. First of them was the impossibility for opposition leaders in Tanzania to win elections and start managing the councils without any violence while in Sweden it happened smoothly. Another one was that in Sweden the local governments collected their own tax, which gave them more independence while in Tanzania it was the central administration that redistributed financial resources. Following that, they also mentioned the possibility to make decisions on local matters by local governments in Sweden while in Tanzania almost everything was decided by the central government.

4.2.3. Perception of the ITPs

When asked to define the ITP in their own words, the biggest share of respondents focused on the impact of the programme, saying that it served to: empower the people on revenue collection; give them more knowledge about how to control, monitor and provide the financial aspects; go forward and not to misuse funds; give knowledge and widening skills of the official representatives so that they change mindset; participate together and exchange knowledge with other countries; enhance gender equality through training of officials from the selected countries; fulfil the SDG goals; deliver good services to the citizens; and empower women. It was said to be an inclusive and inspirational programme about learning, exposure, capacity building and exchange.

The strengthening of local democracy is the main objective of ICLD so they mainstream it using their four core values (equity, participation, transparency, and accountability) throughout all the ITPs. The interviewees were thus asked to share their perception of local democracy and the ICLD's core values. The biggest share of interviewees defined local democracy as a situation in which decision-making came from the grassroots with a clear separation of power. A state in which people at the local level were free to participate in governance, could choose leaders and were granted equality in accessing social services. A condition in which the government was close to the people and served them, created a dialogue

with the citizens, listened to and respected their opinions, and recognised both freedoms and responsibilities of local communities.

All the participants responded that the four core values were adequate and essential for local development and local democracy in Tanzania. They agreed that these values were universal and applicable in the Tanzanian context. Nonetheless, half of the interviewees expressed that although these values were important, they often were not followed or ignored at the local level due to political interference, power abuse, lack of experience in practical application, lack of good communication (dissemination of information), lack of resources (budget constraints, human resources constraints), and local mentality. A few respondents expressed that in their view Sweden, in opposition to Tanzania, put the four core values into practice, not only talked about them theoretically.

Two of the interviewees underlined that while the four core values were good and fit in the context of Tanzania, there were some more acute problems to solve first, such as access to food, water, electricity, schools, and hospitals. They questioned the accuracy of stressing the importance of these values to people living in indigence who first should be assisted with finding a way out of poverty. To them, once these acute problems were solved, the four core values should be well received and thus truly implemented.

4.2.4. English as a language of instruction

The question of whether the choice of English for training activities was a well-suited solution for Tanzania, was asked to check if it might constitute a barrier for some and also how this language diffused under the colonial rule was perceived by the interviewees.

Six of the interviewees responded that the choice of English was a good solution for the international training programmes intended for Tanzanians. They supported this statement by saying that English was an international language allowing for interactions with people from other countries. The use of Swahili would limit them to meeting only with people from the neighbouring countries, where this language was also widely spoken. They also said that English being a business language in Tanzania made it relatively easy to find Tanzanians qualified for the ITPs, especially since people working in local government needed to have secondary or university education where English is a language of instruction. Nonetheless, before accepting applications, ICLD additionally checked if the English level of the applicants was satisfactory to actively take part in the training. Some interviewees added that clear language was used, which helped them follow the programme and understand the topics. It was also recognised by some interviewees that the cost of translation could be too high and that

Swedes also spoke English, which was not their native language so there was not any linguistically privileged side.

The other six interviewees had a neutral approach to this topic as they saw both pros and cons of having English as the training language. The remaining three interviewees took a critical stance. Regarding the disadvantages, one of the main issues lay in that English could constitute a barrier for some Tanzanians and thus discouraged people from applying for the ITP. Although many Tanzanians studied English, they could become passive users if they did not practice it frequently and could feel uncomfortable with speaking. Two interviewees added that this language barrier impeded the expression of thoughts, which made it impossible to transmit the full picture of local reality.

Another big challenge was seen in disseminating knowledge gained during the ITP. While the participants could speak English, the local communities they worked with communicated only in Swahili or other local languages. It created an additional burden on the ITP participants to translate the knowledge they gained in English into these languages. Therefore, the main obstacle did not appear during the training but when applying the knowledge at the community level. Interviewees proposed several suggestions for this problem, which are presented in Section 4.3. It was also expressed that the use of English hindered effective communication during field visits held by ICLD in local settings since many stakeholders were unable to have direct interactions with them.

4.2.5. Relationship with ICLD

When asked about the relationship between the ITP participants and ICLD, all of the respondents stated that the relationship was good or very good. It was acknowledged by some interviewees how well they organised everything, including accommodation and transport and how they treated the participants, and that they were always on time. The organisers created an atmosphere of partnership and space for debates, provided feedback, and cared about the security and health of the participants. Interviewees said that ICLD stayed very professional during the meetings but also very friendly, humble and approachable after working hours. ICLD was very open to interact with the participants. One of the respondents acknowledged it saying:

'Actually, I've never attended a training that was so caring and attentive like that.' (Interview 3, 17/2 2023)

All the interviewees said that they felt their opinions were heard and valued by ICLD. Almost half of them stated that throughout all the phases, ICLD was listening to and taking into account their opinions and perspectives. One of the interviewees added that they were also very

transparent and even used specific tools so everybody could express their concerns easily and the organisers explain the situation, which they did in a positive way. Other interviewees added that ICLD intended to create an atmosphere in which each participant had to respect everybody's opinions and everybody was given an equal chance to talk and be listened to. There was room for brainstorming, discussion and presentation of ideas. After every session, there was also the possibility of giving suggestions for further improvements in the ITP. One of the interviewees summarised the relationship with ICLD saying:

> *'Wonderful relationship. You see? The way we are doing our programme is in a partnerly manner. As I said, it allows sharing between countries. Yeah, and also, it brings experts. So the things are done in a very friendly, harmonious way. We are really enjoying the programme.' (Interview 11, 23/2 2023)*

However, some minor issues were noted by several interviewees. One of them suggested that ICLD should be more flexible towards the participants and understand when they could not participate in specific meetings since they were adults and they had to take individual decisions on their professional and personal matters. Another added that ICLD should have visited the localities of all the participants to provide equal treatment and dedicate the same level of focus and attention to all. Yet another highlighted that minor issues raised by the participants should have been taken more seriously, for example, there were some suggestions of changing the hotel, which was not properly addressed.

When asked if they thought ICLD understood the challenges of their localities, the majority of respondents agreed. They stated that ICLD asked them for their problem formulation and several updates throughout the whole programme. This helped them comprehend what the local challenges were. One of the interviewees also added that ICLD did not impose previously prepared projects on ITP participants but asked them to come up with a problem they wanted to work with during the ITP. Although sometimes it was a bit hard for them to grasp what the Tanzanians wanted to work for during the ITP, they cared to learn more about their issues to finally understand them. The workshops, such as designing problem trees, helped to find an efficient way of mutual communication between the Tanzanians and ICLD.

Several interviewees, when confirming that ICLD understood local challenges, referred only to the vast experience and renowned reputation of ICLD and not to their personal experiences from participating in the ITP. However, one of the interviewees noticed that the information ICLD was using when presenting African countries sometimes was not accurate and that they should have paid more attention to double-checking and updating it.

A few interviewees said that the ICLD's understanding of local challenges was limited. It was mostly due to the limited time spent together in which they could not fully grasp the complexity of local reality. In cases when ICLD could not physically visit some of the municipalities participating in the ITP (only local mentors usually visited them), this problem was intensified.

4.2.6. Peer learning

When asked about their experiences with peer learning (with an emphasis on the possibility of not only learning but also teaching others) during the ITP, the vast majority of the interviewees expressed positive opinions. All of the interviewees acknowledged that there was room for exchanging knowledge during the programme and it was done mutually. Most of them were even eager and felt proud to show their accomplishments in local settings like how they organised local groups to tackle local issues, which could be repeated in other countries, including Sweden. The majority felt that knowledge sharing with participants from other teams from Tanzania and other countries enriched their experience of participating in the ITP by giving multiple perspectives on the issues the teams worked on. It also gave them ideas for what they could implement in their municipalities to improve the situation of local communities. One of the respondents referred to peer learning saying:

> *'So it is like an inspiration programme whereby you meet people who have already passed the way you are passing and it inspires you that you can make changes in your area and you exchange ideas. Sometimes you think you are struggling alone, you find maybe Kenya, Uganda, they're doing the same.'*
> *(Interview 11, 23/2 2023)*

Two interviewees stressed, however, that the main learning from the programme they gained from the Swedish example, not from other African countries since the difference in development was much bigger. One of them concluded it by saying:

> *'I think the best learning should be from the developed country like Sweden. Because we had Uganda in our programme. Uganda and Tanzania are like just similar and I think Tanzania is more advanced than Uganda. So for us you cannot learn like much from Uganda, but they are learning from us.'*
> *(Interview 3, 17/2 2023)*

4.3. Suggestions to the ITPs

The interviewees, while referring to their experiences with the ITPs, also wanted (and were encouraged by me) to voice their concerns about these programmes, giving recommendations, and making requests. All these contributions were seen as important for this study, which aimed to expose the voices of the recipients of the development assistance. Below I present the suggestions made by more than one interviewee.

1) Dedicating more time to training

Seven interviewees suggested modifying the time schedule, especially during on-site workshops in participating countries. They stressed the necessity to spend more time together as they did not feel that they had enough time to reflect on workshop themes and discuss thoroughly their issues with other teams. These workshops were very tiring as they lasted many hours for several days in a row. The intensity of training and strict frames of arrival and departure days prevented them from discovering the place where they stayed and thus not allowing them to see the local reality and compare it to their own.

2) Securing funding for the implementation of projects

Five interviewees suggested the inclusion of funding for the implementation of projects that they worked with throughout the ITP to be sure that the practical dimension of the training was achieved. As the Tanzanian municipalities often did not have funds to support their projects, the participants were not able to make the impact they hoped for or they had to use personal cash for some activities. In their view, by financing local projects or at least some key activities, ICLD would truly show their will to make a change. The projects realised within the ITP should bring concrete results for local communities to show that democracy can improve their life.

3) Changing the financial rules of the programmes

Four interviewees expressed their concerns about the financial rules, which could create disappointments, organisational difficulties and personal hardships. Sometimes the participants did not qualify for per diems and thus ended up travelling without having any pocket money and thus feeling insecure so they wished for the introduction of incidental funds. Additionally, they had to pay for their travel visas, which for some was a significant cost. One of the interviewees also suggested using cash instead of cards for per diems, which would be easier for them to use, and they could decide how to spend the money.

4) Giving a possibility to attend the ITPs more than once

Four interviewees expressed their disappointment with the ICLD rule not allowing them to participate in more than one ITP. They were eager to follow the training in different areas but they would be formally excluded if applied for a second programme. They believed that as long

as they were qualified and had a relevant idea to implement within the programme, they should be given the possibility to compete for a place at another ITP.

5) Providing learning materials in local languages

Three interviewees advised the preparation of learning materials in Swahili, which is spoken by their communities. Such materials prepared professionally could easily be distributed and used during the meetings, which would help impact the community with knowledge disseminated by the ITPs. They could have different forms, not only on paper but also digital to display by local authorities on screens in different places such as municipal council buildings.

6) Including more people in the programmes

Three interviewees wished to have more people involved in their ITP. One proposal was to include more teams from the same country and thus have more power to influence state policymakers. Another one was about enlarging the teams by adding people from several municipal departments so all the topics undertaken during the training can be analysed from different angles and be fully understood. The last approach was just about accepting more people and thus having more contributions and interactions.

7) Compensating for the missed on-site training

Three interviewees wished for the possibility of receiving additional training abroad as compensation for the loss of on-site workshops due to the pandemic. While they understood that the change of modality was due to the force majeure, they said that the online modality could not fully transfer the knowledge as it limited natural interactions. Going to other countries to see their environment and culture would help them understand the context of the solutions they were talking about during the ITP.

5. Discussion

In this chapter, I connect the results presented in Chapter 4 with the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2. The discussion is divided into sections according to the operationalisation outlined in the begging of this thesis, that is regarding the aspects of applicability and power relations.

5.1. Applicability

When talking about the applicability of the ITPs, the majority of the interviewees expressed a positive opinion. The training was not limited to talking about selected issues in general terms but discussing how to adapt different solutions so they serve the needs of local communities, which was also facilitated by the Tanzanian mentors who supported ICLD. The interviewees highly valued the capacity-building aspect of the ITPs, saying that it gave them the tools to translate universal values into their local context, as promoted by Escobar (2012). The topics were selected by ICLD based on finding connections between Sweden and the participating countries. As a result, the interviewees confirmed that generally, the solutions discussed during the ITP were useful to them and seemed adaptable to their locality. Although almost half of the respondents expressed that they faced some constraints hindering the implementation of their learning, many of them also underlined that the programme took these challenges into account and intended to show how to make an impact despite the difficulties, like the lack of big financial resources. This approach of relying on sources other than money can make local communities more resilient toward crises (Sachs, 2019). The ITPs also had an empowering factor for the participants. All of them said that they were satisfied with their decision to take part in the ITP. Thanks to new knowledge and skills as well as international exposure, they said they gained new perspectives on different problems and better understood the meaning of their work, which responds to the need of increasing local ownership over development and empowerment of the local staff (Yang, 2021).

ICLD promoting the idea of development through enforcing democracy goes in line with the trend mentioned by Sachs (2019), which treats development as a social policy instead of solely seeing development as economic growth. Even when working with topics closely related to the economy such as finances, the interviewees confirmed that the ITPs focused on aspects that were not purely technical but provided a broader meaning of, for example, what finances could mean to the local communities. This also defends the ITPs from the critique that development assistance tends to be shaped more by political endeavour than socioeconomic concerns (Fergusson, 1994). Nevertheless, although there was a general agreement that the

topics discussed during the ITPs were applicable in the Tanzanian context, there were still some topics considered irrelevant for Tanzania. They were derived from factors like technological constraints (impossibility of digitalisation) and different prioritisation (e.g. not being the right moment for focusing on animal protection) and a belief that, for example, same-sex marriages were not compatible with the local culture.

Escobar's (2012) concept of 'hybrid cultures', a situation in which development becomes a dialogue between traditional practices and modernity, was seen as possible to realise in the ITPs. When talking about their applicability, the interviewees generally confirmed that the programmes were mainly a source of inspiration for them. Since these were capacity-building programmes, ICLD did not impose any predesigned projects in Tanzania but these were Tanzanian teams who implemented their projects locally with the ITPs being a platform to discuss their progress and seek substantive support. Through the programme, they were learning and discussing different solutions to specific challenges but they were free to choose how and to which extent they wanted to introduce the new knowledge in their local setting. Therefore, in postdevelopment terms, they created 'hybrid cultures' as they were free to choose the practices of other countries to later engage with them in their localities. Additionally, this hybridisation was effectuated not only in the North-South crossing but also between the countries of the Global South thanks to peer learning, as suggested by García (2018). This can contribute to the decolonisation of the mind and creation of African culture with its own productive capacities derived from merging values and perspectives of diverse African societies, as postulated by Amílcar Cabral (Mahmoud, 2016). Tanzania has thus a chance to evolve its own cultural principles by incorporating multiculturalism into its unique identity and defeating the homogenisation from imposing the Westernised development agenda and discourse (Berg, 2007). As Bhabha (1994) stated, there is a big potential in these cultural interactions and the fusion of multiple cultural practices as it can lead to the disruption of the hierarchy of cultures and increase the agency of local stakeholders. New subjectivities emerged from blending various perspectives have the prospect of creating solutions to new local challenges (Bhabha, 1994; Escobar, 2012).

Development programmes are often criticised for being limited to technocratic and simplistic solutions like constructing infrastructure and economic reforms (Ferguson, 1994; Li, 2007), which does not seem to apply to the ITPs. As capacity-building programmes, they focused on sharing knowledge and teaching skills. The participants created their projects themselves and took responsibility for their implementation and outcomes. Thus, the ICLD ceded the ownership of development to the participants and kept being open to listening to the

complexity of local experiences. It played against the misrecognition, which was critically addressed by Dübgen (2012). However, despite the goodwill of ICLD and their care for listening to what the participants say, some of the interviewees noted that the design of the programme gave too little time spent together for everybody to fully grasp the local context and properly address it. Moreover, in some cases, ICLD could not even come to the locality of several participating teams. Therefore, the most popular suggestion was about expanding time dedicated to training activities.

The interviewees stated that one of the learnings from the ITPs was about how local governments could include marginalised groups in decision-making processes to make development more inclusive and adequate for local needs. When reflecting on it from the postdevelopment perspective, there occurs a paradox. While the theory advocates for letting the locals shape their own way to development, it was actually ICLD, an organisation from the Global North that came to Tanzania to convince local officials to work closer to their community. While in many places in the Global South, the mainstream development with top-down approaches is strong and vivid, it was ICLD that disseminated ideas close to the postdevelopment agenda.

By their 'will to learn' and 'will for exposure', as well as a thorough mostly positive attitude towards peer learning, the interviewees repeatedly confirmed that the ITPs were a valuable and desirable way for them to engage in development assistance to improve the situation of their local communities. Their approach was even clearer in cases of the respondents who missed the opportunity to travel to other countries, especially Sweden. They repeatedly voiced their disappointment from not getting the possibility to fully engage with other people, exchanging ideas and learning from their cases. Here, the need for training with face-to-face interactions was disregarded. Although the global pandemic was to be blamed for the lack of on-site training, ICLD was wrong in assuming that an online equivalent, which would be suitable for Swedes, could fulfil the needs of the Tanzanian participants.

There were some technical issues that the interviewees wanted to highlight. Several of them referred to the financial and administrative aspects of the programme. One of them was about securing funding for the implementation of projects conducted under the umbrella of the ITPs. There might be a clash of vision towards this matter as, on one side, secured funding would enable to put into practice what had been discussed during training but, on the other side, it might make the participants dependent on external funds, replicating the dependency model known from mainstream development programmes (Collins and Rhoads, 2009; Dübgen, 2012; Schöneberg, 2017). If the participants learn how to mobilise resources locally, they can use this

experience to replicate their solutions in other projects, which should make them more resilient and empowered. Nonetheless, more balance is needed since making use of personal money for the enforcement of ITP-related projects, as some respondents complained, is not a good solution either. The bureaucracy in Sweden, which strives to be fair and transparent, is sometimes too strict when applied in the international setting. Financial regulations related to payments of visas and per diems overlook the needs of ITP participants. It relates to the critique presented by Ferguson (1994), who highlighted that the depoliticised bureaucracy could disempower local communities. Even if ICLD tried to be flexible with their approach to organisational matters, they still had to operate within the framework established by the Swedish national agencies that probably had difficulties creating regulations adaptable to diverse socioeconomic contexts.

5.2. Power relations

It is easy to notice that ICLD is an organisation driven by, what Li (2007) calls, 'the will to improve' as they work nonprofit for poverty alleviation and increased inclusion, trying to make the world a better place. Though, it must be said that, unlike many international agencies, ICLD seemed to be aware of power imbalances between them and the participants of their ITPs. According to what the interviewees said, the programmes were designed in a way to give flexibility to adapting the projects and processes undertaken during the ITPs within a broad thematic framework. This way, they minimised the risk of forcing changes unwanted by the local community, which would result in weak outcomes.

Nonetheless, even with the ITP acknowledging that development should be based on locally produced solutions derived from cultural values and understanding of social and environmental needs, such as advocated by Berg (2007) and other postdevelopmentalists, it was not easy to put it into practice. When talking about the perception of Sweden and Tanzania, many interviewees expressed a very positive view of the former while they pointed out the negative aspects of the latter. Notwithstanding the interviewees' attachment to their own country, a feeling of inferiority in Tanzania in comparison to Sweden was visible. Despite some similarities seen between both countries, there were more differences, unfavourable for Tanzania. The responders listed many challenges hindering progress in Tanzania, which, while showing a great level of consciousness of what could be improved, also presented their country as a place disadvantaged by a spiral of problems. With such a dichotomous view of both countries, it was difficult to legitimise the importance of searching for solutions to challenges locally. It seemed easier to copy what had already been done in a 'more developed' country, such as Sweden, which has been an approach fortified by development discourse for decades.

Thus, the 'underdeveloped' nations have the habit to mimic the civilisational model of the North, overlooking local complexities (Escobar, 2012; Sachs, 2019). To some extent, Tanzanians seemed to continue looking at development in terms of mainstream development (Mahmoud, 2016; Andreasson, 2017).

Since Sweden was considered 'highly developed', the interviewees felt that they should learn from the Swedish example. To them, Sweden was a country where local democracy and core values were fully applied, whereas Tanzanians, despite their commitment, still had to work on these issues. Even if they felt that some aspects were not culturally relevant to Tanzania, such as time management, they found it desirable to change their mentality to follow the Swedish way of doing things. Two of the interviewees directly added that they would rather learn from 'more developed' countries like Sweden than from neighbouring countries like Uganda as they perceived it as a more effective way to achieve a higher state of development. Some of the respondents also described ICLD as a preferred teacher as they saw it as a competent organisation with experience in development topics. These examples show that the dichotomy between the 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' were still present in the minds of people of the Global South. The hierarchy of countries based on socioeconomic status persists, giving the 'highly developed' countries the authority to become teachers, which makes the Global South, what Sachs (2019) called, 'the staunchest defender of development'. It also connects with the view of Matthews (2017) who suggested not being limited to preserving traditional ways of life but being attentive to what those in the South desire for themselves, even if it means an extensive adoption of Western practices. By expressing their 'will to learn' and 'will for exposure', the interviewees showed their desire for development and that was the reason for most of them for participating in the ITP. All in all, more effort should be put into finding solutions on how to minimise this North-South division, which could be done by ICLD by, for example, reshaping the structure of workshops that take place in the African countries and promoting them as a 'Tanzanian Phase' or 'Ugandan Phase', just as they promote the 'Swedish Phase'.

Although Sweden was seen by most of the interviewees as the country where they wanted to learn, they were very satisfied with peer learning. The possibility of learning from cases of other ITP participants enriched their perspective and gave them a better overview of which initiatives were undertaken in their surroundings. Many of these were implemented in a similar context to the one in Tanzania, thus it was easier to use this new knowledge. Peer learning also created a feeling of community for people who struggle for a common purpose in different parts of the world. The possibility to teach others based on Tanzanian cases had an

empowering factor as the participants could see that their experiences were valuable to others. Overall, the focus on peer learning also helped to equalise the power imbalances by decreasing the hegemony of the Swedish voice. As Amílcar Cabral stated, there should exist a possibility to learn from others as long as it does not come at the expense of the locals (Mahmoud, 2016). Peer teaching having a strong significance might have been the crucial factor for the transformation of such capacity-building programmes toward the postdevelopment agenda. Following Escobar's (2012) rhetoric, it decreased the North-South dichotomy, avoided the process of labelling, and helped in recovering local voices and including them in knowledge production. As postdevelopment argues, the alternative knowledge was already present in the local contexts and peer learning allowed uncovering it (Collins and Rhoads, 2009; Dübgen, 2012). Thanks to highlighting the local experiences and knowledge, there is a higher chance to preserve cultural diversity when enhancing development processes, without, as Sachs (2019) called it, attempting to modernise traditional men.

Within the criticism of development assistance, there is an argument that the donor organisations shape their activities to primarily fulfil their political agenda and not necessarily address the recipients' needs (Ferguson, 1994; Li, 2007). When implementing the ITPs, ICLD also had an agenda which reflected their understanding of local democracy derived mainly from Swedish experiences. This included focusing on the four core values (equity, participation, transparency, and accountability) at every step of the programme. While this framework may look Eurocentric, the interviewees defended the utility of the ICLD's approach, confirming that they were considered not strictly Swedish but rather universal. Even when defining what local democracy meant to them, they expressed a vision compatible with the ICLD approach in most aspects. This vision could have been influenced by their participation in the ITPs, but their accounts nonetheless did not seem forced or unnatural. They stated that these values were adequate and essential for the enhancement of Tanzanian democracy and development, even though, half of the respondents complained that on many occasions these principles were not followed in Tanzania due to socio-political dynamics. Only two interviewees questioned the accuracy of the core values in the situation when there were more acute problems, like access to food and water, to solve first.

Regarding the language issue, the majority of interviewees seemed positive about the choice of English as a language of instruction for the ITPs. Their arguments referred to the possibility of interactions with international partners, on the one hand, and generally good knowledge of English among the Tanzanians, on the other. Additionally, they acknowledged financial and organisational limitations if ongoing interpreting were to take place. There was

noticeable pragmatism seen in their perception of using English, especially acknowledging that ICLD used clear language to keep a high level of mutual understanding. Moreover, it was noted that the use of English was not favouring any of the sides, as it was not the first language for either Tanzanians or Swedes. The disadvantages of using English at the ITP instead of local languages were expressed only by a few respondents and were mainly related to the language barrier. There was no situation during the interviews where someone would evoke anti-colonial arguments regarding English. Therefore, the approach towards its usage among the interviewees went in line with the general perception of English by Tanzanians described by Ochieng (2015) and Mapunda (2022).

Nonetheless, the previously mentioned language barrier cannot be overlooked. As stated by Tesseur (2019), it may be a factor hindering capacity building, which is the aim of the ITPs, and negatively affect power relations, which ICLD strives to equalise. Solutions facilitating multinational communication should then be implemented. These solutions should not be limited only to when the workshops happen, that is the time when ICLD directly interacts with the ITP participants. They should also encompass other activities that create, as Tesseur (2019) called, the 'burden of translation'. Indeed, one of the suggestions raised by the interviewees was the provision of learning materials in local languages (for example Swahili), which would diminish the workload for people working in the field, who must transfer the knowledge gained in English into other languages for local communities. It may be concluded that while English as a language of instruction for the ITP was generally considered a good solution in the eyes of Tanzanians, there are still some technical improvements to implement.

When talking about the relationship with ICLD, the respondents praised them for their good organisation, professional approach, approachability, and humbleness. They expressed that ICLD managed to be good facilitators for exchanging knowledge as they created a space where everybody could contribute with mutual respect and understanding. They generally acknowledged that they felt heard and that their opinion was taken into account. They said that ICLD was very transparent and inclusive and by that, they created an atmosphere of mutual trust where brainstorming and discussions could happen. Thanks to carefully listening to the ITP participants and using inclusive techniques of communication, in the opinion of most interviewees, ICLD could understand the complexity of their local context. All in all, it was confirmed that ICLD acknowledged the expertise of the local stakeholders and did not pretend to have blueprints for local challenges. It goes in line with postdevelopment as ICLD seemed to preserve the agency of the participants and restrain from promoting 'universal' solutions. They rather looked for solutions grounded in the local setting where human needs become the

main driver of interventions (Escobar, 2012; Ferguson, 1994; Li, 2007, Omar, 2012, and others). Nonetheless, there were also some deficiencies in the relationship between both parts related to communication issues. Some interviewees stated that the ICLD, although they tried, could not fully grasp the local context since they spent too little time together.

Despite mostly positive views of how the ITP is provided, several interviewees also expressed some limitations regarding the real possible impact of the programme in their local setting. As Khaled (2018) said, it is important to recognise the legitimacy of existing local power structures. A significant impediment was the lack of decision-making power among the participants. Their initiatives could be hindered if their supervisors did not support their projects or did not allocate funds for their implementation. Additionally, the Tanzanian context where big decisions, even on local matters, were made and financed by the central government limited the flexibility in addressing locally specific challenges. It connects to the suggestions made by the interviewees. One of them proposed to include more people from several municipal departments in teams so the topics discussed during the ITPs could be covered taking a cross-departmental perspective and therefore have a stronger voice in the municipality. Another wished to include more teams from various municipalities across the country to strengthen lobbying directed to the central government – a crucial thing in the political context of Tanzania.

6. Verification of findings

In this chapter, I briefly present my observations and results of interviews with the ITP organisers and refer them to the findings from previous chapters in order to triangulate the data.

The ITP organisers were generally satisfied with the programmes, though they saw some improvements to be made. Just like the participants, they also complained about the bureaucracy related to the organisation of the programmes, which took a lot of energy and limited flexibility. They suggested improving the alumni network so the past participants, who know best how things work locally, could contribute with their perspectives and thus equalise the knowledge production imbalances between the countries. They underlined the importance of peer learning, saying that they saw multinational interactions as the biggest strength of the programmes, valuable not only for the participants but also for themselves. They also hoped that talking about Sweden did not take too much space as, in their opinion, Swedish values should be presented when the focus is set on the Swedish example. They tried to show the best practices of Sweden but also incorporated a problematic point of view, explaining that they had different challenges just like in any other country. It was also confirmed by my observations from the workshop when, for example, they explained Swedish struggles in achieving sustainability. Sweden was presented as a country with a need for improvement and the participants could contribute with their comments and suggestions in this regard. I also noticed that for most of the sessions during the workshop in Dar es Salaam, ICLD engaged local mentors and lecturers to present topics like corruption from a local perspective.

The organisers stressed that the ITPs were not a tool for implementing development projects but capacity-building programmes aiming to empower the participants through the acquisition of new knowledge and skills. They said that they tried to select and present topics in a flexible way to permit the adaptability of Swedish experiences in other diverse settings. I observed that, for example, when they presented their theory of change, that is how ICLD believed change happened (progressing from the individual, through the organisational, and up to the societal level), they explained that it was their perspective and encouraged the participants to challenge that theory if they found it irrelevant. The Swedish coordinators acknowledged that their knowledge of Tanzania was still limited. Therefore, they underlined that adapting the Swedish case to the Tanzanian context was mainly in the hands of the participants who were considered by them as the experts and agents of change. This approach was visible during the workshop I attended during the field visit to Kibaha, one of the localities whose representatives participated in the programme. The municipality took the responsibility for organising the visit

and the ITP participants from Kibaha took the role of facilitators, showing their local initiatives and sharing experiences from implementing municipal projects, while the ICLD coordinators had a minimum role reduced to technical issues.

The organisers agreed that their relationship with the ITP participants was good. They expressed their awareness of being in a position of power and highlighted the importance of minimising the hierarchies and equalising power imbalances within the group. To them, Sweden should not take the position of a teacher but rather a colleague sharing knowledge and experiences. They acknowledged, however, that it was challenging to find a good balance in the relationship with the participants since they were from the funding organisation. They expressed that they tried to be attentive to the ITP participants' opinions and needs as much as possible. This resonates with my observations since during the workshop in Dar es Salaam, the participants continuously had the possibility to interact with the organisers and lecturers. The organisers engaged in participatory methods to discuss different problems and encouraged the participants to comment on things, share their experiences, suggestions, and raise concerns, which were instantly addressed. An example of that was the discussion on the interpretation of poverty where ICLD did not give any predetermined definition but asked the participants for their rationale to further create a mutually accepted definition out of various contributions. The organisers said they wished to be able to talk to everyone and to spend more time with the ITP participants, especially to visit all their localities, which was limited due to time and budget.

What the coordinators said about the choice of English for the training purposes was in line with the ITP participants, meaning that the choice of English was very practical for communication between all the parties and that there were no significant obstacles due to its usage. However, they noticed some language barriers that might have affected the perception and efficiency of the programme, which I also noticed not only during the attended workshop but also when interviewing the ITP participants. Sometimes the language barrier resulted in receiving curt answers and, in one case, forced me to remove one interview from my dataset as it did not provide relevant information. The language issue seemed to be a more complex topic to be analysed with more details in further research.

In conclusion, the accounts of the ITP participants and ITP organisers coincided to a great extent. They agreed that peer learning was a crucial element of the programmes, allowing the exchange of knowledge in a participatory manner. They tried to be attentive and approachable, which was recognised by the ITP participants. Just as the participants, they noticed programme limitations due to extensive bureaucracy and time constraints, and they also agreed that using English for the training was a good choice while recognising its limitations.

The ITP organisers also referred to many topics that I can relate to postdevelopment. It was visible that they acknowledged power imbalances and worked to minimise them by allowing to construct knowledge together, recognising the agency for change of the ITP participants, engaging local specialists to involve the local context, and showing Sweden not as a teacher but a partner in knowledge sharing that also had different challenges.

It is noticeable that my observations and the analysis of the interviews with ITP organisers present ICLD in a positive light in regard to postdevelopment. They seemed to be aware of shortcomings of the mainstream development and tried to mitigate them. I did not see any significant incoherence with what postdevelopment advocates for. I noticed only organisational issues that still could be adapted to the needs of participants. Given the issue of positionality, I must acknowledge that my view of the ICLD's work might have been influenced by my experiences with the organisation. Although I tried to keep it free from being partial, this chapter is more susceptible to biases, thus I decided to not combine it with the findings from the interviewees with the ITP participants. It served solely to check if there were any discrepancies between the accounts of ITP participants, ITP organisers and my observations and thus allowed adding more perspectives when answering the main question from the title.

7. Conclusion

In the conclusion, I answer the research questions posed in the beginning, refer to the title of this thesis, and give suggestions for further research.

7.1. Research questions

<u>What were the experiences of the Tanzanians involved in the selected international training programmes conducted by ICLD in regard to applicability and power relations?</u>

Concerning the aspect of applicability of the ITPs, the overall opinion of interviewees was positive, mainly due to the focus on connecting various issues to their local context. They stated that the ITPs made them acquire useful knowledge and practical skill, and thus empowered them and helped make municipal projects more durable and efficient. They mostly perceived the solutions based on the Swedish example as applicable in the Tanzanian context with some limitations. Despite mostly positive opinions on the relevance of the ITPs, a few interviewees were more sceptical, saying that they spent too little time together to make a real impact. Nonetheless, all the interviewees stated that they were satisfied with the programme, mainly due to the possibility of learning and getting international exposure.

Regarding power relations, there was a visible division between the perception of Sweden and Tanzania. While Sweden was seen in a positive light, the view of Tanzania was more complex. The interviewees presented many factors hindering Tanzanian democracy and development, at the same time they felt that the situation was improving. The dichotomy between the perception of both countries was further visible when talking about peer learning. While most of the interviewees were enthusiastic about exchanging knowledge not only with Sweden but also with other African countries, a few respondents believed that the desirable way for them was to learn solely from Sweden as the only highly advanced economy at the ITP. The ICLD approach, which focused on local democracy and four core values, was considered universal and adequate for Tanzania, though the responders raised concerns on whether these values should be prioritised in the situation of hardships, such as lack of food and water. The interviewees mostly agreed that the choice of English for the training activities was good due to its practicality, though suggested the creation of materials in Swahili to raise impact on local communities. The relationship between ICLD and the ITP participants was seen positively by all the interviewees, both concerning organisation and communication aspects, while only minor issues were noticed by a few of them. They agreed that ICLD created an inclusive space where an exchange of knowledge could happen in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust.

How do these experiences relate to the postdevelopment theory?

In terms of applicability, the interviewees' experiences confirmed that the agenda of ICLD was directed toward development seen more as a social policy than solely economic growth, which resonates with the arguments of postdevelopment. The ITPs created a space for 'hybrid cultures', mainly because ICLD did not have predetermined solutions to implement in Tanzania, but they recognised the agency for change of the participants for implementing their own project with support in the form of capacity-building activities. Moreover, thanks to peer learning, this hybridisation was effectuated not only in the North-South exchange but also between African countries. This type of development cooperation was perceived as accurate and desired by the interviewees, which is also important for postdevelopment since it advocates for looking at the perspectives of the development assistance recipients.

Regarding power relations, ICLD seemed to be aware of their position of power and tried to equalise it using different inclusive techniques and assuring the ownership of the project to the ITP participants. This way they minimised the risk of overlooking the complexity of local practices. Peer learning was a crucial element in decreasing the hegemony of the Swedish voice and allowing the disruption of the hierarchy of cultures, which let the Tanzanians have a chance to evolve their own cultural principles by incorporating selected elements of foreign experiences into their local practices. Even though ICLD had an agenda with values derived from the Swedish experience, most of the interviewees felt that these values were universal and desirable in Tanzania, thus the argument of a Western organisation imposing its own perspective on other nations is lessened. Nonetheless, power imbalances were still vivid when talking about the perception of Sweden and Tanzania. The feeling of inferiority in Tanzania in comparison to Sweden was visible, which might have discouraged the participants to look for solutions to their challenges locally. Instead, many of the interviewees trusted that following the Swedish example was the right thing to do. Regarding language issues, Tanzanians perceived English as a practical solution without evoking anti-colonial arguments but suggested using Swahili for some purposes. Despite all the positives of ITPs regarding power dynamics, there were noted deficiencies, such as unequal attention to different teams, which decreased the feeling of equitableness. There were also factors hindering the development processes in Tanzanian municipalities that the ITP could not fully address, such as the limited decision-making power of the participants in their municipalities or the fact that many local decisions were not taken on a local but central government level.

7.2. Postdevelopment assistance made possible?

As many scholars say, development assistance has many shortcomings. Nonetheless, in a situation of extreme imbalances between the poor and the rich on a global scale, would it be rational and ethical to discontinue international development work? As the finding of this thesis confirmed, 'the will to improve' is shared on both sides of the North-South dichotomy and it is hard to imagine that the belief in development will vanish soon. Thus, the best we can do is to constantly assess what has been done and what can be improved, applying different perspectives on this assessment. This is what my research strove to contribute. The application of the postdevelopment approach allowed me to focus on the development assistance recipients whose perspectives tend to be marginalised despite being probably the most important stakeholders.

ICLD is an organisation focused on alleviating poverty and increasing inclusion through the enhancement of local democracy. Although economic growth is not the above-all aspect of their programmes, they did not seem to be either the immediate promoters of the postdevelopment agenda. Nonetheless, they acknowledged the paternalistic character of the old development discourse and built their programmes on principles that are close to postdevelopment arguments, which is confirmed through the interpretation of the responses of the ITP participants, ITP organisers and my observations. They seemed to not perceive the Global South in terms of being poor and passive but acknowledged the expertise and agency of people living there. It relates to the statement of Ziai (2017) who showed that postdevelopment becomes more popular and is often reflected in the latest assistance programmes, even if these are not directly referring to it. Therefore, it can be seen that the adaptation of development assistance including the postdevelopment agenda is indeed possible.

The universality of the postdevelopment approach has been defended by many scholars who showed its different applications in multiple settings including Tanzania (Cupples, Glynn, and Larios, 2007; Demaria and Kothari, 2017; Sachs, 2019; Schöneberg et al., 2022). The findings of this thesis add that postdevelopment not only can be applied worldwide but also in different kinds of development programmes. Although Mathews (2017) argued, that capacity-building programmes tended to be more compatible with mainstream development, this thesis confirmed that such programmes, on the example of ITPs conducted by ICLD, could follow modern community-based approaches, also believed to be more appropriate and equal, such as postdevelopment, which create the path toward the pluriverse, 'a world where many worlds fit' (Demaria and Kothari, 2017, p.2596). As McGregor (2007) suggested, ICLD improved and adapted their capacity-building activities instead of completely removing them from their

portfolio and used its power and prestige to provide assistance in a way, which respects the local expertise.

Despite the mostly positive picture of the ITP presented in the findings, there were still issues, such as the still visible dichotomy between Sweden and other countries, requiring further adaptation of these programmes. Therefore, I advocate for more research assessing development assistance. Such research should propose a combination of theory and practice and continuously review development programmes of different organisations through lenses of multiple theoretical perspectives just like this thesis did with postdevelopment. There should be maintained a focus on collecting the accounts of the development assistance recipients but it can be further expanded to include the perspective of other stakeholders. The purpose should not only be exploratory where the theories are tested but also practical to give suggestions for improvement of the analysed programmes. Such assessments of development programmes exist, typically in the form of evaluation reports. Nevertheless, these are usually created or ordered by the development agencies themselves and they focus on assessing the results against the expected outcomes. In the ideal situation, independent researchers would commit to these undertakings. My research chose postdevelopment for provoking these reflections, however, other approaches, such as feminist theories, are equally relevant. Not less important should be the incorporation of methodologies rooted in African philosophies and worldviews bringing new alternative ways of conducting research, which has the potential to question academic imperialism (Chilisa, 2017; Khumalo, 2022).

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Appendix 1: Study Information Sheet

Study title: A qualitative analysis of the ICLD's international training programmes in Tanzania in the eyes of local stakeholders

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About the study

You are invited to participate in an interview for a study that I am conducting for my final thesis as a part of the master's programme in Development Studies at Lund University.

For this study, I am interested in your experiences with the ICLD's international training programme and how you perceive its accuracy in facing the challenges in your municipality. I would like to explore whether your perspective, needs and values are considered when an international training programme takes place. A collection of your and other participants' accounts will help me evaluate the operating format of the programme and its results, analysing the existing collaborations between different stakeholders.

The study is co-financed by the ICLD Fieldwork Grant distributed by the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD). The thesis is planned to be submitted to Lund University in May 2023, and will thereafter be published on the Lund University Publications webpage (https://lup.lub.lu.se/search/).

About the interview

Participation in this study is entirely <u>voluntary</u>. You have the right to refuse to take part in it or to answer certain questions. You also maintain the right to withdraw at any time until the time of the thesis publication without the necessity to provide a reason. No payment for participating in the interviews can be offered.

The interview will be guided by a prepared question list that is shared with you. I might, however, ask you follow-up questions, which are not on the list. The interview will be conducted in English and will take approximately 45-60 minutes depending on your availability and the amount of information you want to share.

The interview will be recorded and transcribed. Both the recording and transcription will only be accessed by me and will be deleted once my study is completed. Please inform me if you object to this. All the information gathered will be <u>anonymised</u>. Quotes from your statements might be used in the analysis, however, without revealing your identity. The interview content will be used solely for the master's thesis and will not be shared or reported to any other party.

Verbal consent will be requested and recorded at the beginning of the interview. If you have any further questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact me at any time.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

INTRODUCTION

1. What is your current job/position?
2. Could you describe your most important tasks?
3. How did you get the information about this International Training Programme (ITP)?
4. Why did you decide to participate in this ITP?
5. Have you participated in other international training programmes? If so, which ones?

APPLICATION OF THE ITP

6. Could you describe what this ITP is about?
7. What do you think about the knowledge received during the ITP?
    o Can you give a specific example of what was the most useful?
    o Can you give a specific example of what was the least useful?
8. What was your perception of Sweden before going there for the training?
    o Has this perception changed? How?
9. Have you noticed any difference in how local governments work in Sweden and Tanzania?
10. Do you think that the learning from the Swedish example can be applied in your municipality?
    o If so, is it implemented just as in Sweden or go through the process of adaptation?
    o If not, what is the challenge?
11. Do you feel that the ITP organisers understand the challenges of your municipality?
12. Does this ITP respond to the necessities of your municipality?
13. How does this ITP influence the local development of your municipality?
14. Do you think that the choice of English for training activities is a well-suited solution for Tanzania?

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH THE ITP

15. What does this ITP mean to you?
16. How would you define the relationship between the participants and organisers of this ITP?
    o Did you feel that your perspective was heard?
    o Did you feel that your perspective was valued?
    o Did you feel that you can learn something from the programme?
    o Did you feel that you can teach others during the programme?
    o Do you have any specific examples in mind?
17. Did you have the opportunity to implement your ideas when participating in the programme?

LOCAL DEMOCRACY

18. What does local democracy mean to you?
19. How well does your municipality do in terms of local democracy?
20. Do you think that the ICLD's four core values: equity, participation, transparency, and accountability are adequate to answer the problems of your municipality?

SUMMARY

21. Are you generally satisfied with the training programme?
22. What was the best part of the programme?
23. What was the worst part of the programme?
24. If you were to change anything in the training programme, what would it be?
25. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 3: Codebook

Name	Description	Files	References
APPLICATION OF THE ITP	Section containing several themes	0	0
Impact on the participants	Theme containing several codes	0	0
General satisfaction	The interviewees express whether they were satisfied with the ITP or not and say what were the best and the worst parts of the programme.	14	47
Missed Swedish Phase	The interviewees express what they feel regarding missing on-site training during the pandemic.	5	15
Personal attachment to the ITP	The interviewees explain what participation in the ITP meant to them.	11	13
The will for exposure	The interviewees express the importance of being exposed to new experiences and perspectives.	9	22
The will to learn	The interviewees express their will to learn and experience new things.	13	23
Possibility of adaptation	The interviewees express if they think that the learning from the Swedish example can be implemented in Tanzania.	14	26
Relevance of the ITP	Theme containing several codes	0	0
General relevance	The interviewees explain if they think that the ITP was relevant to help solve their local challenges.	14	37
Opinions about the received knowledge	The interviewees express what they think about the knowledge that they received during the ITP and if it is useful regarding the Tanzanian context.	14	26
POWER RELATIONS	Section containing several themes	0	0
English as a training language	The interviewees explain their opinion about the choice of English as the language of instruction for the ITP.	14	21
Peer learning	The interviewees explain how peer learning worked during the ITP and what is their opinion on it.	13	43
Perception of Sweden	The interviewees explain what they think about Sweden, especially in terms of local democracy.	13	42
Perception of Tanzania	The interviewees explain what they think about Tanzania, especially in terms of local democracy.	13	47
Perception of the ITP	Theme containing several codes	0	0
ICLD core values	The interviewees explain what they think about the core values of ICLD and if these	14	22

Name	Description	Files	References
	are applicable in the Tanzanian context.		
Understanding of local democracy	The interviewees explain what they understand by the term ,local democracy'.	13	15
What the ITP is about	The interviewees explain in their own words what they think their respective ITP was about.	13	16
Relationship with ICLD	Theme containing several codes	0	0
ICLD understanding local challenges	The interviewees explain if they feel that ICLD understood the challenges they have in their locality.	14	24
Interactions between the participants and ICLD	The interviewees explain what they think about interactions that they had with ICLD during the ITP.	13	17
Opinions being heard	The interviewees explain if they felt that their opinions were heard and valued by ICLD.	14	22
SUGGESTIONS TO THE ITP	Section containing several themes	0	0
Funding for projects	The interviewees suggest that within the ITPs there should be secured funding for projects conducted by the participants.	5	12
Limitation of participation	The interviewees suggest that the limit of participation in the ITPs should be changed.	4	5
Materials in Swahili	The interviewees suggest that the participants of the ITP should be provided with materials in Swahili.	3	4
Missed physical training	The interviewees ask to organise an extra on-site workshop to compensate for the missed on-site training during the pandemic.	3	5
Money issues	The interviewees suggest changes to the ITPs regarding financial rules (incidental money, per diems, cash).	4	9
More participants	The interviewees suggest that there should be more people accepted to join the ITP training.	3	4
Other suggestions	A collection of other suggestions given by the interviewees that were voiced not more than once.	7	14
Timetable	The interviewees suggest changes to the timetable of the ITP workshops.	7	9

Annex 1: Lund University letter regarding fieldwork

Graduate School

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

LUND UNIVERSITY

January 18, 2023

Katherine Anderson Ahlstedt
Programme Coordinator
Graduate School

To whom it may concern,

With this letter we confirm that Michal Piatkowski, born November 19, 1991, is a student enrolled in the *Master of Science Programme in Development Studies* majoring in Human Geography at Lund University, Sweden. The programme runs full-time for two years, from August 30, 2021 to June 4, 2023 and is 120-credits. Michal Piatkowski has so far completed 90-credits of the programme with excellent results.

Michal Piatkowski is currently registered for the master's thesis course *SIMZ31: Master's (Two Years) Thesis in Development Studies, 30 credits* with a major in Human Geography this spring term of 2023. As a component of the master's thesis course, Michal Piatkowski will be doing fieldwork in Tanzania from February 5, 2023 - March 14, 2023. His fieldwork is being funded by the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD) fieldwork grant, for which he will be conducting a qualitative analysis of ICLD's activity in Tanzania in the eyes of local stakeholders. Michal Piatkowski's thesis research is being supervised by Assistant Professor Yahia Mahmoud at the Department of Human Geography at Lund University.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any further questions.
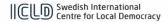
Sincerely,

LUND UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Social Sciences

Katherine Anderson Ahlstedt
Programme Coordinator
Graduate School
Lund University

Annex 2: ICLD letter regarding the fieldwork grant

ICLD Swedish International
Centre for Local Democracy

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The holder of this document,

Michal Piatkowski

has been awarded an ICLD Fieldwork Grant. The ICLD Fieldwork Grant programme is administered by the Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD), a non-profit organisation financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

The ICLD Fieldwork Grant is awarded to students registered at a Swedish university with a desire to undertake an in-depth field study collecting data as part of their master's thesis. The field study must last a minimum of four consecutive weeks in the host country. The study's layout and academic plan have been approved by representatives at the Swedish university and/or respective academic department.

The focus of the ICLD Fieldwork Grant is to raise the level of knowledge in the student's respective academic field of study. It is advisable for the grant holder to provide the organisation or academic department in the host country with information about the study's findings by making the results available from the finalised academic report.

It is hoped that the ICLD Fieldwork Grant programme will be of benefit to both the host country and ICLD. The Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy would be most grateful for any assistance that can be offered to the grant holder during their field study visit.

Please note that the ICLD Fieldwork Grant programme is not a research commission.

Ana Maria Vargas
Research Director, Knowledge Centre
Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy

ICLD Swedish International
Centre for Local Democracy

The Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy (ICLD) is a non-governmental organization, financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). ICLD's mission is to support democratic participation and change at the local level. With its focus on democracy, local self-governance and decentralization, ICLD strengthens local governments' capacity to analyse, prioritise and implement Agenda 2030 in accordance with their own needs, priorities and resources.