



Called, Not Qualified

An Instagram Analysis of Evangelical NGOs in Uganda

Michaela Kwoka-Coleman

Supervisor: Dr. Christopher Tulloch

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Department of Communication
Universitat Pompeu Fabra
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Abstract

This research studies the Instagram accounts of two American-run Evangelical Christian development NGOs in Uganda — Serving His Children and Amazima — to investigate how they portray themselves and the people of their host community. A counter analysis was also conducted on the Instagram of a Ugandan advocacy group, No White Saviors, which has publicly accused both SHC and Amazima of doing more harm than good. Instagram photos and their corresponding captions posted by the two NGOs from 2014 through 2018 were gathered analyzed through a multimodel content analysis. Similarly, Instagram posts by No White Saviors from 2018 through 2019 were gathered and analyzed. The analysis provides an overall view of the prevalence of the white savior complex within the two organizations. Post frequently contain messages that being called by God is more important than being qualified to provide relief to disadvantaged and suffering communities.

Key Words: Amazima, Africa, content analysis, evangelical Christians, Instagram, Uganda, Serving His Children, No White Saviors, white savior complex, missionaries, NGOs, social media, poverty porn, stereotypes, neocolonialism

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“Extending the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and has paid well... The People that Sit in Darkness are getting to be too scarce... And such darkness as is now left is... not dark enough for the game. The most of those People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us.”

- Mark Twain, *To the People Sitting in Darkness* (1901)

1. Introduction

Since the term was first coined in 1998 by the Nevada Board of Tourism as an effort to get residents to support remote rural tourism development, “voluntourism” (volunteer tourism) has evolved into a popular international travel trend (Voluntourism.org). After the year of the idea’s conception, scholars have provided varying definitions of what constitutes a voluntourist. Some advocate a general definition to include any tourist that participates in volunteer work while traveling; others opt for a stricter definition that includes humanitarian organized trips to where help is most needed, often at the financial expense of the tourist (Freidus 2016, 1; Frilund 2015, 10). Regardless of the defined parameters, the industry overall consists of young adults — primarily from North America and Western Europe — who travel to the Global South to work with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in short-term or long-term development projects, such as teaching, working in medical clinics or building schools. According to Save the Children Australia, each year about 1.6 million people embark on voluntourism trips, making this industry worth almost \$1.75 billion (1,54 billion euros) annually.

Over the years, scholars, media and various international organizations have sharply criticized voluntourism as a form of neocolonialism. Critics have focused on the “white savior complex” the millions of voluntourists who travel from the Global North to the Global South carry with them as they try to “give back,” alleviate poverty, engage in cross-cultural awareness and increase global solidarity (Godfrey et al. 2019; Freidus 2016). This is further exacerbated by the fact that a majority of voluntourist agencies and NGOs are founded and run by Westerners.

Despite the frequency of critiques of voluntourism, the amount of voluntourists sent overseas continues to rise, largely due to social media — both by voluntourists and the organizations themselves (Daley 2013). While the majority of scholarship focuses on the general motives of voluntourists, less scholarship focuses on the niche groups in the development world. Humanitarian organizations run by religious groups — labeled faith-based organizations (FBOs) — make up a smaller, but noticeable portion of the worldwide development sector. In the United States alone, there are approximately 1.5 million NGOs operating, although not all are focused on development (U.S.State Department). As of 2015, 59 percent (3,505) of U.S.-based international aid identified as FBOs. Among religious-affiliated groups, Christian FBOs dominate, with three of the six largest international aid groups identifying as Christian. Furthermore, as of 2004, Protestant Christian groups made up 69% of U.S. FBOs (Olson 2016, 5). Within the Protestant FBO world is the subset of Evangelical Christian FBOs. Determining exactly how many Evangelical development FBOs exist is difficult, as many are not run by a specific denomination, registered with the State Department or accredited by the United Nations. Despite this, U.S.-based Evangelical FBOs have descended upon the Global South in recent years, recruiting youth from affiliated churches as voluntourists for mission trips. The white savior complex many of these voluntourists bring with them, coupled with the primary goal of evangelizing to and converting the host community is best summed up by Bandyopadhyay (2019) as “called, not qualified.”

2. Literature Review

This section discusses previous research on the topics of voluntourism, neocolonialism, Evangelical Christianity and social media that informs this paper. After a review of the literature, the theoretical frameworks that guide this research are introduced.

2.1 Voluntourism

Within the tourism world, voluntourism has emerged as a more ethical way to travel. It is typically described as a more altruistic, moral and sustainable means of seeing the world, where the tourist “gives back” to the community through a variety of projects. The combination of volunteering while traveling is expected to provide an authentic experience that will be mutually beneficial to the voluntourist and the host community (Godfrey et al. et al. 2019, 2-10; Sin and He 2018, 3). The causes undertaken by voluntourists are diverse, ranging from environmental projects like sea turtle conservation in Costa Rica to providing medical services in rural India. Despite the variety of voluntouring options available, voluntourist groups all have similar goals: alleviating poverty, increasing global solidarity, engaging in cross-cultural awareness and casting a light on international poverty (Freidus 2016, 1).

While voluntourism is frequently cited as the more ethical way to travel, the motives of voluntourists are often more complex. Interviews with voluntourists have found varying motives, such as educational opportunities, personal growth, improving resumes, the desire to travel to exotic locations, experience different cultures and better understand the world on a budget (Freidus 2016, 1; Sin 2009, 489-490). Voluntourist trips are similar to gap year trips, as they are both associated with young people broadening their minds through international travel and coming into contact with different cultures. The allure of experiencing a different culture stems from a “romanticization of peoples and places perceived to be beyond the realm of capitalist modernity and therefore living more authentic and community-oriented lives” (Mostafanezhad 2014, 40). However, while some scholarship claims that voluntourism helps foster cross-cultural awareness and interaction, other research has found that it does not succeed in this endeavor. In studying voluntourist interactions in Cusco, Peru, Godfrey et al. found that the vast majority of volunteers didn’t speak Spanish, causing them to spend most of their downtime in Cusco’s Western enclaves, thus interacting very little with locals (2019, 11). This creates complex relationships between

volunteers and host communities, placing voluntourists as passive gazers rather than participants. This research seems to answer Bandyopadhyay's (2019) question: Is the purpose of the voluntourist to really help the less fortunate or to have a good time?

Furthermore, some scholars have attributed poverty as the main attraction behind voluntourism. Poverty can be understood as a defining difference between the Global North and Global South (Simpson 2004, 687). As volunteering is automatically assumed to be a good and admirable venture, aiding impoverished people in a distant — and oftentimes otherwise difficult to reach — location, festers a romanticized idea of poverty as being exotic, and that Western voluntourists are obligated to help lift these alien people out of their poverty (Godfrey et al. 2019, 4-12).

While a majority of voluntourism scholarship serves to criticize the industry, some NGOs do provide host communities with beneficial services. Freidus (2019, 3) notes that Western NGOs do provide financial resources and the ability for children to learn about other career opportunities and different cultures, in addition to English — which translates into future employment opportunities.

2.2 Neocolonialism and the White Man's Burden

The colonial mindset is present in voluntourism today and many scholars argue that voluntourism is essentially an extension of neo-colonialism, as the industry strives to make the Global South dependent on the Global North (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 2; Godfrey et al. 2019, 4). This culture of dependency is a leftover product of the Colonial era, where Europeans (and later people from the United States) saw themselves as bringing civilization to far off places. Due to this history, the Global South is viewed at the bottom of the development ladder. With its inferior position in the global geographical imagination and the history of colonial legacy, the White Man's Burden of the Colonial era has given rise to the

“white savior complex,” which is characterized by racism, white privilege and unequal Global North-Global South power dynamics (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 5; Daley 2016, 366-377).

Today, this is most notably shown through transnational organizations (think World Bank and International Monetary Fund, in addition to smaller voluntourism groups) that enter poorer countries in order to teach communities how to “develop sustainably.” This creates a division between the Global North and Global South, which places the former as superior and the latter is inferior. (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 4-5). Western social, economic and value systems are inherent in the development and international aid sector, meaning that life and success are defined by the Global North (Freidus 2016, 12; Simpson 2004, 685). Godfrey et al. argue that colonial attitudes perpetuated in voluntourism reduce “development to an act of ‘doing’ and objectifies host communities in developing countries as ‘the benefit-receiving other,’” (2019, 4). In an extreme, this neo-colonial mindset can lead to a revisionist historical view of the colonial era as a time of peace and prosperity, where the world was content, and “happy natives were guided by enlightened, paternalistic and selfless colonial servants, towards a more 'modern' and a more civilized way of life” (Bienefeld 2017, 69).

Easily the most prominent criticism of voluntourism relates to the qualifications of the volunteers themselves. A vast majority of voluntourists are white, wealthy, well-educated young people from the Global North who can perform a variety of tasks in their host countries — tasks they are often not qualified to perform (Godfrey et al. et al. 2019, 3-4). The discourse in the voluntourism world is that development is not only something that can be done by people who lack qualifying skills, doing something is better than doing nothing, “therefore doing anything is helpful, even if it’s not” (Simpson 2004, 685). While this is an extreme example, other examples exist of unskilled voluntourists constructing faulty buildings and children with families being placed in orphanages (Freidus 2016, 2).

Yet, due to the colonial mindset inherent in voluntourism, unskilled Western volunteers assume those in their host communities to be naive and themselves to be more

knowledgeable than locals in all matters (Freidus 2016, 3). Referring to the concept of “colonization of the mind,” Bandyopadhyay writes that “whiteness is associated with progress, power and development” (2019, 7). Furthermore, due to the voluntourist gaze, host communities are viewed as the “Other,” while volunteers adopt a dominant neo-colonial position (Godfrey et al. 2019, 4).

2.3 Evangelism and the Protestant Work Ethic

Scholars who contend that voluntourism is a modern-day extension of Colonialism, note that religious conversion is an underlying motivation. In Colonial England, colonization was seen as a Christian value. As many international NGOs focused on humanitarianism and development are faith-based, evangelism and spreading the Christian gospel is still a main goal (Bandyopadhyay 2018, 1). Protestant groups are unique in this regard. As laid out by Bornstein, development workers employed by these NGOs rely on ideas of salvation, rationality, progress and the individual’s relationship with God, all of which were highlighted in Max Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism* (2017, 3).

Historically there has been a malevolent side to religious institutions that have involved themselves in poverty relief and development. Often, aid has been given in exchange for religious conversion; other times, religious institutions were complicit in oppression (Mylek and Nel 2010, 82-83). Historically, Christianity was the common identity shared among Western Europeans. Modern Western culture can be characterized as “secularized Protestantism,” and Christian voluntourists who emphasize their Christianity and modernity position themselves as “superior human beings... [setting] them apart from the inferior people in the Global South” (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 12).

While religious-affiliated NGOs exist outside of Christianity, groups affiliated with Evangelical Christianity can impart a unique, albeit potentially harmful, worldview onto host communities. Keeping in mind previously mentioned literature regarding the ignorance of the

structural inequalities and historical contexts of poverty in the Global South, voluntourists have been reported to explain poverty as the result of bad luck or chance (Sin and He 2018, 4). If a host community wishes to escape from poverty, all they need to do is work hard enough and they will be blessed. This acceptance of the Weber's Protestant work ethic — hard work and frugality as a sign of predetermined salvation — was observed by Freidus while studying the effect of voluntourism on orphans in Malawi:

There is a sense that success is about desire, persistence, and the assumption that opportunity exists if one is willing to pursue it with the appropriate amount of fervor.... Orphans are demonstrating an acceptance and internalization of neoliberal messages of individualism and the protestant ethic of pulling oneself up by their bootstraps. When finding work becomes an issue the outcomes for children can be precarious (2016, 11).

Orphans had internalized the message that living in the orphanage and coming in contact with white Westerners afforded them innumerable benefits and opportunities. Therefore, being unable to find a job and having to return to their families in their home village is seen as being a failure (Freidus 2016, 11). This “lotto logic” is the result of the “fatalistic faith in the ‘luck of the draw,’” which places the blame of poverty on divine fate rather than institutions and systems that can be changed (Simpson 2004, 689).

While Weber argues that Protestant religions have rejected the material world in exchange for salvation, Evangelical Christian FBOs value material possession and wealth as signs of divine favor. Bornstein recalls attending a popular Evangelical church in Zimbabwe where an American pastor delivered a sermon directly correlating one's belief in Jesus with material success (2003, 31). Calling the emphasis on material improvements the “theoretical inversion of what Weber called ascetic religiosity,” Bornstein argues:

The world-changing discourse of Christian NGOs promotes lifestyles that encourage accumulation and consumption — under the guise of Christian works. The Christian ‘lifestyle’ advocated by Christian NGOs is closely tied to a capitalist lifestyle that echoes earlier missionary discourses in southern Africa about correct ways of living, about being ‘civilized,’ and about progress (2003, 3-4).

The idea of progress is essential in development and in the work of Evangelical Protestant NGOs. As previously mentioned, missionary work in the Global South was a product of the colonial era. The idea of progress echoes the colonial missionary goal of bringing civilization to the colonies and mirrors the Evangelical quest for future perfection through messianism, millenarianism and eschatology (Bornstein 2003, 4-5).

However, there is some research that contradicts the integration of material wealth in the Evangelical NGO doctrine. As poverty is romanticized by Western voluntourists, the phrase “poor, but happy” is often used to describe and trivialize host communities’ reality (Godfrey et al. 2019, 4; Sin and He 2016, 18). In this mindset, poverty is viewed as not necessarily negative, as it allows host communities to be ignorant of the evils of consumerist and materialist societies, allowing them to enjoy life more. The trivialization and romanticization of poverty equates material deprivation with heightened emotional wealth (Simpson 2004, 688). The poor in host communities are believed to have embraced their poverty. They are “happy with so little” because they “don’t know any better,” and increasing their capital would essentially rob them of the “joy and simplicity of their lives” (Freidus 2016, 3-7). Furthermore, the question has been raised as to whether the goal of voluntourism is to “bring the Global South at par with the developed Global North or to force them to stay the same exotic, pure self that they are imagined and projected” to be (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 5).

However, despite the criticism of how FBOs *do* development, studies have found that religious organizations are considered important by those living in poverty. Further studies have shown that recipients of relief and development aid tend to have more trust in FBOs than secular ones. Additionally, church members donate to charity more frequently than non-members, and that church members are more likely to engage in volunteer work (Mylek and Nel 2010, 82-83).

As previously noted, research about religious involvement in voluntourism is limited. Some scholars explain this through Wilson's (1982) secularization theory, which contends that due to modernization — and the Western assumption of the separation of Church and State — religious institutions have lost their social significance (Mylek and Nel 2010, 81). Another explanation looks to the Enlightenment rejection of examining the historical links between economics and theology. More recently, that the rejection of religion in development studies has been linked to the domination of Marxist discourse, which prefers examining the historical exploitation of colonial rule for economics (Bornstein 2017, 3).

2.4 Voluntourism on Social Media

Technology and social media has made advocacy and humanitarian work more widespread. Popular and social media help to perpetuate stereotypes about the Global South, creating misrepresentations in the minds of voluntourists (Daley 2013; Sin and He 2018). Interviewed voluntourists in Malawi noted that films such as *Hotel Rwanda*, *Last King of Scotland* and *Blood Diamond* had provided them with images of Africa being “diseased and desperate” (Freidus 2016, 6). The 1992 movie *City of Joy* turned India's Calcutta into the poster child for “poverty and filth.” When interviewing older volunteers in Calcutta, Bandyopadhyay recorded that many were “stunned at discrepancies between what they had heard and read about the city and the realities” (2019, 13).

Just as popular media shapes worldviews and perpetuates stereotypes, so too does social media. Generally, social media is used a resource for young people to share popular media, texts and other information, These sites allow users to sculpt and present an idealized version of themselves and their reality, meaning that it also provides an even bigger platform for misconceptions and stereotypes (Schwarz and Richey 2019, 2). Facebook and Facebook-owned Instagram are cited as the two main culprits, as the popular sites allow users to easily share photos with people around the world.

Voluntourists have been highly criticized for posting tone-deaf photos about their experience on social media. Social media allows voluntourists to reproduce images of poverty, compassion and saviorism internalized through stereotypes learned from popular media (Sing and He 2018, 2). Photos of voluntourists with “poor but happy” or malnourished children is an ubiquitous part of the voluntourist experience, but questions whether making a difference in the world justifies them (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 5). Photos of emaciated children, women gathering water in plastic buckets from a well or children running around in slums further misrepresentations about the Global South. A photo is incapable of conveying the complex historical, geopolitical and structural issues that keep communities in abject poverty (Freidus 2016, 2). Photography and photo sharing presents an ethical dilemma in humanitarian work, as sharing photos can further deepen the unequal power relations between the subject and the photographer. This helps to reinforce the culture of dependency where the Global South is seen as needed to be saved by the Global North (Godfrey et al. 2019; Daley 2013; Sin and He 2018, 2).

The act of taking and posting photos returns to the question of voluntourists’ motives. Research by Schwartz and Richley (2019, 11) found that the potential for judgment and harassment within the international voluntourist community affects the way that voluntourists share their experiences on social media. Voluntourists interviewed tended to remove themselves from photos with host communities. However, they still participated in poverty porn when posting photos of malnourished children. While voluntourists are increasingly aware of the criticisms of the industry, removing themselves from photos can be explained as a means of protecting their own image, rather than having an understanding of the potential negative impact for the community (Freidus 2019). Furthermore, while this awareness exists in other research, Schwartz and Richley (2019) conclude that the criticism has not resulted in any overhaul of the systemic inequality in the system.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This section will discuss the theories that will inform this research paper. Theories frequently cited among researchers include evangelicalism and neoliberalism, othering and social capital theory.

2.5.1 Neoliberal Values of Evangelicalism

Rather than a unified religious assembly, Evangelicalism is a coalition of various groups within the Protestant denomination. Central to Evangelical belief is the infallibility of the Bible, the individual's personal relationship with Jesus, devotion to prayer and a fervor for evangelism and missionary work. While Evangelical Christian organizations are now found around the world, the movement took hold in the United States — thanks to a healthy mix of Calvinism and Puritanism — as the country emerged as a superpower in the early decades of the 20th century. The voluntary acceptance of Jesus Christ rooted within Evangelicalism mirrored the American ideals of individual freedom, emphasizing a “personal commitment to Christ, and personal holiness rather than social programs” (Bornstein 2003, 4).

The Evangelical emphasis on the individual's choice to have a personal relationship with God aligns with the neoliberal premise of individual choice as central to the free market. Inherent in this is the Utilitarian belief that the free market creates the greatest good for the greatest number of people, and Adam Smith's belief that the “invisible hand of the market” will support social welfare through “individual pursuits of self-interest.” Additionally, the strict adherence to Biblical texts influences economic beliefs. Wealth, land, ownership and the allocation of resources are frequently discussed in the Old and New Testaments, and were historically central tenets of Judeo-Christian ideology and law (Bornstein 2017, 2-5).

Neoliberalism has not only subtly informed evangelical beliefs, but is key to the international development industry. Within Africa specifically, the shunning of neo-liberal values and excessive intervention by the state in prior years is often blamed for the

continent's multi-state crises. Many in the West believe that Marxist-based development models were heralded by "self-seeking, venal elites that were using state power for the sole purpose of furthering their own short-run, personal interests," (Bienefeld 2007, 68-69). Now, there is a resurgence of laissez-faire economics. These assumptions and beliefs have helped push responsibility for development away from the state and have supported the continued privatization of the development industry. Both secular and faith-based NGOs espouse messages of sustainable development, financial independence and economic growth within host communities.

Neoliberalism has a commodification fetish, striving to commodify whatever has not yet been commodified. Neoliberal globalization has opened markets in places where they previously did not exist or were underdeveloped. Voluntourism, and the humanitarian world at large, has increasingly become privatized throughout the years, forcing NGOs and communities to compete for resources and donations (Daley 2013, 376-377). This commodification endeavor is an inevitable result of neoliberal imperialism that relies on the free market to increase capital while ignoring the structural inequalities that have hindered past efforts.

2.5.2 Othering

The inequalities between the Global North and the Global South have led to the process of "othering" international aid receiving communities. While the Global North certainly wields great economic power, its real power comes from the ability to "define, represent and theorize the 'Other'" (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 2). Stereotypes perpetuated in popular, news and social media have instilled a specific idea in the minds of Westerners about these communities as the "Other." Poor communities in the Global South are envisioned as passive victims who live in filthy slums in a perpetual state of extreme starvation (Schwarz 2019, 2). The argument that shocking photos of children in extreme poverty will bring the most attention to suffering and help alleviate it is a contradiction.

Rather than conveying messages of independence from Western aid — which theoretically should be the goal of any sustainable development project — these images depict the Other dependent charity cases (Sin and He 2018, 5-6).

Dehumanizing imagery used by both NGOs and voluntourists can nurture racist attitudes. Repeatedly designating people in the Global South as the ‘Other’ relegates them to being solely objects of pity. This reinforces the idea that the Global South needs to be saved by the charitable Global North, ingraining “feelings of superiority and paternalism” (Nathanson 2013, 106-107). The inequality of power that creates the Other is powered by the “white gaze,” which views and values the Other as exotic, but preserves whiteness at the top of the global hierarchy (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 3). Aid-receiving communities can consciously and unconsciously accept this designation. In studying voluntourist interactions with Malawi orphans, Freidus observed that children felt special just to be in the presence of white people; white is seen as special or privileged, so the children feel lucky to be in the presence of the volunteers (2016, 8).

While “othering” can hinder development efforts in the Global South, it also has consequences on communities in the Global North. For many voluntourists, poverty is something that happens to “those people over there.” Voluntourists are often undereducated or unaware of the poverty that exists in their own countries. The focus on poverty in developing nations creates division, where even the most extreme forms of poverty in Western countries are not nearly as bad compared to the Global South (Godfrey et al. et al. 2019, 9). The poor in the Global North are often seen as less deserving because of the programs available to them; however, just as with the Global South, this ignores the historical and structural inequalities that cause poverty (Freidus 2016, 10).

2.5.3 Social Capital Theory

Social capital theory has been used by some scholars to explain the role of organized religion in international development. The theory contends that social networks

are of value due to the interpersonal connections they create. For religions, interpersonal connections are vital to not only recruiting new members, but maintaining a community in which members want to actively participate. By exposing people to the needs of others, providing opportunities for recruitment, and fostering trust, social capital promotes charitable activity (Mylek and Nel 2010, 84). As voluntourists often cite the desire for intimacy in their volunteer experience, social capital can be used to help explain religious involvement in social networks.

3. Objectives

This section lays out the purpose of this research by defining the problem, stating the research questions and discussing limitations.

3.1 Problem Statement

As the literature review has shown, the majority of research into voluntourism and FBOs has focused on motives and outcomes on host communities. Scholarship that includes social media primarily centers on the photos the voluntourists chose to share, rather than the NGOs. This paper seeks to bridge the divide between previous research into voluntourism and FBOs, and social media. Additionally, this research will consider a counter analysis from an organization that publicly criticizes FBO intervention in the Global South. Through a mixed-method content analysis of the Instagram accounts of Serving His Children (@ServingHis), Amazima Ministries International (@Amazima) and No White Saviors (@NoWhiteSaviors), this paper will juxtapose language and images used by Evangelical voluntourism agencies (Serving His Children and Amazima) and those campaigning against the neocolonial attitudes attached to these international aid organizations (No White Saviors). By analyzing the subject and composition of photos in relation to the words,

hashtags and style of the caption, this paper will attempt to decipher the purpose, message and meanings behind the accounts' posts.

3.2 Research Questions

The research questions this will guide this paper are as follows:

RQ1: How do Serving His Children and Amazima use photos and captions on Instagram to promote themselves?

RQ2: How do Serving His Children and Amazima portray their host communities on Instagram?

RQ3: What are the main criticisms No White Saviors has of voluntourism, in particular Serving His Children and Amazima?

RQ4: What tactics do No White Saviors employ on Instagram to criticize voluntourism?

3.3 Limitations

The narrow scope of this research presents some limitation. As this analysis provides insight into only two American Evangelical FBOs, future research into the subject could be enriched by including samples from European FBOs. Moreover, comparisons among FBOs and secular NGOs could help establish a broader understanding of social media in the development industry. While this study includes a counter analysis of a critical organization, the additional analysis of a second group like Rusty Radiator could broaden the spectrum of recorded public criticism. Additionally, this research only analyzes portrayals and criticism posted on Instagram, and does not consider other social media sites, such as Facebook or Twitter.

4. Methodology

4.1 Content Analysis

This research is guided by a mixed-method content analysis that relies on a quantitative approach to establish patterns, and a qualitative approach to determine message intent and effectiveness.

For this study, content analysis was conducted inductively, allowing for open coding and categories created throughout the analysis process. Inductive content analysis will draw out themes, patterns and categories from the data (Elo and Kyngäs 2007, 109). This means that as more data is collected and analyzed, themes and categories can change. For this research, notes will be made on the recurring language used in Instagram captions in order to determine themes and coding categories. Analysis of photos will be similarly conducted. Photos will be tagged according to location, subjects and other issues highlighted by the photo. This will be juxtaposed with the language and themes used in the caption.

Additionally, in content analysis, it is important to distinguish between user-generated content (UGC) and user-selected content (USC). UGC is original content created by the person or organization that chose to upload it, while USC is content that already exists online that is then reposted or republished by a person or account. Within USC, there is the subcategory of user-curated content, which is content specifically selected by the user to be reposted (in contrast, broader USC includes content selected for the user by another party, such as “Watch next” on YouTube, where videos are either selected by the uploader or YouTube’s algorithm). For the purpose of this study, USC will refer to previously published content that has purposefully been reposted by an account. Neuendorf et al. note that while UGC and USC are both forms of content creation, they diverge from the traditional ways of thinking about source and message content (2017, 2010). Distinguishing between the two is important, especially when trying to establish the motive and intent of posts, and the user’s relationship to the content.

4.2 Instagram and Sample Accounts

This section goes into detail on the social media platform, FBOs and their Instagram accounts, and the advocacy group selected for the study. All three organizations are based in Uganda, a country that is a hotbed for NGO activity — with current government estimates placing 13,000 NGOs operating in the country.

4.2.1 Instagram

Founded in 2010, Facebook-owned Instagram is a photo and video-sharing social networking site. It is available on a desktop, but mostly used via the Instagram app for Apple and Android. The network provides users with a variety of social functions. Users can “follow” people or organizations that interest them, and be “followed” in return. Users can post both photos and videos, which then appear in the news feed of those who follow them. Instagram allows users to post up to 10 photos or short videos per post, basically in a slide show format. Within their posts, users can tag people or organizations in the photo or that are related to it; users can also use geolocation to tag their photo to a specific area.

With the post, users can publish a caption where they can also include hashtags — a word or phrase preceded by the pound key (#). Both geolocations and hashtags make it possible for users to easily find posts from accounts they don’t follow. For instance, if someone searches the hashtag #Travel, all posts that have captions with that hashtag will appear and be ordered either by “most popular” or “most recent.” For businesses, brands and organizations, hashtags are critical in order to reach new followers.

Instagram also allows users to post photos and videos via its Stories function, which appear in a row at the top of a user’s newsfeed and disappear 24 hours after being posted. However, users may choose to save their Stories and categorize them into different “Story Highlights” that appear on their profile. Furthermore, Instagram has a semi-separate video platform, IGTV, which allows users to post longer videos than the main platform can support.

As of June 2018, Instagram reported 1 billion monthly users. Seventy-three percent of content posted are photos, and 89% of marketers believe Instagram is an important part

of a marketing strategy. Furthermore, 66% of users say they use Instagram specifically to follow and interact with brands; 45% of users reported their biggest interest as travel (Iqbal 2020).

4.2.2. Serving His Children

Serving His Children (SHC) is an American FBO registered in Virginia and based in Jinja, Uganda. Founded in 2010 by Renee Bach, SHC works to “break the cycle of malnutrition” by providing nutrition education and medical treatment. Bach, who was about 19 at the time, said she felt called by God to set up her own charity in Jinja after spending nine months volunteering there in an orphanage with other Evangelical teens. In 2019, SHC reported \$167,845 (148.600 euros) in total revenue for fiscal year 2018 — \$167,818 (148.576 euros) of which came from contributions and grants.

In August 2019, numerous news outlets reported that Bach was accused by former patients, families and employees of acting as a doctor without a medical license or any medical training. *NPR* reported that 105 children died at the SHC clinic between 2010 and 2019. While Bach confirmed that she occasionally inserted IVs or ran tubing for blood transfusions into children, her lawyer claims she never represented herself as a doctor. Due to the current allegations against and investigation into its founder, SHC currently has a “moderate concern advisory” on Charity Navigator, which provides donors with information to inform their financial decisions.

The SHC Instagram account posted its first photo in 2014. As of 5 June 2020, SHC has 1,722 followers and has published 298 posts. SHC was chosen because of the newsworthiness of the controversy surrounding its founder and practice, and because it has been publicly criticized by No White Saviors.

4.2.3 Amazima

Amazima Ministries was founded in Jinja, Uganda in 2008 by American Katie Davis who was about 20 at the time. On Amazima’s website, Davis says God led her to found the

FBO after she volunteered in Uganda in 2006. Davis herself is the author of two memoirs, *Kisses from Katie: A Story of Relentless Love and Redemption* (2011) and *Daring to Hope: Finding God's Goodness in the Broken and the Beautiful* (2017). Her debut book reflects on her first years in Uganda and her adoption of 14 Ugandan children, a point of criticism from some activists. Amazima has a variety of endeavours, including a school, scholarship program, vocational training, farming programs, scholarships and medical services. On its website, Amazima says that all of its programs are “built on a biblical perspective with an emphasis on relationship and disciple-making.”

Registered in Tennessee, Amazima reported \$5,247,050 (4.645.449 euros) to the IRS in revenue in 2018, \$4,873,108 (4.314.381 euros) of which came from contributions, gifts and grants. The NGO currently has a four star rating on Charity Navigator due to high levels of financial accountability and transparency.

Amazima published its first photo on Instagram in 2012. As of 5 June 2020, Amazima has 31,000 followers and has since published 1,099 posts. I found Amazima by going through the list of who SHC follows on Instagram. Amazima was selected because of its relationship with SHC, and because it has been publicly criticized by No White Saviors.

4.2.4 No White Saviors

No White Saviors is registered as Ugandan community-based organization founded by social workers Olivia Alaso (Ugandan) and Kelsey Nielsen (American), and staffed by Ugandans. The two women began the organization in order to challenge the narrative of development and evangelical work being done throughout the African continent (Akumu 2019). As Nielsen is a former American missionary, she frequently refers to herself as a “white savior in recovery.” NWS uses Instagram to publicly call out perceived instances white saviorism and neocolonialism, typically sharing screenshots of the offending posts accompanied by long, detailed captions explaining the offense. Both Amazima and SHC have been targeted by NWS for the photos they post on Instagram, their language used in

the captions and the way the FBOs operate. NWS has also used their platform to solicit donations to help pay for the legal fees of the families currently suing SHC.

No White Savior's Instagram account began in 2018. Since then, it has published 553 posts and has garnered 569,000 followers as of 6 June 2020. As an advocacy group in Uganda, No White Savivors was selected to provide a counterpoint analysis and a juxtaposition of how the two FBOs perceive and present themselves.

4.3 Defining and Collecting the Sample

After identifying the accounts for this study, random sampling was conducted in order to collect photos and their corresponding captions. In total, the accounts have posted a combined 1,950 posts. After selecting a time frame, and introducing parameters, which are explained in the following paragraphs, for the type of posts to be included, 121 posts were eventually randomly selected — 42 from SHC, 60 from Amazima and 19 from NWS.

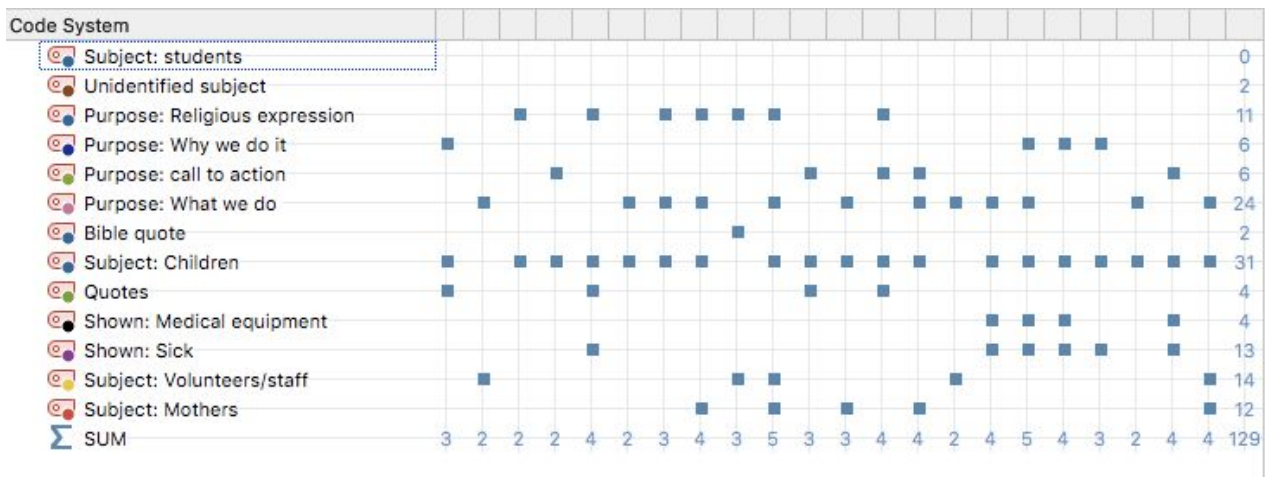
For both Amazima and SHC, the population includes Instagram posts and their captions from years 2014-2018. Each post in a given month was counted and the monthly total number was entered into Google's random number generator, which then produced a random number correlating to a photo in the month time frame. That photo and caption were then captured with a screenshot and entered into the data set. Only photos that include people (host community and/or volunteers) were selected. This excluded memes, general scenic photos of Jinja and other posts not related to the study of how FBOs portray themselves on social media. If the post did not fit within the parameters, a new number was generated.

For NWS, photos were selected for each month available from the years 2018-2019. All posts in a given month were counted, and that number was entered into Google's random number generator, which then produced a random number correlating to a photo in the month time frame. As NWS uses its account differently than SHC and Amazima —

frequently sharing screenshots of images, texts and artwork — the parameters did not exclude photos without human subjects.

For all three accounts, only posts made on the actual account were included in the study. Post made on Instagram Stories or Story Highlights were excluded. Additionally, videos, both on Instagram and IGTV, were not included in the sample. For randomly selected posts that included more than one photo, a random number was generated to select which photo in the post would be analyzed.

An example of a coding sheet used for posts by Serving His Children follows:



The coding sheets available in Appendix 2 are condensed versions of the data sets contained in Appendix 3.

5. Findings

This section introduces the quantitative results of the analysis for all three selected accounts. The findings are broken into two sections, the visual post and the accompanying written caption. SHC and Amazima posts were analyzed for subjects, themes and purpose. NWS posts were analyzed to determine themes, type of post and purpose. For all accounts, a single post could include multiple subjects, purpose and themes. Captions for all accounts were analyzed for recurring words, messages and styles.

5.1 Serving His Children

While analyzing the 42 posts sampled from SHC, different categories emerged regarding the subject and purpose of the post. For the post subject, three main groups were observed: children, mothers and volunteers/staff. For the purpose of the post, four main subcategories were noted: call to action, what we do, why we do it and religious expression. The category “call to action” is used to label any post that appeals to the viewer for any type of action, whether it be financial support, signing up for a newsletter or participating in prayer. The grouping “what we do” is attached to posts that tell the viewer what SHC does in Uganda; similarly, “why we do it” is attached to posts that describe why SHC and its volunteers work in the country. Finally, “religious expression” is used to label posts that promote the religious affiliation of SHC. Other codes were developed to label reoccurring objects, situations and effects added to posts, such as Bible verses and inspirational quotes.

Twenty-four posts were categorized as “what we do,” while eleven conveyed purposes of religious expression. Six posts were labeled as “why we do it,” and another six were labeled as a “call to action.” Additionally, two posts contained Biblical quotes added onto the photo and another four photos had a non-Bible quote added.

Thirty-one posts featured children, 13 of whom were visibly sick or malnourished; one of the children was announced to have died. Four of those 13 posts showed children hooked up to various medical equipment. Volunteers and staff were featured in 14 posts. Meanwhile mothers (or grandmothers) were shown in 12 posts. Additionally, two posts contained unidentified subjects.

Of the 42 sample posts, all but two were uploaded with captions. While some captions were long and detailed the photo, others were extremely short and only included hashtags. An analysis on Textalyzer found the most commonly repeated word in the captions was “malnutrition,” occurring 25 times. “Uganda” appeared 18 times, “nutrition” appeared nine times, and both “child” and “team” appeared eight times. Three of SHC’s

captions contained passages from the Bible, and another three contained an inspirational quote. The most telling recurring words — thankful (5), empowering/empowered/empower (4), blessed (3) — will be relied on in the qualitative discussion in the next section.

Overall, the majority of posts from SHC portray women and children in the organization's care. In the early days of SHC's account, published posts frequently showed visibly sick and malnourished children. However, these types of posts stop in late 2017/early 2018, about the time the allegations that hundreds of children had died at SHC surfaced in the media. Furthermore, a majority of posts function to inform its audience on what the organization is doing in Uganda. A significant minority of posts convey overt religious expression and themes. Most telling is the handful of photos that focus on the idea of empowering Ugandan families to "break the cycle of malnutrition" through education and religious belief.

5.2 Amazima

Sixty-one posts from Amazima were analyzed using almost all the same codes created for SHC, including the purpose codes: what we do, why we do it, call to action and religious expression. Thirty-seven posts were labeled as "what we do," while 13 were categorized as "why we do it." Twenty-seven posts were coded as posts of "religious expression," with 17 being labeled as a "call to action."

Four main groups of subjects were observed: mothers, children, volunteers/staff and students. As Amazima runs a school, the distinction between Amazima students and regular Ugandan children is important. Twenty-six posts included children and an additional 22 posts included children who were identified as students. Sixteen posts included Amazima volunteers or staff, and six included mothers. Additionally, another eight posts contained unidentifiable subjects, meaning faces were not visible or the post as a whole did not identify the person in the post or their link to Amazima.

All of Amazima's sampled posts were uploaded with a caption. A Textalyser analysis of the caption found that "Amazima" was the most used word (26), followed by "school" and "love" (14), "students" and "children" (12), and Christ (11). Three of Amazima's captions were passages from the Bible, and the other five were some form of inspirational quote. Amazima's "Sponsorship Outreach" program was directly mentioned four times, and two captions promoted products for sale. Important for the qualitative analysis is the recurrence of the forms of the word "empower" (e.g. empowering), which was observed twice; variations of "sponsor" (e.g. sponsored) was seen five times; forms of the word "disciple" (e.g. discipleship) were counted four times; finally, different versions of the word "generous" (e.g. generosity) were observed six times.

Overall, the majority of Amazima's posts featured children from the Amazima school, and were intended to convey to viewers what Amazima does, in addition to promoting religious beliefs. The account is also used frequently to publish calls to actions, which range from asking for prayers and soliciting donations, to recruiting volunteers and teachers and providing links to purchase items.

5.3 No White Saviors

In total, 19 posts were analyzed and coded by type of post, theme, purpose and, in cases of photos, subject. Four of the posts were screenshots of Tweets, three were screenshots of articles and another three were screenshots of photos taken from blogs or Instagram. Memes and illustrations were counted four times each, and some form of a quote was featured in four as well. Recurring themes observed included white saviorism (9), neo-colonization (4), appropriation (3) and poverty porn (3). Multiple posts were labeled by a specific purpose, the most prominent one being "criticizing FBOs," which was observed four times. More specifically, public criticism of SHC was seen in four posts, and criticism of Amazima was noted twice. Among the posts that criticize FBOs and included people, three

showed FBO staff and volunteers and two reproduced images of children. One post, a screenshot from the blog of the SHC founder, showed a sick child hooked up to medical equipment.

Of the 19 posts uploaded, 18 were accompanied with captions. The most frequently recurring words were “white” (30), “people” (27), “children” (15), “Uganda” (15) and “American” (11). Additionally, the phrase “white supremacy” was counted five times; “white American” and “white savior” were each used four times; “white savior complex” was used two times. In general, the posts from NWS are accompanied by lengthy captions, particularly the posts that are critical of specific people or organizations. Captions also frequently including words, phrases or entire sentences in all capital letters. This was observed 16 times. Additionally, two captions directly asked readers for donations via Paypal and Venmo.

Overall, NWS does not appear to have uniformity on the type of posts it published, instead using a variety of illustrations, memes and screenshots of Tweets, news articles and Instagram posts. Despite the lack of uniformity in post type, the messages NWS intends to convey remain consistent.

6. Discussion

This section will go further into the qualitative analysis of all three accounts. The accounts of Serving His Children and Amazima are juxtaposed for commonality in intent and message, and differences in style and tone. The accounts will also be briefly compared to the account of a more mainstream FBO, Christian Aid. Finally, a qualitative analysis of No White Savior’s account will further discuss the messages, intent and effectiveness of its posts.

6.1 Serving His Children: Being Empowered and Blessed

Overall, SHC uses Instagram to portray messages of empowerment and blessings, two themes essential to the organization. Prior to the COVID-19 outbreak, the about section on the SHC website described itself as a “God-breathed and directed ministry.” SHC claims that it educates families on the cycle of malnutrition and empowers locals, leaders and hospitals to “utilize available resources and implement comprehensive, sustainable solutions.” The inherent saviorism in that language is obvious and is further portrayed on SHC’s Instagram.

Fig. 1 from Sept. 2014 reads: “Our newest little princess. Shadia was referred by a mom whose child was formerly in the program. She recognized the malnutrition because of what she learned in our nutrition classes.” What stands out the most from that caption is SHC’s claim that a mother “recognized the malnutrition because of what she learned in our nutrition classes.” Here, SHC is stating that without its nutrition classes, that mother would not have been able to tell that the child was malnourished and dying. Another post (fig. 2) from Sept. 2015 discusses twins who were brought in by their grandmother after their mother died in childbirth. The following lines from the caption stand out the most:

While she was with us she learned a lot about nutrition and how to best care for the health of her two new little pals. She was poured into by us and our staff and was taught the Gospel on a daily basis. Right before they left I was also getting ready to leave and go back to America for a quick stay and JaJa Twins came to me and said, ‘auntie thank you! For me, I was afraid if I took these babies home they would just die, but now you people here have taught me and I’m not afraid anymore! Because I also know that God is helping me.’

Here, again SHC portrays itself as these children’s savior. Without SHC, these twins’ grandmother would not have been able to properly care for her grandchildren. A post from (fig. 3) Sept. 2017 reads: “Our model is truly family oriented - our aim (and hope) is that the weeks a caretaker spends at our facility with their child will not only restore the health of their child, but also empower them to break the cycle of malnutrition when they return to their home village.” According to this caption, SHC not only nurtures children back to health, but also teaches caretakers how to end malnutrition in their own villages.

This self-portrayal of empowering and teaching locals is seen in SHC's work outside of its nutrition program. Fig. 4, published in Nov. 2015, details a trip SHC took to visit a school in another village run by The African SOUP, another U.S.-based FBO that operates schools in Uganda. The standout line from this caption reads: "This school is dedicated to teaching active learning. Most Ugandan schools teach by memorization and repetition. The SOUP comes along [with] current school curriculum and helps bridge the gap by teaching creative and critical thinking." The key phrase here is "The SOUP comes along [with] current school curriculum," implying that the Ugandan style of teaching is outdated and that the Western method is superior. Another post (fig. 5) from May 2016 continues to focus on empowering local communities: "We have been working with a village called Nigeria, empowering them to plant and harvest their own sustainable agriculture!" The discourse of "empowering" locals through Western sustainable development is typical in the development industry, and isn't relegated solely to FBOs.

All of these posts contain either images or language that convey and support Western superiority, with the belief that the locals are helpless without Western intervention. SHC promotes this idea that education and empowerment will end the epidemic of malnutrition in Uganda. However, these posts do not offer a lot of insight into how SHC educates families on malnutrition. As previously mentioned in the Findings section, various forms of the word "empower" was used four times, yet very little information is given into what empowering locals means. For example, the caption from fig. 3 says that the SHC model "empowers" caretakers to end malnutrition in their own villages after being taught how by SHC staff. Yet, SHC doesn't detail any specific actions, resources or tools that caretakers are given. Viewers are left to make their own assumptions on how SHC "empowers" communities.

Moreover, SHC's posts do very little in actually explaining the issue of malnutrition. SHC frequently refers to the issue as "the cycle of malnutrition," something that has to be

broken. Again, SHC fails to explain what it means by malnutrition being a cycle. The posts generally oversimplify malnutrition, singling out education and “empowerment” as the two things that will eradicate malnutrition. This oversimplification is an oft-cited criticism of FBOs and voluntourism. Viewers are not informed about the systemic and historical issues that have created and perpetuated this generational cycle of malnutrition. Instead, viewers are led to believe that the heart of the issue is simply a mother’s inability to recognize malnutrition — as evident by posts that glorify SHC’s nutrition classes.

Not only does SHC’s Instagram promote ideas of Western superiority, but the account also publishes poverty porn backed by religious beliefs. While SHC does not partake in the more stereotypical posts — White voluntourists surrounded by dirty African children — photos of sick, malnourished children frequent the account. These photos are often rife with Evangelical sentiments about being blessed and thankful. A particularly disturbing post (fig. 6) from Aug. 2014 shows a severely malnourished child hooked up to various medical equipment and being spoon-fed. The caption reads: “#throwbackthursday #tbt One of our little angels Twalali who was here last summer and entered into eternal rest. Not a day goes by that we dont think of our angels and how thankful we were to be blessed by their lives. #servinghis #servinghisangels #malnutrition #masese #uganda.” The photo itself can be labeled as poverty porn, especially as a white hand is seen feeding this starving child. The caption is even more disturbing as it reveals that that child is now dead. SHC reiterates Evangelical thought that is promoted by many FBOs: being thankful that we were blessed to be in these unfortunate people's' lives.

The caption is even more tone def when considering the choice to use the hashtags #throwbackthursday and #tbt. These hashtags are most synonymous with people posting old photos to highlight a good time in their life. Considering the child in the photo was already dead when it was posted, the caption and hashtags feel exploitative.

A June 2017 post (fig. 7) further expressed SHC's belief that it is blessed and grateful to do the work it does. The photo shows three malnourished children sitting on makeshift hospital beds with two Ugandan women, and the caption says, "We are never excited to meet new kiddos suffering from malnutrition, but we are so grateful that the Lord has allowed us to meet a need in this area." While at first glance the photo and caption seem benign, the last part of the sentence is telling. SHC operates under the belief that God has allowed them specifically to fight malnutrition. This mindset feeds the savior complex, and adds a layer of religious superiority on top of Western superiority. This also creates a deeper divide in power relations. As previously mentioned in the Literature Review, communities in the Global South value religious institutions are more likely to trust religious NGOs than secular ones. With SHC operating under the belief that God is behind their crusade, there leaves little room for acknowledging mistakes — how could a God-backed group make mistakes?

The allegations that over one hundred children died at the SHC medical center is evidence of how this belief and attitude can be harmful and dangerous to host communities. SHC's founder Renee Bach is accused of participating in serious medical procedures, such as blood transfusions and dosing medication, despite not being a doctor or nurse. Furthermore, some former employees and families allege that Bach presented herself as a doctor. While Bach has denied some of the more serious charges, like administering an unnecessary blood transfusion, she has admitted to lesser charges, like inserting IVs, which she claims she was trained how to do. Specifically, related to this research is the child from fig. 6, Twalali, the subject of the odd, to say the least, #TBT photo. The boy's grandmother claims she saw Bach personally give him medicine and place him on oxygen. However, Bach claims she was out of the country when the boy was treated.

After the allegations were first published in the summer of 2019, Bach left Uganda, where there is currently a court case against her. Around 2018, the SHC Instagram started to shift its focus. Fewer photos of acutely malnourished children hooked up to IVs were

published, and the focus of the account seems to shift to happy families and qualified volunteers and staff. It is about this time that the rumors of deaths at SHC were being investigated by media and Ugandan authorities. One can surmise that SHC intended to create a narrative of qualified, local nurses and staff who help to save children and create healthy, happy families. After the publication of the allegations, SHC almost all but abandoned posting photos of their work on Instagram, choosing instead to publish screenshots of pro-SHC news stories and press releases from the SHC lawyer.

6.2 Amazima: Transforming Lives Through God

Much like SHC and its obsession with the idea of “empowerment,” Amazima is fixated on the idea of transformation. Four posts repeat the summary phrase of Amazima’s goals: “transformed lives, restored relationships and changed communities.” But, much like SHC, Amazima doesn’t really elaborate on what it means by that phrase. Fig. 8 is a post from Nov. 2018, which shows a Black man participating in some sort of worship ceremony. Fig. 8’s caption states: “The vision for Amazima’s work is that every person we serve would know Christ and make him known, resulting in transformed lives, restored relationships, and changed communities. We love this vision God has laid before us and the joy it is to work toward this with each of you!” The ideas of transforming lives and changing communities is vague and not supported by concrete examples or ideas of what that actually means. Fig. 9 and fig. 10, posted in Oct. and Sept. 2018, respectively, echo similar sentiments. Fig. 9 shows a happy, young Ugandan boy. The caption announces the 10 year anniversary of Amazima, stating: “10 years of seeing this knowing of Christ result in transformed lives, restored relationships, and changed communities!” Presumably, this young boy is smiling because his life has been transformed through Amazima and God. However, with no elaboration or context, the user is left to speculate what exactly that means. Fig. 10 shows a young Ugandan schoolboy running through a human tunnel of other school kids. The caption

reads, in part, “Through Christ, we see transformed lives + restored relationships + changed communities happening.” Again, the viewer is left to figure out what that means.

Besides promoting vague ideas about what Amazima does, the posts also fail to address the real issues the local community faces. The reality of these communities is rarely conveyed to the viewer, which often leads to the question: From what are these communities transforming? A few posts (fig. 11 and fig. 12) mention the success of Amazima’s food program, specifying the hundreds of children they are able to feed. However, no context is given regarding access to food in the community. With no explanation as to who these children are and why Amazima is providing food, the viewer is left to fill in blanks based on their own previous knowledge. As previously discussed, Western audiences generally do not have a solid understanding of the historical and systemic policies which keep people in poverty and cause food insecurity. A Western viewer might conclude that the community is ignorant when it comes to growing food, or that the soil is not fertile, so Amazima is needed to provide for them. Amazima’s obsession and focus on transforming people ignores historical and systemic policies and fails to educate its Western audience on the challenges the community faces.

Additionally, Amazima embodies the neoliberal ideology unique to Evangelical Christianity. Two posts (fig. 13 and fig. 14) directs viewers to links where they can buy items to help support Amazima. Fig. 13 contains a photo of the book *Kisses from Katie*, written by Amazima founder Katie Davis. The cover of the book itself is a stereotypical voluntourist photo — Davis, a young, white woman, walking down a dirt road while holding the hands of young Ugandan children. The photo’s caption reads: “This #CyberMonday, empower women, children, and families in Uganda with your purchases! Now through midnight, every dollar you spend (up to \$15,000) on Amazima’s store will be matched thanks to a group of generous donors.” Aside from using Amazima to sell copies of Davis’ own memoir, the post links empowerment with material possessions. Furthermore, the decision to feature Davis’

book rather than one of the gift baskets available to be donated to Ugandan families, places the value of the voluntourist experience, rather than the labor of the locals.

The post in fig. 14 is a more overt example of neoliberal beliefs. The post, which features an older Ugandan woman who appears to be sitting in a circle, is accompanied by the following caption:

On Tuesdays, we meet with Amazima's artisans to pay them for their week's work, share prayer requests and testimonies, and study the Word of God. We've been doing this for 5+ years now, and have seen lives and families transformed. God has used jewelry sales to help our artisans support their families, feed other children in the community of Masese, and ultimately to open up the door for many to hear about the HOPE found in Christ. When you shop at www.amazimastore.org, you invest in so much more than cute jewelry!

Here, labor, capital and religious belief are presented as essential to each other. The caption claims that families have been “transformed” due to an increase in capital and shared religious experiences. However, the most telling line purports that God uses jewelry sales to help support families and “ultimately to open up the door for many to hear about the HOPE found in Christ.” This sentence starts by claiming that divine intervention is responsible for the success these artisans have had, rather than their skills or labor. The conflation of God with capital success was previously discussed, but this example shows how ingrained the belief is at Amazima, and how it is passed on to the community. The last part of the sentence reveals the true intention of the jewelry — to spread the Evangelical message. Essentially, if you want to be a successful artisan, God is the number one jewelry salesman — a point I apparently missed during eight years of Catholic school.

The artisans are the subject of two other posts. Fig. 15, published in Sept. 2015, is a portrait of a middle-aged Ugandan woman. The caption details how she was forced to resort “to a harmful lifestyle” after her husband left her and their children. However, after joining the artisan beading circle, she’s been able to provide for her children and “walk in freedom.” Fig. 16, posted in Oct. 2014, shows the women working in the beading circle with the following caption: “This is redemption. This is a testimony of God's great love. This is the Masese

Women's Beading Circle.” The idea of women being able to support their families through jewelry sales and leave more dangerous lifestyles behind is noble. However, neoliberal thought is seen in the line “This is a testimony of God’s great love.” Here, financial independence and an increase in capital is the direct result of divine intervention, rather than the labor of the women.

6.3 Evangelism and the White Savior Complex

Both SHC and Amazima build their organizations on Evangelical beliefs and promote those beliefs throughout their Instagram. Evangelism is a primary goal of both groups, although Amazima is more obvious about it than SHC. Fig. 17, posted in May 2015, shows a Ugandan student receiving supplies from an adult. The caption says, “Regardless of how we're serving or who we're loving, our vision stays the same: to see every person we serve come to know Christ and make Him known, resulting in transformed lives, restored relationships, and changed communities.” Amazima explicitly states that no matter what type of development project it does, religious conversion will always be the end game. In Feb. 2017, Amazima posted a photo of Ugandan girls at the Amazima school (fig. 18). In the caption, Amazima states: “Our goal is to make disciples and we believe the classroom offers the greatest potential to do so.” Here, Amazima acknowledges again that its school is another conduit to recruit new church members.

SHC repeatedly uses Instagram to state that religious belief is essential to eradicating malnutrition in communities. A photo (fig. 19) from Aug. 2016, shows a group of Ugandan women sitting in a circle for Bible study. The caption states: “Spiritual guidance and growth is an essential part of transforming communities and empowering families and care for themselves and raise happy, healthy children.” While this is another example of the vague uses of transformation and empowerment, it is one of the few that offers any sort of concrete example of what those entail. In order for these families to be empowered, they first

must be spiritually “transformed.” However, that is still a vague statement that leaves the viewer to fill in the blanks. Presumably, this spiritual transformation is a code for conversion to Evangelical Christianity.

Both Amazima and SHC frequently post photos that employ quotes from the Bible in the caption to promote their evangelism. A black and white Amazima photo (fig. 20) from March 2017 shows a young Ugandan participating in a church service. The caption is from the gospel of Matthew, and states: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you." A similar August 2015 post (fig. 21) from SHC shows a Black man preaching in front of a crowd. A quote from the book of Romans photoshopped on time image reads: "We are most proud to proclaim the extraordinary message of God's powerful plan to rescue all who trust Him." These posts highlight the FBOs' goal of converting local communities and reinforce the belief that this is their mission from God.

Fig. 21 also contains white savior rhetoric backed by religious authority. In this post, the word “rescue” is highlighted via blue text color while the rest of the text is in white. According to SHC, the local people it serves are in need of being rescued, not only with food and education, but with religion as well. Here, SHC conveys the message that the local community that God, through SHC, will rescue them from their suffering. The idea of Global South communities needing to be rescued by the Global North is another highly criticized narrative in voluntourism. It places the Global North NGO as the savior of the community, causing further power divides. In this case, not only does SHC adopt the position of savior, but it does so with divine backing. An October 2016 post (fig. 22) from Amazima shows a young Ugandan boy and nurse, with a caption that states: “@amazima's heart is to meet the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of the people God entrusts to us.” Like SHC, Amazima refers to a divine command to establish its authority. God has entrusted all needs

of the local community to Amazima — a belief that can be harmful to communities as it places them as the Other in need of charity for all things.

A final example of the white savior narrative is seen in the SHC's post (fig. 23) from June 2016. The image, posted without a caption, shows a malnourished Ugandan child holding onto the finger of an adult. A quote placed over the images reads: "I used to want to fix people, but now I just want to be with them." The idea behind this quote is ingrained in the voluntourist mindset, and one of the main criticisms against it. The quote relates to the idea that even if voluntourists lack skills or necessary qualifications, they are still valuable to the local community. It harkens images of unskilled and unqualified Westerners who think that just spending time with developing communities somehow benefits them. Here, Western superiority is assumed, and the Global South is expected to feel lucky that Westerners want to spend time with them. This credence is especially troublesome when paired with Amazima and SHC's belief that God is directing everything they do. Again, if divine intervention created and controls them, how can anything Amazima and SHC do be wrong or harmful?

While some white savior narratives subjugate the Global South as destitute Others who can be saved through a mix of Evangelical Christianity and neoliberalism, another narrative resigns to being poor, but happy. As discussed in the literature review, this belief that poor people live more fulfilling lives because they aren't held down by material wealth. Fig. 24 posted in June 2016 by Amazima shows a group of Ugandan girls from the Amazima school, all wearing clean, new uniforms and holding hands while smiling at the camera. The caption states: "You're not rich until you have things money can't buy." This sentiment is rather common in the Western world, and is not unique to Amazima nor the world of development. However, it does reinforce the "poor but happy" narrative that is used to effectively belittle poor communities, both in the Global North and the Global South. This post from Amazima is especially interesting, as the photo showcases children who are able

to attend the Amazima school because of donations from Westerners. The viewer is left with the idea that these children are rich because of their poverty and the generosity of donors.

Posting stereotypical photos and placing White people at the center of development discussions is one of the biggest marks of promoting the white savior narrative. While Amazima and SHC post relatively few photos that center on White people, they frequently use their accounts to solicit donations and celebrate benefactors for their generosity. Amazima in particular relies heavily on sponsorship for the children in their care. One post (fig. 25) thanks sponsors for providing the means for children to take home educational worksheets while on holiday. Another, (fig. 26) shows a young schoolgirl who wants to become a doctor. The caption reads: “Because of your generosity, hundreds of students like Lillian have hope for the future. Thank you for joining us on our mission to educate and empower the people of Uganda with God’s love!” Here, American sponsors are being fed the white savior narrative of providing a future to children who otherwise would not have had one — all without having to leave their home.

6.4 Comparison with Christian Aid

While Amazima and SHC have used Instagram to promote themselves, recruit volunteers and evangelize their beliefs, the two groups are relatively small when compared to other FBOs and development agencies. U.K.-based Christian Aid is a big player in the development industry, and a brief look at its Instagram shows a more mature and educated FBO. Unlike SHC and Amazima, Christian Aid often provides context in the caption of its posts. For instance, a post (Fig. 27) that proclaims “43% of children under 5 in India are malnourished” includes some information about the caste these children often belong to and how inequality contributes to malnutrition. Other posts that show refugees and migrants offer brief explanations related to internal conflict and the effects of climate change — drought, flooding, famine, etc. Rather than discuss the issues that cause malnutrition, SHC prefers to

label it a “cycle,” which can lead one to assume that malnutrition always was and always will be.

As Christian Aid is a Christian organization, religious themes are prevalent on its account. However, while religion is highlighted via Bible passages and celebration of religious holidays, religious conversion isn’t promoted like it is on SHC and Amazima. This could be due to the fact Christian Aid is made up of groups and people from a variety of Christian churches, therefore promoting conversion to one group could cause internal problems. Nevertheless, the religious tones, while prominent, don’t feel as aggressive as with SHC, and especially Amazima. For example, fig. 14 from Amazima that credits God with directing jewelry sales is a stark contrast to how Christian Aid talks about the artisans it works with. Fig. 28 shows an Indian woman working on a sewing machine. The caption details how the woman, born into one of the lowest castes, was able to lift herself out of poverty: “We believe that everyone should have the chance to use their God-given gifts to build a better future... Ranjita used her determination to claim her rightful Dalit compensation from the government and train as tailor.” While the caption does refer to being a seamstress as a “God-given gift” — a pretty mainstream phrase in Christianity — it places the success of talent and labor solely with the woman: her determination and her rightful compensation.

Overall, the white savior narrative doesn’t appear as prevalent on Christian Aid’s account. Photos of receiving communities and people don’t portray them as helpless Others, dependent on the charity of the Global North. Posts generally appear to provide some sort of context for why suffering exists or why it continues to exist despite work done by NGOs. White people are shown on Christian Aid’s account, however, they’re relegated to photos from charity events in the U.K., not doing fieldwork in the Global South.

6.5 No White Saviors Critique

No White Saviors provides numerous criticisms of voluntourism, Western intervention and missionary work. The group denounces a variety of acts it deems instances of white saviorism, and Amazima and SHC are two of its biggest targets. Fig. 29, posted in September 2018, shows a screenshot of an article that features *Kisses from Katie*, the memoir written by Amazima's founder, Katie Davis. In the caption, NWS takes issue with Davis' adoption of numerous Ugandan children when she was only 18 years old. Viewers are told the story of a Ugandan woman who, after hearing Davis' story, thought that should we have an easy time adopting a child. However, NWS claims that there is a double standard when it comes to White foreigners and Black nationals who want to adopt children. The caption reads, in part: "The double standard for foreign nationals runs deep. So deep that a young, single American girl can travel to Uganda and take custody of 13 children, while a married, financially secure Ugandan woman is turned down for adoption in her own country." Another post (fig. 30) from March 2019 singles out Amazima and the "Katie Davis effect" that helped push Uganda into the voluntourism limelight:

We know she is not the sole inspiration for the influx of international adoptions, short term missionary teams, orphanages & NGOs... but she has played a significant role... In her cover to cover humble brag, the book that really launched her into stardom (only amongst fellow white evangelicals) #kissesfromkatie goes into detail about all the *sacrifices* she made at age 18 to move to #Uganda. There is a very warped & dangerous rationalization or logic used within the missionary community here. God calls you to do things that, to the outsider looking in, seem wildly irresponsible. For all the reasons you aren't qualified or fit to do something, God is going to be the one who equip you!

NWS criticism is nothing new here. The mindset of being called, despite not being qualified, is evident in previously analyzed posts from Amazima and SHC. The caption on this post continues and addresses Western supremacy in one of Amazima's programs:

The NGO she started... is now headed by a white American male who decided that the organization needed to bring in White American couples to serve as "family mentors" to Ugandan youth — now why is that? They claim that it is because, "Ugandans can't display a true Biblical version of marriage"... this is white supremacy.

While the family mentorship program is never directly mentioned in any of Amazima's sampled posts, mentorship and sponsorship are referred to frequently. On Amazima's website, the family mentor page says that they look to recruit "mature, godly couples" who "have a passion for investing in secondary children and demonstrate strong Biblical marriages" to move to Uganda for two years and "mentor" 18-24 students. While the family mentors are supposedly paired with a "Ugandan Family Mentor Partner," the Western family mentors are in charge of "discipline, mentoring, counseling, tutoring, daily family devotions, and providing physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual care for each child." Since Amazima claims a Ugandan mentor works with the family mentors, NWS' question of why white American couples are needed is valid and poignant. Here it seems that Amazima would rather have couples move around the world and live off savings for two years than have Ugandans mentor Ugandan youth.

However, as critical of Amazima as NWS is, SHC and Renee Bach are the subject of the majority of its criticisms, with Bach being labeled "PURE EVIL" in one post (fig. 31). Fig. 32, posted in January 2019, is a screenshot of a now-deleted blog post that shows Bach participating in children's medical procedures. Part of the caption reads:

Can you imagine someone from Uganda moving to the U.S. and opening up their home, taking in critically ill children and directly practicing medicine without any formal training? They would be in prison after ONE death... The simple truth is that Black lives... are not valued in the same way as if it were white American children.

While there are currently no photos directly showing Bach engaging in medical procedures on SHC's Instagram, photos from the account's early days frequently show extremely malnourished children hooked up to medical equipment. The tone and language used to describe these children is often patronizing and belittling at best, and othering at worst. As previously discussed, fig. 6 shows the image of a child who died in SHC's care. The child, Twalali, is described as "one of our little angels." The caption ends with SHC saying that "not a day goes by that we don't think of our angels and how thankful we were to be blessed by

their lives.” This child is never called a child but rather an angel – a heavenly being. While the othering here might appear to be benign or even cute, the language seems to be used in order to sanitize Twalali’s death and the deaths of all the other children (another interesting note: SHC never says the child died, only that he “entered into eternal rest”). While a child dying in SHC’s care could be viewed as a negative thing, SHC is trying to spin it into some sort of divine promotion. After all, angels are typically good and holy, and in the Western mind, a child being an angel induces images of cute, chubby Cupid like creatures. How can that be bad?

This sanitization process is expressed at the end of NWS’ caption from fig. 32: “White saviourism is rooted in the core belief of the *well-meaning* that Black & African people (in our context) are to be pitied & used to soothe their white guilt.” Describing children as “angels” is not unique to this caption. SHC frequently refers to children as “kiddos,” “angels” and “ little pals.” On the surface, these names might seem cute and friendly, but they can be understood as patronizing and pitying in tone. Referring to children who have died in your care as “angels” can easily be understood as a means of soothing your own guilt.

In another post (fig. 33), NWS calls out the larger missionary world and its goal of evangelizing. Fig. 33 is a screenshot of NWS’ Tweet that calls out the hundred of years of Western colonization in Uganda under the guise of missionary work. In the caption, NWS claims there are now more Christians per capita in Uganda than any other developed country (a claim I could not verify), and asks why Western missionaries continue to come to Uganda to evangelize. Here, the compare this continued missionary work with neocolonialism:

If you can’t understand the difference between being against colonialism/imperialism under the guise of missionary work AND being anti-Christian, you have to pay more attention to what we are actually saying. We do not hold issue with those who use their faith as motivation for good. Those who respect other people’s religious/spiritual views as much as they demand respect for their own.

This goes to the heart of all criticisms and critiques that not only NWS has of Amazima and SHC, but that critiques have of FBOs and voluntourism as a whole. While Amazima and SHC might bring some good to individuals in their communities, the continued Western superiority promoted through religion, education and medicine (even if those Westerners lack qualifications) is at best disrespectful and at worst dangerous.

6.6 Final Reflections

It appears that despite the criticisms of voluntourism, especially when it comes to FBOs, organizations have done little to update their messages. In the cases of SHC and Amazima, the white savior complex and Western superiority are evident throughout their Instagram accounts. This conveys a warped sense of reality to those following the accounts in the Global North. As neither group provides any sort of explanation on the historical or systemic issues that their Ugandan communities face, Westerners are left to fill in the blanks based on their own previously, or more likely, what they've seen in movies.

While SHC doesn't appear to actively recruit voluntourists through Instagram, Amazima occasionally does. Regardless of the level of recruitment conducted, Westerners, especially young adults, interested in volunteering at Amazima or SHC are likely to browse their Instagram accounts or perhaps are already following them. On SHC, potential voluntourists are faced with images of ill, malnourished children. Voluntourists are consistently fed the message that without SHC, these children's own mothers wouldn't be able to determine that they are sick and hungry. Here, voluntourists are informed that God himself has placed these suffering families in SHC's care. On Amazima's account, potential voluntourists are shown pictures of smiling, happy children who have been blessed by the generosity of Western donors. Amazima perpetuates neoliberal values through crediting God, and the organization itself, with the local's increase of capital. When looking at more

established FBOs like Christian Aid, it is evident that both Amazima and SHC could make changes to their messaging to be more respectful of local communities if they cared to.

Both of these accounts support the white savior narrative and exemplify the concept of being called, not qualified. NWS points to this fact in its critical posts. In the case of both Amazima and SHC, two young, unqualified white American women moved to Uganda to run NGOs simply because they felt called to do so. This idea of being called is repeated on both of their Instagrams with phrases such as the caption from fig. 24: “@amazima's heart is to meet the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of the people God entrusts to us.” While the idea of a calling is not unique to Christianity nor usually harmful, the attitude can be dangerous in the development industry. If God has truly called these people to do His work, these destructive outcomes are either divine plan or the hubris untrained missionaries — and until God posts on Instagram, the blame most likely falls on the latter.

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Appendix 1: Referenced Images

SHC Figure 1



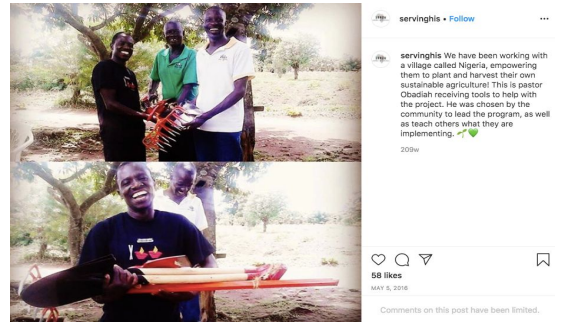
SHC Figure 4



SHC Figure 2



SHC Figure 5



SHC Figure 3



SHC Figure 6



SHC Figure 7



servingshis • Follow

servingshis Some action is happening around the SHC/Kigandalo ITC (Inpatient Treatment Center) in Maragbi! We are never excited to meet new kiddos suffering from malnutrition, but we are so grateful that the Lord has allowed us to meet a need in this area and be a part of the lives of those plagued by this horrible, preventable, disease. #endmalnutrition #servingshis #rehabilitation #communitydevelopment #uganda #africa #mayajuge

150w

rinnaa.x @cynthiagazine
125w 1 like

89 likes
JUNE 21, 2017

Comments on this post have been limited.

Amazima Figure 10



amazima • Follow

amazima Through Christ, we see transformed lives + restored relationships + changed communities happening. We're all about these three, always. And what a joy it is!

86w

emily.g.k Y'all are amazing! Love what God is doing in your lives!
86w Reply


mnelson1122 Love that photo! It's so great to see everyone so happy!
86w Reply

2brownhorses Amen!! Alleluia!!
🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌

1,081 likes
SEPTEMBER 14, 2018

Add a comment... Post

Amazima Figure 8



amazima • Follow

amazima Monday can't get us down today! We're still busy celebrating 10 years of Amazima Ministries! 10 years of making Christ known, 10 years of seeing this knowing of Christ result in transformed lives, restored relationships, and changed communities! We have nothing but joy today for that!!!!

3 days left to celebrate! Come join the party at amazima.org!

83w

644 likes
OCTOBER 8, 2018

Add a comment... Post

Amazima Figure 11



amazima • Follow

Jifa, Uganda

amazima Today alone, @amazima was able to feed 1800+ children, and send 700+ to school. ...Mondays aren't so bad after all!

235w

kristenohran
235w Reply


shoebboxofphotographs This organization is truly amazing
235w Reply

brittanybowden4 @_katherinerobbs
235w Reply

1,041 likes
NOVEMBER 9, 2018

Add a comment... Post

Amazima Figure 9



amazima • Follow

amazima The vision for Amazima's work is that every person we serve would know Christ and make him known, resulting in transformed lives, restored relationships, and changed communities. We love this vision God has laid before us and the joy it is to work toward this with each of you!

78w

here_for_a_moment 🙌🙌🙌
78w 1 like Reply

karluwemaladjew Thats help for body and soul, great!
78w 1 like Reply

651 likes
NOVEMBER 13, 2018

Add a comment... Post

Amazia Figure 12



amazima • Follow

amazima Today we've got some precious kids for our #throwbackthursday - some of the very first kids we had the privilege to love and serve here in Uganda! They were waiting in line at our feeding program when we captured this beautiful shot. What a glorious reflection of the little children our God so dearly loves! ❤️

105w

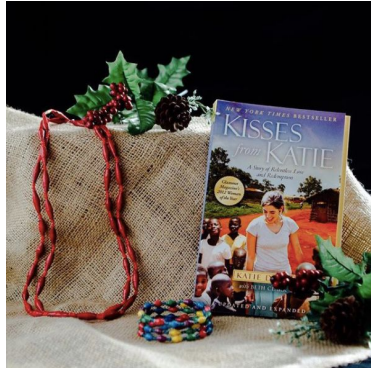
coverswim so cute
105w 1 like Reply

meaganbidison I have this picture hanging in my room, it's one of my favorites ❤️

1,258 likes
MAY 4, 2018

Add a comment... Post

Amazima Figure 13



amazima • Follow

amazima This #CyberMonday, empower women, children, and families in Uganda with your purchases! Now through midnight, every dollar you spend (up to \$15,000) on Amazima's store will be matched thanks to a group of generous donors. Shop Christmas gifts or purchase a Christmas basket for a family in Uganda for \$25: <http://bit.ly/2016-Christmas>

dmw0618 One of my favorite books of all time!

arselacey @angewm @eleni_shea @sallie7017

1,183 likes

NOVEMBER 28, 2016

Amazima Figure 16



amazima • Follow

amazima This is redemption. This is a testimony of God's great love. This is the Masese Women's Beading Circle: [\[Link in profile\]](#)

shanswope Even more lovely than I imagined!

racheltuuk Beautiful :)) I love seeing pictures of these ladies. ❤️

joy_bran They do amazing things!

791 likes

OCTOBER 16, 2014

Amazima Figure 14



amazima • Follow

amazima On Tuesdays, we meet with Amazima's artisans to pay them for their week's work, share prayer requests and testimonies, and study the Word of God. We've been doing this for 5+ years now, and have seen lives and families transformed.

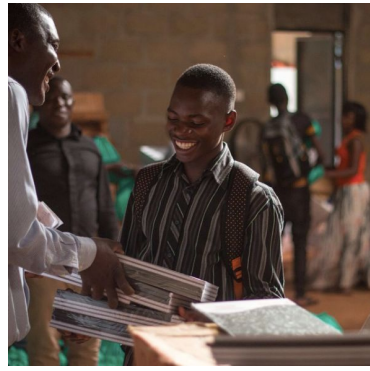
God has used jewelry sales to help our artisans support their families, feed other children in the community of Masese, and ultimately to open up the door for many to hear about the HOPE found in Christ. When you shop at www.amazimastore.org, you invest in so much more than cute jewelry!

latinaanna mau God continues

710 likes

OCTOBER 30, 2015

Amazima Figure 17



amazima • Follow

amazima Regardless of how we're serving or who we're loving, our vision stays the same: to see every person we serve come to know Christ and make Him known, resulting in transformed lives, restored relationships, and changed communities.

here_for_a_moment Amen 🙏🏾🙏🏾

malm4135 God uses us all for His purpose in His kingdom.

651 likes

MAY 23, 2018

Amazima Figure 15



amazima • Follow

amazima When her husband left her and her children, she resorted to a harmful lifestyle in order to put food on the table and avoid eviction.

Since joining the Masese Women's Beading Circle in 2010, Juliette has been able to provide care and stability for her children, and walk in freedom. Today she even has her own bracelet design on our store!

Shop Juliette's bracelet here: bit.ly/the-juliette

amazima #MaseseBeadingCircle

677 likes

SEPTEMBER 30, 2015

Amazima Figure 18



amazima • Follow

amazima Our goal is to make disciples and we believe the classroom offers the greatest potential to do so.

juliewingreen Love this photo!

amazima @groundworkforimpact we operate The Amazima School! www.theamazimaschool.org

writtenshutter I love this!! Priceless moment. I feel like I can hear them. 🙏🏾

1,010 likes

FEBRUARY 23, 2017

SHC Figure 19



servinghis • Follow

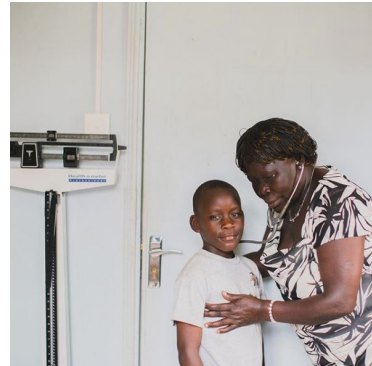
servinghis Spiritual guidance and growth is an essential part of transforming communities and empowering families and care for themselves and raise happy, healthy children. 🙏🏾🙏🏾🙏🏾

Here, Peace and Concy are leading Bible class during our outpatient program at Kigandalo Health Center in Mayuge! 🇱🇰

51 likes
AUGUST 28, 2016

Comments on this post have been limited.

Amazima Figure 22



amazima • Follow

amazima @amazima's heart is to meet the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of the people God entrusts to us. Your generosity allows us to do that! P.S. Meet Nurse Anne Mary. She's our head nurse and, quite simply, a legend. ❤️

185w

yeshuameutudo Beautiful people

185w Reply

kelsey771 @janaesarai @olivia_mallette one day @

185w Reply

744 likes
OCTOBER 18, 2016

Add a comment... Post

Amazima Figure 20



amazima • Follow

amazima "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, to the end of the age." Matthew 28:18-20

a.summer.adventure Love that song! 🎵

164w 1 like Reply

pat.plett That song is a favorite!!

164w 1 like Reply

1,003 likes
MARCH 18, 2017

Add a comment... Post

SHC Figure 23



servinghis • Follow

servinghis #bobgoff

LHoms How does someone become a missionary for you?

199w

amelia_heppell @miaasmith

194w

miameerkatx ❤️❤️❤️ @amelia_heppell

107 likes
JUNE 17, 2016

Comments on this post have been limited.

SHC Figure 21



servinghis • Follow

servinghis #Gospel #Romans116 #NotAshamed #GoodNews

iamrichardhollis this is wonderful!

246w

246w

64 likes
AUGUST 26, 2016

Comments on this post have been limited.

Amazima Figure 24



amazima • Follow

amazima You're not rich until you have things money can't buy. ❤️

202w

abigail_gwood So sweet! ❤️

202w Reply

crosses_style.us ❤️

202w Reply

laajabaamazonas Amazing and so true

202w Reply

jayeholt ❤️

1,122 likes
JUNE 25, 2016

Add a comment... Post

Amazima Figure 25



amazima • Follow

amazima On Saturday, our mentors handed out packets of educational worksheets for the students to complete while on holiday. Within minutes, they were excitedly filling out the pages! These children not only happily attend school, but CRAVE learning when they are on break. Thanks to @amazima's sponsors for making moments like this possible!

192w

willanipunt @amazima

192w Reply

585 likes

SEPTEMBER 8, 2018

Add a comment... Post

Christian Aid Figure 28



'Do not neglect the gift that is in you'
1 Timothy 4:14

36 Me gusta

christianaiduk At a time where lots of people are making changes in their lives, it's important to be gentle with yourself and recognise the gifts you have to change the world for the better. We believe that everyone should have the chance to use their God-given gifts to build a better future. Empowered by our partner in India, mothers like Ranjita used her determination to claim her rightful Dalit compensation from the government and trained as a tailor. Click the link in our bio to find out more.

Amazima Figure 26



amazima • Follow

amazima "I want to be a doctor in the place God takes me. Where He sends, I will go." -Lillian

Because of your generosity, hundreds of students like Lillian have hope for the future. Thank you for joining us on our mission to educate and empower the people of Uganda with God's love!

131w

lexamstutz

131w 1 like Reply

kgillespie93 Sweet Lillian. She has such a compassionate heart!

131w 1 like Reply

1,519 likes

NOVEMBER 8, 2017

Add a comment... Post

NWS Figure 29

Ugandan woman watches 18-year old American woman 'adopt' children in her country but is blocked from adopting herself

nowhitesaviors • Follow
AMAZIMA MINISTRIES

nowhitesaviors WE WROTE SOMETHING (full article link in linktr.ee). @patriciahreakingincharge allowed us to interview her on how it has felt to struggle to adopt a child in her own country when an 18 year old American woman was able to come and "adopt" 13 🙄🙄🙄 + it should be noted that Kisses from Katie (Katie Majors) is also best friends with fake doctor lady (Renee Bach of Serving His Children)... does this surprise you??

"The double standard for foreign nationals runs deep. So deep that a young, single American girl can travel to Uganda and take custody of 13 children, while a married, financially secure Ugandan woman is turned down for adoption in her own country. Patricia Musanje is a 23-year old



949 likes

SEPTEMBER 20, 2018

Comments on this post have been limited.

Christian Aid Figure 27




20 Me gusta

christianaiduk Did you know... 43% of children in India are malnourished. And most of these children come from excluded communities, such as the Dalit caste. This inequality has led to children being unable to eat and live a healthier life. We believe it's time to empower marginalised people. Learn more here, click the link in the bio. #season4change

NWS Figure 30

No White Saviors @nowhitesaviors

As this conversation grows here in Uganda, we realise that these stories are strategically NOT written for Ugandans - @katieinuganda has 2 NYT bestsellers & has made wild amounts of money off of an irresponsible white savior narrative.



Why A Brentwood Woman Is Called A "Modern Day Mother Teresa"

nowhitesaviors • Follow
Jinja, Uganda

Davis effect" (@katieinuganda,) we've watch sweep over #jinja throughout the past 10 years. Surely we know she is not the sole inspiration for the influx of international adoptions, short term missionary teams, orphanages & NGOs... but she has played a significant role. So we hold her accountable & will only stop speaking about it when she decides to finally get honest.

In her cover to cover humble brag, the book that really launched her into stardom (only amongst fellow white evangelicals) #kissesfromkatie goes into detail about all the "sacrifices" she made at age 18 to move to Uganda + There is a very warped & dangerous rationalization or logic used within the missionarv community here. God calls


7,940 likes

MARCH 21, 2019

Comments on this post have been limited.

NWS Figure 31

PHOTO



nowwhitesaviors • Follow
Kampala, Uganda

...to photos of blood, she writes, "three transfusions later" and "on to the night shift". We didn't know if we would be able to find this once she deleted it, but it was traced TODAY, a screen shot of this exact post. THIS IS IMPORTANT.

The lies and coverup of Renee, SHC and everyone who is still defending them? When there is SO MUCH TANGIBLE EVIDENCE where she incriminated herself over the years? PURE EVIL.

#nowwhitesaviors @servingshis
#servingshis

38w

20 likes

reneembach Three blood transfusions later and the day is finally done. Whew. Now on to nightshift... #servingshis #nostaff @eileenabach @emilyritsema brianabrimer No staff? Where is everybody? Praying for y'all!

7,529 likes
AUGUST 17, 2019

Comments on this post have been limited.

NW Figure 32



nowwhitesaviors • Follow
Kampala, Uganda

New content included in this series - Renee Bach of @servingshis pictured with a stethoscope around her neck, examining children, charting in medical files & actively engaging in hands on medical care. Can you imagine someone from Uganda moving to the U.S. and opening up their home, taking in critically ill children and directly practicing medicine without any formal training? They would be in prison after ONE death, let alone, 100s. The simple truth is that Black lives and in our case BLACK AFRICAN lives are not valued in the same way as if it were white American children.

White saviourism is rooted in the core belief of the "well-meaning" that Black & African people (in our context) are to

9,452 likes
JANUARY 23, 2019

Comments on this post have been limited.

NWS Figure 33

No White Saviors
@nowwhitesaviors

It's 2019 & there are more Christians in Uganda than there are in the U.S. or any western country. You've spent the last 100+ years colonizing & convincing us that we needed white Jesus to "civilize" us. We've got to wake up and realize what this is, there ARE strings attached.

nowwhitesaviors • Follow
Kampala, Uganda

Yes, when considering the overall % of the population, there is a higher percentage of Christians in Uganda than in the United States or any other "developed" country... so the fact that we still have so many coming over to evangelize is just wild.

This was in response to a tweet we were mentioned in today where a white man was asking for prayer as him and his family move to Uganda to evangelize 🙏🙏.

If you can't understand the difference between being against colonialism / imperialism under the guise of missionary work AND being anti-Christian, you have to pay more attention to what we are actually

9,481 likes
SEPTEMBER 14, 2019

Comments on this post have been limited.

Coding: Amazima and SHC

Document name	Bible quote	Quotes	empowering	thankful	Blessed	Sponsorship O...	sponsor	generous	disciple	Selling items
Captions Amazi...	3	5	2	0	0	4	5	6	4	2
Captions SHC	3	3	4	5	3	0	0	0	0	0

Caption analysis: Amazima

Frequency and top words :

Word	Occurrences	Frequency	Rank
amazima	26	2.4%	1
school	14	1.3%	2
love	14	1.3%	2
students	12	1.1%	3
children	12	1.1%	3
christ	11	1%	4
person	10	0.9%	5
uganda	10	0.9%	5
today	9	0.8%	6
every	9	0.8%	6



Caption analysis: SHC

Frequency and top words :



Word	Occurrences	Frequency	Rank
malnutrition	25	2.3%	1
uganda	18	1.6%	2
little	12	1.1%	3
servinthis	10	0.9%	4
nutrition	9	0.8%	5
communitydevelopment	9	0.8%	5
program	9	0.8%	5
meet	8	0.7%	6
child	8	0.7%	6
team	8	0.7%	6

Appendix 3: Sample Data Sets


Serving His Children

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		
Date	Content of photo	Caption	Photo	Random # chosen	Style: Who we are, what we do, why we do it, daily life, call to action, Bible reference	Photo subject	Hashtags	Descript words	
29 Jan. 2016	Young Ugandan boy with motorcycle helmet on, sitting at table. [Photo has been used before]	Can you do something for us? Sign up for our awesome, every 30 or so day newsletter! (It will only take about 18 seconds out of your life ;)) #BeAwesomeToday http://servinghischildren.us2.list-manage1.com/subscribe?u=8700af572c4efb20cd93d4e75&id=c492163f00			7	Call to action	recovering baby	#BeAwesomeToday	one
10 feb. 2016	six, barefoot Ugandan boys, playing in street. some looking ahead, three smiling at the camera	"The streets will be filled with boys and girls playing there" - Zechariah 8:5 A little glimpse of heaven here in Masese, Uganda ❤️ @eileenabach			1	Daily life/Bible reference	children playing	none	none

Amazima

Date	Content	Caption	Photo	Random number	style: Who we are, what we do, why we do it, daily life, call to action, Bible reference	photo subject	Hashtags	Descriptive words	Use of exclamation	stan
28 March 2018	black and white photo of children sitting in pews, hands folded in prayer, eyes closed	Easter is one of the biggest opportunities we have all year to share the gospel with students and their families! Will you join us in praying over every person in our community who's going to hear about the life, death, and resurrection of our Savior over the next few days?		7	Call to action	child	none	none	one	Will in p... e... our who hea... life, rest our the... day:
	Children sitting in outside classroom, some working	WE'RE HIRING! Are you or someone you know interested in joining our team of passionate educators at The Amazima School? We have the following positions available: Qualified Teachers - wide variety of subjects and								We follo... posi... avai... Qua... teac

No White Saviors

Photo	random number	Theme/style/issue	Hashtags	Descriptive words	Exclamations	standout line:
	only photo that month	quote: white saviorism	none	none	none	The White Sa... not about jus... emotional ex... privilege
	only photo that month	poem: questioning authenticity	none	none	none	none
	9	meme: white saviorism, appropri	#thisisafrika #thisisamerica #uganda #haiti #cambodia #indonesia #africaforfricans #nowhitesaviors #whitesaviorism #africanvoices #africanlivesmatter #blacklivesmatter #missions #howisepc #pcv #11in11 #worldrace #loveoneinternational #kissesfromkate #katiedavismajors #kenya #nairobi #mombasa #zanzibar #ghana	"ridiculous"	none	Global south

