Mind the Gap: Investigating the Presence of Colonial Attitudes Among Global Development Workers

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Mind the Gap: Investigating the Presence of Colonial Attitudes

Among Global Development Workers

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A Thesis in the Field of International Relations

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Abstract

      Over the last couple of decades, there have been increased calls to confront the legacies of colonialism. Structures and systems that resulted from colonial era policies and practices are being confronted through postcolonial theory as well as decolonization movements. The effects of both colonial mentality (internalized attitudes of colonialism by the colonized) and a colonial attitude (views that ascribe notions of superiority) have been researched extensively, however, literature quantifying both are sparse. The purpose of this empirical study is to identify if a colonial attitude exists among development workers, and if so, to what degree.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of the giants upon whose shoulders we stand,

and to all those who continue to work tirelessly to create a more just and equitable world,

a pluriverse where decoloniality is the order de jure.

Acknowledgments

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

Definitions of Terms & Concepts

Coloniality: "the matrix of power relations that persistently manifests transnationally and
intersubjectively despite a former colony's achievement of nationhood. As a
conceptual apparatus, 'coloniality' attempts to capture the racial, political
economic, social, epistemological, linguistic, and gendered hierarchical orders
imposed by European colonialism that transcended 'decolonization' and continue
to oppress in accordance with the needs of pan-capital (i.e, economic and
cultural/symbolic) accumulation." (Richardson, 2020: 3-4).

Colonial Attitude: ways of being and doing that, intentionally or latent, that
sustain and propagate coloniality

Colonial Mentality: Internalized attitudes of colonialism by the colonized. It is the
perception of ethnic and cultural inferiority and a form of internalized racial
oppression (Decena, 2014).

Decoloniality denotes ways of thinking, knowing, being, and doing that began with, but
also precede, the colonial enterprise and invasion. It implies the recognition and
undoing of the hierarchical structures of race, gender, heteropatriarchy, and class
that continue to control life, knowledge, spirituality, and thought, structures that
are clearly intertwined with and constitutive of global capitalist and Western
modernity. (Mignolo & Walk, 2018: 17)

Decolonization is the "deconstruction of colonial ideologies of superiority and privilege, dismantling structures that perpetuate the status quo; and, addressing unbalanced power dynamics" (Cull, 2018).

Global South: encompasses countries where global development programs are focused primarily in Latin America, Africa, parts of Asia and the Middle East; formerly known as Third World, Periphery and Underdeveloped and more recently as Low- to Middle- Income Countries (LMIC)

Hegemony as defined by Antonio Gramsci being the "cultural, moral and ideological" intellectual leadership of a group over an inferior Other group. Hegemony positions the West as defining the "process of making, maintaining, and reproducing ascendant meanings and practices (Barker, 10).

Modernity can be best understood as a social order that upholds certain attitudes and ways of being that have been codified and legitimated through social structures such as political, religious, and educational institutions, market economies, and societal cultural norms (Giddens, 1990).

White Savior Industrial Complex: the need to save those less fortunate, often seeking to feel good, without regard for the policies that ensure the continuity of structural violence as defined by Teju Cole (2012):

Chapter I.

Introduction

In recent years there has been a resurgence of liberation movements from academia and medicine to arts and entertainment. These liberation movements are calling for the decolonization of various sectors, chief among them global development. This research provides an empirical glimpse of where coloniality exists among development workers – if it exists.

Initially founded on colonial medicine and built on the backbone of colonial administrative structures, global development has grown over the last thirty years to encompass fields ranging from economic empowerment and agrarian reform to electoral systems oversight and humanitarian assistance to gender equity and inclusion. While the expansion has ostensibly been welcome, there has never been a systematic study of whether the attitudes of individuals working in the field has evolved. In other words, do individuals working in global development have a worldview closer and akin to Eurocentric worldviews of superiority like those in colonial administrations? Or have worldviews of development workers been more influenced by modern day leanings towards decolonization, equity, and equality?

The aim of this research is two-fold: first, to identify the prevalence of a colonial attitude and second, to provide empirical evidence to support the forward momentum of decolonizing spaces, processes, policies to build an inclusive and self-aware global development ecosystem - a global development pluriverse with a decoloniality attitude and framework. To contextualize and better understand the motivation of the research

questions, I take a short excursion into modernity/coloniality, decolonization and decoloniality that introduces the theories and concepts that underpin the research question.

Modernity/Coloniality & Recolonization

The term decolonization was seemingly coined by the German economist and scholar Moritz Julius Bonn in the mid-1930s after his time spent in southern Africa led him to argue for the necessity of departing occupied lands. At the time, the term was used to describe the literal, physical withdrawal of colonial powers from their colonies, and former colonies attaining their freedom, including political and economic freedoms (Gordon, 213). Decolonization in this sense was a process leading to what colonial powers and multilaterals organizations such as the League of Nations (predecessor of the United Nations) claimed would be a shift towards autonomy and autonomous structures in response to a call for a right to self-determination.

On the contrary, what took place instead was a reframed re-colonization of countries through concepts such as globalization and development through foreign assistance. The continued export of Western goods, ideas, knowledge, and significant resource extraction led to exploitation of labor while perniciously placing Eurocentric ideologies at the center of commerce and Being—insidiously positioning the colonized as the Other. The control and erasure of these spaces did not happen directly but rather under the guise of modernity.

Modernity can be best understood as a social order that upholds certain attitudes and ways of being that have been codified and legitimated through social structures such as political, religious, and educational institutions, market economies, and societal

cultural norms (Giddens, 1990). Globalization serves as a mode of transport for establishing a Eurocentric version of modernity across the globe. Modernity encompasses a vast period spanning the Age of Enlightenment to the expansion of Europe into the Americas to present day. In the colonial era, modernity equated with the idea of the "civilization mission" where individuals from various sectors (religious missions, educators, administrators, etc.) were sent to civilize indigenous populations in colonized lands empowered by a Papal bulletin issued in 1493.

In Unsettling Truths, Mark Charles and Soong-Chan Rah discuss The Doctrine of Discovery of 1493 that positioned the West as the saviors of the world were indigenous populations had to be "saved". The Doctrine held that any land that was not Christian could be confiscated, and the population transferred and Christianized. Through this document, Europe took the first step towards the idea of modernity. The Doctrine of Discovery later inspired the 19th century American ideology of Manifest Destiny, which held that the United States was destined by God to spread democracy and capitalism across the North American continent (Charles and Soong-Chan Rah, 2019). While Manifest Destiny took hold in the late 1800s, the ideology has yet to die.

In his seminal work Orientalism, Edward Said, one of the founding fathers of postcolonial theory, provides a broad view of the East/West divide demonstrating the divide was created by colonialism to serve hegemonic purposes of power consolidation. Hegemony was defined by Antonio Gramsci as the "cultural, moral and ideological" intellectual leadership of a group over an inferior "Other group." Here, hegemony positions the West as defining the "process of making, maintaining, and reproducing ascendant meanings and practices" (Barker, 10). Not only did Orientalism "Other" non-

Europeans by depicting them as less evolved, but it also continued to legitimize Europeans' worldview of themselves as the more superior people in comparison to their inferior counterparts. Today we continue to see the legacy modernity weaves across the globe through the inequities and inequalities that resulted from centuries of slavery and physical, spiritual, and mental subjugation.

As Walter D. Mignolo, an Argentine scholar, holds modernity and coloniality (read: modernity/coloniality) are inextricably linked –one cannot exist without the other. To understand modernity, an understanding of coloniality is mandatory. In his book Epidemic Illusions, physician-anthropologist Eugene T. Richardson defines coloniality as "the matrix of power relations that persistently manifests transnationally and intersubjectively despite a former colony's achievement of nationhood. As a conceptual apparatus, 'coloniality' attempts to capture the racial, political economic, social, epistemological, linguistic, and gendered hierarchical orders imposed by European colonialism that transcended 'decolonization' and continue to oppress in accordance with the needs of pan-capital (i.e, economic and cultural/symbolic) accumulation," (3-4). In other words, coloniality is the interaction of various hierarchies, structures (physical and otherwise), systems, tools, and processes that perpetuate power imbalances established through hundreds of years of colonization impacting our collective psyche.

Post-Development, Decolonization and Decoloniality

Through works focused on post-development, decolonization and decoloniality, individuals across various sectors are aiming to remove the colonial gaze from spaces of knowledge, imagination, and nation-building and taking an anti-colonial position. Post-Development discourse aims to remove tropes created by the Western gaze (i.e.,

coloniality) entirely from development work (Ziai, A. 2007; Escobar, 2017) while identifying alternatives. Decolonization, on the other hand, aims to remove coloniality from the development space. Both Post-Development and Decolonization share a broader aim of using local knowledge to spur innovations and solution.

Thought leaders such as Franz Fanon, Edward Said, Ngũgĩ Wa'Thiongo, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Anibal Quijano, Annette Joseph-Gabriel,Maria Lugones, Mariana Ortega, Wangari Mathai, emerged from communities outside of the West to identify, advocate and motivate a shift in thinking towards decoloniality. Fanon vigorously took an anti-colonial stance arguing that to decolonize, a radical restructuring of society is necessary. Edward Said pushed us to understand the images of the East as a false, fabricated image created by the West to further political, ideological, and economic aids. Ngugi Wa'Thiongo coined the term decolonization of the mind, arguing that individuals should approach writing and reflection in their native tongue and not the language of the colonizer to enable true expression and to break ties to the colonial past. Anibal Quijano introduces us to the idea of "the coloniality of power". Quijano posits that the colonial matrix of power works towards interconnecting critical functions of a society to control the foundational aspects while simultaneously eroding the original fabric of a community. This translates into controlling land, resources, labor, societal norms and expectations, institutions such as the legal system, the military, and police forces all while removing indigenous or other ways of being both in the literal and ideological sense (Mignolo, Quijano). In this thesis, I investigate the presence of modernity/coloniality in a sector most familiar to me – global development.

The Development Context

Often referred to as International Development, Global Development encompasses the programs, institutions, and systems whose primary aim is to improve quality of life by implementing programs that address health, education, and socio-economic inequalities in what we now refer to as the Global South or developing world (formerly known as Third World, Periphery and Underdeveloped through modernization theory). The field of Global Development is often linked to human development – improving one's lot in life through systematic improvements of one's community. At a larger level, multilateral institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the United Nations take a broader approach with an aim to influence the priorities (political, economic, resources) of a country – often developing countries. The development world spawned out of a post-colonial era when Western nations launched a new era of modernity, moving away from civilizing missions and towards the concept of "development". Countries considered underdeveloped or Third World are often, if not always, former European colonies.

In the past two decades, critics of global development have written about the inequities and inequalities perpetuated by an imbalance in power dynamics between development organizations and program recipients. The power dynamic is not surprising given development is strongly rooted in colonialism. Several academics ranging from literary critics (e.g., Said), social theorists (e.g., Bambra, , Mignolo, Quijano), development economists (e.g., Acemoglu, Easterly, Moyo,) and philosophers (e.g., Fanon, Foucault, Thi'ongo, Levinas, Derrida) to health practitioners and (medical) anthropologists (e.g., Farmer, Fassin, Keshajvee, Richardson,) to political scientists (e.g.,

Bunche, Ferguson, Shiliam), feminist thinkers (e.g., bells, Espinosa, Lourde) and

sociologists (e.g., Briceño-León , Meghji, Pieterse, W. Sachs) – only to name a few -

have uncovered and documented the deep-seated connection between colonialism and

development, while simultaneously challenging European hegemony of thought,

knowledge and Being. Frederick Cooper's research on the shift from colonial

governments to developments provides an in-depth history of the plans colonial powers

put in place which morphed into development over time. In Modernizing Bureaucrats,

Backward Africans, and the Development Concept (1997), Cooper writes,

> Colonial governments in the 1940s thought of development as an idea
> which would reinvigorate colonialism, but it turned out to be central to the
> process by which colonial elites convinced themselves that they could give
> up colonies. French and British officials believed that their development
> initiatives would make colonies simultaneously more productive and more
> ideologically stable in the tumult of the postwar years. They sent waves of
> experts to Africa to refashion the way farmers farmed and workers
> worked, to restructure health and education. Postwar imperialism was the
> imperialism of knowledge (Cooper, 64).

In a similar vein, Arturo Escobar discusses the history and implications of

development on his native country Colombia, and the broader implications on developing

nations in Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World

(1995), providing a succinct history on the "invention of development" outlining the

transition from the colonial order to development initiatives citing that "…in the interwar

period, the ground was prepared for the institution of development as a strategy to

remake the colonial world and restructure the relations between colonies and metropoles"

(Escobar, 1995: 26). In the global health arena, law professor Obijiofor Aginam (2003) of

Carleton University in Ottawa examines the colonial past of public health diplomacy

arguing for increased inclusivity of the Global South in the design and implementation of

global health policies, research, and programs. He says "ethnomedical/pharmacological practices indigenous to the discovered worlds are dismissed from the parameters of public health governance as uncivilized/primitive barbarism unfit for the integration into the corpus of multilateral health framework" (Aginam, 2003:7). This dismissive attitude of other, non-Western bodies of knowledge is not new to regions considered underdeveloped or developing. Here, the presence of power dynamics is visible by the mere fact that programs are often designed by individuals living outside of the communities they aim to support. In the thesis Weak States, Uncivil Societies and Thousands of NGOs: Benevolent Colonialism in the Balkans by Sampson (2002), two points are highlighted: a) the presence of global development programs vis-a-vis the implementers create a "cultural boundary" of "Us" and "them" and b) program delivery is imported into a country and the communities the program is brought into must "receive, utilize, exploit or reject it" (11). Steven Sampson continues, "despite all the talk of partnership and cooperation, the relationship is inherently unequal" (11). If programs are designed in and imported from the West, what informs the designers' and implementers' understanding of what is needed? Is there an implicit attitude that 'West knows best'? And how do their own perceptions affect relationships with host country staff present?

Colonial Mentality & Colonial Attitudes

Today, ill-informed, and distorted narratives depicting vast regions of the Global South, most notably African countries, as places in need of saving persist. The "cultural boundary" noted by Sampson is often worse in the African context due to preconceived notions of African's being "less-than", a remnant of the continent's dark colonial past

(Asad, 1995; Chamberlain, 2010; Pakenham, 1992). The rhetoric of Africa as a disease-riddled continent with inferior populations suffering from sickness and poverty has allowed, even encouraged, ideas and attitudes of superiority that persist to this day. In her book Dead Aid, Dambisa Moyo takes a critical look at the role of international aid in Africa. She lays the groundwork for understanding the context in which aid is administered including "the largely unspoken and insidious view that the problem with Africa is Africans - that culturally, mentally, and physically Africans are innately different. That, somehow, deeply embedded in their psyche is an inability to embrace development and improve their own lot in life without foreign guidance and help" (Moyo, 2010:31). Doctor Nkuzi Michael Nnam, Director of the African and American Studies at Dominican University, wrote Colonial Mentality in Africa (2007) to, first, debunk the myths, misconceptions and narratives that uphold colonialist views of Africa and second, to explain the effects of colonialism. These narratives combined with a colonial past, has rendered many living in post-colonial countries with what has been defined as a colonial mentality. The view of African countries as underdeveloped, backwards even, extends beyond to most formerly colonized countries.

In the past two decades, there have only been two studies that research the presence of a colonial mentality among formerly colonized populations. The Colonial Mentality scale by David Okazaki et al. looks at colonial mentality specifically among Ghanaian populations (David, 2010; David & Nadal, 2013; David & Okazaki, 2006). In Assessing the Psychological Consequences of Internalized Colonialism on the Psychological Well-being of Young Adults in Ghana, Shawn Utsey, et al. test the

9

pervasiveness of internalized colonialism, or a colonial mentality, is among young adults building on David & Okazaki's work (Utsey, et al., 2014).

Colonial mentality is defined as the internalized attitude of colonialism by the colonized. It is the perception of ethnic and cultural inferiority and a form of internalized racial oppression (Decena,2014). For many who live in countries that were previously colonized, colonial mentality has insidious implications on one's view of self and of the colonizer. The Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS) constructed by David and Okazaki (2006) investigates the effects of colonial mentality on Filipino Americans (David & Nadal, 2012; David & Okazaki, 2010). In 2014, Utsey, et al. (2014) adopted the CMS to conduct the first empirical study on colonial mentality in Africa, specifically in Ghana. Their findings have key implications for research at the nexus of internalized oppression and mental health research (Gale, 2020) first in Ghanaians specifically but also in Africans generally (Utsey, et al., 2014). Their research offers unique quantitative research analyses and insights to the current discourse on colonial mentality. To date, this is the only empirical research that has investigated concepts of coloniality quantitatively.

The concept of colonial mentality is strongly supported in existing postcolonial scholarly literature from Homi Bhabha, Aime Cesaire, Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Jean-Paul Sartre to Leopold Sedar Senghor to name a few, and is used in discussions on decolonization (i.e. Illich, 1968; Mbembe, 2019; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Wainwright, 2011).

In Imperialist Fictions of Empire and the (Un-)Making of Imperialist Mentalities: Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Criticism Revisited, Vera and Ansgar Nunning (2001) elucidate the transgenerational process of the colonial attitude. Using narratology,

they dissect the ways in which colonial powers historically positioned themselves to be observers, saviors, and heroes of "wayward" societies. The historical narratives of colonial empires aimed to keep alive the image of heroism. They theorize that "…literary as well as the conceptual fictions of empire constructed and propagated a patriotic view of imperial history and transmitted it from one generation to the next" (Nunning & Nunning, 2001). In 1899, British author Rudyard Kipling's poem The White Man's Burden served as a call to the British Empire to take up the responsibility of saving those in need and, despite it being a thankless role, it is their duty to civilize. In 2012, Nigerian-American author Teju Cole coined the term White Savior Industrial Complex - the need to save those less fortunate, often seeking to feel good, without regard for the policies that ensure the continuity of structural violence. What Teju Cole describes as White Saviorism can be equated to the desire to heed Kipling's call, an indication of a colonial attitude, in The White Man's Burden. Despite a 113-year gap between Kipling and Cole, the topic of saviorism continues to remain relevant. As Paul Farmer, et al. (2013) put it, "[t]o discern the persistence of colonial health structures in modern-day global health practices is to understand the importance of historical analysis in tracing both the continuities and ruptures between present and past public health practices" (71). Though colonialism is to be over, its longstanding effects are still ever present.

<div align="center">Colonial Attitudes – Decolonial Approaches</div>

This empirical research will be situated in and contribute to several strands of literature in development studies, postcolonial theory as well as theories on decolonization and decoloniality. The impetus for this research stems from my professional experience working in the development sector for nearly twenty years. It is a

space where those of us from the Global South often experience micro/macro aggressions, are unable to rise through the ranks for the NGO world as easily as our White/non-Global South counterparts and are often positioned as knowing less than them. My observations are not unique. Though global development is intended to do good, colonialism has continued to influence the sector. In Reimagining Global Health, Colonial Medicine and Its Legacies, Paul Farmer, et al. remind us that, "[t]he knowledge frameworks carried forward from colonial times continue to influence both who is invited to the policymaking table and how global health agendas are then prioritized" (Farmer, et al, 2013: 71).

As recently as June 2020, an article in Devex – a global development journal – published an article entitled "Is COVID-19 magnifying colonial attitudes in global health? The article focused on the need for representation of researchers from Low to Middle Income Countries (LMIC) (i.e., developing) to ensure local perspectives are considered while designing solutions. The discussion was (re)launched when a paper titled "The Impact of COVID-19 and Strategies for Mitigation and Suppression in Low- and Middle-Income Countries" did not cite a single author (out of 49) from one of the LMICs. This is problematic as it removes and devalues the voices of local experts by centering Eurocentric knowledge production as previously discussed. Meanwhile, in February 2022, Abdisalan M. Noor at the World Health Organization (WHO) provides ten current ways of doing business that organizations should move away from. After twenty years of working in the sector, he shares, "In global health, major plans and decisions continue to be made far away from where the actual problems and solutions are, despite many hitching a ride on the 'country ownership' bandwagon. There is little

reflection on the role of global health as much a way of rendering justice as it is of improving people's health. Consequently, it struggles to extricate itself from the unyielding colonial legacy on which it was established, it remains unjust and at times uncaring as those who make the decisions are not those who need its succor the most." Yet again, development workers continue to raise the alarm that colonialism is ever present in the daily operations of programs across the Global South.

Discussions on how to dismantle structural remnants of colonialism, decolonizing the mind, and moving to a pluriverse are ongoing across many sectors. While there is some action, it has not been significant enough to move the needle substantially. In addition, there is no empirical evidence on the prevalence of colonial attitudes across any sector, much less in staff that develop and carry out global development programs in the Global South My overall goal is to provide empirical data that can be used to address issues of coloniality in the development sector.

Specifically, I investigate the following questions: if the legacy of colonization is transgenerational with individuals from communities that have been colonized carrying colonial mentalities, could this potentially mean that colonial attitudes of superiority have also been passed down intergenerationally? Specifically, for those individuals that come from Eurocentric/Western heritage and work in development, have colonial attitudes been transferred and now present in their practice as development practitioners? If so, could these attitudes continue to uphold and/or encourage the continued presence of coloniality? The aim here is to understand the extent to which a Eurocentric world view remains present amongst development workers.

This work sits at the intersection of decolonization and decoloniality. On the one hand, it provides a baseline from which to work by providing a snapshot of development professionals' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs. On the other, it provides a starting point understanding the ways of thinking and Being that are prevalent among global development workers. In both instances, the results provide a tool for individuals to utilize in their efforts to decolonize global development. In Chapter two, I share my methodology, results, and findings. In Chapter three, the discussion, I provide an analysis of my findings.

Chapter II.

Methodology

This study employed a 28-item survey tool entitled, Attitudes, Beliefs and Perceptions of Global Development Professionals. It was published in Qualtrics and shared through various networks. A wide net was cast to capture a large, diverse sample size. Professional organizations were solicited to share the survey through their networks. that have a broad, global reach. Organizations such as Intergrowth, Global Health Network, Fifty Shades of AID (50SOA), working groups and other development practitioner forums were able to distribute the survey to a wide range of global development workers. To further expand the survey's reach, international development groups on social media channels such as Facebook were utilized. Finally, a snowball sampling method using prominent international development social media platforms and groups was deployed. This approach would remove bias to the extent possible, ensuring the survey participants represent the population and the sample by engaging a diverse group of people across the global development spectrum further safeguarding a high coverage level.

The survey was anonymous without the collection of any personal identifying details. An electronic survey was selected as the mode of data collection since it would not be feasible to collect responses in person as development workers are spread out around the global allowing a broad reach while keeping in line with the ethics of not helicoptering into countries to collect data. The anonymous survey link was made

available to the respondents along with informed consent notification without the collection of any personal identifying details. An electronic survey is the appropriate tool for this study due to the global nature of its population as such, an electronic survey has the broadest reach.

The surveys population of interest had two criteria to participate: a) must work in international development and b) at least 18 years of age or older at time of survey to participate. Survey respondents can be based anywhere in the world. Based on a crude initial estimate, a sample size ranging between 253 and 385 respondents would provide an acceptable margin of error and 95% confidence level. The survey received 284 responses with a 86% completion rate for 248 respondents.

Determining Sample Size

Ideally, a sample would have been selected from a comprehensive list of global development workers from all over the world. Since such a list does not exist, the total population size is unknown making enumeration difficult. However, for purposes of this assignment, I employ a crude method to determine lower and upper bound parameters to help me measure a realistic sample size.

First, I identify the smallest and largest primary actors that are considered international non-governmental organizations (Hoffman, 2016; Morton, 2013, Ravelo, 2021). The smallest is Christian Aid at 758 staff worldwide, and the largest being the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC). BRAC employees approx. 110,000 staff (Ravelo, 2021). I run two sample size calculations where 1) *population size* is 738 and 2) *population size* is 110,000 assuming a 95% confidence interval and a 5% margin

of error for both. The ideal sample size, according to Qualtrics' sample size calculator *n* equals 253 and 383, respectively. At a confidence level of 99% and 1% margin of error, the *n* is 707 for a population size of 738 and 14,406 for a population of 110,000.

To further define parameters, I then identify the number of INGOs worldwide. As of 2013, there are an estimated 40,000 registered INGOs worldwide. At this point, develop a minimum and maximum number of possible staff across all 40,000 INGOs. I multiply the two staff sizes of Christian Aid (738) and BRAC (110,000) by 40,000. If every INGO had a staff size of Christian Aid, there would be 29,520,000 development workers. If every INGO had a staff size of BRAC, there would be approximately 4,400,000,000 development workers world-wide. While there are not 4.4 billion aid workers – half the worlds population, these two numbers offer the maximum high and low possible for a total population size in global development.

Finally, I run two additional sample size calculations where 1) *population size* is 29,520,000 and 2) *population size* is 4.4 billion assuming a 95% confidence interval and a 5% margin of error for both. The ideal sample size, according to Qualtrics' sample size calculator is *n* equals 253 (lower bound) and 385 (upper bound), respectively. At a confidence level of 99% and a 1% margin of error, the sample size increases to 14,406 and 16,577.

Thus far, I have shown that at the lowest population size a sample size of 253 would suffice while at the largest, 385 would be acceptable. In addition, to decrease by margin of error and increase my confidence level, I would need between 14,406 – 16,577 respondents. While 1% margin of error is a rather large number, the sample sizes between 253-385 respondents was achievable with survey respondents totaling 284.

Survey Design

The survey consisted of 44 questions in total with four parts: demographics, respondent experience, beliefs, attitudes and perception of development practice and practitioners, and beliefs, attitudes, and perception of self. The survey primarily featured Likert scale questions and three open-ended questions. Two red herring queries were included for quality assurance purposes.

The demographic section asks about race, gender, religion, age and education while the questions that focus on experience ask about length of career, work travel, regions the have experience in, and where they've spent the most time working. These demographic and experience focused questions permit analysis by subsample. The remaining 25 questions focus on areas that are reflective of colonial administration structures namely administration and oversight of programs (4), authority (5), exploitation (3), (in)equality (4), and supremacy (9).The questions position respondents to share their perception of the development sector (e.g power dynamics between HQ-based and Country Office-based staff are minimal) or an introspective response in line with their own beliefs and behaviors (e.g. I have savior tendencies). A full list of the questions can be found in Appendix 1.

Respondents

Survey respondents were 284 professionals working in global development with 248 completing 86% or more of the survey questions.

Table 1. Respondent Demographics

Category	No. of Respondents	% of Total
Gender Distribution		
Female	156	64%
Male	87	36%
Age Ranges		
25-34	67	27%
35-44	103	42%
45-54	38	15%
55-64	25	10%
65-74	*13*	5%
75-84	1	0.40%
Prefer to Not Answer	1	0.40%
Race		
Asian	13	5.00%
Black/Brown	87	35.00%
Hispanic	5	2%
Other	10	5%
White	132	53%
Religion		
Agnostic	24	10%
Atheist	36	15%
Buddhist	5	2%
Catholic	31	13%
Hindu	9	4%
Jewish	10	4%
Muslim	8	3%
No Religion	35	14%
Orthodox Christian	16	6%
Other	27	11%
Prefer to Not Answer	21	8%
Protestant	26	11%
Education		
Doctorate	39	16%
Masters	171	69%
Bachelors	31	13%
Associates	3	1%
High School	1	0.40%
Some college, no degree	3	1%
Development Experience		
1-2 years	9	4%

12-15 years	31	12%
3-4 years	29	12%
6-8 years	45	18%
9-12 years	42	17%
Less than 12 months	1	0.40%
Over 15 years	90	36%
Prefer to Not Answer	1	0.40%

This table provides descriptive statistics for survey respondents. Of the 284 respondents, 243 were viable to use in analyses. The remaining 30 were removed from analysis if they were incomplete and/or answered quality assurance questions incorrectly.

Gender distribution of respondents was 156 females, 87 males, 1 trans male/transman, 1 non-binary/third gender, (1) other, and one (1) prefer not to answer. Respondents ranged in age from 25 years to 84 years, with the majority falling between 25-34 (n=67, 27%) and 35-44 (n=103, 42%).

Most respondents identified as White (n=132, 53%) and Black (n=76, 36%). The remaining identified as brown (n=5, 2%), Asian (n=13, 5%), and nine (10) (4%) selecting other or prefer not to answer.

Respondents of the survey identified with various belief systems: agnostic (n=24,9.68%), atheist (n=36, 14.53%), Buddhist (n=5, 2.02%), Catholic (n=28, 12.5%), Hindu (n=9, 3.63%), Jewish (n=10, 4.03%), Muslim (n=8, 3.23%), Orthodox Christian (n=16, 6.45%), Protestant (26, 10.48%) and no religion (n=35, 14.11%). 27 individuals (10.89%) selected Other, with the remaining 21 (8.47%) preferring not to answer. Despite the variation in religious affiliation, nearly 50% (n=112) indicated they are not at all religious.

Survey respondents have, in general, received formal education with 69% (n=171) holding a master's degree. 39 respondents (16%) a doctorate or a professional degree,

and 31 (13%) holding bachelor's degrees. The remaining 3% have either an associate degree (n=3) or some college (n=3) with one individual indicating only a high school degree or equivalent. In addition, a large portion of respondents (n=167, 68%) speak one or more languages *in addition to* English.

Most respondents indicated they are either somewhat familiar (n=88, 41%) or very familiar (n=78, 31%) with decolonization. The remaining were slightly familiar (n=32, 15%), not at all familiar (n=21, 10%).

Most respondents reported over 15 years of work experience (n=90, 36%) with the second highest coming in close at 6-8 years (n=45, 18%) and 9-12 years (n=42, 17%). Only nine (9) individuals reported having less than two (2) years of work experience. Of 248 respondents, 66% (n=165) reported being current full-time employees. Across all respondents, 214 individuals indicated they Strongly Agree (n=136, 55%) or Agree (n=78,31%) that they work in their area of expertise with less than 3% indicating they either Disagree (n=3, 1.27%) or Strongly Disagree (n=2, 0.85%). 100% of respondents indicated experience working across sectors ranging from think tanks and academia to private donors and religious missions.

Survey respondents were almost evenly based at a country office (n=86, 36%), working from home/remotely/teleworking (n=60, 25%), and headquarters office in Global North (n=53, 22%). Only 2.5% (n=6) indicated being stationed at an NGO headquarters in the Global South and 19 (8%) in a regional office. The remaining 12 (5%) preferred not to answer. When asked where the respondent has spent most of their career working, 53% indicated at a country office (119) or a regional office (n=13). The remaining individuals worked 37% spent most of their career at headquarter offices and

10% indicated other (n=24). When it comes to where they are currently working, 37% (n=92) work in a country office, with the large part of the remaining respondents working at headquarters (24%, n=60) or from home (25%, n=63).

Chapter III.

Findings

To investigate the presence of colonial attitudes among development

professionals, a paired t-test analyses is conducted between eight groups. Given the role

racism in colonialism and the power dynamics of Global North & South relations

pairings for t-tests are selected within these parameters: I look at the difference in means

across the 28 questions between two main categories: 1) race (Black/Brown development

professionals and White development professionals) and 2) work location (country office

staff and headquarters staff). The following chapter provides findings of significant

differences within these populations.

Between Black/Brown and White Development Professionals

One of the primary categories for testing for a colonial attitude focuses on race

since it plays a significant role in the history of colonization and current day discussions

on decoloniality/decolonization. For this reason, a paired t-test was used to identify the

differences between Black/Brown vs. White development professionals. Of the 24 t-tests

conducted, 14 questions yielded significant results (table 2) with a p-value at the 0.05 or

lower. Scores indicate means on a scale of 1-6. For questions asking about perception of

the field, a bipolar True/Not True Likert scale is used with 1 being Never True, and 6

being Always True. Similarly for questions on belief and attitudes, a bipolar

Agree/Disagree Likert scale is used with 1 being Strongly Disagree and 6 being Strongly

Agree.

When asked if expats and host country staff are compensated equitably, on average, White global development respondents indicated this is rarely true (2.33) moving towards sometimes but infrequently true (3) while Black/Brown global development professionals indicated that this was never true (1.98) moving towards rarely true (2). In other words, while both groups agree that it is rarely true, a gap in perception remains with more Black/Brown respondents believing it is never true equity in comparison to their White counterparts.

In response to the statement that, in their experience, country office staff and HQ staff are seen as intellectual equals, White respondents, on average, indicated that this is sometimes but infrequently true (3.20) while Black/Brown respondents, on average, indicated that it is rarely true (2.70) moving towards sometimes but infrequently true (3). In response to the statement, in my experience, country offices have the latitude to design programs, on average, White respondents believed it to be more true than Black/Brown respondents at a 4.03 mean versus 3.54 respectively.

To the statement, in my experience, Country Office and HQ have equitable decision-making power in program implementation, White respondents perceived it to be more true than Black/Brown respondents, on average. The mean for white respondents was 3.33 compared to 2.90.

To the statement in my experience, Country Office staff are treated as capable decision makers, on average White respondents believed this statement to be truer than their Black/Brown counterparts with a mean of 3.99 (nearly Sometimes True (4)) and 3.47 (Sometimes but Infrequently True (3)).

In response to the statement, in my experience, international development workers from the Global North harbor attitudes of superiority towards Country Office staff in the Global South, White development workers on average responded the statement is Sometimes True (4.15), with Black development workers also indicating it is Sometimes True (4.58) leaning more towards 5 (Usually True).

When asked if they agree with the statement colonialism had little to no implication on the field of international development, White respondents believed it to be more Never True (1.75) with a leaning towards 2 (Rarely True) than Black respondents who believed it to be Rarely True (2.14).

When asked if in their experience, a majority of HQ staff working in international development programs tend to behave like saviors, White respondents on average selected it is Sometimes but Infrequently True (3.71) leaning towards Sometimes True (4) while Black respondents on average indicated it is Sometimes True (4.57) with a leaning towards Usually True (5).

Moving into the questions regarding individual self-beliefs, for the statements, "I have savior tendencies" and "I act intellectually superior towards colleagues at Country Office(s)", White respondents on average responded they Disagree (2.18 & 2.30 respectively) while Black respondents responded they strongly disagree (1.77 & 1.47 respectively). Similarly, in response to the statements "I act intellectually superior towards colleagues at Country Office(s)" and "I have underlying attitudes that condescend towards colleagues in Country Office(s)", both White and Black/Brown respondents indicated they Strongly Disagree (White: 1.87 & 1.88; Black:1.58 & 1.47, respectively).

The question requesting their proximity to power, there was no significant difference indicating respondents are within similar proximities, between 6.75-6.86 on a scale of ten, with ten being closer to power. Within this group, White respondents indicated they are somewhat familiar with the movement to decolonize global development, 3.38, than Black respondents who indicated their Slightly Familiar (2.9). Mean responses did lean towards similar end of the bipolar survey questions. In other words, there was no question mean where one group had a 6 (Always True) and another had a 1 (Never True). This holds true throughout all t-test results. While the difference in averages in small, they are, nevertheless, significant.

Between Country Office and Headquarters Based Staff

Another important category for testing is within administrative structures. Colonial administrations often had a country presence such religious mission, various administrative bureaus as well as extraction sites with those in charge of the operations often sitting abroad in the colonizing country. In global development, it is often the case where there are either headquarter (HQ) or regional offices managing those working at a country office. For this reason, the same questions as the prior section were used to conducted paired t-tests between Country Office (C) staff and Headquarters staff. Of the 24 t-tests conducted, five (5) questions yielded significant results (see Table 2) on differences in means with a p-value at the 0.05 or lower. Scores indicate means on a scale of 1-6. For questions asking about perception of the field, a bipolar True/Not True Likert scale is used with 1 being Never True, and 6 being Always True. Similarly for questions

on belief and attitudes, a bipolar Agree/Disagree Likert scale is used with 1 being

Strongly Disagree and 6 being Strongly Agree.

To the statement, "In my experience, program implementation led by host country

national staff are often more successful than program implementation led by expat staff",

HQ staff responded it is Sometimes True (4.11) on average, in comparison to their CO

counterparts (3.84). In other words, on average, CO staff perceive the statement to be less

true than their HQ colleagues.

In response to the statement host country local staff are provided equal leadership

opportunities as their HQ counterparts, HQ staff perceived this to be truer than CO staff.

HQ staff mean was 2.71 compared to 2.33.

When asked if country office staff and HQ staff are seen as intellectual equals,

HQ staff were at 3.29 (Sometimes but infrequently true) while CO staff averaged 2.84

(Rarely True) leaning towards Sometimes but Infrequently True.

When asked if colonialism made the African continent more civilized, HQ

respondents strongly disagreed (1.63). CO respondents also strongly disagreed (1.99)

with a strong leaning towards Disagree.

When asked if they agree that colonialism had a positive effect on colonized

countries, HQ staff average response was Strongly Disagree (1.8) while CO staff

response was 2.19 (Disagree). In other words, on average, HQ staff disagreed with the

statement more than CO staff to a significant degree.

Table 2. Differences in Means

Survey Questions	Black/Brown & White			Country Office & Headquarters (HQ)		
	White	Black/Brown	Δ	HQ	Country Office	Δ
In my experience, program implementation led by expat staff are often more successful than program implementation led by host country national staff.	3.43	3.18	0.25	3.2	3.49	-0.29
In my experience, program implementation led by host country national staff are often more successful than program implementation led by expat staff.	3.98	4.08	-0.10	4.11	3.84	0.27 *
Power dynamics between HQ-based and Country Office-based staff are minimal.	2.64	2.79	-0.15	2.59	2.93	-0.34
Compensation for expats and host country nationals in leadership positions are equitable.	2.33	1.98	0.35 *	2.26	2.29	-0.03
Host country local staff are provided equal leadership opportunities as their HQ counterparts	2.59	2.37	0.22	2.71	2.33	0.38 **
In my experience, country office staff and HQ staff are seen as intellectual equals.	3.2	2.7	0.50 **	3.29	2.84	0.45 **
In my experience, Country Offices have the latitude to design programs.	4.03	3.54	0.49 **	3.89	3.89	0
In my experience, Country Office and HQ have equitable decision-making power in program implementation.	3.33	2.90	0.43 **	3.9	3.75	0.15
In my experience, Country Office staff are treated as capable decision makers.	3.99	3.47	0.52 **	3.93	3.75	0.18

Statement	Mean	Mean	Diff	Sig	Mean	Mean	Diff	Sig
In my experience, international development workers from the Global North harbor attitudes of superiority towards Country Office staff in the Global South.	4.16	4.58	-0.42	**	4.26	4.28	-0.02	
In my experience, it is the responsibility of HQ offices to impart project implementation know-how.	3.48	3.30	0.18		3.54	3.28	0.26	
Colonialism had little to no implication on the field of international development.	1.75	2.14	-0.39	*	1.68	2.13	-0.45	
African countries benefited greatly from colonialism.	1.92	1.86	0.06		1.73	2	-0.27	
Colonialism made the African continent more civilized.	1.79	2.02	-0.23		1.63	1.99	-0.36	*
In my experience, a majority of HQ staff working in international development programs tend to behave like saviors.	3.70	4.57	-0.87	***	4.06	3.91	0.15	
On average, colonialism had a positive effect on colonized countries.	1.90	2.22	-0.32		1.8	2.19	-0.39	*
In my experience, a majority of Country Office based staff working in international development programs tend to behave like saviors.	3.16	3.42	-0.26		3.19	3.31	-0.12	
In my experience, a majority of Regional Office based staff working in international development programs tend to behave like saviors.	3.34	3.62	-0.28		3.42	3.46	-0.04	
I have acted superior towards recipients of development aid.	2.11	1.89	0.22		1.99	2.04	-0.05	
I contribute to inequities between HQ and Country Office staff.	2.39	2.00	0.39		2.19	2.16	0.03	
I have savior tendencies.	2.18	1.77	0.41	**	2.08	1.96	0.12	
I act intellectually superior towards colleagues at Country Office(s).	1.87	1.58	0.29	*	1.71	1.75	-0.04	
I act intellectually superior towards colleagues at Headquarters.	2.30	1.70	0.60	***	2.04	2.02	0.02	

I have underlying attitudes that condescend towards colleagues in Country Office(s).	1.88	1.47	0.41	**	1.67	1.65	0.02
I am familiar with the movement to decolonize global development.	3.38	2.90	0.48	***	3.35	3.03	0.32

This table provides results for t-tests between two pairings. (*<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001)

Chapter IV.

Discussion

The findings between the two groups (identifying differences using race and work location) have yielded compelling results. Overall differences in responses by race bore more significant findings than place of work while differences in average response for work location (country office (CO) vs. headquarters (HQ)) had only a few.

When it came to implementation expertise, there was a considerable difference from a workplace comparison with more HQ people agreeing that programs that are implemented by expat staff fair better, whereas individuals working at the country office level somewhat disagreed. The finding supports the current status quo by which organizations hire expat staff or send support from aboard to implement programs. The question on implementation expertise was not significant when compared by race. On the other hand, when asked if compensation for expats and host country nations in leadership positions are equitable, there was a more pronounced difference when looking within race versus work location. White respondents indicated that the inequity in compensation was sometimes but infrequently true where as Black/Brown respondents indicated it is rarely true. This finding would not surprise an individual working in global development as it is the worst kept secret. In a 2016 Guardian article, an unidentified host country development worker asked the question "why do expats earn more than the rest of us?". The individual ponders openly:

> I am a local aid worker at an international humanitarian NGO in an east African country. Given my foreign qualifications, I negotiated hard for my salary of over $1,500 (£1,000) a month, making me one of the highest paid

local staff. On average, a local employee receives a third of that, (if they are lucky) as my organisation reminds me on those times I dare to raise my head above the parapet.

On the other hand, expatriate staff receive between $3,000 and $8,000 a month. This is not uncommon in the international NGO (INGO) world. In fact, in a particularly renowned UN programme, the highest paid local employee receives less than the international intern.

In most companies, if two people who did the same role and had the same amount of experience got paid vastly different salaries, there would be uproar. Not so in the NGO world. I recently asked around my aid worker friends for their own stories of inequality in the workplace. One told me how when an expat programme director left their country office, a national staff member was hired. She was paid half his salary despite having both superior academic qualifications and experience.

The anecdote above is but one of many within the development space. The finding that the difference is more significantly visible across race lines, coupled with the finding that HQ staff believe expats are able to better implement a program further proves the current neo-colonial norm within development. To illustrate, the writer continues, "The discrepancies in compensation and benefits reflect the difference in value assigned not only to needs, but to the capabilities of local versus expat staff. Foreign 'experts' are assumed to know more about how to improve local lives than the locals themselves." (Guardian, 2016).

From questions related to perception of the field, the only common area between race and work location comparisons was the response to CO and HQ staff being seeing as intellectual equals. The difference was significant for both groups. Here, HQ staff and White respondents felt that it was sometimes but infrequently true whereas CO staff and Black/Brown respondents perceived it as rarely true. Again, while the leaning on the scale is in the same direction, one group (HQ/White) holds it to be somewhat truer than the other (CO/Black). In this finding, we see a glimpse of the propagated idea of

intellectual inferiority. In line with this finding, on two questions regarding the effects of colonialism ("colonialism made the African continent more civilized" and "on average, colonialism had a positive effect on colonized countries"), there was no significant finding under race, however between workplace comparison, both were significant in the opposite direction. While both CO and HQ leaned towards Strongly Agree (1), HQ staff disagreed *more* than CO staff. Similarly with the statement "African countries benefited greatly from colonialism", while not significant, CO staff disagreed less than HQ staff.

While the former finding may elucidate a sense that a perceived intellectual inferiority exists between the two groups, the former finding indicates the possible existence of a colonial mentality which would be in line with David & Okazaki, 2006 and Utsey, et al. findings that colonial mentalities do exist within populations of formerly colonized places. For two statements focused on savior-like behavior and harboring attitudes of superiority, the significant difference came within comparison in race and not workplace with Black/Brown respondents somewhat agreeing. Between the two statements, Black/Brown respondents believed the presence of savior-like behavior to be more significantly true. These differences did not exist at the workplace level.

The remaining areas of difference within the comparisons falls under race and self-perception. Apart from two questions, there were substantial differences between all questions within a comparison using race. There were no observable differences within workplace. All the questions were around the topic of self-observed behaviors that may exhibit colonial attitudes such as acting superior, condescending towards country office colleagues or acting superior. In all instances, the average response within both race groups (White and Black/Brown) either Strongly Disagreed or Disagreed. This is

fascinating in that the prior responses agreed there is savior like behavior, inequities, and unbalanced power dynamics within development. Yet, most individuals believe they do not harbor any of the attitudes that would enable such environments to exist. This can either be because of self-selection bias, or a classic case of "it's not me, it's them". While I proceed with caution in my limitations section, here I will venture to say that it is likely the latter of the two.

Based on the initial findings within my novel dataset, there are perceived inequities, power dynamics and paternalism at play within development. These are some of the ingredients that contribute to the reproduction and maintenance of colonial attitudes.

A final, key observation is that all the development practitioners responded towards the same scale across *all*. In other words, there is not a question where a group had a mean of 1 and the other group had a mean of 6. This show that development workers do tend to agree on most things, but it is the *degree* that differs. The gap between two means, the delta, may be where decolonization efforts need to focus to move the needle on furthering decoloniality.

Chapter V.

Limitations

Due to the nature of the survey and the platforms on which it was disseminated, there is likely to be a degree of self-selection bias. Based on survey responses, for example, individuals who opted to take the survey also identified in large part that they were motivated to work in the field of global development to "wanting to contribute towards a 'better world' and working alongside inspiring and committed people", "supporting equal development opportunities for all and increase social justice", "helping others", "equity" and many other do-good motivations. It can be argued than in large part, it is true that those who enter the field of global development do wish to do better and so partake in initiatives, such as this survey research, to provide input and be active participants. This may be further exacerbated since the survey did not reach those in hard-to-reach populations such as those living in rural areas with little to no access to internet access, or unable to access social media channels.

An additional limitation of this survey was language availability. The survey was available only in English which ostracizes those who do not communicate in English. Part of decolonizing space is to ensure works, including research, are available in tongues other than English, a language spread through the process of colonization. This poses a potential problem in making a generalizable statement of development workers. For future iterations of this research, identifying a method to ensure a random sample as well as procuring translation services will be critical to validating my initial findings.

Chapter VI.

Conclusion

[D]ecolonization comes to be understood as an act of exorcism for both the colonizer and the colonized. For both parties it must be a process of liberation: from dependency, in the case of the colonized, and from imperialist, racist perceptions, representations, and institutions…in the case of the colonizer.

Samia Mehrez

To successfully achieve decolonization, however, collective action is necessary. In sectors with significant power imbalances, collective action means both the powerful and powerless contributing to efforts in the processes of decolonization. In the context of global development, collective action would then translate to the collaboration of individuals providing services (the powerful), and individuals receiving services (the powerless) to create balanced power dynamics. The inherent nature of the sector creates a relationship dynamic of giver and receiver. Often individuals receiving support from global development workers are from vulnerable populations. However, this should be no different from a doctor-patient relationship and therefore, should neither create nor exacerbate a power imbalance. Yet, as initial findings of my thesis have illustrated, power dynamics persist.

It is clear from current academic research, popular media, literature, and open discussions on social media that there is strong sentiment that the implications of colonialism must be removed from structures that are considered public goods. Structures that deliver these social goods, such as global development programs, are run by individuals.) In 2019 alone, well known institutions such as Duke University,

Harvard's School of Public Health, and University of Edinburgh convened conferences focused on decolonizing global health. The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) - one of the key players in the development of colonial medicine - established Decolonizing Global Health LSHTM (DGH-LSHTM) working group that "aims to challenge the status quo in global health research, teaching and careers at LSHTM and in the countries where we live and work".

Grassroots organizations such as the Indigenous-led NDN collective working in liberation of Indigenous peoples, and Decolonizing Wealth working in radical reparative giving, among others are emerging to push decolonization further as well. If we are to successfully decolonize global development and move towards creating a pluriverse where decoloniality reigns, decolonizing the mind is a necessity - not just of the colonized but of the colonizers as well, the fore-parents of decolonization have taught us. Unfortunately, as the popular adage goes, we cannot manage what we do not measure.

The two main findings of this study: 1) an attitude "it is not me, but them" is apparent when viewing the findings as a whole and 2) while significant differences do exist, the differences are within the same side of the scale (for example, an individual disagrees with a statement, while another somewhat disagrees. Within these differences, there may be deeper conversations, mechanisms, and processes that are worth unpacking as we move closer to decolonizing spaces.

Thesis Final Questionnaire

**Surveying Attitudes, Beliefs, and Perceptions Among
Global Development Professionals**

This survey is interested in understanding the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of professionals in international development. For this study, you will be presented with information relevant to international development and your experiences as a global development professional. Then, you will be asked to answer some questions about it. Your responses will be kept completely confidential and anonymous.

This survey should take you around 7-10 minutes to complete. It will ask about your experience and your considerations about various aspects of global development work.

At the end of the survey, you will be directed to a site where you can enter into a raffle to win an $80 gift card. Email addresses are collected through a secondary form and unlinked from the study questionnaire to ensure continued anonymity.

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary and all your responses are anonymous. None of the responses will be connected to identifying information. Responses will only be used for statistical purposes and will be used only in aggregated form. You have the right to withdraw at any point during the survey.
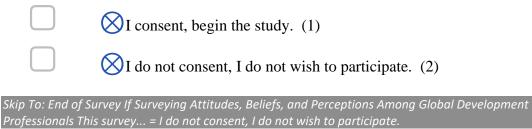
In addition to being regulated by applicable U.S. laws, if you are within the European Economic Area during your participation in this survey, you will also protected under the General Data Protection Regulation (the "GDPR"). More information regarding informed consent and the GDPR is available here.

The Study Lead & Co-Investigator of this study, Yeabsira Mehari, can be contacted at ymehari@fas.harvard.edu.

By clicking the button below, you acknowledge:
 • Your participation in the study is voluntary.
 • You are 18 years of age.

• You are aware that you may choose to terminate your participation at any time for any reason.

☐ ⊗I consent, begin the study. (1)

☐ ⊗I do not consent, I do not wish to participate. (2)

End of Block: 1st Q Surveying Attitudes

Start of Block: Informed Consent

Q52 **Welcome to the Attitudes, Beliefs, and Perceptions Among Global Development Professionals Survey!**

The study should take you around 7-10 minutes to complete.

Questions will ask about your experience, opinions, and general beliefs about your experiences working as a global development professional. Questions and/or statements that use personal pronouns such as I, you, your, and you're refer to you, the survey taker.

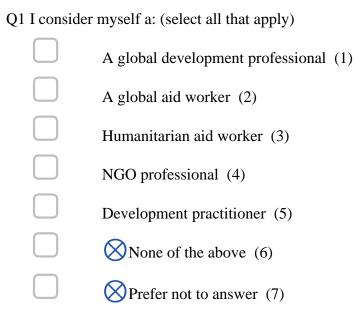By selecting one of the boxes below, you acknowledge:
•   You have read and understand the instructions.
•   You are ready to begin the survey.

☐ ⊗I have read and understand the instructions. (1)

☐ ⊗I have neither read nor understand the instructions. (2)

End of Block: Informed Consent

Start of Block: Default Question Block

Q1 I consider myself a: (select all that apply)

☐   A global development professional   (1)

☐   A global aid worker   (2)

☐   Humanitarian aid worker   (3)

☐   NGO professional   (4)

☐   Development practitioner   (5)

☐   ⊗None of the above   (6)

☐   ⊗Prefer not to answer   (7)

End of Block: Default Question Block

Start of Block: Block 1

Q2 I have experience collaborating with the following: (select all that apply)

☐   International donor agencies (eg. USAID, DFID, GIZ, etc.) (1)

☐   Multilateral agencies (eg. World Health Organization (WHO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, ec) (2)

☐   Non-governmental Organization (NGO) Country Office(s) (3)

☐   Non-governmental Organization (NGO) Headquarter(s) (4)

☐   Host National Government(s) (5)

☐   Think Tank(s) (6)

☐   Private Donor(s) (7)

☐   Religious Mission(s) (8)

☐   Host Country Local Nonprofit(s) (eg. Community Based Org, etc) (9)

☐   Academia (12)

☐   Other (10)

☐   ⊗Prefer not to answer (11)

Q3 I have worked in my field for: (select one)

▼ Less than 12 months (1) … Prefer not to answer (8)

Q4 I am currently: (select all that apply)

- [ ] A consultant (1)

- [ ] Full Time Employee (2)

- [ ] Part Time Employee (3)

- [ ] Unemployed and looking for work (4)

- [ ] Unemployed and not looking for work (5)

- [ ] Student (6)

- [ ] Retired (7)

- [ ] Unable to work (8)

- [ ] Self-employed (9)

- [ ] Other (10)

- [ ] ⊗ Prefer not to answer (11)

Q5 I have physically worked in the following regions: (select all that apply)

- [ ] Asia (1)
- [ ] East Africa (2)
- [ ] Central Africa (3)
- [ ] North Africa (4)
- [ ] West Africa (5)
- [ ] Southern Africa (6)
- [ ] The Middle East (7)
- [ ] Eastern Europe (8)
- [ ] European Union (9)
- [ ] North America (10)
- [ ] South America (11)
- [ ] Oceania (12)
- [ ] The Caribbean (13)
- [ ] Other (14)

Q56 I have supported offices, programs and/or projects in the following regions: (select all that apply)

- [ ] Asia (1)
- [ ] East Africa (2)
- [ ] Central Africa (3)
- [ ] North Africa (4)
- [ ] West Africa (5)
- [ ] Southern Africa (6)
- [ ] The Middle East (7)
- [ ] Eastern Europe (8)
- [ ] European Union (9)
- [ ] North America (10)
- [ ] South America (11)
- [ ] Oceania (12)
- [ ] The Caribbean (13)
- [ ] Other (14)

Q6 Most of my career has been spent working at: (select the best response)

▼ Headquarters office in the Global North (1) … Other (6)

Q7 I am fluent and/or have professional working proficiency in the following languages: (select all that apply)

☐ Arabic (1)

☐ Amharic (2)

☐ English (3)

☐ French (4)

☐ Hausa (5)

☐ Igbo (6)

☐ Italian (7)

☐ Oromo (8)

☐ Portuguese (9)

☐ Spanish (10)

☐ Swahilii (11)

☐ Shona (12)

☐ Xhosa (13)

☐ Yoruba (14)

☐ Zulu (15)

☐ Other (16)

Q8 My age range is:

▼ Under 18 (1) ... Prefer not to answer (10)

Q9 What is your gender?

▼ Female (1) ... Prefer not to answer (9)

Q10 How would you describe yourself? (select all that apply)

- ☐ White (1)
- ☐ Black (2)
- ☐ Brown (3)
- ☐ African (4)
- ☐ American (5)
- ☐ Asian (6)
- ☐ European (7)
- ☐ Hispanic (8)
- ☐ Latinx (9)
- ☐ Indigenous (10)
- ☐ Middle Eastern (11)
- ☐ Other (12)
- ☐ ⊗Prefer not to answer (13)

Q11 I most closely associate with the following religion:

▼ Agnostic (1) ... Prefer not to answer (12)

Q12 I consider myself to be: (select the best answer)

○ 1 - Devoutly religious (1)

○ 2 - Very religious (2)

○ 3 - Moderately religious (3)

○ 4 - Somewhat religious (4)

○ 5 - Slightly religious (5)

○ 6 - Not at all religious (6)

Q13 For quality assurance, please select the option labeled Correct Option below.

○ First Option (1)

○ Correct Option (2)

○ Third option (3)

Q14 The highest level of education I have completed is:

○ Less than a high school diploma (1)

○ High school degree or equivalent (eg. GED) (2)

○ Some college, no degree (3)

○ Associate degree (eg. AA, AS) (4)

○ Bachelor's degree (eg. BA, BS) (5)

○ Master's degree (eg. MA, MS, MEd) (6)

○ Doctorate or professional degree (eg. MD, DDS, PhD) (7)

Q15 What is your professional area of expertise? (Describe in a few words)
_____
_____
_____
_____

_____

Q16 I work in my area of expertise.

○ 6 - Strongly Agree (1)

○ 5 - Agree (2)

○ 4 - Somewhat Agree (3)

○ 3 - Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ 2 - Disagree (5)

○ 1 - Strongly Disagree (6)

Q17 My current and/or most recent permanent station is at an: (Select the best answer)

○ NGO headquarters office in the Global North (1)

○ NGO headquarters office in the Global South (2)

○ Regional Office (3)

○ Country Office (4)

○ From home/teleworking/remote (5)

○ Prefer not to answer (6)

Q18 I travel internationally for work. (Select the best answer.)

○ 1 - Never (No travel) (1)

○ 2 - Rarely (less than 2 times a year) (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes (3-5 times a year) (3)

○ 4 - Often (6-7 times a year) (4)

○ 5 - Always (monthly) (5)

End of Block: Block 1

Q19 In my experience, program implementation led by expat staff are often more successful than program implementation led by host country national staff. (select the best answer)

○ 1 - Never True (1)

○ 2 - Rarely True (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Q20 In my experience, program implementation led by host country national staff are often more successful than program implementation led by expat staff.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Q21 Power dynamics between HQ-based and Country Office-based staff are minimal.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Page Break

Q22 Compensation for expats and host country nationals in leadership positions are equitable.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Q23 Host country local staff are provided equal leadership opportunities as their HQ counterparts.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Q24 In my experience, country office staff and HQ staff are seen as intellectual equals.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Q25 In my experience, Country Offices have the latitude to design programs.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)
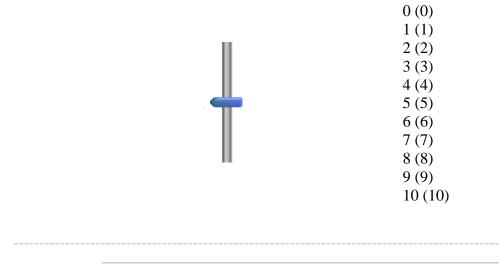
○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Page Break

Q26 In my experience, Country Office and HQ have equitable decision-making power in program implementation.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Q27 In my experience, Country Office staff are treated as capable decision makers.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Page Break

Q28 On a scale of 1-10 with ten being high and 1 being low, identify your proximity to power. In this instance, Power is defined as having access to individuals with influence or decision making authority within the organization.

0 (0)
1 (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7 (7)
8 (8)
9 (9)
10 (10)

Page Break

Q30 In my experience, international development workers from the Global North harbor attitudes of superiority towards Country Office staff in the Global South.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Page Break

Q31 In my experience, it is the responsibility of HQ offices to impart project implementation know-how.

○ 1 - Never true (1)

○ 2 - Rarely true (2)

○ 3 - Sometimes but infrequently true (3)

○ 4 - Sometimes true (4)

○ 5 - Usually true (5)

○ 6 - Always true (6)

Q29 What drew you to a career in global development work? (Please share in your own words)

_____

End of Block: Block 2

Start of Block: Block 9

Q34 Colonialism had little to no implication on the field of international development.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

End of Block: Block 9

Start of Block: Block 10

Q32 African countries benefited greatly from colonialism.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

Q38 For quality assessment, please select Somewhat Agree.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

Q33 Colonialism made the African continent more civilized.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

Q36 In my experience, a majority of HQ staff working in international development programs tend to behave like saviors.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

Q35 On average, colonialism had a positive effect on colonized countries.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

Q57 In my experience, a majority of Country Office based staff working in international development programs tend to behave like saviors.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

End of Block: Block 15

Start of Block: Block 3

Q58 In my experience, a majority of Regional Office based staff working in international development programs tend to behave like saviors.

○ Strongly Agree (1)

○ Agree (2)

○ Somewhat Agree (3)

○ Somewhat Disagree (4)

○ Disagree (5)

○ Strongly Disagree (6)

End of Block: Block 3

Start of Block: Block 8

Q39 I work in my area of expertise.

▼ Strongly Agree (1) ... Strongly Disagree (6)

Q40 I have lived and worked in a country (countries) in Africa.

▼ Never (1) ... Always (5)

Q59 I have traveled to African countries to provide program support from time to time.

▼ Never (1) ... Always (5)

Q42 I have acted superior towards recipients of development aid.

▼ Always (1) ... Never (5)

Q43 I contribute to inequities between HQ and Country Office staff.

▼ Always (1) ... Never (5)

Q44 I have savior tendencies.

▼ Always (1) ... Never (5)

Q46 I act intellectually superior towards colleagues at Country Office(s).

▼ Always (1) ... Never (5)

Q47 I act intellectually superior towards colleagues at Headquarters.

▼ Always (1) ... Never (5)

Q48 I have underlying attitudes that condescend towards colleagues in Country Office(s).

▼ Always (1) ... Never (5)

Q49 I am familiar with the movement to decolonize global development.

▼ Very Familiar (1) ... Not at all Familiar (4)

Page Break

Q50 When thinking about workforce dynamics between Country Office and Headquarters staff, what are key areas you'd like to see change?

_____

Q51 Would you like to enter the survey raffle?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Skip To: End of Block If Would you like to enter the survey raffle? = Yes
Skip To: End of Survey If Would you like to enter the survey raffle? = No

Q50 Submit your email for a chance to win an $80 gift card! Raffle Entry Link

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