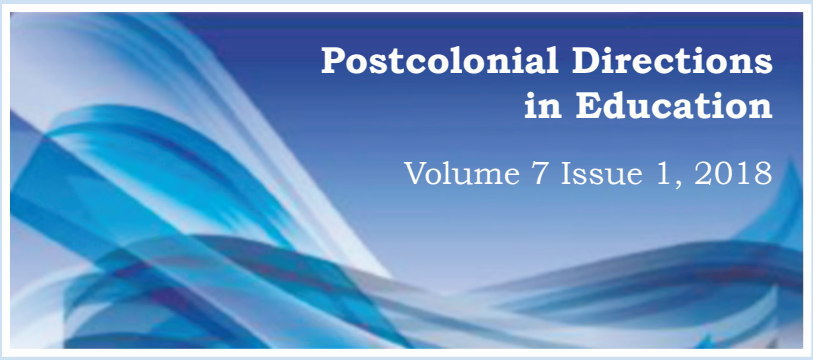

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Postcolonial Directions in Education

Postcolonial Directions in Education, *7*(1), 1-10

POSTCOLONIAL CRITIQUE OF KNOWLEDGE RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

SPECIAL ISSUE EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

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Neo-colonial relations continue to influence contemporary social relations through which research is done, lived, and learned (Takayama et al., 2016; Breidlid, 2013; Mohanty, 2003). Universities in both the global north and global south where these relationships are played out are often the institutional evidence of previous colonial power structures (Adriansen et al., 2016) and as such, a postcolonial critique of western knowledge systems seems merited. Our understanding of postcolonialism *'accounts for processes of domination that have their origin in European colonisation. These processes extend beyond the period of direct colonisation to take on new forms, notably those of neo-colonialism, dependency and the intensification of globalisation'* (Hickling-Hudson & Mayo 2012:2). In light of this, it is important to explore how knowledge systems and practices can be challenged, making possible 'pedagogies of intellectual equality' (Singh, 2011).

In the era after colonialism, research and teaching relations between the global north and the global south inherited various complexities and ambiguities which are the focus of this special issue. In particular, this special issue offers a postcolonial critique of the knowledge relations that construct and result from development aid funded research co-operation programs. It is important to expand knowledge about how these relationships are shaped within research and doctoral training, given the increased interest from states in the global north in helping to build research capacity through development aid funded research training and research in the global south (United Nations, 2015).

From this perspective, the articles in the special issue align with Homi Bhabha's understanding of postcolonial theory as *''an attempt to interrupt the Western discourses of modernity through ... displacing, interrogative subaltern or postslavery narratives and the critical - theoretical perspectives they engender'* (Bhabha, 1994:199). In her article Gurminder K. Bhambra (2014) shows the fruitfulness of bringing diverse postcolonial and decolonial sholarships into dialogue, in so called *'connected sociologies'* to explore *' their radical potential in unsettling and reconstituting standard processes of knowledge production'* (2014: 2). While using different vocabularies, the articles in this special issue provide a postcolonial critique on knowledge relations, as they seek to articulate the concerns and rethinking of those who criticise and resist the negative global legacies of colonialism. Focusing particularly on Swedish and Danish support to building research capacity in developing countries, the articles in this special issue probe the conditions, experiences and outcomes for researchers, students and supervisors participating in such initiatives and also offer some empirically driven recommendations for higher education institutions and development policies.

While not offering identical research support to building research capacity in developing countries, there are nevertheless several similarities between Sweden's and Denmark's support. For example, the countries have continuously for decades been funding capacity building in higher education in the global south – also in periods where other donors have focused on 'education for all' (Adriansen et al., 2016; Fellesson & Mählck, 2013). Furthermore, the involvement in higher education capacity building between Sweden and Denmark and the global south has often been based on long term academic and personal relationships (Whyte & Whyte, 2016; Zink 2016; Møller-Jensen & Madsen, 2015). Hence, the special issue presents a specific approach to understanding postcolonial knowledge relations between the global south and global north, as it is written by authors from Sweden and Denmark that investigate their countries' development aid-funded research and research and PhD training in the global south.

Our meeting in a symposium at the international and multidisciplinary conference on Postcolonial Concurrences at Kalmar University in 2015 inspired the work presented in

this special issue. At the symposium, we all presented various aspects of our research into postcolonial relations in higher education and realised a demand for a more in-depth analysis of the challenges of knowledge relations within capacity building funded higher education in the global south. The conference's theme was a particularly good starting point for developing our thoughts about the interlinkages between postcolonialism, development aid and knowledge relations taking place in an increasingly global, neo-liberal and competitive arena. These are interlinkages which so far have received surprisingly little attention from researchers in the field of higher education (Mählck, 2016). As the conference theme indicates, postcolonial relations are integral to projects of modernity, taking place at various sites in a variety of ways and influencing differently on people's lives in academic institutions and elsewhere. Our four articles pinpoint the variation of postcolonial research and knowledge relations, and decolonial agency that are produced within the framework of development aid to build research capacity in the global south. As such, there a number of theoretical and empirical linkages that connects the articles:

- The theme of translocality (Anthias, 2012) that underlines the importance of understanding the relationship between people and places at a global level and that these relationships are rooted in localities and temporalities that are essential to understand postcolonial and decolonial research and teaching relations.

- The entanglement of social and economic relations in the social production of science and research training as well as the role and functioning of development aid funded research and doctoral training in this context.

- The focus on trying to understand the complexities of the everyday and the dual and sometimes contradictory positionalities of students, supervisors and researchers through qualitative research practice.

Departing from these common starting points of the articles together offers a nuanced analysis of the multiplicity

and entanglement of postcolonial research relations, rather than giving broad-brush strokes. From this, policy development from below becomes possible: a policy development from the everday experiences of 'the colonial difference' (Mignolo, 2002).

The individual articles

The special issue consists of four articles that all examine knowledge relations by zooming in on capacity building through Swedish and Danish funding of PhD-students and research collaborations. However, the four articles each bring in different perspectives. The issue includes both empirical and reflective articles, discussing capacity building and collaboration at different levels within higher education (PhD-students, young and more mature academics), and covers a wide range of Scandinavian cooperation countries in the global south: Lao People's Democratic Republic, Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique and Ghana.

The first article by Paula Mählck*: Racism, Precariousness and Resistance: Development-aid-funded PhD training in Sweden* focuses on how Tanzanian and Mozambican PhD students and supervisors participating in Swedish development-aid-funded programmes for building research capacity through postgraduate training make representations of academic work relations, compared to other students and supervisors in Sweden. In particular, Mählck addresses the complex, shifting and sometimes dual layers of precariousness and resistance that are (re)produced through these work relations and the lessons that can be learned from the perspective of policy development. Through the analysis of 91 qualitative interviews, where interviews with development-aid-funded students are contrasted with other international students and Swedish PhD students, Mählck shows that the positionalities made available to Tanzanian and Mozambican PhD students in Swedish academia are constructed at the complex intersection between predefined parameters. Examples of these parameters include contractual agreements and how supervisors and departmental colleagues in Sweden manage and negotiate intersectional, translocational and postcolonial knowledge relations. For the Tanzanian and Mozambican PhD students, this means that their precariousness is constructed along a lack of recognition of their work as academic work and their resistance is articulated

through opposing the subject position of a passive object of capacity building. Mählck uses these insights to argue for a focus on 'situated policy development', 'policy development from below' and 'policy development through institutional responsibility'.

The second article by Ann-Louise Silfver: *Supervision in the contact zone revisited: Critical reflections on supervisory practices through the lenses of time, place and knowledge* is a contribution to the understanding and reflections within the field of the knowledge relations established and negotiated within intercultural doctoral supervision. It presents one supervisor's reflexive analysis of how supervisory practices played out in a development cooperation funded capacity-building project, which took place in the Lao PDR and Sweden during 2005-2011. Using the concepts of time, place and knowledge (Manathunga, 2014), Silfver reflects on her own practices and actions as a supervisor to four doctoral students from Lao PDR. She uses the possibilities and challenges she encountered as a supervisor to critically reflect on how postcolonial theory and the concepts of time, place and knowledge can contribute to discussing how hegemonic patterns of knowledge production in doctoral training can be disrupted. The analysis shows how supervision in the contact zone risks supporting strategies of assimilation at the expense of transculturation. Silfver argues for a third path, that of accommodation, where the needs and strategies of doctoral students and supervisors affect and change doctoral training. She recommends that analyses of colonial patterns of power and hierarchy operating in the present should more actively be incorporated into doctoral training curricula in order to bring about profound change and altered relations and practices of knowledge production.

The third article by Lene Møller Madsen, *Producing supervisors in the global south: Reflections on academic training abroad,* utilises a postcolonial perspective to reflect on the production of Ghanaian supervisors. Being abroad is a result of physical movement between places; however, it is also a construction of social spaces produced through interaction and reproduced through the participants' relations, interwoven with historical power relations. Based on seven personal narratives of Ghanaian academics Madsen analyses the meaning and implications of Ghanaian academics' experiences of supervision

as PhD-students in the global north, and explores consequences for their own supervision practice at Ghanaian Universities. Madsen shows how the academic practices of Ghanaian academics are influenced by and related to their experiences abroad as well as mobility between the global north and global south. In conclusion, Madsen discusses how educational practices operate beyond the immediate supervisory context both in terms of supervision practice and in the wider cultural setting of supervision. She further argues that including the notion of the 'production of an educated person' adds to our understanding of knowledge relations and supervision practice in the post-colonial contact zone.

The last article by Eren Zink: *Ugandan Scientists, Scandinavian Collaborations, and the Cultural Economy of Science* uses economic anthropology to explore tensions and misunderstandings that arise within Ugandan-Scandinavian partnerships in research and research training. Drawing upon anthropological fieldwork amongst medical and agricultural scientists in Uganda during 2013-2016, Zink offers a description and analysis of the overlapping and sometimes contradictory cultural economies of Ugandan scientific work from the situated perspectives of Ugandan scientists themselves. The article highlights how scientists' social and physical mobility within Uganda and abroad shapes understandings of the meaning of their scientific labors amongst lay publics, scientific collaborators, foreign funders, and Ugandan scientists. The use of a cultural economy approach together with elements of actor-network theory makes visible the overlapping and sometimes incompatible logics and patterns of economic organization in research and research training that fosters frictions and misunderstandings both at home and in international scientific research collaborations. Going beyond laboratory work and publication practices, Zink illustrates the importance of holding scientific workshops in hotels, salary top-ups, and social and material obligations to kin and colleagues for facilitating (and sometimes undermining) North-South science collaborations. Zink concludes that greater recognition of the patterns of cultural economy shape the meanings of money and scientific work are necessary for mitigating mistrust and misunderstanding across South-North scientific partnerships, and achieving greater equity and transparency in contemporary collaborations.

The articles' combined contribution to the field

In the context of a global and increasingly competitive knowledge economy where nation states, institutions and individuals are competing for the best researchers, ideas and research grants, there is a need for situating development aid funded support to building research capacity in developing countries in this context. Development aid funded research and research training in both Sweden and Denmark receive earmarked state funding. However, this does not mean that researchers participating in these collaborations or training programs are unaffected by the pressures from a global and neo-liberal knowledge economy. Here the two articles by Mählck and Zink explicitly focus on the social and economic aspects of research collaborations and research training. More specifically, Mählck unfolds how Tanzanian and Mozambican PhD students and Swedish supervisors manage and negotiate precariousness in academic work relations in Swedish higher education. The article by Zink shows how researchers in Uganda manage and negotiate their social and economic livelihoods given their dependence on foreign funding. These articles bring new insights into how the entanglement of economic and social relations are lived and managed in the everyday lives of researchers, supervisors and PhD students participating in development aid funded support within an already post-colonial and increasingly competitive and neo-liberal knowledge economy.

By addressing the use of established concepts to understand supervision in a postcolonial perspective, the special issue makes important contributions to further development of the research field. Silfver in her reflective article on being a supervisor found that understanding pedagogies from the viewpoints of assimilation and transculturation was not enough to understand the processes she as a supervisor had experienced in the global north. She argues for a more nuanced pedagogy of accommodation, as the layered effects of a colonial past and present affect those of us who inhabit academia very differently. In the article on understanding the meaning and negotiations of academic training abroad for Ghanaian supervisors, Madsen also finds that the pedagogies of assimilation and transculturation fall somewhat short. She shows how the concept of cultural production of an educated person adds to our understanding of how experiences abroad are negotiated in the later supervision practices of academics in the global south.

Despite applying different vocabularies, the four articles emphasise the need for understanding the relationship between people and places at a global level but at the same time stress that these relationships are rooted in particular academic localities. The research presented in this special issue implies engaging in a critique of development perspectives which reproduce dominant representations of the global north and south, and draw attention to the lack of perspectives which focus on the variety of relations between them (McEwan, 2009). Integral to this is an analytical focus on the various shifting and sometimes dual 'intersectional and translocational subject positionalities' of both privilege and disadvantage (Anthias, 2012) that evolve in development aid funded research and PhD training. In that respect, the articles make valuable additions to broad-brush research perspectives by focusing on the particularities of how students, supervisors and researchers manage and negotiate the everyday in Swedish and Danish development aid funded research and PhD training. In the articles by Mählck and Silfver the everyday experiences of supervisors and PhD students in Sweden are theorised through the lenses of translocal intersectionality, whereas the articles by Madsen and Zink conceptualise how supervisors' and researchers' experiences are layered and occupy multiple positionalities in academic work life in Ghana and Uganda respectively.

Broad policy initiatives from donors are the starting points for the development cooperation on research investigated in this special issue. The articles analyse what happens when policy moves to concrete practice and localities and the knowledge relations that construct and result from these development cooperations. This investigative focus on lived experiences in particular locations offer additional knowledge that points both to particularities and to similarities across contexts. The research suggests that neo-colonial legacies continue to operate on multiple levels with concrete effects on research practices. These must be researched, analysed and critically discussed beyond this special issue so that we can continue to create strategies for decolonization in our respective research communities.

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Postcolonial Directions in Education, 7(1), 11-36

RACISM, PRECARIOUSNESS AND RESISTANCE: DEVELOPMENT-AID-FUNDED PHD TRAINING IN SWEDEN

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ABSTRACT There is a growing interest from states in the global north and NGOs worldwide in building research capacity in countries of the global south through development-aid-funded research training (United Nations, 2015). In this context, little is known on the social and intellectual positioning of development-aid-funded students in relation to other groups of students that are studying in the global north under other social and economic conditions. This article deals directly with this issue by focusing on how Tanzanian and Mozambican students and Swedish supervisors participating in Swedish development-aid-funded programmes for building research capacity through postgraduate training in low-income countries make representations of academic work relations, compared to other students and supervisors in Sweden. In particular, the article focuses on the complex, shifting and sometimes dual layers of precariousness and resistance that are (re)produced and the lessons that can be learned from the perspective of policy development. In total, 91 interviews were collected, with those with women representing 26 per cent of the sample. The result show that the positionalities made available to students are constructed at the complex intersection between predefined parameters such as contractual agreements and how supervisors and departmental colleagues in Sweden manage and negotiate power structures relating to 'competition', 'production' or 'development'. For Tanzanian and Mozambican development-aid funded students, this means that their precariousness and resistance differs from Swedish students and other international students, particularly Asian students, and is constructed along a lack of recognition of their work as *academic* work. Their resistance is articulated through opposing the subject position of a passive object of capacity building. The lessons learned for policy is 'Situated policy development', 'Policy development from below' and 'Policy development through institutional responsibility'.

ABSTRAKT Det finns ett växande intresse från länder och organisationer i det Globala Nord för att bygga upp forskningskapacitet i utvecklingsländer genom biståndsfinansierad forskarutbildning (United Nation, 2015), men det finns lite kunskap om hur biståndsfinansierade doktorander är socialt och intellektuellt positionerade i förhållande till andra grupper av studenter som studerar i Global North under andra sociala och ekonomiska förhållanden. Denna artikel ger ett bidrag till forskningen genom att kontrastera prekarisering och motstånd bland biståndsfinansierade tanzaniska och moçambikiska doktorander jämfört med andra doktorander som studerar vid svenska universitet. I synnerhet fokuserar artikeln på de komplexa, skiftande och ibland dubbla lager av precisering och motstånd som (re)produceras genom arbete som utförs vid svenska universitet och som tar plats i intersektionen av forskningsbistånd, internationalisering av högre utbildning, rasifiering, postkoloniala kunskapsrelationer samt genusrelationer. Artikeln syftar även till att bidra till policyutveckling inom forskningsbiståndet. Totalt har 91 intervjuer genomförts, varav 26 procent med kvinnor. Resultatet visar att de positionaliteter som görs tillgängliga är ömsesidigt konstituerade av fördefinierade parametrar, såsom avtal, samt hur handledare och institutionskollegor i Sverige förhandlar globala diskurser i högre utbildning med avseende på "konkurrens", "produktion" och "utveckling" i sitt dagliga arbete. För tanzaniska och moçambikiska biståndsfinansierade doktorander innebär detta att deras prekarisering skiljer sig åt från andra studenters, framförallt studenter från Asien och svenska studenter, genom en brist på erkännande av deras arbete som akademiskt arbete. Motstånd formuleras från positionen 'The colonial difference (Mignolo, 2002) som upphäver en passiv och underordnad position som 'föremål för bistånd'. Med utgångspunkt från resultaten föreslår artikeln policyutveckling genom 'Situerat forskningsbistånd', 'Policyutveckling med utgångspunkt i underprivilegierade gruppers vardagliga erfarenheter' samt 'Policyutveckling genom institutionellt ansvar'.

KEYWORDS Postgraduate training, academic work, development-aid, postcolonial, de-colonial, racism, internationalisation.

Introduction

There is a growing interest from states in the global north and NGOs worldwide in building research capacity in countries of the global south through development-aid-funded research training (United Nations, 2015). These initiatives have been researched at policy level (Møller-Jensen & Madsen, 2015; Breidlid, 2013), at the level of teaching and learning (Silfver &

Berge, 2016; Silfver 2018) and in the context of how academic work relations are experienced from various and hierarchically situated participants (Kontinen et al., 2015). Less researched are the particularities of academic work relations taking place in development-aid-funded research training in the context of 'the increased globalisation of international education' (Riano & Piquet, 2016, p 1). This article deals directly with this issue by focusing on how Tanzanian and Mozambican students and Swedish supervisors participating in Swedish development-aid-funded programmes for building research capacity through postgraduate training in low-income countries make representations of academic work relations, compared to other students (national and international) and supervisors in Sweden. In particular, the article focuses on the complex, shifting layers of 'precariousness' (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014) that are articulated in these work life representations. This article is inspired by recent research into precariousness among highly skilled workers and perspectives on precariousness as an 'activity' with a particular emphasis on modes of resistance (Shierup & Jørgensen, 2017; Berardi, 2012). Another central theme of this article is therefore also to produce policy recommendations from the perspective of participants of the program for capacity building.

The article is organised in three sections: firstly, the background and context of this article – a brief overview of Swedish postgraduate training which will explain why this article emphasises academic work relations in the context of postgraduate training. The aims and research questions are also outlined. Secondly, my sample, methodology and main theoretical concepts are presented. Finally, a joint analysis and results section concludes with a discussion focusing on lessons learned for policy in development-aid-funded research training.

Aim of the study and research questions

The aim is to investigate representations of precariousness and resistance in the context of academic work relations taking place in doctoral training of development-aid-funded Mozambican and Tanzanian PhD students in Sweden. This involves 'contrasting' (Ehn & Löfgren, 1982) representations of Tanzanian and Mozambican development aid funded students' positionalities to the positionalities made available to international Asian PhD students and to national PhD students. Integral to this is the

discussion of how the results can inform policy development in the assignment of development-aid to PhD training.

Three research questions have guided my investigation:

i) From a contrasting perspective - between Mozambican and Tanzanian development-aid-funded PhD students, international Asian PhD students and Swedish PhD students - what are the representations of positionalities made available in academic work relations in the context of postgraduate training in Sweden?
ii) Focusing specifically on Mozambican and Tanzanian development-aid-funded PhD students, what layers of precariousness and resistance are represented in i)?
iii) From i) and ii), what are the implications for policy development in development-aid-funded PhD training programmes?

Background

Sweden's support to research in low-income countries is channelled through the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The support is organised through 'research partnership programmes' for research capacity-building in low-income countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In some cases these programmes have been in operation for more than 40 years – as is the case for Mozambique and Tanzania, where the programmes date back to 1978 and 1977 respectively. The main idea of the PhD programmes is that they are designed to sustain links with the home institution in the global south during training in Sweden. Here the students are supposed to move back and forth between a Swedish university department and their home university department during training and thus the mobility component in the programmes is mandatory. A long-term ambition of Swedish support for research capacity-building is that it should result in building research capacity in the global south and ultimately the establishment of local PhD training programmes (Fellesson, 2017; Fellesson & Mählck, 2013).

At the policy level, the operational frames of the PhD training programme are decided jointly by Sida (the

programme's funder), the HEIs offering the PhD training in Sweden (providing supervision, office space and research facilities while in the host country) and the research institutions in low-income countries, which provide the candidates and office space at their home universities. This article will provide additional information on how these policy discourses are managed and negotiated in practice and their implications for policy development.

Context

The dominant national policy recommendation in Sweden is that PhD students should be employed at Swedish universities under conditions which give them workers' rights to a pension and the social security system. It is in this aspect that undertaking PhD studies, doing coursework and writing a PhD thesis and receiving PhD supervision, are constructed as labour. Sometimes PhD students are also involved in various forms of teaching in Universities[1], but usually, teaching is a minor part. Currently, 75 per cent of PhD students are employed under these conditions. Only 7 per cent are funded by various stipends, preventing them from benefitting from the aforementioned rights despite their carrying out the same type of labour (i.e labour here means writing a PhD thesis and undertaking PhD course work). Currently slightly over 40 per cent of all PhD students enrolled are international; interestingly, these international students are overrepresented among those who are funded by stipends (Ministry of Education, 2016, p 68–71). In this context, postcolonial educational trajectories and diverse economic conditions during doctoral training, together with any payback arrangements after graduation, are important factors that impact on international students' social and intellectual positioning in Swedish academia. Students from Asian countries – at 50 per cent – make up the largest group of international students in Sweden. However, despite their numerical representation, little is known about the premise under which they are studying in Sweden and how they perceive their position in Swedish academia. However, it is well known that, often, the living expenses of international students are not covered by their stipends (Ministry of Education, 2016). In addition, from national statistics we find that there is a persistent gender gap among international

1 Students funded by stipends are not allowed to teach.

postgraduate students compared to the majority Swedish postgraduate population.

The majority of African students undertaking PhD training in Sweden are funded by Swedish development aid. These students are not part of the internationalisation agenda of Swedish Research Policy, nor are they represented in national statistics (Fellesson 2017). The only systematic mapping of them suggests that between 800 and 1,000 African scholars have gained their PhD through international training programmes which, interestingly, have existed in some countries for over 40 years (Fellesson and Mählck, 2013). From our previous research, we know that over 50 per cent of the population – and a higher percentage of women – had experienced discrimination in Sweden, the main trigger for which was skin colour. Importantly, this survey research focus on self-perceptions of experiences of discrimination among researchers whom have participated in the program 1990-2014. The parameters tested for comprise gender, age, family situation, position at workplace, ethnicity, colour of skin and socio-economic background (for detailed description see also, Fellesson & Mählck 2013, Mählck & Fellesson, 2016; Mählck, 2016). Currently, this research is the only large-scale investigation of experiences of discrimination on the grounds of skin colour in Swedish academia. In this context, it is worth noting that development-aid-funded students are employed by their universities in the global south and that the Swedish government covers their costs while in Sweden. From this perspective, some might believe that the financial situation for these students, while in Sweden, is better compared to that of many other international students. However, the employment conditions at their home universities in the global south can vary and sometimes their academic work position in their home university depends on their success in obtaining a PhD degree.

Methodology

The article provides a 'qualitative meta-analysis' (Screiber et al., 1997) of the research conducted for four different projects focusing on inequality based on gender and race/ethnicity in the context of new academic work regimes in Swedish, Mozambican

and Tanzanian academia between 2010 and 2017[2]*;* I have been involved in the carrying-out and analysis of the interviews in all projects. The reason for choosing a qualitative meta-analysis is because it provides a methodology for conceptualising large numbers of qualitative data into a thick analysis of particular themes. Notably, there is a difference between a qualitative meta-analysis that derives from a comparison of different research results, where the findings themselves are considered to be the data, and *secondary analysis*, where the researcher has access to raw data and uses them to reanalyse his or her data and to answer a different question (Thorne, 1994).

This article applies a secondary analysis of the layers of pecariousness and resistance in the context of academic work relations taking place in international postgraduate training and the intersectional and translocational (Anthias, 2012) dimension of these processes and their implications for policy.

Sample

In total, 91 interviews were collected. Those with women represented 26 per cent of the sample. The majority of interviews were conducted with PhD graduates (Swedish, international and development-aid-funded), with a focus on academic work during their doctoral studies and after their graduation. The interviewees' age range was between late 20 and 65 years. The 41 interviewees in Sweden were selected from two academic disciplines representing a softer and a harder end of the social sciences. Interviewees in Sweden were distributed along four academic departments in two different universities. In Sweden, the interviewees were recruited using e-mail addresses retrieved through university home pages. The 27 interviewees in Tanzania and Mozambique were recruited through participant lists retrieved from the national program co-ordinators and through snowballing technique. Here, the scientific fields represented in the interviews ranged across the social sciences,

2 The projects are externally funded and are as follows: Research policy and research practice in the global research economy (2009-2011); Modes and Narratives of Mobility and Career Paths among Ph.D. Holders in Swedish Supported Programs to Research Training in Mozambique (2014); Aid and Institutional Change: Modes and Narratives of Mobility and Career Paths among Ph.D. Holders in Swedish Supported Programs to Research Training in Tanzania (2015); Development of research supervision (2015).

medicine and technology. At the time of the interview, the majority of interviewees were working as university lecturers in Sweden, Tanzania or Mozambique, though there were also representatives of the Swedish Ministry in various political fields and the administration of the different universities in the global north and global south. Of the 91 interviews in total, 23 were individual interviews with supervisors in Sweden, of whom half were women.

Analytical design and limitations

The analytical design is inspired by poststructural research into equality in higher education (Thierney & Venegas, 2009; Thierney, 1992). This means acknowledging the significance of discursive representations and what they produce. Of less importance in poststructural research and in this article, are numerical representations[3].

In this article, the analytical focus is on representations of Tanzanian and Mozambican development-aid-funded students' positionalities in the total interviews, using contrasting (Ehn & Löfgren 1982) as the analytical method. In social science research contrasting is used to make patterns visible through comparisons of various and different cultural phenomena's (Ehn & Löfgren, 1982). Here contrasting is used as an analytical entrance for investigating the particularities of the discursive representations of Tanzanian and Mozambican development-aid-funded students' positionalities in academic work relations taking place in Swedish academia as compared to international Asian PhD students and to national PhD students. Contrasting is also used to explore variations of resistance among students and supervisors involved in development-aid-funded training.

3 In the total interviews, the discursive representation of Asian students is strong, however, the numerical representation of interviewed Asian PhD students is limited, notably, only one interview has been conducted with an Asian PhD student. Most likely, the reason for the low number of interviews with Asian PhD students is that the interviews made with non –development aid-funded PhD students and researchers in Sweden have focused on fields in social sciences where the number of international scholars are less as compared to natural sciences and medicine. However, the interviews with supervisors and development-aid-funded students cover disciplines from natural science, medicine, technology, social science and humanities.

The quotations have been chosen since they represent a particularly clear pattern of an experience or opinion in the whole interview and for making variations of representations visible. It is not possible to generalise in a quantitative meaning. Rather the ambition is to produce new knowledge which can be used for theory building.

Following poststructural research presentation (Thierney & Venegas, 2009; Thierney, 1992) the interviews are presented in a joint 'results and analysis' section, where selected interview quotes will be continuously discussed in relation to various research frameworks central to this article and to facilitate understanding of the particular quote.

Theoretical framework

This article bring research from the fields of 'the globalisation of international education', 'postcolonial knowledge relations' and 'intersectional and translocational gender research' together into a meaningful dialogue in an attempt to produce a postcolonial analysis of layers of precariousness in academic work. This means acknowledging the already postcolonial world and the re-workings of postcolonial knowledge relations from the perspective of researchers and students. Therefore, understanding the relationship between people and places at a global level and that these relationships are rooted in localities are an essential part of the postcolonial perspective of this article (see also McEwan 2009).

There is a global tendency for economic interests to gain importance over academic values in higher education, research and postgraduate training (Olssen & Peters, 2007). Among other things, this turn has increased interest in international students for the interest of increased revenues; in research, this is labelled as 'the globalisation of international education' (Riano & Piquet, 2016, p 1). In this context, research has identified increased homogenisation and professionalization of doctoral training as dominant features of this development (Olssen & Peters, 2007). Within this setting, the global introduction of 'New managerialism' in academia i.e organizational strategies from the private sector, have increased precariousness in academic work lives. Notably, precariousness in academic work lives are characterised by uncertainty, flexibility, mobility and emotional stress (Takayama et al, 2016; Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014; Berardi, 2012)

For countries in the global south, which often are heavily dependent on international donors for their research, the research literature (Knight, 2013; Teferra & Altbach, 2004) indicate that there are two issues at stake:

i) the potential risk of cultural homogenisation/ Westernisation or neo-colonialism through donor-driven research training and the research knowledge produced therefrom; and
ii) the weakening of academic values in favour of work relations based on economic concerns.

In this article, these well-established theoretical and empirical insights are used to underpin the postcolonial analysis of layers of precariousness and resistance articulated in representations of academic work.

As mentioned previously, a postcolonial perspective on knowledge relations imply a critique of the view of the global north and the global south as separate entities with distinct histories and trajectories becomes important:

> it [postcolonialism: my comment] demonstrates how the centre and periphery – the here and there – have always been interconnected and mutually constituted, often in highly unequal ways (McEwan 2009, p 28).

It is in this aspect that a postcolonial perspective stands in critical dialogue with development perspectives on knowledge relations and challenges dominant representations of the global north and south and the lack of perspectives which focus on relations between them (McEwan, 2009). From a postcolonial perspective, development has functioned as a way of representing the global south as lacking or lagging behind, constructing an active/passive dichotomy. As will become clear in the analysis, the active/passive dichotomy is used to theorise layers of resistance against precriousness in academic work lives in development-aid-funded research training.

The intersectional and multi-layered theoretical frame of this article is inspired by the theory of 'translocational intersectionality' (Anthias, 2012), in order to be able to research how the various and multiple positionalites of subjects shift

as they move between academic workplaces. Here the theory of translocational intersectionality is used as an analytical entry-point for understanding the complex power–knowledge relations that make some subject positionalities in academic work available to certain PhD students and render others unavailable, and the shifting and sometimes dual processes of precariousness and resistance that result.

On a cautionary note, this article pays particular attention to the complexities, negotiations and resistance that may evolve from the analysis of interviews with a broad sample of PhD students and graduates (whether development-aid-funded, international or national) and Swedish supervisors. It is in this respect that this article avoids (re)producing predetermined understandings of representations of academic work and translocational positionalities that are made available for development-aid-funded postgraduate students in Sweden.

Analysis

The analysis is presented in two steps. The first step concerns analysing (from a contrasting perspective) the representations of the translocational positionalities which are made available for Mozambican and Tanzanian students in Swedish academia. The second analytical step focuses on representations of resistance against precariousness from the perspective of students and supervisors involved in development-aid-funded programmes.

Precariousness at the intersection between the globalisation of international postgraduate training and the coloniality of Western knowledge regimes

This first step of the analysis will begin with analysing the positionalities made available to Asian and Swedish students from the perspective of Swedish supervisors and gradually move on to contrasting these with Tanzanian and Mozambican students' positionalities.

Asian students produce - Swedish students know their rights too well!

In the context of a *very* competitive work culture, a male supervisor underlines that postgraduate supervision in his department is carried out in what he calls an 'industrial manner'.

He explains that, in his research field, there is a constant demand for 'production', whereby PhD students not only need to be able to ask the right questions but need, primarily, to contribute to 'production' in a very hands-on way: 'Students need to deliver data'. In this context he concludes:

> We almost only recruit international students, because they are performing much better than Swedish students.

Probing the interviews, it is well known that, within the international student body, many Asian students often are working in Sweden under very constrained conditions, as one supervisor notes:

> At our university, Asian students are tied to contracts that are often economically insufficient [...] and there are payback arrangements written into their contracts.

In this context, another supervisor explains:

- Well, I have chosen to work mainly with Asians students, yes.
- Why?
- Asian students produce – you can always e-mail them, at weekends, during the summer or other holidays – you know they will respond and do what you ask. Swedish students, I think they know their rights too well! This is why I prefer to work with Asian students.

Taken together, the interview quotations above suggest that Asian students' positionalites are constructed along representations of 'production' and 'competition' and how Swedish supervisors and colleagues manage and negotiated insufficient contractual agreements. At the same time, it becomes obvious that these representations also construct Asian students as valuable and hardworking academic subjects.

As regards Swedish students, they are not tied to the same type of contractual agreements. From the total interviews we know that Swedish students are represented as

knowledge producing subjects but are generally considered not working at the same pace as international students and Asian students in particular. One often mentioned explanation for that is that 'Swedish students know their rights' implying that Swedish students are more inclined to oppose labour relations that are against workers' rights in Sweden. Other explanations refer to the international competitiveness of Swedish basic education which is considered to be lower in some subject areas. Often various explanations are combined. From international research in higher education we know that those living precariousness in work lives are less likely to oppose to negative treatment out of fear from losing their work or encounter other forms of repressions (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014).

The coloniality of power, racialisation and precariousness

Returning to Tanzanian and Mozambican students, as already mentioned in the introduction, the Swedish government tops up their salaries while they are in Sweden, so they have better financial situation in Sweden as compared to their home situation and compared to many other international students. However, from interviews with supervisors, some supervisors recall that development-aid-funded students are paid less as compared to Swedish students. Analysing differences in salaries between various student groups in detail would require other types of data, therefore this aspect is not probed further in this article. What is possible to analyse is how Swedish supervisors *talk* about the research contribution of Tanzanian and Mozambican development- aid-funded-students. The following quotation from a Swedish supervisor will expand on this:

> The underlying assumption of development-aid-funded students is that they cannot meet the academic standards of other students that are studying in our department. I mean, people assume that their work for their theses would be of lower quality. Towards these students, the attitude has been more like 'Ah, let them go on, they are funded by development-aid, we must let them pass our examinations although they don't quite meet up to our academic standards'.

The quotation above suggests that, in this Swedish department, development-aid-funded research from Africa

is constructed around representations of inferiority, more specifically a lack of recognition of their work as academic work. Importantly the interviewed supervisor is very critical against this discourse. Previous research on Laotian development-aid-funded PhD-students in Sweden supports this research (Silfver & Berge, 2016). The results also resonate with the discourse of the global north as a site of high quality research and universities in African countries as lagging behind (see Madsen, 2018). As regards precariousness in academic work relations, casual faculty in UK and Irish higher education experience their academic work lives in similar ways (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014). Here receiving less payment for the same type of work as compared to tenure track staff, feelings of isolation and lack of recognition are main constituencies of precariousness in acadmic work lives. Importantly there was a lack of data from BME staff and international staff in the British and Irish research, further indicating the contribution of this research.

In this article, the lack of recognition of work as scientific work can only partly be explained by the explicit policy recommendation that development-aid-funded students should primarily contribute to capacity-building in their home academic departments (Fellesson, 2017). From this policy imperative, it follows that they are not expected to contribute to knowledge development in Swedish departments. However, the interview quotation above and interviews from other supervisors suggest that there are also other reasons. In this context, one supervisor explains that there exists a hierarchy among PhD students in his department, where those from Western European and Nordic countries are easily included into any social and research communities, whereas students of Asian and African backgrounds are not as easily integrated into research activities. Importantly, the supervisor is very critical about this hierarchy and regrets that his department has not done more to overcome it among doctoral students. The reason for the exclusion from the department's research relations, he suggests, is the students' differences in cultural background, with thoses from Asia and Africa being seen as different and deviant to the departments' research culture.[4] Talking explicitly

4 In keeping with the wishes of this interviewee, this part of the interview is referred to but not cited.

on Mozambican and Tanzanian students, the same supervisor continues:

> 'Not even when they are the main contributors to a research orientation in a department or if they are working on similar topics as other researchers, they are invited into research collaborations at the department'.

From the interviews presented above there are a number of intersecting discourses relating to 'funding', 'development' and 'culture'. How can we understand this complexity? From postcolonial literature, the conception of 'Coloniality of power' is well known (Mignolo, 2002). The conception is the nexus through which historical power relations construct and maintain contemporary postcolonial hierarchies. The basis of Coloniality of Power is economic, political and above all, epistemic (Mignolo, 2002; Quijano, 1992). From this perspective, dependency relations in research funding and research training becomes an important way of (re)producing contemporary postcolonial knowledge relations.

How should we understand the reference to 'culture' in the interviews? In Sweden, processes of racialisation are often put into practice and legitimized through emphasising representations of 'cultural differences' between Swedes and those who are seen as deviant 'Other' (Tesfahuney & Mattsson 2002). In this article, I therefore propose that the hierarchy among doctoral students represented in the interviews can be read as the result of the intersectional and translocational workings of the Coloniality of power and processes of racialisation, which produce representations of the inferior and racialized Other and excludes Asian and African students from department networks in Sweden. Here the intersection of discourses related to 'funding', 'development' and 'culture' not only excludes Tanzanian and Mocambican students from department networks but also from the positionality as a valuable knowledge producing subject in Swedish departmental research networks. This reasoning suggests a possibly paradoxically situation. To expand on this line of thought: the exclusion from positionality as a knowledge producing subject and most likely, differences in contractual agreements, between Asian students and development-aid-

funded students, seems to protect development-aid-funded students from the neoliberal exploitation that Asian Students sometimes encounter.

However, in a broader perspective, the positionalities of development-aid-funded Tanzanian and Mozambican student (as important for maintaining a research orientation/research focus on Africa at Swedish departments but being neglected as research partners in department networks) resonate with a well-known postcolonial critique of development-aid (McEwan, 2009). From this perspective, development-aid discourses have neglected and, to some extent, are still neglecting, the connection between centres and periphery and how the wealth in the global north, both historically and to date, is built on resources from the global south (Ibid). This means that at an individual level, development-aid- funded students are protected from immediate neoliberal exploitation, however at institutional level, the workings of the Coloniality of power is still valid.

Importantly, however, we should note that there are variations in these representations. When African development-aid-funded students are included in departmental research networks and recognised as important knowledge producing subjects, there exists a long-term collaboration with African universities and African researchers that is *recognised* and *valued* by leading researchers in the Swedish department.

As regards Swedish students, from the section under the subtitle 'Asian students produce, Swedish students know their rights too well !' and official statistics from the Ministry of Education referred to in the introduction, we know that Swedish students are acknowledged as knowledge producing subjects (although not ascribed the same 'value' as international students and Asian students in particular); the majority of Swedish students are employed by Swedish universities and not depending on stipends; and finally, the quotations above suggest that they are racialized as 'White' (Bonilla-Silva 2011), thus, as belonging to the department research culture.

The last part of the first step of the analysis focus on structural barriers related to citizenship and postcolonial

positionality and representations of precariousness. Particularly the following focus on contrasting development-aid-funded student with Asian international students. In the examples presented, Swedish students are not included. This is because Swedish students working in Swedish academia have the privilege of not being negatively affected by intersections related to citizenship and postcolonial positionality.

Structural barriers from various and intersecting positionalities

Policy research into the international mobility of students has highlighted structural barriers related to visa processes, seen as the main challenges for upward mobility (Oleksiyenko et al., 2013). In this context, hierarchical relations between the various groups of students are seen as an area in need of further research (2013, p 1099). The following sub-section responds to this call and focuses on structural problems related to possibilities for academic work in periods of international mobility. The following quotation is from an Asian doctoral student and is chosen because it represents a well-known structural problem for international students from outside the EU and the EES who are studying in Sweden:

> The thing is, we are employed by the university, but by the Migration Office, we are not considered as employees but as students, so we can only get student visas which means that we have to go to the Migration Office once a year to prolong our visas and that takes two months to get. If you have a conference during these two months that basically means that you cannot attend. For me it is not a big problem because conferences in my area are not related to publications but, in many other areas, if your paper is accepted for a conference it means that it will get published – but if you cannot attend the conferences then they withdraw it […]. Some people have questioned why they [*my comment:* the Migration Office] cannot take us as employees so we can get a working visa and so that they do not have to do so much paperwork […] we pay tax and we do the same things as other people who are working, so this is – I sometimes feel discriminated against.

From the interviews with supervisors and students, we know that being part of a Swedish funded development- aid program often facilitates the frequent visa requirements. However, the organisation of the PhD training programme, which requires constant mobility between Sweden and the students' home academic department, poses other and additional challenges, particularly for female researchers and those with families. The quotation, which is made by a male PhD holder, is chosen because it represents a common way of talking about obstacles in relation to the mobility component of the programme.

Yes, for those of us who have families, it is difficult. Particularly if there are kids involved. It is very difficult to leave everything and go to Sweden. And for women, of course, it is more constraining because a man can leave the house but the women will not leave the child until he or she is grown up. And when the child is grown up the woman will be too old to undertake PhD studies.

Importantly, the intersectional layers of precariousness articulated through these work relations seem to be both gendered and postcolonial. However, inherent in this is a paradox which need to be highlighted. As I showed in my previous research on this student group (Mählck, 2016): on the one hand, staying in Sweden created spaces for women to focus on research only while, on the other – and considering the burden of women as the main caregivers, putting them under enormous pressure to fulfil both their caring responsibilities back home and their research duties while in Sweden. Finally and at a more general level, the quotation names parental obligations and age relations as gendered relations, thus highlighting the disjunction between global policies of international student mobility and the layers of intersectional and translocal precariousness that are articulated from the various positionalities of international students.

It is in this respect that the intersectional and translocal layers of precariousness outlined above can be read as an important gender and postcolonial critique of the, most often, uni-dimensional and disembodied celebration of mobility currently dominating policy discourses on the internationalisation of Swedish higher education.

Different ways of reversing the active/passive dichotomy

This second part of my analysis will focus on the variety of the ways in which development-aid-funded students and Swedish supervisors who take a critical stance against their hegemonic position, represent resistance against the positionalities made available to the former. The following quotation is from a Swedish supervisor who describes how he sees the future of development-aid-funded postgraduate training.

> - Well, my Swedish colleagues are not too happy about the system, with the double PhD degrees that are emerging in [African universities].
> - Why?
> - Because more and more work duties are being removed from Sweden to the African context.
> - Ah, so Swedish universities are losing funding?
> - Er, perhaps not so much funding – these programmes have never generated much funding to Swedish universities – no, the Swedish side is losing control, control over the academic process which is gradually being transferred to the African university system in terms of a double degree. Personally, I'm in favour of this and I do all I can to assist in this development – why not? They have the experience and the skills now. […] In our subject area, publishing articles in academic journals have not been a tradition but the pressure to publish is slowly entering our field […] For those supervisors who are in the middle of their careers it is very important to have many publications, but I'm retired now, I don't need more publications, I don't need to build a career, I have nothing to lose.

This quotation reveals that what is at stake for Swedish supervisors taking part in development-aid-funded training is not so much the fear of losing funding as the fear of losing power and control over PhD training and the possibilities for research that come with being involved in these programmes. In the system of double-degree PhD exams, the candidate will have a PhD from both a Swedish and from an African university. In this respect, control over the PhD process is gradually moving from Swedish to African universities. Interestingly, the Swedish supervisor quoted above situates his response within global

academic work regimes which emphasise competition and the constant pressure to publish. This indicates that, despite the philanthropic mission of development-aid-funded support for research capacity-building in countries in the global south, the academic work relations taking place within such programmes cannot be understood as operating *outside* the pressures from neo-liberal work regimes in academia. In this article, I suggest that the supervisor's active support for gradually transferring the power and influence over PhD training and research can be read as resistance against a postcolonial work order where African PhD students and researchers are constructed as the passive recipients of donor instructions and Swedish researchers occupies the positionalities of active and knowledgeable research subjects.

In the quotations below, two development-aid-funded PhD graduates reflect on their experiences of PhD training in Sweden. The quotations are chosen because they represent resistance differently as compared to the supervisor presented above.

> You see, there are two kinds of Swedes: those who have been abroad and those who have never been abroad. The first group made me feel very welcome, but the other group? Oh, they ignored me, made me feel like a thing.

> Researchers in Sweden are not used to Africans being researchers, you know, this is a common theme in postcolonial theory [laughs].

'Provincialising Europe' is an established method for the drive to decolonise institutional power structures in Western universities (Chakrabarty, 2000, 1992). Central in 'provincialising Europe' is the reversal of the gaze and the exploration of European University contexts and knowledge production from the perspective of the global south. In the context of the two last interview quotations, I suggest that, here, the researchers return their gaze towards Swedish academia and resistance is created through analysing Swedish academia from a postcolonial perspective and identifiying exclusionary practices that can contribute to neo-colonialism. In this respect, these researchers articulate resistance by speaking

from the position of 'the colonial difference' (Mignolo, 2002). According to Mignolo, speaking from 'the colonial difference' means making the coloniality of power visible. Here Mignolo notes a paradox '[…] the erasure the colonial difference implies that one recognize it and think from such epistemic location […]' (2002, p 85).

It is in this respect that the researchers' resistance differs from that of the Swedish supervisor in the quotation above. His resistance is articulated through opposing uneven power structures as regards the architecture of the program of research training and trying to reverse that by supporting a system of double degree – not, however, extending his resistance into proposing a postcolonial critique of what the programs produce in terms of research subjects and epistemologies and methodologies for knowledge production. A cautionary note is necessary here, in the PhD-program the research topics and methods, are continuously negotiated between the students and supervisors in Sweden, adding an additional layer of complexity to the analysis. This means that both students and supervisors are part of the relational process of producing subjects and objects of knowledge, albeit occupying different and hierarchical power positions.

Concluding discussion

In the tradition of critical poststructural research on equality in higher education, it is emphasised how research can and should be used to change inequality and prejudice against various and underprivileged groups in academia, as Thierney notes:

We need to go further by not only delineating the scaffolding for critical or feminist theories and the like but also suggesting how we might employ such theoretical orientations in the daily operations in our institutions. We need to consider how institutionally sponsored interventions function within the variety of different contexts that exists for different issues such as minority student retention […] such horizons will enable us to consider the social conditions of power that give voice to some and silence others. (Thierney 1992, p 616)

I conclude by focusing on how the main results from this article can inform a different policy development in Sida funded

development-aid-funded research training. For future research, it is interesting to explore if and how these recommendations can be applied in other contexts where PhD training is funded by development-aid or other philanthropic missions.

Situated policy development

This article has shown that development-aid-funded research training cannot not be understood in isolation. While development-aid policy to some extent has problematized the unequal postcolonial power relations involved in these training programs from the perspective of the collaborating partners from the global south (Fellesson, 2017) the role and functioning of broader power relations that are currently impacting on Swedish academia in respect of global competition for funding and results and audits/pressure to publish have received less attention. Thus, a different type of policy development is possible through situating development-aid-funded training at the intersection of translocational historical and contemporary power structures related to 'postcolonial knowledge relations', 'development-aid' and 'globalisation of international postgraduate training'.

Policy development from the perspective of everyday experiences from below

Another main result concerns how development-aid-funded research training is lived, experienced, managed and negotiated by both students and supervisors. Importantly, the representations of subject positions made available to the students are the result of intersecting translocational, racialised, postcolonial and gender regimes and of how students, supervisors and colleagues manage and negotiate these power structures. Thus, policy development is possible if the lived experiences and particularly of the variety of ways in which structural obstacles are managed in the everyday are taken into account. Here processes of racialisation, gender relations and parental obligations, hitherto much neglected in policy, need particular and further attention.

Policy development through institutional dialogue on responsibility

The research results in this article highlights that the reception of the students at Swedish departments need further attention.

Here this article suggest that a different policy development could take place through an institutional dialogue on the mutual responsibilities between Sida and Swedish and African departments on what the reception of students in Swedish higher education implies. This dialogue should begin from the layers of precariousness that these students may encounter during training and what responsibility institutions should take for this. Another area concerns how the future of these programmes is imagined. In many countries, building research capacity through PhD training has existed for more than 40 years. Recent research has pointed to the lack of opportunity for further research that the students encounter after their graduation (see Zink 2018) or the uneven research collaborations with scholars in the global north that PhD graduates are offered following graduation (Fellesson and Mählck, 2017, 2013). It is in this context that an institutional dialogue on responsibility has an important and delicate mission.

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Postcolonial Directions in Education

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SUPERVISION IN THE CONTACT ZONE REVISITED: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SUPERVISORY PRACTICES THROUGH THE LENSES OF TIME, PLACE, AND KNOWLEDGE
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SUPERVISION IN THE CONTACT ZONE REVISITED: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SUPERVISORY PRACTICES THROUGH THE LENSES OF TIME, PLACE, AND KNOWLEDGE

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ABSTRACT This article contributes to the discussion on intercultural doctoral supervision through a reflexive analysis of one supervisor's practices during a joint Laotian/Swedish capacity-building project in 2005–2011. My practices were guided by postcolonial/feminist aspirations to shift power relations and to disrupt knowledge-production practices to allow what Singh (2011, p. 358) calls "pedagogies of intellectual equality". These ideals, however, were challenged by the formal structure of the PhD programme and my socialisation into a Swedish/Western rationality about what a 'good' doctorate is. Using the concepts of time, place, and knowledge (Manathunga, 2014), I reflect here upon my own practices and actions during supervision of four doctoral students from Lao People's Democratic Republic. This supervision took place in what Pratt (2017/1990) calls the 'contact zone', the space where intercultural meetings take place. Manathunga (2014) argues that time, place, and knowledge are crucial to understanding intercultural supervision. I analyse the opportunities and challenges I met as a supervisor, and critically reflect upon how postcolonial theory and concepts of time, place, and knowledge can contribute to discussion on disrupting hegemonic patterns of knowledge production in doctoral training. The analysis shows how supervision in the contact zone may support assimilation at the expense of transculturation, the blending of knowledge from different contexts to create new knowledge (Manathunga, 2014, p. 4). The analysis also points to a third path, accommodation, towards the needs and strategies of doctoral students and supervisors affecting and changing training in unexpected ways.

ABSTRAKT Den här artikeln är ett bidrag till diskussionen om interkulturell forskarhandledning. I artikeln presenteras en forskarhandledares reflexiva analys av hur forskarhandledning tog sig uttryck i ett biståndsstött forskarutbildningsprojekt i samarbete mellan Laos och Sverige 2005-2011. I min handledningspraktik strävade jag efter att, med inspiration

från postkoloniala och feministiska teoribildningar, utmana maktrelationer och strukturer för kunskapsproduktion för att skapa utrymme för det Singh (2011, p. 358) kallar 'pedagogiska strategier för intellektuell jämlikhet'. Trots dessa ambitioner blev det tydligt att forskarutbildningens formella struktur och min egen förståelse för vad en framgångsrik doktorand är, var djupt rotade i en svensk/västerländsk logik som utmanade mina postkoloniala och feministiska ambitioner. Jag reflekterar därför i denna artikel, med hjälp av Manathungas begrepp (2014) tid, plats och kunskap, över min egen roll som handledare för fyra doktorander från Laos. Handledningen ägde rum i det Pratt (2017/1990) benämner 'kontaktzonen", det vill säga den plats där interkulturella möten äger rum. Manathunga (2014) hävdar att det är avgörande att förstå hur tid, plats och kunskap är formade av de koloniala strukturer som i vår samtid fortsätter att prägla relationer mellan det globala nord och det globala syd. Jag kommer analysera de utmaningar och möjligheter jag mötte i min handledningspraktik för att kritiskt granska hur postkolonial teoribildning och begreppen tid, plats och kunskap kan bidra med en bredare diskussion om hur hegemoniska mönster för kunskapsproduktion inom forskarutbildning kan utmanas. Analysen visar att handledning i kontaktzonen riskerar att stötta assimilation, det vill säga att doktorander ensidigt anpassar sig till systemet, på bekostnad av transkulturation, den process genom vilken kunskap från olika kontexter vävs samman för att skapa ny kunskap. Analysen visar också på en tredje strategi, ackommodation, där doktoranders behov och deras och handledares strategier för att möta dessa har potential att förändra forskarutbildningspraktiker.

KEYWORDS Supervision, higher education, contact zone, Laos, Sweden, reflexivity, postcolonial analysis.

Introduction

In 2011, four Lao students at the Department of Education, Umeå University, successfully defended their PhD theses, ending a six-year intercultural supervisory relationship in which I was one of their three supervisors. These students were among 15 university teachers at the National University of Laos (NUOL) selected to participate in a capacity-building project sponsored by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). Sida's aim was to support research and research training at NUOL by enrolling Lao university teachers into doctoral programmes in three Swedish universities so that on completion of their training they could return to Laos, the Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR), and NUOL to spearhead local research and doctoral training.

Development cooperation between the Lao government and Western donors has a complicated history. Laos is to this day one of few remaining one-party states alongside for example China, North Korea and Vietnam. Between 1975 and 1985 Lao PDR pursued Marxist-Leninist politics, actively shutting out Western influences, severing ties with former colonial powers France and the USA. However, the Lao economy did not flourish under the new regime, and with the fall of the Berlin wall, the Lao government was forced to put in place the so called *New Economic Reform* (NEM) which in in the 1990's led to an enormous influx of development cooperation funding (Evans 1998, 2002; Stuart-Fox 1997). Having actively resisted Western influences, as part and parcel of a revolutionary ideology rejecting former colonial powers, Laos finally was forced to once again open up to these influences in order to fight poverty (Silfver, 2010).

Two colleagues and I co-supervised the four doctoral students in education, bringing in critical (Gramsci, 1971; Freire, 1970/1993), postcolonial (Spivak, 1999; Said, 1978; Fanon, 1961/2001), and feminist perspectives and experiences (Berge and Ve, 2000; Butler, 1990/1999; Mohanty, 1984) to our practice. We had both theoretical orientation in these fields and concrete experiences of working in the global south and taking feminist approaches to the educational sector. We also knew our students quite well since we had all, to various degrees, spent time in Laos doing research and preparing to set up the doctoral programme in Sweden. I had spent more time in Laos than the others, having been based there for a year and a half collecting data for my own research (Bäcktorp, 2007).

Upon completing their degrees, the four students returned to Laos and I began to reflect more deeply upon my experiences over those past six years. The students' research had expanded my own knowledge of education in Laos, and I had learned a great deal about doctoral supervision, especially intercultural supervision. I was also left with many doubts about my own skills as a supervisor. Since the students' theses passed the examinations, they had clearly met the requirements for a Swedish doctoral degree, but I also knew that I had somehow failed to create space for them to make much needed contributions to our Swedish doctoral programme. That their knowledge contributions had changed *me* was clear, but it was equally clear that we, as a Swedish academic institution, had missed

the opportunity to gain from their knowledge and experiences to challenge "authoritative discourses" (Canagarajah, 2002) in the department's doctoral training programme. This realisation kept bothering me: What could I have done differently?

I returned to Laos several times in 2011 and 2012 to continue working with my former students, and I took those opportunities to interview the other alumni of the project about their experiences of doing a doctorate in a Swedish university. The aim of the interviews was to contribute to research on doctoral supervision in the contact zone. The study was reported in an article titled *'We are like orphans': Exploring narratives of Lao doctoral alumni educated in Sweden* (Silfver and Berge, 2016), hereafter referred to as the alumni study. Shortly after the article was published, I came across a book by Catherine Manathunga, an Australian scholar whose former work had been important in the writing of the alumni study article. The book, *Intercultural Postgraduate Supervision: Reimagining Time, Place and Knowledge* (Manathunga, 2014), provided a much needed framework for writing reflexively about intercultural supervision from the perspective of my own experiences as a supervisor in the contact zone.

The focus of this article is thus on my own experiences of supervision in relation to Manathunga's (2014) theoretical and empirical framework and the empirical results of the alumni study. Mählck and Fellesson (2016, p. 98) argue that while research interest in the mobility of transnational postgraduate students is increasing, little yet is known of how this mobility "impacts on the internationalisation of receiving institutions and […] on postgraduate supervision". This article contributes to filling this knowledge gap. Key to the analysis is the application of postcolonial theory to understand how time, place, and knowledge are shaped by colonial legacies present in global north–south relations, not least in development cooperation and in higher education institutions in the global north.

In the following, I briefly contextualise doctoral training in Sweden before discussing reflexivity as a methodology.

Doing a doctorate in Sweden

A full-time Swedish doctoral programme takes four years (240 credits) and requires a mix of course and thesis credits.

This mix varies across faculties, ranging from 30 (medicine and science and technology) to 90 credits (social sciences and humanities). In my department's education programme, doctoral students take 90 course credits; the remaining 150 are devoted to fieldwork and thesis writing. Doctoral students are assigned one main and one co-supervisor. The main supervisor has both an academic and a practical responsibility for the student. The latter includes setting up an individual study plan regulating the work year by year, detailing courses, seminars, thesis writing, conferences, and workshops. Most of the degree is devoted to thesis writing, and doctoral studies are thus highly individualised in the Swedish system (Universitets- och högskolerådet, n.d.). A thesis can be written either as a monograph or as a thesis by publication, commonly comprising four articles brought together with a cover story. Although traditions differ between disciplines, usually two of the articles should be published or accepted for publication before the thesis is finalised and defended. The programme ends with the student publicly defending the thesis against an invited opponent with expertise in the dissertation area. The thesis and its defence are then graded by a committee of three to five professors: one usually represents the student's department, while the others represent other faculties or universities.

Doctoral students in Sweden are usually salaried for a four-year period of full-time studies. The Lao students, however, were employed by NUOL and financed by SIDA stipends while in Sweden. Nevertheless, like other doctoral students, they were regarded as employees and staff members, given university office space, and incorporated into daily departmental life.

Generally, no special provisions were made for the Lao students. They followed the regular doctoral programmes within their respective subjects; however, the departments were differently prepared for accepting non-Swedish speaking students. Swedish universities are eager to attract international students, so many degree subjects provide doctoral training in English. Several of the Lao students, therefore, took the same courses as Swedish and other international students, and were thus integrated into regular doctoral programmes. This was, however, not the case at my department. Compulsory courses had previously been offered only in Swedish, but these were developed into English modules specifically for the Lao students when they enrolled.

Reflexivity as methodology

Writing reflexively is challenging in many ways. Denzin (1997) and Finlay (2002) describe how reflexive writing unjustly is criticised for lacking methodology and theory and for being narcissistic. Nyström (2007) argues for the value of reflexive writing in her investigations of a visit to South Africa, which came to trouble her understandings of race and gender. She discusses reflexive writing as a tool for theorising lived experiences, pointing out that reflexivity can support the development of new knowledge and new understandings through a process needing three components to be productive to research: "personal experience, reflexive writing, and theoretical studies". She continues, "although my experiences were profound and left me with memories that were inscribed on my body, penetrated my skin [...] I did not and could not, use them and incorporate them immediately in my own practice" (Nyström, 2007, p. 36f).

"Memories are present-day interpretations of past events and not a cunning way of exposing truth" (Berg, 2008, p. 218). This is an important recognition. However, it does not mean that memories should not be considered important to understanding processes of knowledge production. On the contrary, memory work has a long tradition in European feminist research (see e.g., Widerberg, 1994; Hauge, 1987) as a methodology that allows "new and different knowledges" (Berg, 2008, p. 217).

In this article, I relate my own memories to Manathunga's (2014) categories of time/history, place, and knowledge. That is, I let these categories structure my memories, for two reasons. First, I find it fruitful to analyse my memories in relation to theoretically and empirically established categories of supervision in the contact zone, i.e. the social space where cultures interact, often on unequal terms (Pratt 1990/2017). In a recent article, Mählck and Fellesson (2016) also adopted and critically examined Manathunga's theoretical approach in their research on the experiences of Swedish supervision among doctoral alumni in Mozambique, whose studies were supported by Sida.

Their results show the complexities of supervision in the contact zone through three main findings: (1) Swedish supervisors do engage in transformative work, but more collective work is needed to address structural inequalities in Swedish

universities; (2) the notion of 'inter' in intercultural supervision risks reinforcing ideas of international students as one coherent group, thus masking the value differences attached to different types of international postgraduate mobility; and (3) aid to higher education in low and middle income ('developing') countries may position postgraduate students in aid-supported training as objects of capacity building rather than as contributors of knowledge. Development aid-funded doctoral training thus risks creating places/spaces that construct "a postcolonial white normality in Swedish academic departments" (Mählck and Fellesson, 2016, p. 114).

In this context, reflexivity about what it means to be white is crucial if we as white academics can begin to understand and appreciate that "regardless of the intentions of white people, and regardless of the other social groups to which they may belong, whites as a group benefit from a society in which racism is deeply embedded" (DiAngelo, 2016, p. 196). This is certainly relevant to understanding Swedish academia where "some bodies are made to feel welcome whereas others are racialised and seen as trespassers" (Mählck and Fellesson, 2016, p. 110). In a Scandinavian academic context, this is further addressed by scholars such as Berg (2008) and Farahani (2015). Berg discusses her memory work in relation to her own whiteness, a position she understands to be an unmarked majority position kept in place through silence: "whiteness is co-produced with silence through avoidance in concrete everyday situations" (2008, p. 219). This avoidance is made possible precisely because whiteness is an unmarked majority position; it is within the norm and therefore unnecessary to address. Farahani's (2015, p. 245) experiences of being a female scholar of Iranian descent in Swedish academia stand in stark contrast:

> I can barely find a moment emotionally or intellectually in the processes of teaching or conducting my research – while interviewing, collecting material, reading, writing, teaching, presenting, positioning and being positioned through the research process – that does not in one way or another resonate with my personal background.

Bodies and their racialisation, or perceived lack thereof for those in an unmarked majority position, cannot therefore be

ignored in memory work aimed at unpacking experience, in this case supervision in the contact zone. In writing this article, I am aware that my choice to focus on one specific theoretical lens has its limitations. I am also sensitive to the critique against Manathunga's use of 'intercultural' in discussing supervision in the contact zone. Mählck and Fellesson (2016) opt for the term 'translocal' to shift attention from cultural differences to power dynamics. Aware of this, I still choose to 'talk with Manathunga' in this article, since the categories of time/history, place, and knowledge offer entry points to a complex entanglement of experiences.

A second reason for using Manathunga's concepts to structure my memory work is ethical. I choose not to take my starting point in a research diary or to focus on specific situations of supervision I experienced to avoid exposing others. An alternative would have been to co-author this article with my co-supervisors and former doctoral students. I chose not to do this for practical reasons since it was logistically difficult for all of us to gather around this project and engage in memory work together. This article therefore represents my memories only, which are constructions of situations involving six other peoples (my two co-supervisors and our four students), two of whom are deceased. As a middle way, my co-supervisors and former students have been given the opportunity to read and comment on the text to ensure they do not feel unjustly exposed.

The alumni study was an important sounding board in my memory work. I used empirical data from that study to reflect on my own experiences, and I use memories involving my former students only to underline points already made in the alumni study.

The remainder of the article is devoted to an elaboration of the concepts of time, place, and knowledge in postgraduate supervision (Manathunga, 2014) and how they provide important insights into understanding one supervisor's perspective on the supervision process.

Reimagining time and history

Catherine Manathunga (2014) points out that time and history feed into the supervision process at different levels. Both students and supervisors bring with them their

own personal and professional biographies, and these biographies are produced by the histories and cultures of their countries.

I learned from living in, working in, and reading up on Laos that its colonial history had a concrete impact on people's educational trajectories (Bäcktorp, 2007; Evans, 1998). For example, none of the doctoral alumni had received their master's degrees in Laos because at the time the country did not offer that level of education. The alumni instead experienced master's level education from the former Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Japan, Thailand, and Vietnam[1]. They studied in whatever countries Laos happened to have development cooperation links with at the time. Many alumni also described having several master's degrees from different countries. This meant that those who came to Sweden had many different experiences of master level studies, not only from different countries, but also from different times, ranging from the early 1980s to the late 1990s.

From my perspective, this has at least two implications. First, those who came to Sweden were used to adapting to different educational systems and to living and studying in other countries. Second, this makes it difficult to establish one 'grand Lao narrative' of higher education other than one of difference. It was therefore neither easy nor straightforward to understand what sorts of expectations they had of doctoral studies in Sweden. The data from the alumni study, however, showed that many located themselves within a discourse positioning Laos as a developing country with poorly educated citizens. Therefore, they worried about their abilities to study at the doctoral level in Sweden. The data from the alumni study also revealed a worry about the ideal of the doctorate as an individual endeavour, which did not resonate well with them for several reasons. Laos is politically and socially a society that privileges the collective over the individual. This has consequences in notions of how good education should be organised as a collective activity, which influences Lao educational policy and practice at all levels of education (Chounlamany and Khounphilaphanh, 2011).

1 Although not reported in the alumni article, this information was collected in the alumni interviews.

I, on the other hand, was firmly rooted in a Swedish higher education discourse positioning the doctorate as an individual endeavour. I had been socialised into this at the bachelor level, where the ability to carry out university studies independently was stressed. The focus on independence continued through both master and doctoral levels, cementing a specific notion of the successful student as an independent student. It also became increasingly clear to me that Sweden, through its longstanding commitment to development cooperation with the global south, had created a discourse in which ideas of solidarity had effectively written Sweden out of the European colonial project (Mc Eachrane and Faye, 2001). The effects of colonial legacies on Swedish society and academia were, within this discourse of solidarity, easy to ignore. Swedish academics such as myself could therefore hide behind a discourse of solidarity thinking that colonial legacies affected others and not us, and that we did not have to take responsibility for our part in a European/Western colonial project.

Time and history had thus shaped our educational experiences and expectations differently, but a few factors helped us to reconsider the doctoral training we provided to the Lao students. First, there was the issue of concrete time for supervision. Sida provided more time for supervision than the commonly set university standard of 100 hours of supervision time per doctoral student per year divided between the main and the co-supervisor. Most supervisors would agree that this time normally does not cover the supervisory needs of doctoral students, but specifying a limited number of hours this way, also signals the individual nature of doctoral studies. Students thus manifest research competence through individually driven work efforts with the support of their supervisors. In relation to the Lao students, with the extra supervision time allotted, we could think differently about this. The supervision sessions were organised as workshops and many ideas developed through discussion and collective analysis and reflection. I believe that this was a much more familiar setting for the students, who were accustomed to working in groups and supporting each other collectively (see e.g. Chounlamany and Khounphilaphanh, 2011, for an elaborated discussion on group work in Lao education). Group work was thus a pedagogy that we could develop jointly since we had more supervision time. Second, after some consideration, the doctoral students

decided to co-author their theses in pairs. Co-authoring is not the norm, but co-authored theses are accepted in my discipline and at my department, and this allowed the students to work more collaboratively[2].

Retrospectively, I see that the postcolonial and feminist orientations in the supervisory group helped us see beyond Swedish doctorate norms and collaborate with our students to do things differently. Manathunga (2014, p. 31f) posits that "postcolonial theory encourages supervisors and students to be aware of their own personal, and often, contradictory, positionings and experiences of colonisation, which may affect their supervision relationship". Despite my orientation and interest in postcolonial theory, however, I did not sit down with my Lao colleagues in a structured way and reflect with them over the implications of this recognition. I reflected quite a bit on their experiences and perspectives, but I did not engage in a deep conversation informed by postcolonial or feminist theory on what we needed to understand about our respective biographies and experiences to supervise them differently. I thus maintained my unmarked majority position (Berg, 2008) through silence.

Had I done this differently, I think I could have been more open to other realisations about how we organised the work and what types of knowledge we collectively brought with us. We did highlight the importance of contextualisation in the doctoral research projects, and a recurring slogan was "Context matters!" paraphrasing Daly (2005). In that sense, we did live up to Manathunga's (2014, p. 37f) call to "encourage students to investigate the multiple histories of their education systems" to better understand time and history. As a supervisor, however, I did not fully appreciate the importance of that same emphasis in the supervision process and in doctoral training in general, and I did not deeply turn attention to what my whiteness really meant to the context and how the colonial experience seeped into the supervisory context in both Laos and Sweden.

2 In an official investigation from the Swedish government from 1966 (SOU 1966:67) it was stated that a thesis could be co-authored provided that the contributions of each author was clearly identifiable. This practice is accepted to this day.

Reimagining place

Place represents many spaces in Manathunga's (2014) theorising. She discusses geographical place, place-based pedagogies, and concrete spaces for supervision. For Manathunga, place is important to the supervision process, especially when students and supervisors come from different countries and cultures. Again, this is a recognition that context – along with the experiences, knowledge, and ideas developed and formed in specific places – does matter both educationally and personally. Having a sense of place can also mean feeling out of place or seeing a place differently, from a distance. Place can in this sense never be left out of the learning process.

I was aware of many places and spaces that I related to, in different ways, with the students. One was Laos, a distant place while in Sweden, that was nevertheless always present. Laos remains a one-party state, and during my stay there in 2003–2005, I was made aware of the need not to challenge established political hierarchies through what I wrote. English constituted a somewhat free zone, since English proficiency among Lao nationals at that time was limited. Texts in English were therefore not so threatening to the regime. Nevertheless, I was sensitive early to the need in some contexts to guard against expressing opinions too openly. In 'coffee assemblies' (*sapha café* in Lao), however, discussions were freer in the company of trusted friends.

All students in the Sida project were government employees and as such they were to some degree carriers of the official discourse I believe regulates oral and written speech practices. In that sense, I think that place was often negotiated in the students' writing practices in ways that I as a supervisor did not always understand and appreciate, which could give rise to discussions about how empirical data could and should be presented, and how far an analysis or discussion could be elaborated. Since I had some insight into the Lao context, I understood and accepted that place affected what was put into writing. Looking back, however, I wonder whether my insight was enough, not least from a postcolonial perspective, since my assumption of insight also carries an aspect of condescension. Rather than focusing so much on their strategies, I could have focused more on what this said about my own notions of Sweden as a place of 'openness', where political agendas seemingly

did not affect speech and writing practices. In this sense, yet again I located myself in the unmarked majority position, an untroubled position that reinforces rather than challenges postcolonial knowledge relations.

If Laos was a place that became visible to me in the contact zone, so were Sweden and the various institutional settings where the training took place. The alumni study (Silfver and Berge, 2016) clearly showed the importance of different academic spaces such as the supervision space, the seminars, the conferences, and the 'fika rooms' (the staff rooms where Swedes traditionally have coffee several times a day). The results of that study showed the importance of places and spaces that made collaborative intellectual work possible. The fika rooms also provided an important social space since all the alumni had left their families behind in Laos and needed the social dimension of being part of a workplace.

The alumni study and Manathunga's (2014) study showed that it was quite common for students to refer to their supervisors and colleagues as parents, siblings, or cousins. This to me signals important qualities of both professional and personal relationships in Lao culture and discourse, where life and work is surrounded and sheltered by significant others; in their absence, new meaningful relationships were coded accordingly. Our students and we supervisors came to form a close-knit group of seven who often met both professionally and privately. We had more time for supervision and could therefore spend more time together professionally, but we also met as friends for dinners and outings in both Laos and Sweden. This was a novel practice to me, since in my experience academic fostering in Sweden encourages keeping a 'healthy' distance between teachers and students to maintain formal and informal social barriers. Because I had spent time in Laos before my students arrived in Sweden, I knew that relationships between teachers and students were differently coded, and that kinship terms and practices were commonly used to describe and enact formal relations. Knowing this, I could more easily adjust to having a different relationship with my Lao students than I would have had with Swedish students.

In this sense, we engaged in what Grunewald (2003) calls "critical pedagogies of place", a concept he developed to create

links between critical pedagogies and place-based education. The former focuses on contributing to cultural decolonisation by challenging assumptions in the dominant culture, and the latter underlines the importance of education with direct bearings on the social and ecological places learners live. Although we did not focus on the ecological aspects of Grunewald's theorising, we recognised the importance of scrutinising dominant culture, in this case Western knowledge production within doctoral training, using a 'context matters' approach. As supervisors, we tried both to support the social lives and well-being of our Lao colleagues and to challenge notions of doctoral pedagogy, especially as our Lao colleagues brought new modes of thinking about what a successful doctorate is, for instance in terms of collective work between students and supervisors. In this sense, we jointly created a space or a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991) where research skills developed through collaborative reading, writing, and discussion.

The theoretical work of two of the doctoral students constitutes another example. In their thesis work on action research in Lao PDR (Bounyasone and Keosada, 2011), they worked on how aspects of Buddhist thinking such as mindfulness, connectedness and impermanence could add value to cross-cultural dialogue on education. According to them, mindfulness was an important way to understand the context of education and educational change. Connectedness dealt with how education always must relate to the surrounding community while impermanence can be one way of understanding the societal changes education must be related to. This was a theoretical development that they elaborated on towards the end of their studies and which represented one way of connecting practices of action research, introduced through development cooperation, with concepts and ideas familiar to the Lao context which made action research make sense locally. I think that this represents one important example of theoretical development that the doctoral students brought to the table.

Despite these efforts, challenges remained that we had difficulty addressing, mainly related to creating an academic space at the department beyond our supervisor/student group. The department had close to a hundred employees, about 20 of whom would typically be doctoral students. The Lao students

would therefore seem to have had a large doctoral group with whom to interact; however, they were generally excluded from this group. Our ambition as supervisors was for the students to be integrated into the inner life of the department from the onset, being included and participating as colleagues in various department and student activities. This proved difficult. My department was predominantly Swedish speaking, and language seemed to be a concrete obstacle on both sides. As noted in the alumni study (Silfver and Berge, 2016), many respondents reported their struggle with English; having to do a doctorate in what for many was a fourth or even fifth language was no small challenge.

Without assigning blame, I believe there were few professional/social spaces outside the supervisor–student context open to the Lao colleagues in my department. Mählck and Fellesson (2016, p. 111) argue that "silence/absence is a main constituent of the experience of exclusion". Returning to Berg's (2008) argument that silence co-produces whiteness, it seems clear that a postcolonial analysis, taking these issues into account, could have helped me to understand how processes of racialisation impacted the graduate training we were engaged in. Arguing from Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory*, we lost opportunities to draw upon the potential personal, social, and professional growth benefits of intercultural cooperation and to challenge the authoritative discourses (Canagarajah, 2002) of the training we provided and the research we conducted. This is painful to discover, especially for an educationalist who is reminded of how southern theory is a fundamentally educational project:

> Southern Theory requires us to take up a role as 'teacher' in relation to fellow researchers both in and outside education. That is, it involves inviting others to take the risk of venturing into the unfamiliar intellectual world that sits outside the academic centres of the 'West' so as to broaden their epistemic horizons (Takayama et al, 2016, p. 2).

In this context, I am however not the teacher; rather, I am the student, and postcolonial theory and my former doctoral students are my teachers. Even if I learned many lessons from collaborating in the contact zone, I still have some unfamiliar intellectual worlds to venture into.

Reimagining knowledge

Is another knowledge possible? Are different modes of knowledge production possible in a context where northern knowledge/theory all the way from the Enlightenment has passed itself off as universal, and where Kant's (1899/2003) *On Education* is but one example of this? And what role does the critical study of whiteness play in these processes? Interrogating whiteness is crucial to understanding the colonial project. Franz Fanon (1961/2001; 1952/2007) in his powerful scholarship opened our eyes to how white colonialism was experienced by blacks who were subjected to it. Edward Said (1978), in the same vein showed how orientalism was a product of imperialist societies producing the 'Eastern subjects' they sought to rule. Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1984) brilliantly showed just how much feminism was constructed from a western gaze, and recent Scandinavian research (Berg, 2008, Farahani, 2015) shows how some bodies continue to be included in academia, while others are continually excluded.

So how can we do research differently? Manathunga (2014) provides no simple answers and she does not address the issue of whiteness per se, but points to some possible strategies:

> Creating space for Southern knowledge would also mean learning from our students or finding out together about the theorists and scholars from their own contexts, cultures, countries and regions. This would mean examining the ways in which genuinely Southern perspectives and theoretical positions can be brought to bear on different research topics, and demonstrating how Northern theory is inadequate to deal with the realities of Southern social, political, economic and cultural contexts (Manathunga, 2014, p 60f).

In the supervisor–student group, we made context matter. The previous research our Lao colleagues engaged with was rooted as far as possible in empirical studies from the global south, and when possible, by Southern scholars. Research and theorising by Lao scholars, however, proved difficult to find. This was closely connected to Lao history and the exodus of educated nationals during the 1975 revolution (see e.g., Pholsena, 2006; Evans, 1998). The education sector collapsed and rebuilding

post-1975 was difficult. The NUOL was inaugurated as late as 1996 and was poorly resourced throughout the Sida project. In this sense, the research conducted by the students in the Sida project was pioneering work, with little previous Lao research to consult.

The alumni study showed that the respondents had had many insecurities about their abilities to conduct doctoral studies in a global northern context, including their possibly outdated master's degrees; some respondents had been educated in the early 1980s, and much had happened in their fields since then. Other stories, however, were notably framed in the postcolonial history that continues to mark Laos. The respondents saw themselves as in need of development, rather than as contributors of knowledge. This was initially also reflected in how we as researchers addressed the analysis of the data from the alumni study. Early on, we decided to work with the concept of threshold crossings (see e.g., Wisker and Robinson, 2009) in analysing the respondents' narratives of doctoral training.

Wisker had done interesting work on cross-cultural doctoral training and supervision, which we thought would be fruitful in the analysis. However, when we presented drafts of our text, we became aware of how our use of the concept reinforced a colonial reading of the respondents' journeys through doctoral training, rather than supporting an analysis that showed their strategies, abilities, and contributions to the training in Sweden. The focus on thresholds resulted in us focusing on the problems rather than the possibilities.

We thus reframed our whole analysis and focused on the respondents' agency (Hakkarainen et al, 2013) in addressing both opportunities and challenges in their doctoral training. This forced us to see the data from new perspectives and allowed different stories of 'being able' to emerge. Working with this article has, however, made me reflect more on how development cooperation creates spaces that position people, in this case doctoral students from the global south, as objects of capacity building (Mählck and Fellesson, 2016), and how this notion is fed by colonial legacies. Further, I have also been forced to reflect upon how, as a supervisor, I related to a discourse of development based on prevailing north/south

power relations, yet also engaged in pedagogies of intellectual equality in which I recognised the Lao students as contributors of knowledge who could change northern knowledge production. The tension between these two positions will be discussed in the closing part of the article using the concepts of contact zone (Pratt, 1990/2017) and pedagogies of assimilation and transculturation (Manathunga, 2014) as well as a third path I call accommodation.

Towards a reimagined supervisory pedagogy

Doctoral supervision can be regarded as a 'contact zone' as used by Manathunga (2014) in discussing supervision pedagogy and by Phoenix (2009) on Caribbean migrants' experiences of education in the UK. Mary Louise Pratt (1990/2017) coined the concept, defining it as a social space where cultures interact, often in relations marked by domination, subordination, and unequal power. Much theorising has been devoted to understanding the contact zone, both as a productive and as a problematic space (Manathunga, 2014). Manathunga identified two main pedagogies common in the contact zone of intercultural doctoral supervision: assimilation and transculturation. Assimilation refers to international students' adaptation to the new system in a one-way process of teachers teaching and students learning that Manathunga (2014, p 18f) suggests can be symbolically violent since it forces "the adoption of Western cultural norms and practices". Transculturation pedagogy, in contrast, recognises that dominant norms and cultures will always have an impact, but also creates space for subordinate or minority students to have agency in deciding which concepts they use and how they use them.

What I came to see through my own memory work was that the concepts of assimilation and transculturation were not enough to understand the processes I had experienced. Of course, we had to assimilate students into the doctoral programme. The learning goals of the Swedish doctoral degree had to be met. Individual study plans had to be set up. Certain course and thesis credits had to be finalised and passed in exams. Transculturation also took place through collaboration as we, supervisors and students together, worked with and problematised theories, methodologies, and empirical data as individual researchers. According to my assessment, though, this had little bearing on hegemonic research traditions in the

global north space we occupied, which might have been too much to expect or ask for.

Changing profound patterns of power and hierarchy is difficult in any context, but as Foucault (1978) wrote, power is productive, and opportunities to disturb established discourses continually present themselves. A third analytical pathway thus emerged through the reflexive work: accommodation. We did accommodate, both the system to us and us to the system, through the agency of the doctoral students, which led me to alternative paths in my supervisory practice. Thus, what I first read as a conflict between assimilation and transculturation was instead a more nuanced pedagogy of accommodation. We did things differently because we were all introduced to new perspectives. It did not profoundly alter the conditions of knowledge production or supervision pedagogy, but it did do something to me. It made me understand the importance of acknowledging the impact of time/history, place, and knowledge on the supervision process. After having revisited the contact zone of intercultural supervision, I will address in closing three lessons I learned regarding time/history, place, and knowledge that I believe are important lessons not only to me but also for supervision generally.

I believe that discussing issues of time and history with a clear pedagogical focus would have helped us all to reflect upon how our individual biographies shaped our expectations of the doctoral training we were about to engage in. Had we done this in a more structured manner and made it part of the syllabus for doctoral training, it would have pushed us to think about and rethink how we organised both the form and the content of the work, thereby challenging unquestioned epistemological 'truths' and positions.

Place has also come forth as more important than I initially understood, especially in the context of doctoral training in my own department. Of course, one requires institutional support and commitment to engage in international academic collaborations. However, I believe that international endeavours are possible without such support and commitment running very deep. In my department, support was available for those interested in pursuing international collaborations, but it did not extend to making such collaborations meaningful at

the departmental level. The doctoral students arrived to a friendly environment, felt very welcomed I believe, and formed personal relationships with colleagues at the department. In the larger context of department's institutional life, space for them was however limited. Work life progressed with few attempts to include our international colleagues in the daily life of the department by, for instance, using English more often in meetings and seminars. Had I known then what I know today, I would have focused more on articulating the types of institutional support and commitment that would have allowed more space for transculturation.

On a different note, it is also worth reflecting over whether development cooperation capacity building projects always support the needs and visions locally? In the case of the Laos, there were for instance some conflicts between the benefits of research versus development projects, i.e. projects targeting specific areas such as deforestation, infrastructure or providing basic education, areas where effects would be easy to measure. Research does not operate this way and I think that this created some tensions for the doctoral students with regards to the benefits of their work, issues that we as supervisors addressed with the leadership of the faculty from time to time. It was not surprising that these views were articulated given the poverty of the country and the need for concrete action, but this specific development cooperation program offered research capacity building, and Lao officials were probably not in a position to turn down funding, regardless if they agreed with the focus of Sida or not. On the other hand, I think that many at NUOL were positive since development cooperation within education up until then primarily had focused on the basic education sector, leaving higher education poorly resourced.

Another challenge was the development of independent research and research networks. Here I draw on an example from the time after my doctoral students had gained their degrees and we outlined continued research and research training collaboration. We for instance, jointly outlined a master's program based on their theses work. The idea was introduced to the faculty leadership at NUOL but was turned down since we could not resource it with any development cooperation funds. Sida had by this time pulled out from Laos and cooperation without funding was not on the agenda. This is,

again, understandable from the perspective of a poor country, but it might also be a critique of the logic built into development cooperation itself, where money directs interest. The question then is the extent to which a country such as Laos is involved in the initial formulation of foci for development cooperation and how much the global north has the privilege to formulate ideas which area subsequently resourced by powerful development cooperation funders?

So how can we do differently? If the project of decolonising knowledge production is to succeed, I believe that the next step for a white supervisor located in the global north, such as myself, must include a critical analysis of what it means to be white. We must, following Robin DiAngelo (2016), develop white racial literacy to understand how whiteness as a hegemonic, unmarked majority position (Berg, 2008) influences knowledge production and research practices within and beyond doctoral training. As Berg (2008), Farahani (2015), Mählck and Fellesson (2016), and others have pointed out, the layered effects of a colonial past and present affect those of us who inhabit academia very differently, and these everyday lived experiences must be subjected to further unpacking, theorising, and reflection so that we can create spaces of intellectual and epistemological equality in our universities. I also believe that this critical analysis must be applied to development cooperation generally in order to counter the hegemonic, preferential right of interpretation (Dahlström, 2002) that comes with the current power order still firmly rooted in a colonial past and which continues to stretch into the present time.

As for myself coming to grips with my own whiteness, much work remains to be done. When I first arrived in Laos in the early 2000s, I was clearly positioned as an expert (Bäcktorp, 2007, p. 90) which made me uneasy in many ways. Back then, I chose to mainly read that in terms of my position as an academic, not factoring in my whiteness to the extent that was warranted given the colonial history of Laos. As time progressed and friendships formed and grew, it became easier not to have to deal with my whiteness, This strategy was most likely supported by the Swedish notion of solidarity described earlier in the article, although I did not articulate it as such. Of course, the analysis of whiteness cannot be omitted if one strives for change and social justice, since whiteness is part

of the structural oppression that colonialism imposes on the global south. The work thus continues and this article represents one (personal/theoretical/analytical) step in the process of addressing colonial legacies. Hopefully it can bring about further discussions on how to concretely address these issues in academe.

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Postcolonial Directions in Education

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PRODUCING SUPERVISORS IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: REFLECTIONS ON ACADEMIC TRAINING ABROAD

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ABSTRACT In Ghana, a considerable proportion of academics have experiences of PhD training in the global north. This is often the result of higher educational capacity-building projects, which fund students' scholarships as either a full stay or a number of stays in the funding country. Empirically, the article draws on seven narratives of academics with experiences of PhD traing abroad now supervising at Universities in Ghana. Based on postcolonial perspectives on supervision, I explore how and in what forms experiences of academic training in the global north are present in the supervisors' narratives of their supervision in the global south and what meaning and implications their experiences with supervision in the global north have for their current supervision practice. The article shows in what ways the academic practices of Ghanaian academics' are influenced and related to their experiences abroad and mobility between the global north and global south. The article concludes that educational practice operates beyond the immediate supervision context, both in terms of supervision practice and in the wider cultural setting of supervision. As such, it adds to our knowledge of supervision in the postcolonial contact zone.

ABSTRAKT I Ghana har en betydelig del af de universitetsansatte erfaringer med ph.d.-vejledning i det globale nord. Dette hænger ofte sammen med såkaldte kapacitetsopbygningsprojekter, der har finansieret enten hele eller dele af deres ophold som ph.d.-studerende ved universiteter i det globale nord. Denne artikel bygger på personlige narrativer med syv ghanesiske akademikere. Med udgangspunkt i postkoloniale perspektiver på vejledningen analyserer jeg i denne artikel, hvordan og i hvilke former erfaringer fra det globale nord er til stede i vejledernes narrativer om deres nuværende vejledningspraksis i det globale syd, og hvilken betydning og hvilke implikationer deres erfaringer fra det globale nord har for deres egen vejledningspraksis i det globale syd. Artiklen viser, hvordan ghanesiske akademikeres praksis er påvirket af og relateret til deres erfaringer og mobilitet mellem det globale nord og globale syd. Artiklen konkluderer,

at erfaringer med vejledningspraksis har betydning ud over den umiddelbare kontekst for denne vejledning, både i relation til ens egen vejledningspraksis i andre sammenhænge og til den bredere kulturelle ramme for vejledning. Dermed bidrager artiklen til vores viden om vejledning i den postkoloniale kontaktzone.

KEYWORDS Academic training abroad, supervision practice, higher education, Ghana, capacity building.

Introduction

In this article, I am interested in supervisors' experiences of being educated in an intercultural context in the global north and how these experiences are negotiated and used in narratives of their supervision practice as academics in the global south. I unfold this by analysing the narratives of seven Ghanaian supervisors.

The education of African academics is shaped by their colonial history with an inherited colonial educational system (Teferra and Altbach, 2004), and what have been termed a 'colonization of the African mind' (Wa Thiong'o, 1987). Hence, many African universities, despite their independence, have strong educational relations with European universities (Adriansen et al., 2016a). In addition, African universities have become part of the global educational system with growing international student mobility and play a role in the world's educational economy (Teferra & Knight, 2008; Teferra & Altbach, 2003). Most often, international student mobility means mobility between universities although the digital world is expanding an on-line version of mobility between universities. For historical reasons, a substantial part of the mobility of African academics has been from the global south to the global north, with significant differences in numbers between countries (Kishun, 2011).

In a Scandinavian context, government-financed capacity-building projects have played a significant role in the mobility of African academics by organizing and funding scholarships, either as a full stay or a number of stays in the funding country (Møller-Jensen & Madsen, 2015; Breidlid, 2013; Fellesson & Mählck, 2013; Silfver & Berge, 2016). Hence, mobility in these cases is embedded in an idea of capacity-building for higher education in Africa, which has significance for knowledge production and

negotiations of knowledge, both in terms of dependency and empowerment for the partners involved (Madsen & Nielsen, 2016).

From a postcolonial perspective, the mobility of students and researchers between the global north and the global south does not simply occur: it is related to the geographical place, time and history of the persons and places involved (Manathunga, 2014; Connell, 2007). Being abroad is a result of physical movement between places; however, it is also a construction of social spaces produced through interaction and reproduced through the participants' relations, interwoven with historical power relations. Mählck and Fellesson (2016) show how such social spaces are experienced and contested by development aid-funded Tanzanian and Mozambican PhD students in Sweden. Also Manathunga (2014), in her work on intercultural supervision, shows how the experiences of PhD students abroad are created in various ways in social spaces with their supervisor and are linked to the time, place and history of the partners involved. However, what has as yet been less explored is the relations between the PhD students' experiences abroad and their later academic practice in the global south. This is the focus of this article and through it I address the wider aspect of the immediate supervision context from a postcolonial perspective.

Scientific knowledge often presupposes a notion of universality, suggesting that the place of production and consumption of knowledge is not relevant. However, as shown by Livingstone (2003), geographical place has significance for the production and reproduction of science and how scientific knowledge relates to the places and settings within which it is produced and reproduced. Also, from a postcolonial perspective, a critique of the perceived universality of knowledge and especially Eurocentric epistemology has emerged, focusing on power relations (e.g. Breidlid, 2013; Connell, 2007). This postcolonial critique sees the production of knowledge as a field in which power is exercised and the global north positions the global south as underdeveloped. However, as shown in Madsen and Nielsen (2016), negotiations of knowledge production are complex. In a project concerned with how international collaboration affects scientific knowledge production, they show how negotiations of knowledge production and the choice

of methodology situate African partners in a dependent role. However, at the same time, the very access to this methodology means that African partners become more independent in their knowledge production because they are empowered with access to knowledge and methods previously inaccessible to them (Madsen & Nielsen, 2016). Also, Zink's article (this special issue) stresses that negotiations of knowledge in research collaborations between the global north and global south are complex in terms of having multiple meanings, moralities and patterns of economic activity.

Adding to this complexity is how the knowledge produced is negotiated and put into place after being abroad. Adriansen et al. (2016b) found that *'African academics are not only exposed to more privileged working conditions* [when in the global north]*, but are also trained in different ways of thinking and behaving that may not always be applicable when they return home'* (2016b: p 137). Thus, not only is knowledge production related to the geographical place where it is produced and embedded in power relations, but also the later negotiations of this knowledge upon return to the global south are related to the experiences abroad.

Within this setting, I want to explore the multiple ways in which experiences abroad are related to the negotiations of knowledge in supervision by analysing the narratives of Ghanaian academics educated in both the global south and the global north. I want to explore how they negotiate and bring forward their practice of supervision given their location in a Ghanaian higher educational setting today and furthermore if and how their experiences abroad are related to these negotiations. To do so, I draw specifically on Manathunga's (2014) work on postcolonial theories in the development of a pedagogy of intercultural supervision. My hope is to contribute to a more nuanced view of the complexity and richness of producing and negotiating educational knowledge that we bring with us as academics in moving between places and to inform our knowledge of the potential and challenges of student mobility in intercultural settings.

Using concepts from the study of the postcolonial contact zone

Based on postcolonial theory, Manathunga (2014) explores the concepts of assimilation and transculturation in intercultural supervision. She shows empirically how these two pedagogies

operate in intercultural supervision in an Australian context and uses them to show how knowledge and relationships unfold in what she terms the postcolonial contact zone. She describes assimilation in supervision as an approach that *'plays out a limited, one-way process of socialization into Northern/ Western knowledge'* (2014, p 85). With this approach, Northern knowledge and theory are seen as universal and timeless; hence assimilation acts as a denial of non-Western knowledge systems, place and time. In contrast to this, the transculturation approach *'occurs when supervisors demonstrate a deep awareness that Northern knowledge is only one possible knowledge framework and encourage their students to explore Western knowledge to see what deconstructive possibilities can be achieved when aspects of this knowledge are blended with their own cultural knowledge'* (2014, p 104). Assimilation approaches can be devastating for the student whose cultural knowledge is not valued and whose intellectual and professional histories are ignored, whereas transculturation approaches provide opportunities for mutual learning for both students and supervisors. Despite this analytical dual distinction, Manathunga (2014) in her emperiacl work shows the multiple ways these pedagogies are played out in the postcolonial contact zone.

Supervision relationships in the postcolonial contract zone for African PhD students have been little researched with important exceptions in Mählck and Fellesson (2016) and Doyle et al. (2017) and research on African PhD students' later supervision practice as academics in the global south is even more sparse. The contribution of this article is therefore to take the concepts developed to understand the pedagogies operating in the postcolonial contact zone and establish if it is possible to use them to understand narratives of supervision practice in the global south. Hence, assimilation and transculturation are used as analytical concepts to examine how supervisors negotiate their experiences abroad in their narratives of current supervision practice and broader educational knowledge – in other words, to reveal the interrelatedness of mobility and knowledge production concerning educational matters.

Methodology

During the last ten years I have been involved in capacity-building projects funded by Danish International Development Assistance (Danida), focusing on higher education in Senegal,

Mali, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Over the years, together with colleagues, I began to wonder about the interrelatedness of the participants' various and often extensive education in the global north and the work we were doing (Madsen & Nielsen, 2016; Adriansen & Madsen, 2013). Gradually, this research field expanded from practice.

In this article, I report on a small study with seven Ghanaian supervisors (six male and one female) attending two PhD supervision training courses held in 2012 and 2013 in Ghana where I was teaching together with colleagues. The supervisors were selected to secure maximum variation (Flyvberg, 2008) based on the knowledge we had from interaction with the group of participants during the supervision training course. A research assistant (male) undertook qualitative interviews with the supervisors during breaks and in the evening. The interviews were set up as a time-line interview (Adriansen, 2012) focusing on the supervisors' educational trajectories in place and time and lasted about an hour. They adopted a narrative approach and explored the informants' educational narratives, mobility between the global south and global north, experiences abroad and reflections on their current supervision practice. The research assistant was not related to the participants in any way; however, being in the setting of a PhD supervision training course, the participants may have wanted to narrate themselves as 'good' supervisors. The interviews were transcribed and the analytical approaches described above were used to select, frame and produce the analysis. In the first part of the analysis, I look across the seven interviews focusing on variations within the different themes. In the second part of the analysis, I take a single interview to enable the narrative to unfold at full length and thus focus on the interrelatedness in the narratives. The choice to combine these two approaches was made to give the reader access to some of the richness and complexity of the material. When possible, I use quotes to privilege the participants' voices in the analysis.

With regard to scientific field, the participants represent business, engineering, psychology and pharmacy. The mobility of the seven informants differed in terms of the number of years spent abroad, country and number and type of scholarships. Six participants started their university education in Ghana,

one abroad; all of them undertook their PhD degrees outside Ghana in various European countries and North America. They started at university at different times in the period from 1985–1999. However, the participants were also much alike with regard to continuous mobility between the global south and the global north and their final return to the Ghanaian higher education system. At the time of the interviews, they were all working as academics within the Ghanaian higher educational system with supervision duties.

Supervisors' narratives of supervision: signs of experiences abroad

Relationships in supervision

Several of the supervisors reflected on their relationship with their supervisors when doing their PhD and their current relationships with their own students. Ambrose[1] described his relationship with his supervisor in a Scandinavian country:

> We were very close. Initially, I was not comfortable relating to him the way he wanted me to. I called him professor and he said no: "call me by my first name". I wanted to book appointments and do it the formal way, but he said no. So I think, after one year, it started changing. By the time I completed my MPhil, we had become friends, but then the respect and responsibility were still there. And that's how we continued.

Ambrose experienced a supervision relationship in which demand for a specific kind of student independence was explicit (informal relationship) and in his narrative Ambrose narrated this as a process he went through and succeeded in. To establish a friendly relationship in the supervision that incorporates the personal is a key feature of transcultural pedagogies (Manathunga, 2014). However, it is difficult to see from the quote if the demand for this kind of independence is also related to a lack of a sense of time and history in the supervision interaction, in which the student must be like the other students: namely independent, applying certain work habits and adopting a certain relation to his supervisor. A disregard for time and history are associated with an assimilationist approach in which

1 All names used are pseudonyms.

the students' personal, intellectual and professional histories are not built upon. The quote ends with: *'but then the respect and responsibility were still there'*, which could indicate that Ambrose in his narrative 'talked back' what was transmitted to him by the dominant culture (Pratt, 2008). As Mary Louise Pratt highlights in her foundational book *Imperial Eyes*: 'while subjugated peoples cannot readily control what the dominant culture visits upon them, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own, how they use it, and what they make it mean' (2008, p 7).

Ambrose, with five PhD students at the time of the interview, reflected on his own supervision as follows:

> 'With one of them it is not too difficult, but the others are very difficult. Because I was taught and encouraged to work independently: "to send the work and own it. Don't ask is it good for me to put this there. If I have an opinion, I will stress it". And the relationship… I try, but especially the students that I inherited want to be spoon-fed. If they write a sentence, they want you to look at it and correct… It is relatively easier when you get somebody from scratch and then take the person along than with somebody who has been there for three years.'

This description clearly shows that Ambrose reflects his experiences abroad in his narrative of his current relationship with his PhD students. He actively uses the experiences to explain and legitimize his views of how a PhD student must be (independent in a specific way) and not be (want to be spoon-feed). Ambrose wants his students to apply certain working strategies and he perceives his role as a supervisor to be to secure this. The quote illustrates signs of a assimilationist approach, revealing a deficit view of what the students bring with them. Just as Ambrose had to assimilate as a PhD student, as a supervisor he expected his students to assimilate in ways that in his narrative is strongly embedded in his experiences of being abroad.

Malongo described the relationship with his supervisor in the global north in terms of him being different. He was the only non-native PhD student in the department of the

European University where he did his PhD and he described the relationship in the following way:

> Interviewer: You said it was beyond a working relationship?
>
> Yes… I told myself I want to finish. I'd been the first black person in the working group. I needed to prove that we are also worthy of what they are doing… I needed to work extra hard to prove [myself] to my professor. Because most of the time they are sceptical about African students. Now it became more of a father–son and then a colleague level, because he knew that I was also teaching at a university [in his position in Ghana]. For the other doctoral students [European] it wasn't like that… So the relationship, supervisor-graduate student, was beyond… We would talk about things, about the programme. And now, the relationship is still on.

Malongo narrated his relationship with his supervisor as mutual and transcultural in Manathunga's (2014) terms, but also as cast in a colonial framework (I needed to prove that we are also worthy of what they are doing). As the narrative unfolds, it is apparent that it was his responsibility to establish the relationship because he was the different one (being a black African student) – on the other hand he also narrates his difference (being a university teacher and hence a colleague) as the reason why he managed to establish this relationship compared to the other doctoral students. Malongo still has contact with the supervisor and has recently arranged for a new PhD student from Ghana to join his former supervisor.
Andrew narrated the supervision relationship as a difference between supervisors situated in the global south and in the global north respectively:

> When I started, it was the first time my department [in Ghana] had organized a PhD programme. So there was a lack of policy, there wasn't any material to refer to. So there were challenges. But in [a European country] everything was there. There was a coordinated programme and the libraries were resourced. So it was easier for us … compared to when we were in Ghana.

> But our Ghanaian supervisors were… mine was a special case, my supervisor found a lot of interest in my work. Many supervisors in Ghana do not show that kind of cordial relationship between supervisor and student. So many students find it difficult to approach their supervisors – and if they [supervisors] don't find the work interesting, they don't get involved. Mine wasn't like that. He got involved.

This quote recounts 'some' Ghanaian supervisors as people who do not get involved with their students, but at the same time Andrew characterizes his relationship with his Ghanaian supervisor as different. He uses his experiences abroad to highlight this and to contrast the differences. Also, Andrew seems to cast his narrative in a colonial framework, in which the global south is positioned as being in need of development.

Along the same lines, Malongo narrated the difference between the global south and the global north in relation to his current supervision practice:

> 'I was more independent at that time – I knew what I was doing [reflecting on doing his own PhD]. Based on that, coming back [to Ghana], I always want to have students who I can interact with, but the research environment there is a bit different. Here [in Ghana] there are all the limitations – especially with funding. You sit down with students and you have to accommodate different approaches here and there… so it's more… when we meet, it's interaction that we're having. Then I have to guide. That is what I do. So it's a form of mentorship, but with more interaction. I always tell them: "I'm not a depository of knowledge. You can get a lot of information on the internet, so when you come – come and discuss ideas"…. you [he himself] somehow have to use the pastoral approach: do this, that and that.'

In this quote, Malongo articulates independence as a characteristic of the good PhD student, with independence seen as indicating someone who can be interacted with. However, he also relates independence to place in the sense that he narrates a story of it being more difficult to be an independent

PhD student in a Ghanaian setting due to what he frames as limitations. He negotiates his supervision practice in relation to these limitations by being more pastoral in defining what his PhD students should do. Hence, also in this quote we see clear relations with the experiences of being abroad in the narrative of current supervision practice. He continues:

> I prefer to monitor them [his PhD students] – going to the lab and finding out what they are doing. So nowadays they will come and say, "Come and have a look at these interesting results, I'm having these challenges". Our staff for my PhD [in a European country] were a bit different. Before you go to your main supervisor, you needed to sort everything out with the leaders of the working group before you had a meeting with your supervisor.

Here, Malongo shows that he has negotiated and transformed his own role as a supervisor into a relationship in which research results are discussed in their making with his PhD students (in the laboratory situation) in contrast to the more hierarchical relationship he experienced himself in an European country. Malongo trains his students to be independent. In this regard, he is talking back to the Western culture (Pratt, 2008) by establishing a relationship with his PhD students other than that he himself experienced abroad. The ability to transform something based on experiences abroad is also shown in a study of a Senegalese researcher's education in Senegal, Denmark and France (Adriansen et al., 2016b). Here, the researcher, Mbow uses his experience of an academic critical approach in a European university to question the application of Western research methods when he returns to Senegal.

A deficit view of knowledge diversity

Present in a number of the narratives of the supervisors was the change in their topic during their PhD or the abandonment of previous work supposed to be part of their PhD. Andrew explained:

> I had to change my topic – because my supervisor gave me two options to choose from. Either a PhD that will give you a career or a PhD that will only give you a degree. I chose the one that would give me a

> career. Because of that, I had to stop everything I was doing and move into my current thought… That guy [the supervisor] was more of a business guy, so he wanted to see something that was more business… I had almost two years' experience in Ghana, 18 months, before I went to [the European University] and changed… So, although the time was short, I could see that I was performing… and the work became interesting.

This quote is an example of an assimilationist approach in relation to the subject matter of the PhD. The European supervisor did not see the possibilities or have an interest in the subject that Andrew brought with him. In this case, Andrew's research subject that he had worked on for more than a year was entirely abandoned. Ester also reflected on the topic of her PhD. She described how she was very interested in a topic that she had been working on, but that the supervisor, who had capacity within the field, rejected taking her as a PhD-student. Ester recounted that the topic she ended up doing was not her focus of interest in the following way:

> I said to myself: I'm not going to sit around and wait for somebody to reject me or take me – I will take what I can get – get the experience and the skills – and go on to what I want to do. And it worked out OK.
> Interviewer: It must have been hard to do a PhD in a subject that didn't really grab you?
> 'For me that wasn't too hard – because I saw it as a means to an end.'
> Interviewer: Did you talk to your supervisor about that?
> '[Not really]… He wasn't as interested as I was.'

This extract shows that the point of departure for including knowledge diversity in a supervision relationship can be hampered not only by an assimilationist approach in the supervision but also before the relationship has even begun. In this situation, it is much less clear how knowledge diversity is acted out in the supervisory relationship. However, later in the interview, Ester went on to say that she negotiated with the supervisor and managed to get the subject turned a little towards her interest.

In the interview with Andrew, who as already mentioned also changed topic, he later on reflected on his own supervision practice as follows:

> Yeah, I asked him [his PhD student from another West African country] the same question: what do you want to do, a PhD with a degree or a PhD with a career? And from his current work it looks like he just wants a degree… I'm asking him to rethink the subject and see how he can modify it to reflect certain current trends, something like that.

Here, Andrew uses his experience abroad to justify his supervision practice, namely asking the question whether the intention is to do a PhD for a degree or a PhD with a career in mind. However, it is difficult to see if he perceives doing a PhD solely for a degree as not or less legitimate. He directs the PhD student to modify the subject, which has signs of an assimilationist approach. Although we do not know what his reasons for this are, he clearly positions doing a PhD as a means to a career as the 'good' PhD. His experience abroad is visible in his supervision narrative and he articulates what a good PhD student must do based on his own experience.

In contrast to the narratives of Andrew and Ester, two of the other supervisors described how they established a supervision relationship with professors abroad within their research field of interest. In both cases, they had successfully applied for funding and neither the subject of the research nor the data collected in Ghana were changed or neglected by their supervisors. One of them replied to the interviewer's question: You potentially offered him a free PhD candidate? *'Yeah… in addition to that, later I realized that it also enriched his CV, attracting… funds.'*

The different experiences of not being able to or being able to include own ideas and research illustrates how knowledge production is shaped in various ways by the positions made available to the PhD students when being trained in the global north. When students from the global south can contribute to the production of a 'successful' supervisor by adding funding, issues of knowledge production seem smoother. In his paper on Ugandan PhD training, Zink (2016) finds similar results

and Mählck (this special issue) relates the experiences to what she terms 'the pressures from neo-liberal work regimes in academia', which give supervisors in the global north limited positions within which to act.

Creating a third in-between space?

Some of the supervisors reflected on the very limited organisation of PhD programmes in existence in Ghana when they embarked on their PhD studies compared to their experiences at universities in the global north. The supervisors interviewed undertook their PhD studies at a time when PhD programmes in Ghana were at first either lacking or recently introduced. In some places, they have now been fully implemented. This period in time has been a window for creating a third, in-between space in which experiences from the global south and global north could be translated into new forms of PhD programmes.

Robert elaborated on setting up a unit for PhD affairs inspired by his experiences abroad:

> I studied in [a European country] for my PhD where they have a unit for post-graduate work and that unit had a dean. So, when I came back and saw that we didn't have anything like that, I said that we should form a unit to be in charge of PhD work and see to their problems – if there's a problem between a supervisor and a student you would be the first point of call… I saw it as something lacking. I was of the view that the board for postgraduate work wasn't doing much. They were not on the ground to see the problems their students were having. Therefore, there was the need to have decentralized units in the faculties to see to those things.

Asked why he found that important, Robert explained:

> I had just gone through my PhD and had seen some of the problems that I had and how I went about solving them… and coming here I realized that students were just on their own and at the mercy of their supervisor, because if the supervisor was no good, they had no way of changing even the supervisor and all that, so I said – if we have a unit like that, the students will

> look up to you… A PhD student should graduate by going to a set number of courses – and it was the unit that would be able to see to that.

Robert's narrative highlights the Ghanaian PhD programme as lacking in some important dimensions and specific elements of the PhD programme he experienced in the global north as superior and worth installing. This example can be interpreted as a long-term result of capacity building in higher education in the global south. However, it can also be interpreted as a questionable feature of the kind of academic mobility that emerged in the post colonial era between universities in the global south and the global north. There is no sign in this narrative of creating a third in-between space; in terms of negotiations of new spaces. Hence, from a postcolonial perspective, the above can be seen as mimicry, where the dominant culture are being cherished in such a way that as described by Ashcroft: those from the periphery immerse themselves in the imported culture, denying their origions in an attemps to become 'even more English than the English' (Ashcroft et al., 2003, p 4). From a capacity-building point of view, however, the above is a sign of success, with the efforts of supporting and educating academics in the global south being fulfilled (Winkel, 2014).

The production of one supervisor: negotiations of experiences abroad

In what follows, I discuss the story of one of the supervisors: Boateng.

When embarking on his master's degree without funding in the global north, Boateng had to work to pay the bills and fees. He would go to class during the day, rest for a couple of hours and then do paid work the whole evening and night, wash and take the train to class. He would sleep in the one-hour break and the other breaks at university. On Sundays, he would go to church, then study at the university until late afternoon and finally sleep to the next day to gain energy for the following week. When finishing his master's his professor realized how much Boateng had been struggling. He could not believe the strain and stress he had put himself through and gave him a considerable amount of money. Later on, when doing his PhD alongside having a full-time job, Boateng would get home from work in the late afternoon and would rest, then sit and work

until midnight. The next day he would study a couple of hours before going to work. Boateng finished his PhD in four years.

This description of Boateng's experiences abroad can be interpreted as a story of individual hardship and willpower. However, he himself ascribed it to the story of his culture. He recounted:

> The environment expects so much of you – you cannot let yourself down… when you leave the shores of this country [travel abroad for education], it will be unthinkable for you not to come back with a PhD… I have yet to come across anybody who went abroad from Ghana to study and never came back with a certificate.

Boateng interprets and ascribes his experiences abroad to culture: it is not legitimate to go abroad and return without a PhD degree, no matter what pressure one has to endure. In this lies an implicit notion of having an opportunity by being in the global north, related to an idea of the presence of more superior knowledge. This became clear when he later in the interview referred back to his education in Ghana, where he together with all his peers in the lecture hall of the university were told: 'Work very hard – aspire to go to the best universities in the world'. In this lies a notion of more superior knowledge lying outside Ghana. This resonates with other studies. One such is the life story of a Senegalese climate change researcher told by Adriansen et al. (2016b) and another is the work of Hountondij (1990) in which he discusses the scientific dependence of African universities and quotes the French biologist De Certaines. De Certaine enrolled as a student at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, Senegal, some years after independence. He stated: *'In the African universities where I was trained… I was told, in a sense: here you are working on the margins of science; if you really want to reach the heart of the matter, you will have to leave'* (De Certaines, 1978, quoted in Hountondji, 1990, p 5–6).

Boateng emphasized the significance of the relationship with his supervisors when abroad:

> My supervisors had confidence in me – I think that was very important. I was meeting deadlines, I was attending meetings and conferences – there were a lot

> peer meetings – that was very helpful – I didn't have to reinvent the wheel.
>
> I always take my hat off to my professor – he said what is important now is the PhD – after the PhD you have all the time in the world to do whatever you want to do – and for me that was great advice. He focused me. For me, I thought this PhD was a big thing – I had to be able to conquer the whole world at the end of it. Then I realised I only had to go into one particular area – the confidence they had in me was a great motivation – and the support at work was critical – I could take time off, I was able to use my annual leave. I had a lot of annual leave which I could use for my study which was helpful.

Manathunga (2014) describes how recognizing the importance of encouraging students to have a life outside their research is part of adopting transcultural approaches in intercultural supervision. In the quote above by Boateng, he experienced, in contrast, a supervisor who told him that you could always get a life when you have finished your PhD. Interviewing Boateng, he argued this helped him focus and that it helped him through. To understand this, I turn to the concept of the cultural production of the educated person developed by Levinson and Holland (1996). They contend that using a culturally specific conception of the educated person *'allows us to appreciate the historical and cultural particularities of the "products" of education, and thus provides a framework for understanding conflicts around different kinds of schooling'* (1996, p 3). By using this concept in reflecting on Boateng's experiences abroad, we can gain insights into his negotiations of academic practice in different cultural settings, but also into what is perceived and what is being legitimized as an educated person. In the case of Boateng, the cultural production of the educated person in Ghana implies having experiences from abroad and also being able to endure.

Whereas the first (experiences from abroad) is a generally accepted aspect of the cultural production of an educated person in Ghana, as cited above, we do not know if it is common to see PhD candidates from the global south adapting as Boateng did in terms of the latter (endurance). However, it comes out quite

strongly in the following quotations, in which he reflects on his own supervision practice, that he sees the ability to focus and not 'be distracted by' life outside research, as well as being able to endure hardship, as the legitimate way of doing a PhD. Boateng narrates this as confidence and consistency:

> I build confidence with my students: I tell them "I may be an expert in one area, but in your area you may be more knowledgeable than me, so under no circumstance should you be intimidated. I'm here to guide you, to show you what works and what doesn't, but you must have confidence that at the moment you are an authority in this field". Just saying that to them makes them feel they have something to offer.

> I keep saying to people "It's not about the amount of time you have – if you can dedicate two hours a day every day consistently for four years you will get your PhD. It's not so much about the amount of time you spend – it's the quality of the time you have".

> One thing I do not condone is laziness… so I expect students to work pretty hard and my students know this.

In the three quotes, we can see that Boateng, through his supervision practice, is negotiating the becoming of his students. The guidance he gives his PhD students to structure their time (two hours each day) is directly linked to his own endurance when doing a PhD and he does not tolerate laziness – something that if he had indulged in would have meant he may not have obtained his PhD. It is clear that in his supervision practice in the global south today Boateng negotiates and strongly reflects his own experiences abroad outlined above. In Manathunga's terms, he is downplaying the time and history of his own PhD students by mirroring the experiences he himself had in the global north as the way a PhD student should act and perform. However, using the cultural production of the educated person as an analytical tool, Boateng's narrative can be seen as the legitimized way of supervising in this specific setting. In advocating the concept of cultural production, Levinson and Holland (1996) focus our attention on culture as a continual process of creating meaning in social and material contexts.

Whereas being abroad for Boateng was a story of hardship and willpower, the return to Ghana in many ways fulfilled the perceptions of being an educated person today and gave him the benefits this brings. He told us:

> If you have a PhD, you are very well regarded in society – that gives benefits money cannot buy. Highly respected people in Ghana are in academia – they are perceived to be honest and genuine – because they have been abroad they are considered to be objective – if someone in academia vouches for somebody, the chance is that it will be accepted.

In the narrative, the experience of having been abroad comes out quite strongly as part of the cultural production of an educated person in Ghana. Boateng recounts the experiences abroad as a narrative of being a respected and educated person in society.

'Work very hard – aspire to go to the best universities in the world'

In this conclusion and invitation to further study, I wish to stress that this article has shown how educational practices operate beyond the immediate supervision context, both in supervision practice and in the wider cultural setting of supervision. This is an addition to Manthunga's (2014) significant work on developing pedagogies in the postcolonial contact zone, as I discuss below.

The small study of seven Ghanaian academics has shown that through training and education in a Western scientific culture, the Ghanaian academics bring certain values and ways of thinking of supervision to the foreground. They use their experiences abroad to narrate their supervision practice in the global south. The values and legitimized views of being a 'good' PhD student are negotiated and contested on their return to Ghana. The analysis shows how the supervisors have different ways of negotiating and narrating their experiences abroad, but for all the supervisors interviewed, their experiences in the global north were present in their narratives of current supervision practice. To address this, we can to some extent use the concepts (assimilation and transculturation) developed for understanding intercultural supervision in the contact zone (Manathunga, 2014).

The study, however, also shows how the supervisors' negotiations of their experiences abroad are related to the cultural production of the educated person in Ghanaian academia. The message 'work very hard – aspire to go to the best universities' is part of the culturally accepted view of knowledge production as something that is superior in the global north. Hence, becoming an educated person in Ghana means having experienced often multiple movements between universities in the global south and global north. Being an academic gives status in society and experiences abroad become an asset. This means that the supervisor's experiences abroad are negotiated within this cultural production of an educated person on their return to Ghana. Here, the concepts of assimilation and transculturation fall somewhat short.

My hope has been to contribute to a more nuanced view of the complexity and richness of producing and negotiating the educational knowledge that we bring with us as academics between places, and to inform our knowledge of the potential and challenges of student mobility in intercultural settings. Initial steps towards this have been taken by adding the concept of cultural production to the concepts used to understand supervision in the postcolonial contact zone. Adding the concept of cultural production seems to allow a further embracing of the complexity of the historical and cultural aspects that intersect with knowledge relations in the practice of supervision. Based on the findings, the article questions assumptions that academic training obtained in a Western setting is inherently useful or inherently useless. Instead, in creating third in-between spaces we should compel academics to *'think across and live within several knowledge systems'* (Manathunga, 2014, p 85), despite the challenges that this implies.

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UGANDAN SCIENTISTS, SCANDINAVIAN COLLABORATIONS, AND THE CULTURAL ECONOMY OF SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT Money and cultural economies of science are imbued with multiple meanings for actors involved in international scientific research and research training collaborations in Uganda. This article uses economic anthropology to explore some of the tensions and misunderstandings that arise from Ugandan-Scandinavian partnerships in science. Using ethnographic examples drawn from the experiences of Ugandan scientists and their Scandinavian counterparts, the article describes how the positions and actions of Ugandan scientists produce different, and at times contradictory meanings, for themselves, their kin, local colleagues, and Scandinavian counterparts. Compassion for a grieving sibling, a gift to a charity fundraiser, the extraction of personal savings from an international research project, and the strategic construction of a countryside home are just a few examples of actions and relations that shape actors' understandings of Ugandan-Scandinavian scientific collaborations. The article finds that pre-existing tensions in scientific collaborations resulting from dependency upon foreign donors for research and research training funding are further exacerbated by foreign actors' partial understandings of the meanings and moralities of scientific work in Uganda. The article concludes that greater recognition of the patterns of cultural economy that make money and labor in science meaningful are necessary for mitigating mistrust and misunderstanding across South-North scientific collaborations.

KEYWORDS Cultural economy, economic anthropology, scientific collaborations, research training, Scandinavia, Uganda.

Introduction

The practice of science in developing countries is strongly influenced by funding and research priorities that originate in the wealthiest countries and regions (Velho, 2006). Uganda is not an exception in this respect. Money for Ugandan research and research training almost entirely originates from international donors (UNCST, 2013), with the United Kingdom, the USA, and the Scandinavian countries making important contributions (UNCST, 2012). Meanwhile, the Ugandan government's contributions to science are at best sufficient to cover the costs of staff salaries and a minimum level of infrastructure maintainance, leaving very little national funding to support research.

Given that economic relationships are integral to the practice of science in Uganda (Crane, 2013) as elsewhere (Okwaro & Geissler, 2015; Zink 2013), it is surprising that so few studies draw specifically from economic anthropology to describe and explain the meanings of money and material resources in scientific research and research training. Towards addressing this gap, I apply an analytical approach that combines cultural economy (Halperin, 1994) and elements of actor-network theory (Latour, 2005) to contemporary Ugandan-Scandinavian collaborations in science.

Cultural economy has roots in the generic model of economy proposed by Karl Polanyi in the 1950s whereby the "substantive meaning of economic derives from man's [sic] dependence for his living upon nature and his [sic] fellows. It refers to the interchange with his [sic] natural and social environment" (Polanyi, 1957, p 243). Polanyi recognized markets as an important pattern of economic organization mediating the interplay of social/material elements, but also broadened our understanding of economy to include other patterns for producing, moving, storing and consuming resources across time and space. These other patterns of economic organization, be they reciprocal, redistributive or householding, can be identified independently of and alongside with markets (Halperin, 1994). Through its recognition of diverse modes of economic organization, cultural economy encourages more robust and contextualized explanations of the meaning and value of scientific labor in and amongst Ugandan institutions than do neoclassical theories of economy, for example. In the cases discussed below, reciprocal

and redistributive patterns of economic organization coexist with market patterns amongst Ugandan scientists, their kin, and foreign counterparts. One finds that these are sustained by alternative, and sometimes competing, social rules, moralities, and practices, and that they facilitate forms of agency amongst Ugandan scientists that can circumvent or resist the influence of foreign donors.

Actor-network theory makes a twofold contribution to this article's analysis of the cultural economy of science in Uganda. Firstly, actor-network theory offers a model whereby actors and their networks are engaged in interactive and coproductive relations. This contrasts with Polanyi's model that emphasizes economic actors as embedded in specific institutionalized economic contexts (Callon, 1998, p.9). Secondly, actor-network theory creates analytical space for incorporating the agencies of non-human actors, or "actants" (Latour, 2005), into the explanation of science economies. I find that this relaxation of the presumed hierarchical relationship between economic agent and economic pattern, together with the inclusion of grounded observations of the material actants that also constitute economic assemblages, facilitates the realization of Itty Abraham's ambition for a postcolonial science studies that "leaves open the possibility of seeing multi-directional influences and channels simultaneously" (Abraham, 2006, p 217).

For the socially and geographically mobile Ugandan scientists with Scandinavian connections that are the primary subject of this paper, there is no single and hegemonic economic frame within which their scientific labors can be understood (Slater, 2002). "No place dominates enough to be global and no place is self-contained enough to be local" (Latour, 2005, p 204). Rather, from situated positions within actor-networks (Latour, 2004) that connect local spaces from across the globe, Ugandan scientists make meaning of their work and material obligations via entangled, and often misaligned, emic frames for understanding economy. These frames include kinship systems, labor contracts, Scandinavian work ethics, and collegial egalitarianisms. Not only brokers at the intersection of multiple actor-networks, Ugandan scientists occupy borderlands (Prasad & Anderson, 2017) where different patterns of economy intermingle and become entwined. It is in this context that Ugandan scientists exert their own agency to

achieve the social reproduction of themselves, their kin, and colleagues (Narotzky & Besnier, 2014), as well as scientific outcomes that lie closer to their own research priorities (Zink, 2016; Okwaro & Geissler, 2015). It is also in this context where meanings of money diverge.

I have collected the empirical material that underpins this article during qualitative anthropological research carried out amongst scientists working in fields related to biomedicine, agriculture and natural resource management in Uganda during the course of my five visits to Uganda between 2013-2016 with a total duration of 13 weeks, as well as during other encounters with Ugandan scientists and their partners in Europe, South Africa and via the Internet. One or more semi-structured individual interviews were carried out with 50 different Ugandan scientists at various stages of their careers. These were complemented with a larger number of informal discussions, participant observations at research institutes, universities and other sites of scientific work, and 57 completed questionnaire surveys. While this article focuses on salaries, cultural economies and Scandinavian collaborations in Uganda, my project in its entirety addresses Ugandan, Ghanaian and Zimbabwean scientists' experiences of the internationalization of higher education and research collaborations with foreign partners, particularly in fields related to human health or agriculture. The examples highlighted in this article are drawn from this sample, and selected to highlight the experiences of Ugandan scientists with experience of research training in Scandinavia and research collaborations with Scandinavian scientists and donors.

Drawing from these sources, I will describe and analyse the overlapping and sometimes contradictory meanings of money and other resources from the situated perspectives of Ugandan scientists themselves, and to a lesser extent from lay publics in Uganda, and Scandinavian partners in research. These will be illustrated with a number of specific ethnographic examples pertaining to the value and meaning of scientific salaries, obligations to kin and colleagues, the giving of charity and gifts, and salary 'top-up' payments from foreign donors, as well as scientists' home construction projects and scientific workshops in hotels. I argue that economic anthropology, and cultural economy in particular, offers a valuable analytical

position from which to observe and explain the persistence of mistrust and misunderstanding amongst partners in research and research capacity building that takes place across national and continental borders.

Overpaid and Underpaid: Ugandan scientists and their salaries

Payments to scientists for scientific and scholarly work are contingent and contentious in Uganda. This is the situation from the perspective of the lay public, as well as from the perspective of public officials, international donors, and Ugandan scientists themselves. Just as the purchasing power of a Ugandan scientist's salary varies from the capital city of Kampala to the western town of Fort Portal or the former colonial metropole of London, so too do the meanings of salaries change from the situated position of one individual to another (Parry & Bloch, 1989). From the perspective of Ugandan scientists themselves, scientific salaries are usually too small. From the perspective of many Scandinavian donors, Ugandan scientists are paid enough. Meanwhile, researchers are highly paid in comparison to most other Ugandans.

The contentious meanings of money in Ugandan science and higher education were nowhere more evident than the campus of Uganda's leading public institution of higher education and research, Makerere University, during late 2016. On October 17th I had spent an afternoon teaching Masters and PhD students in the College of Agriculture and Environmental Studies. The atmosphere on the campus at the time was calm, and in class we discussed strategies for designing students' thesis research projects. Two weeks later that classroom and all others were empty while riot police and students battled back and forth across the campus. At the root of the conflict were the salaries of university lecturers.

Makerere lecturers went on strike to protest the government's failure to honor its contractual obligations to pay salary "top-ups" to its staff. Top-ups are allowances and payments for work that is additional to the normal teaching load, and might include fuel and housing benefits as well as payments for teaching evening or weekend courses. Students subsequently went on strike to protest the absence of lecturers

in the classroom, and a day of violent clashes between students and riot police ensued. On November 1st, Uganda's President Museveni issued a decree closing the university indefinitely. University buildings were locked, and on-campus student residents were evicted from their rooms (Mufumba, 2016). The consequences of what would become a two month closure of Uganda's leading university were far-reaching and sometimes unexpected. For example, public services were crippled at one of Uganda's most important hospitals and its subsidiary health centers when the university post-graduate students who normally carry much of the daily workload did not come to work (Namagembe, 2016).

Sympathy for the situation of the academic staff amongst students and the public at large was mixed given the broader consequences of the strike, and given that faculty salaries had nearly doubled during recent years while the salaries of other public servants had remained stagnant (Mwenda, 2016). In 2015, a senior lecturer at a public university such as Makerere could earn approximately 5 million Ugandan shillings (USD 1,400) per month before additional salary top-ups. Meanwhile, a primary school teacher's monthly salary was closer to USD 200 and a police officer might earn little more than USD 100 each month.

Amongst scientists there are also wide gaps in earnings. A senior scientist at one of the country's national research institutions normally earns half that of a senior lecturer at a public university like Makerere, despite sharing similar backgrounds and oftentimes being partners on the same projects. Meanwhile, lecturers or scientists that do not have PhDs, or who are enrolled in a PhD programme, earn much less. While less advanced in their scientific rank, it is common for this latter group to already be in their 30s or 40s, married, with children, and having a full-time workload in teaching, medical practice and/or research at their institution.

Over the course of our discussions during four years, Isaac[1], a professor and natural scientist at a public university, often regretted that the low salaries of researchers like himself were an obstacle to the conduct of serious scientific research in Uganda. He compared his own workdays to those of his former

1 Pseudonyms are used throughout the paper.

PhD supervisors (and now partners) when he himself studied in Scandinavia. He recalled Scandinavian scientists then and now as enjoying salaries that permitted them to focus and devote extensive amounts of unbroken time to their scientific work. By comparison, his own days were fractured by competing social, professional and economic demands.

It was thus something of a surprise to me when Isaac expressed sympathy for accusations in newspapers and by the lay public in Uganda that scientists on strike were being greedy, saying the criticism was "about how overpaid university lecturers and professors are in Uganda" and agreeing that this was "a valid point". He continued to explain himself using the example of the discrepancy between his own salary and that of primary school teachers. The ease with which Isaac pivoted from describing himself as underpaid to overpaid is a consequence of the multiple actor-networks in which he finds himself simultaneously engaged. His shifting explanations of the meanings attached to a scientist's salary are logical in a context where local and global networks of social relations are entangled, and where multiple patterns and scales of economic organization coexist in the same time and the same place.

Survival amongst kin and colleagues

What Polanyi (1957) describes as an interchange with social and natural environments, and what Narotzky and Besnier (2014) describe as making a living, Robert, a successful Ugandan epidemiologist working in global public health, describes as survival. Speaking with me in his office in Kampala during May of 2014, he urged, "*Survive* is the word that you must take from Uganda. Survive. I am surviving. I have survived." Coming from Robert, who is salaried as a lecturer, has a PhD from a Scandinavian research university, and is a key partner on a number of ongoing research projects with Scandinavian colleagues, it is surprising to hear him speak of his own existence in terms of precariousness or survival. Obviously, the survival he spoke of was not a matter of putting food on his own dinner table and a roof over his own head. Rather, it was a survival that included support to a range of people in his social and scientific networks, contributing to the reproduction of their and his own material and social wellbeing, and maintaining a scientific career that felt important and relevant to the existing health challenges in his country.

Robert's desire to survive and even succeed is partly what motivates him to engage with public opinion, government bureaucracy and philanthropy. These engagements in turn often have implications for his own personal economy, as well as his sense of well-being and perceptions of inequity across the Ugandan and Scandinavian sites of his scientific work.
The morning before a meeting with Robert in 2014 I found an article by him in one of Uganda's main daily newspapers where he critiqued the national health care system and urged the government to make a number of additional investments. Our talk itself was an interruption in his last minute push to finalize a research grant proposal with a looming deadline, and following our talk he invited me to a workshop with officials from the Ministry of Health where they would discuss possible policy changes for improving the situation in the country's hospitals and clinics. Amidst these competing engagements, Robert explained that his personal life had appeared in his own empirical data when a sibling's infant child passed away during delivery at the hospital a couple of weeks earlier. Such experiences are common in African contexts where poverty and poor infrastructure are much more closely intertwined with the personal lives of medical doctors and scientists than is normally the case in wealthier countries where class and privilege offers further distance from the risk of infant mortality (Wendland, 2010).

Sitting together, we talked about the feelings of loss and the difficulty of offering comfort in such moment of intense personal and family crisis. We also discussed the regular occurrence of such tragedies in Uganda compared to their exceptionality in Scandinavia. Robert, who has maintained significant personal and professional networks in Scandinavia since completing his PhD, expressed his deep frustration at the fundamental differences in the conditions for life and for making a living between Scandinavia and Uganda. These differences were fundamentally jarring to him given the close proximity of Uganda and Scandinavia in his own life history, and his continuing presence in both via physical travel as well as Internet communication technologies.

In 2015 I would meet Robert again at an elaborate fundraising event attended by medical scientists, NGO representatives, parliamentarians and many others. The event

was hosted at an international hotel in Kampala and organized by a local lecturer who was attempting to raise money for the purchase of basic equipment for a regional health center where he also carried out research. I sat with the organizer as we awaited the arrival of guests who were caught in an exceptional traffic jam after a late-afternoon downpour. He explained that beyond facilitating the purchase of needed materials, the event was an opportunity for individuals to demonstrate their own leadership and commitment to health research and health care reform for an audience that included political and scientific leaders, as well as key members of the community where the health center was located. The dinner fee of 20,000 Ugandan shillings (about 6 US dollars) was relatively modest, but I watched the organizer, Robert and many others raise their hand to publicly commit part of, and in some cases many times, their monthly salaries to the charity fund.

In the day-to-day challenges faced by Ugandan scientists', like their fellow civil servants (Whyte 2015), there is great overlap between the personal and professional, as well as the biological and infrastructural. Looking exhausted from across his desk, Robert explained to me that one result is that

> You end up actually not so happy with yourself, not so happy with your country, not so happy with your family. You end up being pulled left, right and center. You might not be as productive and do as much good work as you should. [...] I find [us] highly trained researchers on the run.

Robert's case is one illustration of a common situation for scientists in Uganda. The "environment" for their scientific work is crisscrossed by multiple moralities and patterns of economy that impose conflicting demands upon their work to achieve a state of survival that includes the material, social and scientific reproduction of themselves and their close kin and colleagues.

Managing economic obligations and aspirations

The cultural economy in Uganda is such that when an individual achieves a position in society commanding some material resources, then the individual is also expected to be a benefactor who can assist extended family members and other relations with school fees, healthcare costs, contributions to

funerals, and gifts to the newly married. As a Ugandan who has achieved a doctoraldegree, often including international travel and training, one has joined an elite group of less than half of 0.01% of the general population. This achievement and the real and perceived resources it puts in the hands of the PhD holder has important implications for their own life expectations, for aspirations for their children, as well as the expectations of and obligations to an array of kin.

Uganda is a state where there is limited public funding for a social safety net, and nearly all state services carry a cost to the individuals who seek them out. Hospital visits remain costly even after user fees for public health services were abolished in 2001, and in the case of complicated or expensive health problems the economic consequences for families can be catastrophic (Nabyonga et al., 2013). Meanwhile, although public primary and secondary schooling is formally free of charge, there remains significant costs associated with sending children to them for their education (Chapman et al., 2010). Public schooling is unlikely to prepare students with the resources necessary to enter university education later in life (Post, 2016; Nishimura et al., 2008). On the other hand, a private school that is more likely to provide the academic support necessary for a student to eventually enter the university is likely to require the payment of school fees ranging upwards to USD 700 per student per year (Tumwebaze, 2012).

Samuel, a medical researcher who completed his PhD in 2016, explained to me that "You have to pay for everything in Uganda. When you get sick, you pay. When somebody in your extended family gets sick, you pay. People make demands all the time because you are one of the few people that have 'broken through'." Samuel is not alone in fielding continuous requests for money and support from close and distant kin. Where the state provides no social and economic safety net, persons with resources are constantly fulfilling, negotiating or warding off demands from others who have fallen on harder times.

In this situation, an economic strategy available to researchers is to limit one's ability to service social obligations by rapidly converting cash to property or materials that are less amenable to redistribution via dispersed kin networks. This was one of the strategies behind the house-building activities of Paul,

a well-established medical doctor with a PhD from abroad, and his wife, a health researcher with a PhD from Scandinavia. They began a real estate career when Paul was abroad by saving part of his stipend to make modest investments in land in Uganda. By the time I began to know the family in 2013 they were the owners of a house in an upper-middle class neighborhood of Kampala, had several small buildings near different university campuses where they rented rooms to students, and had several plots of land in the countryside. With respect to the latter, Paul had long dreamed of building a house in the "village" where they could eventually retire and survive off their savings and a few hectares of mixed crops.

By 2016, the house was becoming a reality. While still unfinished, it had a roof and an enclosure, and it was surrounded by fields of *matooke* bananas, cassava, beans and papaya. On a clear blue-sky day in October we inspected the progress of the ongoing work to sculpt a garden landscape with a rusty rented bulldozer operated by an owner hired from Kampala. Paul explained that owning property and building in Uganda requires significant personal investments of time. One's own physical presence at the sites is a prerequisite for construction and maintenance work. Sitting together with me on the unfinished veranda with a packed lunch of chicken and rice and warm lager beer, Paul's eyes sparkled as he pointed out the new additions to the property. He verbally painted a picture for me of the day when his mother, his family and a number of colleagues would arrive through the compound gate to the housewarming party that he would host when the building was complete in a couple years' time.

Ownership of a house in the countryside, something that is rather common amongst well-established scientists in Scandinavian, appeared luxurious in a village otherwise populated by worn one or two room tin-roofed homes, mostly lacking electricity, along rutted dirt roads that are only passable by foot or four-wheel drive vehicle when it rains. Paul recognized this, but the logic behind his investment was not only focused on achieving status and affluence. It was also a long term economic planning to secure a comfortable subsistence for his immediate family after his retirement from work at the hospital and his private practice, and in the absence of a reliable pension and state-sponsored social safety net. Furthermore,

it was a conscious methodology to convert liquid wealth to land and agricultural capital that could not be easily claimed by extended kin experiencing an acute crisis that cash might mediate, or requests from colleagues for larger contributions to philanthropic fundraisers, funerals, or weddings.

For Paul and Ruth, buying land and building houses was a cultural, economic and infrastructural methodology for storing economic resources (Halperin, 1994), while simultaneously buffering them from the multiple entanglements of colleagues and more distant kin. Their economic success was not simply a matter of securing property and a steady income. It was also a matter of surviving and renegotiating their existing social entanglements and obligations, to make space for future aspirations, hopes and ambitions (Narotzky & Besnier, 2014).

Scandinavian cultural economies in Uganda

Scandinavian understandings of science economies, when exported to a Ugandan context by Scandinavian donors and partners, do not simply overrun locally constituted cultural economies. Rather, they add complexity, often in contradictory and sometimes inflammatory ways, to already intricately entangled contexts for scientific practices. One result is that, despite Scandinavian ambitions to facilitate a decolonization of science in developing countries through partnership and collaboration, they continue to reproduce neo-colonial relationships through misunderstandings economy that undermine the social and material foundations for achieving more equitable and transparent scientific partnerships (see Okwaro & Geissler, 2015). This process is illustrated by the multiple meanings of income supplements, private house-building projects, and hotel workshops within Scandinavian-Ugandan scientific collaborations.

Buying time or giving gifts? Positioned experiences of scientific income supplements

Sitting with a Scandinavian development aid professional discussing Scandinavian investments in research training in Uganda, I brought up the issue of offering income supplements for Ugandan researchers enrolled in Scandinavian/Ugandan PhD programs while they are in Uganda, as well as for their Ugandan supervisors. The development aid professional responded that

"Our resources are for education… if people think their salaries are too low and would like to have higher salaries… well who doesn't?" My interviewee then raised a number of other arguments against offering top-ups or salary supplements to Ugandan partners. These included: that the people in question are already receiving contractually stipulated salaries and stipends from their Ugandan institutions to carry our research and supervision; that a practice of topping up salaries would contribute to the creation of additional hierarchies and elite groupings amongst PhD students and supervisors in Uganda; and that researchers are already collecting illicit income (otherwise known as "sitting allowances") in brown envelopes in return for their participation in meetings that are the "internal work of the university."

Scandinavian sensitivities to salary top-ups may be related to culturally specific perceptions of the constitution of gifts and the obligations that they create. Making reference to Scandinavian society in particular, Marcel Mauss (1990, p 1–3) observed some 100 years ago that gift giving is a social and moral act loaded with meaning and obligation. In Swedish culture, for example, a gift given to an acquaintance creates *skuld* (debt) that can undermine a relationship if the gift is not reciprocated during a relatively short time frame. In the context of Scandinavian research training and research collaborations, a top-up looks much like a gift. However, a salary top-up to an individual who is already obligated via existing contractual instruments to carry out an activity (research or research supervision, in this case), would introduce a gift relation into an economic exchange that is already regulated, from the Scandinavian perspective, as a (labor) market exchange within the institutional bounds of the Ugandan state.

For my Scandinavian interviewee, this raises immediate concerns that such a gift relationship would corrupt the established contract between the public servant and the Ugandan state. As such, a gift relationship between a foreign government and a Ugandan scientist cannot be safely grafted onto a preexisting market transaction for scientific labor between Ugandan scientists and a Ugandan state institution, without also jeopardizing cherished Scandinavian donor principles of transparency, equity and solidarity.

Whereas scientists at public institutions in Uganda are civil servants, and the formal contracts governing scientists' work designate research as an activity for which they are remunerated with a government salary, in practice these same scientists understand their obligations differently when research is sponsored by foreign funders. The availability of foreign funding to buy materials and support services for research does not create additional time for the scientist to carry out research unless the funding can also be used to supplement his or her salary. In the absence of a salary supplement, the scientist has difficulty to justify putting significant amounts of time and energy into the research project at the expense of their other income earning activities and social obligations, both within and outside their public institution. Foreign partners that are unaware of the norms and organization of Ugandan science economies can experience frustration when their Ugandan counterparts are not producing results at the pace and level of quality that was designated in the project document. Ugandan scientists can simultaneously perceive that foreign partners, from their positions of relative social and material comfort, are detached from the day-to-day realities and struggles associated with working and surviving as a scientist in Uganda.

Joseph, a medical scientist who spent several years in Scandinavia explained to me that scientists in Uganda "worry about what they are earning because most of the time it is not enough to see them through their expenditures for the month." In contrast, in Scandinavia schooling and health care are supplied by the state, welfare benefits are available to those that cannot work, state pensions are usually sufficient for a dignified, if not a luxurious, retirement, and scientists take paid family vacations. There, Joseph observed, "everyone gets about enough to see them through their expenditures for the month so that keeps them committed to what they are doing." Charles, a leading scientist in Ugandan medical research, was more pointed in his critique of Scandinavian donors:

> [They] cannot keep telling me that because [we] have this salary from government [we] will not receive anything extra. Is the salary in Stockholm enough for you to survive on? To provide for your family and to save? […] To use the argument that because you are salaried here in government or in the university [they] will not top you up is using a broken or lame argument.

At the heart of these conflicting views is the outsider's confusion regarding the local status and legitimacy of formal versus informal rules governing scientific labor in Uganda. Moreover, in some cases, foreign partners with limited local experience are simply oblivious to the patterns of economy that characterize scientific work. For Ugandan scientists, the unwritten rules and moral obligations that stem from the social and material context of everyday life compete with and curtail the power of formal civil servant contracts to govern their scientific work. From a Scandinavian perspective, scientific labor takes place in a labor market where the formal, written rules are the rules that have legitimacy. Added to this confusion are conflicting understandings of the meaning of a salary supplement. While the Scandinavian working at the embassy understands the supplement as a gift that can potentially corrupt Ugandan institutions, for Ugandan scientist a supplement is a payment for scientific labor in a cultural economy that is simultaneously local and global, material and social.

Infrastructural actants and their interpreters: houses and hotels

Material actants can assume an important role in determining the scope and duration of international research and research training collaborations (Latour 2005). Scientific equipment and technologies are obvious examples of such vital actants, but less obvious infrastructures located beyond the laboratory and beyond the intuitive limits of the scientific field can also have determinacy for scientific collaborations. Amongst Ugandan-Scandinavian scientific collaborations, for example, one finds that private houses and hotels enter the universe of partnership both as multi-voiced speakers for specific constellations of economic relations, and as buffers to social and economic claims advanced by other human actors.

Ruth and Paul's countryside house (mentioned above) sheltered some of their savings from the claims of kin and colleagues, but in other instances such infrastructures worked against the interests of my research subjects. For Elijah and his colleagues in Kampala, a house-building project undermined their negotiations for a larger living allowance from the Scandinavian PhD programme in which they were enrolled. In the midst of negotiations, the Scandinavian partner visited Uganda and learned that one PhD student was away from the

office to oversee issues related to the building of a house. Elijah explained that

> When [Ingrid] came from [Scandinavia], she went to my colleague's place. My colleague phoned [Ingrid] to say that she was busy building. Ingrid's impression was that it was Ingrid's money that my colleague was using [to build]. So Ingrid thought that the stipend was quite comfortable to live with. [Ingrid] really embarrassed my colleague saying that 'ahh, you are so comfortable. You are building.'

The renegotiation of the terms of the contract failed to produce any changes in the Ugandan scientists' stipends. From Elijah's perspective, the emergence of his colleague's house building project and the Scandinavian partner's interpretation of this as a sign of the generosity of the current terms of the contract were to blame. The material existence of a house construction and its incorporation into the existing Scandinavian-Ugandan research and research training collaboration introduced a new friction into an already uncomfortable actor-network. To the Scandinavian partner the house indicated the generosity of the PhD students' stipends. However, from the Ugandan perspective its emergence as an agent in the negotiations was only possible due to Ingrid's ignorance of local conditions and cultural economies. Or, in Elijah's words: "This showed me that these guys are disconnected from the life that we live here."

Hotels are another material infrastructure that are understood differently by different audiences, and thereby introduce friction into multinational research assemblages. For some Scandinavian donors it is difficult to justify why a meeting or workshop should take place at a private hotel, sometimes some distance from the home institutions of the scientists, instead of in one of the meeting rooms of the home institution. This is particularly poignant when Scandinavian and other development aid has been used to construct buildings on university and research institute campuses. Scandinavian partners are also conscious of the per diem and travel allowance envelopes collected by Ugandan scientists when they attend off-campus meetings.

Ugandan scientists experience the skepticism of Scandinavian partners as a suspicion of corruption based upon

a misunderstanding of local conditions. For Ugandan scientists, meetings in hotels are a strategy for creating time to concentrate on a particular task. By placing the workspace in a location where sheer distance and traffic congestion can be enrolled as an agent that wards off competing demands from one's boss, one's employees and students, as well as one's family and one's private business partners, a physical and temporal space is created where participants can concentrate upon the matters at hand. Here, the brown envelopes bearing small amounts of cash that change hands are understood from the researcher's perspective as legitimate contributions that offset some of the monetary and social costs associated with being away from the workplace, the family, and one's other income-generating enterprises.

Conclusions

Ugandan scientists are often frustrated by what they perceive as Scandinavian partners' misreading of the meaning of salary top-ups, brown envelopes containing cash, workshops in hotels, and house building projects. In some circumstances, these are overcome through long-term collaborative relationships where counterparts acquire a greater depth of understanding of the cultural economies of science in Uganda (Zink, 2016). Oftentimes, however, overseas partners have limited experience of science in Uganda. In these cases, Ugandan scientists seek ways to discreetly solve the contradiction without creating friction. Patience, an agricultural scientist, explained that

> The only way to make ends meet is a salary top-up and to get engaged in research. If you have to go to the field you can get a per diem, but you don't use it all in the field. You save a little bit to cover domestic expenses. That is how we really operate. A lot of these Nordic grants, they are difficult. They are difficult to get, and colleagues put a lot of effort into them but do not get enough out.

Patience's candid description offers an example of how Ugandan researchers are able, to a limited extent, to circumvent the taboos of Scandinavian cultural economies by moving per diem money intended for offsetting fieldwork costs into a private household economy. It also illustrates the continuing challenges to establish trust and transparency within international research collaborations.

As subjects of anthropological inquiry, Ugandan scientists reveal the continued existence of (sometimes painful) incompatibilities and inconsistencies amongst the enacted cultural economies that assemble Uganda, Scandinavia, and the scattered scientific infrastructures that dot the hills of Kampala and Entebbe. Moreover, despite the vast geographic distances that frequently separate collaborating actors in science, they are nevertheless frequently thrust into close proximity through their participation in economic, social and moral engagements that link Uganda and Scandinavia. The application of a cultural economy approach together with actor-network theory makes visible the overlapping and sometimes incompatible logics and frameworks for understanding economy that foster frictions and misunderstandings both at home and in international scientific research collaborations. These are illustrated by the contradictory meanings and physical conflicts spawned by research salaries and "top-ups" to local scientists. For some Scandinavian donors the latter introduces a third party's gift (Mauss, 1990) that is morally questionable into a legitimate domestic labor contract. For Ugandan researchers, these are inadequate but nonetheless desirable compensations for their time and labor in an otherwise disfigured and inequitable post-colonial scientific economy that exceeds national boundaries. All the while, broad swathes of the Ugandan public wonder how a scientist earning fifteen times the salary of a police officer can be considered overpaid.

The actor-networks that compose scientific collaborations and enact cultural economies are further shaped by the agencies of the materials from which they are composed. Beyond the materiality of laboratories and scientific technology, Elijah, Paul and Ruth's stories illustrate how scientists' private homes can become key actants shaping cultural economies engaging both kin and scientific collaborators. In other instances, local scientists' hotel-based workshops mobilize buildings and Cartesian space to create opportunities for concentrated scientific labor. Simultaneously these actions raise concerns of corruption amongst some Scandinavian sponsors. These practices, as they are linked to scientific labor, create opportunities as well as tensions amongst scientists, foreign partners, and local publics. They also illustrate the coproductivity of science with other social projects such as kinship (Jasanoff, 2004).

The findings offered here do not point to an easy solution for resolving the frictions and misunderstandings inherent to international research collaborations in developing countries, be they Scandinavian or otherwise. Nevertheless, the prospects for further decolonizing research and research training would be greater should donors explicitly employ models for understanding science economies that recognize and are critically reflective of the multiple meanings, moralities and patterns of economic activity. Such a model may seem risky and unwieldy to foreign actors that are more comfortable accounting for investments in science and science training with log frame summaries and other easily compared quantitative devices. However, continued failure to recognize simultaneous presence of Ugandan scientists and their scientific practices in multiple social and geographic contexts also erodes the conditions for equitable scientific collaborations, and the pursuit scientific knowledge and technology goals that respond to Ugandan priorities.

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REVIEWS
Books and Other Publications

Kapoor, D (ed.) Against colonization and rural dispossession: Local resistance in South and east Asia, the Pacific and Africa. **Zed Books, 368 pages, ISBN Paperback: 9781783609437, eBook ePub: 9781783609451, eBook Kindle: 9781783609475 Library Edition: 9781783609444**

This book collection is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the impact of rural dispossession and exploitation of indigenous populations, farm workers and landless peasants in the Global South. While it explores and carefully interrogates the multiple ways in which this process is being enacted through political, social and economic forces driven by neoliberal policies stemming from policy frameworks established through the 'Washington consensus,' it also takes issue with bottom up notions of 'development' that have been orchestrated by apparently liberal and enlightened government agencies, think-tanks, NGOs and the like that seemed to have offered an alternative to the neoliberal juggernaut that has swept the globe since the Thatcher/Reagan years of the 1980s and 1990s. In this vein, the recent revelations surrounding Oxfam personnel (and those of other agencies such as UNICEF) being implicated in sex-trafficking in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake of 2010 poses difficult questions for those in the mainstream development business. Indeed, 'business' in this context seems to imply the reproduction of colonial relations of domination and exploitation.

Following two introductory chapters by Kapoor and Sockbeson that focus on respectively on: colonisation and rural dispossession; and indigenous resistance to colonial dispossession in North America, the book is divided into two sections. The first section is comprised of chapters on South and East Asia and the Pacific region and includes papers on: land sovereignty in Samoa; Indigenous Adivasi in India; landless peasants in Indonesia; 'fisher

resistance' in Tamil Nadu; and mining activism in Bangladesh. The second section of the book focuses on the 'African region' and explores similar struggles in South Africa, Kenya, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and the Niger Delta. The geographical reach of the collection is, therefore, quite impressive, as is its diversity in exploring the multifaceted and diverse character of political struggles/resistance to the encroachment of capitalist social relations through neocolonial regimes of accumulation in the Global South.

While these chapters cover a great deal of ground, ranging from resistance to the Asian Development Bank's attempts to privatise land use in Samoa and the 'agro-extractive regime' of Indonesian Palm Oil, the guiding theoretical thread that runs across and organises them is an exploration of Harvey's (xxx) thesis of accumulation by dispossession or 'ABD.' However, Harvey's ABD thesis is not simply adapted and replicated in this volume, but is subject to a critical analysis that "acknowledge(s) the historical geographies of race and the coloniality of power" (p.23) that has been absent in much of the literature on "critical agrarian studies." This is not surprising given Marx's original analysis of 'primitive accumulation' from which Harvey's ABD is derived. Drawing on Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism*, Kapoor notes that although Marx thought all kinds of servitude and slavery were abhorrent, he nevertheless believed that the landless classes were without political agency in the modern world. A view, it should be noted, that Engels held of Irish migrants in his *The Condition of the English working Class in England* (1844).

This collection, therefore, is not only a welcome critique of the field of development studies and international relations as it has been constituted over the past half-century or more, but is also a welcome addition to the literatures on the sociology/anthropology of resistance, agrarian studies, indigenous research methods, and the politics of dispossession in the contemporary Global South. It is an indispensable read for scholars working in these areas, as it is for students who want an alternative analysis of prevailing notions of 'development' endemic to institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, some NGOs, and university think-tanks such as Sussex University's Institute of Development Studies or the Overseas Development Institute (UK).

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