Why development NGOs in the North work with the poor in their own communities: Does Everyone Matter?

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Abstract

This research seeks to understand how, why and with what implications development NGOs based in the global 'North' (NDNGOs) establish and maintain domestic poverty programmes, working with poor communities in their own countries.

This is an under-researched dimension of NDNGO work. There is considerable empirical work analysing the work of NDNGOs in the global 'South', particularly assessing their impact on poverty alleviation. However, research into their work with their domestic communities is scarce. There are also a number of critiques of NDNGOs, which highlight the need for them to re-think their future roles, but little research or empirical data to evaluate how they have responded to these challenges. This study situates itself in debates about the future role of NDNGOs, development ethics, theories of poverty and institutional practice, exploring the hypothesis that these issues may be the drivers of the domestic programmes.

Using semi-structured interviews (UK and India), archive and corporate material from four case study NDNGOs (Oxfam GB, Islamic Relief UK, Save the Children, Denmark and Oxfam America), the study takes a perspectivist qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. It makes use of AtlasTi software for data coding, informed by Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, domains and *doxa* and Gaventa's model of three-dimensional power.

Findings highlight the utility of the initial hypothesis as a heuristic device for understanding domestic programmes. This has potential application for scholars and practitioners in the analysis of other NDNGO programmatic decisions. The study also indicates a disruption in the notion of what 'development' is, moving away from the binaries of 'them and us', 'here and there', 'developed and developing' into a development ethic that affirms that everyone matters, where ever they live. The research contributes to the literature examining the nature of development in an increasingly interdependent world in which geographical and disciplinary boundaries are increasingly blurred.

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Table of contents

Pages

List of tables, figures and appendices

Figures

Appendices

List of Abbreviations

ATD Fourth World	All Together for Development Fourth World (UK)
BME	Black and minority ethnic
BOAG	British Overseas Aid Group
BOND	British Overseas NGOs for Development
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China
CAP	Church Action Against Poverty
CMT	Corporate management team
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEC	Disasters Emergency Committee (UK)
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
ECHO	EC's Directorate General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection
FBO	Faith-based organisation
GLA	Greater London Authority
IDS	Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex)
IR	Islamic Relief
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MINT	Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, Turkey
MSI	Multi-stakeholder initiative
NDNGO	Northern Development NGO
NFN	National Farmers' Network (UK)
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
OA	Oxfam America
OAOHP	Oxfam Archive Oral History project
ODA	Overseas Development Administration (DfID's predecessor)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OGB	Oxfam GB
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territories
OXWORP	Oxfam Western Orissa Project

PPP	Purchasing power parity
PRDF	Peak District Rural Development Forum (UK)
RB	Red Barnet (Save the Children Denmark)
RCDC	Regional Centre for Development Cooperation (Orissa)
SCS	Small case study
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SNGO	Southern NGO
SRCDC	South Riverside Community Development Centre (Cardiff)
SWAD	Society for Women Action and Development (Orissa)
UKPP	United Kingdom Poverty Programme
US	United States (of America)
USRO	United States Regional Office

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Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Why this question and why now?

This research addresses a neglected corner of the work of development NGOs in the global North: the work they undertake with the poor in their own home communities. This study refers to this work as 'domestic programmes'[1]. There is a vast and varied literature on the work of development NGOs more broadly, which explores issues ranging across accountability, participation, values, relationships with donors and partners, project management methodologies and effectiveness. Campaign and advocacy work, such as Make Poverty History, is also the focus of much recent research which considers how development NGOs work with their public constituencies (Sireau, 2009). However, there is very little attention given to the work of the domestic programmes of Northern Development NGOs (NDNGOs)[2], which focus on poverty alleviation 'at home'. By asking why these organisations choose to establish domestic programmes, this study makes a contribution to this under-researched area of NDNGO work.

The second aspect of the rationale for this research focus is the potential for fruitful links with some academic literature, which appear to call for a greater emphasis on domestic programming. In 1999 Gaventa concluded, as a result of his study of the links and learning between Community Based Organisations (CBOs) in the North and South that many northern-based CBOs had not engaged with issues of power and poverty in their own communities in the global North. This would need to be rectified, he contends, for more equal partnerships to develop between northern and southern CBOs and if the views of each were to be 'de-mythologized' (Gaventa, 1999, p. 34). Likewise, Malhotra issued a similar warning, proposing that if northern NGOs were to survive in the twenty-first century they must be:

> ...seriously and more substantially engaged with the poverty and social justice problems of their own countries, especially as these continue to escalate and become more explicit and visible. (Malhotra, 2000, p. 663)

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[1] This is in line with current usage by Oxfam International (Burrows, 2003).
[2] This term is used throughout this research to denote development NGOs with their headquarters and historic roots in countries of the industrialised global North.

However, although subsequent events indicate that some NDNGOs have begun to heed this advice, little scholarly attention has been paid to this work. For example, in 1995 Oxfam GB established its UK Poverty Programme after decades of internal debate. In 2003 Red Barnet (SCF Denmark) launched a ground-breaking report on child poverty in Denmark, which called for the Danish government to undertake more research into child poverty and to end the different levels of benefits for refugees and Danish citizens (Hussain, 2004). In January 2008, Muslim Aid and Oxfam GB agreed jointly to organise a sponsored walk in London for their supporters during Ramadan in aid of the global food crisis. It was clear that the reason Oxfam GB were interested in work with Muslim Aid was that they needed to create a greater diversity in their support base in order for their advocacy and campaigning work to have greater legitimacy and representational force[3]. In contrast with Oxfam GB, Muslim Aid's support base is particularly strong among the Bangladeshi community in London, considered to be one of the poorest and most socially excluded communities in London measured according to indicators of child poverty, education, employment and housing (Howes, 2004, Finella, 2005, Piggott, 2006). To-date there has been no significant research on any of these programmes.

The third and final element of the study's rationale is that before the start of this research in 2009, there was little attempt by any NDNGO to publicise their domestic work. For example, the researcher first became aware of Oxfam GB's domestic programme as a result of a passing mention in a footnote (Fowler, 1995, p. 183). This clearly raises questions about why organisations that usually aim for maximum exposure and publicity for their work, would choose to keep such a low profile for domestic programmes. However, since the beginning of the global economic crisis, there have been a number of high profile initiatives by development NGOs such as Oxfam GB and Save the Children Fund addressing issues of poverty in the UK. The increased visibility of these campaigns begs the question as to why NDNGOs are now keen to publicise their domestic programmes. Their profile also enhances the significance and timeliness of this research.

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[3] This was conveyed during a conversation between author and the member of Oxfam GB staff leading on the initiative, January 2008.

In April 2009, Save the Children Fund UK 'better known for its work helping children in war-torn or famine-struck countries' (Gentleman, 2009) launched a fundraising campaign to help families in the UK struggling to cope with the rising cost of food. This was closely followed by Oxfam GB launching a report and a nationwide campaign, which claimed that the UK is becoming a nation of the 'forgotten, ripped-off, excluded and debt-ridden' (Haddad and Bance, 2009a). In 2012 Save the Children launched a new campaign to raise funds for work with children in food poverty. It was accused of an 'obscene political stunt' (Murray, 2012). Likewise, Oxfam GB's 2014 'perfect storm' campaign highlighting the combined effects on families in poverty in the UK of public spending cuts and the rising cost of living, was met with calls for intervention by the Charity Commission (Haddad, 2012, Hope, 2014). The following comment typifies the tone of much of the media response to the above campaigns.

> *Conservative backbencher Conor Burns slammed the 'highly political campaign,' saying people who support Oxfam will be left 'shocked and saddened.' 'Most of us operated under the illusion that Oxfam's focus was on the relief of poverty and famine overseas'.* (Meredith, 2014)

These campaigns have responded to and tapped into the growing public discomfort at visible indicators of the presence of poverty, such as the use of food banks and the young 'working poor' (Cooper and Dumpleton, 2013, Cooper et al., 2014, MacInnes et al., 2014, Milmo, 2014). All of these campaigns were accompanied by criticisms from politicians and the media accusing the organisations of political meddling and distorting the meaning of poverty.

Important questions are raised about the nature of development and the role of NDNGOs by their own relative silence on these programmes until the current economic crisis and the critical response reported in the media. These are the same criticisms faced by Oxfam GB in 1994 when the media got hold of the story that it was considering establishing its domestic programme. It was accused of 'playing games with poverty' (Daily Mail, 1994, Orvice, 1994). Thus, this research in seeking to understand why NDNGOs work with the poor in their own communities, also addresses the struggle within NDNGOs to identify their role. This process is situated

in a context in which understandings of poverty and development are deeply contested in the academic and public realms (for example see Carr, 2008, Alcock, 2006, Ibrahim and Tiwari, 2014, Nederveen Pieterse, 2010, Harman and Williams, 2014, Olukoshi, 2007). The research also considers how practices such as NDNGO communications with the public and supporters are constrained by this context. Thus, the study locates itself in debates about the role of NDNGOs, their practices and their understandings of poverty and development ethics.

Drawing on the development ethics framework of Goulet (Goulet, 1997, Gasper, 2008), the research is able to use its empirical data to consider issues of significance beyond that of NDNGOs. It looks at whether the 'project' of international development is broadening to include more than the development of the 'other', to an approach which incorporates the ethical imperative for change in communities globally where 'agents' and 'sites' of knowledge are not always to be found in the global North (Bell, 2002). Drawing on Said's work (2003), development scholars have identified the process of 'othering' as one of the challenges of development practice and theory. It is fundamental to much development planning (Escobar, 1992) while also present in NGO campaigning images (Wilson, 2012, Kothari, 2014), always distancing the 'object' of development from the development agencies and the societies of the global North on whose behalf they act (Mitchell, 1995). The domestic programmes appear to challenge deep-rooted understandings about the geographical spaces in which development takes place, suggesting the boundaries of 'home' and 'overseas' are still embedded in the domain of international development practice.

The geographical focus of development is of particular significance in 2014 as the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals provide further evidence of the blurring of boundaries between the global North and South[4]. The focus on overcoming international and intra-national inequalities creates a framework in which the 'objects' (Mitchell, 1995) and spaces of development are in both global North and South. In this new global context most of the poor live in Middle Income Countries (Sumner,

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[4] These terms are used conscious of their imperfections as overly simplistic descriptions of a non-binary world. They allow the analysis to consider how NDNGOs and other organisations working in the international development field understand their work. They are used in preference to the terms 'developed' and 'developing' countries.

2012) and the economies of the global South are rapidly changing (UNDP, 2013) to the extent that some emerging economies are becoming donor nations (Mawdsley, 2012). NDNGOs need to consider their role in this new context. This study argues that domestic programmes offer a mechanism through which NDNGOs adjust and demonstrate their adjustment to new operating contexts. Having established the rationale for the research and its potential significance to the current global context, the study moves on to introduce the remaining contents of this chapter.

1.2 Outline of Introductory chapter

The main purpose of this chapter is to frame the central research question and outline the research parameters. The next section (1.3) summarises the conceptual starting points of the research, including researcher positionality. Section 1.4 examines the central research question and objectives, mapping these against each of the dissertation chapters. Finally, Section 1.5 summarises the main arguments of each of the remaining six chapters.

1.3 Conceptual starting points

The research adopts a perspectivist ontology which allows for partial knowledge claims and is well-suited to working with contested understandings, which the study has already seen are made visible by the domestic programmes of NDNGOs. This approach enables the research to avoid the definitional hazards of NGOs, preferring instead to use Hilhorst's concept of 'NGO-ing' (Hilhorst, 2003). The study situates itself in debates about the future role of NDNGOs, development ethics, theories of poverty and institutional practice, setting out a provisional hypothesis, drawn from the literature, that these issues may be the drivers of the domestic programmes.

The selection of the theoretical framework with which to explore the hypothesis and analyse data was premised on the requirements of the research question and objectives. Bourdieu's theory of practice, specifically the concepts of *habitus* and field[5] offer the capacity to consider how and why an organisational *habitus* is maintained and ruptured (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1994, Bourdieu, 1996, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999).

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[5] This study uses the term 'domain' in preference to 'field' for the reasons outlined in Chapter 3.

These provide rich analytical possibilities in exploring the NDNGO domestic programmes. The study uses these tools to examine the effects of the domestic programmes on the organisational *habitus* and their impact on the domain of international development. Gaventa's model of three-dimensional power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006) is used to allow for a more nuanced understanding of how power is mobilised and resisted by the domestic programmes using myths and symbols.

Informed by an epistemology which privileges the field of practice (Krause, 2008, 2014), our research data is qualitative and almost entirely taken from semi-structured interviews with staff and partners of NDNGOs in the UK and India, archive and corporate documents for NDNGOs[6]. A multiple explanatory case study design is used to address the research question and objectives (Yin, 2003). The major case study is that of Oxfam GB's UK Poverty Programme (UKPP), which was selected because it was the initial source of researcher's curiosity about domestic programmes. The sampling strategy for the three smaller case study NDNGOs was based on a rationale, which sought to provide sufficient exploratory comparisons with the Oxfam GB case study. The three small case studies are: Islamic Relief, UK; Red Barnet[7], Denmark and Oxfam America.

From a perspectivist starting point, it is important to identify the normative theories and agendas underpinning this research. Inevitably, the dynamic process of researcher reflexivity could lead to infinite unravelling of layers of assumptions and agendas. The aim here is to define those issues which, when made explicit, will act as a counter weight to knowledge claims when considering conclusions, their reliability and validity. The key issues are by no means exhaustive and can be clustered as follows: debates about the domain and nature of development and development ethics; the diversity and role of NGOs as actors in development, and the constructed nature of understandings of poverty. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on these issues in more detail but they are captured here in brief so as to highlight researcher positionality.

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[6] Both Hilhorst and Krause's approaches were, in turn, informed by the 'actor-oriented' theory of Norman Long.
[7] This is Save the Children, Denmark.

In the debates about the meaning and purpose of 'development', there has been a tendency, as the 'field' and teaching of development studies emerged and consolidated within Universities, to focus on the lives of 'other people in other places' (Kothari, 2005, p. 48) as the point of reference. This research queries and examines this claim, both as an ethical and empirical proposition. Can it really be the case that, if everyone matters (Appiah, 2006), our 'development' concerns, including bilateral and multilateral aid and the vast fundraising efforts of the non-governmental sector, are only directed at an area of the world labelled 'developing', 'Third World' or 'the South'?

In addition to these normative arguments, empirical evidence indicates the growth of social inequalities in the 'North' and the 'South', with some to referring to the 'souths in the north' and the 'norths in the south' (Gaventa, 1999). With the realisation for NGOs, such as Oxfam India, that there are major opportunities to fundraise from a growing middle class in emerging economies (Oxfam India, 2010a), does the notion of 'development' applying just to one area of the world make sense? This complexity is further compounded by research, which shows that the majority of the world's poor now live in Middle Income Countries such as India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Nigeria (Sumner, 2012). Globalisation and interconnectedness allow development researchers to consider actions 'delinked from the concepts of territory' (Gaventa and Mayo, 2009, p. 13), enabling us to interrogate the current 'domain' of development (Cowen and Shenton, 1996). The details below of the researcher's career illustrate the motivations, which have shaped an interest in querying the domains of development and reveal a tendency to hope that everyone matters.

The researcher's experiences of working with NGOs in the global south and north, have played a part in the formation of normative assumptions underpinning this research and, to some extent, have shaped its political motivations. For example, research undertaken in Turkey, 1988-1989, into the role of religious institutions in the state and education argued for a re-assessment of the 'Islamic revival' after 1980 in which its threat to the secular state had been exaggerated. The research concluded that the ability of both the state and civil society to co-opt ideologies and concepts for their own purposes was evident (Pickering, 1989). As discussed above and in Chapter 2, the work of Hilhorst (2003) and Heyse (2006) has been important to the NGO

literature in establishing the diverse realities of development NGOs as a dynamic part of civil society, capable of resisting easy characterisations as either over professionalized bureaucracies or informal organisations lacking in professionalism (Smillie and Helmich, 1993). These characterisations are often grounded in the normative traditions of either positivist-empiricism (seeking evidence of NGO effectiveness to demonstrate its worth in the development sector) or post-modernism and post-developmentalism, questioning the whole enterprise of 'development' engaged in by NGOs as 'dead' and a counter-productive perpetuation of colonial power masquerading as assistance (Kapoor, 2013, Gronemeyer, 1992). This research rejects both positions as statements of 'where we are now' but situates itself within the quest for alternatives in response to this post-modern critique (Bebbington et al., 2008).

This study and its analysis are also shaped by work undertaken by the researcher for the British Council in UK, Bangladesh and Palestine from 1990 to 1998 at a time when the UK's Overseas Development Administration (ODA)- funded Technical Cooperation Training Programme was subject to pressures of the New Public Management (Kerr, 2008). The internal processes of change that transformed the British Council and its NGO partners in Namibia, Bangladesh, Jordan and Palestine into contracting parties each providing a service to the other, including Service Level Agreements between internal departments, were observed. This in turn led to enquiry into the deeply interconnected programmes of UK government development assistance, foreign policy, trade and investment objectives and for-profit contracts in which the British Council was embedded. The socio-historical and political context in which development work takes place was inescapable working for a British agency in the Gaza Strip immediately after the Oslo Accords of 1994.

The contested nature of civil society's identity and relationships became a focus of the researcher's work at the Commonwealth Foundation: between the global North (or what are known in Commonwealth terms as the 'ABC' countries: Australia, Britain and Canada) and south, and with the state and the private sector. A major research project, *Civil Society in the New Millennium* (Commonwealth Foundation, 1999), revealed the diverse understandings of wellbeing and the barriers ordinary people experienced in achieving wellbeing in their lives. Civil society campaigns to hold

governments to account (Commonwealth Foundation, 2005) and against policies which sold the public goods of water and electricity to the private sector (Commonwealth Foundation, 2003), revealed the limits of civil society agency.

Working for the Greater London Authority (GLA) for an Executive Mayor in programmes dedicated to creating linkages between London and major cities of the global south with which London has diasporic ties, reinforced the researcher's awareness of the contested nature of the 'development' label and of the multiple layers of agencies, governmental and non-governmental, which have a role to play in 'development', whether or not this is their preferred label. It also exposed, at a key juncture in London's governance history, the workings of metropolitan government with an explicitly socially progressive agenda and a specific analysis of the structured nature of deprivation among key stakeholder communities in London, such as those living with disabilities, Muslim and traveller communities and the elderly (Spence, 2003, Howes, 2004, Vaid, 2005, Piggott, 2006). The possibility and process of how a particular political analysis and agenda could be driven through to implementation was vividly exposed. Interest in the notion that certain ideas and ideologies can take on different functions at different socio-economic moments, becoming relegated to the periphery or becoming dominant (Watts, 1995, p. 56), was developed during this period. This study's provisional four-part hypothesis detailed in Chapter 2 is, therefore, informed by an approach to policy and decision-making in which ideas and interests compete (John, 1998).

Notably, the work undertaken by the researcher at Muslim Aid (2006-2009), a UK-based relief and development NGO, was the only period of her career in which the 'development' label was formally ascribed. Here, as a member of the senior management team, the researcher was immersed fully in the 'development' community, involved in meetings with other development NGOs, with the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC), with DfID, the Charity Commission, private donors, potential partners, colleagues from field offices, representatives of southern partner NGOs, other faith-based development NGOs and those wishing to understand the Muslim faith-based development sector. As work at Muslim Aid began while undertaking post-graduate study in NGO and Development Management, there was a simultaneous immersion in development theory and practice.

Leading a team to develop a more strategic approach to Muslim Aid's programme work in the UK, the researcher was exposed to divergent views about what 'development' is and what is the role of a development NGO with its roots in both the UK and the global south (Hossain and Sengupta, 2009). Within Islamic jurisprudence, eight categories of people are considered appropriate recipients of *zakat* [8] and are explicitly defined. These have informed the structure of programmes within Muslim development NGOs . The key concept underpinning the relationship between the payer and recipient of *zakat* is justice, with the rights and duties of each at the heart of this redistributive process (Ramadan, 2004, p. 179, Tripp, 2006, p. 125). This explicit statement of 'who matters' led to a consideration of how other development NGOs assess and conclude 'who matters'.

Although not the first time the researcher had worked and lived within a dominant culture different to her English, non-conformist tradition, Muslim Aid was an environment in which she was frequently 'othered' as both a woman and non-Muslim. A range of normative approaches were encountered, from those which applied 'universal, totalising theory' to those who embraced a 'plurality of forms of knowledge and conceptions of change' (Escobar, 1992, p. 143). The latter conception was operationalized in a partnership formed between Muslim Aid and the United Methodist Committee on Relief in Sri Lanka in 2006. The partnership was the subject of published research (Clarke, 2010) which made use of Appiah's image of the 'shattered mirror' (2006) to describe the cosmopolitan approach to knowledge claims. This study also makes use of Appiah's work to interrogate the ethics of development NGOs to ask if 'everyone matters' (2006, p. 144).

In summary, the following agendas and assumptions can be extracted from the above and are expected to have some influence on this research. Firstly, although contacts with Oxfam GB and other NGOs have eased research access, NGOs are conceptualised not as the 'magic bullet' (Edwards and Hulme, 1996) in development but as one of a number of potential actors with considerable but no monopoly of agency. Secondly, the traditional twentieth century dynamic of development, either

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[8] Tax payable on excess wealth.

immanent or intentional (Cowen and Shenton, 1996), as something 'done' to the global south by the north is seen as problematic, because of its 'othering' function, its implicit ranking of lives and their value and its denial of the interconnectedness of lives in both the global North and South. This concern informs the shaping of the research objective, which asks whether the implication of the NDNGO domestic programmes is that everyone matters equally across the world whether located in the global north or south. Thirdly, the experiences which reveal how poverty is structured by processes such as conflict, and socially constructed notions of how work with communities living in poverty is defined and who these communities are, underpins the perspectivist ontology and epistemology. Finally, the deeply political nature of the development 'project' (Mitchell, 1995) is fundamental to understandings in this research, especially the power of ideas and ideology, to drive policy and action as a force for change.

1.4 Research Objectives

The aim of this study is to understand how, why and with what implications Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities. The nine related research objectives are itemised below. Table 1.1 maps each of the seven chapters of the thesis against the research objectives, indicating where each objective is addressed. The first objective seeks to identify from the literature on previous research a provisional heuristic framework. This work is undertaken in Chapter 2, building a four-part framework. This suggests that the driving factors behind the domestic programmes are: the organisation's theory of poverty; its development ethic; anxiety about its future as an NDNGO and institutional practices.

Objectives
1. To generate a working hypothesis from the literature to be used as an exploratory and provisional heuristic framework for analysing the four case studies.
2. To understand the theory of poverty which informs the domestic programmes.
3. To understand the development ethic which informs the domestic programmes.
4. To explore how considerations of the NDNGOs' future were part of this process.
5. To understand the role of institutional practices in this process.

6. To investigate the impact of the domestic programmes on the NDNGOs' southern partners.

7. To consider what are the implications of the domestic programmes for the future role of NDNGOs.

8. To consider whether this indicates an ethic of 'everyone matters'?

9. To consider whether this indicates a new 'domain 'of development.

Table 1.1 Mapping of research question, objectives and chapters

Central research question	Research objectives	Chapter
How, why and with what implications do Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities?	1. To generate a working hypothesis from the literature as an exploratory heuristic framework.	2
	2. What theory of poverty informed the domestic programmes?	4 & 5
	3. What development ethic informed the domestic programmes?	4 & 5
	4. How were considerations of the NDNGO's future part of this process?	4 & 5
	5. What role did institutional practices play in this process?	4 & 5
	6. What has been the impact of the decision on the NDNGO's relationships with southern partners?	4
	7. What does this mean for the future role and work of Oxfam GB and other northern development NGOs?	6
	8. Does this indicate a development ethic in which 'everyone matters'?	4 & 6
	9. Does this indicate a new 'domain' of development?	4 & 6

Thus, research objectives 1 – 5 relate to the questions why and how NDNGOs work with the domestic poor and research objectives 6 – 9 explore the implications of this work. Having summarised the research rationale, conceptual starting points, researcher positionality and the research objectives, the chapter now outlines the arguments put forward in each chapter.

1.5 Outline of content

Chapter 2 reviews the relevant sub-literatures and constructs an exploratory heuristic framework, offering potential insights into the decision in each of the four case study NDNGOs to establish domestic programmes. In doing so, it addresses the first research objective to generate a working hypothesis, considering how and why the decision was made. The review also identifies the contributions this research makes to moving forward understandings in these knowledge domains. Given the major case study 'lens' through which this study addresses the research question, the chapter briefly considers the range of literature available on Oxfam GB itself. The heuristic framework developed outlines four factors to be considered when assessing why NDNGOs choose to work with the poor in their own communities: 1) considerations of their futures in response to critiques of NDNGOs; 2) institutional practices; 3) the organisation's theory of poverty 4) the organisation's development ethic. This begins to address research objectives 2, 3, 4 and 5.

The chapter identifies a number of methodological contributions made by this research, specifically the construction of a heuristic framework informed by both ideas and practices and the application of analytical tools such as the concepts of *habitus* and *doxa* to NDNGO decision-making. The research brings fresh empirical data from domestic programmes to apply to considerations of NDNGOs' future role and to the debates about the possibility of 'emancipatory' development. The study argues that domestic programmes sit within a broader theme of the dynamic and changing domains of development to which this case study research contributes further understandings, bringing a new perspective to the literature on the shifting geographies of poverty and development. Generating a new empirical data set facilitates further theorisation of the phenomenon of the new domains of development.

Chapter 3 sets out the theoretical and methodological tools with which the provisional working hypothesis is explored. The study locates itself within the field of Development Studies in which a range of ontological and epistemological positions have been used since the 1950s, with a turn since the 1970s towards relativist caution from certainty and imposition of single realities (Escobar, 1992, Chambers, 1997, Sumner and Tribe, 2008). It establishes the perspectivist ontological and epistemological foundations of the research. This allows for a nuanced view of

NDNGOs (and NGOs more generally) as a diverse set of organisations beyond characterisations as either co-opted by a neo-liberal system through contracting (Edwards et al., 1999, Fowler, 2000b, Manji and O'Coill, 2002, Ebrahim, 2005) or as informal structures incapable of coherent decision-making (Heyse, 2006). This approach also acknowledges and accommodates the different social, political and economic contexts of the industrial nations of the global 'North' while allowing for meaningful knowledge claims.

Fundamentally, the central research question and research objectives drive the design and methodology. This also holds for the selection of the analytical tools of Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1994, Bourdieu, 1996, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999) and Gaventa's model of three-dimensional power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006). The iterative process by which early readings and analysis of the data led to the development of the hypothesis which was then used as an analytical tool and further developed are detailed in this chapter. For example, an initial analysis of the data using the four-part hypothesis revealed that it was capable of enhancing understanding of how and why NDNGOs work with the domestic poor. However, it did not allow for investigations of the final part of the research question, which interrogates the wider implications of this work. Arguing with Wacquant for a 'pragmatic deployment' (2014, p. 118) of Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, domains and *doxa*, the chapter demonstrates the suitability of these tools for addressing the research question and objectives. Likewise, Gaventa's concept of third dimensional power enhances the hypothesis and enables a more thorough consideration of the implications of domestic poverty programmes. For example, it allows an analysis of how invisible power can shape conceptions and understanding of what development is or the role of NDNGOs. Having laid out the conceptual foundations of the study, the chapter moves on to provide the rationale for a case study design, research method, sampling and data analysis. Data includes: 41 semi-structured interviews undertaken in UK and India; three meetings at which ethnographic observation was undertaken; over 150 archive documents and reports; questionnaires, and media reports. The rationale for undertaking fieldwork in India is detailed, located in epistemological starting points which require multiple perspectives and early readings of the data which indicated that NGO partners in India played an important role in the UKPP

deliberations. The chapter concludes by identifying the ethical and practical challenges faced in undertaking the research and how these were managed.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the empirical data from the main case study of Oxfam GB's UK Poverty Programme (UKPP), addressing directly each element of the research question: how, why and with what implications the UKPP was established. It begins by providing the background to Oxfam GB's work, examining in particular its approach to partnership, which contextualises the introduction to Oxfam GB's domestic programme. The UKPP partners and those Oxfam GB partners in India involved in this research are introduced. The chapter moves to explore the working hypothesis. It assesses the evidence, using the analytical tools developed in Chapter 3, for a connection between the UKPP debates and Oxfam GB's theory of poverty, development ethic, institutional practices and considerations of its future role as an NDNGO. Each element of the hypothesis is defined using the coded data.

The heuristic framework is enhanced using the concepts of third dimensional or invisible power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006), *habitus,* domain and *doxa* (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1994, Bourdieu, 1996, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999). With these analytical tools, the study observes that third dimensional power is active in the UKPP debates, mobilising and challenging the myths and symbols around questions such as: who is poor? What are the 'ends' of development? Where does development take place? What are appropriate development interventions for a NDNGO? These perceptions and preferences can, through their boundary work, maintain the status quo. Equally, arguments that make visible the third dimensional power of myths and symbols can resist and challenge. Thus, the study sees in the UKPP an attempt to expose the third dimensional power of assumed organisational identity, to re-shape the organisation's *habitus*, with the potential to disrupt the domain and *doxa* of international development. The chapter moves from the enhanced hypothesis to address research objectives 8 and 9.

Chapter 5 takes the argumentation forward by exploring the enhanced hypothesis through the lens of the three small case studies of Islamic Relief, UK, Red Barnet, Denmark and Oxfam America. Each case study organisation is introduced, providing

contextual details about the founding of the organisations, levels of income and expenditure in 2009 and 2010, and size and focus of the domestic programmes. The study finds there is empirical evidence within each case of the enhanced four-part hypothesis outlined above. As with the case of Oxfam GB's UK Poverty Programme, what appears to be a decision to establish a new programme (or, in the case of RB, to continue an existing programme) has much wider significance for understandings of the organisational *habitus* and the domains in which they operate. In addition the study argues that each organisation displays a distinct and dynamic relationship between its *habitus,* the domains within which it operates and the domain and *doxa* of international development. The domestic programmes of each organisation are located within these different models, characterized as *multiple, nested* and *ruptured* domain models. The ability to explore each case through this set of models, takes the study a step nearer to answering the question 'does everyone matter?'

Chapter 6 takes forward this understanding of organisational *habitus* and explores the implications of a domestic programme, asking what might be the role and features of a future NDNGO. It provides further insights as to the challenges and anxieties faced by NDNGOs and how Oxfam GB's UKPP has responded to them. First, the concept of 'added value' is introduced and its significance explored using the research data and scholarly literature. Secondly, eight features or 'assets' are identified in the UKPP, which, it is argued, provide added value for Oxfam GB and constitute a new organisational *habitus*. These assets illustrate what a future NDNGO might look like and include a development ethic, focussing on inequalities, in which everyone matters.

Finally, the chapter explores the argument that this future working model indicates a new domain of development, which incorporates a broad, inclusive, non-binary and potentially disruptive notion of what 'development' is. Although there is evidence that the question of the scope and domains of development is being re-thought, there is as yet little empirical data as to what this newly configured 'development' looks like when operationalized by development actors, such as NGOs. This chapter makes a contribution to this endeavour. It points to a possible rupture in our understanding of development and its domains and asks how a more holistic non-binary conception of development might be put into practice by NDNGOs. The chapter concludes by

considering the implications of the working model of a future NDNGO situated in a new domain of development, arguing that, in this transformed context, a development ethic in which 'everyone matters' is an important asset. This moves understandings of development away from ideas of 'them and us', 'here and there', 'developed and developing'.

Chapter 7 draws together the conclusions as to how far this research has progressed understandings of the central research question: *How, why and with what implications Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities?* It also highlights the research's contributions to academic knowledge across a variety of sub-literatures, highlighting in particular five key findings. It concludes with summary observations of relevance to practitioners and those working in and with NDNGOs.

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Chapter 2: Insights from the NGO literature

2.1   Introduction

Having introduced the central research question, research objectives and parameters in Chapter 1, this chapter surveys the literature from which the research derives its hypothesis. At the centre of this study is the research question: *How, why and with what implications do Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities?* To respond adequately to this and the nine inter-connected research objectives, requires access to a variety of knowledge domains, which are briefly reviewed here with their empirical and theoretical literatures. The selection of these knowledge domains is itself contingent on ontological and epistemological starting points[9]. In order to address the first research objective of generating a working hypothesis, the chapter begins by locating understandings of NGOs in development studies, defining them and outlining the specific debates that relate to Northern Development NGOs (NDNGOs). The extent of and limits to current understandings of the work of NDNGOs, how they respond to critiques of their role and make decisions is assessed, drawing on decision-making literature and Bourdieu's work on practice and *habitus* (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1994, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999). Given the major case study 'lens' through which this study addresses the research questions, the chapter also briefly considers the range of literature available on Oxfam GB itself.

The chapter moves on to consider understandings of poverty and development ethics, concluding that there is more work to be done in identifying the way in which ideas (John, 1998), ideologies (Jennings, 1998) or values (Moyles, 2012) shape decisions within NGOs, specifically the decision to establish domestic programmes. It is precisely the use of terms such as 'domestic', 'Northern', 'their own' which demonstrate the relevance of sub-literatures within development, voluntary sector and geographical studies, which now actively explore the blurring of boundaries between

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[9] These are discussed in Chapter 3.

the tidy binary categories of 'north' and 'south' (Silvey and Rankin, 2010) and disciplinary categories of 'development' and 'voluntary sector' (Lewis, 2014).

The contribution of this study in moving forward understandings emerges from the following review of the relevant sub-literatures[10]. Additionally, the outline of an exploratory heuristic framework is constructed, offering potential insights into the decision in each of the four case study NDNGOs to establish domestic programmes. This hypothesis posits that the main drivers of the domestic poverty programmes are: the organisations' theory of poverty and development ethic, institutional practices and concerns over their future role as NDNGOs. The theoretical tools with which this hypothesis is explored are developed in Chapter 3 with a fuller exposition of the application of Bourdieu's theory of practice to this study.

2.2 NGOs and Northern Development NGO futures

The literature on the rise of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) as actors in development is extensive, grounded in an acknowledgement of the sector's growth, power and its subsequent required accountability (Smillie and Helmich, 1993, Fernando, 2011, Hulme and Edwards, 2013). The scholarly attention this brings to the sector offers both definitional clarity and complexity as it wrestles with this contested category (Alcock, 2010, Salemink, 2006) and with rival terminologies (Najam, 1996). This study makes use of the approach in which NGOs belong to the 'third sector', alongside foundations and trade unions, which are driven by a desire for social change of some kind (Lewis, 2007b). However, it also acknowledges that due to the diversity of the sector (Heyse, 2006) and the questions at the centre of this study it may be more meaningful to consider NGOs as processes rather than things, prioritising the question of how 'NGO-ing' is done (Hilhorst, 2003, p. 5). This study also uses the term Northern Development NGO in referring to the four case study organisations with home bases in the global 'north', recognising that this is used interchangeably with international NGOs (INGOs), big international NGOs (BINGOs) and transnational NGOs (TNGOs) (Ahmad, 2006, Anderson, 2007, McPeak, 2001, Balboa, 2014, Shutt, 2009).

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[10] Summarised in Table 2.1.

There have been warnings since the early-1990s of the impending crisis of legitimacy for Northern Development NGOs (NDNGOs), as the global context in which they work changes and challenges them to reconsider their role and mode of operation. The context within which this future is debated is characterised by: globalisation (Lindenberg and Bryant, 2001, Murphy, 2000); changing but unequal relations between Northern and Southern NGOs (Hossain and Sengupta, 2009, Elbers and Schulpen, 2013); donor power (Ebrahim, 2005, Barber and Bowie, 2008); the questionable impact of Northern NGO work on poverty alleviation (Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010), and the changing aid paradigm (Agg, 2006, Mawdsley, 2012, Fugere, 2001, Engberg-Pedersen, 2008, Severino and Ray, 2009). The extent to which these warnings have remained consistent, and perhaps unheeded, over the last two decades is illustrated by the following sets of recommendations for them.

> *The power of NGOs in the third –value driven –sector will depend to an important degree on their ability to form coalitions across ethnic, class, spiritual, geographical and national boundaries.* (Fowler, 1991, p. 16)

> *...NGOs as bridging organisations geographically (sitting between different countries and levels of local-global action), institutionally (working in the spaces between civil, society, government and the market), functionally (committed to social justice but flexible in how to realise it in practice), and philosophically (being 'pragmatic visionaries' that embody their values in concrete action).* (Banks et al., 2013, p. 296)

As with the above prescriptions for NGO effectiveness, there is a rich literature of advice for NDNGOs in how to organise their future work. This is articulated in terms of: 'adding value' (Jennings, 1995, Taylor, 1996, Fowler, 1995); improving impact (Jakimow, 2012, Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010), and transformation, re-focus or reinvention (Fowler, 1997, Gaventa, 1999, Edwards et al., 1999, Tandon, 2000, Malhotra, 2000, Lindenberg and Bryant, 2001, Ahmad, 2006, Elbers and Schulpen, 2014). A sub-set of this literature uses the 'development alternatives' approach, arguing that NGOs (and by default NDNGOs) were initially privileged as development actors because of their claims (and those of their apologists) to hold out an alternative to both statist and neo-liberal conceptions of development but are increasingly unfaithful to this promise (Bebbington et al., 2008). The response to the 'alternative' challenge is either to claim, from a post development perspective, that NGOs are essentially incapable of offering an alternative (de Vries, 2008, Choudry

and Kapoor, 2013), or that NGOs can strategize to (re)-identify their alternative identity and role. The future alternatives include but are not limited to: better engagement with the private sector (Lindenberg, 2001, Ahmad, 2006); changes in governance structures (Jayawickrama, 2010); more focus on advocacy work (Rugendyke and Ollif, 2007); creating space for critical reflection on norms of neo-liberal practice (Wallace and Porter, 2013), and time-bound organisations (Berlan and Bruno-van Vijfeijken, 2013). Indeed, a special issue of *Third World Quarterly* (2000) offered a range of alternative NDGDO futures.

There is a tendency in some of the 'alternatives' literature to theorise the role of NGOs through a 'heroic' (Lewis and Opoku□Mensah, 2006) ideal of civil society action. This contributes to a shortage of empirical studies into how NGOs respond to the transformation agenda. Noteworthy exceptions are a study of NGO initiatives for global citizenship (Desforges, 2004) and research into the transformation of ICCO, one of the largest Dutch development NGOs (Elbers and Schulpen, 2014, Fowler, 2012). One of the contentions of this study is that the move to establish domestic programmes was influenced by the above considerations and concerns about what the future role of NDNGOs is. This research hypothesises that the Oxfam UK Poverty Programme (UKPP) and other domestic programmes are, therefore, part of a strategy, which seeks to identify with the alignment of NGOs as an 'alternative' development. This strategy amongst NDNGOs is characterised by an anxiety to be seen to respond to changes in the external policy environment and demonstrate innovation. This contributes towards what is referred to as 'trend jumping' (Walsh, 2014) and 'a continuous and heightened self-criticism in development circles' (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010, p. 89).

This was not false anxiety on the part of NDNGOs such as Oxfam GB and Oxfam America, as concerns about the re-direction of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) directly to the global south were very real (Fowler, 2000b, Fugere, 2001). However, Agg (2006) provides evidence to suggest that this reflects donor rhetoric rather than reality as aid levels to INGOs levelled- off in the mid-1990s but have not seen a significant decline. Despite this reality, the predictions manifested themselves in discussion of the need for strategic decisions (Fowler, 1997), talk of the 'survival' and identity crises of NDNGOs (Malhotra, 2000), claims of future irrelevance

(Ahmad, 2006), impotence (Zadek and Gatward, 1996) and inability to bring about lasting change (Balboa, 2014). This research will contribute to the empirical data available on how NDNGOs respond to these challenges about their future role and will use the analysis to offer a model of what a future NDNGO might look like. It is, for example, interesting to note that a recent critique of NDNGOs identifies weak roots in civil society and a potential bridging role in which NGO identity will be challenged (Banks et al., 2013). These are all themes picked up from the empirical data in this research, which brings new evidence to bear on this growing body of knowledge on future NDNGO roles.

There are three specific yet interconnected areas of NDNGO critique that call for further attention, as they appear to offer useful and interesting insights into domestic programmes such as Oxfam GB's UKPP and the other case studies addressed here. These are the themes of credibility and legitimacy, civic rootedness and north-south relations.[11] Firstly, one of the most serious criticisms directed at NDNGOs is that they lack credibility and legitimacy. These are standards applied to all NGOs, regardless of location (see for example the study of NGO credibility in Uganda, Omona and Mukuye, 2013). However, the literature generally reflects the power asymmetries between NDNGOs and southern NGOs (SNGOs) (Fowler, 1991, Elbers and Schulpen, 2013) and focuses its critique on NDNGOs in this regard. NDNGO credibility is undermined by the fact that NDNGOs frequently shape the terms of partnership agreements and do not provide the same level of institutional information as SNGOs are expected to. Work by Gourevitch and Lake (2012) clarifies the distinction between the two concepts and provides evidence that credibility, or the NGO's capacity to be believed, is an asset, which is actively shaped by the NGO. Likewise, the legitimacy (for which credibility is a pre-requisite) of an NGO also requires active maintenance by the organisation. Their study, for example, presents a framework of action, which is mobilised by the NGO to proactively maintain or reclaim the organisation's credibility. This includes, along with the more common-place strategy of adopting autonomous governance structures, the interesting idea of 'costly effort'. There are many approaches an NGO could take to mobilising the 'costly effort' strategy but they should be visible, such as staff taking lower salaries to

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[11] See Chapter 3 for details of how these concepts have been worked into the research methodology.

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demonstrate the organisation's commitment to donor priorities, otherwise they risk alienating some supporters and donors. This concept has resonance and potential explanatory power for the domestic programmes of NDNGOs, which, in the cases of OGB's UKPP, Islamic Relief and Oxfam America are not universally understood or welcomed by their supporters.

The second critique of NDNGOs is their lack of 'rootedness' in the societies of the industrial 'North' in which they are based. Again, this standard is applied to NGOs in the global South (Fowler and James, 1994). However, as the literature tracks the requirement of NDNGOs to demonstrate impact, 'scale up' (Edwards, 1993, Edwards and Hulme, 1996) and move into advocacy work (Anderson, 2000, Watson, 2001, Rugendyke and Ollif, 2007), there is a loud call for NDNGOs particularly to engage more creatively and deeply with their domestic publics. There are suggestions that this is to maintain sustainable funding streams (Smillie and Helmich, 1993) but the primary focus is on maintaining legitimacy and re-thinking their role. As significant actors in society often funded by public donations and government contracts, it is argued that NDNGOs need to justify their mandate as non-membership based organisations. Evidence of the lack of engagement (beyond fundraising) by UK-based NDNGOs with the public is cited as one of the reasons for an overly simplistic understanding of development issues amongst the general public (Glennie et al., 2012, p. 25).

> *The legitimacy of a social actor comes from their rootedness in their own society, from a more engaged and supportive domestic constituency, and from the alliances they develop with other parts of civil society.* (Edwards et al., 1999, p. 133)

There are those who query whether in the quest for legitimacy, NDNGOs should abandon their traditional funding role (Taylor, 1996). However, there is a broad consensus across the literature that funding should not be their primary role as it leads to power imbalances with SNGOs and distortions in development practice (Kapoor, 2013, Wallace and Porter, 2013). Fowler (2000b), for example, synthesizes the new role for all development NGOs into the 'Fourth Position' in which NGOs are located between civil society, state and market. Their role becomes that of negotiators, validators and watchdogs of duties of compliance and rights, and of innovators. He

argues that ultimately their success will be measured by the systemic change they can initiate and this will only be possible if they are rooted within their community. Preliminary data from the Oxfam GB (OGB) case study points to echoes of the concern about OGB's rootedness in the UK in interventions from southern partners prior to the UKPP. The concern was mobilised by staff in making the case for the programme. This is reflected in all three of the smaller case studies in this research. As with the issues of credibility and legitimacy, this study provides empirical data from four NDNGO domestic programmes to support the findings in the literature with regards to the quest for legitimacy in NDNGOs. It enhances understandings of the programmes as strategies to respond to these critiques and allows for an assessment of its success.

The final critique, which has possible explanatory power for NDNGO domestic programmes, is that of relations between the global north and south. Gaventa's proposition that that there are 'Souths within the North just as there may be Norths within the South' (1999, p. 257) suggests an entirely different way of conceptualising stereotypical views of North and South. This approach has implications for practice too and, if considered alongside the idea of 'costly effort' (Gourevitch and Lake, 2012), could offer fuller understanding of how NDNGOs make programmatic decisions. For example, a decision to locate NDNGO programme work in the global North may be a response to changing understandings of where 'the souths' are. In addition, a visible signal that the NDNGO is choosing a difficult path, such as paying staff below the market rate or losing potential funds to maintain a core value or principle, may boost credibility. The changing global structures which blur the traditional boundaries between 'north' and 'south', recipients and donors, and where the poor live are another dimension of the literature explored later in this chapter. For now, it is sufficient to note that this dynamic is part of the context in which NDNGOs had and continue to have an identity crisis about their future role.

Despite the multiple synergies between the debates around NDNGO futures and the establishing of domestic programmes, some of which are explored above, none of the literature on this theme, with one exception, mentions domestic programming. The exception (Fowler, 1995) refers to the UKPP and the Oxfam Assembly in 1994 at which the UKPP was part of the agenda and highlights the political risk taken at the

time as evidenced in the negative media coverage. Reading this article was, in fact, the first time this researcher encountered the UKPP. Subsequent searches identify only four articles which touch on the OGB UKPP in the scholarly literature (Thekaekara, 2000, Eyben et al., 2008, Matheson and Matheson, 2008, Ellis, 2004), two of which are written by Oxfam staff and another by a former Trustee who played a central role in the early debates about the programme. No evidence is found of scholarly literature on any other NDNGO domestic programme. Research into the major case study organisation, Oxfam GB, has been much more extensive (Jennings, 1998, Rahman, 1998, Blackler, 2008, Harrison, 2008, Wong, 2013) but this has focussed entirely on Oxfam GB's 'overseas' programming outside the UK. This mirrors the pattern of empirical research and analysis of NDNGO work more generally which focuses on their work in the global south (Ferguson, 1990, Grugel, 2000, Kontinen, 2007, Cumming, 2008, Barber and Bowie, 2008). There is also recent scholarly work on the re-structuring, de-centralising and governance work of NDNGOs such as ACORD, Action Aid, ICCO and Oxfam International (Jayawickrama, 2010, Elbers and van Leeuwen, 2013, Elbers and Schulpen, 2014, Fowler, 2012). NDNGOs themselves have made attempts to capture their own history and organisational development, which make passing reference to their domestic programmes, such as the Oxfam Archive Oral History Project (see also Roper, 2010, Joffe, 2009). This research, therefore, makes a contribution to this considerable gap in understandings of NDNGOs' domestic programmes, asking new questions about the significance of these programmes, specifically those of Oxfam GB, Oxfam America, Islamic Relief and Red Barnet.

2.3 NDNGOs: their decisions and practices

As with the theme of NDNGO futures, the survey of literature in the area of decision-making and institutional practice has two functions. First, it serves to identify gaps in understandings of why and how these organisations make programming decisions, such as that to establish domestic programmes. Secondly, it suggests tested theoretical and methodological tools, to be explored in more depth in Chapter 3.

In asking the question why NDNGOs choose to work with the poor in their own communities, it is suggested that they make decisions about programmes and priorities on the basis of criteria other than levels of material poverty. If this were the

sole criterion of decision-making about where to work, it is unlikely that any of the case study NDNGOs would have established domestic programmes. That is not to say that considerations of levels of poverty in the UK, US and Denmark were not part of debates around the domestic programmes of the case study organisations. They were (see for example Bennett, 1994). Nevertheless, it acknowledges and builds on the research to-date around decision-making in NGOs. There are three distinct strands to this research. Some are concerned with locating NGO decision-making within or across particular traditions, querying, for example, whether it is distinct from the private or government sectors as a result of multiple bottom-lines and accountabilities (Tandon, 1996, Anheier, 2000, Hudson, 2009) and values (Brass, 2012, Krause, 2014), or is a hybrid pulling from each of the three sector approaches (Lewis, 2003). The focus of the second strand, which this research is informed by, is on the inherent diversity of the NGO sector which requires a nuanced approach to understanding how decisions are made (Harris et al., 2009, Heyse, 2006, Hilhorst, 2003).

Two particular contributions to this literature have considerable potential for the understanding of why NDNGOs establish and maintain domestic programmes. Hilhorst's study of NGOs in the Philippines rejects arguments from the post-development critique (Dar and Cooke, 2008, Choudry and Kapoor, 2013), which suggest that NGOs are an outcome and manifestation of a single neo-liberal framework, demonstrating instead that 'their practices reveal how these different frameworks intertwine' (2003, p. 216). This echoes the analysis in Chapter 5 on the three smaller case studies and points to the need for an analytical framework that can respond to and capture such diversity. The second contribution is premised on the multiple-accountabilities approach and shows how strategic planning processes are shaped by and actively shape an NGO's response to these, suggesting the need for:

> *...nuanced understanding of how managers might use the language, metaphors, and deliberative arenas of strategic planning to influence, gradually and subtly, organizational change, even at the expense of realism and implementation of formal strategies.* (Harris et al., 2009, p. 425)

This approach to NGOs as they really are rather than an imagined ideal (Desforges, 2004) is instinctively attractive and methodologically appropriate for case study

research and informs this study's epistemology in which the perspectives and understandings of those working within the case study NDNGOs are privileged.

The final strand in literature on NGO decision-making is implicit and does not always sit within research focused on decision-making. Ideas and evidence appear across the sub-literatures on development ethics and development and NGO management. Fowler, for example, argues that many NGOs' performance in poverty alleviation work is hampered by the fact they do not have a coherent theory of poverty (1995, p. 304), suggesting, therefore, that this is an important element of NDNGO of decision-making. Development ethics (for which there is a significant sub-literature discussed below) also offers insights into decision-making, sometimes rejecting claims that because development management is flawed it is, therefore, an impossible means to emancipatory ends.

> *Development agencies have to act, and they have to choose between values and priorities, however crudely they make these choices.* (McCourt and Johnson, 2012, p. 534)

For the purposes of this study, this highlights the significance of the realm of development ethics, ideas (John, 1998) and ideology (Jennings, 1998) for NDNGO decision-making. Using the same argument, the study constructs a heuristic framework from dimensions of development studies, NGO and development management literature that offer the potential for richer understandings of why domestic programmes are established and maintained. Considerations of the future of NDNGOs and development ethics are two elements of this framework.

The research question seeks insights beyond considerations of causal decision-making into more fundamental questions about NDNGOs' role and identity. This requires a detailed reading of the NGO literature for a comprehension of other factors, which might shape and constrain the way NDNGOs behave, of which there is ample evidence for the role of practice itself. The above case of strategic planning is one example. A few examples are offered here to illustrate the extent of the potential for elements of NDNGO practice to shape decisions and actions. Krause (2008, 2014) illustrates how the pursuit of a 'good project' is more significant than values in determining how humanitarians make decisions. Practices of participation have

received much attention with a broad consensus that many, although not all, practices are associated with exclusionary results (Cleaver, 1999, Cooke and Dar, 2008, McGee, 2002). The rival power of NGO campaigners and fundraisers is vividly brought to life by Sireau's (2009) study of the *Make Poverty History* campaign. Likewise, marketing practices combined with the constraints of public opinion (Desforges, 2004) and the demands of donor reporting (Ebrahim, 2005) are significant dimensions of what collectively this study refers to as 'institutional practices'.

Some development studies and NGO management research has recently utilised Bourdieu's theory of practice (1970, 1977, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999) addressing the past trend of overly normative research with a lack of theoretical engagement (Lewis and Opoku☐Mensah, 2006). These studies have drawn attention to the way power can work in organisations (Gaventa, 2006, Bevan and Pankhurst, 2007, Ebrahim, 2004) and to the significance of researchers' understanding of the *habitus* and field of practice in which an organisation operates (Bristow, 2008, Krause, 2014, Moyles, 2007). Although there are debates about whether Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* can be applied to institutions (Atkinson, 2011), the approach is used with considerable effect in Ebrahim's study of NGOs and organisational change (2005). In conjunction with the above evidence from NGO research to-date that institutional practices are of analytical significance in understanding the dynamics and decisions of NDNGOs, the successful application of Bourdieu's theory of practice, specifically the notion of *habitus*, is one element of the rationale for its further use in this research. The findings of this study provide further evidence in the debate as to the utility of a theory of practice to development and NGO studies. Having provided a brief rationale for the application of Bourdieu's theory of practice to this study, Chapter 3 details how these theoretical tools are used to test the working hypothesis.

2.4 Theories of Poverty

The review of research to-date on NDNGOs, their futures, decisions and practices has assisted in constructing a heuristic framework, which incorporates these elements. The chapter now turns to the literatures of the additional knowledge domains in which this case study research is situated. The purpose of the review of literature on theories of poverty is to draw out from this vast area possible insights and tools with which to address the two research questions.

There are two distinct literatures on poverty of interest to this research, which intersect very little (O'Brien et al 1997): that which relates to development studies and the other, which relates to poverty in the UK and the global north. Some work has attempted to connect them (Gaventa, 1999, O'Brien et al., 1997, Maxwell, 1998, Hickey and du Toit, 2007, Ibrahim and Tiwari, 2014) but they are still largely 'parallel worlds' of scholarship (Lewis, 2014).

Maxwell, for example, indicates the scope of the literature on poverty, identifying nine different fault lines in the debate on the meaning and measurement of poverty (1998). Sumner (2004) comprehensively covers most of the major debates on the meaning and measurement of poverty and the implications of economic and non-economic conceptions of poverty (and well-being) in development studies. Work in the last decade on chronic poverty has re-focused attention on the need for tools with which to explore the underlying political and structural causes of poverty (Green and Hulme, 2005, Tiwari, 2007). However, although the impact of NGOs on poverty alleviation has been the focus of much research, as noted above (Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010), there is scant research on the way that these theories of poverty are embedded in and operationalized through NDNGOs, except from the perspective of donor-driven paradigms (Wallace and Chapman, 2003). This is surprising given the recent interest in theories of change (Davies, 2004, Eyben et al., 2008, Flynn, 2012). This literature review looks at those areas of the debate on poverty, which appear to offer most potential for an understanding of the case study domestic programmes.

Fowler (1995) highlights the need for NGOs to have a theory of poverty for effective delivery of poverty-alleviation work and suggests that this is lacking in many NGOs (also Kumar et al., 2009). However, early sightings of archive data suggested that Oxfam GB proactively mobilised its theory of poverty in support of the UKPP debates. One of the three agenda items at the Oxfam Assembly in 1994, which discussed the establishment of the UKPP was 'What is Poverty? And what are its causes' (Oxfam GB, 1994a). The *Oxfam Handbook of Development and Relief* (Eade and Williams, 1995) refers to Oxfam's fundamental principles that 'all people have the right to an equitable share in the world's resources…and that denial of such rights is at the heart of poverty' (xvi). The roles of structure and agency are contested by

scholars in the analysis of the causes of poverty and prescriptions for responses to it. This tension is at the heart of the concept of chronic poverty, which claims that poverty, 'is an inherently political problem' (Hickey and Bracking, 2005, p. 851). From there it follows that poverty eradication measures cannot just rely on technical approaches without regard to the politics. Rights-based approaches are needed, which 'seek to enforce a minimum standard of social and economic rights' (Hickey and Bracking, 2005, p. 862). There is a remarkable convergence between this prescription from a chronic poverty perspective and the Oxfam GB's approach quoted above. This research builds on this insight, suggesting a correlation between OGB's theory of poverty and its domestic programme.

There is, of course, nothing new in the claim that the causes of poverty and the required interventions are linked, being a basic principle of much development planning (Dale, 2004, Simpson and Gill, 2007, Carr, 2008). In fact the way in which some development practices and interventions can be distorted by problem analysis, which fails adequately to situate itself within the global political economy has in itself become the focus of a major strand of development critique (Ferguson, 1990, Mitchell, 1995, Hickey and du Toit, 2007). This perspective has considerable resonance with the way in which Oxfam GB debated the UKPP and Oxfam America's domestic programme. Chapter 5 details the way in which Islamic Relief's theory of poverty attempts to bridge rights-based and scripturally inspired approaches. For now, it is sufficient to note that NDNGOs' theory of poverty is potentially relevant to their programming and other strategic decisions.

The debate on absolute or relative definitions of poverty is one of the most relevant to the NDNGO domestic programmes and was and is still actively mobilised by each of the case study organisations in their domestic programme work. The World Bank's use of US$1.25 per day (at 2005 purchasing power parity, PPP) which was revised upwards from $US1 per day (1985 PPP) in 2008, is the current most prevalent measure of absolute poverty. However, the World Bank's broader definition of poverty is 'pronounced deprivation in well-being' (Haughton and Khandker, 2008, p. 1), referencing the language of Sen's capability theory. His theory allows for the possibility of a more subtle interplay between relative and absolute poverty (see also Tiwari, 2007) and their measurement in terms of income and capabilities.

> *…relative deprivation in terms of incomes can yield absolute deprivation in terms of capabilities. Being relatively poor in a rich country can be a great capability handicap, even when one's absolute income is high in terms of world standard* (Sen, 1999, p. 89)

This approach to poverty is mirrored in the report written by Stan Thekaekara, a community activist from India[12]. Describing his first impressions of Easterhouse, Glasgow, he says:

> *Everyone seemed to have a television, a fridge – some even had cars. All items of luxury for the majority of people in India. But as the week went by we began to see the beyond the televisions, refrigerators and cars. Amazingly, similarities between the people of Easterhouse and the Paniyas of the Nilgiris began to emerge. Though the face of poverty was completely different, the impact was exactly the same.* (Thekaekara and Thekaekara, 1994, p. 20)

The notion of 'relative' poverty is taken further by Rahnema who argues that the concept of poverty itself is 'a myth, a construct and the invention of a particular civilization' (1992, p. 158) as there may only be one word for it in the English language but other languages have multiple words to express the concept. Ultimately, he dismisses the concept of 'global poverty' as a recent invention that perpetuates existing global power structures. Nevertheless he provides a useful analysis of the four dimensions of poverty which make up its particular (relative) meaning in any given place and time: the materialities; the 'subject's own perception of his condition'; other people's view of the 'subject', and finally 'spimes' or the contextual 'social-cultural space-times' (1992, p. 160). There is ample evidence in this research data (explored in Chapter 4) that OGB engaged with all of these dimensions in debating whether it was appropriate to establish the UKPP.

It is important to consider at this stage the literature on poverty in the UK in the context of the European Union and the global North. Of particular relevance is the social and political context of poverty in the mid-1990s. Key elements of this are Townsend's work (Abel-Smith and Townsend, 1965, Townsend, 1979), which challenged the claim that post-war Britain was an affluent society (Rowntree and Lavers, 1951) and developed an index of deprivation (Townsend, 1987). This latter

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[12] Stan Thekaekara later became a Trustee of Oxfam GB. His visit to the UK in 1993 played an important role in establishing the UKPP. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

work is the precursor of what is now known as the Index of Multiple Deprivation (Department of Communities and Local Government, 2010), which incorporates both material (income, employment, housing, living environment) and non-material domains (health, barriers to services, crime). This points to the definition and measurement of poverty as an additional starting point for consideration of the domestic programmes of the case study organisations. The UK government's definition of poverty, as with all EU states[13], is measured in relative income terms as those households living on less than 60% of median national income (Brewer et al., 2009). Using this income measure of poverty, household poverty rates (before housing costs) increased significantly in the late 1980s to a peak of approximately 22% in 1990 (Brewer et al., 2009, p. 33). Child poverty also rose in the 1980s with the risk much higher for children in lone-parent families, large families or from Bangladeshi, Pakistani or black African families (Bradshaw and Bennett, 2007). By 1996-97, using the same measure (and before housing costs), 26.7% of children, 24.6 % of pensioners and 19.4% of the total UK population were living in poor households (Brewer et al., 2009, p. 36). Oxfam GB used similar statistics in making its case for the UKPP in the mid-1990s.

Through its model of multiple deprivations, the UK approach recognises Sen's claim that relative income deprivations can lead to absolute capability deprivations, for example, inadequate diets, health, educational attainments (cited in Crocker, 1992, p. 160). In a study of child deprivation across the EU, indicators such as leaky roof, a week's holiday away from home and inviting people at least once a month are used (Hussain, 2002a) . The use of the 'social exclusion ' vocabulary in the UK poverty discourse and interventions puts systemic causes at the centre of the analysis in a way which, it is argued by some (O'Brien et al., 1997), may be of use to the understanding of poverty in the global South and in the discipline of international development. The use of the concept of social exclusion in the UK from the 1990s also brought with it recognition of the disproportionate prevalence of poverty among ethnic minority groups (Platt, 2007). There was also evidence of the interconnectedness of minority ethnic groups with globalisation and factors such as international conflicts and the

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[13] The EU defines the poor as 'persons, families and groups of persons whose resources (material, cultural social) are so limited as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life in the member state in which they live' (cited in Maxwell, 1999, p. 3).

size and date of arrival of diaspora communities (Maxwell and Kenway, 2000, Hanley, 2011). An allied concept is that of marginalisation, which in the context of the United States, Wacquant shows, is insufficiently attributed to politics as:

> *...it emerges that Leviathan remains the main vector commanding the genesis and trajectory of advanced marginality in each country* (2008, p. 6).

Another feature of the 'poverty' landscape in the early 1990s was the analysis following the urban riots in the 1980s in the report, *Faith in the City* (Church of England Commission on Urban Priority Areas, 1985). This was cited in the 1994 report for OGB on poverty in the UK and Ireland (Bennett, 1994) and was seen to be highly critical of the Conservative government of the day (Woodhead and Catto, 2012). Subsequent studies into the extent of poverty in the UK in the early and mid-1990s by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) concluded that the prevalence of poverty in the UK remained high and was increasing (cited in Alcock, 2006, p. 12). One of the major concerns of the OGB research at this time was that despite evidence to the contrary, government policy and public opinion was loathe to accept that poverty still existed in the UK. The issue was not discussed during the 1992 election campaign and the use of the 'underclass' approach was more prevalent (Bennett, 1994). This approach to poverty in the UK had its roots in Booth's poverty mapping with its 'pathological' explanations of poverty, putting the blame on 'undeserving' categories of the poor (Alcock, 2006, pp. 28-29). The need to counteract and undermine this understanding of the causes of poverty and to re-connect the debate with the political economy of local, national and global structures, processes and systems which contribute to and maintain poverty are clear drivers in the domestic programme debates of Oxfam GB and Oxfam America. This research provides empirical evidence that OGB's theory of poverty, specifically one that looked at globally interconnected systemic causes, was a fundamental driver of the decision to work on issues of domestic poverty.

2.5 Development Ethics

The fourth sub-literature to be considered for its potential explanatory power of NDNGO domestic programmes is that of development ethics. The initial rationale for exploring this literature is Research Objective 8, which asks whether the existence of NDNGOs' domestic programmes suggests that 'everyone matters'? However, the

breadth of concern of development is a central question for early development ethics literature and recent critical development studies which 'expands the geographic imaginary of development studies' (Silvey and Rankin, 2010, p. 698).

Development ethics literature has its roots in critiques of approaches to development as economic growth, which queried both the 'means' and 'ends' of development (Seers, 1969). Goulet prefers the term 'liberation' over 'development', as it captures the goal of 'existence itself: to provide all men with the opportunity to lead full human lives' (1971, p. x). He argued that 'development ethics' was a new discipline that moved development away from its roots in the discipline of economics, considering broader questions of values. Goulet's framework specifically addressed three questions: what is ethically desirable development? What are the ethical means of achieving it? What are the ethical dilemmas that arise from the practices of development (Goulet, 1997)? This broad conceptualisation is consistent with the 'logic of the field of practice' used across the research (Krause, 2008, 2014).

The focus of development ethics continues to be on identifying and refining the 'means' and 'ends' of development, their foundations and relationship with each other. Sen and Nussbaum, for example, ground their ethic of functioning and capability in human experience rather than an external metaphysics and argue that development ends are what humans intrinsically value (cited in Crocker, 1992). Development ethics also queries the nature of development itself, asking, for example, whether it is intrinsically violent and exclusionary and, if so, can development practice ever fulfil the promise of its ends (Goulet, 1971)? Much of the literature on NGO practice focuses on development 'means', asking, for example, whether or not projects can ever achieve sustainable change (Hira and Parfitt, 2004, Kerr, 2008), whether practices of participation are sufficiently inclusive (Rahnema, 1992, McGee, 2002) or whether and how NGOs can ever plan for socially progressive ends (Ferguson, 1990, Escobar, 1992, Choudry and Kapoor, 2013, McCourt and Johnson, 2012).

Each of the major areas of inquiry in development ethics offers possible perspectives on the domestic programme issue. For example, if it is the case that development applies to all countries, not just a categorised (yet dynamic) selection (Goulet, 1997)

and that development is not just concerned with the 'poor' who live in the global South (McCourt and Johnson, 2012), then the domestic programmes working on issues of exclusion and injustice in the global North may offer new ways of looking at the programming of development NGOs and reflect new broader understandings of what development is. In addition, the programmes may offer empirical data as to what 'emancipatory' (Parfitt, 2009, Parfitt, 2013), 'another' (Hettne, 1990, p. 471) or 'alternative' (McCourt and Johnson, 2012, Parfitt, 2013) development might look like. This search for a development in which its means do not confound or 'banalize' its ends is considered futile by some (Bebbington et al., 2008, de Vries, 2008). Others insist that individuals can and should act in response to their transnational responsibilities to others (Miller, 2010), especially those who have benefitted from the human rights-deficit of others bypassed by global institutions (Pogge, 2005). In the light of these concerns and debates, there is clearly an immediate attraction to NDNGOs who wish to distance themselves from nineteenth century understandings of trusteeship (Cowen and Shenton, 1996), in responding to southern NGO partner suggestions that they might address issues of poverty at home. It is argued that the concept of 'trusteeship' has its roots in the idea that development is an intentional process driven by those entrusted with society's future and wealth (Trustees). The concept is also characterised as 'what can 'we' do for 'them'' (Banuri, 1990 cited in Cowen and Shenton, 1996, p. 453).

The argument for individual agency and the use of pragmatic judgement in development practice is used as further evidence that development ends and means are not incompatible as some literature argues (Escobar, 1992, Cooke and Dar, 2008, de Vries, 2008). McCourt and Johnson (2012) identify the space for action by individuals in the 'constrained autonomy' of managers. They also argue that ends and means are constitutive of each other, requiring development agency staff to exercise their practical judgements to achieve both in everyday practices.

> *Working differently within this context will involve the continuous exploration of power relations, trying to stay with the otherness of others, through negotiation, reflection and further negotiation, so that there is greater co-creation of the end and means of development.* (553)

Likewise, Moyles (2012, p. 544) suggests that there is the potential for contingent practices, 'reducing the physical and psychological spaces between developers' and

beneficiary communities, thereby enabling the dispute between managerialists and aid-rejectionist radicals (outlined briefly at p.19) to move forward. There is much here which resonates with the OGB UKPP and the other case study domestic programmes, particularly the search for a development practice that is characterised by 'alterity' (Parfitt, 2010) and reciprocal obligations (Dallmayr, 2002), rather than the violence of exclusion (Gulrajani, 2011). As Chapter 4 demonstrates, in the case of OGB's UKPP there is evidence that within the constraints of organisational practice, managers and staff used pragmatic judgement to promote perspectives and understandings of development, its ends and means, through programming opportunities. This is what Goulet referred to as the 'means of the means' (1997, p. 1165), that is development ethics as a process by which real development practices, actions and decisions can be explored. This research makes use of Goulet's approach by using the three questions drawn from his work, asking about development's ethical ends and means and the dilemmas emerging from practice.

Central to the attempt to re-theorise development is the question of the 'distant other' as its object. Considerable attention has been paid to the basis of the obligation to this 'other' in the context of development assistance (Gasper, 2008, Shaw, 2005, Pogge, 2005, Kuper, 2002, Singer, 2002, Reidy, 2004, Appiah, 2006, Singer, 2009). Nevertheless, NDNGOs are also criticised for instrumentalising their relationships with *domestic* publics through the need to fundraise. Research undertaken by IPPR and ODI concluded, for example, that beyond fundraising campaigns, there was very little engagement of the UK public by NDNGOs, possibly contributing to the weak understanding of the general public about the complexities of aid and development work (Glennie et al., 2012). The dilemma of NDNGOs situated at the nexus of this tension between the need for resource and for an informed public has been noted in the literature. Miller concludes that 'NGO attempts to articulate alternatives is strongly circumscribed by being embedded within a neoliberal aid' (2010, p. 313). Research has also conclude that NDNGO engagement with their publics is 'ambivalent' (Yanacopulos and Bailie Smith, 2008). However, what is missing is any acknowledgement that engagement with these 'constituencies in the North' goes beyond fundraising and global citizenship work (Glennie et al., 2012). This study contributes to addressing this lacuna, considering whether obligations to 'distant

others' might be more comfortable to implement for NDNGOs and what this means for an ethic of 'everyone matters'.

Without this being an exhaustive review of this sub-literature, the study establishes here that considerations of the appropriate ends and means of development are relevant to decisions to start to work with the domestic poor and, therefore, offer potential insights into the case studies. In doing so, this research contributes to the literature on the possibility of a development practice that is truly emancipatory rather than compromised, with suggestions as to what this could look like. In addition the study makes use of existing literature on obligations to a 'distant other' to ask why this is an easier prospect for NDNGOs than obligations to those closer to home and whether this has any relevance to a re-theorising of development – its subjects, objects and spaces.

2.6 'Domains' of development

The 'entry points' into the domestic programmes via approaches to poverty, decision-making and development ethics, highlight a further and growing sub- literature into the changing landscape and structure of the international development 'domain' or discipline. Cowen and Shenton (1996) characterised the 'domain of development' as Africa and Asia with its subject as the imperial state and object as 'colonial and Third World peoples' (Yanacopulos and Bailie Smith, 2008). The study argues here that there is inter-connected evidence that the domain(s) of development is and are shifting from that observed by Cowen and Shenton and that the case study domestic programmes provide further empirical evidence of and insights into these dynamics. The evidence is examined from three dimensions of change: critiques of the trusteeship of the global North; structural shifts in the global political economy, and the presence of growing and active migrant diaspora communities in the global North.

The concept of 'trusteeship' can be critiqued from both empirical and normative perspectives. There is, for example, empirical evidence that the relationship between the NGOs in the global North and South is changing as SNGOs build greater capacity, have direct access to new sources of funding, have experience from which NGOs in the North and South can learn and are subject to new pressures of accountability (Jennings, 1995, Gaventa, 1999, Fowler, 2000b). The expansion of BRAC to become

one of the largest NGOs in the world is a part of this landscape (Hossain and Sengupta, 2009). In addition, many have argued that the relationship between NDNGOs and their southern partners *must* change if development is to move on from its roots in nineteenth century trusteeship, which perpetuates power asymmetry between the global South as the object and the North as the 'capable' subject or 'Trustee' (Pommerolle, 2007, Barber and Bowie, 2008, Simon, 2006). Evidence of the impact of this normative argument on NDNGOs is the move towards decentralisation by large organisations such as Action Aid, which, it is argued, contributes towards 'partially eroding North-South binaries' (Shutt, 2009, p. 7). The impact of this strand of argumentation is also seen in the way development studies research is conceptualised. For example, Olukoshi claims that 'development research was from its very beginning a discussion about the other' (2007, p. 23). Noted in section 2.2 above, is the pressure on NDNGOs to transform themselves and re-think their roles, which, the OGB case study demonstrates, came in part from SNGO partners. Thus the shift away from the North-South binary is one dimension of the movement in the domain(s) of development for which this study provides further evidence.

Vast changes in the global political economy also manifest themselves in new sources of power and resource, which, in turn, have effects in the development landscape. The Institute of Development Studies' *Reimagining Development* project locates itself in the three 'F's of the global financial, food and fuel crises of 2007- 2008, which has coincided with the globalisation of vulnerability and complexity (Haddad et al., 2011). The extent to which this has a development-relevant impact on the UK is only seen by the IDS project through the lens of UK public opinion about aid. However, work done by each of the case study domestic programmes provides considerable evidence of the effects of the global crises in the UK, US and Denmark (Lindstrom and Henson, 2011). Moreover, there is evidence that effects in the global South 'prefigure the future of the global north' reversing previous assumptions embedded in development work (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012, p. 12). The potential impact of the BRIC and MINT economies on ways of doing and seeing development in the future add to this boundary-blurring, as previous aid-recipient countries become donors (Mawdsley, 2012, Haddad et al., 2011) and existing recipients of aid in sub-Saharan Africa acquire renewed agency (Haddad et al., 2011, UNDP, 2013, Durotoye,

2014, Harman and Williams, 2014). The significance of these role mutations is powerful.

> *By making these assertions of subaltern expertise, and grounding development assistance in shared experience and challenges, the Southern donors construct a position for themselves in the foreign aid arena distinct from those of the North.* (Mawdsley, 2012, p. 158)

Noted alongside these shifts in power and wealth is the fact that 72% of the poor now live in Middle Income Countries (Sumner, 2012). This has a number of implications for development practice, including the need to re-think how to target assistance to the poor and the need for greater international cooperation in addressing development challenges, which are increasingly 'complex and transboundary in nature' (UNDP, 2013, p. ii). This research contributes to understandings of how NDNGOs assess and respond to the transformed domains of development.

The final dimension of the changing development terrain, connected to those dimensions considered above, which is of empirical and possible theoretical relevance to this research is the presence of migrant diasporas in the UK, US and Denmark and their role in development. Diaspora communities are a visible reminder of global interconnectedness. Conflicts in Africa and the Middle East, for example, have obvious effects in increasing the size of diaspora communities in Europe and the US (Hanley, 2011). Communities with ties to Asia and the Middle East find themselves incorporated into policies with security and strategic objectives (Wilson, 2012). Research into poverty and ethnicity in the UK has shown that the ethnic groups most likely to be unemployed and live in inadequate housing are Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Somali and black African (CRE 2007 cited in Chouhan et al., 2011). The incidence of poverty for white children in the UK is 25% while for African children it is 56%, for Pakistani children 60% and Bangladeshi children 72% (Change Institute, 2009a, Chouhan et al., 2011). Early readings of archive data from Oxfam GB, point to a growing discomfort among OGB senior management and partners from the late 1980s that the organisation had virtually no links with these communities in the UK, although some overseas staff pointed to the irony of the fact that OGB worked with their families overseas.

Notwithstanding the disproportionate poverty among black and minority ethnic communities in the UK and Europe, there is a growing interest in the value of remittances sent 'home' by these communities. The World Bank reports total global remittance flows in 2012 of US$ 519 billion, nearly three times the size of official development assistance (World Bank, 2013). Amongst the top ten countries receiving the most remittances are Bangladesh, Pakistan, Mexico and Nigeria but their diasporas' contribution to development goes beyond remittances. Incoming remittances to Africa in 2010 exceeded US$ 40 billion but additional resources in the form of investments, skills, trade links and technology transfer are also considered part of the development contribution (Plaza and Ratha, 2011, Davies, 2012). A report for the UK's Department for International Development (DfID) included the diasporas' role in conflict prevention, conflict reduction and post-conflict reconstruction 'as these are all central to poverty reduction in countries with diasporas which have a substantial presence in the UK' (Van Hear et al., 2004, p. 1). The DfID research looked at six UK-based diaspora communities: Somali, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Indian, Sri Lankan Tamil and Chinese, and concluded that DfID and other agencies should consider taking measures to maximise the value of these contributions by securing migrant rights, cutting the cost of money transfers and giving them a more active voice in the development arena. Notwithstanding the cautionary and critical note struck by some about the impact of diaspora engagement with development (Judge and De Plaen, 2011), since the 1990s development literature has acknowledged the active contribution of migrant communities in development and has challenged 'the argument that immigrants are only consumers rather than active contributors to poverty alleviation' (Ozkan, 2012, p. 1). However, in practice NDNGOs such as Oxfam GB and Oxfam US have difficulties in engaging with these communities. Are they donors or are they beneficiaries? In the case of Islamic Relief, evidence points to the domestic programme attempting to square this circle[14].

Two very recent works separately argue that international development is in transition and that an unhealthy dualism persists between the scholarship of international development and that of the UK's third sector (Lewis, 2014, Harman and Williams, 2014). Both arguments emerge from the context of the blurring of the boundaries

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[14] Analysis and discussion of this case study is in Chapter 5.

within development research and practice, which is briefly surveyed above. This study contributes to this growing literature, considering how far the domestic programmes of the case study NDNGOs were possible creative responses to this new environment, which have the potential to shape the development domain further.

2.7 Conclusion

Identifying the relevant knowledge domains to address the research question, therefore, enabled the study both to identify gaps in understandings and to develop an exploratory heuristic framework with which the study can probe the research findings and gain further insights into NDNGOs and their domestic programmes. However, it is noted, with Lewis (2007a), that these understandings are situated in broader themes about development paradigms and NGOs as sites of response to them. A summary of the contributions to knowledge is included in Table 2.1.

The heuristic framework, to be further developed in Chapter 3, posits that there are four factors to be considered when assessing how and why Oxfam GB, Oxfam America, Red Barnet and Islamic Relief established domestic programmes working with the poor in the UK, the US and Denmark. Each of these elements is derived from the literature as discussed above. The elements are:

- Considerations of their futures in response to critiques of NDNGOs
- Institutional practices[15]
- Theory of poverty
- Development ethic

The study also argues that this framework sits within a broader theme of the dynamic and changing domains of development to which this case study research contributes further understandings, bringing a new perspective to the literature on the shifting geographies of poverty and development. Thus, the research builds on the considerable literature around poverty but asks how these understandings are operationalized in NDNGOs and, through an inductive exploratory process, considers the explanatory power of this framework and its implications for NDNGOs.

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[15] Chapter 3.9 discusses issues of falsification of the institutional practices element of the hypothesis.

The study makes a number of methodological contributions. The heuristic framework demonstrates the role of ideas in building a methodology and provides further evidence of the relevance of Bourdieu's concepts of practice, *habitus* and *doxa* as analytical tools to explore decision-making in development NGOs. These theoretical tools are explored further in Chapter 3. The study provides a further application of an ontology, which focuses on 'NGO-ing' (Hilhorst, 2003, Hilhorst, 2007) and an epistemology, which privileges the knowledge of those within the field of practice (Krause, 2008, 2014). It is informed by these approaches while asking very different questions.

In addition, the research contributes new empirical data from NDNGO domestic programmes to the literature on the critiques and challenges of NDNGO roles in providing 'alternative' development. The project, thus, sets some familiar questions about NGO 'alternatives' in the new context of domestic programmes and the changing political economy. Specifically, it takes up the observations of recent research on development NGOs and extends understandings as to how NDNGOs have attempted to put down roots in their own societies, moving towards a bridging role while constrained by institutional practices. This data helps construct a model of what 'emancipatory' development might look like, identifying a range of 'tools' used by the NDNGOs in the model, thus contributing further empirical evidence that development ends and means are constitutive of each other.

Acknowledging the considerable work undertaken on the 'overseas' portfolios of NDNGOs, including on Oxfam GB and Oxfam International, this study fills a void in the research literature by focussing on domestic programming of organisations whose identity is bound up in work with a 'distant other'. This contributes to a more rounded understanding of NDNGOs, recognising the diverse, nuanced and complex range of drivers associated with their programming decisions.

The study also moves forward research on the changing landscape and political economy of development, observing and tracking these changes from the internal perspective of NDNGOs across the end of the twentieth century to the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Chapter 6 elaborates on how it provides further evidence of a move away from the North-South binary, explores a model of how

NDNGOs respond to this transformed landscape and what this means for the future of NDNGOs. Generating a new empirical data set facilitates further theorisation of the phenomenon of the new domains of development, with implications for the institutional and scholarly worlds of international development. In particular, the study is able to make use of existing literature on domains and the 'distant other' together with findings from this research to consider whether the domestic programmes really are an indication of a new domain of development and development ethic in which 'everyone matters'.

This chapter has developed a provisional hypothesis from the literature, positing that NDNGOs' work with the poor in their own communities through domestic programmes are a response to four factors: firstly, the organisation's theory of poverty; secondly, its development ethic; thirdly, its anxieties about its future role in development, and finally, institutional practices. These, in turn have potential implications for the future role of NDNGOs, development ethics and the domains of development. Chapter 3 sets out the theoretical and methodological tools with which the research explores this hypothesis.

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Table 2.1 Summary of literature review and contributions to knowledge

Theme/sub-literature	Literature	Contribution	Gap addressed by this research
Empirical/ NGO	Jennings (1995); Edwards & Hulme (1996); Hulme & Edwards (1997); Edwards, Hulme and Wallace (1999); Gaventa (1999); Fowler (2000); Malhotra (2000); Tandon (2000); Edwards and Gaventa (2001); Agg (2006); Anderson (2007); Rugendyke (2007); Edwards (2008); Bebbington (2008); Dar & Cooke (2008); Engberg-Pedersen (2008); Derkson (2008); Lewis & Kanji (2009); Shutt (2009); Ibrahim & Hulme (2010); Hossain (2011); Aziz (2013); Elbers & Schulpen (2014)	Challenges to and critiques of NDNGOs about their future role in offering development 'alternatives' eg Banks, Hulme & Edwards (2013, 2015) below.	Empirical data to evaluate how NGOs have responded to these challenges. Empirical data to model what it might look like in response to these critiques, identifying range of 'tools'.

Empirical/ NGO	Banks, Hulme and Edwards (2013, 2015)	Highlight the continuity of 3 concerns/weaknesses for NGOs since publication of 1996 work 'Too Close for Comfort':
		  1. week roots in CS
		  2. technocracy
		  3. bridging opportunities
		Suggest that adopting new roles will challenge their identity (297).
			Research provides empirical evidence of how 4 NGOs have responded to issue (1) and moved towards issue (3). Also provides empirical data about how NGO identity is challenged through domestic programmes.

Empirical/ NGO	Ferguson (1990); Grugel (2000); Aldaba (2002); Ebrahim (2005); Lewis and Mosse (2006); Jordan and Van Tuijl (2006); O'Reilly (2011); Fernando (2011); Dubochet (2012); Elbers & Schulpen (2013)	Empirical research and analysis of NDNGO work in developing world – usually around impact of poverty alleviation work.	Empirical research and analysis of work of NDNGOs in their 'domestic communities'.

Empirical/ Development Studies (DS)	Gaventa (1999); Comoroff (2012); Mawdsley (2012), Sumner (2010); Tiwari and Pickering-Saqqa (2014).	Map the changing political economy of international development in early 21st Century, highlighting the blurring of boundaries and shifting of power relations between N&S.	Generating new empirical data set, which observes and tracks these changes from the perspective of inside NDNGOs from the end of the 20th century.
Empirical/ DS/Voluntary Sector (VS)	Lewis (2009 and 2014)	Observes and theorises the parallel academic and institutional worlds of ID and the UK voluntary sector.	Generating a new empirical data set, which facilitates and provides evidence for further theorization of this phenomenon.
Empirical/ DS/Ethics	Goulet (1971; 1997); St Clair (2006); Sumner (2007); Cortina (2007); Miller (2010); Parfitt (2009; 2010; 2013); Johnson & McCourt (2012) – development agencies how to act so is 'management for development' viable?	Development ethics as the search for an'alternative' to materialist/economic/growth conceptions. Concern with exclusionary violence of 'ethics of the same', which marginalizes the other (Parfitt 2010). Proposal for 'emancipatory' development, which minimizes inevitable violence (Parfitt 2013) and accepts 'transnational responsibility' (Miller 2010). J&M (2012) asset that this is possible.	Provides empirical evidence for NDNGO search for programmatic strategy, which minimizes violence. Demonstrates that only practice, which makes visible and challenges the 3rd dimensional power of othering can be 'ethical'.
Empirical/ NGO/ Organisational	Jennings (1998) Moyles (2008; 2012)	Acknowledges and evidences role of ideology, especially, conscientisation, in OGB. Moyles shows how values can be managerial instruments, which inevitably lead to conflict.	Further research into role of ideas in NGO decision-making.
Empirical/NGO/Oxfam	Jennings (1998) Rahman (1998) Blackler (2008) Harrison (2008) Wong (2013)	Research into OGB work overseas (Tanzania, Uganda) but nothing on UKPP. Rahman (1998) looks at H culture from IP perspective. Harrison (2008) historical approach to development education. Gender mainstreaming in Cambodia (Wong 2013).	UKPP

Empirical/NGO	Thekaekara (2000) Eyben et al (2008)	Only literature, which addresses UKPP and domestic programmes.	UKPP and domestic programmes
Methodological/ DS/NGO	Lewis and Opoku-Mensah (2006); Bebbington (2007); Moyles (2007); Gaventa (2006); Ebrahim (2004 & 2005); Bevan and Pankhurst (2007); Habermann and Langthaler (2010)	Need for DS and NGO research to move away from normative approach and engage more with theory. Use of Bourdieu's concept of field and habitus to apply to ID.	Use of Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *doxa* as analytical tool to understand implication of NDNGO decisions for field of ID.
Methodological/DS	Cowen and Shenton (1996), Mitchell (1996)	Use of concept of domains of development to reveal historical contingency in understandings of development.	Use of empirical data from NGOs to enrich understandings of development domains and provide evidence for a new development domain.
Methodological/DS/NGO/ Organisational	Heyse (2006), Brass (2012)	Heyse (2006) develops model of decision-making in humanitarian NGOs and applies this to MSF Holland and ACT Netherlands. Challenges theories of decision-making, which suggest that NGOs are unified and coherent group. Identifies 3 modes of d-m: appropriate; consequential, and garbage-can. Brass (2012) considers the d-m drivers for deciding where NGOs work, rejecting self-serving elites and patronage explanations and suggesting mixture of pragmatism and charitable motivations around greatest need	Neither decision-making models adequately address issues of power, development ethics or habitus. Enhanced model proposed using 3rd dimensional power.
Theoretical/ DS	Gaventa (1980 & 2006); Moncriefe (2006); Bevan and Pankhurst (2007)	New ways of considering dimensions of power active in social change and relevant to DS.	Application of model of power as analytical tool to understand decision-making in NDNGOs.
Theoretical/ DS/NGO	Krause (2008, 2014)	Epistemology privileges knowledge within the field of practice ie within NGOs in research and applies this to humanitarian work in East Africa.	Application of Krause's epistemology to 4 case study NDNGOs in the global north.

| Theoretical/ DS/NGO | Hilhorst (2003) | Ontology of NGOs focuses on 'NGO-ing' and applies this to work in the Philippines. | Application of this ontology to NDNGOs x 4. |

Chapter 3: Theory and Methodology

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3.1 Introduction

This research seeks to understand how, why and with what implications development NGOs based in the global 'North' (NDNGOs) establish and maintain domestic poverty programmes, working with poor communities in their own countries. Chapter 2 surveys the literature and situates this question in debates about the future role of NDNGOs, development ethics, theories of poverty and institutional practice. It derives from this literature an hypothesis that these four issues may be the drivers of the domestic programmes. This is a scarcely researched dimension of NDNGO work.

This Chapter sets out the rationale for conscious choices made in the research design and to explore the decisions and assumptions behind this study's theory and methodology. In making explicit the ontological and epistemological starting points and building on researcher positionality outlined in Chapter 1, the chapter also addresses some of the recent critiques of development studies research. These include those that relate to development studies generally, such as insufficiently rigorous engagement with social science theory (Martinussen, 1997, Sumner and Tribe, 2008) and the irrelevance of theory to practice (Edwards, 1989a). There are also critiques, which are specifically addressed to research into NGOs, such as concerns about inadequate attention to researcher positionality (Lewis and Opoku☐Mensah, 2006) and a tendency to celebrate uncritically the work of NGOs (DeMars, 2005). These critiques cannot be addressed in isolation. Thus, for example, this study addresses the suggestion that there is a correlation between insufficient attention to researcher positionality, weak methodology, theorisation and consideration of research context (Lewis and Opoku☐Mensah, 2006).

One possible contributory factor to the shortcomings in development studies theorisation is the growth of 'demand-led' research, produced in accordance with the principle that 'development research is expected to demonstrate pro-poor impacts and outcomes' (Heffernan, 2008, p. 687). Demand-led research was designed to respond to earlier criticisms of top-down research agendas, which did not consider the needs of the

poor. In doing so it has constrained the ability of development studies to pursue new understandings and knowledge wherever these might be found. The above requirement would, for example, suggest that the only proper focus for development studies research is poverty. This study acknowledges that the purpose of development studies research is generally applied or instrumental, that many development researchers seek to 'make a difference' (Sumner and Tribe, 2008, p. 69) and that many development theories implicitly argue for change (Martinussen, 1997, p. 331). However, it concurs with other recent research that the sole focus of development studies and research is not and cannot be poverty, where this is conceived through limited material and economic dimensions. What, for example, would development studies then have to say about human development and injustices in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (McCourt and Johnson, 2012)?

The tendency for development research to be focussed on poverty issues presents three challenges for researchers of NGOs in development studies. Firstly, if 'development' is a socially-constructed concept (Cowen and Shenton, 1996) with intellectual origins in European tradition, which has dominated the twentieth century and the 'third world', then there is no reason why this concept cannot be re-thought and constructed into 'another development'. The purpose here is not to suggest a new construction but merely to demonstrate that new constructions are possible and that development studies researchers need not take the dominant twentieth century concept as a given. Secondly, if NGO development researchers are to strengthen this field of research, 'embedding organisational analysis within a more detailed examination of institutional and policy contexts' (Lewis and Opoku☐Mensah, 2006, p. 671), then the link between the needs of the poor and NGO research will be less obvious. Researchers will engage with issues that do not directly contribute to pro-poor outcomes or to absolute gains by the poor in any dimension of poverty (Ravallion, 2004). This is not to suggest that the realities of the poor no longer count (Chambers, 1997), but that in order to reach a better understanding of how development NGOs can work with the poor, this study needs to be grounded in good social science theory. This process may instinctively feel distant from the 'make a difference' tradition discussed above but may nevertheless lead to long-term 'pro-poor outcomes', whether defined as absolute or proportionate gains by the poor (Ravallion, 2004). Although in the short term the work of reconfiguring development so as to deconstruct the North-South bifurcation might be seen as diverting attention from the poor in the global South, in the longer term it will achieve a better

understanding of how to work with the poor by overcoming the preconceptions that divide North and South. Thirdly, if 'pro-poor outcomes' are the only focus of development research, how should development researchers respond to the call to engage fully with social science theory, while on the other hand 'locked in' to an aim which is underpinned by a particular epistemology and normative theory? The language of 'outcomes', for example, suggests both units of knowledge and the validity criteria required by an empiricist-positivist epistemology (Kanbur and Shaffer, 2007, p. 188). This highlights the potential for both development practitioners and researchers to be caught in the middle of conflicting epistemologies, while working on a log-frame or in research (Kerr, 2008). This research is situated within this tension: engaging with social science theory while located in the field of development studies but with no direct 'pro-poor' outcomes.

Chapter 1 explores the normative assumptions and political agendas embedded in the researcher's background, addressing one of the prescriptions for good social science research (Martinussen, 1997, p. 346). This chapter elaborates on an ontology and epistemology informed by NGO research undertaken by Hilhorst (2003, 2007, 2010) and Krause (2008) and by work on perspectivism by Lightbody (2010). These discussions consider issues of falsification. Next, the Chapter introduces the theoretical framework, which is grounded in Bourdieu's theory of practice and specifically his concepts of *habitus,* field or domain and *doxa* (1977, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999). This is brought together with Gaventa's work on power (1980, 2006), especially the work of third dimensional or invisible power. Having set out the theoretical landscape, the chapter provides the rationale for the case study design, sampling and analytical tools. The analysis section brings together the approaches of Bourdieu and Gaventa with the four-part hypothesis outlined in Chapter 2 to form the analytical 'tool-box' with which the data is interrogated.

The final sections of the Chapter address a further requirement for good development studies research; clarity around spheres of application and validity (Martinussen, 1997). Finally, it considers how ethical research standards are operationalised in this study, with reference to the codes of practice offered by the Social Research Association (Social Research Association, 2003), Developing Areas Research Group (Parnwell, 2003) and the Respect Project (Respect Project, 2004). The chapter concludes with a discussion of challenges, cautions and caveats.

3.2 Ontology and Epistemology

The study locates itself within the field of Development Studies in which a range of ontological and epistemological positions have been used since the 1950s, with a turn since the 1970s towards relativist caution of certainty and imposition of single realities (Escobar, 1992, Chambers, 1997, Sumner and Tribe, 2008). As a result of the range of approaches used within this cross-disciplinary area, the issue of mixed-methods has been discussed through the lens of epistemological positions, with some identifying potential difficulties in undertaking mixed-methods research into poverty *because* of their different epistemological and normative theory positions (Kanbur and Shaffer, 2007). However, what becomes clear in a study on the use of mixed-methods in childhood well-being is that the value of the methodological approach taken is fundamentally linked to the research question being asked (Jones and Sumner, 2009). This study takes a similar approach, allowing the research question to drive the theoretical and methodological approach as much as possible, while mindful that 'there is no neutral space from which to describe theoretical and conceptual issues' (Gilbert, 2001, p. 12).

Thus this section on the ontological and epistemological starting points of the research should be read with Chapter 1's consideration of researcher positionality in mind. It starts with a consideration of the central research question and, taking up the concept of 'non-neutral' space, examine how this space is filled. The study asks how, why and with what implications Northern Development Non-Governmental Organisations (NDNGOs) establish and maintain domestic poverty programmes. This requires an explicit approach to what an NGO and an NDNGO is, as well as a capacity to address the question 'why'. As discussed briefly in Chapter 2, from the multiple attempts in the literature to define NGOs this study concurs with Hilhorst that it makes more sense to refer to 'NGO-ing' (2003, p. 5) than to attempt to simplify such a diverse category. This focuses research attention on what NGOs do and say and how they respond to the world around them.

To this extent, the study allows NGOs to self-define, within the confines of the 'third sector'[16], focussing on what they do, the understandings of their staff, volunteers, partners and other stakeholders, their practices, internal and external communications. This approach enables the research to address the concern that a more nuanced view of development NGOs is needed in research (Lewis and Opoku☐Mensah, 2006), which allows for diversity beyond the characterisations as either organisations co-opted by a neo-liberal system through contracting (Edwards et al., 1999, Fowler, 2000b, Manji and O'Coill, 2002, Ebrahim, 2005) or as informal structures incapable of coherent decision-making (Heyse, 2006). The category of NDNGO, although not as diverse as 'NGO', also requires a research approach, which acknowledges and accommodates the different social, political and economic contexts of the industrial nations of the global 'North' while allowing for meaningful knowledge claims.

A perspectivist ontology enables a multi-layered and rich exploration of the question while not subject to the shortcomings of a relativist approach which may undermine any research findings and conclusions. It makes claims to *complete* understanding difficult if not impossible, but does provide research with the aim of a *fuller* understanding, as more perspectives are considered. If we see perspectives as 'environments of power' in which 'human subjects do not have perspectives; rather, we are in perspectives' (Lightbody, 2010, p. 434), we have a basis on which we can allow for the diversity of contexts, views and voices from NGOs in the global North and South. In addition, a perspectivist approach addresses criticisms of development studies for pitting relativism against universalism (Lund, 1997) and for inadequate attention to power and context (Lewis and Opoku☐Mensah, 2006). It allows space for insights without being overwhelmed by the dominant development paradigm which demands quantifiable results (Wallace and Porter, 2013). The empiricist-positivist tradition would struggle to address issues of macro context, which Layder argues is essential for complete coverage of the 'research map' (1993). The discussion of the changing global political economy in Chapter 2 demonstrates this context is of relevance to answering the question 'why'. A perspectivist approach, as demonstrated in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, enables the research to interrogate the very different contexts in which NDNGOs operate both with respect and a critical eye.

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[16] This study uses 'third sector' as a convenience term for how NGOs distinguish themselves from the state and the private sector. It is not used in the functionalist sense to imply that NGOs are defined by their 'gap-filling' role between state and market.

The research objectives seek to understand the multiple drivers behind organisational decisions and strategies, using data such as meanings, values, attitudes and influences, which are socially constructed[17]. An ontology and epistemology informed by perspectivism allows for many different ways of knowing them and facilitates the purpose of this knowledge enquiry to gain a more informed understanding. The discussion of constructions of development above illustrates this approach to knowledge and enables the study to examine the work Northern development NGOs *do* by also querying the traditional perspectives on what constitutes 'development'.

It is, of course, possible to critique a perspectivist ontology on the grounds that it does not allow for effective criticism, as one perspective is as valid as another but, as Reginster argues, (2001) this does not mean that critiques have no validity at all. The validity of the research findings will be enhanced by the relevance and appropriateness of the data sources. Here, the approach is informed by Krause's epistemology which privileges knowledge within the field of practice (2008). Thus, the study seeks to understand motivations, processes, attitudes, decisions, concepts and relationships of power as they manifested themselves over the course of decisions on domestic programmes made in four different NDNGOs. It uncovers or constructs this 'knowledge' through an analysis of the multiple understandings of different actors within and beyond the immediate decisions, making necessarily incomplete knowledge claims. However, the fact that the data, both *capta* and *generata* (Wengraf, 2001), comes from within the field of practice, from amongst the staff, partners and documents of the NDNGOs themselves, enhances the validity of findings and conclusions, refuting the positivist-empiricist demand for 'intersubjective observability' (Kanbur and Shaffer, 2007, p. 189).

A further pragmatic advantage to perspectivist ontological and epistemological starting points is that they can accommodate the diversity of views within NDNGOs, avoiding the suggestion that they are monolithic entities defined and driven by a coherent set of values (Tandon, 2000, Gourevitch and Lake, 2012, Doh and Yaziji, 2009, Smillie and Helmich, 1993). Studies have shown, for example, that Oxfam GB staff had different understandings of how change happens (Eyben et al., 2008). In addition, an openness to

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[17] Other factors such as changes in the political economy are considered in Chapter 4, section 4.6.

different world views has perhaps eased the process of research permissions and access (Hilhorst, 2003), sparked initial curiosity and driven research motivations in this research project. The goal of post-colonial literature to re-locate sites of knowledge from the global North to the global South (Bell, 2002) and 'decolonize' development (Kothari, 2002) has also been influential in the conceptualisation of this research. This approach too is accommodated by perspectivism, which allows the research to consider development and the work of development NGOs beyond the confines of either a post-colonial or colonial paradigm. Rather, the research is able to explore what is happening in four different NDNGOs and consider the diverse 'environments of power' in which they are situated (Lightbody, 2010).

Having looked at how the study addresses the need for explicit statements of ontology and epistemology, the Chapter now examines how issues of power and institutional context are addressed in the theoretical framework.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

In seeking to understand why NDNGOs choose to establish and maintain domestic poverty programmes and what this means for their role and future, this investigation makes use of a range of theoretical tools. It uses them to establish and frame the starting points for research but also to guide the analysis of data and shape approaches to method. The chapter now outlines the theoretical tools to be used, the selection rationale and assess their efficacy and appropriateness for this task.

Chapter 2 summarises briefly the usage made to-date, within development studies, of Bourdieu's theory of practice[18], which provides a framework, from the field of sociology, for understanding how power is exercised and maintained in society (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1994, Bourdieu, 1996, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999). The key elements in this theory are: *habitus,* fields of practice and *doxa* to be discussed in turn below. This research makes use of these concepts (based on the rationale detailed below), taking what can best be used to reach fuller understandings of the central research question. In choosing to work with the concepts of *habitus*, fields (what is later called 'domains') and *doxa*, the study concurs with arguments for the 'pragmatic deployment in empirical research'

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[18] See p. 27 in Chapter 2.

(Wacquant, 2014, p. 118) of Bourdieu's range of concepts, rather than taking on the multiple dimensions of his theory of practice. The value of each concept to this research is located in its resonance with and analytical potential for the empirical data (Weininger and Lareau, 2003). The heuristic value of this selected cluster of concepts is outlined below.

Within each field of practice, or social-professional setting agents, such as development, both people and institutions, make use of state-sanctioned understandings and meanings, which control and perpetuate how issues are perceived within the field of practice. This structuring process can bring about an alignment between the way issues are described and understood and the way they are, or 'a conformity between words and things, between discourse and reality' (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 376). It is through, for example, the dominant biomedical paradigm of health care, that the knowledge of indigenous health workers in Bolivia is subsumed and less effective forms of practice perpetuated (Bristow, 2008). Similarly, the logic of problem analysis undertaken for a USAID intervention in Egypt not only shapes the nature of the problem to be addressed (agricultural production), but controls and perpetuates understandings of development itself, as a process applied to a distant 'object' (Mitchell, 1995, p. 130). By shaping understandings of development this can create the appearance of universality or a natural order, which is, in fact constructed. Further evidence of the way the field of 'international development' is shaped by donors and governments is provided in Moyles' (2007) study of INGO behaviour.

The research uses the concept of 'field of practice' in which a network of specialist knowledge and practice is held together by common, if unstable, interests and understandings. This concept can be applied, for example, to the 'field' of international development in which relations between agencies such as DfID, the World Bank, Oxfam GB are held together by shared approaches to what 'development' is. This study prefers the term 'domain' so as to distinguish conceptually between Bourdieu's notion and the usage of the term 'field' in development studies, as in the geographical site of development or research (Jakimow, 2013). This synonymous usage of 'field' and 'domain' has precedent in recent research on Bourdieu's theory of social fields (Hilgers and Mangez, 2015, pp. 5-7). The immediate appeal of this understanding of 'domain' to this research is that it allows for an interrogation of the process by which a domain, such as that of international development, is constructed and maintained and potentially

disrupted. The implications for the international development domain are not merely about the meaning of the term 'development' but about the shape and membership of the domain and the purpose of practice. The concept of domain allows the social and political context in which the case study NDNGOs work and operate to be integrated into the theoretical approach. Chapter 5 argues, for example, that Islamic Relief operates at the nexus of three domains: international development; Islamic belief and practice; the UK Muslim diaspora community. Each of these domains is constituted of networks of organisations, common practices and codes of behaviours.

Chapter 2 notes that there is a sound basis for an application of the concept of *habitus* to organisations such as NDNGOs, based on past practice within development studies (Ebrahim, 2005, p. 18) and arguments from Bourdieu's intentions for his concepts to be used pragmatically (Wacquant, 2014). Bourdieu's empirical work in the French schools forms the basis of his claim that *habitus* is a 'matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions' (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, p. 83) which are learned at school and in the home. This idea is applied, for example, to two NGOs in India, Agha Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) and Sadguru. The institutional *habitus* is identified through an analysis of their history, institutional context and type of membership (Ebrahim, 2005). Likewise, in Chapter 4, this research builds the 'matrix' of Oxfam GB's organisational *habitus* from the NGO's theory of poverty, development ethic, institutional practices and anxieties about its future. As this analysis shows, Bourdieu's theory provides a useful concept with which to consider institutional practices and their power implications well beyond the French education system.

Chapters 4 and 5 of this study operationalize the concept to build up a picture of the organisational *habitus* of each NDNGO and examine how practices within the organisation work to maintain or disrupt the *habitus*, revealing its constructed nature through a process of 'rupture' and 'reconstruction of genesis' (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 4). Both concepts are useful devices with which to look at the implications of NDNGO domestic programmes for both the organisational *habitus* and international development domain. Chapter 4, for example, asks whether Oxfam GB's theory of poverty, development ethic, anxieties about the future and institutional practices are a sufficient explanation of the organisational *habitus* from which the UK Poverty Programme was established. Empirical evidence is used to illustrate how the Oxfam GB UK Poverty Programme's development ethic challenges and pushes at the boundaries of the

organisational *habitus*. Chapter 5 compares three different NDNGOs and suggest three different models of relationships between the organisational *habitus* and their domestic programme. The analysis in Chapter 5 also suggests that there is a linkage between the NDNGO domestic programmes and the multiple domains in which the organisational *habitus* is situated. Thus, the research is not simply concerned with symbolic power as a theoretical construct, working to shape organisational *habitus*, but with its 'ontological promotion' to real and practical effects (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 376).

The norms within and boundaries of each domain are dynamic and can be impacted by the organisational *habitus* of its constituent members (Lizardo, 2004). Chapter 5, for example explores the relationship between the organisational *habitus* of an NDNGO and the international development domain. It argues, in the case of Oxfam America, that the potential rupture of the organisational *habitus* associated with the domestic programme, has implications for the spaces and understanding of the international development domain in which it operates. The *habitus* is, therefore, both structured and has a structuring capacity in that it maintains and constrains what people aspire to, choose and do. Thus the concepts of *habitus* and domain enable the analysis to capture the dynamic relationship between an NDNGO and the social and political landscape in which it is situated. These facilitate a better understanding of NDNGO domestic programmes and their rationale.

The structuring capacity of the *habitus* in turn creates what Bourdieu refers to as the '*doxa*' or a universe of the 'undiscussed' and self-evident (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, p. 166). This concept offers considerable analytical possibilities when applied to the domain of international development and the domestic programmes of NDNGOs. It provides a tool with which to query what might sit within the *doxic* universe of international development and what the implications are of moving its boundaries. It is particularly useful when considering ideas perceived as counter-intuitive or contradictory, such as NDNGOs having domestic poverty programmes. In Chapter 4 it reveals and allows an examination of sets of unspoken assumptions about specific issues such as who the poor are and broader questions about the actors, processes and spaces of development. The study's approach to these concepts is that the organisational *habitus* of NDNGOs is situated within the domain of international development which is itself located within a *doxic* universe of unspoken assumptions and unasked questions.

The use of Bourdieu's theory of practice in this investigation is then based on a four-part rationale. Most fundamentally, the theory offers, as the above discussion shows, explanatory and analytical potential in understanding NDNGO domestic programmes and what may otherwise remain unseen and unrecognized. Its use is, therefore, grounded in the empirical data. Secondly, it will do so while offering a robust engagement with issues of power, thus addressing some of the critiques of development studies above. Thirdly, there is coherence between the perspectivist ontology and epistemology and purpose of this research and Bourdieu's theory of practice (Martinussen, 1997). Rejecting the 'positivist dream of an epistemological state of perfect innocence' (Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999, p. 608), Bourdieu approaches knowledge as a social construct and demonstrates that both empirical research and theorising are routes to understanding. He does not go so far as to reject the project of 'understanding' (Spivak and Harasym, 1990) but insists that understanding should lead to action - 'what the social world has done, it can, armed with this knowledge, undo' (Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999, p. 629). Bourdieu's notion that 'border zones' between areas of specialism are neglected areas for research (1994) is immediately attractive when considering why NDNGOs choose to work domestically and makes his theory suitable for use in a study located within 'development studies'. Finally, as Chapter 2 outlines, this research builds on recent work within development studies research, which also makes use of Bourdieu's theory of practice. This includes work which has informed analysis of: the World Bank's vocabulary of development (Cammack, 2002); NGO-funder relations (Ebrahim, 2005); development studies itself (Bebbington, 2007); the socio-economic context of international NGO behaviour (Moyles, 2007), and how humanitarian agencies make decisions (Krause, 2008). This research concludes from these studies that Bourdieu's theory has relevance and utility to the broad field of development studies and to the more specific area of NGO research on which this study can fruitfully build.

There have been a variety of responses from within the field to the expressed need for development studies to engage with issues of power. From the perspective of practice, Oxfam GB's publication, *From Poverty to Power* (Green, 2008c), is an explicit articulation of Oxfam's approach to poverty as powerlessness. The need to work with a full understanding of local power structures and inequalities in order for development projects to realistically pursue empowerment or change agendas was highlighted by

Ferguson's work in Lesotho (1990) and more recently in the case of Ethiopia in work undertaken for the World Bank (Bevan and Pankhurst, 2007). Fundamentally, there is now a realisation that for development studies research to engage with power it needs to acknowledge its history and current reality as a political undertaking, rather than stripped of its memory and political content (Lewis, 2013, Olukoshi, 2007, Tvedt, 2007). For this study, it was important to select a framework from within development studies and which offers a disaggregated understanding of the different way that power can work in practice and within the context of NDNGOs. Gaventa's model of power was developed in his early research in the Appalachian Valley in the United States (1980) and later as the 'Power Cube' approach (Gaventa, 2005, Gaventa, 2006, IDS, 2011). The Power Cube model was developed as an analytical framework to assess participation from the perspectives of citizen engagement and organisational practice. It looks at the types of power and the spaces and places in which they are exercised (Pantazidou, 2010). Although there is considerable potential application of the entire power cube approach to this study, one element only is selected for use to ensure clarity of analysis rather than create methodological complexity. The focus of this study is on the types of power.

The Gaventa model draws out the distinction between three levels of power, referred to as a 'three-dimensional approach' (Gaventa, 1980, pp. 11-13).[19] At the first level surface mechanisms, such as resources can allow a person or group to assert power over another. The second level of power is where rules and agendas can shape or control a person or group's ability to participate. The third level is where myths and symbols exert power by shaping perceptions and meanings of the limits and possibilities of action. VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) re-work the dimensions to highlight their degree of visibility, defining them as visible, hidden and invisible power. The distinction between these three types of power is illustrated in examples from the Indo-Swiss Participative Watershed Development Project, Karnataka (ISPWDPK). Visible power in the project area of rural India is largely manifested through the government and elected officials such as the policeman, doctor, engineer and secretary. Hidden power is present through the patron-client relationships formed during seasonal migration of workers outside the project area. These relationships may influence the decisions of poor people and their degree of participation in rural project activities. Invisible power is present

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[19] Gaventa's approach was informed by Steven Lukes' (1974) work on power.

through understandings of caste and gender, which shape people's understandings of the limits of their actions and aspirations (Luttrell et al., 2007, p. 4).

The use of this approach to the three types of power as a suitable tool alongside Bourdieu's theory of practice is built on a three-part rationale. Firstly, there is an epistemological 'fit' between the two theoretical frameworks as Gaventa acknowledges Bourdieu's role in conceptualising the role of power in shaping 'the boundaries of participatory spaces, what is possible within them, and who may enter, with which identities' (Gaventa, 2006, p. 26). Secondly, there is evidence of recent research on power across different sub-literatures of development studies making active, if not explicit, use of these different levels of power, but little making comprehensive use of all three dimensions. For example, a study of global debt and its implications for global power politics uses visible dimensions of power to assess changing power relations (Antoniades, 2013). These dimensions, such as levels of external debt and the currency in which it is held, are the formal criteria by which those in power make decisions. This global debt study makes no acknowledgement of other aspects of power, whereas an assessment of voting reforms in the World Bank, 2008-2010, looks behind the apparent shifts in voting power (Vestergaard and Wade, 2013). It concludes that subtle adjustments to rules and definitions, such as the use of the new category 'developing and transition countries' (DTCs), protect developed countries' voting power. This illustrates the work of hidden power through which influence is maintained by ' manipulating agendas and marginalising the voices and concerns of less powerful groups' (Pantazidou, 2010, p. 38). The mechanisms of invisible power by which conceptions are shaped and issues placed beyond debate are demonstrated in an analysis of the Conservative Party's Green Paper on international development. It suggests that in creating a cross-party consensus on legislating for 0.7% of national income to be spent on ODA, development is a self-evident good 'beyond politics altogether' (Sharp et al., 2010, p. 1126). Although the global debt study (Antoniades, 2013) explicitly sets out to use Žižek's approach to power, in doing so it also reveals the invisible power of the three-dimensional model. This power delineates understandings of development and controls sets of assumptions. The realm of what is considered 'self-evident' becomes the *doxa.*

The third and final element of the rationale for use of the three dimensional approach to power is that it has mostly been used to-date in applied contexts to assess how to

improve participation in development practice (Pantazidou, 2010, Gaventa, 2005). However, it has heuristic potential when working with questions, such as the central research question in this study, which ask 'why'. This is well illustrated in the case of Oxfam-Novib's work in Columbia on palm-oil production. Using the concept of hidden power, a study by Guijt and Seeboldt (2009), demonstrates why working at a national level would be impossible, as partners did not have access to the spaces where the hidden power of the palm oil elite was exercised. Asking why the government pursued certain policies, the concept of invisible power revealed deeply entrenched beliefs amongst the elite about how growth in the Columbian economy would be achieved. It also became clear that the elites dismissed opponents of their approach as failing to *'understand real development'* (Guijt and Seeboldt, 2009, p. 4). In research which privileges the understandings of practitioners as data, as in this study, it is especially important to be able to reveal and make explicit what may otherwise remain invisible assumptions.

As Figure 3.1 illustrates, the three-dimensional power model can be applied to the micro detail of people's real lives. However, it can also be used to explore the way in which institutional practices exert power within NDNGOs. This study combines this approach with the concepts of *habitus*, domain and *doxa* to interrogate the research data to understand better how the institutional practices around domestic programmes

Figure 3.1 Worked example of Gaventa's three-dimensional power using Oxfam GB UKPP examples

	Dimensions of power		
Gaventa (1980)	First dimension Surface mechanisms	Second dimension Rules and agendas	Third dimension Myths and symbols
VeneKlasen and Miller (2002)	Visible Observable decision-making	Hidden Setting the political agenda	Invisible Shaping meaning and conceptions of what is acceptable
The nature of A's power over B	A has superior bargaining resources	A constructs barriers to B's participation	Shaping and limiting of B's consciousness and understandings
Example of this form of power	Buy as you View (hire-purchase company) charging poor people in	All meetings with policy makers on rural issues held in London, excluding	Media coverage of people living in poverty is hostile and one-

	Thornaby on Tees high interest rates on household items such as washing machines.	attendance by members of Peak District Rural Development Forum (PRDF).	dimensional, viewing them as either deserving or undeserving.
The way B experiences A's power	Further depletion of limited income. Anger	Rural voices missing from discussion on UK poverty policies. Frustration	People living in poverty suffer from lack of self-esteem and struggle with negative public perceptions.
The form of B's challenge to this type of power	Conflict with company and demands for new terms of payment.	Production of report for policy makers on issues of rural poverty, *Farming Lives*.	Creation and tour of *The Lives we Lead* exhibition with portraits of people living in poverty defining themselves as poet, campaigner.

Adapted from Chilton (2004, p. 3)

exert different dimensions of power to maintain, destabilise or rupture the *habitus* of an NDNGO, or the domain and *doxa* in which it situates itself. Informed by Bourdieu's theory of practice and the place of power in Gaventa's framework, the study thus has a theoretical model with considerable heuristic possibilities for the central research question.

3.4 Case Study Design

The research design was driven fundamentally by the central research question, which seeks to understand how, why and with what implications NDNGOs choose to establish and maintain domestic poverty programmes. The study addresses this research problem through a major case study of Oxfam GB and three smaller case studies of Islamic Relief UK, Save the Children Fund (Red Barnet), Denmark and Oxfam US. The sampling rationale for these smaller case studies is set out in Section 3. 7 but all four case studies fall within the 'Northern development NGO' typology outlined in Chapter 2.2.

A case study design is uniquely relevant for a study, such as this one. It addresses the variables: where the research question is 'why'; where there is no control over events; the phenomenon or event under study is contemporary (Yin, 2009, p. 8), and actor motivations need to be uncovered (Engel and Nicolai, 2012). However, the dominant

factor driving the formulation of the research question itself was the researcher's initial curiosity about the Oxfam UKPP and its potential significance for why other NDNGOs do or do not have domestic programmes. This was brought to her attention through partnership work undertaken by Muslim Aid and Oxfam GB in 2008-2009 and from a passing footnote reference to the programme by Fowler (2002, p. 305) . Thus, a case study design with Oxfam GB at its centre was key to understandings of the research problem, their construct validity and possible wider implications for the development NGO sector.

Case study designs have been criticised for their external validity weakness (Bryman, 2004), in moving from generalisation to theoretical propositions. To create a more robust external validity in this study, three additional case studies are brought into this design. The three smaller case studies also play an important 'falsification' role (Martinussen, 1997, p. 346) within the perspectivist epistemology. They allow us to look for the 'awkward cases' (Gilbert, 2001, p. 20) and enable others to do so, rather than subjecting data to positivist 'truth' claims. As such, the study extensively surveys the literature on NDNGOs and goes beyond one case study in order to identify common themes and distinctive or anomalous factors. The aim in using the case studies is to generate rich understandings of why domestic poverty programmes are established and maintained by NDNGOs. However, the research is also mindful of other potential weaknesses in case study research. Although they are often under-valued as 'they do not lend themselves to simplifications' (Moyles, 2013, p. 57), cross-case analysis can tend to force commonalities (Engel and Nicolai, 2012). Other critiques focus on the tendency for case studies to be inadequately contextualised (Tvedt, 2007). Thus the exploration of themes across the case studies is undertaken with care and within the context of a robust theoretical and methodological framework.

The interplay between data collection and analysis across the four case studies is illustrated in Table 3.1 below. This shows the simultaneous processes of data collection and analysis, which resulted in cross-comparisons of case study data and adjustments to analyses of all four case studies throughout the study. These processes cannot be separated as discrete phases (Bryman, 2004, p. 143), as data analysis began, for example, during interviews when themes to be explored were recorded in field notes. In all cases analysis began during the first direct encounters (interviews, questionnaires)

and continued throughout the data collection, making cross-case comparisons a continuous and iterative process.

Table 3.1 Case Study Data Collection schedule

Case Study Research phases	Oxfam GB	Islamic Relief UK	Red Barnet, Denmark	Oxfam America
Access requested	15 June 2009	18 March 2010	18 March 2010	Sept. 2010
Access confirmed	2 July 2009	28 March 2010	17 May 2010	April 2011
Data collection began	11 Aug. 2009	23 April 2010	17 May 2010	8 March 2012
Data collection complete	6 April 2011	22 July 2011	October 2010	Sept. 2014
Data analysis began	6 April 2010 (1st interview)	July 2011 (1st interview)	April 2010 (1st questionnaire)	March 2012 (1st interview)
Data analysis complete	August 2014	August 2014	August 2014	August 2014

3.5 Method

As demonstrated in the previous section and in Table 3.1, the research deploys an iterative approach to data collection, analysis and construction of its analytical framework, which developed over a period of five years, 2009-2014. It uses data, captured from staff, stakeholders and internal and corporate documents of the case study NDNGOs, about the drivers and motivations behind and implications of their domestic programmes. As a result of analysis of preliminary data collection from archive documentation and early interviews, broader themes within the NDNGO experience were identified. These themes were incorporated into the working hypothesis, which holds that there are four main drivers behind the domestic programmes: the anxiety over

the future role of NDNGOs in relation to their Southern partners; their theory of poverty; their development ethic, and institutional practices.[20] As subsequent analysis of the data took place using the four-part hypothesis, it became clear that whereas the hypothesis was a useful heuristic device for understanding how and why the case study NDNGOs worked with the domestic poor, it was not sufficient to address the wider implications of this work and, thereby the research question. This was reflected in the AtlasTi data coding as further interviews and archive documentation required a more extensive set of codes beyond those that were developed using the four-part hypothesis. Issues of power, assumed and embedded understandings of the nature and domains of development, the influence of institutional practices and the roles NDNGOs should play emerged from the data and required theoretical tools with which to analyse them. There was a need particularly to explore relationships between NDNGOs and SNGOs and understand how power related to theories of poverty. In addition, it was necessary to respond to the data, which addressed the way NDNGOs resist and promote new ideas. As detailed above in Section 3.3 Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, domain and doxa and Gaventa's approach to invisible or third dimensional power offered the potential of richer understandings of this data. Thus, an analytical framework was developed which utilised both the four-part hypothesis and the additional concepts of Bourdieu and Gaventa. These were incorporated into the coding structure in AtlasTi as illustrated in *Appendix 4*. The provisional hypothesis informed the research objectives which, in turn informed the sampling strategy and the interview protocols. This set of interdependencies is illustrated at *Appendix 2*.

The study does not claim to provide an historical account of events in 1994-1995 leading up to the decision to establish the Oxfam GB UK Poverty Programme, neither to provide similar event-driven accounts of the experiences in Islamic Relief, Oxfam America and RB Denmark. An over-emphasis on historical rather than structural explanations can undermine the validity of case-study design (Engel and Nicolai, 2012). Its concern is predominantly with people's own accounts of their motivations, attitudes and behaviour (Hakim, 1987) and, as such, sits within the qualitative approach to research. In addressing the research problem in this way, this study aligns itself with Hilhorst's (2003) contention that NGOs do not constitute a single reality and can,

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[20] Chapter 2, Sections 2.2 – 2.5, give a full account of the development of this hypothesis.

therefore, only be 'known' through their dynamic processes. The key question to be asked of the case study NGOs is then:

> *…how NGO management and staff members arrive at certain coherence in practice, given the multiple binds and life worlds in which they operate. How do managers and staff deal with multiple realities?* (Hilhorst, 2003, p. 217)[21]

Driven by the previously discussed ontological and epistemological considerations and the research problem, this study involves elements of both deductive and inductive reasoning which are constantly interwoven (Gilbert, 2001). Researcher experience prior to the study, exposure to the literatures throughout the process, and simultaneous data collection and analysis have resulted in an exploratory inductive approach. This allows the study to interrogate data and tease out possible new meanings and layers of understanding.

Data was captured and generated from all four case studies. In the case of Oxfam GB this was collected from: 36 semi-structured interviews undertaken between April 2010 and January 2011 (Table 3.2); three meetings at which ethnographic observation was undertaken (Table 3.3), and an analysis of over 150 Oxfam GB archive documents and reports, published and unpublished. Archive documents were accessed over the course of four visits to the archive between April 2010 and April 2011 (see *Appendix 1*). The semi-structured interview schedules were designed using a protocol in which the central research question drives the logic of both the research objectives[22] and the interview questions (Wengraf, 2001) (see *Appendix 2*). It was in the process of designing interview schedules for beneficiaries of OGB's UK Poverty Programme (UKPP) partners (Group E) that potential difficulties were first encountered around credibility, validity and ethical issues. A more detailed discussion of these difficulties is found below in the sections on Sampling (3.7) and Ethics (3.9).

Table 3.2 Oxfam GB Case study: planned and actual interviews undertaken between April 2010 and January 2011

Sample Group Code	Sample group description	Planned interviews	Actual interviews
A	Oxfam staff/Trustees	5	5

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[21] Hilhorst's work is informed by Norman Long's work on actor-oriented approaches.
[22] Wengraf (2001) refers to these as 'theory questions' but this study prefers to use the more widely used 'research objectives.

	involved in decision.		
B	Oxfam stakeholders involved in decision.	5	5
C	Oxfam GB/ UKPP staff (past & present).	5	5
D	Oxfam UKPP partners.	5	6
E	Oxfam UKPP beneficiaries.	5	4
F	Oxfam southern partners.	5	5
G	Oxfam southern partner beneficiary.	5	1
H	Key players in Orissa Civil Society	0	5
Total		**35**	**36**

Table 3.3 Ethnographic observation

Event	Event host	Event date
Workshop in Community Organising	Thrive, Thornaby Methodist Church	29 June 2010
Regional Learning Review	Oxfam GB, UKPP, Chapter Arts Centre, Cardiff	30 June 2010
Workshop - *Listening to You: Rural Life as it is*	National Farmers Network, Bakewell Methodist Church	16 July 2010

Data from the three smaller case studies was collected in the form of questionnaires, follow-up telephone conversations or skype calls and organisational literature and reports. This data was collected from April 2010 to August 2014 as summarised in Table 3.1. By triangulating data from archive documents and smaller case studies to support or challenge the data from interviews, the study seeks to address potential credibility-validity weaknesses inferring from interview evidence to theory (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, Wengraf, 2001). Claims of causal relationships are thereby strengthened. All the interview transcripts, questionnaires and a purposive sample of the archive and corporate documents were uploaded as primary documents onto AtlasTi qualitative research software for thematic analysis. The full list of all primary documents is at

Appendix 3. The Table 3.4 below summarises the spread of primary documents across the four case studies. It reveals the difference in the size of the data sets and the rationale for referring to Islamic Relief, Red Barnet and Oxfam America as the 'smaller' case studies.

Table 3.4 AtlasTi documents by case study

Case Study Primary documents	Oxfam GB	Islamic Relief, UK	Red Barnet, Denmark	Oxfam America
Semi-structured interviews	35[23]	5	0	1
Questionnaires	0	2	3	0
Internal archive documents	42	0	0	2
Corporate documents	22	4	3[24]	6
Media reports	2[25]	0	0	0
Total	**101**	**11**	**6**	**9**

The extent of the difference between the OGB data set on AtlasTi is in part by design but also reflects access challenges. The challenges with Islamic Relief were mostly overcome by relational groundwork based on past connections within the faith-based development sector. However, where there was no personal connection with respondents there was a reluctance to participate, which manifested itself in very late or uninformative questionnaire returns (Adler and Adler, 2001). In the case of Islamic Relief, further meetings and interviews, beyond what had initially been planned, provided rich data. However, the case of Red Barnet evidences the significance of relational groundwork and joint membership strategies in overcoming reluctance in research respondents (Adler and Adler, 2001). The relationship developed with the researcher was based on no previous working relationship with no obvious 'joint membership' either of national NGO, research or interest group networks. As a result of these challenges, the approach with Oxfam America focussed on building a relationship

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[23] The discrepancy between the figure of 35 interviews in AtlasTi in this table and the total figure of 36 interviews in Table 3.2 is due to the one pilot interview undertaken with an Indian partner beneficiary (G). This category of interviewees was subsequently discontinued for the ethical reasons explained in 3.6.
[24] One of these primary documents is a collection of nine leaflets.
[25] These two documents include 20 press reports about the UKPP, from 1994 to 1996.

with the key informant and supplementing the rich data from a skype interview with Oxfam America research reports and internal strategic planning documents.

3.6 Sampling

Transparency of sampling rationale is fundamental for a falsification strategy, which allows for potential replication and assessment of the validity of research findings. This section focuses on providing this transparency. Sampling decisions were made from the very inception of the study, at the point of selecting the four case study organisations, the documents to be analysed and the organisations and individuals to be involved in semi-structured interviews and questionnaires.

The rationale for Oxfam GB as the major case study, as described above, was based on its domestic programme being the initial focus of researcher curiosity. The rationale for the selection of the three smaller case studies was first based on their identity as Northern Development NGOs (NDNGOs), each with their origins in an industrialised country (Lewis and Kanji, 2009, p. 12). Islamic Relief (IR) is included in a typology of 'Southern' International NGOs' (Hossain and Sengupta, 2009, p. 20) as a diaspora organization but, as the study argues later, this is only a part of IR's identity so it is included here as an NDNGO. Secondly, for comparative purposes it is important to have another UK-based case study and others from countries considered subject to similar development trends. These comparisons also offer 'falsification' opportunities with which to refine and check findings from the main case study (Gilbert, 2001). The US was selected because many of the ideological, programmatic and policy trends for development NGOs have their origins in the US with third sector policy trends in the US frequently assessed for relevance in the UK (Fyfe, 2005, Kerr, 2008, Alcock, 2010, Hummelbrunner, 2010). Denmark's unique political consensus around the commitment to 0.8% GNI for ODA (OECD, 2007) makes for a useful contrast to the UK case study. Thirdly, the case studies need to provide insights into different types of NDNGOs such as faith-based and single-issue organisations. Islamic Relief, UK was selected as a faith-based development NGO so as to examine whether and how the faith dimension of their work contributed to their thinking about 'who matters' in 'development', in contrast to Oxfam GB. By selecting the four case studies from the UK, US and Denmark, countries with different approaches to and histories of development assistance, government-NGO relations, and colonial pasts, claims to understanding, while still provisional and porous, are more robust.

69

The sampling strategy for data within the Oxfam GB case study started with Oxfam GB archive documents. Early readings of documents from the Oxfam archive helped build the sampling frame for semi-structured interviews with UKPP and other Oxfam staff and stakeholders involved in the 1995 decision as outlined below. A key document in this regard was *Oxfam Assembly 1994: Talking, Listening, Sharing* (Oxfam GB, 1995d), the proceedings of the 1994 meeting at which Oxfam staff and stakeholders considered whether Oxfam GB should establish a UK programme. The list of participants at the Assembly formed the basis of the sampling frame for interviews.

The OGB sampling frame is summarised in Table 3.2. Interviewee Groups A to D and F reflect the broad categories of stakeholders who participated in the 1994 Oxfam Assembly at which the UKPP was debated. No Oxfam GB beneficiaries were present at the Assembly but it was considered relevant to Research Objectives 6 and 7 (to understand the UKPP impact on Southern partners and future NDNGO roles) to interview beneficiaries of Oxfam GB's UKPP (Group E) and beneficiaries of its work with Southern partners (Group G).

From this sampling frame, interviewees in Groups A, B and C were identified through both purposive and snowball sampling techniques. During interviews with existing Oxfam GB staff, especially those working on the UKPP, suggestions were sought for suitable UK partners (Group D) to interview. This was also part of the trust-building strategy with Oxfam GB which, due to previous negative press coverage about the UKPP and staff shortage in the archive, needed reassurance that research would not attract more negative media coverage of the UKPP and would not make inordinate demands on archivists time. Over this period and as a result of a UKPP strategic planning meeting attended in July 2010, it was decided to focus on those UK partners working on sustainable livelihoods and an attempt made to cover as many of the UK regions as possible. In some cases, UK partners were identified through Oxfam GB literature and UKPP staff passed on contact details (ATD Fourth World and Church Action on Poverty). In other cases, initial suggestions by the researcher of UKPP partners for interview were discussed with UKPP staff resulting in an alternative suggestion. In one case it was felt by Oxfam staff that the organisation had 'interview fatigue' and in another that the key contact at the organisation did not know enough about the partnership with Oxfam. In both cases, an alternative organisation was

suggested. This resulted in the identification of five UK partner organisations in Scotland, Wales, London, the Peak District and Manchester, all working on sustainable livelihoods. These partners are: ATD Fourth World, London; Church Action on Poverty, Manchester; National Farmers Network, Peak District; South Riverside Community Development Centre, Cardiff, and UNISON, Scotland.

The rationale for undertaking this fieldwork in India was multi-layered, situated in methodological considerations and the current literature. Firstly, it was determined that a southern perspective was needed. This emerged from the iterative process in which readings of literature and early data, development of research objectives and sampling strategies overlap combined with the need for multiple perspectives within the epistemological approach in which the research is situated. Secondly, it became clear from early readings of the data that Indian partners had played a significant role in the Oxfam GB UKPP decision and that India was Oxfam GB's largest grant recipient at that time, with the state of Orissa receiving the total largest grant allocation (Oxfam GB, 1995d) (Oxfam GB, 1993). Thus, it was decided that the views of Oxfam GB partners in Orissa would make a valuable contribution to addressing the research question.

The sampling process for Southern partners was much more challenging. First was the ethical issue of how far the UKPP was of relevance to them at all? Early readings of several documents in Oxfam GB archive indicated the relevance of this issue for Oxfam GB's Southern partners. Brief summaries of a selection of these documents follow. An internal Memo from the Director of Oxfam GB to the Overseas Director suggested that work in the UK inner cities could learn from the Third World and especially Latin America (Judd, 1985). An Oxfam India Trust Regional Strategic Plan for Bhubaneswar recommended that in the climate of so much donor funding Oxfam needed to 'add significant value to the work of our partners' if it was not to end up as 'just another partner' (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b). The report of the 1994 Oxfam Assembly shows key interventions by Southern partners who were strongly in favour of establishing a UKPP (Oxfam GB, 1995d). A report of a meeting between all of the Oxfam International domestic programmes refers to the origin of Oxfam America's domestic programme as rooted in a call from partners in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean to 'tackle the parallel problems of poverty and hunger in the US' (Bennett, 2002, p. 41).

Secondly, having established that Southern partners had a stake in the UKPP, what would be the optimal way to select a group to interview? It was decided that for logistical and resource reasons, one country should be selected from among those in which Oxfam GB works. The rationale for selecting India was based on several factors. Early readings of archive (Oxfam GB, 1995d) and interview (Bronstein, 2010, Bryer, 2010, Idrish, 2010, Seshan, 2010) data indicated that Stan Thekaekara's (an Action Aid partner from south India) intervention in the debates about a possible domestic programme was key to the final decision. His account of his visit to Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham (Thekaekara and Thekaekara, 1994) together with subsequent thinking about the common dimensions of impoverishment – fear, low self-esteem and inter-generational poverty - in India and in the UK, was mentioned as a turning point in the Assembly. A further reading of archive documents suggested that the Oxfam India Trust had developed, in the early 1990s, an analysis of poverty which challenged existing relationships between NGOs in the North and South (Oxfam GB, 1990, Oxfam India Trust, 1992a, Oxfam India Trust, 1992b). The Oxfam GB Grant List of 1992/1993 lists £1.7 million in grants to Indian partners, the largest national grant programme, with the largest number of grants to partners in the state of Orissa (Oxfam GB, 1993). This was also the state to which interview data directed the researcher's attention (Thekaekara, 2010).

The sampling of Oxfam GB partner organisations in Orissa was complicated by the fact that Oxfam GB, while maintaining an office in Delhi, now has no operational presence in India. It channels all grant funding through Oxfam India, established in 2008. A member of staff in Oxfam GB's Overseas Division made the introduction to Oxfam GB in Delhi, who then introduced the researcher to Oxfam India. They then sent a list of partners in Orissa who had worked with Oxfam GB for ten years or more on Sustainable Livelihoods. From this list of thirteen organisations, five were selected on the basis of their district base, attempting to cover five different districts.[26] Transport and communication difficulties prevented access to several organisations and eventually four partner organisations located in four districts participated in the research as follows: Regional Centre for Development Cooperation (RCDC), Bhubaneswar District; Society of Women's Action Development (SWAD), Puri District; Lok Bikas, Jajpur District, and Agragamee, Rayagada District. A fifth partner, Pragati, in Koraput

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[26] The State of Orissa has 31 administrative districts, including the capital district of Bhubaneswar.

District agreed to participate but it was not possible to meet with them on either of the two visits to Orissa.

As field-work was undertaken in the UK in July-August 2010 challenges were identified in interviewing Oxfam GB UK partner 'beneficiaries' (Group E) – both ethical and methodological – which led to a reconsideration of whether it was appropriate for interviews to take place with partner beneficiaries in Orissa (Group G). An initial visit to Orissa, India in November 2010 was used largely to gain informed consent from Groups F and G and to pilot the use of semi structured interviews with the same. The conclusion of the pilots was that data should be collected in meetings with groups of NGO staff in addition to interviews with Group F informants. In addition, the use of UKPP partner material in the interviews was found useful to explain what the UKPP was and encourage discussion on it.

For Group G, Indian partner beneficiaries, the pilot continued to raise serious issues about informed consent and so it was decided that in the subsequent field visit to Orissa in January 2011, Orissa-based civil society activists would replace Oxfam partner beneficiaries as a new Group H. This was also a purposive and snowballing sampling decision as the visit in January proved to be very fruitful in identifying key civil society activists who had been involved with Oxfam from the 1970s in Orissa and had very interesting and influential views on NGO work.

3.7 Analysis

Having detailed the theoretical approach, research design, method and data sampling strategy, this sections sets out the analytical framework through which the data was explored and interrogated. Just as the sampling and data collection were driven by the hypothesis and research objectives, as discussed in Section 3.5 (see also *Appendix 2*), the analytical framework and method of analysis were also dependent on the research objectives. This section details this interdependency between research objectives, coding structure and analysis of the empirical data.

In order to address the central research problem and the related research objectives, the study needed analytical tools with a proven track record of working with people's attitudes, meanings and views while acknowledging the researcher's presence and positionality. AtlasTi software was used on both interview and archive data from the

Oxfam GB case study to provide a qualitative content analysis which yielded initial categories and findings, shared and discussed with OGB informants. An analytical framework was developed from the hypothesis and used as the basis of the AtlasTi coding structure for a thematic analysis of the data. The theories of Bourdieu (1977, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1999) and Gaventa (1980, 2006), as discussed in Sections 3.3 and 3.5, informed later readings of the data. The full coding structure with code definitions is at *Appendix* 4. Table 3.5 shows the resulting code families with the total number of thematically coded quotations for each case study.

Table 3.5 AtlasTi quotations for each code family and case study

	OGB case study	Islamic Relief, UK	Oxfam America	Red Barnet, Denmark	Total
Development ethics	167	4	3	0	**174**
Domains of development	166	10	3	1	**180**
External drivers	120	16	4	7	**147**
Ideas	215	19	11	3	**248**
Institutional practice	634	28	30	6	**698**
NDNGO futures	426	19	29	10	**484**
Power	451	16	45	6	**518**
Theory of poverty	356	18	28	15	**417**
Total	**2,535**	**130**	**153**	**48**	**2,866**

This framework ascribes a code family to the elements of the four-part hypothesis derived from the literature and allows for a consideration of power, practices and domains of development. However, in order to allow space to capture the unexpected beyond the hypothesis, two broad code families were introduced: external drivers and ideas. Consideration was given to the extent of the full coding structure so as to avoid a 'code swamp' (Friese, 2012, p. 123), while allowing for sufficient analytical rigour. A further cycle of themed analysis was undertaken providing further coded quotations. It must be emphasised that once analysis extended beyond the hypothesis, the coded quotations were subject to analysis using concepts of *habitus*, domains, *doxa* and three-dimensional power. This provided deeper insights into the data and into the research objectives. The use of the three smaller case studies to build on the analysis of the OGB

case study was particularly fruitful as it enabled comparisons to be made between the cases and subsequent reflection on the OGB case study findings through the lens of the smaller case studies.

To address the issue of memory, which arose in a number of interviews, the research makes use of an approach from narrative research. This is of relevance to this study as much of the raw data is in narrative form, either oral or written. It takes the view that narrative is a 'particular mode of knowledge… It does not simply record events; it constitutes and interprets them as meaningful parts of meaningful wholes' (Prince, 1990, p.1 cited in McQuillan, 2000, p. 129). Thus, the data collected in interviews, where memory may have clouded recollection, was significant for the research problem *because* of the constituting process not despite it.

3.8 Ethics

This study's approach to ethics reflects the three-part focus of the ethics of development studies (Sumner and Tribe, 2008, p. 40). It queries, firstly, the focus of development studies itself in its discussion of development ethics in Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6, asking what are the appropriate 'ends' of development. Secondly, it asks how NDNGOs, as members of the development community, conceptualise their purpose and practices of development. This focus on intervention ethics, or the 'means' of development, is also discussed at length in Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6. Thirdly, the study considers in this section the ethics of the research process.

This narrower, process-driven conception of the ethical dimensions of research dominated the early stages of research. It was driven by the institutional demands of the Research Ethics Committee. In line with these requirements, considerations and plans were made for acquiring informed consent and minimising the risk of distress or harm. Subsequently, process-oriented thinking was broadened using the Respect code of practice for socio-economic research in Europe, resulting in an action plan to mitigate risk presented at *Appendix* 5 (Respect Project, 2004).

This process of mapping risk encouraged advance planning of dissemination of research findings. It also led to an increased awareness of and caution around the stark gap between planning and implementation, especially in respect of gender issues. The plan stated that there would be a gender balance in the interview samples, that the interview

set-up should not reinforce power asymmetries between researcher and research participant, and that there be a gendered analysis of the data. In reality, the purposive and snowball sampling determined the selection of research participants with results in Table 3.6 illustrating the gendered nature of NGO staffing, NGO decision-making and poverty.

Table 3.6 Male/ female and south/north research participants

Research participants/ Sample groups	Female	Male	India	UK
A	1	4	1	4
B	1	4	4	1
C	4	1	0	5
D	2	4	0	6
E	4	0	1	3
F	1	5	6	0
G	1	0	1	0
H	0	5	5	0
Totals	14	23	18	19

The most significant process-driven ethical challenge in this research was the issue of informed consent. The research was unable to predict or plan for this issue using either the Research Ethics Committee or the Respect approach to ethics. As Riessman discovered in her research in South India, 'Abstract rules did not help me when I got into ethical trouble' (2005, p. 486). The following outlines briefly the practical challenge of informed consent in the context of this research.

All research participants were sent a formal introductory letter after informal email or telephone exchanges in which the researcher explained how their name had come into the sampling frame. Accompanying the letter was a brief outline of the research project, a guidance sheet about the nature of the research interview, and a consent form to sign. It became clear in the initial exchanges with UKPP beneficiaries (Group E) that strategies for enabling *informed* consent would need to be re-considered. For example, one participant had not realised Oxfam GB was connected to her local community organisation in Cardiff. A two-part strategy addressed this. Firstly, avoiding the

terminology of development studies (poverty, relations between North and South, NGOs) in describing the research, which has no immediate currency in the context of impoverished communities in the UK. Secondly, in seeking to ensure that no interviewee was materially disadvantaged by their participation, interviews were scheduled around existing commitments, which brought informants to their local community centre to avoid an additional journey. However, there was concern as to how this issue would be resolved in the India context with partners and their beneficiaries.

The strategy adopted to respond to this question makes use of an 'ethics-in-context', rooted in the situations that arise in fieldwork (Riessman, 2005, p. 487). During the first of two visits to Orissa, India, in November 2010 meetings with three Oxfam GB partners (RCDC, Agragamee and SWAD) in three different districts of Orissa made use of materials from UK partner organisations to illustrate and expand upon the research topic. Images from ATD Fourth World's exhibition *The Roles We Play: Recognising the contribution of people in poverty* (ATD Fourth World, 2010) and material from Thrive's campaign against predatory lenders (Church Action on Poverty, 2010) were shown to a meeting of staff at the Regional Centre for Development Cooperation (RCDC) in Bhubaneswar. This helped clarify what 'Oxfam GB's UK Poverty Programme' was, and led to discussions on the definition of poverty, relative levels of vulnerability and south-north learning. Field notes from the meeting with Society of Women for Action Development (SWAD) in the first field visit to India in November 2010 indicate that the UKPP partner material produced a shocked response from meeting participants who then showed considerable interest in the Church Action on Poverty (CAP) participatory budgeting material (Hall, 2005). As informed consent was enabled through these means in group meetings with NGO staff, arrangements were then made for those who wanted to participate further, to be interviewed during the same or a subsequent (January 2011) visit to Orissa.

As detailed above in Section 3.6, the pilot interviews in November 2010 in Orissa concluded that informed consent would not be possible with the proposed category G informants (Indian partner beneficiaries). This category was, therefore, replaced with a wider group of civil society stakeholders as informant category H.

3.9 Challenges, Cautions and Caveats

This section outlines the three main challenges of this research on which knowledge claims are contingent and, therefore, require caution. It also summarises briefly how the research design and method adapted to them. The first is based in researcher positionality and the second in sampling and method.

Research needs to acknowledge its contingency. It takes place in a dynamic context in which 'we, and the world around us, are forever changing. Nor does the data we collect remain constant' (Andrews, 2008, p. 86). The duration of this study has coincided with the author's transition from work in development practice to teaching and scholarly research in development studies, or from a 'complete' to a 'peripheral' insider (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). The challenge has been to work creatively with this tension during research. The researcher's current peripheral insider identity eased access to Oxfam GB, Islamic Relief UK and Oxfam America. It has facilitated confident and credible approaches to individuals within all the case study organisations and to their partners. However, the research acknowledges that a peripheral insider identity brings accompanying risks, which can be mitigated by transparency. Having worked in a UK-based development NGO in partnership with Oxfam GB and closely with Islamic Relief UK, the researcher brings approaches and understandings of an 'insider' to strategic choices made within the research. This is particularly with regard to case study sampling strategy and in analytical frames used in Chapter 5. This identity also brings the appearance of shared understandings to interviews with current and existing NGO staff, sometimes easing the flow of interviews and perhaps clouding meanings through assumptions of shared understanding.

The second challenge relates to different layers of sampling. The first, discussed in section 3.6 above, was the difficulty of accessing data from the three small case studies. Sometimes this took the form of contacts moving on to work in other NGOs, requiring the researcher to establish and build new relationships or find an alternative case study NDNGO, as in the case of the United Methodist Committee on Relief (UMCOR), which was replaced by Oxfam America as the fourth case study. At other times there were language barriers, as with Red Barnet, which resulted in ambiguities in questionnaire data or the need to translate questionnaire and corporate material from Danish and Swedish. Finally, the value of the data collected through the use of questionnaires was not as rich as that collected through interviews and potentially weakens the external validity of case study design. This was possibly due to some

informants being insufficiently connected to the research to prioritise completion of questionnaires, but also a problem inherent in the use of questionnaires sent by email. Where possible supplementary meetings, skype conversations and telephone calls were undertaken to complement the small case study data and strengthen external validity.

The second type of sampling challenge was located in the sheer quantity of coded data generated in the course of the research and using AtlasTi. For example, Table 4.10 in Chapter 4 itemises fourteen sub-codes within the code family 'institutional practices'. In writing up the analysis, choices were made about which sub-codes to focus on. In the case of section 4.4.4, four dimensions of institutional practice were selected for particular analysis due to their coding density and illustration of institutional practices as dynamic drivers of and barriers to change. A similar challenge was faced in presenting the final analysis of the 'NDNGO futures' code family in section 4.4.3 in which twelve sub-codes were generated in the analysis of which only six are selected for the focus in section 4.4.3.[27]

The ability to verify or falsify claims made about institutional practices is the third challenge, inherent in all inductive reasoning but also in the conceptual nature of institutional practices. The claims in this study are located in the perspectivist epistemological approach and the methods by which these are operationalised in the research. This chapter has already acknowledged that a perspectivist epistemology does not attempt to make knowledge claims but this need not prevent it moving towards optimal understandings through multiple perspectives. Within these constraints, this study adopts a number of strategies to maximise the external validity of understandings around institutional practices. Firstly, multiple perspectives are introduced via a multiple case study design with cross-case analysis, a sampling frame ensuring the participation of multiple stakeholders, 30 years of archive documentation and ethnographic observation. Secondly, the research method breaks down the concept of institutional practices into constituent parts, such as organisational identity, governance and sensitivity to public opinion. By coding data using these sub-categories (see Table 4.10), it becomes possible to verify or falsify claims to understanding about these aspects of institutional practices.

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[27] Three of these sub-codes are combined together for the purposes of the analysis, with section 4.4.3, therefore, focussing on four dimensions of NDNGO futures.

The findings and knowledge claims in Chapters 4 to 7 are, therefore, contingent on at least the three types of challenges outlined. However, mitigating strategies such as finding alternative case studies, translation, supplementing questionnaire data and purposive data sampling have contributed to maximising external validity.

3.10 Conclusion

This Chapter has argued that the study of NDNGOs needs an approach, which is sufficiently engaged with social science theory. In responding to this requirement, it attempts to make explicit theoretical starting points and normative assumptions. It sets out the perspectivist ontological and epistemological foundations of this research and provides the rationale for a case study design. Fundamentally, the central research question and research objectives drive the design and methodology. These ask how and why NDNGOs establish and maintain domestic poverty programmes and what this may indicate about the future of NDNGOs and the domain of development. The selection of the primary case study of Oxfam GB is based on the initial spark of researcher curiosity about this under-researched aspect of NDNGO work. The sampling strategy for the three smaller case studies aims to provide comparative awkward cases from amongst NDNGOs situated in different socio-political contexts. Using semi-structured interviews (in UK and India), archive and corporate material from the four case studies (Oxfam GB, Islamic Relief UK, Red Barnet, Denmark and Oxfam America), the study takes a perspectivist qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. It makes use of AtlasTi software for data coding, informed by Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, domains and *doxa* and Gaventa's model of three-dimensional power. The Chapter summarises how ethical considerations are incorporated into the research design and method. It builds on the transparency around researcher positionality in Chapter 1 and links this to cautions around the contingency of research knowledge claims.

The next two chapters consider the emergent findings from the data analysis of the major case study of Oxfam GB (Chapter 4) and the three smaller case studies (Chapter 5). They interrogate and build on the four-part hypothesis, making use of the analytical tools of *habitus*, domains, *doxa* and three-dimensional power. Chapters 4 and 5 directly address research objectives 2 – 6, exploring how and why the four case study NDNGOs work on domestic poverty. They also begin to address research objectives 6 – 9, which look at the broader implications of this work.

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Chapter 4: Research findings from Oxfam GB case study

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4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters situate the central research question as to how, why and with what implications NDNGOs might establish and maintain domestic poverty programmes in four sub-literatures. Each of these has potential explanatory power and contributes to the four-part provisional hypothesis. This posits that significant drivers of NDNGO domestic programmes are: concern for their future as NDNGOs; their theory of poverty; their development ethic, and institutional practices. The case study design facilitates the collection of data from four NDNGOs operating within different socio-political contexts in the UK, US and Denmark from within the secular and faith-based NGO sectors. A perspectivist qualitative approach privileges the knowledge of NGO staff and partners and uses their words and archive and corporate material from the case study NDNGOs as data.

This chapter seeks to address the question of how and why NDNGOs choose to establish domestic programmes working with poor communities in their own countries using empirical data from the primary case study of Oxfam GB (OGB). It assesses the reasons for establishing its UK Poverty Programme (UKPP) in 1995 through consideration of the research objectives 2 - 6. These ask: firstly, what is OGB's theory of poverty; secondly, what is its development ethic; thirdly, what concerns did and does it have about its future as an NDNGO; fourthly, what role do its institutional practices play in the decision and programme, and finally, what was the impact of the UKPP decision on OGB's southern partners? In doing so, it makes use of the four-part matrix of potential drivers suggested by the literature as an interpretive frame for analysis, allowing for discoveries beyond it (Fielding, 2001). In order to take the analysis beyond this hypothesis, this chapter uses two further conceptual tools. Gaventa's model of three-dimensional power (1980, 2006) and Bourdieu's theory of practice, specifically the ideas of _habitus_, domain and _doxa_ (1977, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999) are utilised to provide richer understandings of the data and ultimately, the research question.

The chapter begins with a brief summary of Oxfam GB's founding purpose, finances, programme range and partnership approach. This is followed by Section 4.3, which introduces the UK Poverty programme and its partners. Section 4.4 explores the four elements of the hypothesis, using the research data and Atlasti tools to understand OGB's theory of poverty, development ethic, concerns about its future and institutional practices. The impact of the UKPP on southern partners is considered at Section 4.5 while acknowledging that the empirical evidence points to the partners having more impact on the UKPP. The chapter identifies a number of confounding variables, which emerge from the data, and assesses their contribution to the UKPP decision at Section 4.6. Four aspects of the external environment, which emerged from the data, are considered: globalisation, Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), the UK national political landscape and the UK voluntary sector. Section 4.7 takes the analysis beyond the four-part hypothesis and confounding variables. Based on the empirical data and using the analytical tools of Bourdieu and Gaventa, it takes the argument towards a better understanding of the central research question: how, why and with what implications do NDNGOs have domestic poverty programmes? It conceptualises the four elements of the hypothesis as constitutive of OGB's organisational *habitus*. Finally, Section 4.8 draws together the Chapter's conclusions, suggesting that via a process of ontological promotion, the UKPP could point to a new international development domain in which 'everyone matters'.

4.2 Background to Oxfam GB

This section provides background material about the primary case study organisation, Oxfam GB for the purposes of contextualising the analysis of the empirical data and comparisons with the three smaller case studies discussed in Chapter 5. The history of Oxfam's first fifty years is already well documented (Black, 1992). It was founded as one of a number of Committees for famine relief established across the UK to create awareness of the problems faced in Greece as a result of the Allied blockade of Nazi-occupied Europe. It registered as a charity in 1943 as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief and raised £12,700 in its first fundraising campaign for food and medical supplies for the people of Greece (Oxfam GB, 1992). In 1949, the charity amended its aims to enable work beyond Europe for 'the relief of suffering as a result of wars or other causes in any part of the world' (cited in Oxfam GB, 1992, p. 1).

By 2002 the organisation was considered to have the highest public awareness rate of any charity brand in the UK to the extent that OGB was able to claim in an internal report that 'In the UK everybody knows and admires Oxfam GB. But people are not quite sure what it does…anything Third Worldy' (Magrath, 2002, p. 1). By 2010 its range of programming as Oxfam GB was being aligned with that of other members of the Oxfam International confederation,[28] which included Oxfam India (Brown, 2010). It worked across 70 countries on humanitarian response, long-term development and campaigning (Bickersteth, 2008), working through local partners rather than implementing projects (Yukiko, 2000). Its work, by 2010, was structured around five rights to: sustainable livelihoods; life and security; essential services; be heard, and equity. The organisation's gross income for 2010-2011 was £367.5 million of which 37.5% was raised from governments and institutional donors and 38% from voluntary public donations. Humanitarian and development work each accounted for 35% of total expenditure with 5% spent on campaigning and advocacy work (Oxfam GB, 2011)

The concept of 'partnership' has featured regularly in development and NGO literature. Oxfam GB's work mirrors and provides insights into the process by which this came to be the aid system's 'relational preference' (Fowler, 2000a, p. 241). Although there is no section of the *Field Directors' Handbook* dedicated to explaining what 'partnership' is, there is an assumption running through the guidelines that it is more than just OGB's relationship with those it funds. Oxfam itself is described as:

> *…a partnership of people who share this belief [essential dignity of people], people who… work together for the basic human rights of food, shelter and reasonable conditions of life.* (Pratt and Boyden, 1985, p. 11)

The trajectory between 1985 and 2007 in OGB's partnership approach illustrates an increased awareness that partnership needed to be more than funding. It needed to add value to the relationship with southern partners and to broaden its range of partners. Its Strategic Plan for work in Orissa, India for 1992-95, for example, assesses the changing landscape in which Oxfam works in India, citing as key factors the increasing number of foreign NGOs adopting Oxfam's mode of working through local partners rather than being operational and rapid rise in the number and capacity of Indian NGOs. It concludes:

> *With funds available to the voluntary sector increasing at a much faster rate than the number of organisations who can absorb these funds effectively,*

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[28] Established in 1995.

Oxfam, with comparatively less funds, could be marginalized. Others are now funding small groups: this is no longer pioneering work. Unless therefore we can change our role and ourselves and by doing so add significant value to the work of our project partners, our future relevance is questionable. (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b, p. 10)

OGB's concern that funding flows were moving to the south and would bypass NDNGOs, added to the pressure that partnership also required the capacity to demonstrate real impact and change. This is reflected again in the OGB Strategic Plan 1994-95 – 1998/99, which claims that a five-fold increase is projected in funding to the southern NGOs and a three-fold increase to northern NGOs (Oxfam GB, 1994o, p. 7). Later evidence shows that this projection was not accurate but rather reflected donor rhetoric (Agg, 2006), but it illustrates OGB's internal anxieties about the nature of its partnerships. New types of partnerships or alliances were needed with trade unions, churches, governments and the private sector to demonstrate that NDNGOs could have real impact in poverty alleviation (Watkins, 1995, pp. 216-218).

In 2007 Oxfam GB published its partnership policy *Working with Others* (Oxfam GB, 2007d). The document can be seen as a response to the acknowledged need for partnership 'good practice' (Commonwealth Foundation, 1997, Brehm, 2001). It also attempts to address many of the academic critiques of partnership. The nature of the partnerships between NGOs, donors, states and recipient communities has been critiqued as 'too close for comfort' (Edwards and Hulme, 1996, Banks et al., 2013). The term 'partnership' is considered by some to be a euphemism for what is effectively a relationship of power between donor or state and NGOs, shaped by funding, monitoring and reporting requirements (Ebrahim, 2005, Tvedt, 2007, Walker, 2013). This relationship of power extends to that between NDNGOs and their southern partners with evidence that the disparity continues (Brehm, 2001, Elbers, 2012, Elbers and Schulpen, 2013, Okwaare and Chapman, 2006). NDNGOs are accused, as a result of the power imbalance and their managerialist tendencies, of stripping local action of its political content (Kapoor, 2013, Srinivas, 2008).

The 2007 policy document cites a set of five principles by which all its work with partners, whether civil society, government or private sector, will be governed and describes this work as 'central to its mandate'. The context is that of increasing fluidity in the nature of the alliances in which Oxfam GB needs to work, suggesting Oxfam's

role is that of a catalyst, bringing different groups across all sectors of society into alliance together. Acknowledging critiques about power imbalances with southern partners, the policy claims to ' reflect our efforts to address the inequality of power, not just in society at large but in our own working relations with others' (Oxfam GB, 2007d, p. 6).

Having provided contextual background about the primary case study's founding purpose, approach to programmes and partnership and 2010 finances, the Chapter now moves to set out the background to its domestic programme, the UK Poverty Programme.

4.3 Background to Oxfam GB's domestic work: the UK Poverty Programme

This section provides an introduction to the work of Oxfam GB in the UK before the UKPP was established in 1995 and to the internal debates around it. Oxfam GB worked with and funded organisations in the UK from the 1950s to the early 1990s using budget sub-heads known as the 'Director's Discretionary Fund' (DDF), 'UK General Grants' and 'Education and Public Opinion Forming' (later re-named 'Development Education Grants'). The DDF was typically used for work on immigration rights and welfare, homelessness, and with ethnic minority communities and Oxford-based organisations. Although the line between this Fund and that for 'UK General' was often blurred, the latter was predominantly focussed on volunteer training programmes and supporting the work of the Anti-Slavery Society and 'other like-minded NGOs in the UK' (Blake, 1991, Appendix A). Grants for conferences, educational materials for young people and contributions to development education workers' salaries throughout the UK, were paid from the 'Development Education' budget line. Table 4.1 sets out the budgetary allocations for work in the UK between 1974 and 1990.

Table 4.1 OGB budgets for work in the UK, 1974 - 1990

Year	Budget Head	Total allocation £
1974	Director's Discretionary Grants (DDG)	45,000
1982	DDG	64,000
1984	DDG	70,000
	Grants to UK Agencies	125,000

1987-88	Director's Discretionary Fund (DDF)	71,217
	UK General	141,500
	Education and Public Opinion Forming	237,367
1988-89	DDF	90,887
	UK General	87,736
	Education and Public Opinion Forming	245,921
1989-90	DDF	53,859
	UK General	76,750
	Development Education Grants	237,062

(Walker, 1984, Blake, 1991)

The debate about working in the UK has a long history in Oxfam GB, which as a 1991 report acknowledges, was 'marked by the widely differing and frequently oppositional perspectives of staff and volunteers' (Blake, 1991, p. 4). The chronology of the discussions from 1976 to 1993 is set out at *Appendix 6* and is summarised here. Throughout the debates, small-scale ad hoc funding of grants in the UK continued[29]. Table 4.2 provides examples of grants awarded in the 1980s.

Table 4.2 Examples of grants awarded to UK partners, 1980s

Organisation	Purpose	Size of grant
Craigmillar Development Project, Edinburgh	Self-help scheme	£5,000
Bootstrap Enterprises, Hackney	Training & support for unemployed people.	£1,000
Helen House Hospice, Oxford	Secretarial support	£3,150
St Georges Crypt, Leeds	Work with homeless people	£200
Medical Association for the Prevention of War	Not stated	£500
Not stated	Provision of housing for Vietnamese boat people.	£100

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[29] A Press Office document (P92) estimated that in 1993 £80,000 was spent on UK grants, equivalent to 0.1% of total income.

Fourth Channel Development Education Group	Pioneering TV programmes on developing world.	£8,300
AFFOR, Birmingham	Multi-cultural library	£1,000
Asian Chaplaincy, London	Not stated	£500

(Walker, 1984, Moyes, 1984)

Evidence from the OGB archive indicates that the informal debates about the possibility of working more strategically in the UK, rather than through the previously outlined 'discretionary' grants process began in 1972. Proposals were made to the Director for a combined initiative with other UK-based agencies to lobby at party conferences 'to emphasise the indivisibility of poverty, whether in this country or in the Third World' (Sharp, 1972). The resulting formation of the 'Group of Six' agencies eventually led to a meeting with the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, in May 1974 at which they discussed a series of proposals, which sought to align the work of the British government on poverty in Britain and the 'Third world' (Group of Six, 1974).

Formal discussions about a more substantial programme addressing poverty in the UK, involving working parties, committees and proposals to the OGB Council of Trustees, began in 1976. An Oxfam Trustee, Bill Elliott was asked by the Director, Brian Walker to prepare a report addressing the question 'Should Oxfam respond systematically to poverty at home?' (Dodd, 2009) Trustees decided that there should be no change of policy but that 'no doors should be slammed' (Blake, 1991, p. 1). The issue arose again in February 1984 when the Director, Guy Stringer, commissioned a report by the head of the Public Affairs Unit[30] into Bootstrap Enterprises in Hackney, London (see Table 4.2). The paper proposed a grant to the cooperative and that consideration be given for Oxfam to broaden this type of work. The Joint Consultative Committee[31] approved the grant but not a change in policy (Blake, 1991, Dodd, 2009).

There were three further debates in the 1980s on the issue. The first was in July 1984 when the Trustees requested a report into use made of the Director's Discretionary Grant. The Director used the opportunity to highlight the arguments in favour of this

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[30] The Public Affairs Unit (PAU) was set up by the Director in 1974 to develop links to Trades Unions, MPs and professional bodies. It developed into a research and information arm of the overseas programme.

[31] The Joint Consultative Committee was one of a number of Trustee committees stood down in September 1993 following an organisational review by Compass consultancy, 1992-1993 (Dodd, 2010).

work, including illustrating the universality of poverty (Walker, 1984). The second occurrence was instigated in 1985 by the Director, Guy Stringer, who requested an examination of the current and future policy of funding work in the UK and Ireland, with recommendations about its continuation. The report suggests that a much wider consultation is required beyond the fifteen days allocated and that a coordinator be appointed to oversee this process. In addition, it indicates that there was some resistance amongst staff to consider this a priority (Behr, 1985). As a result, a working group was established in 1986, which also went on to produce a report, recommending no expansion of UK work but a re-structuring of budget lines for UK work (Oxfam GB, 1986). These were never implemented (Blake, 1991, Dodd, 2009). Finally, in 1989 the Director, Frank Judd, asked three senior managers to research and make recommendations on ways OGB could work 'developmentally' in the UK. A discussion paper written as part of this process looked at ways work in the UK could benefit from policies and practices used in Oxfam's overseas work (Trivedy, 1990). Although the group's report went on to recommend the appointment of a UK Grants Officer, the development of a fully-fledged programme and a UK Grants Committee to oversee the work, no action was taken (Blake, 1991). Two factors are thought to have hindered further work: a Charity Commission inquiry into OGB and an organisational review which led to considerable re-structuring in 1993 (Dodd, 2009).

In 1990 the Charity Commissioners started their investigation into Oxfam's campaign calling for sanctions against apartheid South Africa. The inquiry concluded that there was evidence that some OGB campaigns were political rather than charitable and that 'grants have been made to clearly non-charitable bodies, including partisan political groups, or for non-charitable purposes' (Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, 1991, p. 3)

The conclusions of the *Working in the UK Working Group* (Blake, 1991) refer directly to dangers of being referred again to the Commission for engaging in political activity at home. Running through the internal documents and interview data between 1991 and 1994 is an ambiguity and tension about the impact of the Commissioners' ruling. On the one hand, the UK Working Group report concluded that a further expansion or focus on work in the UK need not lead to accusations of politicisation, while the group's recommendations were never implemented and the issue not resurrected until 1993. Most interview and archive data suggests that the consensus within OGB at Director

and senior management level was that the long-term impact of the inquiry was positive for OGB and other campaigning NGOs, leading to the re-interpretation of charity law (Judd, 2008, Judd, 2010, Bryer, 2006, Joffe, 2009).

When David Bryer become Director in 1992, he was clear that an expansion of work in the UK should be one of his priorities (Bryer, 2006, Bryer, 2010). There is considerable evidence that his determination and strong leadership were able to overcome many of the obstacles, which had prevented an earlier expansion of UK work (Bronstein, 2010, Wallis, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1994a), driving the process through to a final decision of the Council to establish the UK Poverty Programme (UKPP) in May 1995. The emphasis in communicating the decision to staff and volunteers was on the continuities with previous work.

> *Trustees have now asked CMT [Corporate Management Team] to build on the work Oxfam has already carried out as well as further developing the strong contacts with other UK/I voluntary organisations established during the research of the last year.* (Bryer, 1995)

The context in which OGB moved from securing the agreement of the Council of Trustees in late 1993 to undertake research into the possibility of extending its development work in the UK to securing Council approval for the UKPP in May 1995 was one of 'highly managed risk' (Bronstein, 2010). It included negative press coverage in summer 1994 (UK National Newspapers, 2009)[32], strategic use of the 1994 Assembly[33] debates (Oxfam GB, 1994a), tightly controlled communications work[34] (Bronstein, 1995a) and regular updates from the Supporter Services team with feedback from donors (OGB Supporter Services, 1995). The full list of archive documents used in the analysis of this process is at *Appendix 1*, giving summary details of document content. After considerable debate at the final Council meeting on 29 April 1995, the Trustees were divided and undecided, so authorised the Chair to make the decision with her casting vote. Chair, Mary Cherry, approved the establishment of the UKPP (Oxfam GB, 1995a).

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[32] For example, The Daily Mail (3 September 1994) carried an article entitled 'Stick to the Third World 'insulting' Oxfam told'. The Mail on Sunday (4 September) and Daily Telegraph (5 September) also published very critical pieces.
[33] The Oxfam Assembly was a group of 250 OGB stakeholders, which met for the first time 19-21 September 1994. Three sequential debates took place over the first two days: What is poverty and what are its causes? What should Oxfam do? Should Oxfam have a poverty programme in UK/I? (Oxfam GB,1995).
[34] An action plan for each OGB team (Press Office, Supporter Services) was scheduled according to whether the Council decision on 29 April 1995 was 'yes' or 'no'. This was referred to in internal planning documents as 'Operation Mayday'.

The first UKPP five-year Strategic Plan was approved in early 1996 with three broad aims: to have a direct impact on poverty reduction in the UK and Ireland; to increase the impact and effectiveness of Oxfam's global programme, and to broaden the awareness and increase the numbers of Oxfam's support base, achieving an incremental growth in funding (Bronstein, 1995b, p. 2). The programme was set up with a contribution of £200,000 from general funds (Oxfam GB, 2002). The plan aimed for a total funding allocation of £520,000 by the end of the plan period (Bronstein, 1995c). By 2010 the UKPP had a total staff of 37 people working across England, Scotland and Wales, with each country working to its own operating plan (Oxfam GB, 2010c). There were two major externally funded projects. *Routes to Solidarity*, building the capacity of black and minority ethnic women's groups, was funded in its first phase (2009-2012) by the Department of Communities and Local Government (Oxfam GB, 2012). A research project into the impact of the recession on low-income communities in Bradford was funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Athwal et al., 2011).

The programming scope of the UKPP in 2010 extended across the themes of a decent living, respect for people living in poverty and gender and race equality. Its focus was on capitalising on 'our place as domestic arm of international organisation as our unique selling point in the UK context' (Oxfam GB, 2006, p. 13). Spending on the UKPP is not disaggregated in any of Oxfam GB's annual reports but other sources enable a total programme expenditure from 2006 to 2013 to be estimated at £8.9 million (International Aid Transparency Initiative, 2014). Details of the UKPP partners involved in this research are at *Appendices 8 and 9*. [35]

Having provided the background to Oxfam's work in the UK and the UKPP establishment, the Chapter now turns to a presentation of the findings of the research from the main Oxfam GB case study, taking each of the research objectives in turn. This is an exploration of the working hypothesis and of the fresh insights provided by the research.

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[35] Chapter 3.6 details the sampling strategy for these partners.

4.4 Exploring the working hypothesis

The starting assumption of the hypothesis[36] is that in order to understand decision-making in NGOs we need firstly to accept the diverse modes of decision-making used in the sector (Heyse, 2006) and secondly, to 'reconstruct the practical logic of the field of action' (Krause, 2008, p. 7). There is no claim that the mode of decision-making discussed here, its drivers and constraining factors, can be applied to other scenarios and contexts. The source of validity here is not the range of generalisation possible but the fact that analysis is grounded in empirical data. The analysis in this section is taken from the data sources (or 'primary document families' in Atlasti terminology) itemised in Table 4.3 below, which shows the initial four-part coding structure informed by the hypothesis (in bold). These form the basis of the analysis below for each of the research objectives as follows:

- Section 4.4.1 theory of poverty
- Section 4.4.2 development ethic
- Section 4.4.3 NDNGO futures
- Section 4.4.4 institutional practice

In addition, further codes were generated by the data beyond the hypothesis and are used here as the basis of the analysis in 'beyond the hypothesis' in section 4.7.

Table 4.3 Oxfam GB case study: showing numbers of quotations for each code family and type of data source (primary document family)

Codes/Data source	Corporate documents	Interviews	Media	Archive 1970s	Archive 1980s	Archive 1990s	Archive 2000s	Totals
Development ethic	17	71	11	0	8	41	2	**150**
Domains of development	5	94	13	4	12	43	1	**172**
External drivers	4	72	11	0	3	35	0	**125**
Ideas	10	153	1	0	16	29	1	**210**
Institutional	14	406	27	1	44	133	3	**628**

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[36] The hypothesis is developed in Chapter 2.

practice								
NDNGO futures	44	228	8	9	10	104	8	**411**
Power	52	267	7	5	13	69	6	**419**
Theory of poverty	33	201	25	0	6	69	1	**335**
Totals	**179**	**1,492**	**103**	**19**	**112**	**523**	**22**	**2,450**

Table 4.3 illustrates the significance of the 35 interviews for the amount of data generated. This is presented in further detail in Table 4.4, showing the number of quotations generated by each type of interview.

Table 4.4 Oxfam GB case study: showing number of quotations for each code family against interview groups

Codes/ Interview group	A	B	C	D	E	F	H[37]	Totals
Development ethic	20	11	8	18	12	5	1	75
Domains of development	19	25	25	13	2	2	0	86
External drivers	20	9	19	11	1	0	0	60
Ideas	34	18	44	17	2	23	12	150
Institutional practice	110	47	165	60	5	4	2	393
NNGO futures	43	31	75	28	6	28	13	224
Power	18	21	76	40	23	70	17	265
Theory of poverty	28	36	40	50	22	16	2	194
Totals	**292**	**198**	**452**	**237**	**73**	**148**	**47**	**1,447**

This research does not aim to undertake quantitative analysis of the above. However, the information is used in the research to inform decisions about areas of focus for the study and to suggest questions with which to interrogate the data. To illustrate this point, Tables 4.3 and 4.4 both suggest that the Archive documents from the 1990s and interviews with existing Oxfam staff (Group C), are a rich source of data, and are consequently explored in detail in considering research objectives two to six below. In addition, they point to the need to examine thoroughly the issues emerging from the data beyond the hypothesis, such as the themes of power and domains of development, which are further explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

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[37] Group G excluded for the reasons outlined in Chapter 3.6.

4.4.1 Theory of Poverty

This section presents and analyses empirical data from the Oxfam GB case study in support of the first dimension of the working hypothesis: that decisions about establishing domestic development programmes by NDNGOs are informed by the organisation's theory of poverty.

It argues that Oxfam GB's theory of poverty can be understood by assessing how the staff of the organisation thought, spoke and wrote about the meaning, dimensions, causes and realities of poverty and who the poor are, and that each of these elements were important in the decision to establish the UKPP. This analysis is informed by the emerging code 'family' generated by the data. Table 4.3 illustrates the issues, which dominated the data within this code family. Thus, these become the elements of a 'theory of poverty' for the purposes of the analysis below.

The evidence for each dimension of OGB's theory of poverty is presented in the following sections: the meaning and dimensions of poverty; the causes of poverty; the realities of living in poverty, and who are the poor. No analytical significance is accorded to the number of quotations against each sub-code as the purpose of this table is merely to capture the boundaries of the data used for this analysis[38].

Table 4.5 Oxfam GB case study: Theory of poverty code family and its data sources

Sub-codes/Data sources	Corporate documents	Interviews	Media	Archive 1970s	Archive 1980s	Archive 1990s	Archive 2000s	Totals
Causes	3	29	9	0	3	29	1	74
Dimensions	9	42	6	0	0	6	0	63
Meaning	5	22	4	0	3	27	0	61
Realities	13	45	0	0	0	1	0	59
Who are the poor?	4	71	6	0	0	6	0	87
Totals	**34**	**209**	**25**	**0**	**6**	**69**	**1**	**344**

The meaning and dimensions of poverty

This section provides a summary analysis of the data on the meaning of poverty and dimensions of poverty using the data sources enumerated above in Table 4.5.

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[38] Archive documents from the 1980s onwards were used for coding the theory of poverty but this section (4.4.1) also makes use of documents from the 1970s.

OGB's Director wrote in his report *Doesn't Charity Begin at Home?* (Elliot, 1976) that it was important for Oxfam to continually wrestle with the tension in its mandate between needing maximum funds for overseas but also addressing poverty everywhere. Running throughout the OGB data is a conviction that poverty is universal and multi-dimensional. It is considered a process rather than a static concept or 'state', with people and communities moving in and out of poverty and not necessarily defined by it. The dimensions fall under the clusters of material, rights and power. The gap between this approach to poverty and that of the public in the UK is assessed as problematic by Elliot (1976) and subsequent discussion documents on this issue.

Many of the internal arguments made for an expansion of work in the UK or establishing a formal UK poverty programme use the universality of poverty as their rationale. The 1984 report refers to the benefits to OGB in being able to work in the UK and 'illustrate the universality of poverty' (Walker, 1984). The 1991 Working Group refer to the need to understand the universal nature of poverty (Blake, 1991). This concept also underpinned the work of 'Group of Six' agencies[39] with the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, and government Ministers in 1974. In a preparatory note sent to the Prime Minister's Office in readiness for their meeting on 10 May 1974, the Group of Six emphasised the significance of their collaboration as an important symbol of the universality of poverty (Group of Six, 1974). The Minutes of the meeting report the Prime Minister as saying that the government shared this view of the universal nature of poverty and mentioned that this was reflected in the Labour Party manifesto (Sharp, 1974).

 The 1985 report by Michael Behr, *Oxfam Funding in the UK and Ireland*, discusses at some length the concept of relative poverty. It argues that Oxfam engages with this every day in its overseas work when having to assess where and with whom it works and has, therefore, already made the decision not to work on absolute poverty in working to promote change. For example, the report remarks that although the poverty in the slums in Calcutta is clearly 'worse' than that in Liverpool, OGB also makes decisions about where to work based on considerations other than absolute or relative material needs. The OGB debates mirror the two definitions adopted by the UN

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[39] An umbrella group consisting of the UK's six biggest agencies (3 working at home and 3 overseas) for Joint Agency Action: CPAG, Help the Aged, Oxfam GB, Shelter, United Nations Association and War on Want.

Copenhagen Declaration for 'absolute' and 'overall' (United Nations, 1995, p. 41). The definition of 'overall poverty' makes clear that it has multiple dimensions of which one is lack of income and resources but others include: ill health; lack of access to services; poor housing; social exclusion, and lack of participation in decision-making. Early archive documents, such as those relating to the Group of Six meeting referenced above show that these understandings of non-material multi-dimensional poverty were already present in OGB in the 1970s. This was also the case for OGB work in India evidenced by the Oxfam Western Orissa Project (OXWORP), 1976-1983. Data from the project articulates an understanding of poverty such that rural empowerment could be measured by the degree of representation of 'the poor' on local decision-making bodies such as *panchayats* (Clark, 1978). Annual monitoring forms used by the Community Field Officers on the programme also capture progress across social, economic and structural objectives (Oxfam GB, nd.-b).

These understandings, of multiple dimensions beyond income and the material, reflecting lived experience rather then just the view of 'experts', are developed in UKPP publications and by the UK and India partners. For example, an analysis of the economic downturn in the UK quotes 'Poverty is not having enough money to see the week out - and being shunted aside by other people' (Haddad and Bance, 2009b, p. 4). Sen's understanding of a life one has reason to value (Sen, 1999) is implicitly referenced by one of Thrive's beneficiaries who says, 'Poverty is not being able to live a life that other people take for granted' (Carter, 2010).

A similar understanding of the non-material dimensions of poverty is evidenced in data from the early 1990s to more recent UKPP documents, illustrating the extent of the consistency across the organisation's approach. For example, the Oxfam India Strategic Plan 1992-95 plan reflects an understanding of poverty that cannot be captured by 'traditional economic indicators of income and expenditure'(Oxfam India Trust, 1992b). OGB's Strategic Plan for 1994/95 – 98/99 specifically refers to poverty as:

> *...more than the absence of material goods or basic services; it is also a state of powerlessness in which people are unable to control virtually any aspect of their lives, unable to participate in society* (Oxfam GB, 1994o)

More recent UKPP planning documents state:

> *The Programme uses a definition of poverty that looks not just at income but also at the experience of living in poverty - how it feels to be poor in a rich*

society. UK poverty is not just about inadequate income, but also a lack of power and voice. (Oxfam GB, 2006).

The above quotation demonstrates the inter-connected nature of the elements of OGB's theory of poverty, linking arguments for the use of non-material understandings to approaches, which incorporate rights, voice and power. A preliminary programme evaluation (sent to all Field Directors), states that ''Poverty' according to OXWORP's analysis is social, economic and structural (political) powerlessness' (Alderson, 1979). Likewise data from SWAD indicates the ineffectual nature of one-dimensional understandings of poverty in the context of the 1999 Super Cyclone in Orissa (Panda and Mishra, 2011). The work of Indian partners is inextricably bound up with issues of rights over natural resources (Das and Das, 2006), the right to decent work (Regional Centre for Development Cooperation, 2009) and the right to information (Panda and Mishra, 2011) as poverty-alleviation strategies.

A multi-dimensional approach to poverty, which incorporates power and powerlessness, articulated, for example, in the OXWORP programme as a state of powerlessness in three domains: material or economic, social and political (Jagadananda and Swami, 2011), puts OGB at odds with some public, staff and Trustee opinion. An awareness of this conflictual dynamic runs throughout the OGB data. One OGB Trustee wrote to the Chair against the Council proposal for UKPP citing as his principle objection the stark difference in levels of material poverty between 'the most disadvantaged people in the world and the position we have in Europe' (Adriano, 1995).

The 1994 Assembly for Trustees, staff, volunteers and partners attempted to address this issue head-on with an agenda structured around the three themes: what is poverty and what are its causes? What should Oxfam do about it? Should Oxfam have a poverty programme in the UK and Ireland? There is evidence that some staff and Trustees' views on poverty and a UK poverty programme changed in the course of these discussion (Thekaekara, 2010) and that a report on a visit to the Easterhouse Estate, Glasgow by an Indian community activist was the key intervention in this regard (Bronstein, 2010, Bryer, 2010, Wallis, 2010, Idrish, 2010, Goggins, 2010, Seshan, 2010, Thekaekara and Thekaekara, 1994).

The discussion document produced for OGB to consider the UKPP describes the UK public's understanding of poverty as 'irretrievably basic' with the very term 'poverty'

described as 'controversial' (Bennett, 1994, p. 9). The internal OGB concerns about public opinion and the gulf between it and their theory of poverty was made visible in media coverage about the possibility of Oxfam expanding its UK work. Most of the media response to UKPP in 1994 and 1995 revolved around the tensions between different understandings of poverty, as discussed above. *The Guardian* broke the story on 2 September 1994 with the headline 'Britain joins Third World as Oxfam moves to help nation's poor'. *The Times* quoted from Robert McNamara's definition of poverty while President of the World Bank and went on to juxtapose this with the situation in the UK, as they saw it:

> *'a condition of life so degraded by disease, illiteracy, malnutrition, and squalor as to deny its victims basic human necessities'. This formula well applies to the skeletal figures who haunt our television screens when famine strikes overseas. It bears no relation to Britain, where even the poorest can rely on free healthcare, clean water, comprehensive education and the absence of war.* (Laurance, 1994)

The Telegraph and *Daily Mail* both published similarly critical leaders over the next few days. *The Mail on Sunday* suggested the move to expand work in the UK was a deliberate attempt to embarrass the government and *The Guardian* suggested the decision could have political repercussions (Gearing, 1994). The OGB Press Office summarised the response as shock and fear and highlighted the perception of Oxfam in the media as a national institution on a par with the NHS and BBC, on which everyone has an opinion (Magrath, 1994a). This analysis had a considerable impact on OGB's subsequent UKPP consultation process (Bryer, 2010, Bronstein, 2010, Wallis, 2010) and on the programme's first decade of existence (Wareing, 2010, Smith, 2010, Jarman, 2010, Cooper, 2010). This has led to a risk- averse approach within OGB to the UKPP, which some partners have noted (Hunter, 2010, Herbert, 2010, Browne, 2010, Goggins, 2010) and which has resulted in a lower public and media profile than those working on the programme would often like. The Director provided a definition of poverty to assist staff in responding to public questions about the UKPP at the time of the 1995 decision:

> *Poverty…is a state of powerlessness in which people are marginalised and excluded from society, unable to control virtually any aspect of their lives, and unable to make positive changes in their circumstances – whether they live in the UK or Brazil.* (Bryer, 1995)

So far, the data illustrates that a dynamic tension runs through the debates about the UKPP between the different understandings of the meaning of poverty. OGB partners in India locate their definitions in powerlessness. UK partners clearly have common

understandings of poverty with OGB but are very sensitive to the hostile environment in which they work. In the UK, use of the word 'poverty' is problematic and there is scant acknowledgement of its relationship with power (Glennie et al., 2012) . Even some OGB staff and Trustees feel conflicted about their understanding, which is conveyed to perceptive partners. An understanding of poverty, which emphasises its universal, multi-dimensional and non-material nature, is clearly not a sufficient driver of the UKPP decision, as it is constrained by the conflicting views of the public, the media and some staff.

The causes of poverty

This section looks at the data on the causes of poverty and notes that the evidence reflects an understanding which uses a three-dimensional approach to power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006). In addition, there is an awareness of a difference in approach to the causes of poverty between OGB and its supporters in which OGB's analysis points to the similarities in the causes of poverty across the global north and south.

There is some debate whether discussions about the causes of poverty are actually discussions about characteristics or correlates (Green and Hulme, 2005). This ambiguity is present in the data generated by the sub-code 'causes'. For example, the proposals put by the 'Group of Six' to the Prime Minister's office in 1974 highlight the view that common and inter-related issues were connecting poverty at home and overseas: commodity prices; trade policy; industrial policy; disarmament (conflict); the role of industry; the machinery of government. Nevertheless, the causes of poverty in the UK are explicitly referenced as inadequate income and housing (Group of Six, 1974).

The significance of an appropriate analysis of the causes of poverty is vividly illustrated in the extent of the analysis undertaken by OGB to underpin programme interventions. The case of the OXWORP programme evidences the potential for an 'inappropriate' analysis to lead to an ineffectual intervention. For example, the programme analysis points to the exploitation by rich patrons as the cause of peasant farmer problems in West Orissa. However, the evaluator's analysis highlights conflict within castes, mostly over land as the cause (Unia, 1984). Different analyses can also lead to different decisions about where to work, for example, basing decisions on the presence of economic and social injustice, unfair distribution of resources or lack of participation, rather than Gross National Product (GNP) (Oxfam GB, 1986).

Data on causes of poverty indicate that the issue of power is considered central to the causes of poverty by OGB staff past and present, current and past partners, UK and Indian partners. 'Structural' understandings of poverty are part of OGB's 'intellectual heritage' (Smith, 2010) and extend into the analysis used by the UKPP itself (Oxfam GB, 2006, Goggins, 2010). First-dimensional power of superior bargaining resources is held by mining companies in Orissa (Das and Das, 2006), land owners (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b), rent-to-buy companies charging high rates of interest on household good in Thornaby on Tees (Browne, 2010), private agencies paying low rates of pay for women in Scotland doing care or teaching work (UNISON Scotland, 2010).

Likewise, second-dimensional power of rules and agendas is evidenced as a cause of poverty. Examples from India include decisions made about access to work under the National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREG) Act in India (Regional Centre for Development Cooperation, 2009), caste discrimination (Oxfam GB, 1994o) and government agencies granting alcohol licenses which result in the inability of many men to participate fully in the life of their community (Safique, 2011). In the UK, rules and agendas are considered to contribute to poverty by, for example, government agencies making decisions about children going into care (Roberts, 2010), unequal access to rights by asylum seekers and migrant workers (Oxfam GB, 2007a), and lack of participation by farmers in policy discussions farming (Peak District Rural Deprivation Forum, 2004). Global trading rules also mean that 'developing countries are highly vulnerable to external changes brought about by policy shifts in the North' (Watkins, 1992, p. 8). The *Oxfam Poverty Report* refers to these processes as 'structures of disadvantage' which operate at local, national and international levels and are common across the global north and south (Watkins, 1995, p. 14).

Finally, third-dimensional power, in which myths and symbols influence the way issues are perceived, is central to OGB and its partners' analysis of the causes of poverty. The lack of control over how 'the poor' are perceived, leading to stigma, indignity and 'othering' is seen to perpetuate poverty. It is also seen as the root of many inequalities by which people are 'othered'. This analysis is articulated in intervention strategies, which seek to address this form of power. For example, by invoking and reversing the myth of passive and powerless tribal women, Agragamee works with communities to ban the sale of alcohol (Agragamee, 2004). The purpose of the exhibition *The Roles We*

Play is to highlight the identities of people living in poverty in London beyond their poverty, thus according them dignity (ATD Fourth World, 2010). Much of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) research undertaken by OGB in the UK has integrated considerations of the dignity of poor people into the research methodology (ATD Fourth World, 2008, Carter, 2010, Herbert, 2010).

The gap between the above analysis of the causes of poverty, which gives primacy to structure and power, and the UK public's understanding was highlighted at the 1994 Assembly. The 'catalyst' input by an OGB researcher characterised the public's views of poverty in the developing world as: too many children, corrupt elites, famine and droughts (Oxfam GB, 1995d). This concern was shared by the Council of Trustees who requested information in February 1995 as to how a UKPP would strengthen the public's understanding of the causes of poverty. The subsequent report shows people in poverty focussing on the fear and indignity of living in poverty in the UK, rather than the material aspects of it. The report concluded that, in the long term, not having a UKPP would hinder OGB messaging about global poverty and its causes, as it required a consistent and sustained message across all parts of the organisation's work. The document also highlights the risks attached to linking the causes of poverty in the South and the UK. These were described as potentially alienating some supporters and sparking damaging media coverage (Oxfam GB, 1995q). The risks attached to an analysis of poverty, which looked at its structural roots in powerlessness were evident in the ruling of the 1991 Charity Commission inquiry that OGB campaigns were unlawful where they were political.

From the analysis of OGB's approaches to the causes of poverty above, it can be seen how these are rooted in a three-dimensional model of power. These views are consistent across the data. OGB was, however, acutely aware that this analysis was not shared by the majority of the UK public.

The realities of living in poverty

This section considers the way understandings of the realities of living in poverty are incorporated into OGB's theory of poverty. The data suggests that poverty relates to social relations as much as social conditions (Green and Hulme, 2005, Ballard, 2012, Tiwari and Pickering-Saqqa, 2014). The distress, humiliation and fear engendered by encounters with service providers, professionals and government agencies (Anon.,

2010k, Kenningham, 2010, Das, 2010, UNISON Scotland, 2010, Regional Centre for Development Cooperation, 2009) and 'post-code discrimination' (Thekaekara, 2010, Carter, 2010), are described by both UK and India partners. Data from the Assembly in 1994 supports this understanding of the continuities between the lived realities of poverty regardless of geographical location.

> *...what poverty does is create this fear in your mind and the fear I see in India amongst poor people and the fear of poor people in this country is the same. ... it breaks your morale if you're poor. You're frightened of everything around you. And it is the same if you live in India and you live in England.* (Idrish, 2010)

Frameworks of absolute and relative poverty are considered inadequate to capture the realities of living in poverty as they do not sufficiently explain the complexities of how certain groups of poor people continue in poverty across generations, as the chronic poverty or sustainable livelihoods framework do (Thekaekara, 2010, Kenningham, 2010, ATD Fourth World, 2008, Anon., 2010a).

For OGB it is important for the organisation and its staff to understand the realities of poverty and to hear the voices of people with lived experience of poverty in order to campaign with credibility (Wallis, 2010, Levy, 2010, Goggins, 2010). Data from OGB partners indicates that research using the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA)[40] provides insights into many aspects of the complexity of poor people's lives. These complexities included: the impact that lack of skills, such as English language, had on daily lives (Herbert, 2010); the interplay between elements of debt, child care, benefits, work, health (Roberts, 2010); the fact that poverty was not just about the lives of 'poor people' as an undifferentiated group but the breakdown of individual lives (Anon., 2010a); the impact of low- paid contract work (Hunter, 2010); the lack of control over incoming and outgoing resources (Carter, 2010); vulnerability to change (Kenningham, 2010); the commonality of feeling that nobody cares (Walton, 2010). Some partners found these fine rich details of individual people's lives both overwhelming and useful data on which to build future supportive interventions (Herbert, 2010, Kenningham, 2010, Anon., 2010a). For OGB, they provided vital material on which they could base their communications, such as Annual Reports and media interviews (Herbert, 2010, Browne, 2010, Cooper, 2010).

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[40] This is an asset-based approach to poverty in which assets are categorised as: public; physical; human; social, and financial. It looks at people's lives as whole rather than just the financial aspects (Dodd, 2010).

Linked to the above evidence that OGB's understanding of the meanings and dimensions of poverty make visible the three-dimensional power model, there is also evidence from OGB data that this model has relevance to the realities of poverty. This is summarised in Table 4.6, which illustrates how the lived reality of poverty involves multiple encounters with first, second and third-dimensional power.

Table 4.6 Using model of three-dimensional power to understand the realities of living in poverty

Power dimension	Data on realities	Data sources[41]
First: over resources (Visible)	Coping strategies, assets, time, income, debt, flow of outgoings, food prices, cost of fuel, cramped housing, land, forest produce	P12-P15 P16 – P28 P62 –P64 P69 – P73 P78 P95 P102 P104 - P105 P109 P115 P118 – P121 P126 – P127
Second: over rules and agendas (Hidden)	Dealing with state agencies, care workers, benefits system, post-code discrimination, government policies (NREGs, care system), agendas and services, making their voice heard, 'tea & tuck' 15mins at 5.30pm[42], transport services, credit ratings, disability	P12 – P15 P16 – P28 P62 - P64 P69 – P73 P78 P95 P102 P104- P105 P109 P115 P118 – P121 P126 – P127
Third: over myths and symbols (Invisible) power	Public perceptions of poor people, discrimination and marginalisation of some groups, nobody cares, poor self-image, people paid to	P1 – P4 P7 – P33 P34 - P35 P62 – P64 P69 – P73

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[41] All sources are referenced using their AtlasTi Primary Document number. The complete list of Primary Documents is at *Appendix 3*.

[42] This is the term used by low-paid care workers in Scotland who are allocated 15 minutes per elderly client for a home visit to ensure they have eaten and are safely in bed.

	speak to you, dignity, fear of dealing with government bureaucracy and of society itself	P78 P95 P102 P104- P105 P109 P115 P118 – P121 P126 – P127

This data provides evidence that despite the disparate realities of living in poverty in the UK and India, there are areas of considerable commonality if seen through the lens of the three levels of power, as illustrated above. It is these common themes of powerlessness as a daily reality for people living in poverty that contribute towards OGB's theory of poverty and its role in the key arguments for establishing the UKPP.

<u>Who are the poor?</u>
This section considers the data on the final element of OGB's theory of poverty: defining who are the poor. As with the other elements of the theory of poverty, there is considerable overlap between OGB's approach to who the poor are and, for example, its understanding of the causes of poverty.

Data from before and after 1995 points to OGB's consistent approach to the poor and those OGB chooses to work with as a priority. These are people who are excluded and marginalised by society from economic and political processes and made to feel fearful and powerless (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b, Alderson, 1979, Jagadananda and Swami, 2011, Browne, 2010, Cooper, 2010). Once again, the difference between the views held by OGB, its staff, partners and beneficiaries and perceptions in the public domain, mediated by the media creates a tension running through the data. This is illustrated in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7 Contrasting the views of OGB and the media: Who are the poor?

OGB views	Data sources	Media views (P34 & P35)
Artisans Bonded labourers Small farmers Scheduled castes and tribes Slum dwellers	P78, P17, P26, P28, P121, P20, P24, P127	Victims of 'Latin American miracle' Women labourers in Santiago's textile sweat

		shops
Women Disabled and their families		The ragged, starving, desperate peoples of Africa, Asia and South America
People on benefits Living on council estates	P10	
Ethnic minority groups	P7, P15, P16, P24	
Economically vulnerable eg cockle-picking gangs Living in London and north of England	P11	Those in desperate poverty in the developing world
Homeless BME women Migrant workers Asylum seekers	P14	The skeletal figures who haunt our television screens when famine strikes overseas
Women in catering or care jobs Home workers	P15, P19	
Indigenous white working class Unemployed	P16, P20, P24	Beggars
Families with children in care	P20	A starving woman seeking food for her children
Hill & upland farmers Staple food producers	P21, P106	People, wretched through years of slow starvation, scratch the earth for a few pathetic grains of wheat. Poor devils in a refugee camp on the Zairean border Starving in the Sudan… small farmers in Bangladesh.

The sharply divided views illustrated above demonstrate the challenge OGB faced in considering whether or not to establish the UKPP. However, the study argues that OGB awareness of these differences and the impediment this created to a full understanding of its work by its donating public and supporters, was also one of the drivers of the eventual decision. The following highlights the distance between the two views of the poor.

...volunteers ...would spout off about lazy benefit scroungers or what, and there'd be...it really got to the heart of what poverty is about. (Bronstein, 2010)

That dynamic changes enormously if the face on that leaflet drop is somebody living in your street. (Jarman, 2010)

The second quotation is a reflection on how the UKPP disrupts understandings of who the poor are, using the example of a traditional OGB campaigning or fundraising leaflet which would usually carry an image of a 'beneficiary' on the front. The understanding of who is, or can be, poor, influenced the UKPP decision (Thekaekara and Thekaekara, 1994). It is made explicit by the programme and brings the 'poor' much closer. It is, therefore, deeply disruptive of the binary opposition inherent in the notion of the deserving and undeserving poor or a sense of 'them and us' (and illustrated in Table 4.7). Further evidence of the rejection of this binary view of the poor is found in the recommendation by one of OGB Trustees[43] to the Chair in favour of the UKPP: 'Poverty can touch any of us. We must not see it as something that happens to other people out there' (Mackie, 1995). The Director used this theme in announcing the final decision on the programme to staff 'Oxfam's vision cannot be "us" and "them"' (Bryer, 1995).

Conclusion

Two distinct themes have been observed in the above discussions of the constituent elements of OGB's theory of poverty. The first is that the issue of power and powerlessness runs through OGB's approach to the definition and dimensions of poverty, its causes and realities and understandings of who the poor are. By using a three-dimensional model of power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006) a deeper exploration is possible of the types and levels of power in operation.

The second theme is that of the gap in understanding between Oxfam GB's approach to poverty and that of its donating public and national media in the UK. The data showing 'who is poor' from the OGB and media perspective (Table 4.7) illuminates the difficulties OGB faced in seeking to be intellectually consistent and faithful to the concept of the universality of poverty while at the same time seeking to address the manifestations of third-dimensional power in the public stigma around poverty in the UK. The decision to establish the UKPP can be seen as an effect of this process and an

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[43] In 1995 Trustee, James Mackie, worked for the NGDO EU Liaison Committee.

attempt to address it. Thus OGB's theory of poverty as powerlessness and its awareness of the need to bring the UK public and media to a similar view played an important role in the UKPP decision. In establishing the programme, it is clear that this involved tackling the issues of where and for whom international development work happens, with the potential for conceptual disruption.

4.4.2 Development Ethic

Chapter 2 argues that the development ethic of an NDNGO is a relevant factor in a decision to work with its domestic community on local issues of poverty. This section looks at the data from the Oxfam GB case study in considering this proposition. It argues that rights, justice and dignity are the most significant ends of development for OGB and that these ends cannot be achieved by means, which undermine these principles. Development practices, which adopt 'othering' processes, for example, are counter-productive. Finally, the section argues that the UKPP was seen to have the potential to be an ethical 'practice' from which 'othering' was excluded.

An initial analysis of the data generated a family of sub-codes or themes under the theme of 'development ethic' as illustrated in Table 4.8. As analysis progressed, it became clear that this approach to development ethics overlapped with the empowerment sub-code in the Power code family, so this data is also incorporated into the analysis below.

Table 4.8 Oxfam GB case study: Development ethic code family and its data sources

Sub-codes/Data sources	Corporate documents	Interviews	Media	Archive 1970s	Archive 1980s	Archive 1990s	Archive 2000s	Totals
Dignity	10	30	0	0	3	10	0	53
Justice	9	12	2	0	1	5	2	31
Othering	0	29	9	0	4	13	0	55
Rights	6	1	0	0	0	13	1	21
Deserving/ undeserving	1	13	2	0	0	4	0	20
Empowerment (Power code family)	*11*	*53*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*3*	*1*	*70*
Totals	**37**	**138**	**13**	**0**	**10**	**48**	**4**	**250**

Each of the five dimensions of the 'development ethic' listed in Table 4.8, with the

addition of empowerment, were generated by the empirical research data. Each can be seen as a response to questions about the ethical 'ends' and 'means' of development and issues that arise in the course or practice (Goulet, 1971, Goulet, 1997). These are considered, for the purpose of this analysis, to constitute OGB's development ethic.

<u>What are the ethical 'ends' of development?</u>
This first question can also be re-framed as 'what is the good life?' or 'what is a good society?' (Commonwealth Foundation, 1999), thus locating the data in the assertion that development is fundamentally about achieving full humanity (Crocker, 1992). This section surveys the data and draws out the dimensions for the ethical 'ends' of development: rights, justice and dignity.

Across the data rights are considered appropriate 'ends' of development, although more confidently asserted from 1995. According to the *Field Director's Handbook* (Pratt and Boyden, 1985), OGB's first key objective is to support the poor to secure their basic human rights. The *Handbook* suggests that the organisation is not just concerned with material improvement in lives ('to have more') but 'with the manner in which material change is organised' (p. 13). This merging of the issues of 'ends' and 'means' is a defining element of 'development as process'. Thus 'rights' in the OGB data become both the 'end' and increasingly the 'means' of development, enabling 'all people to be, as well as to have, more' (Edwards, 1989c).

Documents from Oxfam India and OGB partners in India show a much greater confidence using the language of rights to set out the programme priorities. In a summary analysis of the data from Oxfam India partners and key documents from Oxfam's work in India using Goulet's framework[44] (see *Appendix 9*), people's knowledge of their rights is central to ethically desirable development. This analysis provides rich insights into OGB's development ethic (Research Objective 3) from the perspective of SNGO partners. For example, the Oxfam India Strategic Plan for 1992-1995 sets out its main aim:

> *To address the root causes of poverty by supporting socially and economically disadvantaged people so that they gain more control over the lives and access to resources, which are rightfully theirs.* (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b)

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[44] This framework is outlined in Chapter 2, section 2.5.

This is reflected in the way OGB partners in India programme around accessing rights via the implementation of legislation such as the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and Right to Information Act (Paitnik, 2011, Prakash, 2011, Panda and Mishra, 2011, Das, 2010). These partners are part of a broader activism across civil society in the state of Orissa, which campaigned for over a decade for the Right to Information Act (Prakash, 2011, Jagadananda and Swami, 2011, Bhagabanprakash and Jagadananda, 2007) and participated in the national 'Nine is Mine' campaign, claiming the rights of children to education (6% of GDP) and healthcare (3% of GDP) (Oxfam India, 2008). This focus on rights continues with Oxfam India's Strategy, 2010 – 2015, entitled *Demanding Rights, Creating Opportunities* (Oxfam India, 2010d), which argues 'without augmenting people's ability to exercise them, the rights would be meaningless' (p. 8). This insistence on the essential nature of the process of development is an acknowledgement of the inherent tension in development practice, characterised as 'banalization' of a promise (de Vries, 2008, p. 152) and 'violence' (Parfitt, 2013).

Despite an observed trend within the sector to move away from issues of social justice and become apolitical (Thekaekara, 2010), the research data from OGB staff demonstrates the extent to which a social justice approach to development provided the foundations for the UKPP decision. Evidence suggests that a strong rationale for the UKPP was the new and changing understandings of the work OGB was engaged in: from charity to social justice. This legitimated the organisation working wherever there was injustice (Bryer, 2010, Bryer, 1995, Judd, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1994o, Trivedy, 1990). Disquiet at the dis-connect between Black, Asian and minority ethic communities experiencing injustice in the UK and between OGB's overseas work expressed by those working in the Caribbean, Asia and Middle East, underline the significance of policy coherence around social justice (Johnson, 1993, Grieg, 1986, Wright, 1985). As with the issue of rights (and poverty), a focus on justice was seen by OGB to demand a universal application.

Dignity is also considered one of the appropriate 'ends' of development in the data. It is contrasted with the notions of 'othering' and 'undeserving', which are dominant in the data, and indicates a strong normative sense about ethical development practice. It is also an ideal conception of what the good life should be or a dimension of development 'ends' (Edwards, 1989c). The implications for an ethical development practice are highlighted in the research data, which points to a practice in which people are less

inclined to talk about helping poor people 'out there. It's much more talking about one humanity, one set of programmes and our interconnections as people' (Gaventa, 2010).

The need for OGB to demonstrate this ethical practice is a key driver in UKPP considerations. For example, 'tackling that demonization of poor people has always been, for me, the raison d'être of the programme' (Bronstein, 2010). Data from OGB partners in the UK and India demonstrate that this dimension of development ethics is prevalent in partner and 'beneficiary' understandings of the 'ends' of development, as illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Dignity: Quotations from two UK and two India partners

'They should be well paid to maintain a dignified life.' (Panda and Mishra, 2011)

'I've got my self-worth back again' (Carter, 2010)

'Well, I think I'm a philosopher. I think about life. I think about life a lot.' And it was amazing how people define themselves' (Roberts, 2010)

'Dalit Dignity. So that is a spiritual word, we can say that is a spiritual word, dignity. Dignified life.' (Safique, 2011)

The significance of dignity as an 'end' of development and its connection with the concept of the 'undeserving' poor is uniquely present in the data from UK partners and OGB staff working in the UK who feel this issue keenly. An approach to poverty which divides the poor into the 'deserving' and undeserving' has been central to the UK policy context for centuries, going back to the Poor Law Act of 1601 (Alcock, 2006, Bennett, 1994).[45] OGB's need to distance itself from this approach is central to the UKPP debates (Bunting, 2010, Kidder, 2010). Data highlights that the frequent distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor results in undignified 'othering'.

> *Some people don't like giving to poverty in this country, they'll give to cancer sufferers and hospitals and things like that but poverty is ... The Daily Mail idea that poverty is so conflicted almost, it's about lazy people not getting off their*

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[45] The 'undeserving' concept was also linked to the notion of the 'underclass', which became a politically potent debate following an article in the *Sunday Times* in 1989 by Charles Murray. The debate demonstrates the highly party-politicised domestic political context in which the UKPP debate took place and the extent of the 'pathological' approach to poverty in the UK (Alcock, 2006).

bottoms. (Anon., 2010a)

The UKPP is seen as mechanism by which this can be addressed, bringing in understanding of equal access to rights, justice and dignity from its work in the global south.

> *And clearly there is a huge job to say that if you are poor in this country it's not because you are undeserving or because you've done something wrong, it is because the structures are against you, just in the same way that people might think that you are the deserving poor if you happen to be in Mali or India. There's a huge amount of work to be done there.* (Kidder, 2010)

An approach that focuses on a universal requirement for equal access to rights, justice and dignity brings with it a requirement to consider their application in the immediate environment of an organisation. This is the argument made for the UKPP, which works against the 'special need' of international development to:

> *…overlook this internal involvement in the places and problems it analyses, and present itself instead as an external intelligence that stands outside the objects it describes.* (Mitchell, 1995, p. 130)

Despite the arguments and rationales OGB presented above relating to rights, justice and dignity as the ultimate 'ends' of development', the analysis shows that they sit within a context of tension between assumptions about the geographic space in which 'international development' operates. Chapter 6 (in the course of addressing Research Objective 9) discusses whether the 'special need' is a defining element of international development work or whether the sector can operate outside this need.

Having reviewed the way the data responds to the question of development's ethical 'ends', the next section considers how arguments about development's ethical 'means' were mobilised around the UKPP decision.

<u>What are the ethical means of achieving it?</u>
This section argues that there is an association between a development ethic in which its 'ends' and 'means' are interconnected through an ethical practice and the rationale for the UKPP. The data shows that the above discussion on the ethical 'ends' of development around dignity, the 'undeserving' poor and 'othering' has relevance to debates on the ethical 'means' of development. In other words, development is as much about means as ends (Edwards, 1989c).

...people in poverty don't just need helping out with like bits of old clothes and this, that and the other, they just need to be treated with equal respect, equal dignity (Kenningham, 2010)

The empirical evidence points towards two types of 'othering' from which OGB wished to distance itself in its practice and both of these were mobilised in support of the UKPP. The first considers the poor as either deserving or undeserving, and the second suggests that the process of development is oriented towards distant, other people. The data on the former comes from the UK, which shows that in 'othering' the poor as undeserving, there is a refusal to engage in the details of poor people's lives, or to acknowledge the three dimensions of power encountered by the poor (Kenningham, 2010, Herbert, 2010). This includes the third-dimensional power of myths which demonise poor people (Roberts, 2010, Bronstein, 2010, Bennett, 1994).

Data on the second type of 'othering' comes predominantly from OGB's southern partners. It suggests that 'othering' processes are at work in their relationships with NDNGO 'partners' and donors. These relationships are challenging at best (Paitnik, 2011), and at worst exacerbate power inequalities (Das, 2010). There is a suggestion that the problem starts with a binary understanding of civil society, divided between north and south (Seshan, 2010). This is a development which addresses 'the problem' of a distant other by resource transfers from the global north (Bunting, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1995d). It is the narrowest conception of what development can be (Goulet, 1997), or what has recently been termed 'development *for* the poor' (Ballard, 2013). It is an exclusionary approach, distinct from emancipatory understandings of development that work towards global justice (Parfitt, 2013, Thekaekara, 2010).

Data from OGB staff indicates that the need to end the demonization of the poor and move away from the 'them' and 'us' approach to the world were major factors in the UKPP decision (Bronstein, 2010, Mackie, 1995, Bryer, 1995).

...to hold our head up ...we actually needed not just to be talking about poverty out there, but talking about and doing something about poverty back home and that felt very important. (Wallis, 2010)

Examples of ethical development 'means' from the data include: working with local, national and international coalitions and networks of actors (Thekaekara, 2010, Safique, 2011, Panda and Mishra, 2011); organising, lobbying, advocating, and capacity building

with the poor to facilitate access to their rights (Paitnik, 2011, Prakash, 2011, Oxfam India, 2010a); experimenting and testing intervention approaches for their effectiveness and 'scalability' (Das, 2010), and creative use of games to share research project findings and agree action with poor communities (Herbert, 2010). Development, from this perspective, is *not* about the mere transfer of financial resources, provision of government services or charity. In fact, processes, which create or reinforce power inequalities between the global north and south, donor and implementer, elites and the marginalised are unethical (Seshan, 2010).

Thus, development interventions and processes are ethical when they acknowledge, and embed within them the essential dignity of the poor and the southern partners with whom OGB works in unequal relations of power. This section has illustrated how this ethic was instrumental in the decision to establish the UKPP in 1995. In examining its constituent dimensions, there appears to be a symbiotic relationship between the 'ends' and the 'means' of development. From the perspective of the OGB data, development, which does not incorporate the principles of dignity, rights and justice into the 'means' used to achieve it is counter-productive. This is not a normative argument of this research but an empirical observation about the nature of OGB's approach to the UKPP in the 1990s and in rationalizing its decision.

One of the functions, therefore, of the UKPP is a counter- balance to the third-dimensional power of 'othering' through its insistence that if justice, rights and dignity are the ethical 'ends' of development, the intervention approaches and methods used must allow that these are relevant universally, including in the UK.

What are the ethical dilemmas arising from practice?

It is now necessary to consider how the data responds to the third question of development ethics (Goulet, 1997), which asks about the ethical challenges of the practice of development. As discussed previously, there is evidence that OGB were keen to demonstrate that ethical 'ends' of development, such as dignity, should be translated into ethical 'means' or practice. This inclination is unsurprising as NDNGOs are frequently charged by scholars and commentators to 'live their values' (Fowler, 2000b, Gourevitch and Lake, 2012). One example of this type of dilemma is the use of 'the term 'beneficiary' with its notion of powerful giver and passive recipient' (Bunting, 2010) and the proposal to use instead 'people living in poverty' (Gaventa, 2010).

The UKPP offered and continues to offer responses to and practical ways forward from strategic ethical challenges and dilemmas faced by OGB. Its contribution to current strategic challenges is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Data shows that OGB and other development actors struggle to frame appropriately their communications and fundraising with supporters around poverty, especially without lived experience (Prakash, 2011, Thekaekara, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1994k). The UKPP clearly offers this grassroots connection. However, the most significant ethical issues of practice facing OGB, emerging in this data, were its communications and fundraising functions.

How does OGB make the most powerful and effective case for funds, while conveying the complexity of the development process and ensuring coherence with its understandings of poverty and the 'ends' of development? (Edwards, 1989c) How can it begin to communicate its understanding of poverty with a public whose understandings are so different? (Magrath, 1994b, Oxfam GB, 1994o, Adriano, 1995) How can volunteers be sufficiently motivated by a development perspective which may include the poor at home as well as overseas? (Jarman, 2010) What images is it appropriate to use in fundraising, campaigning and public education? Will these be effective? (Johnson, 1993) Will an ethical development be possible if images are selected using effectiveness criteria alone, while allowing a narrower conception of development to be conveyed? How can OGB fundraise for and communicate a model of development that sees the UK and the 'developed' world as part of the problem and not just the solution? (Bronstein, 2010, Wallis, 2010)

Whereas, the UKPP is seen as a strategic response to framing issues from the programming perspective, it is clear from much of the data that colleagues in fundraising, supporter services and communications teams did not share this view. These teams considered the UKPP would lose OGB income (Bryer, 2010, Thekaekara, 2010, OGB Supporter Services, 1995) and complicate the organisation's messaging (Bunting, 2010, Wallis, 2010). These tensions were present within the CMT and fundraising team (Bryer, 2010, Wallis, 2010) and continue, at the time of writing, to be a factor in the UKPP (Wareing, 2010, Gaventa, 2010).

Despite these tensions, in making the case to establish the UKPP the Director and Corporate Management Team (CMT) lobbied for a practice that incorporated the third

dimension of power. This dimension was a composite of the myths and symbols about what were appropriate development ends, objects, subjects and spaces inherent in a theory of poverty and development ethic which dominated the public, media and NDNGO perceptions[46]. The UKPP had the potential to address the frustration felt by staff and partners of OGB that its development practice created or was associated with the negative effects of 'othering' and the perpetuation of a 'them and us' approach to development. This suggests that while development continues to address issues of power and powerlessness in only the first two dimensions (resources; rules and agendas), development means are the inevitable undoing of development ends (Cowen and Shenton, 1996, pp. 448-449). However, the incorporation of considerations of third-dimensional power into development practice, reduce the violence inherent in development practice, thus allowing for an ethical development practice.

Conclusion

This section reveals the elements of OGB's development ethic and argues that each was instrumental in the UKPP rationale made by the Director and his CMT. How OGB staff, partners and other stakeholders thought and spoke about the issues of dignity, justice, rights, othering and the 'undeserving poor' illustrates how OGB responded to the three questions of development ethics. In mapping the data against each of the three questions, the following conclusions are drawn.

Firstly, dignity, justice, rights were the most significant 'ends' of development for OGB and, it was argued, that if this was the case then they should be applied universally. Secondly, the ethical ends of development can only be achieved through ethical means. This reflects recognition by OGB, in considering the UKPP that a significant ethical dilemma of practice is how to ensure that the very means adopted do not confound the ends. The empirical evidence here shows that major obstacles to achieving ethical practice were the 'othering' processes which are widespread in the media and public perceptions but are also embedded within current development practices. These include the binary distinctions between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor in the UK and between the conceptualisations of the global north and south, which dominate development practice. Finally, the chapter argues that those who were lobbying for UKPP saw in it the potential for ethical practice, recognising in the 'othering' processes

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[46] See, for example, Table 4.7.

the myths and symbols, which characterise the third dimension of power. This ethical practice would address the myths and symbols, which resulted in the counter-productive violence of 'othering'. The data, allows the study to suggest, therefore that if the third dimension of power is incorporated into practice and intervention design, an ethical development is possible. This theme is developed further in Chapter 6.

4.4.3 NDNGO futures

So far the chapter has reviewed the research findings for only a part of the hypothesis – that OGB's theory of poverty and development ethic were instrumental in the decision to establish the UKPP. Now it turns to consider the part of the hypothesis, which deals with the pragmatic concerns of OGB: how worries about the organisation's future and the constraints of its institutional practice impacted on this decision. The data sources used to consider the issue of what is termed 'NDNGO futures' are enumerated below in Table 4.9 with the sub-codes, which emerged from the data as major themes. Each of the sub-codes detailed in Table 4.9 are the dimensions of this anxiety about the future. For the purposes of this analysis four dimensions are discussed below: credibility, campaigning, NDNGO-SNGO roles and relationships, and changing the debate (highlighted in Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Oxfam GB case study: NDNGO Futures code family and its data sources

Sub-codes/Data sources	Corporate documents	Interviews	Media	Archive 1970s	Archive 1980s	Archive 1990s	Archive 2000s	Totals
Accountability	2	2	0	0	1	2	2	9
Credibility	0	17	0	0	1	11	0	29
Legitimacy	0	19	0	0	0	5	0	24
Impact	0	19	0	0	0	11	0	30
Funding	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Campaigning	1	10	1	0	1	14	0	27
Local-global	0	10	0	3	0	7	0	20
North-south relations	2	38	3	5	1	17	0	66
NNGO role	1	36	3	0	6	15	3	64
SNGO role	29	29	0	0	0	12	3	73
Value-added	2	19	0	0	0	10	1	32
Changing debate	0	19	0	2	0	2	0	23
Totals	**37**	**218**	**7**	**10**	**10**	**108**	**9**	**399**

Credibility

This discussion defines the term 'credibility' as believable or likely to be believed. It is a necessary condition of 'legitimacy', or the state of being lawful or proper (Gourevitch and Lake, 2012). Mindful of the fact that data may use the terms inter-changeably, the analysis incorporates elements of both data.

From the 1980s, there was an emerging sense in OGB that it was not 'fit for purpose' and that it needed to re-envision its role as an agency in the 1990s. This was in part a factor of OGB's success in building capacity among its partners who were questioning the future role of OGB *vis a vis* their own strengths. It also grew out of new ways of working such as campaigning. One of the most forceful expressions of this anxiety was *Learning from Experience in Africa*, which sets out the danger of OGB losing credibility in the eyes of its donors and partners. At the heart of the organisation's dilemma, according to its analysis, is the contradiction inherent in the way it programmes and fundraises (Edwards, 1989c). This reflects the debates in Section 4.4.2 on whether development practice can ever sufficiently deliver its 'ends'.

In the environment of competition for funds and influence in the late 1980s and 1990s, credibility in the eyes of OGB partners in the global south was important. This was especially so where there was sufficient direct funding available to local voluntary sectors, enabling SNGOs to be more selective in their partners (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b).

> *Overseas partners…believe we would have more credibility if we did not belong to those who find it easier to tackle problems that are far away than those nearer to hand. Our partners ask us: 'What are you doing about your own poor'; and we might ask how we can learn from them unless we are actively committed to them.* (Blake, 1991)

OGB's credibility with its southern partners is identified as the first 'sensitivity' in Council briefing documents for the UKPP debate in April 1995 (Oxfam GB, 1995q). The organisation's credibility vulnerability is borne out in the Oxfam India Strategic Plan 1992-1995, which refers to Oxfam after many years of work in India, as an 'alien' organisation without credibility amongst local NGOs (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b). Interventions at the 1994 Assembly specifically link OGB credibility with the ability to take the same risks as its southern partners, that is, to challenge and work with structures within their own country (Oxfam GB, 1995d). It was a key consideration in discussions about the possibility of the UKPP (Levy, 2010, Bunting, 2010, Seshan,

2010). Assembly debates linked this to OGB's credibility with those it sought to influence, highlighting the need for authority and a stronger voice for campaigning (Goggins, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1994i).

It should be noted that the empirical evidence for considerations of OGB's future being at the heart of the UKPP discussions, clusters around issues of the organisation's relationships and practices. The quality of OGB's relationships with its funders, supporters and beneficiaries are mediated and determined by its credibility, legitimacy, accountability and impact. The key relationship for OGB emerging from the data is, however, with its NGO partners in the global south (SNGOs). The chapter turns now to explore the data relating to the local-global dynamic and relations between the global north and south articulated through understandings of SNGO roles.

NDNGO- SNGO relationships and roles

The future of NDNGOs is perceived in the data largely through the lens of North-South relations and the need to respond to increased global interdependence. This awareness was not new, as notes from the Group of Six meeting with the Prime Minister in 1974 illustrate.

but an up-to-date reappraisal in the light of our common interest in the interrelationship between policy towards poverty at home and abroad is now an urgent necessity.

(Group of Six, 1974)

Acknowledging the changing and globalised environment in which OGB found itself in the late 1980s and early 1990s in which relationships between the global north and south were increasingly characterised by interdependence, it recognised the need to re-consider its role and its relationship with its SNGO partners (Bennett, 1994). OGB's assessment of the funding environment for NDNGOs and SNGOs suggested that over the six years from 1994 to 2000, SNGOs would see a fivefold and NDNGOs and threefold rise in their funding (Oxfam GB, 1994o)[47]. The OGB Policy Department's assessment of OGB's operational context conveys clearly the sense of organisational defensiveness. Under the heading 'Attack on Northern NGOs' it warns…

> *Some observers paint doomsday scenarios for large and cumbersome NGOs still*
> *involved in simply transferring money into project delivery 'overseas'. They*
> *predict that the survivors will be small knowledge-based organisations, which*

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[47] Research by Agg (2006) shows this was not actually the case.

can learn quickly and work with like-minded allies in order to change values and influence policies. Oxfam needs to take heed of these warnings ad enter the debate. (Oxfam GB, 1996b)

The data suggests that in OGB's analysis their most vocal critics are their southern NGO partners and that it is the relationship between OGB and SNGOs and their respective roles that is most fraught with tensions. These tensions are invoked regularly in the UKPP debates (Bronstein, 2010, Bryer, 2010, Thekaekara, 2010, Bunting, 2010). It is striking that in assessing the data around these tensions between OGB and SNGOs, there is evidence of power working in all three of its dimensions. *Appendix 10* illustrates the perceived effects of each dimension of power on OGB's relations with SNGOs and how the new NDNGO and SNGO roles could also change power relations (Gaventa, 2006).

The changing nature of NDNGO - SNGO relations are seen as having several implications for the future of OGB. Firstly, that it needs to find an operational model that adds value to its relationships with SNGOs beyond merely funding, addressing the most obvious form of power, which stands between the organisation and its SNGO partners, resources. Secondly, it needs to allow SNGOs to have more access to decision-making and consultative bodies, enabling them to shape agendas. OGB's awareness of the knowledge and skills of it SNGO partners was also a factor in this.[48]
Finally, OGB needs to re-think its relationships with SNGOs, allowing for new conceptualisations of development ethic and practice, which reflect solidarity and interdependence. This aspect of change requires an awareness of how power works in the third dimension of myths and symbols, which can silently perpetuate ways of understanding and doing development. Further discussion on this dimension follows below using data from the 'changing the terms of the debate' sub-code. The data indicates that each of these ideas on NDNGO-SNGO roles and relationships is invoked in support of the case for establishing the UKPP.

Campaigning

There is significant data, which links OGB's capacity to campaign effectively and

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[48] Michael Behr's 1985 report to OGB Director on a possible UKPP acknowledges that in many ways development thinking and practice by OGB's SNGO partners was much in advance of the policies and strategies in the UK (Behr, 1985).

119

credibly with the rationale for the UKPP (Jarman, 2010, Smith, 2010, Bryer, 1995, Oxfam GB, 1994o). With one exception these arguments are used in support of the UKPP. The exception concluded that campaigning on the causes of poverty in the UK would encounter too many sensitivities and lose support for OGB (Oxfam GB, 1986). There is some evidence that OGB sought an innovative and distinctive edge in its campaigning (Blake, 1991). There is certainly acknowledgement that public education and campaigning can be mutually supportive in India (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b) and the UK (Oxfam GB, 1994o).

The major consideration which links campaigning with the UKPP, however, is the need for an experiential evidence base, which will give authority and credibility to campaign positions (Oxfam GB, 1994a, Oxfam GB, 1994k, Blake, 1991). With goals as ambitious as bringing about tangible changes in Structural Adjustment Programmes (Oxfam GB, 1994o), it was vital to have the authority provided by experience at the grassroots and grounded in a global analysis (Jarman, 2010, Smith, 2010, Bronstein, 2010).

> *There is increasing readiness by some policy makers to listen to the voluntary sector and to change policy and practice when the voluntary sector can make out a strong case from its experience.* (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b)

> *Our advocacy on macro level debates needs to be more rooted in Oxfam's micro-level experience. New mechanisms are needed for this to happen.* (Oxfam GB, 1994k)

This need for an evidence base was felt particularly keenly in 1991 at the time of the Charity Commission's inquiry into OGB's campaigns in apartheid South Africa, Cambodia and Nicaragua (Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, 1991). OGB would be able to rebut accusations of politically motivated campaigning if this was grounded in experience.

Changing the debate

Having considered how debates about OGB's future credibility, campaigns and relationships with SNGO partners were evoked in the UKPP discussion, this section examines OGB's need to change the future development debate. An assessment of the actual added value of the UKPP is discussed in Chapter 6, but its potential added value for OGB was considered throughout the UKPP debates. The evidence from archive data demonstrates that there were two approaches to debating a UKPP: the first was a

relative needs-based approach which privileged the issue of actual levels of poverty and need in the UK; the second was based on considerations of needs plus added value. The second approach is illustrated at a CMT meeting:

> *Objectives for the UK programme must go beyond the UK; Most compelling reasons will come back to longer term impact on supporter base; legitimacy; ability to speak out…Albania can't deliver the same things as UK/I programme.* (Oxfam GB, 1994i)

The reference to Albania reinforces the point that the UKPP rationale was fundamentally not about levels of poverty in the UK alone but about the additionalities a new programme could bring if located 'at home'. In 1994 these 'added value' factors persuaded the Trustees to approve the programme (Mackie, 1995, Oxfam GB, 1995c).

As noted in *Appendix 10*, the potential new roles of and relationships between OGB and its SNGO partners, were conceived as challenging the traditional assumptions about what was appropriate for each to do. If one of the possible new roles of NDNGOs and OGB is to change the terms of the debate, there is a need for a mechanism by which to do this. There is evidence in the data from the earliest discussions in the 1980s that OGB saw that a UK programme had the potential to be a mechanism through which it change and influence debates in a number of areas. It could bring the public to a new understanding about its work; re-frame debates poverty analysis and debates, and challenge traditional assumptions about what development is and does. The CMT consciously set out to influence the context in which debates about development and poverty were taking place in the UK and to change public attitudes (Bronstein, 2010, Wallis, 2010). This is clearly reflected in the structuring of the Assembly agenda and debates. Briefing papers for all participants at the 1994 Assembly specifically mentioned this as one of the possible outcomes of the Assembly (Oxfam GB, 1994a). Thus changing the terms of the debate became one of the 'added value' rationales for the UKPP.

Chapter 6 reflects further on the potential for UKPP to change the terms of the development debate. For now, the chapter notes that this was actively considered as one of the potentials for the UKPP within the context of new future roles of NDNGOs.

Conclusion

This section has presented empirical evidence in support of the hypothesis that one of the drivers of the OGB decision to establish the UKPP in 1995 was a concern about its future role and existence as a NDNGO. The rapidly changing environment in which development NGOs operated, whether in the global north or south, as a result of globalisation and very public critique of NDNGOs, posed what were perceived and articulated as existential threats and programmatic challenges to OGB. The above analysis shows that it responded by thinking through the future implications for its relationships and practices. The most significant relationship for OGB in the early 1990s appears to be with its SNGO partners. The data illustrates how the quality of these relationships was mediated by issues of credibility and legitimacy. Each of these concerns was mobilised by staff and partners of OGB to argue the case for the UKPP. The analysis also reveals all three dimensions of power at work in OGB's relationship with SNGOs around control of resources, agendas and perceptions.

In terms of practices, the dominant theme is the priority OGB affords to campaigns. A UKPP is seen as a potential source of evidence and rootedness that will engender authority and promote effectiveness in campaigns. This instrumentalising of the UKPP to achieve added value for OGB's work at an international level is a conscious strategy used to support the case for the UKPP. It argues for its value beyond that of a 'normal' country programme, for additionality. An important area of added value is seen to be the UKPP's potential for changing the terms of the debate about development and the appropriate role of NDNGOs and SNGOs, thus demonstrating the significance of the third-dimensional power of myths and symbols to the UKPP case.

4.4.4 Institutional Practice

Having considered the first three elements of the provisional hypothesis, this section now turns to a review and analysis of the data supporting the final element. The proposition is that in addition to OGB's theory of poverty, development ethic and anxiety about its future, its own institutional practices played a dynamic role in the decision to establish the UKPP in 1995. The institutional practice code emerged more significantly than any of the other codes from the data. Informed by Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977), institutional practices are defined as areas of activity, which drive and constrain an institution, which promote and perpetuate understandings, and which legitimate limits and boundaries to knowledge and meaning. The areas of activity, which emerged from the OGB data are detailed in Table 4.10 against the types of data

sources showing the number of quotations identified and coded for each.

Table 4.10 Oxfam GB case study: Institutional Practices code family and its data sources

Sub-codes/Data sources	Corporate documents	Interviews	Media	Archive 1970s	Archive 1980s	Archive 1990s	Archive 2000s	Totals
Communications	2	44	1	0	7	18	0	**72**
Consultation	0	9	1	0	0	6	0	**16**
Corporate campaigns	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	**2**
Departmental differences	0	35	0	0	4	7	0	**46**
Funding	0	40	10	0	2	17	0	**69**
Governance	0	75	0	0	11	9	0	**95**
Leadership	0	38	0	0	0	7	0	**45**
Media	1	14	7	0	1	17	0	**40**
Organisational identity	2	87	2	0	12	21	1	**125**
Project & programme management	2	24	0	0	0	2	2	**30**
Public opinion	6	39	8	1	7	27	0	**88**
Risk management	0	12	0	0	3	5	0	**20**
Staff	1	7	0	0	1	3	0	**12**
Volunteers	0	8	0	0	1	5	0	**14**
Totals	**14**	**434**	**29**	**1**	**49**	**144**	**3**	**674**

Whereas in the three previous sections, the hypothesis contends that the organisation's theory of poverty, development ethic and anxiety about its future were all mobilised in *support* of the case for the UKPP, in the case of institutional practices a more dynamic scenario is observed in which practices can be both drivers of and *barriers to* change. The collective sum of these practices forms the organisational context in which the UKPP decision was made, or make up the *habitus* 'a socially constituted system of cognition and motivating structures' (1977, p. 76). This section argues that in the course of the UKPP debates, institutional practices worked dynamically to maintain and potentially rupture the organisational *habitus* of OGB. In doing so, they both supported and worked against the UKPP proposal.

The following is an analysis of the data for four of OGB's institutional practices observed to be of significance in the UKPP decision: organisational identity;

governance; public opinion, and communications. These have been selected for particular analysis due to their coding density and illustration of institutional practices as dynamic drivers of and barriers to change.

Organisational identity

These practices are any areas of OGB activity that defines, constrains or questions the organisational identity. This includes how OGB staff members talk about the organisation, who it recruits, how it builds its constituency, and campaigning and reporting activity. A strong thread emerges throughout the data of Oxfam's image and identity in the eyes of staff, volunteers, partners, Trustees and the public. This emerges particularly in the accounts of staff who were very close to the project to research and consider a UK programme, southern partners who were consulted at the time, those who have recently led the organisation and those who still work on the UKPP. There were elements of OGB's perceived identity, which encouraged and fostered the idea of a UKPP, and those that did not sit so easily with this. Table 4.11 sets out how the elements of OGB's organisational identity worked dynamically in favour of or against the UKPP.

Table 4.11 The work of organisational identity for and against the UKPP

Working for the UKPP	Working against the UKPP
Need for intellectual coherence and consistency (P1)	Lack of diversity in staffing (P11)
Sense of being an international agency (P4)	An organisation associated with 'Third World' problems and poor countries (P21, P22)
A courageous, radical and innovative organisation (P3)	The Oxfam brand (P12)
An ethical organisation (P4)	White middle-class supporter base (P1, P13)
An organisation with roots (P4)	A redistributive mechanism from UK to developing world (P13)
Global organisation with a global analysis (P9, P10, P11)	A British NGO working in many different countries (P14)
Learning organisation that can share learning between north and south (P14)	Large confident NGO with political weight and brand recognition in the UK (P18, P19, P20)

A richer understanding of this data is obtained using the theoretical tools of three dimensional power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006), *habitus,* domain and *doxa*

(Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1994, Bourdieu, 1996, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999)[49]. This area of institutional practice demonstrates the third dimension of power in operation, as the myths and symbols of what OGB is and how it operates are made visible by the UKPP debate. The UKPP discussion process brings out into the open issues and understandings previously unconsidered, thus challenging the domain and *doxa* of OGB's operation, and that of the international development project. The empirical data thus begins to reveal the work of symbolic power in 'ontological promotion' (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 376). In this process assumptions about and perceptions of OGB's identity are elevated to the status of an unquestioned reality. Moreover, the *habitus* performs the work of generating practical actions, as well as classifying work (Lizardo, 2004, pp. 7-8).

Table 4.12 illustrates with extracts from the data how the constitutive elements of OGB's organisational identity form part of the organisational *habitus,* a 'matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions' (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, p. 83). Each element of the organisational identity perpetuates the *habitus* and reinforces the domain and *doxa* within which it operates. Both functions are undertaken by 'boundary work', by which the spaces of *habitus* and domain are maintained or disrupted (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010).

Table 4.12 Organisational identity as institutional practice: a 'matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions'

Perceptions	Appreciations	Actions
Not our niche (P1)	That's what we feel comfortable with (P1)	Out there doing stuff (P1)
It is an international agency (P1)	Oxfam really does not want to hear the voices of people in communities (P1)	Doing seeds and tools or building wells (P1)
We're still seen as a white middle class organisation (P1)	If the organisation is seen to be dabbling in what some people might argue is political issues at home that might hurt the income base. (P4)	I didn't persist, I didn't pursue it and proved their case, that we really didn't care (P1)
Oxfam …is really in a way part of the establishment (P3)	Those people are not interested in being an international voice. They want to speak on behalf of developing countries. Oxfam	The shops haven't been that strong in some of the ethnic minority, overseas, diaspora communities here, and there are attempts to think about

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[49] These tools are introduced in Chapter 3.3.

	still sees itself as an organisation, which works with developing countries (P12).	that. (P11)
Over the years, Oxfam has become almost totally identified with overseas work (P123)	I don't think we got faith at all as an organisation. We didn't talk about it at all until very recently and we're starting to talk about it a bit. (P13)	The vast majority of Oxfam's work internationally has been crudely put delivering services in empowering and gendered and good ways (P12)
So if you say today, 'Oxfam where does it work?' it will say 'overseas' rather than the UK (P8)	When people give money to Oxfam they almost without exception expect their funds to be used somewhere outside of the UK (P123)	...and the fear that if we try an approach [to the Asian community] we will get it all wrong- these can all combine to put us off the whole idea and persuade the best intentioned among us to stick with a our traditional constituency that we know so well (P94)

Each perception and appreciation (or preference) work together to tend towards certain actions. These are constitutive relationships rather than causal. For example, the perception that OGB's work is entirely outside the UK or 'overseas' works with the appreciation for donations to OGB to be used beyond the UK. This contributes to a situation in which it is difficult and unlikely for OGB to work with people living in poverty in the UK, for example, in the Asian communities. This is partly out of fear of getting it wrong, lack of links with and understanding of the Asian communities and an inclination to work with communities it knows well such as in India where it has established long-term partners (Bronstein, 2010, Grieg, 1986). This example demonstrates the *habitus* in formation and in action. The perceptions and appreciations about where OGB works and where donations are spent create a matrix of influence on its programmatic actions and decisions about where or where not to work. This total matrix is self-perpetuating as the more OGB continues to avoid working with, for example, the UK Asian communities, the more difficult it becomes to disrupt the perceptions and appreciations about where it works. The 'boundary work' undertaken by the institutional practices maintains the shape and limits of the organisational *habitus*. This is further evidenced in a study of OGB's campaigning work with trade unions, which identifies the OGB contribution as campaigning resource plus the 'reassurance of a household name' (Ellis, 2004, p. 250). Thus, considerations of organisational identity were mostly barriers to the UKPP or mobilised as arguments against establishing the programme.

However, as Table 4.11 illustrates, there were some institutional practices of organisational identity, which work in favour of the UKPP. A closer exploration of these practices, using a three-dimensional power lens, reveals how organisational identity operates at two levels of power. Where OGB's identity and brand become assets or resource (Kenningham, 2010, Cooper, 2010, Anon., 2010a), which provide leverage for Oxfam, the first level of power can be seen working visibly on the surface (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002). Where the perceptions actively shape understandings and perspectives of what it means to 'do development' and translates into programmatic actions by OGB (Bunting, 2010, Hunter, 2010), the third level of power is in operation, where it is usually invisible. In contrast to the 'boundary work', which maintains *habitus*, there is evidence in the data of the potential within the very idea of the UKPP to challenge and disrupt the boundaries and understandings of NDNGO identity and what 'development' is. A domestic programme is symbolically powerful. This is reflected in the extreme negative reactions of the media in 1994 to the breaking news of OGB's plans for a UK poverty programme (Laurance, 1994) and in the statements of the staff and Trustees both for and against the programme.

The UKPP was part of a long-term process by which OGB challenged old understandings of itself and began to explore what a new identity might look like[50].

> *...over the years, Oxfam has become almost totally identified with overseas work, and that when people give money to Oxfam, they almost without exception expect their funds to be used somewhere outside of the UK… How can we avoid blurring our established image, confusing our supporters and reducing our appeal?* (Oxfam GB, 1986)

By 1995, a rupture in this approach can be seen.

> *Many partners, staff and Trustees, who have been involved with the discussions on multiculturalism and identity to date, argue that the absence of a domestic programme is likely to reinforce the underlying attitudes of neo-colonialism, racism and 'over thereism'. This could prove to be a considerable handicap to ensuring Oxfam's effectiveness in the coming years.* (Oxfam GB, 1995q)

These extracts from the data provide a rich illustration of how the boundary work of third-dimensional power defines and delimits OGB's identity in accordance with a

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[50] In 1995 Oxfam International was launched. This was perceived as another expression of the need for NDNGOs to adapt to a changing world by David Bryer (P2) and John Gaventa (P11). Other factors are discussed later in this chapter.

127

particular understanding of the world – one of division into North and South rather than one of Souths in the North and vice versa. This potential of the symbolic power of the UKPP to challenge the *habitus* and its boundaries, is supported by the data from existing UKPP partners (Walton, 2010). One suggests that the UKPP reveals a 'sleight of hand' by OGB in that it makes visible the previously hidden radical interventions of development work 'overseas' (Hunter, 2010).

A challenge to the *habitus*, or collective practices, of OGB also has consequences for the self-evident and unproblematic *doxa* (Lizardo, 2004, p. 22). The concepts of domain and *doxa* are a useful device with which to understand the extent of the fear and discomfort felt around the domestic programme by OGB. The question implicit within the tension noted above is 'what is the shape and space of the 'international development' domain?' A UKPP partner queries this and opens up for discussion what has previously been an accepted line of demarcation between NGOs working on 'international development' issues overseas and those working on UK poverty issues.

> *…it was just a bit of a surprise to me that most of our work… I could describe as actually, 'we're an international development NGO, applying all these international development techniques, but only we're doing it in the UK.' If I described that to our supporters they'd be really surprised. (Cooper, 2010)*

The tension between the organisation's identity and the UKPP also raises questions about the external agencies it should be working with (Smith, 2010). The fact that an international development NGO needs now to work with government agencies beyond the FCO and DFID illustrates how a disruption of OGB's *habitus* has consequences for the international development domain. This theme is explored further in Chapters 5 and 6. For now, this chapter notes the OGB's organisational identity prior to the UKPP maintained OGB's *habitus* but that the discussion and reality of the UKPP had the potential to disrupt it.

Governance

The discussion above on the 'boundary work' of institutional practice, applies equally to the practices of governance. This section offers a brief summary of the mechanisms through which governance practices resisted and supported the UKPP by maintaining and challenging the organisational *habitus*. Governance includes the strategic choices, priorities, planning processes, policies and structures, such as committees, departments and the Trustee body of OGB. Three specific examples are discussed: the Council of

Trustees, organisational structures, and the 1994 Assembly.

The clearest case of a governance structure, driving and acting as a potential barrier to the UKPP is the Council of Trustees, which was divided on the issue (Bronstein, 2010). Two Trustees, for example, each wrote to the Chair with differing views on the issue: Mackie supported the idea of a UKPP on the basis that poverty was universal (Mackie, 1995), whereas Adriano was not in favour, outlining his rationale which included confusing supporters of OGB and the relative poverty in the UK (Adriano, 1995). Even at the final Council meeting in April 1995, the Trustees were in disagreement and decided to authorise the Chair and Chair-designate[51] to make the final decision (Oxfam GB, 1995a). The data indicates that the crucial factor in this process was the relationship between the Director, David Bryer, and the Council. The relationship between the Director and Chair-designate, Joel Joffe, was characterised as 'private challenge and public unity' (Joffe, 2009). Bryer's leadership and determination to drive through the UKPP debates making tactical use of the Strategic Intent, 1994-99 and the Assembly agenda are cited as significant factors in the establishment of the UKPP (Wallis, 2010, Bronstein, 2010).

The constraints of the organisation's internal structures and their inability to respond to OGB's evolving understanding of development as process, is highlighted in the report *Learning from Experience in Africa* (Edwards, 1989c)[52]. It cites examples of the Committee structure and the 'elite' corps of overseas directors as constraining factors. These insights are borne out by the tension between the governance structures of OGB and the operational reality of the UKPP now, reflected in data from UKPP partners and staff. For example, the UKPP Director is a member of the Senior Management Team of OGB's International Division, with the same status as a Regional Director rather than a country Director (Wareing, 2010). Likewise there is an anomaly in the programme's Board level representation, as the OGB Board of Trustees has (up to the time of writing) one Trustee who has special responsibility for UKPP, unlike any other region or country but as with specialist functions such as media and fundraising (Gaventa, 2010). The UKPP clearly does not 'sit' comfortably in the overall organisational structure and has a distinctive dynamic, which denies it the autonomy allowed to other country

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[51] Mary Cherry and Joel Joffe respectively.
[52] There is no evidence that Edwards' report was considered among the UKPP consultation papers. No copy was found in the UKPP files but was requested from the OGB archives after a conversation with Mike Edwards, Manchester, 10 September 2010 who recalled writing the paper.

programmes (Kidder, 2010).

> *I can access the media in Tanzania; I can go and lobby the minister for agriculture in Tanzania to change pastoralist land rights in Tanzania. Everywhere else that's allowed. In the UK it's not.* (Jarman, 2010)

The Assembly in 1994 was the first time so many OGB stakeholders had come together to discuss the fundamental principles of OGB's work. Its function was consultative rather than constitutional (Dodd, 2010). Nevertheless, its role in driving forward the arguments in support of the UKPP was central. Not only did its agenda ensure that the issue became the focus of the debate, but the way interventions were structured to allow supportive voices to be heard as 'catalysts', especially that of Stan Thekaekara, made clear CMT views (Bryer, 2010, Wallis, 2010, Idrish, 2010, Levy, 2010). But critical views were also heard, enabling the CMT to frame the event as part of the UKPP consultation (Oxfam GB, 1994a, Bryer, 1995).

The evidence from the data and analysis in this section, reinforces the understanding of institutional practices as dynamic. They constitute, shape, maintain and rupture the organisational *habitus*, through boundary work. Thus the governance mechanisms of the Council of Trustees, internal structures and the Assembly, each played a role in the dual process of maintenance and disruption of OGB's organisational *habitus* during the UKPP discussions. The boundary work, which challenged the *habitus* was most likely to work in favour of the UKPP.

Public Opinion

The data overwhelmingly points to public opinion being a negative constraint in the process of debating and operationalizing the UKPP. The fear of public opinion by OGB Trustees and staff, prevented them from being as supportive of the idea as they otherwise would. This was clear during the course of the decision in 1994-95 and continues to constrain the UKPP today (James, 1986, Oxfam GB, 1995q, Jarman, 2010, Hunter, 2010). Some of this is rooted in the bruising experience of the 1994 media coverage of the possibility of a UKPP (The Guardian, 2009, UK National Newspapers, 2009)[53]. The chapter has already noted concerns about the gap between OGB's and the public's understandings about poverty. The imperative to keep a clear focused message

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[53] *The Times*, 3 September 1994 report predicted the public would be 'baffled' by the proposal. The Leader in *The Daily Mail*, 3 September 1994 was more brutal describing the proposal as 'misguided charity' and playing games with poverty'.

and brand, which does not confuse the public is also significant in the data (Oxfam GB, 1994a, Adriano, 1995).

> *So there was a fear of that sort of public reaction and a fear that a lot of Oxfam giving was very much focused on if we're doing poverty reduction and things for people over there it was alright, but if we're talking about what some people saw as political issues…* (Wallis, 2010)

The exercise of third-dimensional power that public opinion and the fear of it has over OGB's work is evident here. Through the shaping of perceptions and myths about poverty, for example, it maintains the organisational *habitus*, as illustrated in the quotation below.

> *… the redistribution of international wealth is a safer topic than the redistribution of national wealth. A public meeting in one of the English shires may well be in some sympathy with a land reform programme in Latin America, but would be hostile to any suggestion that at home a fairer distribution of one of the country's major resources - land - could play a major part in solving the problems of unemployment, land-abuse, leisure etc* (Oxfam GB, 1986)

The capacity of third-dimensional power to perpetuate myths and also shape and constrain action is evidenced by a number of partners (Hunter, 2010, Kenningham, 2010, Anon., 2010a, Panda and Mishra, 2011). It is also one explanation for the lack of UKPP visibility from 1995 through to 2008/9, when the global financial crisis made it easier for OGB to promote the programme's existence amongst the UK public (Bronstein, 2010, Thekaekara, 2010, Jarman, 2010, Wareing, 2010).

The myths go beyond conceptions of poverty to include the following: OGB is a charity and therefore works only with those living in absolute poverty; OGB only works in the third world saving lives after humanitarian disasters; there is no poverty in UK, so OGB need not work here; development work is something done to vulnerable, passive people and is motivated by compassion, and development work does not involve challenging or changing people's lives or lifestyles, except in so far as they can afford to give to charity. These myths constitute the 'international development' *doxa* – the sphere of unspoken assumptions - from the perspective of public opinion. The UKPP disrupts and raises awkward questions about this, thereby threatening to re-constitute the *habitus* and requiring different practices. However, much of the evidence points to the power of the fear of public opinion as institutional practice, thus thwarting the potential of the UKPP to re-constitute the *habitus*.

<u>Communications</u>

Finally, this section considers the institutional practices of communications. These, of course, have synergies with the above discussions of the practices of organisational identity, governance and public opinion. The analysis finds that there are elements of this practice, which maintain the *habitus* and, therefore, work against the UKPP while others challenge the *habitus* in support of the UKPP.

Most of the data on communications is dominated by the issue of how OGB could best convey to its supporters the type of organisation it was. There were those in the fundraising and communications teams who preferred to stick to the international development *doxa* described above.

> *…was Oxfam just diluting its message by trying to do everything everywhere, you know, and why not focus on absolute poverty and stop faffing around on these other concepts* (Wallis, 2010)

Others saw the UKPP as a potential communications asset in assisting in explaining OGB's conception of poverty but also articulating the type of organisation OGB was and wanted to be. Rather than referring to 'overseas' work, for example, it could communicate the international nature of the organisation to partners (Bunting, 2010).

> *…in my view that if you wanted people to understand about poverty, then the more that Oxfam could talk and relay to people in the UK who don't have an experience of what we've been doing in the UK, that would also strengthen our communications and fundraising.* (Wallis, 2010)

The fundamental dilemma for communications work was a perception that campaigns and fundraising messages needed to be simple to be effective, and that 'a starving child in Africa is a much, much simpler message than injustice' (Thekaekara, 2010). As noted in Section 4.4.2, the tension between 'othering' practices and ethical development 'ends' runs through the data and was explicitly articulated in 1989 (Edwards, 1989c). The data on communication practices points to the success of arguments, which mobilised the UKPP as a communications asset. However, there is also some evidence to suggest that this argument enabled the programme to be established as a token gesture, while allowing it to assume such a low profile in implementation that it was unable to fulfil its potential (Smith, 2010, Thekaekara, 2010, Bronstein, 2010). This argument is developed further in Chapter 6.

<u>Conclusion</u>

Having considered four of the institutional practices identified in the data, this section observes how each plays a constitutive role in the organisational *habitus*. Table 4.11 illustrates this with the case of organisational identity but each institutional practice plays a dynamic role in the creation and maintenance of a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions. The institutional practices such as organisational identity and sensitivity to public opinion hold this matrix, or the *habitus*, together, with their boundary work. By mobilising third-dimensional power they cast the organisation's role entirely in the 'Third World'. However, institutional practices can also rupture the established *habitus* making use of third-dimensional power to challenge 'othering' myths and perceptions and thereby query the unspoken *doxa* of what OGB is and does. This matrix has a formative role in the logic underlying the rationale of Oxfam's identity in terms of a world vision based on differentiation of the world into North and South rather than a world in which this binary is deconstructed.

4.5 Impact on Southern partners

One of the initial research objectives (research objective 6)[54] is to understand the impact that the UKPP has had on OGB's southern partners, specifically in the state of Orissa, India. There is evidence from interviews with partners and other stakeholders, such as DfID personnel, civil society activists, academics and former Oxfam employees and Trustees in India that the very existence of the UKPP engendered respect and credibility in the eyes of partners in the global south (Seshan, 2010, Panda and Mishra, 2011, Dalai, 2011, Jagadananda and Swami, 2011, Datta, 2011, Pattanayak, 2011). Participants at the 1994 Assembly from the South were very supportive of the idea (Thekaekara, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1995d).

In most cases, the partners in India interviewed knew nothing of the UKPP but learned about it through the research interviews. In fact field notes from discussions with SWAD and RCDC in 2010 and 2011 highlight animated interest when UKPP material was shown to them, for example, from Thrive of Thornaby's debt campaign and ATD's *The Roles we Play* photos (Church Action on Poverty, 2010, ATD Fourth World, 2010). Moreover, most of the data points in a different direction to the fact that SNGO partner understandings, especially from India, had a significant impact on OGB, which in turn,

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[54] See Chapter 1 for full list of research objectives.

influenced the UKPP discussions. A report in 1985, for example, refers to the fact that much of the development thinking and practice undertaken by overseas partners was much more progressive than that in the UK (Behr, 1985). Causal attribution is not claimed here but strong conceptual associations. To some extent, this is unsurprising given OGB's close connections with Ghandian organisations throughout the history of its work in India (Bryer, 2006).

This section, therefore, assesses the empirical data to understand the SNGO partner approaches to development. It does so at a higher level of abstraction than the four-part hypothesis. It uses the data to examine understandings of three-dimensional power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006), organisational *habitus* and domain (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1996, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999). This analysis provides a conceptual link with that of Chapter 5, which makes similar use of these tools.

An analysis of SNGO partner views reveals a high level of awareness of all three dimensions of power at work in the development process. Resources are fundamental to the role of NDNGOs and to a range of institutional practices, such as fundraising and monitoring. However, a theory of poverty based solely on surface mechanisms such as resources is inadequate and can lead to failure to identify poverty (Panda and Mishra, 2011, Paitnik, 2011). Thus, resources lie at the heart of the tension within a three-dimensional power framework. Most poverty, in the eyes of southern partners, is due to powerlessness resulting from discrimination and exclusion, which have their roots in 'rules' of social traditions and laws. These exclusionary practices also function at a symbolic level in which they distort perceptions of what and where poverty is (Alderson, 1979, Jagadananda and Swami, 2011, Oxfam India, 2010d). In the extreme, this can lead to instrumentalising conceptions of poverty to maintain exclusionary practices. For example, in the context of the hill forests of Orissa, home to large numbers of 'scheduled tribes'[55], the 'poverty' label has 'been a type of colonisation of the tribal areas' (Das, 2010). This model is an important tool in understanding the way NDNGO roles are conceptualised by southern partners. SNGOs note the valuable effects of their resource support from NDNGOs. However, the work to facilitate accessing rights is clearly now a focus of their work, where they have the capacity.

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[55] A demographic category created by Article 365(25) of the Constitution of India to denote the many indigenous tribal groups living in India, also known as 'Adivasis'.

Where they do not, assistance with capacity building, for example, to work with government departments, is sought from NDNGOs. However, one of the main roles for NDNGOs, from the SNGO perspective, is that of unpacking myths and symbols about development and injecting new ideas into it, challenging ideas of who the poor are and the nature of development interventions (Prakash, 2011, Datta, 2011). There is dissatisfaction with the way in which the myths and symbols surrounding the NDNGO-SNGO relationship maintain the power inequalities between them (see *Appendix 10*), especially the perceptions maintained by the shape and scope of the current international development domain (Safique, 2011, Oxfam India, 2008, Seshan, 2010, Das, 2010).

From the SNGO partner critical perspective, the ethically desirable purpose of development is people's knowledge of their rights and their power and capacity for action to change their lives for the better, challenging inequalities and injustice. However, there is an acknowledgement in the data that this approach is not reflected in the 'international development' domain, which rather constrains the scope of what development does within the geographically defined space of the global South. Figure 4.2 illustrates this critical understanding of the international development domain with a worked example from the data.

This example demonstrates the linkages between practices, *habitus*, domain and *doxa* in which NDNGO or donor practices of project design play a formative role in the organisational *habitus*. The SNGO organisational *habitus* cannot, of course be generalised, but a composite picture can be extracted from the empirical data. This includes perceptions around who are appropriate and eligible beneficiaries and understandings of participation. The donor practices influence institutional practices, forming part of the *habitus*, such as the appreciations or organisational priorities illustrated in Table 4.12.

The practices and *habitus* of the SNGO are then shaped by the practices of the donor agency or NDNGO. However, the organisational *habitus* is also contingent on the shape and space of the international development domain in which the *habitus* is situated. Prevalent conceptions about the international development domain are discussed in

Chapter 6[56] and characterised as a series of binary structures around the actors, spaces and processes of development, both geographical and conceptual. They are situated within a number of unspoken assumptions about for whom development happens or 'who matters'.

Figure 4.2 The International Development domain from SNGO critical perspective

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[56] In Section 6.3.8
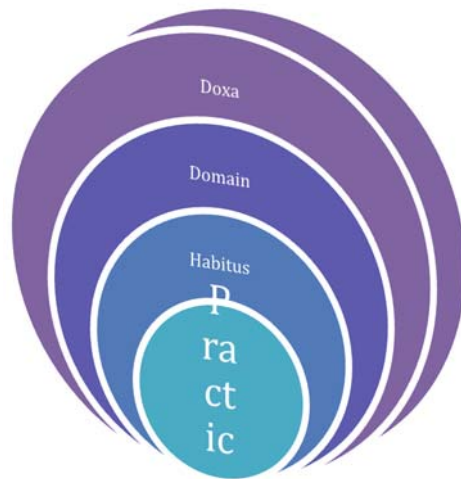
Worked example of Practice, *Habitus*, Domain and *Doxa* relationship

Practice

Donor agency designs project outcomes and contracts SNGO to achieve these outcomes.

Habitus

Group of perceptions, appreciations and actions around development project design & contracting including:
- Beneficiary selection,
- Understandings of participation
- Donor reporting requirements
- Sectoral specialism within NGO
- Required staff skills
- Relationships with government & private sector

Domain

Ideas about the physical and conceptual spaces occupied by 'international development' in which the *habitus* is located, for example:
- Donor agencies located in global north
- SNGOs require capacity building
- Development is largely about resource transfer
- Institutional separation between national 'development' ministries & domestic issues
- Distinct scholarly fields between ID and domestic 'Third Sector' (Lewis 2014)

Doxa

The unquestioned environment & set of assumptions in which this domain is located

It is evident from the empirical data that there is a resistance to the maintenance of both the organisational *habitus* and international development domain, as characterised in Figure 4.2, by SNGOs. They conceptualise development work beyond this narrowly framed domain (Safique, 2011, Agragamee, 2008, Regional Centre for Development Cooperation, 2009, SWAD, nd.). Evidence from recent literature also suggests that with the 'rise of the south' (UNDP, 2013), blurring of lines between north and south (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012, Mawdsley, 2012), and the acquisition of new types of development knowledge (Lewis et al., 2014), the impetus behind the re-configuration of the international development domain will increase.

Conclusion

Although there is no evidence of meaningful impact of the UKPP on SNGOs, this section demonstrates in response to Research Objective 6, that there are many synergies between the approaches to power of SNGOs and those mobilised by OGB in arguing for UKPP. In the SNGOs' approach to three-dimensional power, there is an acknowledgement of the importance of all three dimensions of power in bringing about change. In their resistance to the myths and symbols, which constrain and maintain existing SNGO and NDNGO roles in a north-south binary, the analysis suggests that SNGOs are more inclined than OGB to challenge their organisational *habitus* and the international development domain that shapes it. This forms the basis of the chapter's argument that the influence of southern partners on OGB was significant as one of the issues that drove the UKPP debates.

4.6 Confounding variables

Before reaching conclusions on the strength of the hypothesis in the OGB case study, it is important to acknowledge that the UKPP was and is only one small part of OGB activity and expenditure. Whereas total UKPP expenditure on programme activities for 2006-2013 is estimated at £8.9 million, total OGB programme expenditure in 2010/11 alone was £272.7 million (International Aid Transparency Initiative, 2014, Oxfam GB, 2011). A sense of proportion is, therefore, required in considering the significance of the programme. The UKPP was one of many strategic responses to the changing NDNGO environment in the early to mid – 1990s and it would be a mistake to ignore these other responses (Gaventa, 2010). In addition, there were other aspects of the context in which the UKPP emerged which should be acknowledged. Evidence of both is found in the empirical data generated in this research and from archive documents.

The starting points of the research design outlined in Chapter 2, give privileged status to internal practitioner understandings, conceptualisations, preferences, inclinations, policies and practices. They also enable the research to briefly consider the current nature and depth of scholarly knowledge and understanding of the internal lives of NDNGOs. In order to maintain the research focus whilst remaining alert to potential confounding variables and richer understanding, this section sets out briefly some of the most relevant and significant elements of the external and internal OGB environment in which the UKPP decision was made. Four variables are identified in the data as of particular significance: globalisation; Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs); the UK national political landscape, and the UK voluntary sector. Each of these factors is the focus for considerable research in its own right. The purpose here is to highlight possible linkages between them and the UKPP, rather than provide a comprehensive analysis of the variables themselves.

The vulnerability of people worldwide to the economic and social impacts of globalisation are quoted as one of the factors bringing the global north and south closer together (Oxfam GB, 1995d, Oxfam India Trust, 1992b).

> and disintegration.[130] Globalisation is undermining the ability of nation states to determine their own development path - producing a growing commonality of experience between countries in the North and South.[131]

(Bennett, 1994)

Global economic changes are highlighted as key strategic issues for the Council to consider in 1995 when the UKPP decision was made (Oxfam GB, 1995q). The organisation's thinking on these issues had been influenced by the work of Kevin Watkins (Bryer, 2010) who published on the role of the GATT Uruguay Round in impoverishing the global south (Watkins, 1992). He also wrote *The Oxfam Poverty Report* (Watkins, 1995), which sets out the issue of global poverty in the context of conflict, SAPs and international trade. The effects of structural adjustment on both the global south and the UK are highlighted as another area of commonality in UKPP debates (Oxfam GB, 1995d, Bennett, 1994). The logic used in connecting SAPs and the UKPP was fundamentally based on analysis on the causes of poverty. It was argued, for example, that government policies in the UK, which had exacerbated increases in poverty and inequality in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s were similar to those pursued by the international community via SAPs in the global South.

The combination of 'structural adjustment' and 'safety nets', in which the poor are seen as a marginal group in need of welfare provision but peripheral to the economic development of society (Bennett, 1994, p. 38)

It can be argued that the debates about the UKPP, contemporaneous with considerations of whether OGB should work in Eastern Europe, were actually debates about the nature of poverty and injustice and OGB's mandate in a globalised world in which policies such as the SAPs were being pursued by governments in the global North and South (Bryer, 2006, Bryer, 2010, Wallis, 2010).

Although there clearly was a view in OGB that the UKPP decision and programme was about strategic issues beyond and larger than the UK, the national political landscape cannot be ignored. This is particularly so in the light of the heated public debates about the nature of poverty in the UK. The conflictual climate in which the debates took places was described as:

…difficult and… any way <u>we</u> wanted to define poverty was going to be very different from the way that Thatcher or her government would define it, I think, which would be in the most basic income terms. (Bryer, 2006)

The pathological nature of some of the approaches to poverty in the 1980s and early 1990s are well documented, with frequent references to an 'underclass' (Alcock, 2006, pp. 29-31). This was reflected in an analysis of poverty in the UK, produced to inform CMT thinking (Bennett, 1994), which provided a chronology of the poverty debates in the UK from the legacy of the nineteenth century Poor Law through the 'rediscovery' of poverty in the 1960s (Abel-Smith and Townsend, 1965) to the conspicuous absence of poverty from the 1992 general election agenda. A UKPP partner who participated in early talks with OGB about the possibility of the UKPP recalls the 1980s as dominated by massive economic changes and growing poverty with the church vocal in its criticisms of government policy (Goggins, 2010, Church of England Commission on Urban Priority Areas, 1985). Within this context, OGB's theory of poverty had implications beyond the UKPP debates to the whole organisation's political positioning, leading some media reports to claim the UKPP debates were a politically–motivated attempt to undermine the Conservative government of the day (Laurance, 1994, p. 8).

The UK domestic poverty sector in the 1980s and early 1990s was characterised as fragmented, lacking campaigning bite or international links (Bronstein, 2010, Goggins,

2010, Bennett, 1994, Bryer, 2006, Judd, 2008). These capacities were cited by UK voluntary sector agencies, in support of the UKPP, who argued that OGB would bring additionality to the sector rather than replication (Goggins, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1995w). However, the data highlights that one of the most significant factors in the UK voluntary sector landscape, which dominated OGB life from 1989 to 1991, was the power of the Charity Commission. A combination of controversies over its work in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Cambodia, Nicaragua and South Africa led to a Commission inquiry in 1989. Although the final report concluded that OGB's campaigning work had gone beyond what Charity Law permitted (Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, 1991), it was very soon followed by the appointment of a new Commissioner who revised the guidelines enabling charities to campaign where a clear connection with poverty could be demonstrated. The experience of the inquiry, although devastating at the time[57], ultimately led to a situation in which campaigning was more grounded in an evidence base.

> *...all overseas staff had to really learn why they were doing what they were doing and how each thing was connected to the other and that actually was jolly helpful so that if you made a grant to a newspaper or something, well why were you doing it? People were having to really show - it went alongside the much greater interest then in assessing our impact and so it was actually rather helpful.*
>
> (Bryer, 2006)

This section, therefore, recognises that there are factors in the international and UK national environment beyond the four-dimensional hypothesis that are associated with the UKPP decision. The data highlighted globalisation, SAPs, the UK political and voluntary context as being the most significant. These considerations are an additional layer to our understanding of the four-dimensional hypothesis, rather than confounding variables.

4.7 Going beyond the literature: fresh insights

The discussion so far has used the research data to support the proposed four-dimensional framework, which was instrumental in the UKPP decision. The chapter provides evidence for the role of OGB's theory of poverty and development ethic in the debates. The organisation's anxiety about its future is also observed as an important driving factor in the internal discussions. Finally, it is noted that a range of institutional practices had both constraining and driving roles and that these were mobilised in

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[57] OGB ceased all campaigning activities for the duration of the inquiry.

different sides of the debates, particularly the practices around organisational identity, governance, public opinion and communications. The external international and national political contexts provide a supplementary explanatory layer to the framework.

However, the analysis brings richer understandings of why the UKPP decision was made and its implications beyond the programme itself. Using a three-dimensional model of power (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006) and Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *doxa* (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1996, Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999) as an analytical 'toolbox' the study is able to take six steps of theoretical argumentation. Based on the empirical data and the earlier analysis of the impact of SNGO practice (Section 4.5), these steps lead towards a better understanding of the central research question: how, why and with what implications do NDNGOs have domestic poverty programmes. It also contributes to an understanding of research objective 8 in which we ask whether the domestic programmes indicate a development ethic in which everyone matters. The next section sets out these arguments.

Firstly, the study notes how power works within OGB's theory of poverty and that an understanding of the three dimensions of power facilitates a comprehensive identification of poverty and is the differentiating factor between the approaches of OGB and its donating public. An appreciation of the invisible workings of myths and symbols in perpetuating powerlessness and maintaining a sense of the 'ends' and 'means' of development is what distinguishes one approach from the other. This is the work of third-dimensional power. Secondly, third-dimensional power is present in the 'othering' practices, which maintain rather than address power inequalities, for example, between the deserving and undeserving poor, SNGOs and NDNGOs. According to the underlying logic of the UKPP debates, this must be recognised and addressed if ethical development is not to be distorted by unethical 'means'.

Thirdly, there is evidence that all three dimensions of power are present in the relationship between OGB and its SNGO partners and their work together. SNGOs want NDNGOs to exercise third-dimensional power in challenging the myths around development and their own respective roles, for example, those around project design. This will enable ethical partnerships to continue which do not reinforce inequalities. Fourthly, ethical development practice is, therefore, only possible if third-dimensional

power is acknowledged and challenged. The UKPP represents one attempt to do this by changing the terms of the debate about development, its ends and means.

Fifthly, the UKPP has the potential to challenge understandings of poverty, development ethic, understandings of NDNGO futures and institutional practices which constitute its organisational *habitus*. The programme can, thereby mobilise third-dimensional power over the OGB *habitus*. It was the UKPP's threat to 'genesis amnesia' (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, p. 79) about the 'geography' and 'boundaries' of poverty, which was the real area for debate. Finally, therefore, a change in the OGB *habitus* to accommodate the UKPP development ethic would have implications, via the process of ontological promotion, for the international development domain. As the socially constructed boundaries of this domain are challenged and stretched, so are the unspoken assumptions of its *doxa*. A constitutive element of this new domain is that 'everyone matters'. This, therefore, contributes to an understanding of the final research objectives of whether a new domain of development is possible and, if so, will it incorporate a development ethic in which everyone matters?

These propositions about power and the NDNGO *habitus* are further explored using the three smaller case studies of Islamic Relief (UK), Red Barnet (Denmark) and Oxfam America in the next chapter. They have important implications for the future role of NDNGOs, which are discussed in Chapter 6.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter's purpose has been to explore whether the initial analytical framework, drawn from the literature, has explanatory power in understanding why Oxfam GB, as the primary case study in this research, chose to establish a UK Poverty Programme in 1995. Evidence from interview and archive data demonstrates that the framework, in which the 'ideas' and practices of the organisation and its staff are emphasised, has considerable utility and relevance to this case. External contextual factors such as globalisation and the nature of the UK voluntary sector, rather than being confounding variables, can provide a useful supplementary analysis. However, in a reversal of initial expectations, the analysis finds that there is limited evidence of impact of the UKPP on SNGO partners beyond generating some respect and curiosity. Instead, data points to close association between the perspectives and understandings of OGB's SNGO

partners and the framework of understandings, which, the chapter argues, were mobilised in support of the UKPP. These are summarised briefly here.

The connection between OGB's theory of poverty and the UKPP debates is driven by the four elements of its theory: its meanings and dimensions; causes; the realities of living with poverty, and who are the poor. The data shows that the issue of power and powerlessness are fundamental to OGB's understanding of each of these elements and, therefore, its theory of poverty. However, the difference between OGB and its donating public's understanding of poverty has its roots in approaches to third dimensional power, in which OGB recognises the 'invisible' work of myths and symbols but perceives that its supporter base, in the main, does not. The decision to establish the UKPP in 1995 was, therefore, an attempt to offer a truly global analysis of poverty, to apply consistently this theory in practice, and to educate and influence its supporter base and media to come to a similar understanding. In doing so, the study begins to see the potential of the programme to disrupt accepted ideas and assumptions about the nature of international development work.

OGB's development ethic is articulated in the way its staff and archive documents consider the issues of dignity, justice, rights, othering and the 'undeserving poor'. These concerns dominate the data and are seen as possible responses to the three questions of development ethics about the 'ends', 'means' and challenges of development practice. Three arguments mobilise the organisation's development ethic in support of the UKPP. Firstly, if dignity, justice and rights are the most significant 'ends' of development, then these should be applied universally, whether in UK or India. Secondly, if ethical 'ends' require ethical 'means', the binary distinctions, or 'othering', used by the media and UK public[58] in talking about development, is a barrier to the achievement of ethical development. OGB analysis points to the potential for the very idea of the UKPP to rupture these simplistic binary divisions. Finally, the UKPP *as practice* could challenge the myths and symbols of third dimensional power, overcoming the counter-productive violence of 'othering'. This demonstrates that an ethical practice is possible if third-dimensional power is acknowledged and made visible.

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[58] This is discussed in Sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.4 of this chapter.

There is also considerable evidence that anxiety about the future of OGB as an NDNGO, especially its relationships with SNGOs and its campaigning role, was one of the drivers of the decision to establish the UKPP. Its major concerns were about legitimacy, credibility, accountability and impact, all of which mediated the quality of its relationships with SNGO partners. The UKPP was perceived as one way in which OGB could acquire credibility and, therefore, legitimacy by responding to the challenges of SNGO partners to 'take the same risk' of working with domestic poor communities. In addition, the programme could provide the required rootedness for evidence-based campaigning. In a context in which OGB was concerned about the future role of NDNGOs, the concept of 'added value' is prevalent in the data. In OGB's quest to identify its additionality in the development process, there was a clear strategy that instrumentalised the UKPP as a mechanism through which OGB demonstrated it was changing the terms of the development debate. In debates prior to 1995 the programme was, therefore, never a 'normal' country programme but was expected to deliver added value for OGB, particularly in the way it addressed issues of third dimensional power such as the myths and symbols around appropriate roles for NDNGOs and SNGOs.

Finally, the analytical framework suggests that institutional practices play a role in the decision. This is borne out by the evidence from this case study, which shows that practices were both drivers and barriers to the decision and mobilised by different sides of the debate. The most noteworthy practices were organisational identity, governance, public opinion and communications, all of which maintain the *habitus* through their 'boundary work'. Whereas the practices of communications and governance included recognition of third dimensional power but were mobilised by detractors and supporters of the UKPP proposal, the practice of organisational identity uniquely entrenched the *habitus*. In summary, therefore, the decision was largely driven by OGB's theory of poverty, development ethic and anxiety about its future, despite the face that most institutional practices were barriers to change. Each of these is a constitutive element of the organisational *habitus*. Thus this chapter addresses research objectives 2 – 6 in exploring how and why the UKPP was established.

The chapter's analysis also begins to address research objectives 7-9 and is able to provide deeper understandings of the decision beyond the initial analytical framework. What appears to be a decision about a new programme is demonstrated to have much

broader implications for understandings of the *habitus* of OGB and the domain and *doxa* of international development. The UKPP represents an attempt to re-structure or re-constitute the *habitus* of OGB and introduce practices and considerations previously undiscussed. The disruptive potential of practices, which do not conform to the established roles, for example, of NDNGOs and SNGOs, is welcomed by supporters of the UKPP and by southern partners for their symbolic power.

The analysis illustrates that Gaventa's (1980, 2006) understanding of power and Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (1977, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1999) have theoretical and methodological relevance to this study . Using empirical evidence from the research, the chapter demonstrates that the *habitus* is a dynamic generative force as well as structuring (Lizardo, 2004) and is a useful conceptual tool in exploring changes in NDNGO roles. Using these tools, the study is able to move towards a response to the central research questions about how, why and with what implications NDNGOs work with the domestic poor and the implications this has for whether 'everyone matters'[59]. The chapter outlines the six steps of argumentation that start from the proposition that all three dimensions of power are at work in OGB's theory of poverty, and lead to the tentative conclusion that via a process of ontological promotion, the UKPP could point to a new international development domain in which 'everyone matters'. Thus, the chapter begins to address research objectives 8 and 9, which look at the broader implications of domestic poverty work. Chapter 6 explores this argumentation in more detail, addressing directly the final three research objectives of the study: what is the future role of NDNGOs and what might this look like? Does this indicate a development ethic in which everyone matters? Does this represent a new 'domain' of development?

The next chapter explores how far the empirical data from case studies of three further NDNGOs (Islamic Relief, UK; Red Barnet, Denmark; Oxfam America) can support and enhance this analysis, building on the four-part framework and the further insights gained in this chapter.

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[59] Research objective 8.

Chapter 5: Further Insights from Practice

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5.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 of this study provides evidence that scholarly literature on development
NGOs offers an explanatory and analytical framework with which to understand
NDNGO decisions to work on domestic poverty. The Oxfam GB (OGB) case study
provides empirical evidence to support this framework. The four elements of this
framework are clearly present in OGB's decision to establish its UK Poverty
Programme (UKPP) in 1995. A multi-dimensional theory of poverty, drawing on rights-
based, social exclusion and capability approaches, is one of the mechanisms of
argumentation and persuasion used by staff lobbying for and supportive of the UKPP.
The organisation's development ethic articulated by its staff and partners is also a
driving force in this decision. It highlights that development interventions that
perpetuate power inequalities are counter-productive when working towards the goals
of equal rights to justice and dignity. Thirdly, the study observes how anxiety about
OGB's future, particularly, its credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of its SNGO
partners was mobilized in support of the UKPP argument, proposing a form of 'added
value' to its role. Finally, institutional practices such as organisational identity,
responsiveness to public opinion, communications, can both drive and constrain change
and were used by those lobbying both for and against the UKPP.

The framework is enhanced using the concepts of third-dimensional or invisible power
(Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006), _habitus,_ domain and _doxa_ (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977,
Bourdieu, 1989, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, Bourdieu, 1994, Bourdieu, 1996,
Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1999). With these analytical tools, the research is able to
identify the broader implications of this work, noting that third-dimensional power is
active in the UKPP debates, mobilising and challenging the myths and symbols around
questions such as: who is poor? What are the 'ends' of development? Where does
development take place? What are appropriate development interventions for a
NDNGO? These perceptions and preferences can, through their boundary work,
maintain the status quo. Equally, arguments that make visible the third-dimensional
power of myths and symbols can resist and challenge. Thus, there is an attempt in the
UKPP to expose the third-dimensional power of assumed organisational identity, to re-

shape the organisation's *habitus*, with the potential to disrupt the domain and *doxa* of international development.

This chapter takes forward the argument and explores the enhanced hypothesis further in the light of the experience of three smaller case studies: Islamic Relief (UK), Red Barnet (Denmark) and Oxfam America.[60] The background to each case study organisation is outlined with contextualizing information about its founding purpose, income and expenditure, programme portfolio and extent of its domestic programme. The chapter finds that there is empirical evidence within each case of the enhanced four-part hypothesis outlined above. In addition it argues that each organisation displays a distinct and dynamic relationship between its *habitus,* the domains within which it operates and the domain and *doxa* of international development. The domestic programmes of each organisation are located within these different models, characterized as *multiple, nested* and *ruptured* domain models. The ability to explore each case through this set of models, takes the study a step nearer to answering the final research objectives: asking whether everyone matters and whether this indicates a new domain of development? These in turn contribute to addressing the 'implications' element of the research question.

Table 5.1 Small Case Study summaries

	Islamic Relief	**Red Barnet**	**Oxfam America**
Established	1984	1945	1970
Founding purpose	Response to famine in Sudan 1983	Providing food for refugees post WW2 from Germany, Hungary & Poland	Responding to humanitarian crisis during Bangladesh independence struggle & Biafra.
Income 2009 (US$)[61]	94,080,839	37,442,502	53,556,000
Income 2010 (US$)	104,076,031	44,137,979	86,526,000
Programme range (2010)	Advocacy, Education & training, Emergency relief, Feed the needy, Health & nutrition, Orphans,	Emergencies, Sexual abuse and trafficking, Health & HIV/AIDs, Child labour	Saving lives, Anti-poverty programmes, Campaigning for social justice, Public education

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[60] The sampling rationale for these case studies is set out in Chapter 3.6.
[61] £1 = US$1.62, DKK1 = 0.17US$

	Qurbani[62], Sustainable livelihoods, Water & sanitation		
Domestic programme (DP) established	2004 & included in 2009 organisational review	1946 & began work in Greenland in 1950	1992
DP 2009 expenditure (US$) & % of total programme expenditure	260,777 (0.3%)	4,590,398 (13%)	6,227,870 (12%)
DP 2010 expenditure (US$) & % of total programme expenditure	728,917(0.9%)	5,164,197(12%)	3,800,000 (9%)[63]
DP staffing 2010	Work overseen by a Funding Committee, chaired by UK Director. Part time Head of UK Programmes recruited 2012.	24 for whole domestic programme of whom 5 + 0.25 advocacy post work on child poverty.	5 staff until Hurricane Katrina in 2006 when it increased to 12. By 2010 total programme staff was 13.

Sources: (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2011, Red Barnet Denmark, 2013, Oxfam America, 2010a, Oxfam America, 2011a, Saeed, 2012, Ingvarsen, 2010, Oxfam America, 2010e).

5.2 Islamic Relief

This section examines the background to Islamic Relief, the first of the three smaller case studies, and considers the four-part hypothesis through the lens of this case study data. In Section 5.2.3 it explores the data with the analytical tools of *habitus*, domain and third-dimensional power, taking the analysis beyond the hypothesis to propose an understanding of Islamic Relief's *habitus* and domestic programme located in a multiple-domain model.

5.2.1 Background

Islamic Relief is now the largest of approximately eleven UK-based relief and development agencies, rooted in the principles of Islam with annual incomes of over £1

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[62] Means 'sacrifice' and is used to refer to the ritual slaughter of animals usually after the festival of *Eid al-Adha* during which meat from the sacrifice is distributed to the poor.
[63] This figure does not include public education or advocacy work.

million (Khan et al., 2009). It was established in 1984 (incorporated as a charity in 1989) by Dr Hany El-Banna, who wanted to raise funds from the Muslim communities in the UK to respond to the famine in Sudan. In 2005 the organisation federalized, with Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW) becoming the international parent body, which undertook most of the humanitarian work, with national -level organisations incorporated, such as Islamic Relief UK (IR UK). IR UK's role was to fundraise for and raise awareness of IRW's work with effect from 1 January 2006 (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2006). As a faith-based organisation (FBO) it has received considerable attention in recent scholarly literature (Clarke, 2007, Thaut et al., 2012, Tomalin, 2012, James, 2011). As a specifically Muslim FBO, it has received even more attention (Kroessin, 2009, Benthall and Bellion-Jourdan, 2003, Benedetti, 2006, Khan, 2012, Petersen, 2012). Its range of programmes, from sustainable livelihoods through to *Qurbani*, reflects the organisation's ability to straddle secular and religious approaches to aid using a variety of strategies. These are identified by Petersen (2011) as: long term development in which the poor are empowered through, for example, micro finance and disaster preparedness; Islamic tradition whereby rituals and requirements such as the sacrifice of *Eid al-Adha*, fasting of Ramadan and payment of *zakat*[64] become mechanisms for providing food, awareness raising and fundraising (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2011, p. 35), and 'Islamic development' in which the principles of Islam are aligned with those of secular development and human rights. Table 5.1 details the full list of IR programme themes as of 2010. Annual gross income rose by 10.6% to over US$104 million from 2009 to 2010 but voluntary income from individual donors rose by 22% annually from 2008 to 2010 (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2011), reversing the trend seen in charitable giving in the UK over this period (Charities Aid Foundation and National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 2009).

The domestic programme has its roots in work done by Islamic Relief US in 1995 at the festival of *Eid el-Fitr*[65] in Los Angeles when IR US partnered with a local clinic in an *Eid* celebration and toy distribution. Jehangir Malik, Director of IR's UK office, was in the US in the late 1990s and the IR US response to the Oklahoma tornadoes of 1996 and 1998 clearly had an impact on his thinking (Malik, 2011).[66]

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[64] This is one of the five obligations of Islam, which requires everyone to pay a percentage of surplus wealth to the poor and needy. It is considered more auspicious to pay *zakat* during the month of Ramadan, the time during which Islamic Relief receives most of its individual donations.
[65] This is the festival marking the end of Ramadan.
[66] Although the IR US web site identifies its response to the Oklahoma bombing of April 1995 as its first domestic intervention.

5.2.2 Supporting the hypothesis

Just as OGB's theory of poverty was built on considerations of who the poor are, its meaning, dimensions, causes and realities, similar pre-occupations are observed in Islamic Relief's debates around its work as a whole, and the domestic programme more specifically. Running through IR's theory of poverty are three distinct sources of authority and legitimation: Islamic belief and tradition; international development norms and practices, and the UK Muslim diaspora communities. Whereas Petersen characterises the binary tension in IR's work between 'sacred and secular' or '*umma*[67] and humanity' (2011, 2012), the evidence in this study points to a third dynamic in their work – their roots in the UK Muslim communities, particularly from the Arab world and south Asia.

The phenomenon of IR's increased voluntary income through 2008 to 2010 is explained in relation to the awareness within the Muslim communities in the UK that there were always people worse off than them despite their own difficult circumstances (Saeed, 2012, Philanthropy and Development, 2014). This acknowledgement of the disproportionate deprivation levels of Muslim communities in the UK is at the heart of Islamic Relief's domestic programme (Kheriji, 2010, Finella, 2005, Perry and El-Hassan, 2008, Centre on Migration Policy and Society, 2008, Change Institute, 2009a, Change Institute, 2009d, Chouhan et al., 2011). Muslims are, for example, more likely to suffer from the double-exclusions resulting from poor housing and Islamophobia (Perry and El-Hassan, 2008). They are disproportionately represented in the most deprived communities (Centre on Migration Policy and Society, 2008). Communities of Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage, for example, are more frequently unemployed and living in poverty than other BME communities (Change Institute, 2009a, Change Institute, 2009d, MacInnes and Kenway, 2009). The greater need of these communities is seen as 'self-evident' (Malik, 2011).

> *I remember visiting a mosque in Birmingham where they were teaching Arabic in a portakabin in the cold. IR says surely it can help these communities, which have made IR, when we have raised so much money from them for work elsewhere in the world.* (Saeed, 2012)

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[67] The Arabic term for Muslim community.

A responsive grant 'pot' known as the 'Hardship Fund' allowed small grants of no more than £10,000 to be given to organisations in the UK for capacity building 'in line with strategic objectives' (Malik, 2011) and for individual cases of hardship[68]. A Funding Committee, chaired by IR UK Director, which met every two to three months, awarded the grants but there was no written policy for how these were determined, just an understanding over time that priorities were youth, women, interfaith and community cohesion (Kheriji, 2010). A Trustee considered that tackling poverty and deprivation in the UK was one of the main drivers for establishing a more strategically focused domestic programme in 2009 and listed its beneficiaries as:

> *Deprived communities - Disadvantaged young people - BME communities - BME women - Grassroot community organisations - Individuals in economic hardship.* (Awan, 2010)

In addition to the need of the Muslim communities for support to overcome income deprivation, the data shows a need to be perceived as good and active citizens of the UK. This can be observed in the interfaith and community cohesion priorities for the Hardship Fund and in some of the grants given in 2010. In 2009 a total of £382 was paid to individuals in need, increasing to £24,306 in 2010. No details of individuals are given but each institutional grant is listed in the annual report, totalling £160,921 in 2009 and £426,563 in 2010 (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2010, Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2011). In 2009 there were only 25 grants awarded, coinciding with the organisational review, which had required the domestic grant budget frozen at £250,000 for two years (Saeed, 2012). This increased to 64 grants in 2010, some of which were aimed at highlighting the 'good citizen credentials' of Muslim communities, for example, support for the Lord Mayor's Special Olympics in 2009 and the Faith Encounter programme in 2010. Other institutional grants assisted community organisations in their own responses to international disasters, such as the £25,000 for Doctors Worldwide response to floods in Pakistan. Many provided small amounts of sponsorship for community events run by, for example, Oldham Muslim Centre and Balkan Muslim Society, others were for community development or awareness raising work (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2011).

IR's theory of poverty is, therefore, rooted in the exclusion, deprivation and vulnerability of Muslim diaspora communities in the UK. However, it also has its

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[68] None of the informants from Islamic Relief were able to confirm when this Fund began to operate.

foundations in Islamic belief and tradition around the payment of *zakat* and its legitimate beneficiaries. Both a Trustee and former CEO refer to the significance of some schools of Islamic jurisprudence that insist that *zakat* should be spent in one's 'neighbourhood'. This has been interpreted in IR as 'in the UK' especially amongst deprived Muslim and refugee communities (Saeed, 2012, Awan, 2010).[69]

The payment of *zakat* is traditionally seen as a source of purification of wealth from selfishness and jealousy (Benthall and Bellion-Jourdan, 2003) and as a mechanism for promoting equality through the re-distribution of wealth throughout society (Khan et al., 2009). From a reformist perspective, it is a mechanism by which the fundamental principles of dignity, personal development, freedom and solidarity are made visible in society and is the basis of a critique of 'the neo-liberal economy, the management and redistribution of wealth' (Ramadan, 2009, p. 256). Prophetic tradition requires that the exact amount to be paid in *zakat* by each person is prescribed by religious authorities or the community (Ibn Hanbal cited in Cragg and Speight, 1980, p. 84). Islamic Relief undertakes this service for UK Muslims (as do other Muslim development NGOs) each Ramadan by providing an online *zakat* calculator[70]. There are eight categories of people defined in the Quran as legitimate recipients of *zakat*.

> *Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and for those employed to collect (the funds) and for bringing hearts together and for freeing captives and those in debt and in the way of Allah and for the traveller* (Quran 9: 60 cited in Khan et al., 2009, p. 4)

There is considerable debate among religious authorities on the interpretation of the above verse, but it forms the basis of legitimation for the programme portfolios of most Muslim development NGOs, including Islamic Relief. The most significant beneficiary categories for Islamic Relief are the first three. The 'needy' are usually understood as the destitute or 'hard core poor', and the distinction between these people and the 'poor' is compared by IR to that of the…

> *…international development lexicon, which distinguished between those living on less than US$1 a day and those living on less than US$2 a day, both of which are in poverty – the former being extreme*. (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2008b, p. 11)

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[69] This opinion is also reflected in the work of the National Zakat Foundation (see Philanthropy and Development, 2014).

[70] See for example, http://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/about-us/what-we-do/zakat/zakat-calculator/

The third category is the basis on which Islamic Relief is able to exist as an organisation with paid professional staff, which collects and redistributes *zakat*. The categories of 'captives' and 'debtors' are mobilized by Islamic Relief (and others) in their campaigning work, for example with the Jubilee Debt campaign (Islamic Relief International, no date).

Having looked at the two strands of authority represented by the Muslim communities in the UK and Islamic belief and practice on *zakat*, within IR's theory of poverty, the chapter now turns to the final strand of authority from the international development sector. In 2008, the organisation published a paper, *Definitions of Poverty,* in which it surveys the different approaches to understanding poverty and seeks to locate its own definition in an alignment between Islamic thinking and multi-dimensional poverty. The paper concludes:

> *Is there a distinct Islamic understanding of poverty? Yes there is; and it differs little from a multi-dimensional understanding of poverty. There are essentially five groups of activities and things, which make up the human needs in Islam…religion, physical self, intellect or knowledge, offspring and family, and wealth. The fulfilment of these needs is seen as one of the basic goals of Islam.* (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2008b, p. 11)

The need to align understandings in this way coincided with IR's first Programme Partnership Agreement with DfID, signed in 2006, and its membership of the Disasters Emergency Committee, in 2005. These linkages required IR to research, fundraise and report using the terminology of DfID, but also DfID and other partners needed greater religious literacy to understand the basis of IR's work. This same rationale is at work in IR's work in conflict transformation.

> *Religious language and secular language are often alienated from eachother and actors need to work to create connections between them through using religious/local terms or concepts, such as Rahma (Mercy), Afwa (Forgiveness), Fitrah (the universality of humans)* (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2013, p. 6)

A multi-dimensional approach to poverty, which embraces non-material dimensions such as lack of dignity and social exclusion is visible in IR's strategic partnership with Mosaic[71] and their *Inside Out Appeal*, for work with Muslim offenders (Malik, 2011, Freeman, 2011). This was the first strategic partnership under IR's newly launched

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[71] Mosaic was founded by Prince Charles to work with young people from deprived communities. IR and Mosaic signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 2011.

domestic programme which emerged out of an organisational review in 2009, also leading to a new Global Strategy for 2011-2015. The review committed to a more structured and resourced community development programme in the UK for which there would be a dedicated member of staff reporting to a new Head of Programmes post.[72] Evidence from this programme suggests that the wider significance of the UK Muslim communities wanting to work 'at home' is the dignity of a whole, if diverse, community not just of the individual (Freeman, 2011). This is reflected in understandings of the maturing of the UK Muslim communities. After years of organizing and fundraising for Islamic Relief and participation in other community work, many Muslim supporters were confident to articulate the needs of their own communities and put together proposals and responses (for example, to the floods in the west of England in 2007). This is a core part of the business case for the IR domestic programme (Malik, 2011).

The goals of dignity and justice expressed through IR's theory of poverty and encapsulated within the payment and use of *zakat* also underpin the organisation's development ethic. Dignity and justice determine the 'ends' of development and are universally applicable whether for a project beneficiary in UK or Syria. Policy documents highlight the tensions between this and a basic needs approach.

> *Although Islam has made it incumbent on Muslims to provide for the poor and encourages charity, at the same time it discourages a culture of dependency as this is viewed as undermining one's dignity. Rather, the Qur'an stresses the importance of work for earning one's own livelihood.* (Khan et al., 2009, p. 7)

Thus programmes to provide opportunities for people to start up and run their own businesses, frequently via interest-free micro-finance initiatives, are a large part of IR's programme portfolio. The 2009 Annual Report, for example, captures most of this work within the theme of 'sustainable livelihoods', referencing youth skills training in Afghanistan and livelihood support for farmers in Aceh (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2010, pp. 24-27). The dynamics of the three sources of legitimacy for IR are also, therefore, embedded in its development ethic. The UK domestic programme can be seen as a way in which these dynamics can co-exist. There is a need to respond to the issue of exclusion, deprivation and lack of dignity for Muslims in the UK while at the same time recognizing that scriptural and Prophetic guidance call for universal justice and

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[72] The more junior post was finally filled (part-time) in 2012.

compassion (Khan et al., 2009). This is especially the case after the terror attacks of 2001 in the US and 2005 in the UK (Centre on Migration Policy and Society, 2008). Within the UK context, the words 'charity' and 'welfare' have very specific negative connotations, while within Islamic teaching they are both encouraged. IR rides these tensions, for example, in its Strategic Direction for 2011-2015, by providing continuity in its first two strategic areas: protecting life and dignity and empowering communities. At the same time it announces a new approach to its work, which uses both the terminology of international development and the Quran.

> *In 2011, we will be moving away from a 'needs based' approach to poverty and development, and towards a 'rights based' approach which recognises that poor and suffering people have rights over us, as defined in the Qur'an and Sunnah.* (Islamic Relief Worldwide, nd., p. 39)

There is also empirical evidence that IR considered a domestic programme in the light of concern for its own future and that a three-part tension is present here too. The future of the organisation, from the perspective of the interviewees and corporate documentation, will be shaped by the maturing and growing wealth of the Muslim communities in the UK. Investment in them is not only seen as the right thing to do from the perspective of dignity and appropriate *zakat* mechanisms, but as vital for the long term survival of the organisation which needs a new generation of generous supporters (Malik, 2011, Saeed, 2012). Local fundraisers (staff and volunteers) are at the heart of the organisation, people who are very close to the grassroots Muslim communities. This dynamic is in danger of being lost with the organisation's growth. The assumption is that with a new generation of IR supporters who are 'more at home in the UK than their diasporic homeland' (Saeed, 2012), the organisation will be subject to more pressure to work in the UK. This will require reinterpreting the organisation's mandate while rationalizing and supporting changes through scriptural and prophetic authority. The future credibility of IR as an organisation is, thereby, linked to the credibility of the Muslim communities and *vice versa,* with expectations of professional effectiveness and impact from both institutional and individual donors.

> *We have to show that larger programmes can be managed and that Muslims play a role in UK and care about their own and other communities.* (Saeed, 2012)

Although not explicitly stated in interviews, the issue of credibility and, thereby, legitimacy in the eyes of institutional donors is absolutely crucial to IR within the

context of the post-9/11 Charity Commission requirements[73]. Each annual report from 2005 through to 2012 includes more detailed financial data on grants: who makes grants to IR and from where in the Middle East specifically; to whom and where IR makes grants, and how Trustees are supported in their legal obligations. The 2010 Annual Report states that the highest strategic risk is considered to be 'damage to reputation and public confidence' (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2011, p. 50). Funding, governance and public opinion thus appear to be the most significant institutional practice drivers in IR's organisational thinking, all of which are relevant to the domestic programme. As with the OGB case study, the dimensions of institutional practice can both drive and constrain the case for change. In 2006 a survey was undertaken at a fundraising dinner for individual donors of their funding preferences, which indicated they would not be interested in funding work in the UK (Kheriji, 2010). This led to a pause in the plans for a more strategic domestic programme until reinvigorated by the organisational review in 2009. Overseas work was still considered the 'core business' which should not be jeopardized by funding UK work (Kheriji, 2010, Awan, 2010). While, as noted above, the domestic programme is part of a longer term strategy to secure future funding (Malik, 2011).

In the case of OGB, concerns about the organisation's future in terms of its credibility and legitimacy as a NDNGO (frequently expressed by SNGO partners) were mobilised in support of the UKPP. A different pattern of concern is observed with IR. This anxiety has its roots in only one of the three sources of authority supporting IR – that of the UK Muslim diaspora community. There is a sense of security from the international development sphere of work that as the largest of the Muslim development NGOs in the UK, IR is an important partner for DfID and Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) and other networks needing to demonstrate inclusive credentials[74]. Likewise, the domain of Islamic belief and practice gives no cause for concern about IR's future, as *zakat* is a universal and foundational requirement of Islamic belief. However, the vulnerability of the UK Muslim organisations to accusations of inappropriate accounting at best and funding terrorism at worst, evidenced by the establishment in 2007 of the Muslim Charities Forum to ensure standards of professionalism and

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[73] The Statement of Recommended Practice (SORP) (2005), for example, aims to improve the quality of charities' financial reporting and sets out the requirements for the content of the annual accounts for all charities with an income of over £100,000. Petersen (2012) also outlines some of the regulatory practices introduced in the US and UK which have constrained Muslim faith-based development NGOs.
[74] Islamic Relief is, for example, the only Muslim FBO member of the DEC and the only Muslim FBO with a Programme Partnership Arrangement with DfID (DfID, 2013).

transparency in the Muslim NGO sector, is an important driver in wanting to maintain a domestic programme (Petersen, 2012).

5.2.3 Beyond the hypothesis

Islamic Relief's theory of poverty, development ethic, concerns about its future and institutional practices are shown in this chapter to be relevant to the decision to establish a domestic programme in the UK. The empirical evidence shows an association between the elements of the hypothesis and the considerations of the IR domestic programme. However, these associations hold together quite loosely and are unsatisfactory in their explanatory power of the domestic programme. For example, concerns about the diasporic identity of IR's supporters is assessed as a more fundamental driver of the decision to establish the domestic programme than anxieties over the future of IR as a legitimate NDNGO. What is of more interest is the underlying dynamic, which the chapter begins to identify between the three sources of authority: the UK Muslim communities, Islamic belief and practice, and international development norms and practices.

Using the concepts of *habitus,* domain and *doxa* facilitates a deeper exploration of this observation. There is an alignment between these areas of authority, domains or social contexts and Bourdieu's concept of 'fields', which are 'always the site of struggles in which individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of the forms of capital specific to it' (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991, p. 14). As Figure 5.1 illustrates, in the case of IR, all three domains overlap and the IR *habitus* is found in the area where they all operate. The debates about the domestic programme (and other policy debates) undertake boundary work between the different domains, leading to a state of constant negotiation and flux (indicated by the broken-line borders in Figure 5.1) between all three domains within the IR *habitus.* For example, the study sees the issue of *zakat* aligned with concepts of rights and social justice at the boundaries between the domains of Islamic belief and international development (Islamic Relief Worldwide, nd., p. 45). In the case of the *Inside Out Appeal*, providing mentors for young Muslim offenders, the analysis reveals a state of constant tension as the requirements of *zakat* are negotiated alongside the impact of social exclusion of some young Muslims in the UK, while not detracting from IR's 'core' work of responding to emergencies in the global south. Likewise, IR provides a service to the UK Muslim communities enabling them to fulfill their religious duties (for example, *zakat* and *Qurbani*) while working within the

159

Millenium Development Goals (MDG) framework and with a Programme Partnership Arrangement with DfID (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2011, p. 35, Department for International Development, 2013).

The domestic programme balances between these three domains, as does the IR *habitus* and, as such, does not disrupt the organisational *habitus* but sits comfortably within it, albeit with different tensions at each domain boundary. The three sources of authority or domains of IR's work (its identity as an international development NGO, its foundation in Islamic belief and practice, and its rootedness in the Muslim diaspora communities of the UK), together underpin and maintain the domestic programme rather than work in tension with it. IR's response to the 2007 floods in the west of England, for example, had rationale founded in all three domains as it brought together IR's experience of distributing clean water in the global south with the role of a local mosque in demonstrating their neighbourly credentials to the non-Muslim population of Gloucester and the Islamic requirement for *zakat* to be spent in one's neighbourhood. This process by which Islamic Relief maintains its organisational *habitus* at the nexus of three domains is supported by Hilhorst's understanding of NGOs as the intertwining and competing of multiple 'discurssive frameworks' (2003, p. 9).

Figure 5.1 Islamic Relief habitus: Multiple-domain model

What is also observed in this multiple-domain model is the work of third-dimensional or invisible power through myths and symbols. Although there may be evidence beyond this case study of the domain of Islamic belief and practice wielding this power to shape

consciousness and perceptions, this is not prominent in the data here. However, as noted previously, the undisputed *doxa* of the international development domain contains within it myths and symbols that are beyond the debates between orthodox and heterodox opinion (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, p. 168). This chapter argues that IR's institutional practices wield third-dimensional power by shaping conceptions about what the 'international development' sector is and does. IR both mobilises and resists these myths in domestic programme debates. For example, in Trustees' concerns that the domestic programme will distract it from its 'core' business of overseas work and in individual donors' unwillingness to fund UK work, despite it being favoured by some religious opinion, the analysis sees the perpetuation of 'myth' that the international development work is only undertaken in the global south. Here the boundaries of the international development domain are maintained with no rupture to its *doxa*. At the same time, IR resists the 'myth' that international development is necessarily a secular process through its explicit use of religious festivals and beliefs as mechanisms through which funds are raised, goals are articulated and interventions designed. Through positioning itself at the heart of mainstream international development networks such as the Disasters Emergency Committee and the Humanitarian Accountability Partnership, Islamic Relief has challenged the received wisdom or *doxa* of international development, bringing faith into the realm of discussion (Tomalin, 2012). However, this challenge cannot be overstated while donors and governments in Europe remain ambivalent about relations with FBOs (James, 2009).

The evidence also points to the exercise of IR's agency in resisting myths and reshaping perceptions about the Muslim communities in the UK. Ebrahim (2005, p. 154) makes similar observations in the context of southern NGOs' capacity to shape funder discourses. The chapter has seen how the domestic programme and the whole of IR's work are situated within a context of post-9/11 myths about Muslim identity and citizenship and symbols of its marginalization. Through grant making to interfaith initiatives, strategic partnership with Mosaic and involvement in emergency response to floods in the UK, for example, IR seeks to associate itself with the non-Muslim voluntary sector and 'mainstream' organisations in the UK[75]. As a senior member of staff notes, one of the advantages of having a domestic programme is the 'Improved perceptions of Muslims in the non-Muslim populations' (Anon., 2010m). Similarly, the

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[75] Petersen (2011) also notes a strategy of association in which IR attends party conferences, reports on meetings with Ministers.

Chair's Introduction to the 2007 Annual report suggests a role for IR in defending the UK charity sector:

> *We were visited by the Chair of the Charities Commission, Dame Suzi Leather and the Chief Executive, Andrew Hind .... Although we had little concern about the Charities Bill and the impact on our work, we were able to raise concerns about the potential defamation of Muslim charities. In particular, discussions on the ways to protect the charitable sector as a whole and the reputation of charities, especially Muslim charities, were important to Islamic Relief.* (Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2008a, p. 4)

5.2.4 Findings

The case of Islamic Relief supplies further empirical evidence to support the original four-part hypothesis but the chapter assesses that the associations with the domestic programme debates are not sufficiently robust to really enhance understandings of the organisation's motivations. Richer insights are found by using the analytical tools of *habitus,* domain, *doxa* and third-dimensional power to assess the data. Firstly, Islamic Relief's *habitus* sits between the three domains or sources of authority: international development, Islamic beliefs and practices, and the diasporic identity of Muslim communities of the UK. Secondly, in the consideration of the domestic programme in particular, a dynamic relationship is observed between these three domains in which 'boundary work' is in evidence. These elastic boundaries are in perpetual tension as they are negotiated and adjusted. Thirdly, this 'boundary work' is mostly undertaken through the maintenance of and resistance to the myths and symbols of third-dimensional power. The case of IR reveals that the most potent myths for this NDNGO are those around the character of the Muslim communities of the UK and the nature of international development as a secular enterprise. The domestic programme, therefore, sits quite comfortably within the organisational *habitus*, straddling the three domains or sources of authority – a multiple-domain model. The programme's existence does not pose a threat to any domain or potentially disrupt their realms of unspoken assumptions or *doxa*, except insofar as it begins to challenge the secular nature of the international development domain as a faith-based organisation.

This begs the question as to why, with multiple sources of authority, the domestic programme is so small at only 0.9% of 2010 programme expenditure? There are a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly, because IR's *habitus* balances between three domains, change and new programmes emerge slowly due to the multiple processes of negotiation required. Secondly, one of the three domains could be more

dominant and thereby mitigate against the growth of the domestic programme. There is insufficient evidence to argue categorically for either of these two scenarios but it is possible that the need of the Muslim communities in the UK to be perceived as good global citizens, rather than merely good UK citizens, has been an over-riding consideration, leading to the need to be seen to prioritise non-UK work.

5.3 Red Barnet, Denmark

This section examines the background to the second smaller case study, Red Barnet, and considers the four-part hypothesis through the lens of the case study data. In Section 5.3.3 it explores the data with the analytical tools of *habitus*, domain, *doxa* and third-dimensional power, taking the analysis beyond the hypothesis. It proposes an understanding of Red Barnet's *habitus* and domestic programme located in a nested-domain model.

5.3.1 Background

Save the Children Fund, Denmark or 'Red Barnet' (RB) was established in 1945 to provide support for refugee children arriving from post- World War II Germany, Hungary and Poland. They were provided with temporary refuge, food and care (Ingvarsen, 2010). A few years after, the work began to focus on vulnerable Danish children living in big cities and worked primarily through volunteers. The organisation's work as an international relief and development NGO did not begin until 1962 when it opened a leprosy centre in Pogiri, India (Kabel, 2014). In 1976 RB became part of the international Save the Children Alliance (Red Barnet, no date-a). It is now one of six development NGOs in Denmark that have four-year framework agreements with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) under which the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) provides funding (Coventry, 2013). As Table 5.1 shows, RB's total income in 2010 was US$ 44,137,979, of which DANIDA contributed a considerable 41%, although this was a decrease on 2006 when DANIDA contributions accounted for 46.5% of total income (Red Barnet, 2009). In 2006 the MFA required that 'framework' NGOs raise at least 5% of their income from other sources, increasing to 10% in 2007 (Development Assistance Committee, 2007).

In 2012 RB ceased operating its own country offices overseas, transferring direct operational responsibility for its overseas relief and development programmes to Save

the Children International[76]. Its 2012 Annual Report structures its work under two main themes of 'international aid work' and 'initiatives in Denmark and Greenland' (Red Barnet Denmark, 2013, pp. 6-7). Its focus is on working with the most marginalized children to secure their rights, wherever they are in the world. Recent work includes the Horn of Africa famine in 2011, famine in West Africa and with refugees from the Syria crisis funded by the MFA and ECHO[77] (Red Barnet Denmark, 2013).

As noted above, the domestic programme began in the late 1940s and as of 2010 represented 12% of the organisation's expenditure. It relies heavily on its fifty-nine local branches to mobilise funds from the public and provide volunteers for fundraising and campaigning activities and service delivery. Work on this programme has gained a much higher profile since the 2004 publication of a report by the Danish National Institute of Social Research (commissioned by RB) on child poverty in Denmark (Gylling, 2010, Hussain, 2004). The programme covers work with vulnerable children in Greenland via drop-in centres, use of host families, camps and excursions to support vulnerable children, anti-bullying work and the 'break the circle' campaign against the sexual abuse of children in Denmark.

5.3.2 Supporting the hypothesis

The evidence from the RB case study shows a very different relationship between its domestic programme and its whole portfolio of work than that seen in OGB and IR. The distinctive characteristic of the RB case is explained as follows.

> ...you have to understand that Red Barnet is a democratic member based organisation with local committees all over the country. For our members the Denmark programme is a vital part of Red Barnet and even it is smaller (budget) than the international programme, no one can see a Red Barnet without a domestic programme. (Ingvarsen, 2010)

The roots of the organisation, as noted above, are in post-war work in Denmark. This chapter argues that although elements of the four-part hypothesis are in evidence, as briefly discussed below, in fact no debate for a domestic programme took place and no explicit rationale was required. The organisation's theory of poverty does, however,

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[76] A similar process has taken place in Oxfam International with the confederation of 17 affiliates agreeing to a single management structure in all countries of operation in which one affiliate led the work in each country (Oxfam 2013).

[77] The European Commission's Directorate General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection

underpin its domestic programme with a very clear focus on vulnerable children and reflects the tensions around the word 'poverty' in the public debate in Denmark (Hussain, 2002a, Work and Pensions Select Committee, 2004). Three approaches to poverty dominate policy debates in Denmark: income poverty, deprivation and subjective understandings (Nielsen et al., 2007). These debates are reflected in RB's domestic programming, for example, in the distinction between their 'poverty' work and those domestic programmes that work with issues of vulnerability such as bullying and sexual abuse and family camps which provide an opportunity for a holiday (a societal norm) for vulnerable, often migrant families. Publicity material acknowledges that Denmark is a wealthy country but that there are still 59,000 children living below the OECD poverty line (Red Barnet, no date-c). Using a different poverty threshold of 60% of median income, the National Institute research estimated the extent of child poverty in Denmark as of 2002 at 8% or 90,000 children, with those in single parent and migrant families most vulnerable to poverty (Hussain, 2004)[78]. The report put child poverty on the national agenda, the results even shocking RB itself, and led to a two-hour debate in the Danish parliament (Work and Pensions Select Committee, 2004). This enhanced RB's credibility further as a source of authority on child poverty (Gylling, 2010). From this research RB built a domestic campaign, *Beat Poverty,* and became part of a coalition lobbying the Danish government to use an official poverty line, as Denmark, unlike the UK and US, uses no single national-level definition (Gylling, 2010, Hussain, 2002c). Thus, although RB uses the 60% of median income threshold to define poverty, it sits within a context in which 'vulnerability', 'exclusion' from societal norms and 'exploitation' have more resonance with Danish society. As in the UK, this is often because of the shame attached to the word 'poverty'.

> *It can be difficult to get children or their parents to come forward and recount their stories publicly. Many families are scarred with shame and are afraid to come forward publicly. Nor do all children with whom Save the Children are in contact themselves consider themselves as children who live in poverty. But we know that many children keep their conditions of poverty secret and we often see that nor is the matter discussed in the home.* (Gylling, 2010)

For example, one of RB's most prominent campaigns is around preventing online grooming and sexual abuse of children. A team of four specialist staff work on a programme that includes a hotline for reporting online abuse and training courses for online platform moderators, judges and local authority personnel. It uses its experience

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[78] Although note that Nielsen et al. (2007) cite Hussain (2004) using the figure of 7.7%.

in Denmark to advocate for further safeguards for online child safety at an international level (Red Barnet, 2009b). Likewise, RB's programme of children and family camps and its *Nature and Community* project are premised on the idea that some children are not able to have the experiences expected as the norm in society, such as family holidays and contact with nature (Red Barnet, 2010a, Red Barnet, 2010b, Red Barnet, 2010c, Red Barnet, 2010d, Red Barnet, 2010e, Red Barnet, 2010f, Red Barnet, 2010g, Red Barnet, 2010h)[79].

The institutional practices of organisational identity, funding and campaigning work are active in supporting and challenging the RB domestic programme. There is a strong sense from the data on RB that the past 70 years of work in Denmark engenders confidence about their organisational expertise and the role and place of the domestic programme and organisation in the country. This is illustrated by a Trustee's insistence that RB have to be confident and strong in the face of abuses and contraventions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Olsen, 2010). In addition, the focus of the public's response to the 2004 report on the prevalence of child poverty was about the measurement and extent of poverty rather than RB's right to draw attention to the issue. This is in stark contrast to the UK media coverage of Oxfam GB's UKPP[80]. RB's considerations about its identity and future, therefore, are not in tension with its domestic programme. The use of the word 'poverty' is often difficult for RB, in the context of Denmark, as it is for OGB in the UK, due to the public's understanding of poverty. However, this does not create difficulties for RB with regard to its identity as an international development NGO, which is not unsettled by the existence of the domestic programme

Notwithstanding the position of the RB domestic programme at the heart of the organisation's identity, it still brings challenges in terms of funding practices. The 2012 Annual Report shows a decrease in income for the work undertaken around migration, sexual abuse and bullying, despite efforts to highlight the work, suggesting that these are 'unpopular' causes which require new strategies to overcome (Red Barnet Denmark, 2013, p. 7). The same trend was noted in 2009 when fundraising for the sexual abuse work was most successful among institutional donors, such as the Ministry of Finance and the EU (Red Barnet, 2009b).

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[79] Accessed in translation from originals in Danish and Swedish.
[80] See Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.

The advantage, or added value, offered by the domestic programme is perceived in terms of campaigning, programme effectiveness and volunteer motivation. A Project Coordinator for RB summarises this as follows:

> *Save the Children's reputation as a credible actor fighting for the right of children to a good life… We should use our knowledge of vulnerable children in poverty, their signals and strategies, to equip adult professionals, pedagogues and social counsellors, amongst others, along with volunteers to spot these signals and how they might handle them in the best possible way.* (Gylling, 2010)

The Domestic Programmes Director outlines the programme advantages in terms of advocacy work and the need to mobilise volunteers:

> *Our advocacy work gains strength when we have experiences from 'field work' and we have documentation. We know what we are talking about – when we raise our voice. We can activate volunteers, who give their time, competences and loyalty to Red Barnet as a NGO.* (Ingvarsen, 2010)

5.3.3 Beyond the hypothesis

The elements of the four-part hypothesis are present in the data on the RB case study, although notably there was very little explicit mention of aspects of a development ethic. No particular conclusions can be drawn from this absence due to the size of the data set. However, the case does illustrate a distinct contrast to that of OGB, in that the domestic programme did not emerge out of a portfolio of international work but *vice versa*. Thus the four-part rationale of the hypothesis was not required and is mobilised only in part to articulate some of the programme strengths such as supporting campaign and advocacy work.

As with the case of Islamic Relief, further insights are possible using the analytical tools of Bourdieu (1977, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999) and Gaventa (1980, 2006), specifically those of *habitus*, domain, *doxa* and third-dimensional power. The evidence in this case study indicates a different relationship between the organisational *habitus* and the domains in which it is situated. Islamic Relief's domestic programme and the organisational *habitus* sit at the nexus of three domains between which the boundaries are in dynamic tension. However, RB's work and domestic programme sit within two domains: of the domestic children's sector and international development. The first of these domains is characterised as follows:

> *Denmark has extensive policies for vulnerable children and youth… The policies consist of a strong universal element — free schooling, healthcare, etc. — and many policies specifically targeted at poor and vulnerable families. The specific policies range from economic support to daycare institutions, etc., to placement of children and families in special institutions.*

<div align="right">(Nielsen et al., 2007, p. 3)</div>

RB's place within this sector is well-established and secure with its policy and advocacy work rooted in the everyday experiences of 60,000 vulnerable children   through its 59 local branches, children's camps, two children's homes for unaccompanied refugee children, and drop-in centres in Greenland (Red Barnet Denmark, 2013). There is no sense in the data, from staff and corporate documentation, of incongruity between RB's domestic programme, the domestic children's sector and the international development domain. There is a perception that RB's domestic programme is at the heart of its identity in Denmark, being established well before international work began (Ingvarsen, 2010). Thus, the evidence points to a 'nested' relationship between the programme, the organisational *habitus* and the domains in which it is situated, illustrated in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Red Barnet habitus: Nested domain model
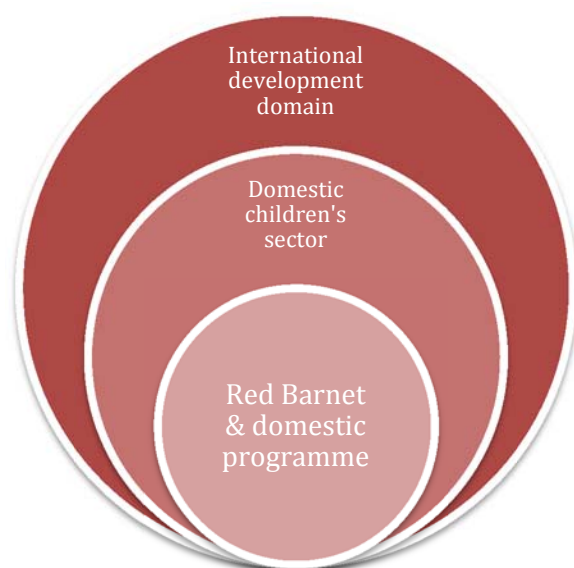
In this model, the boundaries of the organisational *habitus* are maintained rather than challenged or stretched by the domestic programme. Work in the area of children's homes, camps, drop-ins, online protection from sexual abuse and advocacy for a national poverty threshold of 60% of median income do not disrupt RB's status as an international relief and development agency (or NDNGO) in Denmark. This is possible because of the prior establishment of its work in Denmark and because of its single-issue focus. The programme does not raise any questions about the nature, scope or

spaces of international development and there is no indication, therefore, that the unspoken assumptions of the international development *doxa* are challenged or disrupted by the RB domestic programme.

This 'nested' model of RB's *habitus* does not imply, however, that there are no areas in which the domestic programme exerts, maintains or resists dimensions of power. There is evidence, for example, of the domestic programme in tension with first dimensional power (visible resources) of public donors who provide disappointing (from the perspective of RB staff) levels of financial support for work on sexual abuse. At the same time, second dimensional power is mobilised by the programme in getting the voice of poor and marginalised children on the national agenda after the publication of the 2004 report on the dynamics of poverty (Hussain, 2004). Third-dimensional power of myths and symbols which can shape and change perceptions is mobilised, resisted and maintained by the domestic programme at the same time on different issues. This work is undertaken firstly, by invoking the legacy of the organisation's work since 1945 (Ingvarsen, 2010, Red Barnet, no date-a), ensuring that the domestic programme continues to be perceived as 'nested' within Red Barnet's work as a whole and within the domestic children's sector and international development sector at the same time. The boundaries of the *habitus* and domains are maintained through this process. Secondly, the programme challenges understandings of Danish society through its insistence on the presence of poverty and commissioning of research, which uses the 60% of median income threshold. The research and RB's domestic programming also challenge the validity of using a purely income-based conceptualisation of poverty. It has already been noted that the programme uses deprivation and subjective approaches in its programming, while avoiding labelling these as 'poverty' programmes. Finally, of note (but not for discussion here) is the way in which the domestic programme perpetuates the understandings of Greenland as 'part of the Danish kingdom' (Ingvarsen, 2010) and does not engage with debates about whether Danish 'colonial' policies have had a detrimental impact on children in Greenland (Beukel et al., 2010).

5.3.4 Findings
This case study provides some evidence to support elements of the four-part hypothesis, especially its theory of poverty and institutional practices. However, moving beyond the hypothesis, Red Barnet presents a different NDNGO model to that of Islamic Relief. Whereas IR's *habitus* is situated at the nexus of three domains (international

development, Islamic belief and practice and UK Muslim diaspora communities), RB's domestic programme is situated comfortably within the organisational *habitus* and the domestic children's sector, in which the state is very active. This domain, in turn, is perceived as part of a larger international domain of work with children, in which Save the Children International operates. The domestic programme offers no substantial challenge to these two domains within which it is 'nested'. Neither is the international development *doxa* challenged by any questions being raised about the purpose and spaces of the endeavour. The *habitus* of the organisation is only marginally challenged by the programme with a few areas of tension observed between the programme and RB's organisational *habitus*, those of fundraising and understandings of poverty. We note that in this 'nested' model, no debate occurred around the domestic programme, which is perceived as a founding and necessary element of RB's total portfolio of work.

5.4 Oxfam America

Finally, this section examines the background to the Oxfam America, the third small case study, and considers the four-part hypothesis. In Section 5.4.3 it explores the data with the analytical tools of *habitus*, domain, *doxa* and third-dimensional power, taking the analysis beyond the hypothesis. It proposes an understanding of Oxfam America's *habitus* and domestic programme located in a ruptured-domain model. It concludes by arguing that the OA domestic programme demonstrates the potential for a re-configured international development domain or comprehensive social action.

5.4.1 Background

Oxfam America (OA) was first established in 1970 by OGB as a fundraising office in Washington DC to raise money for OGB's response to the civil war in Biafra and the war for independence in Bangladesh. The original intention in Oxford was to close the office when the media coverage of these wars died down, but a group of Boston-based development and medical professionals saw the opportunity to establish a different kind of development agency. At the time there were 87 US-based charities registered with USAID's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid (Terry, 2010, p. 32). Despite the competition for funds amongst many NGOs (more frequently referred to in the US as 'Private Voluntary Organisations'), the group considered that there was a need for an organisation that looked at the root causes of social injustice and poverty, rather than responding to humanitarian needs with disaster relief funds. Oxfam America was re-established in 1973 on four founding principles: firstly, the importance of educating the

donor community; secondly, the dignity and agency of beneficiaries was paramount; thirdly, no money would be raised for disaster relief, and finally, no income would be taken from government or large donors (Thomas, 2010). As one former staff member recalls:

> *They were humanitarians who rejected the facile notions of charity that dominated mainstream approaches to aid and that failed to acknowledge the United States' own culpability in promoting the very conditions that led to suffering and need.* (Sukop, 2010, p. 264)

The organisation was, therefore, set up to challenge the international development sector at the time (Hammock, 2010).

Income in its first year of operation in 1973 was US$139,129 (Terry, 2010, p. 28). By 2010 the total income was US$86,526,000 (Oxfam America, 2010a) with a portfolio of programmes across the globe. The 2010 Annual Report summarises programme expenditure (referred to as 'investments') as shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 OA programme expenditure by region, 2010

Programmes/ Regions	Latin America and the Caribbean	Africa and the Middle East	Asia and the Pacific	North America
Total programme expenditure (US$ million)	19.8	13.1	3.9	3.8
Top three areas of expenditure (%)	Haiti earthquake- 59.7% Oil, gas & mining – 6.3% Indigenous communities 4.3%	Sudan crisis – 20.7% Other humanitarian response – 17.9% Saving for change – 12.7%	Humanitarian response – 30% Agriculture & water management – 14.3% Oil, gas & mining – 9.7%	Decent work programme – 52.2% Gulf Coast recovery – 44.9% Other poverty reduction work in south east US
Countries/ states where work is funded	Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru	Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mozambique, OPTs[81],	American Samoa, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Myanmar, Pakistan,	Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina

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[81] Occupied Palestinian Territories – the only place in the Middle East where OA works.

		Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Zimbabwe	Philippines, Vietnam.	

(Adapted from Oxfam America, 2011a, p. 5)

In addition to programme delivery via partners, OA spent US$7.4 million on policy and advocacy work and US$6.8 million on public education in 2010 (Oxfam America, 2010a, p. 24). The above figures indicate OA moving away from its third principle of not raising money for disaster relief. However, in 2010 the final principle of maintaining independence of action by not accepting money from government or large donors, was still adhered to in the main with 54.7% of funds raised from private individual donors, 5.8% received from corporate donors and 0.3% from governments. It was only under the current Executive Director, Ray Offenheiser,[82] that the principle of not accepting money from the government or major donors was questioned at all (Roper, 2010). The independence this principle gave OA to challenge US government policy enabled them to work in Nicaragua despite government hostility in the 1980s. This led to a well-documented period of harassment during which OA was audited in both 1987 and 1988 by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS); a process that could have led to OA losing its tax-exempt charitable status (Hammock, 2010).

The OA domestic programme was established in 1992 with a US Regional Office and its own Director to run the programme. There was a three-part rationale for the new programme, according to a report of the *Completing the Globe* seminar for all of Oxfam International's domestic programmes[83] in 2001 (Bennett, 2002). Firstly, it was a response to the growing conviction that poverty was caused by systemic issues and should be understood from a truly global perspective. Secondly, Oxfam had much it could contribute from its global experience to addressing the interconnected issues of poverty, hunger and marginalisation faced by communities in the US. Finally, it was a response to the accusation of inconsistency by southern partners.

> *Our partners in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean have urged us to tackle the parallel problems of poverty and hunger in the United States. They have correctly insisted that hunger and poverty are global, that they affect people even in the North and that the root causes of hunger and poverty are*

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[82] Ray Offenheiser became Executive Director in 1996 and continues in the post to-date.
[83] Representatives of Oxfam Community Aid Abroad (Australia), Intermon Oxfam (Spain), Novib Oxfam Netherlands, Oxfam America, Oxfam Canada, Oxfam Hong Kong, Oxfam GB and Oxfam International attended the seminar, 13-15 June 2001.

shared by people of the North and South. (Hammock and Hirschland, 1992, p. 1)[84]

The programme establishment was made possible by a donation from a major donor who, after hearing from the Executive Director that they were thinking about starting a US programme, agreed to a large donation to endow the start up (Hammock, 2010). Early work of the OA domestic programme funded civil rights organisations around issues of access to income and jobs (Sinclair, 2012). By 2009 12% of total OA programme expenditure was on the US domestic programme, decreasing to 9% in 2010 (see Table 5.1) with work in the four states of Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina on the Decent Work Programme, post-Katrina Gulf State Recovery and anti-poverty work.

5.4.2 Supporting the hypothesis

The evidence from the OA case study very clearly demonstrates a link between the organisation's theory of poverty, development ethic and considerations of NDNGO futures and institutional practices with the decision to establish a domestic poverty programme. In this section, the evidence is assessed and the argument made that the current domestic programme is also constrained by the institutional practices of funding, communications and organisational identity and the idea of 'impact' in planning for the future.

The OA domestic programme is unequivocal in its explicit use of the word 'poverty'. As noted above, the original rationale for the programme was a belief that the systemic forces that caused global poverty and hunger were the same worldwide. This is reflected in the vision of the domestic programme, managed by the US Regional Office (USRO), which identifies globalisation as one of the causes of poverty.

> *Poor rural communities [will] meet the challenges posed by a rapidly changing global economy with strategies that enable them to be the authors of their own future. Rural communities are able to access the means for sustainable livelihoods and actively participate in policy design and implementation, while preserving the values and traditions of their culture.* (Oxfam America, 2010e)

The inter-connectedness of global poverty is highlighted in OA's research report *A State of Fear: Human rights abuses in North Carolina's tobacco industry* (2011c), which

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[84] This was the draft discussion document by the OA Executive Director, John Hammock, which outlined the purpose of the new programme, March 1992.

draws attention to the fact that most workers are undocumented migrants from Mexico driven by their own need to earn enough to provide for their families in Mexico but now facing violations of their rights to fair wages, safe working conditions, adequate housing and collective bargaining. The report concludes with a call for more than just legislative reform but a 'fundamental restructuring of the exploitative industrial structure that denies tobacco farmworkers the most basic rights' (Oxfam America, 2011c, p. 5). The multiple-dimensions of poverty visible in the US are highlighted in the *Louisiana Human Development Report 2009*, which was commissioned by OA and the Louisiana Disaster Recovery Foundation in a highly symbolic move to apply the UN's Human Development Index for the first time in the US (Burd-Sharps et al., 2009). The report uses three indicators of human development in Louisiana: a long and healthy life; access to knowledge and a decent standard of living and shows the realities of poverty from the experience of people struggling with economic, social, legal and environmental problems following the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. The report's findings point to the significance of Hurricane Katrina in the OA domestic programme beyond Katrina itself and illustrate how it was able to make visible and operationalize its theory of poverty and development ethic through its response.

> *Americans were shocked by images of poverty and racial segregation in August 2005, but it is important to keep in mind that sharp disparities similar to those laid bare by Katrina are hiding in plain sight across the United States.* (Burd-Sharps et al., 2009, p. 8)

The systemic causes of poverty are the constitutive element of OA's theory of poverty, which are mobilised through its domestic programme and form the common thread throughout the data.

For the first nine years, the OA domestic programme was very modest in size giving approximately 30 grants each year across 16 US states with a budget of just under US$1 million by 2001 (Oxfam America, 2002). The programme focus shifted in 2001, along with the whole of OA's and Oxfam International's programming to that of a rights-based approach (Oxfam America, 2002, Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003) but it was not until Hurricane Katrina struck on August 2005 that the domestic programme became publicly visible. Before Katrina the annual budget had remained at approximately US$1 million with five staff working on the programme. This rapidly increased to 15 staff and a budget of US$3.5 million immediately after the Hurricane (Sinclair, 2012). Partners in Louisiana and Mississippi overwhelmed the USRO with

phone calls asking for assistance after the shock of witnessing the US government's 'chaotic' struggle to respond (Strom, 2006). The additionality OA brought to the response utilised its international experience.[85]

> *Oxfam staffers knew from our work in other emergencies that poor people are more vulnerable to disaster, but many Americans were watching their TVs and learning that lesson for the first time. Poverty is not just about lack of money, but about people's basic human rights being respected. And unfortunately, the rights of the people in the Gulf Coast were trampled on.* (Greenfield, 2010, p. 353)

A brief analysis of OA's development ethic also provides evidence of how the domestic programme made this visible, making it possible to map the OA development ethic throughout the data. Justice and rights are the most important 'ends' of development and ethical 'means' of development require a more sustainable response than service delivery. This also presents NDNGOs with the dilemma of how to most effectively communicate this difference to supporters.

> *Sometimes it isn't as easy as digging a well. Sometimes we must confront the deeper injustices that make it diff cult for poor communities to secure their rights to sink that well* (Oxfam America, 2007).

The data demonstrates what ethical development 'means' for a NDNGO look like. In doing so, it also projects a profile of a future role for NDNGOs. This is spelt out in arguing for a move to rights-based approaches and reflected in reports on work in the Gulf Coast post-Katrina and on the Decent Work Programme (Offenheiser and Holcombe, 2003). OA works with others to exert pressure on duty-bearers, through research and campaigns, to fulfil their obligations to rights-holders. For example, the post-Katrina report *Forgotten Communities, Unmet Promises*, says:

> *Making sure the billions designated for recovery benefit the region's most vulnerable communities remains a matter of political will. Action can and must be taken immediately.*(Pipa, 2006, p. 2)

Reporting on the impact of climate change on vulnerable communities in Louisiana OA says:

> *Your elected government officials need to hear from you. Vulnerable communities will suffer disproportionately from the impacts of climate change-related impacts and disasters. Here are ways that local, state, and national policymakers can take urgent action...* (Oxfam America, 2009a, p. 18)

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[85] OA partners from Bangladesh also visited Louisiana after Hurricane Katrina and reported that many issues of vulnerability were the same (Sinclair, 2012).

Noteworthy is the inclusion of the private sector as a key duty bearer, alongside government. Work to improve wages and working conditions for farm workers in Florida involves campaigning with companies such as Burger King and food service company Compass Group to implement fair wages (Oxfam America, 2009b, Oxfam America, 2010a). Likewise, the campaign to improve working conditions for North Carolina's tobacco farm workers calls for a 'new industry-wide approach that holds companies that control the industry accountable for industry conditions' (Oxfam America, 2011c, p. 8). The Strategic Review of the domestic programme in November 2010 assesses 'partner campaign wins' with companies Taco Bell, McDonalds, Sodexho and Bon Appetit (Oxfam America, 2010e). Thus 'ethical' development practice focuses on campaigning on root causes as well as on the 'sending stuff' (Hammock, 2010, p. 206) of humanitarianism. Echoing this approach, the publication celebrating the 40th anniversary of Oxfam America is called *Change not Charity* (Roper, 2010).

The above shows the domestic programme assisting OA's response to the dilemma of how to align its practice as an NDNGO to the message 'one world, one problem' (Hammock and Hirschland, 1992) and holding duty bearers to account. What is also evident from the data is that considerations of the appropriate future for a NDNGO and institutional practices have also constrained and challenged the domestic programme. The study argues here that the interconnected debates around funding, impact, innovation and framing are fundamental to the domestic programme's and OA's future. It has already been noted that one of OA's first founding principles was to maintain funding independence from government. This continues to be the case for the domestic programme.[86] However, USRO Director notes that with 40% of domestic programme income from Trusts and Foundations and 60% from individual giving, the programme needs to have a more robust engagement with the public to broaden this support and grow the constituency beyond Foundations and wealthy individuals. Fundraising for the programme is 'tough' (Sinclair, 2012) and it has not been possible to raise sufficient restricted funds to achieve programme impact despite the USRO Director spending 30% of his time on fundraising (Oxfam America, 2010e). This is fundamentally linked to the

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[86] As of September 2014. Although the Annual Report for 2013 shows no income from government grants, it does show 2.4% of contract income (Oxfam America 2014, p. 18). It is unclear whether any of these are government contracts.

need to change the way the domestic programme frames and communicates its message about inequalities, but this would require more than one dedicated Policy Officer. An example of how difficult it can be to carry consistent messaging 'across borders' is the sensitivity of discussing inequalities of race and ethnicity in the US, despite working on issues of ethnic conflict in places such as Sudan (Sinclair, 2012).

The framing issue, as noted with Hurricane Katrina, presents the domestic programme with both opportunities and challenges. On the one hand it enables OA to extrapolate global understandings from local events, which receive high profile media attention. However, the domestic programme's profile, despite original intentions, is still perceived as 'under the bushel' (Sinclair, 2012) due to mixed messaging around OA's organisational identity. Is it a global agency or is it an international aid and humanitarian organisation, which raises funds in the US and spends them overseas? This question about the organisation's identity potentially undermines the domestic programme.

> *Oxfam [America] needs to engage in the debate about our mandate. We have global development discourses which look at the causes of poverty – but that stops at the borders edge – we don't bring it home. Oxfam can bring its freshness and innovative approach to this. We have a high comfort level dealing with people who think differently to ourselves, we all care.* (Sinclair, 2012)

This is not to suggest that there is a simple binary choice to be made between long-term development work and humanitarian response. OA has been full circle in its attitude to humanitarian work from early ambivalence to limited acceptance and the full establishment of the Humanitarian Response Department in 2002 (Van Raalten and Roper, 2010). However, the ideal of not raising funds for disasters, recalling the early founding principles of OA, is dominant throughout the data. The concept of a continuum between advocacy, development and relief work is used in 1992 to explain the dynamic between these areas of work in which a humanitarian intervention becomes the entry point for agency work which then moves into development and advocacy (Hammock and Hirschland, 1992, p. 28). This concept prefigures the Hurricane Katrina response by USRO in 2005. However, it is made quite clear that the substantive focus should be development work, as relief and service provision is not part of OA's mandate.

> *In some circumstances, responding to felt needs through relief work is an effective way to establish credibility and to begin development work; however, beginning with development work is preferred.* (Hammock and Hirschland,

1992, p. 29)

The determination to be innovative is tangible in OA's 2006 Annual Report, using self-consciously corporate sector terminology to distance itself from 'development' language.

> *Innovation. Thinking big. Thinking strategically. This is what underpins successful entrepreneurial endeavours. Prof t-making ventures like start-up companies have long fostered edgy, creative innovators, while development organisations were supposedly home to good-hearted, earnest workhorses. We think it's time to raise the bar and update some stereotypes. Time for new ideas*. (Oxfam America, 2007, p. 1)

The ambivalence expressed here towards the caricatured 'development organisation' echoes the founding ethos of OA. This idea is mobilised in the discussion document for the domestic programme in which the 'niche' role envisaged for the domestic programme is modelling innovative and hopeful development alternatives (Hammock and Hirschland, 1992, p. 30).

The domestic programme's multi-stakeholder initiative (MSI) under the Decent Work theme is a good example of the way the programme is constantly required to negotiate its existence within the constraints and demands of funding, framing, impact and innovation. Its starting point is the need to claim resource, leading to scaling-up and demonstrating the impact of the domestic programme's work. The MSI involves working as a social actor alongside partners with shared goals, rather than a grant-funding model (Oxfam America, 2010e).

> *We will, for example, meet with 80 of CostCo's strawberry growers in Dallas next month – if we were to be able to ensure decent working conditions and pay with 50% of these – that is 'sweet spot stuff'. The impact we want is to create a project that can grow and grow and get market share*. (Sinclair, 2012)

The MSI aims to bring together a group of cross-sectoral actors such as NGOs, growers, farm labour groups and food companies to adopt standards, which will both improve the supply of fresh fruit and vegetables and the conditions for farm workers. This is the 'carrot' approach to the 'stick' of campaigning (Oxfam America, 2010e). The initiative's ability to link this work with the growing consumer interest in fair food brings together the four considerations of innovation, impact, funding and framing, referred to as 'sweet spot stuff' (Sinclair, 2012). The implications of this work for the understanding of value-added are further elaborated in Chapter 6.

The four-part hypothesis is supported by the OA case study. The organisation's theory of poverty and its development ethic were, given the evidence here, clearly instrumental in the decision to establish the USRO domestic programme in 1992. This rationale was further strengthened with OA's adoption of a rights-based approach to programming in 2001 and the OA response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005 through which these theories could be illustrated and explained. In addition, there is evidence that considerations of what a future NDNGO should and could be and do were important to the initial case for a domestic programme and its on-going justification, especially after the formation of Oxfam International and the Humanitarian Response Department. However, despite the original idea for the domestic programme to be a concrete expression of 'one, world, one problem', the tensions around organisational identity and framing communications have kept its profile low leading to concerns that understandings of poverty 'stop at the borders' edge'(Sinclair, 2012).

5.4.3 Beyond the hypothesis

This section argues that having observed the familiar patterns of the four-part hypothesis, the OA case study nevertheless reveals a distinctive set of underpinning dynamics when the analytical tools of *habitus*, domain, *doxa* and third-dimensional or symbolic power are used. The domestic programme, from this perspective, carries the legacy of the original ambition of OA in the 1970s to challenge the sector and do development differently, moving to what the study refers to as a 'ruptured domain model'. This potential was recognised after Hurricane Katrina, with OA Executive Director predicting that the OA response could 'change the face of Oxfam America' (Offenheiser cited in Strom, 2006). InterAction's President reflected a similar idea, saying:

> *The issue is, can the mandate change in some way to stop this sort of differentiation between global action and domestic action...We need to erase the line between the two so our resources can be used in a truly global way.* (Akhter cited in Strom, 2006)

The *habitus* of OA sits at the intersection of humanitarian and development work, although the relative weight given to each type of work has been different throughout periods of OA's history. Its *habitus* in this 'space' is maintained through the cumulative effects of its theory of poverty (specifically understandings of its causes), development ethic, concern for its future as a NDNGO and institutional practices (especially funding, communications and organisational identity). Each element of this matrix of

179

considerations either pushes or pulls at the boundaries between humanitarian and development work, as illustrated in Figure 5.3. The push towards humanitarian work is undertaken by the institutional practices of funding, governance and communications as the organisation realises that it must engage with humanitarian work to meet the expectations of its donors, its affiliates in Oxfam International and the need to utilise the 'opportunity' of humanitarian crises to frame messages to its supporters about poverty, vulnerability and resilience (Van Raalten and Roper, 2010, Greenfield, 2010). The organisation's theory of poverty and development ethic tend to push more towards development work with their focus on systemic injustices and long term solutions.

Figure 5.3 Oxfam America: dynamics of the habitus

Development work
- theory of poverty - systemic causes
- development ethic - long term solutions

Humanitarian work
- institutional practices-funding, governance & communication
- NDNGO futures - pragmatic cross-domain approach
- development ethic

However, there is also an acknowledgement that NDNGOs need to work pragmatically and with more nuanced understandings and expertise across different domains (Van Raalten and Roper, 2010, Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010). This recognition is observed in the 'push' factor of the development ethic towards humanitarian work in its consideration of what are the ethical 'means' of development. This can also be conceptualised as a response to the question about appropriate NDNGO futures. The OA data generally tends to envision a future in which humanitarian and development work sit alongside and synergise with each other. The domestic programme data, however, tends to highlight the tension between these two areas of work and 'push' more towards development. Thus, competing visions for OA's future are observed at work within the domestic programme in which the relationship between the domains of development and humanitarianism are different. As mentioned before, the domestic programme perpetuates the early OA legacy of challenging the international development sector and the assumptions of its *doxa*. It poses questions about the

purpose and geographic spaces in which the domain of international development operates.

If international development work undertaken by NDNGOs is currently conceived as a combination of development and humanitarian work, the data suggests that the OA domestic programme consciously ruptures this understanding in order to work as a 'global agency' and 'change the value proposition' (Sinclair, 2012). The programme mobilises third-dimensional power to challenge and re-shape perceptions about the work a NDNGO undertakes. This work is undertaken by careful re-framing of debates and issues. There is evidence that re-framing work is partly driven by the need to build new constituencies of support, activism and finance in the current programme (Sinclair, 2012, Oxfam America, 2010e) and at its conception.

> ..the program must be designed strategically with great attention given to the symbolic value of the groups and activities being funded. The choices should emphasize the connections between the structural causes of poverty and hunger in the North and South. (Hammock and Hirschland, 1992, p. 25)

However, the research suggests that this is also part of two wider debates. The first is about the most effective, appropriate and ethical way for NDNGOs to undertake 'development interventions' in the future. The second debate asks what is the ultimate purpose or 'end' of international development: for what and for whom does it work? In other words, OA's domestic programme functions to re-work the development ethic and re-shape the domain of international development, disputing its *doxa*. Figure 5.4 illustrates the *ruptured domain model* in which the work of international development shifts from a two-part model, balancing development with humanitarian work, to a model in which international development is about *comprehensive social action.* By situating itself in the new domain of comprehensive social action, the domestic programme challenges the organisational *habitus* of OA, currently located in the two-part domain. Thus, there is a rupture between the organisational *habitus* and the domestic programme. This echoes the starting point of the domestic programme, articulated as a belief that 'the separation of poverty and hunger into domestic and international components is no longer valid' (Hammock and Hirschland, 1992, p. 1). The domestic programme, therefore, mobilises symbolic third-dimensional power to re-shape understandings, practices and, therefore, OA's organisational *habitus* and the domain in which it works. This is further evidence of the dynamic generative nature of the *habitus* (Lizardo, 2004).

Figure 5.4 Oxfam America's domestic programme habitus: *Ruptured domain model*
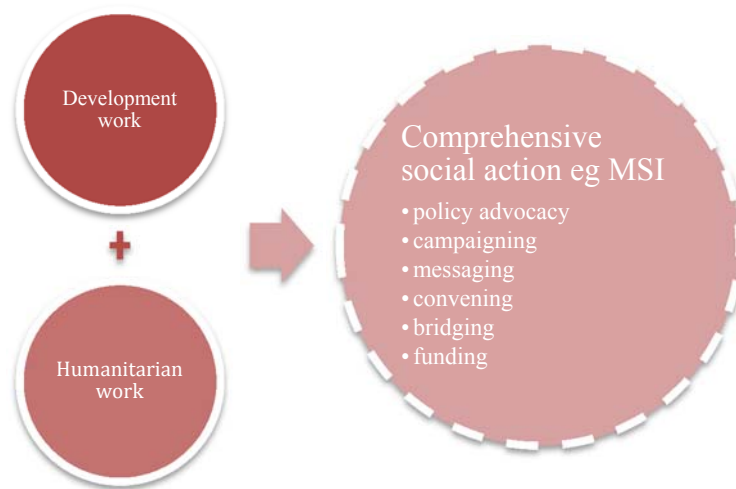
The vision of comprehensive social action, made explicit by the domestic programme, ruptures the existing international development domain and re-shapes it in a new space.

5.4.4 Findings

In assessing the rationale for the Oxfam America domestic programme, not only the elements of the original hypothesis are observed, but a differently configured set of relationships between the organisational *habitus*, the domains in which it works and the domestic programme. This brings forward new questions to be asked about the domain of international development, challenging previously unspoken assumptions.

Firstly, the analysis finds that making visible the systemic causes of poverty has always been a foundational principal of OA and this ambition continues to drive its portfolio of work, including the domestic programme. Secondly, the issues of ethical practice and what an effective NDNGO will do in the future have overlapped in this case study with these debates running throughout OA history. This is particularly the case on the question of whether or not to raise funds for humanitarian work or to have a humanitarian programme. Thirdly, the domestic programme rationale has been grounded in debates around impact but also constrained by them. Pragmatic considerations of donor funding, framing and Oxfam International strategy required humanitarian work to take a higher profile, blurring organisational identity between development and humanitarian work. Finally, whereas the OA *habitus* is situated between the domains of development and humanitarian work, the domestic programme

conceptualises and models its location in a different domain, that of 'comprehensive social action'. This is an intentional strategic act to offer an alternative vision for the international development domain, which also disrupts the *doxa.*

5.5 Conclusion

These three small NDNGO case studies in Denmark, the UK and the US, including the 'single-issue' organisation of Red Barnet and a faith-based organisation, Islamic Relief, have provided further insights into the central research question: how, why and with what implications do NDNGOs work with the poor in their own communities through domestic programmes? They have assisted in exploring the hypothesis set out in Chapter 2 and analysed further in Chapter 4, addressing the first five research objectives. In addition they have used the concepts of *habitus,* domain, *doxa* and third-dimensional power to analyse the empirical data for fuller more nuanced understandings of these domestic programmes and their function within the overall portfolio of programmes of Islamic Relief, Red Barnet and Oxfam America. Each case provides evidence towards a response to the final research objective, which asks whether domestic programmes are an indication of a new domain of development.

As with the case of OGB's UK Poverty Programme, the chapter finds that what appears to be a decision to establish a new programme (or, in the case of RB, to continue an existing programme) has much wider significance for understandings of the organisational *habitus* and the domains in which they operate. In the case of IR, a *multiple-domain model* characterises the organisational *habitus* in which three domains, in a constant state of tension and flux, co-exist and lend authority, credibility and legitimacy to IR's work. The dynamics between each of the domains are determined by the constitutive elements of the theory of poverty, development ethic, concerns about NDNGO futures and institutional practices. In some situations the role of the Islamic belief and practice domain is expanded (fundraising via zakat), and at others the domain of international development (moving to rights-based programming, for example) is prioritised. The analysis refers to this as 'boundary work'. The domestic programme of IR sits comfortably within this *habitus* and does not challenge the domains of international development, Islamic belief and practice and the UK Muslim diaspora communities. The *doxic* universe is only re-shaped to the extent that IR, as a faith-based organisation, brings questions of religious belief and practice into the secular domain of international development. The boundary work of the programme, thus largely works to

maintain the three domains. In fact, the empirical data points to these three domains as the underpinning rationale for the domestic programme, leading to the question as to why, with so much supporting rationale, the programme is not more extensive.

The case of Red Barnet allows an exploration of an organisational *habitus*, which is nested in the two domains of the domestic children's sector (in which the state is very active) and international development. Due to the single-issue nature of its work with children, there is no contradiction or conflict between these two domains, rather, one sits within the other. The domestic programme is at the heart of and inseparable from RB's total portfolio of work. It is not perceived as an anomaly as the programme was the founding purpose of the organisation in 1945. Thus there is no friction between the *habitus* of the domestic programme and that of the organisation as a whole. The challenges of fundraising for the programme are largely located in current debates in Denmark about the poverty threshold and some public resistance to subjective understandings of poverty that may include marginalisation as a result of sexual abuse or bullying. The chapter highlights the fact that in this *nested domain model* the RB domestic programme has not needed to mobilise third-dimensional power to change and re-shape perceptions, with the exception of public understandings of the prevalence of poverty in Denmark, rather its boundary work has maintained the shape and space of the domains in which it operates, without challenge or disruption to the *doxa* of either domain.

The case of Oxfam America assists the analysis in illustrating the extent of the boundary work undertaken by considerations of organisational identity and NDNGO futures. The work of these dimensions of the hypothesis is observed firstly in the on-going debates about OA's identity as both a development and humanitarian agency. Secondly, in the OA domestic programme these same dimensions shape the domestic programme *habitus*, locating it in a different domain to that of the current organisational *habitus,* which it challenges. Thus through considerations of the identity and future of OA, the domestic programme activities and approach have actively reconfigured a new *habitus* which sits more appropriately in the domain of 'comprehensive social action' rather than of international development or humanitarian work. This *ruptured domain model* demonstrates the empirical finding that the OA domestic programme sits within a new domain of 'comprehensive social action', distinct from that of international development and humanitarian work. The domain of comprehensive social action

avoids the bifurcation between the domestic and international arenas of action, characteristic of the international development domain, thus disrupting its *doxic* universe. The case of OA also provides further evidence of *habitus* as a dynamic generative force as well as structuring (Lizardo, 2004).

Having extrapolated from these case studies three different explanatory models as to why, how and with what implications NDNGOs work with the poor in their own communities through domestic programmes, the next chapter returns to the OGB data and uses these understandings to address the final three research objectives: What does this mean for the future role and work of Oxfam GB and other northern development NGOs? Does this indicate a new development ethic in which 'everyone matters'? Does this suggest a new domain of development? In considering these research objectives, Chapter 6 addresses directly the element of the research question, which looks for the wider implications of the domestic poverty programmes. It returns to the issue explored in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4.3) of 'added value', positing that the UKPP offers eight assets for OGB, modelling what a future NDNGO might look like.

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Chapter 6: NDNGO futures: UKPP as a working model

6.1 Introduction

This chapter uses new insights on NDNGO domestic programmes from the OGB case study in Chapter 4 and three smaller case studies in Chapter 5 to address the final three research objectives. It considers the implications of the analysis of the case studies for the future role of NDNGOs. In addition, it explores evidence of a distinct development ethic and a new domain of development, thus contributing understandings of the research question which asks not only about how and why domestic programmes are established, but the wider implications of this work for NDNGOs, development ethics and domains.

Previous chapters have examined and analysed the data from the OGB main case study and the case studies of Islamic Relief, Red Barnet and Oxfam America, testing and extending the working hypothesis of the four-part heuristic framework. In the light of the empirical evidence from the case studies, the study demonstrates that an organisation's theory of poverty, development ethic, institutional practice and considerations of their future, are associated with these domestic programmes. These are constitutive elements of the organisational *habitus*. However, the Oxfam GB case study has, for example, illustrated that the domestic programme was never a 'normal' country programme but was expected to deliver *added value* for OGB (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.3), particularly in the way it addressed issues of third-dimensional power such as the myths and symbols around appropriate roles for NDNGOs and SNGOs. The UKPP was, therefore, an acknowledgement of the need to adapt to critiques of NDNGO legitimacy and credibility. The programme also has the potential to disrupt OGB's *habitus* and accepted ideas about the nature of international development work.

Building on these insights, the smaller case studies offer different models of organisational *habitus* in which the domestic programmes sit. The organisational *habitus* of Islamic Relief is situated in dynamic tension between the multiple domains (or fields of practice) of Islamic belief, international development and the Muslim diaspora communities, which, in turn, provide the rationale for the Islamic Relief domestic programme. In the case of Red Barnet, the organisational *habitus* and domestic programme are 'nested' comfortably within the two domains of the Danish

children's sector and international development. The domestic programme offers no substantive challenge to either domain. The model provided by Oxfam America is in stark contrast, showing the domestic programme's uneasy fit at the nexus of the humanitarian and international development domains to the extent that the programme shows the potential to rupture the Oxfam America organisational *habitus* as it re-defines and frames the domain in which it works as comprehensive social action. The study has, therefore, addressed the first six research objectives.

Taking forward this understanding of organisational *habitus*, this chapter asks what might be the role and features of a future NDNGO. It provides further insights as to the challenges and anxieties faced by NDNGOs and how Oxfam GB's UKPP has responded to them. In doing so, it utilises OGB UKPP data from existing OGB staff, partners and stakeholders in the UK and India. First, the concept of 'added value' is introduced and its significance explored using the research data and scholarly literature. Secondly, eight features or 'assets' are identified in and drawn from the UKPP data, which provide added value for OGB and constitute a new organisational *habitus*. These assets illustrate what a future NDNGO might look like. These eight elements of added value are: intellectual consistency; the relationship between theory and practice; making visible a theory of poverty and power; highlighting the agency of the poor; neo-colonial distancing; civic rootedness; and early warning system for middle-income countries, and finally, a development ethic in which everyone matters.

Finally, the chapter explores the argument that this future working model indicates a new domain of development, which incorporates a broad, inclusive, non-binary and potentially disruptive notion of what 'development' is. As noted in Chapter 2, the question of the scope and domains of development is being re-thought (Cowen and Shenton, 1996, McMichael, 2008, Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012, Silvey and Rankin, 2010) but there is as yet little empirical data as to what this newly configured 'development' looks like when operationalized by development actors, such as NGOs. This chapter aims to make a contribution to this endeavour. It points to a possible rupture in our understanding of development and its domains and asks how a more holistic non-binary conception of development might be put into practice by NDNGOs who have to act (McCourt and Johnson, 2012). The chapter concludes by considering the implications of the working model of a future NDNGO situated in a new domain of development, arguing that, in this transformed context, a development ethic in which

'everyone matters' is an important asset. This moves understandings of development away from ideas of 'them and us', 'here and there', 'developed and developing'.

6.2 The significance of 'added value'

One of the common themes emerging from the data on NDNGO futures[87] and supported in the literature (Fowler and James, 1994, Jennings, 1995, Taylor, 1996, Gready, 2008), in the media (Smedley, 2014) and online fora (Ross, 2013) is that of 'added value'. The specific contributions and strengths of NDNGOs in the development process have been identified, for example, as helping maintain supportive Northern public constituencies (Fowler and James, 1994, p. 9) and circumventing corrupt governments (Shutt, 2009, p. 16). This understanding that NDNGOs need to demonstrate that their existence and work adds value in the process of development is rooted in their anxiety about their future role. In fact, this became a sub-code in the NGO futures coding family as illustrated in Table 6.1 below due to the notable frequency with which the term was used in interviews and in archive and corporate documentation. Thus concern about NDNGO futures becomes the context for the added value assets explored here.

Table 6.1 Quotations for NDNGO futures and sub-codes across all data source families

NDNGO futures	Small case study	OGB case study	India partners	UK partners	TOTAL
fut_impact	7	30	3	3	43
fut_legit	2	24	3	9	38
fut_local-global	3	20	1	2	26
fut_methods	1	45	1	26	73
fut_N-S rels	0	73	5	4	82
fut_role	13	63	9	0	85
fut_SNGO role	0	77	56	0	133
fut_value added	**5**	**32**	**0**	6	**43**
fut-Changing debate	4	24	2	1	31
TOTALS	**35**	**388**	**80**	**51**	**554**

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[87] See Chapter 4, section 4.4.3.

As the quotation from former OGB Chair, John Gaventa, suggests, recent thinking about the UKPP is situated within a context of its 'fit' within a future vision.

> *And there's a lot of rethinking of what's the changing role of NGOs, and that's where the really big thinking is going. How do we reposition ourselves in all of this? That's what's leading us to think about the Oxfam slogan being Be Humankind, it's we're all connected, it's not Oxfam helping poor people some place else.* (Gaventa, 2010)

Within the Oxfam GB case study, the concept of 'added value' is present throughout the data, particularly from existing Oxfam GB staff and internal archive documents from the 1990s. Its use and presence suggests an environment in which multiple actors are competing for funding and visibility and in which accountability is an important requirement. This leads to a sense of uncertainty and defensiveness in the organisation. It points to the functioning of types of institutional practice such as the use of language in communications and marketing that seek distinctiveness and visibility for the organisation. The perceived need to justify and provide a rationale for the existence of NDNGOs tends to lead to demonstrations of additionality.

The data from interviewees at OGB at Figure 6.1 illustrate the close association between the concept of 'added value' and OGB's accountability to the UK voluntary sector and its own staff.

> ### Figure 6.1 Added value and accountability
>
> *...where the debates come up is about what is Oxfam UK's added value in the UK when the voluntary sector is so diverse ... And so there are questions that occasionally come up which I think are legitimate questions, and we are in a financially tough time. What is the added value of this programme in the UK compared to the added value of the same amount of resources in another place?* (Gaventa, 2010)
>
> *...because we were a new entry to a very crowded civil society already so we wanted quite a decent length of time to just think what our added value really was and just get a sense of what as happening in terms of poverty in the UK.* (Smith, 2010)
>
> *I think that we have added value to the programme policy thinking. I think that they have a lot of time and respect for us. (Jarman, 2010)*

The concept is used in much earlier internal debates. See, for example, the statement from OGB India's Strategic Plan 1992 – 1995 (Oxfam India Trust, 1992b).

> Others are now funding small groups: this is no longer pioneering work. Unless therefore we can change our role and ourselves and by so doing add significant value to the work of our project partners, our future relevance is questionable.

In this extract, there is an implicit reference to Oxfam India's pioneering work in the Oxfam West Orissa Programme (OXWORP) in which a major innovation had been its work with grassroots people's organisations between 1976-1983. Interestingly, the document goes on to say…

> effective. With our limited resources we must look for ways of providing "added value" in favour of the poor. Just working at the grass roots', we believe, no longer provides sufficient added value to the wider processes of development in India.

This reveals apparently contradictory views of the value of 'grassroots' work by Oxfam India and OGB headquarters in their proposals for the UKPP. Grassroots work in India is perceived as lacking sufficient value and in the UK is promoted from the early 1990s onwards as 'adding value' to OGB's work. This indicates that 'added value' is being measured according to where OGB is working in a way that is unique and innovative. These tensions go to the heart of the rationale for working with the domestic poor via the UKPP. Is the programme part of a strategy for distinctiveness or is it a response to the search for new more appropriate and effective models of development intervention, ways of thinking and working? Or do the two underpinning rationales co-exist in tension?

Completing the Globe, a report commissioned by Oxfam International (Burrows, 2003) on the domestic programmes of Oxfam America, Oxfam Canada, Oxfam Community Aid Abroad (Australia), Oxfam GB, Oxfam Hong Kong and NOVIB Oxfam Netherlands sets out how the domestic programmes 'added value' in six key areas. Firstly, they provide a truly global analysis and understanding of the causes of poverty and injustice. Secondly, this provides the legitimacy, which is lacking without a view of poverty and injustice in their own society. Thirdly, Oxfam's policy positions are given greater authority when grounded in evidence from domestic programmes. Fourthly, the learning, which is shared between the South and the North, stimulates new ways of thinking and problem solving. Fifthly, the domestic programmes can support constituency and image building as Oxfam GB, for example, broadens its supporter base to reflect the greater diversity in the UK. Finally, Oxfam America in particular

provided evidence that a domestic programme can act as a platform for movement-building as civil society in both North and South act on common issues[88].

This study asks the same question in 2014 – what is the value-added that the UKPP provides for Oxfam GB now? So why is it important to ask this question again? There are three paradoxical answers to this. Firstly, that as real aid flows actually increased from 2000, NDNGOs in the development sector were faced with a choice; whether to stay within their comfort zone and work within the international development paradigm or whether to move towards the Fourth Position (Fowler, 2000b) and adopt the 'global civil society' paradigm (Edwards, 2008a, p. 45). Secondly, since the global financial crisis in 2007-8, scholars and NDNGOs have given more attention to imagining and planning for a future in a changing global environment, possibly without ODA, (Elbers and Schulpen, 2014, Jayawickrama, 2010). This has been framed as a search for alternatives in 'small 'd' development' (Mitlin et al., 2007). However, there are no empirical studies, which delineate the elements or assets of a future NDNGO from the perspective of domestic programmes or indeed consider these programmes as one of the range of 'alternative' futures for NDNGOs. Finally, as Oxfam GB restructures much of its operations (at the time of writing), the value of the UKPP is again open to scrutiny.

6.3 The dimensions of UKPP's added value
This section examines the case of the UKPP through the lens of 'value-added' and explores its multiple dimensions. It identifies eight dimensions, which can be considered as a range of assets. They constitute a potential new organisational *habitus* in response to the existential crisis of NDNGOs. Two of the elements of the provisional four-part hypothesis are assets in this framework: theory of poverty and development ethic. Institutional practices, as argued in Chapters 4 and 5, undertake the boundary work of maintaining or disrupting the elements of the *habitus*. The remaining element of the four-part hypothesis – anxiety about the future of NDNGOS – becomes the context of this framework of assets, which leads to the need to demonstrate added value. The chapter concludes with explicitly normative but empirically grounded suggestions as to what an NDNGO future might look like.

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[88] According to the *Completing the Globe* report, this was also the case for Oxfam Canada.

6.3.1 Intellectual consistency

The staff of Northern development NGOs are required on a regular basis to articulate what it is that their agency does and what makes it distinctive. This may be with institutional donors such as DFID and the EU, the media, peers in other development NGOs and with groups of volunteers or scholars. This activity can be a function of their fundraising, marketing or policy work but any perceived or actual inconsistencies in the way their work is articulated can be very uncomfortable for NGOs. Inconsistency can make NGOs vulnerable to accusations of straying from their stated values (Edwards et al., 1999) or insufficient transparency and accountability (Edwards and Hulme, 1996, Tandon, 1996, Jordan and Tuijl, 2006) and can lead to loss of credibility (Thaut et al., 2012). It is notable that Shutt (2009, p. 16) in her report of a meeting of large NDNGOs, lists ten perceived strengths of large NDNGOs and juxtaposes this with references to literature which has drawn attention to where reality has fallen short of the perceived strength.

This need for consistency emerges as a theme throughout the data collected for this study. It is highlighted by stakeholders and partners in India in the early debates on the UKPP as a vital element in maintaining the credibility of OGB in the eyes of its southern partners who wanted to see OGB taking the 'same risk' (Oxfam GB, 1995d) as they did working with the complexities and political dynamics of local communities and national and local government. One of the reasons for the UKPP being established was that 'there was an intellectual mismatch between talking about poverty as global and then not recognising it occurred in the UK' (Wareing, 2010). Analysis within Oxfam GB just after the programme was established supports this. The Policy Department Annual Report for 1995-96, for example, highlights as a key issue under its 'Risks and Threats' section that 'there is a growing critique of Northern NGOs relating to their performance, accountability and transparency, and their failure to learn lessons'. In this context the UK Poverty Programme was identified as an opportunity for a 'more creative approach to poverty as a global issue' (Oxfam GB, 1996b).

A graphic illustration of how inconsistency of approach in different parts of the world is seen to impact on people living in poverty is given by one of the UKPP partner beneficiaries.

> *...if you live in an area where you've got a water meter and you've got four kids and you run out of money for the water meter you run out of water, you can't flush your toilets, you can't wash your kids till you get your next pay cheque or*

192

whatever, you can't bathe your kids, you can't wash their clothes, and people look at you and go, 'Dirty cow. ... She probably smokes too much and drinks too much and wastes the money. [89]

If you lived up a mountain in Kurdistan and have no water you would be a victim of poverty. If you're living in Northwest England and that happens to you, you're a bad person. (Roberts, 2010)

By making use of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) as a framework for research and analysis among impoverished communities in the UK, Oxfam GB demonstrates that SLA 'is as relevant within a rich (yet unequal) Northern country as it is in poorer Southern countries' (May et al., 2009, p. 5). It also enables people, by considering the assets pentagon[90], to conceive of the world as interconnected. The link between the woman judged as a 'dirty cow' (the undeserving poor) and the woman in Kurdistan is made explicit. An Oxfam GB UK partner working in a rural community comments that working with Oxfam allowed her community to 'set what we were doing here with the farms in the global context' (Anon., 2010a). For organisations whose performance is often assessed against their values, being able to demonstrate that 'you practice what you preach' is an asset to development NGOs and another dimension of consistency. This is what de Vries refers to as the 'double bind' of the dynamic between people's desires for a better future and organisational practice (2008, p. 152). One UK partner describes how the tensions between the need to empower low paid women and the male-dominated hierarchy in the trade union movement became tangible when the women proposed to share the results of their participatory research into the impact of low pay on women's lives via a game show format at the Scottish Parliament. Despite the discomfort of the situation, Oxfam GB had emphasised the need 'to do the change you want to see' (Hunter, 2010). This insistence had both severely challenged existing gendered behaviours within the trade union movement and enhanced Oxfam's reputation and credibility for consistency between practice and theory. *The demonstration of intellectual consistency is, therefore, a key asset for Oxfam GB.*

6.3.2 Relationship between theory and practice

An extension of intellectual consistency is an ability to demonstrate the interplay between theory and practice. Scholars have commented on the lack of engagement by

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[89] An Oxfam staff member has pointed out that this is factually incorrect as water is not disconnected in these circumstances.
[90] The assets pentagon defines five assets: human, social, physical, financial and public/natural.

NGOs with the issue of development itself and recommended this be rectified (Mitlin et al., 2007). The research observes in the UKPP a conscious effort for its practice to engage directly with theory, specifically about the nature of development. The programme tested the application of the SLA in a range of different contexts in the UK, throwing up varied challenges for practice at each stage. It started with work in Thornaby and Stockton on Tees, partnering Church Action on Poverty (CAP), to research the assets of 24 low-income households. Oxfam and CAP employees undertook the research in this pilot SLA project. It concluded that the approach can 'uncover the reality of life for people experiencing poverty, the strategies they used to get by on a daily basis, and the opportunities they had to move towards a more sustainable future' (May *et al* 2006: 8). But it also threw up the challenge of 'what next?' for these households and Oxfam GB began working with a local partner on projects to address some of the issues identified in the research, such as the high interest rates charged on household goods by the company Buy As You View (Church Action on Poverty, 2010) . One interviewee involved in this study described the way SLA research had helped people's confidence and ability to stand outside their own lives to identify the ways they cope.

> *...he went to Buy As You View and asked them pertinent questions about what they were doing. And it was marvellous to see it. ...he just sat there. He didn't shout, he didn't scream, just sat there and asked them* (Browne, 2010)

 In Cardiff, the SLA tool was tested using researchers from community organisations within two very different urban communities: one predominantly white working class and the other largely Asian with residents of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Afghani and Yemeni heritage. The research illustrated 'the link between poverty, unmanageable debt and mental ill health' (Bull et al., 2008, p. 8) and made recommendations to policy makers. It also demanded, in the words of one of the community leaders, 'some pay back into the community. Somehow this information has got to find a way back, it's got to do something' (Herbert, 2010). This sense of 'what next?' for the community led to the development of a board game with the University of Glamorgan which became a visual representation of the research findings and helped people identify strategies for 'making ends meet' and solutions for their households and communities. [91]

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[91] The University of Glamorgan worked with a games designer on a prototype game which was then used in the focus group user workshops and the process filmed (McElroy, 2014).

Similar research into livelihood strategies in London and the Peak District by two different Oxfam GB partners stretched the application of SLA further. In London people living in poverty were trained as peer researchers and found it could be used as a tool for family support as people looked at the positives in their lives. The research findings included not only how resilient people were in managing their complex lives but that these findings could be used to create a better understanding of poverty among service-providers, practitioners and policy-makers. It was used, for example, in the training of new social workers (ATD Fourth World, 2008, Roberts, 2010). The research in the Peak District tested the application of SLA in a rural setting, training facilitators with a farming background to work with farming families. As a tool for getting busy farmers to talk about their lives SLA was found to be effective, helping people to look beyond the everyday struggle (Peak District Rural Deprivation Forum, 2004). The ability to demonstrate and make visible the relationship between theory and practice is, therefore, an asset for of the UKPP, which with the other seven dimensions suggests a new organisational *habitus*.

6.3.3 Making visible a theory of poverty as powerlessness

Analysis of literature in Chapter 2 demonstrates the changing conception, within scholarly literature and within the NGOs themselves, of the actual work NDNGOs should do to the extent that those who do not make these changes are predicted to 'go to the wall' (Edwards et al., 1999). Should they, for example, see themselves as a bridge between other sectors of society, negotiating and facilitating for citizen rights (Fowler, 2000b, Banks et al., 2013) or move away from direct delivery of projects, services, relief and development interventions towards advocacy (Rugendyke and Ollif, 2007)?

However, evidence suggests that these changes are difficult to implement without the funding of a supportive and engaged public who understand the work of the NDNGO and its context. Conceptions of what poverty is and what causes it are part of this understanding (Derksen and Verhallen, 2008). Hulme, for example argues that a major challenge for the development community is now to 'fully examine the ways in which American civil society and media understand and relate to the problems of poorer people and the developing world' (2008, p. 341). This is not to say that it is only *public*

understandings of poverty that present challenges for changing NGOs. A study of Australian NGO advocacy, for example, describes the way in which *internal* NGO tensions are grounded in two different views of poverty: caused by endogenous factors and exploitative power relations (Rugendyke and Ollif, 2007, p. 30). That NGO behaviour is influenced, although not entirely controlled, by prevailing discourses and understandings of concepts such as 'poverty' and 'change' is also demonstrated by Shutt's study (2009) of big international NGOs or BINGOs and Ebrahim's study of two NGOs in India (2005).

The need to re-shape internal and public conceptions of poverty was recognised by Oxfam GB organising the Assembly in 1994. The agenda was structured around three questions which formed the basis of discussions: 'what is poverty and what are its causes?' 'what should Oxfam do?' 'should Oxfam have a poverty programme in the UK?'(Oxfam GB, 1994a). NGOs have been criticised for a lazy approach to educating their public, relying too heavily for fundraising and advocacy on simplistic emotional responses to sick or starving children during natural disasters and not investing sufficiently in building up support for longer-term change (Biddle, 1984 cited in Lewis, 2007b, p. 199, Scott, 2001, Edwards and Gaventa, 2001). Child sponsorship programmes have been specifically singled out for criticism (Edwards et al., 1999) as they can too easily suggest to donors that there is a real emotional bond with a specific child rather than with their whole community and that the £5 regular contribution is the key to changing their life. Thus an ability to demonstrate the non-economic dimensions of poverty can create understandings among NDNGO constituencies that will provide them with the support they need in advocating for long-term structural change. Fundamentally, NDNGOs need to tell the 'right story' (Edwards, 2008b, p. 9).

Oxfam's theory of poverty has been remarkably stable for the past three decades, demonstrated by the following from an internal Oxfam memo about the programme in West Orissa, India: 'Poverty… is social, economic and structural (Political) powerlessness' (Alderson, 1979) and from an interview given by the CEO: 'Poverty is about power and politics' (Renton, 2013). One of the most conspicuous ways in which it demonstrates its theory of poverty is to make visible the non-economic dimensions of poverty through its work in the UK, challenging notions of absolute poverty which are common (Griffiths et al., 2006, Oxfam GB, nd.-a). The UKPP makes its theory of

poverty as powerlessness visible in action and is able to demonstrate this approach much more clearly than Oxfam GB can do in a developing country context, as issues of resilience, power and opportunity are not hidden or overwhelmed by the issue of basic needs (Wareing, 2010).

From an Indian partner perspective, the ability of OGB to tell the 'right story' about poverty and power is located very clearly and consistently in their expectations of how civil society as a whole should engage with the duty bearers of the state and the private sector (Panda and Mishra, 2011, Das, 2010). Their capacity to exploit their location in the global north and to speak with credibility and understanding of the dynamics of poverty beyond its economic dimensions in their own communities, is vital if OGB is to hold governments and international organisations to account effectively. Section 6.3.5 below assesses the significance of this approach to poverty and power to relations with SNGO partners.

The relationship of powerlessness to poverty is made explicit in the UKPP's work with partners who apply Community Organising principles. These principles were mentioned explicitly in a number of interviews in the UK (Cooper, 2010, Browne, 2010, Jarman, 2010, Hunter, 2010) and its methods observed in a workshop meeting attended as part of this study. The Thornaby partner shows how the rich and detailed information about people's lives and problems is more likely to be elicited from SLA research than tick-box polling or a local action plan. It then becomes the basis for action based on Community Organising principles. The SLA household research thus becomes the 'relational meeting' of Community Organising, eliciting 'stories that open a window into the passions that animate people to act' (Chambers, 2003, p. 44 cited in Bunyan, 2010, p. 113). This was, for example, how the campaign to pressurise Buy as You View on its interest rates and repayment practices began. In the first instance the issue on which there was significant community anger for action was identified (Browne, 2010) and then advocacy work achieved improvements in services from the local Financial Inclusion Forum (Church Action on Poverty, 2009).

A theme throughout the work of four of the UKPP partners was community organising techniques. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of this phenomenon which has

its roots in the work of Alinsky (1971) and has become prominent in the UK particularly with the successes of the London Living-Wage campaign (Bunyan, 2010). However, interview data (Bronstein, 2010) and recent OGB publications (Green, 2008c, Green, 2010) suggest this is a methodology in which OGB have considerable interest. This supports the observation that most transformative 'alternative development' projects have involved broad based movements with many societal actors, beyond NGOs (Mitlin et al., 2007). UK partners, such as Thrive of Thornaby, who used community organising techniques, made the identification of where power lies the first step in any campaign. Describing how the campaign to reduce the interest rates of the rent-to-own company Buy as You View, succeeded in meeting with and agreeing to work with the company CEO, a community organiser says:

> *… then you say, 'What's our demand?' Well, their self- interest is to have customers stay on for longer, and ours is for them to be paying less. So let's get into the real world, and let's just not being moral about it, and say we hate them. They're not our best buddies but we're gonna cut a deal with them, and that's what we've done.* (Browne, 2010)

Non-economic dimensions of poverty and its relationship with powerlessness are the focus of most UKPP partner work. For example, exclusion from decision-making is highlighted in the work of UKPP partner, Church Action on Poverty, in participatory budgeting in Manchester, Salford and Birmingham (Hall, 2005). The centrality of dignity and voice to work with people experiencing poverty is vividly brought to life by ATD Fourth World's programme *The Roles We Play.* This exhibition explores identities beyond their poverty such as human rights activist, poet and campaigner (ATD Fourth World, 2010). UNISON Scotland's work with women on a fair pay campaign enabled low-paid women to campaign for better pay. It also provided them with platforms, such as the Scottish parliament and a Fawcett Society conference, to be heard and sometimes challenge uncomfortable gender power dynamics within UNISON (Hunter, 2010). Chapter 4 demonstrates how OGB's theory of poverty as powerlessness was a significant element of the organisational *habitus* which established the UKPP. *The analysis concludes here that the UKPP's ability to illustrate how poverty and powerlessness are connected is a considerable asset to OGB and is a constitutive element of a potential new organisational habitus.*

6.3.4 Highlighting the agency of the poor

Having determined *why* telling a story of the non-economic dimensions is of strategic value to Oxfam GB, the chapter now looks at how this story emerges in the words of UKPP staff, partners and beneficiaries. Several partners spoke of the significance of self-worth and dignity as opposed to material wealth. Three different partners who had been closely involved with Oxfam GB-funded sustainable livelihood research in urban and rural settings referred to how being part of this research had boosted their confidence 'to dream that we could be peer researchers' (Roberts, 2010). Others talked of the process of being part of a group that acknowledged them and their struggle to cope - 'I've got my self-worth back again' (Carter, 2010). This was particularly the case among women. The fact that many of the SLA researchers were women and were paid for their time as researchers was very significant in affirming their dignity and identity and, in the case of the trade union partner, creating some discomfort among the male-dominated hierarchy (Hunter, 2010).

The need to assert the dignity of those living in poverty is seen as a response to the demonization of the poor by British society and a common feeling among communities living in poverty that nobody cares. In addition, the dominant role of the state in people's lives makes the assertion of individual agency more significant (Hocking, 2003). The state's power is manifested through a range of devices such as children being taken into care (Kenningham, 2010, Roberts, 2010), farm subsidies (Anon., 2010a, Walton, 2010), the minimum wage (Carter, 2010) and national insurance numbers (Anon., 2010k). One London partner had mounted an exhibition of photos entitled *The Roles We Play* showing local people living in poverty and how they identified themselves. They included a philosopher, defender of human rights, future ambassador and poet. The exhibition text says 'Everyone has a right to live with dignity and it is time we stopped blaming the poor for the poverty our society has created and sustains' (ATD Fourth World, 2010). The language of 'rights' was used in the context of respect and dignity but also with regard to services provided by the state or private sector where people felt they were being oppressed rather than served. The ability of people living with poverty to claim rights and entitlements is central to the approach taken by OGB's partners in India, working for example to secure access to forest produce for tribal communities (Das, 2010, Paitnik, 2011) or to information about the implementation of NREGS legislation (Regional Centre for Development Cooperation, 2009).

One of the distinctive features about sustainable livelihoods research with households using the assets pentagon is the level of detailed information gained by the researchers which, some acknowledged, could be overwhelming at times (Herbert, 2010). In reflecting on the insights this sheer volume of information gave them about the lives of those living in poverty, the word 'complexity' was frequently used to describe how the many different elements of people's lives interact. For example, poor health and precarious living conditions can be barriers to finding work and the related sense of self-worth. One partner describes the packed day of a taxi driver in Cardiff in which, when broken down into segments of 15 minutes, it is clear he has no time for himself (Herbert, 2010). For another partner working with rural communities in the UK, the SLA helps in defining what poverty is and the way we talk about it: 'poverty's not just about poor people as a whole, it's about individual lives and the breakdown in individual lives and I think that's the story that needs to be told' (Anon., 2010a).

In addition to revealing the details of the complex lives of the poor, the SLA was able to highlight people's coping capacities and strategies. A number of interviewees felt that the SLA process enabled people living in poverty to reflect on how they managed their everyday lives and to draw a sense of achievement from this (Kenningham, 2010, Walton, 2010, Browne, 2010). People were also able to identify strategies that worked and consider how these might be used to 'climb the livelihood ladder' from coping to the next stages of 'adapting' and 'accumulating' (May et al., 2009, p. 14). This emphasis on the capabilities of people living in poverty, including their inventiveness and resilience in the face of the most adverse circumstances strengthens the message about the significance of agency and dignity in overcoming poverty. This is further reflected in the titles of Oxfam GB publications, for example *Making Ends Meet* (Bull et al., 2008) and *Farming Lives: Using the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach in the Peak District Farming Community* (Ponder and Hindley, 2009).

> *He was living on £110 a week and he knew who had the offer on the chicken legs, and where you could get a paper and a pint of milk for the least…and he couldn't take his son swimming both ways, so they'd bike there and started saving a fiver. Just a very resourceful and clever guy.* (Browne, 2010)

By *celebrating and highlighting the agency of the poor*, demonstrating the complexity of their lives and their coping strategies, the UKPP enables Oxfam GB to distance itself from approaches to poverty that demonise the poor. Thus by providing examples and

case studies from the UKPP of the need for and right to dignity and self-worth, Oxfam GB grounds itself in the experiences of its own society, contributing immensely to its legitimacy and credibility. This becomes the fourth 'building block' in a new organisational *habitus*.

6.3.5 Neo-colonial distancing

Chapter 2 details the way in which international or Northern development NGOs have been much criticised for their reproduction and continuation of neo-colonial power imbalances between the global north and south (Edwards, 1989a, Rahnema, 1992, Escobar, 1992, Kothari, 2005, Shresta, 1995). It has been argued that NDNGOs are vulnerable to accusations of neo-colonialism because of unequal relations with SNGO partners (Fowler and James, 1994, p. 8). A notable theme, which emerges from the data is the way in which Oxfam GB has used the UKPP to distance itself from these criticisms. Oxfam's history is articulated ironically by one member of staff, as 'white men in shorts out there doing stuff' (Bronstein, 2010), capturing vividly the organisation's self-consciousness about its roots. The need to respond to criticisms of Oxfam GB as an organisation going into other countries and telling them what to do without addressing poverty 'at home' was felt acutely by Oxfam staff and cited by current staff as one of the reasons for the UKPP establishment. Indeed, two tipping points in the UKPP process are referred to in interviews. The first is the moment when in the Council meeting in April 1995 a Trustee who later became chair said 'if we don't do this…we're going to be promoting an us and them view of the world' (Bronstein, 2010, Oxfam GB, 1995q). The second key moment, testified to by archive documents and interviews, was the impact of Stan Thekaekara's intervention at the People's Assembly[92] when he challenged Oxfam's perception of itself and the world, seeing poverty as an issue 'out there' (Seshan, 2010, Idrish, 2010, Levy, 2010, Bunting, 2010). Stan worked with tribal communities in south India and had been to the UK in 1994, invited by the Directory of Social Change, to look at community work (Thekaekara, 2000). His experience visiting the Easterhouse Estate in Glasgow, seeing the impact poverty had on people was the same as that in India, helped change the terms of the debate.

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[92] The 1994 meeting for Oxfam Trustees, staff, partners, volunteers and supporters.

Indian partners and stakeholders generally resisted the categorisation of the world into 'north' and 'south', suggesting that NGOs globally should instead be seen as part of a solidarity movement of people who act, rather than 'southern' NGOs seen as a sub-sector (Seshan, 2010). Considerations of each type of NGOs' distinctive contribution, depending on where they were in the world (Das, 2010) runs alongside an acknowledgement that a base in the UK or US gives disproportionate access to funding and policy formulation resources (Panda and Mishra, 2011). The establishment of Oxfam India and publication of its first strategic plan, evidences a new context in India in which it is both important to identify as an equal partner in the federated Oxfam International family and to tap into the resources of the growing middle class in India (Oxfam India, 2010a). The extent to which this may be possible is the focus of recent studies (Mawdsley, 2004, Tiwari and Jha, 2014).

Current Oxfam partners in the UK also count this neo-colonial distancing as an asset for the UKPP including questioning the relevance of the term 'Third World' and preferring the term 'Fourth World'. One London partner explicitly traces its organisational heritage back to Joseph Wresinski, the founder of the international movement ATD Fourth World now working in 30 countries with communities in extreme poverty. Another partner in Wales highlights the continued geographical double standards in some approaches to development work in the UK and overseas and links this with the attitudes of colonialism, with its assumptions that people overseas are incapable of helping themselves (Roberts, 2010, Herbert, 2010).

The evidence from this study suggests that Oxfam's *UKPP marks an attempt to graduate from its colonial identity - an asset in responding to accusations of paternalistic and colonial approaches to development.* It moves Oxfam's conception of itself and the world nearer to that described in Castell's definition of the 'Fourth World': 'present in literally every country and every city, in this new geography of social exclusion' (Castells, 1998, p. 164). By doing this the UKPP *as practice* could challenge the myths and symbols of third-dimensional power, overcoming the counter-productive violence of 'othering'. This has implications, as discussed in section 6.3.8 below for an ethical practice, if third-dimensional power is acknowledged and made visible by the very existence of the domestic programme.

6.3.6 Civic rootedness

The issue of civic rootedness can be analysed as an asset, which provides added value to OGB for two reasons. Firstly, rootedness provides credibility for international advocacy and secondly, it requires, while also contributing to, a transformed relationship with the public. Both require 'costly effort' (Gourevitch and Lake, 2012, p. 22): that is, they demand investment from the organisation which is often in itself seen as sufficient to acquire credibility.

Fowler's advocacy for the 'Fourth Position' (2000b) is founded on the assumption that in the future NDNGOs would no longer be able to rely on funding from international aid. In this scenario, the NGOs of the future would need to have strong foundational values and work with the bearers of rights and duties, ensuring compliance of both. None of the documents or interviews used for this study make reference to possible cuts in international aid funding as a driver towards the establishment of the UKPP. However, there is great concern about relationships with southern partner organisations, their respective roles and Oxfam's advocacy being insufficiently rooted in concrete experience. Policy Department reports for 1993-94 (Oxfam GB, 1994k), for example, suggest that Oxfam GB's advocacy around macro issues need to be more robustly rooted in micro-level experience, echoing critiques of NDNGOs' legitimacy and advocacy (Edwards et al., 1999, Jordan and Tuijl, 2006, Anderson, 2000). Interestingly, at the same time Oxfam International set up its Washington advocacy office and agreed that one of the selection criteria for deciding on a new advocacy campaign was that it should be informed by field experience and 'Provide the opportunity for Southern partner influence' (Anderson, 2007, p. 91). The concern that Oxfam have a long term direction which is 'publicly rooted' is also reflected in the data (Oxfam GB, 1995x).

Interviews for this study suggest that Oxfam GB and its UK and SNGO partners recognise that the UKPP provides Oxfam GB with *moral credibility in its international advocacy work, ensuring it is grounded in experience* and providing it with confidence in talking about poverty. It has been suggested that becoming more closely involved with work in their own societies will not only provide NDNGOs with greater credibility in their advocacy work but in their actual identity, sense of purpose and existential legitimacy (Lewis and Kanji, 2009, p. 211, Edwards et al., 1999). Significantly, the changes undertaken at the Dutch NGO, Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation (ICCO) from 2005 were driven by the similar need to reinvent itself in the face of increasing integration into the aid system without losing its 'alternative'

credentials. The ICCO 'reinvention' process resulted in devolution of power to southern partners (Derksen and Verhallen, 2008, Elbers and Schulpen, 2014).

As already noted, Oxfam GB Policy Department had identified the need for Oxfam to respond to criticisms around accountability (Oxfam GB, 1996b). Accountability to the British public was clearly important to Oxfam GB as one dimension of the 'plurality' of accountabilities held by NGOs. Jordan and van Tujil (2006, pp. 9-13) suggest that 1995 marked a turning point in approaches to accountability: from notions of accountability which focussed on NGOs' role in promoting democracy to debates about demonstrating impact and legitimacy. Responding to the public's need for information was seen as one demonstration of legitimacy, and this dimension of accountability is clearly felt in the data, for example, the rationale for the UKPP given in the *Oxfam GB Annual Review 1995-96*:

> *One of the reasons for this initiative came from our partners in the South who have visited us here and seen the homelessness, the unemployment, the racism inherent in our society, and the isolation of people caught in the poverty trap. They asked what Oxfam was doing to help...and we felt we had a duty to respond.* (Oxfam GB, 1996a, p. 7)

Yet the ability to be able to respond to the public does not adequately capture what NGO accountability demands. Peruzzotti (2006, p. 52) argues that NGOs' accountability does not lie in seeking to mimic the representative nature of political parties, but in their constitutive nature as 'advocates of constituencies that do not yet exist'. In other words, they are required to transform and challenge existing behaviour and understandings – a task described as a 'work of loneliness' (Peruzzotti, 2006, p. 52). Take for example, the words of an Oxfam GB member of staff involved in establishing the UKPP:

> *But it was voices that you wouldn't normally hear and it was a perspective that needed to be heard, it was a perspective that challenged how Oxfam saw itself in the world and how it saw poverty as just an issue out there...It was more about changing the terms of the debate.* (Bronstein, 2010)

Engaging with the public around the ideas of development and a 'good society' has been identified as a potential route to a contemporary 'alternative development' (Mitlin et al., 2007, p. 1713). However, the possibility of this process being mediated via domestic programmes has not yet been fully recognised in the academic literature. Nevertheless, OGB partners in both India and the UK consider this a central aspect of

the work of any development NGO. For Indian partners this consideration is dominated by the collective understanding of recent progressive national legislation such as the Right to Information Act and National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and the need to facilitate the process of people claiming their entitlements, ensuring that implementation lives up to their progressive goals (Pattanayak, 2011, Jagadananda and Swami, 2011). The extent to which the 'public' beyond those living in poverty, or the middle classes, in India can yet be fully engaged in this work is still being determined, as noted above. For partners in the UK, a more engaged public requires an understanding of the global impacts of consumer behaviour and international power structures. This will be a considerable challenge as research since the recent global financial crisis shows very little awareness in the UK of the global context in which effects in the UK were felt (Hossain, 2011, Lindstrom and Henson, 2011). A transformed relationship with the UK public might also entail acknowledgement by OGB that the categories of donor, supporter, partner and beneficiary by which contact management approaches identify stakeholders become nuanced and blurred, as campaign supporters may also be people living in poverty. This is not the way in which OGB have traditionally thought about the UK public, who have generally been instrumentalised as donors or campaign supporters (Jarman, 2010, Wallis, 2010).

This transformatory relationship with the public is also at work in Oxfam's joint publication with the National Union of Journalists and Scottish Refugee Council, *Fair Play: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Scotland, A Guide for Journalists* (2007a) which aims to promote accurate and balanced reporting about asylum seekers and refugees, avoiding demonization. Oxfam's report *Something for Nothing* (Oxfam GB, 2010a) focuses on challenging stereotypes of people living in poverty, which assume they have nothing to contribute to society. Suggestions as to how changes in behaviour can be part of addressing poverty in the UK are central to the leaflet *Making UK Poverty History* produced by Oxfam with BOND, the TUC and End Child Poverty (2005). The suggested 'transformations' are to find out more, raise awareness, lobby for change, rising to challenges (for example, in the media) and changing the way you live. It is easy to dismiss these exhortations as standard devices in the NDNGO campaigning toolkit, but they can also be interpreted as the first steps to realising a different 'domain' of development where the locus of change required is in the global North rather than South (Cowen and Shenton, 1996, Edwards and Gaventa, 2001). *Civic-rootedness, in this context, is a vital dimension of a new organisational habitus for OGB.*

6.3.7 Early warning system

The Oxfam GB UK Poverty Programme has the potential to be used as an 'early warning system' for its overseas work (Wareing, 2010). This argument is founded on the twin recognition that a growing number of the world's poor live in Middle Income Countries (Sumner, 2012) and that as the economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China and the MINTs[93] become stronger, social inequalities are deepening (Arabsheibani et al., 2006, Durotoye, 2014). Working on issues of poverty in the UK, a wealthy country with 23% of its population living in poverty[94] (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2014), exposes Oxfam to issues they may soon encounter in their anti-poverty work in Middle Income Countries. In interviews with staff of the UKPP it was accepted that as an organisation Oxfam has not done much previous work on issues such as taxation and social protection but that this is something they envisaged doing much more of in the future. One interviewee from a UK partner recalled prior to the 1997 UK elections:

> *...big discussions going on about what's relative and what's absolute [poverty]. Should the world only be tackling absolute poverty or does that allow poverty to become deep and ingrained in...the wealthier countries.* (Roberts, 2010)

This suggests that the acknowledgement of the existence of poverty in the UK has the potential to alert other countries whose economies are growing that to ignore its presence and that of increased inequalities is strategically unwise. Oxfam GB's Head of Research, points to the fact that the case against inequality, which effects both North and South, rests on two foundations: firstly, that it is 'intrinsically unfair' and secondly that it is bad for economic growth as it wastes talent and undermines the cohesion and institutions of society, for example (Green, 2008a, p. 1). This research indicates that the lessons learned internally from addressing poverty in the context of inequalities in the UK, can be useful tools in considering future interventions in Middle Income Countries and other countries, which may experience simultaneous growth in their economies and inequalities. The extent to which a focus on inequalities has already been adopted by NDNGOs in the context of discussions around the Sustainable Development Goals is considered in section 6.4 below. For now, the chapter notes that the ability of OGB via its UKPP to predict and respond to structural issues in the economy, such as

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[93] MINTs = Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey.
[94] Defined as having an income of 60% or less of the median.

inequalities, is a key asset and the seventh dimension of a possible new organisational *habitus*.

6.3.8 A development ethic in which everyone matters

Research objective 8 is to understand whether ultimately NDNGO domestic programmes are an indication of a broad inclusive ethic of 'everyone matters'. This section holds that there are both normative and empirical arguments, which demonstrate that this ethic is the final asset or added value of the UKPP. The normative argument itself rests on the empirical data so far presented and leads to a tentative conclusion as to how NDNGOs could respond to critiques of their role and the changing landscape of development. Thus, empirical analysis in Chapter 4 demonstrates that the current binary distinctions, or 'othering', inherent in the current international domain, are a barrier to the achievement of ethical development. In the case of Oxfam GB these approaches are deeply tied up with the organisation's identity in the UK. The analysis in Chapter 5 and earlier in this chapter provides evidence of the differentiated capacity of the domestic programmes to challenge the organisational *habitus*, depending on the location of the organisational *habitus* within different domain models.This means that Oxfam GB's domestic programme, likewise Oxfam America's, is potentially disruptive to the traditional organisational *habitus.* Institutional practices with their simplistic binary divisions of 'othering' are part of this *habitus* and a characteristic of the single international development domain in which it is situated. So why maintain a programme that is potentially so exposing and discomforting?

If there is sufficient evidence for a new development domain, the ability of Oxfam GB to work within it will be circumscribed by their capacity to reconstruct their organisational *habitus* to minimise 'othering' practices and re-shape their organisational identity. The UKPP mobilises third-dimensional power to allow subtle shifts in understandings of what this practice could look like, making visible a development ethic in which everyone matters, without the exclusionary 'violence' of othering. However, the potential of the UKPP to model an ethical and emancipatory development practice cannot be realised without rupture to the existing organisational *habitus*. This scenario suggests that an ethical development practice is possible in the context of a newly configured organisational *habitus*.

The UKPP models a programmatic focus on inequalities through which the 'everyone matters' ethic is operationalized. This approach extends across vertical and horizontal inequalities, which are manifested both globally and locally and interconnected. The vertical inequalities between individuals in the UK and beyond have received attention recently due to their effects, for example, on the health, education and work prospects of individuals and the wellbeing of societies as a whole (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010, Piketty, 2014, Dorling, 2014). The effects of horizontal inequalities, those that impact on particular groups in society, are shown to have relevance to countries in the global North and South (Stewart, 2002) and at a global level in the case of inequalities experienced by Muslims (Stewart, 2009). The UKPP's focus on inequalities is grounded in the organisation's theory of poverty which, as noted in Chapter 4, is related to powerlessness and is essentially bound up with political action (Green, 2008a). It is an approach that fundamentally rejects universal applications of absolute notions of poverty and in which powerlessness is a key driver regardless of social, economic and political contexts. As Stan Thekaekara observed when visiting a housing estate in Easterhouse, Glasgow – a visit that went on to be formative for the UKPP…

> But as the week went by we began to see beyond the televisions, refrigerators and cars. Amazingly, similarities between the people of Easterhouse and the Paniyas of the Nilgiris began to emerge. Though the face of poverty was completely different, the impact was exactly the same.

(Thekaekara and Thekaekara, 1994)

Vertical inequalities are made visible and addressed in ATD Fourth World's work to support families caught up in the care system who find it difficult to understand the system and their rights within it. Likewise, work with people living with debt highlights the multiple inequalities that can make up a life in 'poverty' – whether income, educational opportunities, housing, access to financial services or powerlessness in the face of corporate interests (Church Action on Poverty, 2009, Church Action on Poverty, 2011). These inequalities have a clear association with dignity. This is the focus of UKPP work such as *Something for Nothing* which aims to change negative attitudes to people living in poverty in Britain (Oxfam GB, 2010a), the work to encourage more positive media reporting of refugees and asylum seekers (Oxfam GB, 2007a), and to provide platforms for people in poverty to speak about themselves with dignity (ATD Fourth World, 2010). The interconnections between the vertical inequalities with which Peak District hill farmers live and the global political economy is vividly illustrated by the UKPP research which investigated farming lives using the Sustainable Livelihood

Approach (SLA), connecting their livelihoods with EU legislation and global food security (Anon., 2010a, Jarman, 2010, Ponder and Hindley, 2009).

Work to address the horizontal inequalities experienced by specific groups, such as low-paid women, black and minority ethnic (BME) women, migrant workers, also exposes the processes through which people become powerless. This includes combatting gendered attitudes to work by UNISON Scotland, while also campaigning with the union for fair pay (UNISON Scotland and Oxfam GB, nd., Hunter, 2010). The inequalities in access to education, financial advice, support and decision-making experienced by BME women are the focus of further UKPP work, such as the *Routes of Solidarity* project (Oxfam GB, 2012) and research exploring the financial lives of BME mothers (Warburton Brown, 2011). Fundamentally, each of these areas of work assert powerfully that everyone matters, focussing on groups of people who have generally been vilified in the popular media, to maintain their equitable access to rights and dignity. So, for example, the UKPP undertook research on the exploitation of migrant labour following the death in 2004 of 23 cockle pickers from China in Morecombe Bay, as part of a three-year Big Lottery grant (Oxfam GB, 2009). Subsequent research with Kalayaan[95] found evidence of significant exploitation amongst the 1.5 million care-workers in the UK, many of who were migrants. It recommended that their rights would be better protected by extending the remit of the Gangmasters Licensing Authority to cover the social care sector (Poinasamy and Fooks, 2009). These pieces of work explicitly link the issue of migrant and labour rights in the UK to global OGB policies and the global political economy, highlighting OGB's track record on international labour rights via work in Chile, Columbia and Thailand. This is placed in the context of:

> *...a significant shift in the nature of work in the UK over the last 30 years. Globalisation, by making the markets for goods and services more competitive, has heightened the need for economic and social policies that foster competitiveness. It has also put a higher premium on workplace practices that support flexibility and adaptability, often at the cost of workers' rights and security.* (Poinasamy and Fooks, 2009, p. 5)

A press release on the growing inequalities in the UK issued to coincide with the UK budget in March 2014, entitled *A tale of two Britains*, set concerns about lack of voice for the UK poor within a context of global inequalities.

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[95] An organisation working with migrant workers.

...a similar picture of a rapidly increasing gap between rich and poor can be seen in most countries across the globe. The entire wealth of the world is divided in two: almost half going to the richest 1 percent; the other half to the remaining 99 percent...This widening inequality is creating a vicious circle where wealth and power are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few, leaving the rest behind. (Oxfam GB, 2014)

The examples cited above provide empirical evidence of the way in which the UKPP operationalizes an ethic of 'everyone matters' through its focus on inequalities. Thus, this study makes the normative argument that if 'othering' practices are to be avoided, this approach is required. In addition, *this enables us to conclude that the eighth asset of the UKPP is that it demonstrates an ethic that everyone matters.*

The above discussion of the eight assets of the UKPP suggests that the nature of the OGB organisational *habitus* needs to change if the programme is to be accommodated and its added value recognised. These assets become the dimensions of a new organisational *habitus*, offering a potential model for a future NDNGO. This conceptualisation is illustrated at Figure 6.2. The totality of this new organisational *habitus* reflects an approach to development in which 'Death isn't the only thing that matters. What matters is decent lives' (Appiah, 2006, p. 167). This approach requires an informed understanding and engagement of how policies and interventions work. Miller's arguments for a transnational ethic of responsibility, rather than an ethic of sympathy, illustrates the type of engagement required (2010, pp. 58-83). It has implications for the domain of international development itself, discussed at section 6.4 below.

However, the above process also requires disruption of the existing *habitus*. A development ethic in which everyone matters is not necessarily perceived as an asset by an organisation that is so closely defined by and associated with the domain of international development. Although the UKPP may be evidence of OGB's capacity to rupture its organisational *habitus*, the organisation may choose not to exercise it. This point is explored further below. Moreover, the above value-added assets also reveal the extent to which work in the UKPP exposes OGB to 'the same risk' as its southern partners (Oxfam GB, 1995d), involving it in the day-to-day tensions, trade-offs and debates of domestic politics. Although, as argued in Chapter 4, this is fundamental to OGB's theory of poverty, it moves development work beyond the popular conception of

'poverty alleviation' and OGB's 'international development' identity. The issue here is not whether NDNGOs can be engaged in political activity, for example as charities registered in England and Wales. Recent studies have confirmed they can (Miller, 2012). Rather, the UKPP *reveals* the essentially political nature of development to the UK supporters of OGB and beyond, or OGB's 'sleight of hand'.

> *...as if people have been happy to fund and support Oxfam in the UK, on the basis of, 'There's terrible things happening abroad - we'll give you lots of money. Go away and fix them.' And what Oxfam does is then go away and do a variety of things, some of which is disaster-relief, but huge amounts of which are actually very radical - very radical, politically radical interventions.*
>
> (Hunter, 2010)

The chapter now turns to consider the evidence for a new development domain, the final research objective.

Figure 6.2 Conceptualisation of future NDNGO organisational habitus

6.4 A new domain of development

So far this study has argued that an organisational *habitus*, such as that of OGB, is dynamic and is maintained and ruptured through the boundary work of institutional

practices such as fundraising, communications and leadership. Evidence from the UKPP suggests an ethical development practice requires that exclusionary 'othering' processes are minimised and that the boundary work of organisational identity to maintain the *habitus* is overcome. The argument is taken further in the analysis of the three smaller case studies of Islamic Relief, Red Barnet and Oxfam America. These show that domestic programmes can maintain or potentially disrupt the organisational *habitus* depending on the domain 'model' in which the organisation is situated.

Reflecting back on the OGB data using this analytical lens, the analysis now suggests that OGB is situated in a 'single domain' model in which the organisation's identity is completely entrenched and bound up in the current international development domain. This is further evidenced in the analysis of OGB's contribution to the campaign in 2000 to end vouchers for asylum seekers, along with the Transport and General Workers Union. OGB's significant contribution was 'the reassurance of a household name' (Ellis, 2004, p. 250). This is problematic for OGB, with considerable evidence in Chapter 2 that the geographies of poverty and development are shifting. As the global political economy undergoes radical changes and patterns of international migration bring diasporas more actively into development, an organisational identity that is so closely bound up with rejected concepts of trusteeship presents NDNGOs with a dilemma. The UKPP provides a response to this. As discussed above, the programme offers added value to OGB via a number of assets.

The chapter argues here that the UKPP, characterised by its eight assets, challenges the current international development domain by mobilising third-dimensional power, adjusting perceptions and understandings (Gaventa, 1980, Gaventa, 2006). The UKPP and the other domestic programmes are evidence of, and responses to, a new domain of development in which the actors, spaces and practices of development are re-configured. They open up the question as to what 'development' looks like when it is applied to peripheries or 'souths' wherever they are in the world. In this re-shaping of the international domain, the processes by which the existing domain was constructed are made visible and stripped of their 'objective meaning' (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977, p. 79), making it possible for NDNGOs and other development actors actively to re-consider the ethic underpinning the domain. This begins to address the final research objective as to whether the domestic programmes of the NDNGO case studies indicate a new domain of development. Finally, the analysis suggests that although there is

sufficient evidence for a new development domain, the ability of NDNGOs generally to work within it will be circumscribed by their capacity to reconstruct their organisational *habitus* to minimise 'othering' practices and re-shape their organisational identity. In the case of OGB specifically, the potential of the UKPP to model an ethical and emancipatory development practice cannot be realised without rupture to the existing organisational *habitus*.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Cowen and Shenton defined the current domain of development as Africa and Asia in which…

> *The subject of development is that of the imperial state, before and after dismemberment, while its object is taken to be colonial and Third World peoples.* (1996, p. 5)

In defining a 'domain', this study draws on Bourdieu's concept of the 'field' as a social space where individuals and organisations maintain and debate an area of expertise, usually constructed or categorised by the state (1994), as with education or international development[96]. Tvedt's 'Dostango' hypothesis (2007, p. 37) offers a similar idea, arguing that NGOs work within a system of alliances between donors, states and NGOs which is defined by resource transfer. The system is a dynamic site in which values, paradigms and meanings are reproduced and contested and in which NGOs are significant actors although often dominated by donor and state interests. This study prefers to define the international development domain as a group of actors, spaces and practices which self-define as belonging to 'international development' while acknowledging the power of the state to classify and categorise (Bourdieu, 1994). Thus the 'international development' domain in the UK includes actors such as the Department for International Development (DfID), Overseas Development Institute, the British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) network and its members, NGOs such as OGB and AFFORD. The 'spaces' of this domain are defined by how the organisations conceptualise their work, usually in terms of 'overseas', 'global south'.

This view of how NGOs operate is also supported by Hilhorst's approach (2003) in which NGOs make sense of what they do through the overlapping domains in which they are situated, such as cultural practices and social networks. The dynamic between these domains results in the continuous 'reconstitution' of the NGOs. This reflects the

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[96] See Chapter 3, section 3.3 for a fuller explanation of the usage of these terms in this study.

evidence presented in Chapter 5 when looking at the different domain models of the three case study NGOs.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the practices around organisational identity in OGB work to maintain the organisational *habitus* within the international development domain. Despite decades of research and practice pointing towards alternative paradigms, this domain can still be characterised as in Figure 6.3, constructed using research data from this study. The geographical location of development is always distinct from 'home'. Its practices emphasise power and resource inequalities. The data shows, for example, that within this conceptualisation, international development practices are redistributive mechanisms with immediate tangible results, such as digging wells. Actors in one part of the world, the global south, are generally perceived as the problem and those in the global north as part of the solution.

Figure 6.3 Conceptualisation of the current International Development domain
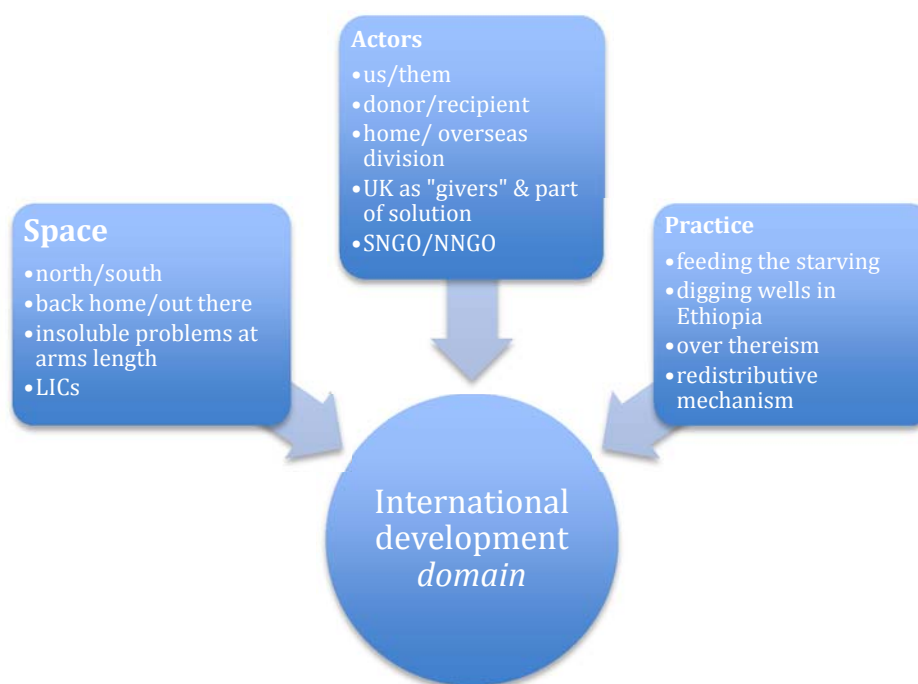
Of course, this is an overly simplistic and crude stereotype from which many actors in the international development domain would wish to distance themselves. The argument here is that this is how the domain is perceived in the OGB data in this research. It does not define all activity within this domain. More nuanced views about development itself are expressed in discussions and policy documents but the domain is generally

perceived as constrained by these binary approaches through its spaces, actors and processes. One UKPP partner commented that it is only the UKPP, which somehow reveals the OGB sleight of hand, revealing the more radical and progressive nature of much of their development practice behind the simplistic images of fundraising campaigns (Hunter, 2010).

Red Barnet's domestic programme is shown, in Chapter 5, to be a 'nested domain' model, in which the programme presents no challenge to the organisational *habitus* and its location in the domains of the domestic voluntary children's sector and international development. Oxfam GB's UKPP presents a reverse scenario in which the organisational *habitus* is clearly situated in a single domain – that of international development – but where the domestic programme pulls in another direction, challenging both the organisational *habitus* and the domain in which it is situated. Although OGB's work includes both development and humanitarian programmes, its identity does not exhibit the same signs of conflict between these two elements, as in the case of Oxfam America. Its firm location within the international development domain is partly a factor of its significant public profile in the UK and close association with DfID and other actors in the domain such as research institutes, BOND and other NDNGOs who all identify with the international development domain too.

Observations about the inherent tensions and inconsistencies between the international development domain, as characterised above, and work on issues of poverty and powerlessness are not new. In 1974 a meeting with the six NGOs of the British Overseas Aid Group (BOAG)[97] and Prime Minister Harrold Wilson[98] discussed the importance of reappraising British government policy on the inter-relationship between poverty 'at home and abroad' (Group of Six, 1974). In 1977 a special edition of the IDS Bulletin asked whether Britain was a 'case for development' (Jolly and Luckham, 2006). In 1989 an internal OGB report argued…

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[97] The six organisations were Child Poverty Action Group, Oxfam, Shelter, United Nations Association, War on Want, Help the Aged.
[98] This was the third month of his second term in office as part of a minority government. Harrold Wilson's first government of 1964 to 1970 had created the first UK Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) with Barbara Castle as Minister. This meeting was attended by the Prime Minister and Judith Hart as Overseas Development Minister, 2 months after ODM's re-formation as a ministry.

reality which lies at the heart of OXFAM's dilemma. Our programme overseas is leading us in one direction, while the methods and images we use to raise the funds needed to support this programme are leading us in another. Eventually, this contradiction will undermine the organisation. This may happen from the outside, as donors begin to discover that OXFAM's work is very different to the picture that has been given to them, or as partners begin to turn to other funding

(Edwards, 1989c)

Despite these early insights, analysis of the relationship between NDNGO practices in the domestic sphere, *habitus* and domains remains unexplored. The above eight assets of the UKPP make visible in practice ideas about the space, actors and practices of development which push against and challenge the boundaries of the international development domain. For example, rather than a binary division between actors as donors and recipients, 'us and them', SNGOs and NGOS (as in Figure 6.3), the actors in development become change agents, those who take a stand, or anyone who is touched by poverty. The fact that a homeless person from Lewisham who also campaigns for changes to housing provision is included in this new development domain as a relevant actor, demonstrates the extent to which the previously undisputed ideas of the development *doxa* are queried by the UKPP. Similarly, the spaces of development move from clear geographical binaries to places of powerlessness wherever they are. The boundaries between spaces of international development become blurred as global interdependence and vulnerabilities are highlighted. These new approaches to the actors and spaces of the 'international development' domain require different practices, emphasising mutuality and collaboration. Figure 6.4 attempts to capture these challenges posed by the UKPP. The extent to which the UKPP challenges the *doxa* of international development is highlighted in Bourdieu's account. The UKPP is the mechanism, which reveals the processes by which the domain has been maintained, and which undermines its previously 'self-evident' boundaries.

> *The critique which brings the undiscussed into discussion, the unformulated into formulation, has as the condition of its possibility objective crisis, which, in breaking the immediate fit between subjective structure and the objective structures, destroys self-evidence practically.* (1977, pp. 168-169)

Thus, the establishment and continued existence of the UKPP, albeit working on a fraction of the total OGB budget, represents an attempt to address the tensions it experiences working within the international development domain while continuing to work firmly within the same domain. The analysis in Chapter 4 and here demonstrates

how the UKPP's potential to model what a future NDNGO might look like, free from the constraints of the current international development domain, is deeply circumscribed by institutional practices related to its organisational identity and public opinion. The UKPP has the potential to move OGB's work into a new domain similar to that of OA's 'comprehensive social action'[99], but this is unlikely to be realised without a transformed relationship with its public supporters in the UK.

Strikingly, this new post-rupture development domain is envisaged in the May 1974 discussions of the Group of Six and the Prime Minister. The meeting highlighted the inter-relationships between poverty at home and abroad and the significance of 'third world' debt, fair trade and pay, agricultural commodity trading and UK public opinion and life-style (including eating habits) changes as key components of this. In following the correspondence from this meeting through to 1980 in the Oxfam GB archive, the issue over which there is most debate and which eventually contributes to government inaction is the issue of 'government machinery' and coordination.

Figure 6.4 Conceptualisation of UKPP challenge to the International Development domain

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[99] See Chapter 5, section 5.4.3.

Actor
- change agents
- those who take a stand
- civil society
- poverty can touch any of us

Space
- places of power & wealth/ poverty & powerlessness
- global vulnerability & interdependence
- MICs
- blurring boundaries

Practice
- mutuality & collaboration
- politically radical interventions
- bringing distant issues closer to home
- globally linked strategies

International development *domain* implicit in UKPP

The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Minister of State for Health and Social Services, as well as the Overseas Development Ministry (ODM) attended the meeting, emphasising the need for cross-departmental coordination. However, by October 1975 the Prime Minister's office wrote to the Group of Six apologising for lack of progress.

> *The delay has not been due to any waning of enthusiasm on the part of the Govt. It is because your proposals raise such fundamental and far-reaching issues, and because the Government has been involved at such a senior level, that it has inevitably taken time to complete the discussions within Government at a time when there have been so many other pressing and immediate issues.* (Butler, 1975)

No further significant government action appears to have been taken beyond this, leaving the Group of Six to focus on a coordinated approach to lobbying at the 1977 party conferences[100]. Their jointly produced conference leaflet, *The Price of Poverty*, calls for 'An integrated poverty programme [which] could overcome the conflicts of interest which arise between the poor of Britain and the poor of the Third World' (Group of Six, 1977)

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[100] IDS offered to hold a seminar on 11 June 1976, *Poverty measures which would help alleviate poverty in the UK and the Third World.* Attendees included the Group of Six, Richard Jolly (IDS), Vincent Cable (ODI) (Sharp, 1976).

The above scenario illustrates the power of the state to influence and shape the way in which development as an idea is conceptualised and its practices structured into different departments of government, working alongside different non-governmental bodies. The international development domain has remained largely intact, as characterised above, since then but there is now considerable evidence supporting the conclusion of this research that a new development domain is emerging across the spaces, actors and practices of development. Chapter 2 outlines the recent literature evidencing a transforming (Harman and Williams, 2014) and re-imagined (Haddad et al., 2011) international development domain and argues that three factors are associated with this: the rejection of the concept of 'trusteeship'; upheavals in the global political economy, and the expanding role for diaspora communities in development as a result of international migration patterns.

The evidence of a new development domain is also visible in the sphere of national and international policy and practice. For example, the theme of the 2014 BOND conference, *Redefining Development*, and the session entitled 'Is it time to align international and domestic action on poverty and inequality?' (BOND, 2014). Perhaps the most significant evidence of a new domain of development is the current international focus on the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which focus on the need for global collaborative action for better outcomes for all in the global North and South. Table 6.2 maps the proposed SDGs against the work of the three small case study organisations, illustrating how these domestic programmes pre-figure the SDGs. SDG 8, for example, aims to promote inclusive growth and decent work for all. This reflects the work Islamic Relief's domestic programme does with young offenders (Freeman, 2011). SDG 1 aims to 'end poverty in all its forms everywhere' (United Nations, 2014), with sub-goal 1.5 describing the work Oxfam America undertook in the Gulf Coast states post-Hurricane Katrina. A similar mapping process against OGB's UKPP (see Table 6.3) indicates that the four case study domestic programmes cover most of the areas of concern of the seventeen SDGs.

Table 6.2 Mapping the SDGs against the work of the three small case study domestic programmes

Islamic Relief	Oxfam America	Red Barnet
8.6 By 2020, substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training.	1.5 By 2030, build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters.	16.2 End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children.
10.2 By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, religion or economic or other status.	17.7 Encourage and promote effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships.	4.2 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education.

(United Nations, 2014)

The emphasis on inequalities in the new SDGs is being picked up and driven by NGOs such as Oxfam International and Save the Children Fund (SCF). A recent publication by Oxfam International, for example, argues that a post-2015 agreement must focus on inequalities, which harm everyone (Seery and Arendar, 2014). Likewise, SCF's *Leaving No one Behind* makes a case for addressing inequalities as the 'blind spot' of the MDGs and for 'stepping stone equity targets' (2014). The latter would allow each country to adopt its own plan for achievement of the SDGs. It explicitly uses data from London to demonstrate how the inequalities experienced by children from particular disadvantaged groups can be overcome.

Table 6.3 Mapping the SDGs against the work of Oxfam GB's UKPP partners

ATD Fourth World	Church Action on Poverty	Peak District Rural Development Forum	South Riverside Community Development Centre	UNISON, Scotland
1.2 By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of	**16.7** Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels.	**2.3** By 2030, double the agricultural productivity and incomes of small-scale food producers, in particular women, indigenous	**4.4** By 2030, increase by [x] per cent the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills,	**5.4** Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services,

all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions.		people, family farmers…through secure and equal access to land, other productive resources and inputs, knowledge, financial services, markets and opportunities for value addition and non-farm employment	for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship.	infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.
11.1 By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums.	**8.10** Strengthen the capacity of domestic financial institutions to encourage and expand access to banking, insurance and financial services for all.	**13.3** Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning.	**3.4** By 2030, reduce by one-third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases through prevention and treatment and promote mental health and wellbeing.	**10.4** Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve equality.

(United Nations, 2014)

Using the opportunity of the post-2015 framework, it argues that leaving no one behind 'will require progress for those furthest behind to accelerate against a backdrop of improvement for all' (Save the Children, 2014, p. 3). This argument is fundamentally based on an ethic of 'everyone matters'.

The spaces and whole framework in which 'international development' occurs are, therefore, changing and this brings with it questions for NDNGOs and individual citizens about how and where to act (Gaventa, 2006). The UKPP and the other domestic programmes of NDNGO case studies reviewed in this research offer a possible response to these questions and further evidence of a new domain of development. This can be seen as an additional asset for the UKPP in that it signals awareness in OGB that its operating environment is undergoing radical change to which an equally radical response is required by NDNGOs.

6.5 Conclusion

Having surveyed the eight dimensions of value-added of OGB's UKPP, the study situates these assets in the debates, which interrogate NDNGOs' role and legitimacy, creating a demand for evidence of their impact and additionality in the 'value-chain' of international development. Using empirical research data from OGB staff and partners in the UK and India, it is argued that there are eight assets, which address the critiques around NDNGO legitimacy and role. These are: 1) providing evidence of intellectual consistency and coherence; 2) demonstrating the relationship between theory and practice; 3) making visible the theory of poverty as powerlessness; 4) highlighting the agency of the poor; 5) distancing OGB from 'neo-colonial' histories and practices; 6) acquiring and maintaining civic rootedness for advocacy work and a transformational relationship with the public; 7) providing an early warning system for middle-income countries; 8) operationalizing a development ethic in which everyone matters. These assets provide a working model, based on empirical evidence, of the organisational *habitus* of a possible future NDNGO. This chapter argues that this also offers a model of what an appropriate or ethical future NDNGO practice might look like, thus building richer understandings of the implications of domestic poverty programmes.

The UKPP offers a further challenge to OGB's *habitus* and location in the 'international development' domain through its assertion that everyone matters. In the transformed context of a new domain of development, this becomes an important principle, moving understandings of development away from simplistic binaries of 'us and them' towards an ethic which values the worth of all human beings. This can be seen in the programme's insistence on the issue of inequalities and its rejection of the practices of 'othering'. The programme is, therefore, evidence of the normative and empirical arguments for a development ethic in which 'everyone matters'. This is identified as the eighth asset of the UKPP.

However, these assets and the whole UKPP push at the boundaries of current understandings of the spaces, practices and actors of international development, offering a more disruptive interpretation of the domestic programme. Mobilising invisible third-dimensional power, the programme challenges and shifts perceptions of what 'international development' is. This leads us to conclude, triangulated with evidence from recent research and practice, that an additional (or ninth) asset of the UKPP is to

provide evidence of and rationale for a new domain of development, which opens up the space, actors and practices of the current international development domain to new interpretations. When confronted with a new operating environment, NDNGOs need to and have responded. The UKPP is a response, which potentially ruptures the organisational *habitus*, its location within and the identity of the international development domain.

This chapter asks why an organisation, such as OGB, might choose to maintain a programme, which creates the tension and potential discomfort in its relations with its public supporters and the media discussed in Chapter 4, especially in the exposure of the inherently political nature of development.[101] The answer appears to lie in the double bind OGB experiences, highlighted in archive documents from the 1970s and extending into the present, in working within the international development domain which continues to be defined by simple binary notions of 'north' and 'south', 'developed' and 'developing', while holding to a theory of poverty that focuses on power inequalities and a development ethic which rejects 'othering' practices. On the one hand, OGB needs to address the legitimacy challenges from its southern partners, critical academics and practitioners. On the other, it continues to be constrained by its organisational identity and fundraising and communication practices, at the heart of which lies a nervous relationship with the UK public. So, OGB is faced with the irony of the UKPP offering a model of an ethical and emancipatory practice while unable to build on this and move beyond its relative financial insignificance without a rupture in the organisational *habitus*. It is highly unlikely that the potential evidenced in its range of assets identified above, can be realised without a transformed relationship with the UK public which will, in turn, require adjustments to its organisational identity, *habitus* and the international development domain in which it is situated.

This chapter outlines the assets of a future NDNGO, demonstrating that a development ethic in which 'everyone matters' will be a significant characteristic and enabling factor in the context of a new domain of development as 'comprehensive social action'. Having addressed the final three research objectives, the study now turns to the final chapter to draw conclusions as to how far this research has progressed understandings

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[101] An intervention at the 2014 Development Studies Association conference (1 November 2014) by Dr Melissa Leach attempted to capture this by re-framing development as 'transformational politics'.

of the central research question: *How, why and with what implications do Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities?*

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Chapter 7: Findings and conclusions

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7.1 Introduction

This final chapter draws together the findings with regards to each of the study's nine Research Objectives. It also highlights, at a higher level of abstraction, the research's contributions to academic knowledge across a variety of sub-literatures. Table 7.1 summarises these contributions to knowledge against each Research Objective. The findings and contributions lead to an assessment (Section 7.11) of how far this study has progressed understandings of the central research question: *How, why and with what implications do Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities?* Areas for further investigation are identified. The chapter concludes with summary observations of relevance to practitioners and those working with NDNGOs.

Of the research findings detailed in Table 7.1, there are five, which are considered to be the most significant for development and NGO studies. These are summarised here in order of significance. Firstly, the four-part hypothesis is a useful heuristic device for understanding domestic programmes of NDNGOs. This has potential application for the analysis of other NDNGO programmatic decisions. This is enhanced through the application of the concepts of *habitus* and third-dimensional power which provide a more dynamic approach to our understanding of NDNGO domestic programmes and possibly other NDNGO decisions and are important analytical tools in understanding NDNGOs and what drives their programming decisions.

Secondly, the research provides empirical evidence that NDNGO organisational *habitus,* insufficiently addressed within development studies, can be analysed as a matrix in which the four dimensions of the hypothesis and their sub-dimensions are constitutive elements. *Habitus* can be a dynamic generative force as well as a structuring force in NDNGOs. Domestic programmes display different models of organisational *habitus,* which demonstrate the potential to disrupt the organisational *habitus*.

Thirdly, this study uses empirical evidence and the concept of organisational *habitus* to model what a future NDNGO might look like, highlighting their key eight assets. It suggests that domestic programme assets can only be fully realised if NDNGOs align their theory of poverty with that of their supporters, transforming this relationship to acknowledge the political nature of development, as with OA's comprehensive social action approach.

Fourthly, the research provides empirical evidence in the case study NDNGOs of a search for a programme strategy, which minimises the violence of 'othering' and focuses on inequalities. 'Othering' practices are seen to be inimical to an ethical development. If third-dimensional power is made visible and incorporated into practice and intervention design, through the domestic programmes, an ethical development *is* possible. Part of the NDNGO rationale, therefore for the domestic programmes is that development is, therefore, not necessarily defined by the violence of 'othering'.

Fifthly, the research provides further empirical evidence that NDNGOs work in and across multiple and new domains. The relationships between domestic programmes and the domains in which they are situated can take on different forms (multiple, nested, or ruptured). The domain model in which NDNGO *habitus* is situated is vital to an understanding of why they established domestic poverty programmes and whether these programmes challenge the organisational *habitus*. There is empirical evidence that a new domain of development exists, which opens up the spaces, actors and practices of the current international development domain to new interpretations. In the case of Oxfam America this new domain is known as 'comprehensive social action'. The ability of NDNGOs to work within this new domain is circumscribed by their capacity to reconstruct their organisational *habitus* to minimise othering practices and re-shape their organisational identity.

7.2 Research Objective 1: To generate a working hypothesis from the literature as an exploratory heuristic framework

The heuristic framework developed posits that there are four factors to be considered when assessing why NDNGOs, such as Oxfam GB (OGB), Oxfam America (OA), Red Barnet (RB) and Islamic Relief (IR), established domestic programmes working with the poor in their own communities. Each of these elements is derived from the literature

as discussed in Chapter 2, indicating that an organisation's theory of poverty, development ethic, considerations of their future, and institutional practices are likely drivers of these domestic programmes. Chapter 4 uses this framework to analyse the major case study of OGB and finds that the empirical evidence supports the hypothesis.

However, the analysis goes beyond the hypothesis, which is enhanced by Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999) and Gaventa's approach to the three dimensions of power (1980, 2006). Chapter 4, for example, reveals how the factors of the four-part heuristic framework are constitutive elements of the organisational *habitus*. The OGB case study illustrates that the domestic programme was never a 'normal' country programme but was expected to deliver *added value* for OGB, particularly in the way it addressed issues of third-dimensional power such as the myths and symbols around appropriate roles for NDNGOs and SNGOs. The UK Poverty Programme (UKPP) was, therefore, an acknowledgement of the need to adapt to critiques of NDNGO legitimacy and credibility. The programme has the potential to disrupt OGB's *habitus* and accepted ideas about the nature of international development work.

Building on these insights, the three smaller case studies provide further empirical evidence of the utility of the heuristic framework. Furthermore, Chapter 5 finds evidence within each of the smaller case studies (Islamic Relief, Red Barnet and Oxfam America) of the enhanced four-part hypothesis outlined above, offering different models of organisational *habitus* in which the domestic programmes sit. In addition, it is argued that each organisation displays a distinct and dynamic relationship between its *habitus,* the domains within which it operates and the domain and *doxa* of international development. The domestic programmes of each organisation are located within these different models, characterized as *multiple, nested* and *ruptured* domain models.

From these empirical findings in relation to Research Objective 1, there are three distinctive contributions to knowledge. Firstly, that the four-part hypothesis is a useful heuristic device for exploring and understanding the domestic programmes of NDNGOs. This has potential application for the analysis of other NDNGO programmatic decisions. Secondly, application of the concept of *habitus* enhances the hypothesis and provides a more dynamic approach to our understanding of NDNGO domestic programmes and possibly other NDNGO decisions. Finally, third-dimensional

power is an important analytical tool in understanding NDNGOs and what drives their programming decisions.

7.3 Research Objective 2: What theory of poverty informed the domestic programmes?

The connection between OGB's theory of poverty and the UKPP debates is driven by the four elements of its theory: its meanings and dimensions; its causes; the realities of living with poverty, and who are the poor. The data shows that the issue of power and powerlessness are fundamental to OGB's understanding of each of these elements and, therefore, its theory of poverty. However, the difference between OGB and its donating public's understanding of poverty has its roots in approaches to third-dimensional power, in which OGB recognises the 'invisible' work of myths and symbols but perceives that its supporter base, in the main, does not. The decision to establish the UKPP in 1995 was, therefore, an attempt to offer a truly global analysis of poverty, to apply consistently this theory of poverty as powerlessness in practice, and to educate and influence its supporter base and media to come to a similar understanding. In doing so, the study reveals the potential of the programme to disrupt accepted ideas and assumptions about the nature of international development work.

Islamic Relief's (IR) theory of poverty is rooted in the exclusion, deprivation and vulnerability of Muslim diaspora communities in the UK and in Islamic belief and tradition around the payment of *zakat* and its legitimate beneficiaries. A multi-dimensional approach to poverty, which embraces non-monetary dimensions such as lack of dignity and social exclusion is also visible in IR's theory of poverty. This latter approach is common throughout the international development domain. The IR UK domestic programme can be seen as a way in which these dynamics can co-exist. For example, there is a need to respond to the issue of exclusion, deprivation and lack of dignity for Muslims in the UK while at the same time recognizing that scriptural and Prophetic guidance call for universal justice and compassion.

Red Barnet's (RB) theory of poverty underpins its domestic programme with a very clear focus on vulnerable children and reflects the tensions around the word 'poverty' in the public debate in Denmark. Thus, although RB uses the 60% of median income threshold to define poverty, it sits within a context in which 'vulnerability', 'exclusion'

from societal norms and 'exploitation' have more resonance with Danish society. As in the UK, this is often because of the shame attached to the word 'poverty'.

The evidence from the Oxfam America (OA) case study very clearly demonstrates a link between the organisation's theory of poverty. The systemic causes of poverty are the constitutive element of OA's theory of poverty, which are mobilised through its domestic programme and form the common thread throughout the data. There is evidence that the organisation's theory of poverty was clearly instrumental in the decision to establish the USRO domestic programme in 1992. With its focus on systemic injustices and long-term solutions, the organisation's theory of poverty tends to push more towards development work as opposed to humanitarian.

The above provides empirical evidence to support three contributions to knowledge. Firstly, NDNGOs mobilise theories of poverty in their policy and practice, specifically with regard to their domestic programmes. Secondly, a useful way of conceptualising a theory of poverty is via the four elements of: meaning and dimensions; causes; realities of living in poverty, and who is poor. Finally, understandings of third-dimensional power can be the differentiating factor in theories of poverty, for example, between an NDNGO such as OGB and its supporters.

7.4 Research Objective 3: What development ethic informed the domestic programmes?

OGB's development ethic is articulated in the way its staff and archive documents consider the issues of dignity, justice, rights, 'othering' and the 'undeserving poor'. These concerns dominate the data and are seen as possible responses to the three questions of development ethics about the 'ends', 'means' and challenges of development practice. Three arguments mobilise the organisation's development ethic in support of the UKPP. Firstly, if dignity, justice and rights are the most significant 'ends' of development, then these should be applied universally, whether in UK or India. Secondly, if ethical 'ends' require ethical 'means', the binary distinctions, or 'othering', used by the media and UK public in talking about development, are barriers to the achievement of ethical development. OGB analysis points to the potential for the very idea of the UKPP to rupture these simplistic binary divisions. Thirdly, the UKPP *as practice* could challenge the myths and symbols of third-dimensional power, overcoming the counter-productive violence of 'othering'. This demonstrates that an

ethical practice is possible if third-dimensional power is acknowledged and made visible.

The goals of dignity and justice expressed through IR's theory of poverty and encapsulated within the payment and use of *zakat* also underpin the organisation's development ethic. Dignity and justice determine the 'ends' of development and are universally applicable whether for a project beneficiary in UK or Syria. There was very little explicit mention of aspects of a development ethic in the RB case study. Due to the size of the data set no particular conclusions are drawn from this.

The evidence from the OA case study very clearly demonstrates a link between the organisation's development ethic with the decision to establish a domestic poverty programme. Justice and rights are the most important 'ends' of development and ethical 'means' of development require a more sustainable response than service delivery. This rationale was further strengthened with OA's adoption of a rights-based approach to programming in 2001 and the OA response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005 through which this development ethic was illustrated.

As with the previous Research Objectives, the findings from the analysis of the NDNGO case study organisations' development ethic also point to five contributions to knowledge at a higher level of abstraction than the Research Objective itself. Firstly, NDNGOs' development ethic can usefully be conceptualised using Goulet's three questions about the ends, means and challenges of development practice (1997). Secondly, dignity, justice and rights are the dominant 'ends' of development in the development ethics of three of the case study NDNGOs (OGB, IR and OA). Thirdly, 'othering' practices are inimical to an ethical development in the case study NDNGOs. Fourthly, if third-dimensional power is made visible and incorporated into practice and intervention design, an ethical development *is* possible. Development need not necessarily be defined by the violence of 'othering'. Finally, domestic programmes are a strategy by which NDNGOs attempt to distance themselves from this violence by changing the terms of the debate about who matters in development.

7.5 Research Objective 4: How were considerations of the NDNGO's future part of this process?

There is considerable evidence that anxiety about the future of OGB as an NDNGO, especially its relationships with SNGOs and its campaigning role, was one of the drivers of the decision to establish the UKPP. Its major concerns were about legitimacy, credibility, accountability and impact, all of which mediated the quality of its relationships with SNGO partners. The UKPP was perceived as one way in which OGB could acquire credibility and, therefore, legitimacy by responding to the challenges of SNGO partners to 'take the same risk' (Oxfam GB, 1995d) of working with domestic poor communities. In addition, the programme could provide the required rootedness for evidence-based campaigning.

In a context in which OGB was concerned about the future role of NDNGOs, the concept of 'added value' is prevalent in the data. In OGB's quest to identify its strengths, particular contributions and additionality in the development process, there was a clear strategy that instrumentalised the UKPP as a mechanism through which OGB demonstrated it was changing the terms of the development debate. In debates prior to 1995 the programme was, therefore, never a 'normal' country programme but was expected to deliver added value for OGB, particularly in the way it addressed issues of third dimensional power such as the myths and symbols around appropriate roles for NDNGOs and SNGOs.

Chapter five demonstrates how the future credibility of IR as an organisation is linked to the credibility of the Muslim communities and *vice versa,* with expectations of professional effectiveness and impact from both institutional and individual donors. However, the vulnerability of the UK Muslim organisations to accusations of inappropriate accounting at best and funding terrorism at worst, evidenced by the establishment in 2007 of the Muslim Charities Forum to ensure standards of professionalism and transparency in the Muslim NGO sector, is an important driver in wanting to maintain a domestic programme.

The evidence from the OA case study very clearly demonstrates a link between the organisation's considerations of NDNGO futures with the decision to establish a domestic poverty programme. In addition, there is evidence that considerations of what a future NDNGO should and could be and do were important to the initial case for a

domestic programme and its on-going justification, especially after the formation of Oxfam International in 1995 and the OA Humanitarian Response Department in 2002.

The findings from an analysis of Research Objective 4 in regard to the role that concerns about NDNGO futures played in the decision to establish domestic programmes, also point to two wider contributions to knowledge. Firstly, they provide empirical evidence that domestic programmes can be interpreted as NDNGO responses to critiques of their legitimacy and credibility. These can be considered alongside other reinvention strategies such as de-centralisation. Secondly, the findings demonstrate how four NDNGOs have responded to critical concern about their weak roots in civil society, a concern that has received renewed attention in recent literature (Banks et al., 2013, Banks et al., 2015).

7.6 Research Objective 5: What role did institutional practices play in this process?

The final element of the hypothesis suggests that institutional practices play a role in the decision to establish domestic programmes. The analysis and findings in Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate that this is borne out by the evidence from the case studies, which show that practices were both drivers and barriers to the decision and mobilised by different sides of the debate. Each institutional practice plays a dynamic role in the creation and maintenance of a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions, or the organisational *habitus*. The institutional practices such as organisational identity and sensitivity to public opinion hold this matrix together with their boundary work. By mobilising third-dimensional power they, for example, cast OGB's role entirely in the 'Third World'. Practices such as organisational identity, governance, public opinion and communications maintain the *habitus* through their 'boundary work'. Whereas the practices of communications and funding included recognition of third- dimensional power but were mobilised by detractors and supporters of the UKPP proposal, the practice of organisational identity uniquely entrenched the *habitus*.

In the case of RB, Denmark, the institutional practices of organisational identity, funding and campaigning work are active in supporting and challenging the domestic programme. There is a strong sense from the data on RB that the past 70 years of work in Denmark engenders confidence about their organisational expertise and the role and

place of the domestic programme and organisation in the country. The evidence from the OA case study very clearly demonstrates a link between the organisation's institutional practices with the decision to establish a domestic poverty programme. The analysis finds that the current domestic programme is also constrained by the institutional practices of funding, communications and organisational identity and the idea of 'impact' in planning for the future. However, despite the original idea for the domestic programme to be a concrete expression of 'one, world, one problem', the tensions around organisational identity and framing communications have kept its profile low leading to concerns that understandings of poverty 'stop at the borders' edge'. The push towards humanitarian work is undertaken by the institutional practices of funding, governance and communications as the organisation realises that it must engage with humanitarian work to meet the expectations of its donors, its affiliates in Oxfam International and the need to utilise the 'opportunity' of humanitarian crises to frame messages to its supporters about poverty, vulnerability and resilience

There are three distinctive contributions to knowledge, which emerge from these research findings and for which empirical evidence is provided. Firstly, NDNGO organisational *habitus* can be analysed as a matrix in which communications, governance, organisational identity and public opinion are constitutive elements. Secondly, practices associated with organisational identity are powerful drivers of and barriers to decision-making in NDNGOs. They are rooted in the domain model in which each organisational *habitus* is situated. Finally, this means that *habitus* can be a dynamic generative force for innovation as well as a structuring force maintaining the *status quo* in NDNGOs.

7.7 Research Objective 6: What has been the impact of the decision on the NDNGOs' relationships with southern partners?

This research objective begins to address the wider implications of domestic poverty programmes. Chapter 4 argues that although there is no evidence of meaningful impact of the UKPP on SNGOs, beyond curiosity, there are many synergies between the approaches to power of SNGOs and those mobilised by OGB in arguing for UKPP. In the SNGOs' approach to three-dimensional power, there is an acknowledgement of the importance of all three dimensions of power in bringing about change. In their resistance to the myths and symbols, which constrain and maintain existing SNGO and NDNGO roles in a north-south binary, the findings suggest that SNGOs are more

inclined than OGB to challenge their organisational *habitus* and the international development domain that shapes it. This enables ethical partnerships to continue which do not reinforce inequalities. This forms the basis of the argument that the influence of southern partners on OGB was significant on the issues that drove the UKPP debates.

The above enables an extrapolation of two contributions to knowledge. Firstly, the evidence from OGB in Chapter 4 demonstrates that understandings of the significance of third-dimensional power among SNGO partners were influential in Oxfam GB's domestic programme decision. Secondly, this suggests that SNGOs can be more inclined than their NDNGO partners to challenge the NDNGO organisational *habitus* and the international development domain in which it is situated.

7.8 Research Objective 7: What does this mean for the future role and work of Oxfam GB and other northern development NGOs?

Chapter 6 uses empirical research data to argue that OGB's domestic programme, the UKPP, provides eight assets, which address the critiques around NDNGO legitimacy and role. These are: 1) providing evidence of intellectual consistency and coherence; 2) demonstrating the relationship between theory and practice; 3) making visible the theory of poverty as powerlessness; 4) highlighting the agency of the poor; 5) distancing OGB from 'neo-colonial' histories and practices; 6) acquiring and maintaining civic rootedness for advocacy work and a transformational relationship with the public; 7) providing an early warning system for middle-income countries; 8) operationalizing a development ethic in which everyone matters. These assets provide a working model, based on empirical evidence, of the organisational *habitus* of a possible future NDNGO. The study argues that this offers a model of what an appropriate or ethical future NDNGO practice might look like.

However, it is highly unlikely that the potential evidenced in the OGB UKPP range of assets identified above, can be realised without a transformed relationship with the UK public. This will, in turn, require adjustments to its organisational identity, *habitus* and the international development domain in which it is situated.

In considering the implications of this research for the future of NDNGOs, it makes three distinctive contributions to knowledge. Firstly, it uses empirical evidence to model

what a future NDNGO might look like in response to critiques, highlighting their key assets. Secondly, it provides empirical evidence of an NDNGO's search for a programme strategy, which minimises the violence of 'othering'. Finally, it suggests that domestic programme assets can only be fully realised if NDNGOs align their theory of poverty with that of their supporters, transforming this relationship to acknowledge the political nature of development, as in the case of OA's comprehensive social action approach.

7.9 Research Objective 8: Does this indicate a development ethic in which 'everyone matters'?

The domestic programmes offer a challenge to NDNGOs' organisational *habitus* and their location in the 'international development' domain through the assertion that everyone matters. Chapter 6 outlines six steps of argumentation, starting from the proposition that all three dimensions of power are at work in OGB's theory of poverty, and leading to the tentative conclusion that via a process of ontological promotion, the UKPP could point to a new international development domain in which 'everyone matters'. In the transformed context of a new domain of development, this becomes an important principle, moving understandings of development away from simplistic binaries of 'us and them' towards an ethic which values the worth of all human beings. This can be seen in the OGB UKPP's insistence on the issue of inequalities and rejection of the practices of 'othering'. The domestic programmes are, therefore, evidence of the normative and empirical arguments for a development ethic in which 'everyone matters'. This is identified as the eighth asset of the UKPP.

The evidence and findings from the case studies of IR, RB and OA (presented in Chapter 5), point to the centrality of this same development ethic in the multiple, single and ruptured domain models in which their domestic programmes are located. It is also central to the domain of comprehensive social action in which OA's domestic programme situates itself as an alternative to the current international development domain. As the cases of OGB, IR and OA demonstrate, the above process also requires disruption of the existing *habitus*. It moves development work beyond the popular conception of single-dimensional poverty alleviation. The emphasis on inequalities in the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) is being picked up and driven by NGOs such as Oxfam International and Save the Children Fund (SCF). Using the opportunity of the post-2015 framework, SCF argues that leaving no one behind 'will require

progress for those furthest behind to accelerate against a backdrop of improvement for all'. This argument is fundamentally based on an ethic of 'everyone matters'.

The findings from this research objective provide empirical evidence to support three further contributions to knowledge. Firstly, the domestic programmes of the four case study NDNGOs are indicators, along with the new SDGs, of a development ethic, which focuses on inequalities in which everyone matters. Secondly, the four case study NDNGOs developed a practice through their domestic programmes, which modelled a development ethic with a focus on inequalities well before the development of the SDGs. Thirdly, a development ethic in which everyone matters is not necessarily perceived as an asset by NDNGOs, such as OGB, that are so closely defined by and associated with the current domain of international development.

7.10 Research Objective 9: Does this indicate a new 'domain' of development?

As with the case of OGB's UK Poverty Programme, Chapter 5's analysis of the three smaller case studies finds that what appears to be a decision to establish a new programme (or, in the case of RB, to continue an existing programme) has much wider significance for understandings of the organisational *habitus* and the domains in which they operate. In the case of IR, a *multiple-domain model* characterises the organisational *habitus* in which three domains (Islamic belief and practice, UK Muslim diaspora identity and international development) are in a constant state of tension and flux. These three domains co-exist and lend authority, credibility and legitimacy to IR's work. The domestic programme of IR sits comfortably within this *habitus* and does not significantly disrupt any of the three domains in which it is situated. The *doxic* universe is only re-shaped to the extent that IR, as a faith-based organisation, brings questions of religious belief and practice into the secular domain of international development. In fact, the empirical data points to these three domains as the underpinning rationale for the domestic programme.

The case of Red Barnet allows an exploration of an organisational *habitus*, which is nested in the two domains of the domestic children's sector (in which the state is very active) and international development. Due to the single-issue nature of its work with children, there is no contradiction or conflict between these two domains, rather, one sits within the other. The domestic programme is at the heart of and inseparable from

RB's total portfolio of work and there is no friction between the *habitus* of the domestic programme and that of the organisation as a whole. Chapter 5 highlights the fact that in this *nested domain model* the RB domestic programme has not needed to mobilise third-dimensional power to change and re-shape perceptions, with the exception of public understandings of the prevalence of poverty in Denmark, rather its boundary work has maintained the shape and space of the domains in which it operates, without challenge or disruption to the *doxa* of either domain.

The case of the OA domestic programme considerations of organisational identity and NDNGO futures shape the domestic programme *habitus*, locating it in a different domain to that of the current organisational *habitus,* which it challenges. Thus the domestic programme actively reconfigures a new *habitus,* which sits more appropriately in the domain of 'comprehensive social action' rather than of international development or humanitarian work. This *ruptured domain model* demonstrates the empirical finding that the OA domestic programme sits within a new domain of 'comprehensive social action', distinct from that of international development and humanitarian work. The domain of comprehensive social action avoids the bifurcation between the domestic and international arenas of action, characteristic of the international development domain, thus disrupting its *doxic* universe.

Chapter 6 takes the argumentation further, demonstrating how the eight added value assets of OGB UKPP push at the boundaries of current understandings of the spaces, practices and actors of international development, offering a more disruptive interpretation of the domestic programme. Mobilising invisible third-dimensional power, the domestic programme challenges and shifts perceptions of what 'international development' is, resisting the myths and symbols of the current domain. This leads to the conclusion that an additional asset of the UKPP is to provide evidence of and rationale for a new domain of development, which opens up the space, actors and practices of the current international development domain to new interpretations. This is one way in which NDNGOs have responded when confronted with a new operating environment. The UKPP is, therefore, a response, which potentially ruptures the organisational *habitus*, its location within and the identity of the international development domain. The evidence from the three small case studies and the major case study of OGB, therefore, demonstrates that the dynamic process of rupture in organisational *habitus* can be brought about by the boundary work of third-dimensional

power in an organisation's theory of poverty, development ethic, institutional practices or future strategies. It can also be brought about through the boundary work of third-dimensional power within the domain model in which the organisational *habitus* is situated.

The UKPP thus raises questions, which challenge the unspoken assumptions of the international development *doxa*. The spaces and whole framework in which 'international development' occurs are, therefore, changing and this brings with it questions for NDNGOs and individual citizens about how and where to act. The UKPP and the other domestic programmes case studies reviewed in this research offer a possible response to these questions and further evidence of a new domain of development.

The findings above from Chapters 5 and 6, therefore, make five further contributions to knowledge and to understandings of the possible wider implications of domestic poverty programmes. Firstly, they provide further empirical evidence that NDNGOs operate in and across multiple domains, building on the work of Hilhorst (2003). Secondly, there is evidence that a new domain of development exists, which opens up the spaces, actors and practices of the current international development domain to new interpretations. In the case of Oxfam America this new domain is known as 'comprehensive social action'. Thirdly, using Bourdieu's concept of ontological promotion (Bourdieu, 1996) facilitates capture of the dynamic between the rupture in NDNGOs' organisational *habitus* and the shifting boundaries of the domain of development and its *doxa*. Fourthly, a new empirical data set is generated, which observes and tracks changes in the political economy of international development from the perspective of NDNGOs. Finally, the new empirical data set provides evidence for and facilitates further theorisation of the phenomenon of the parallel academic worlds of international development and the UK voluntary sector (Lewis, 2014).

Table 7.1 Summary of contributions to knowledge against the nine Research Objectives

Research objectives	Contribution to knowledge
1. To generate a working hypothesis from the literature as an exploratory heuristic framework.	1. The four-part hypothesis is a useful heuristic device for understanding domestic programmes of NDNGOs. This has potential application for

	the analysis of other NDNGO programmatic decisions.
	2. Application of the concept of *habitus* enhances the hypothesis and provides a more dynamic approach to our understanding of NDNGO domestic programmes and possibly other NDNGO decisions.
	3. Third-dimensional power is an important analytical tool in understanding NDNGOs and what drives their programming decisions.
2. What theory of poverty informed the domestic programmes?	Provides empirical evidence that: 4. NDNGOs mobilise theories of poverty in their policy and practice. 5. A useful way of conceptualising a theory of poverty is via the four elements of: meaning & dimensions; causes; realities of living in poverty, and who is poor. 6. Understandings of third-dimensional power can be the differentiating factor in theories of poverty eg between NDNGO and its supporters.
3. What development ethic informed the domestic programmes?	Provides empirical evidence that: 7. NDNGOs' development ethic can usefully be conceptualised using Goulet's (1997) three questions about the ends, means and challenges of development practice. 8. Dignity, justice and rights are the dominant 'ends' of development in the development ethics of three of the case study NDNGOs (OGB, IR and OA). 9. 'Othering' practices are inimical to an ethical development in the case study NDNGOs. 10. If third-dimensional power is made visible and incorporated into practice and intervention design, an ethical development *is* possible. Development is not necessarily defined by the violence of 'othering'. 11. Domestic programmes are a strategy by which NDNGOs attempt to distance themselves from the violence of 'othering' by changing the

	terms of the debate about who matters in development.
4. How were considerations of the NDNGO's future part of this process?	Provides empirical evidence that: 12. Domestic programmes can be interpreted as NDNGO responses to critiques of their legitimacy and credibility. These can be considered alongside other reinvention strategies such as de-centralisation. 13. Demonstrates how four NDNGOs have responded to critical concern about their weak roots in civil society.
5. What role did institutional practices play in this process?	Provides empirical evidence that: 14. NDNGO organisational *habitus* can be analysed as a matrix in which communications, governance, organisational identity and public opinion are constitutive elements. 15. Practices associated with organisational identity are powerful drivers of and barriers to decision-making in NDNGOs. They are rooted in the domain model in which each organisational *habitus* is situated. 16. *habitus* can be a dynamic generative force as well as a structuring force in NDNGOs.
6. What has been the impact of the decision on the NDNGO's relationships with southern partners?	Provides empirical evidence that: 17. SNGOs can be more inclined than their NDNGO partners to challenge the NDNGO organisational *habitus* and the international development domain in which it is situated. 18. Understandings of the significance of third-dimensional power among SNGO partners were influential in Oxfam GB's domestic programme decision.
7. What does this mean for the future role and work of Oxfam GB and other northern development NGOs?	19. Uses empirical evidence to model what a future NDNGO might look like in response to critiques, highlighting their key assets. 20. Provides empirical evidence of an NDNGO's search for a programme strategy, which minimises the violence of 'othering'.

	21. Suggests that domestic programme assets can only be fully realised if NDNGOs align their theory of poverty with that of their supporters, transforming this relationship to acknowledge the political nature of development, as with OA's comprehensive social action approach.
8. Does this indicate a development ethic in which 'everyone matters'?	Provides empirical evidence that: 22. The domestic programmes of the four case study NDNGOs are indicators, along with the new SDGs, of a development ethic, which focuses on inequalities in which everyone matters. 23. The four case study NDNGOs developed a practice through their domestic programmes, which modelled a development ethic with a focus on inequalities well before the development of the SDGs. 24. A development ethic in which everyone matters is not necessarily perceived as an asset by an organisation that is so closely defined by and associated with the domain of international development.
9. Does this indicate a new 'domain' of development?	25. Provides further empirical evidence that NDNGOs work in and across multiple domains (Hilhorst, 2003). 26. Provides empirical evidence that a new domain of development exists, which opens up the spaces, actors and practices of the current international development domain to new interpretations. In the case of Oxfam America this new domain is known as 'comprehensive social action'. 27. Using Bourdieu's concept of ontological promotion (1996) facilitates capture of the dynamic between the rupture in NDNGOs' organisational *habitus* and the shifting boundaries of the domain of international development and its *doxa*. 28. Generates a new empirical data set, which observes and tracks changes in the political economy of international development from the perspective of NDNGOs.

	29. Generates a new empirical data set, which provides evidence for and facilitates further theorisation of the phenomenon of the parallel academic worlds of international development and the UK voluntary sector (Lewis, 2014).

7.11 Conclusions: Why do Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities?

The research findings of this study and its research objectives enable a response to the central research question. The four-part hypothesis which posits that NDNGOs choose to work with the poor in their own communities because of a combination of their theory of poverty, development ethics, concerns about their future role as NDNGOs and institutional practices, has been shown to have considerable heuristic value. In addressing this question beyond the hypothesis, rich nuanced understandings are achieved of the nature of NDNGOs and their work. Some findings also warrant further investigation and these areas are outlined below.

In the case of IR, a *multiple-domain model* characterises the organisational *habitus* in which the three domains of Islamic belief and practice, UK Muslim diaspora identity and international development co-exist. They lend authority, credibility and legitimacy to IR's work. The empirical data points to these three domains as the underpinning rationale for the domestic programme. In addition, the boundary work of the domestic programme itself works to maintain the organisational *habitus* at the nexus of the three domains.

The case of Red Barnet allows an exploration of an organisational *habitus*, which is nested in the two domains of the domestic children's sector and international development. The domestic programme is and has always been seen at the heart of and inseparable from RB's total portfolio of work as it was established before the organisation worked beyond Denmark. Thus there is no friction between the *habitus* of the domestic programme and that of the organisation as a whole. The study highlights the fact that the RB domestic programme's boundary work has maintained the shape and space of the domains in which it operates, without challenge or disruption. The *doxic* universe of its constituent domains is left intact.

The case of Oxfam America illustrates the extent of the boundary work undertaken by considerations of organisational identity and NDNGO futures. In the OA domestic programme these same dimensions shape the domestic programme *habitus*, locating it in a different domain to that of the current organisational *habitus*, which it challenges. This *ruptured domain model* demonstrates that the OA domestic programme sits within a new domain of comprehensive social action, distinct from that of international development and humanitarian work. Thus, the domestic programme has its origins in debates and tensions about the organisation's identity (between development and humanitarian agency) and concerns about its future role as an NDNGO. It is a response to these challenges, which locates the organisation's domestic work in a new domain of comprehensive social action, at odds with that of the organisational *habitus* of OA. Issues left assumed and undiscussed in the international development *doxa*, are made visible and explicit in the domain of comprehensive social action. For example, it becomes not just possible but essential to talk about ethnic conflict in Louisiana as well as in Sudan (Sinclair, 2012).

In the case of OGB, the study asks why it chooses to maintain a programme, which creates the tension and potential discomfort in its relations with its public supporters and the media. The answer appears to lie in the double bind OGB experiences in working within the international development domain (defined by simple binary notions of 'north' and 'south', 'developed' and 'developing'), while holding to a theory of poverty that focuses on power inequalities and a development ethic, which rejects 'othering' practices. On the one hand, OGB needs to address the legitimacy challenges from its southern partners, critical academics and practitioners. On the other, it continues to be constrained by its organisational identity and fundraising and communication practices, at the heart of which lies a nervous relationship with the UK public. Thus, the establishment and continued existence of the UKPP, albeit working on a fraction of the total OGB budget, represents an attempt to address the tensions it experiences working within the international development domain while continuing to work firmly within the same domain. The analysis in both Chapters 4 and 6 demonstrates how the UKPP's potential to model what a future NDNGO might look like, free from the constraints of the current international development domain, is deeply circumscribed by institutional practices related to its organisational identity and public opinion. The UKPP has the potential to move OGB's work into a new domain,

but this is unlikely to be realised without a transformed relationship with its public supporters in the UK.

The findings of the above four case studies, therefore, lead to the conclusion that understandings of why NDNGOs choose to work with the poor in their own communities can be found in the domain model in which the organisation's *habitus* is situated. By asking questions about the domains in which NDNGOs work and the dynamics between and within the constituent domains, the study acquires rich insights into why they choose to work with the poor in their own communities through domestic programmes. The domain model in which NDNGOs are situated is, therefore, vital to an understanding of why and how they act in certain ways, for example, establish and maintain domestic programmes.

Having drawn together the research findings against each of the nine Research Objectives and considered the implications for what this means for understandings of the central research question, areas for potential further research can be identified. Firstly, there are questions that emerge from each of the case studies, which deserve focussed attention. In the case of OGB, it would be worth undertaking further evaluation of the UKPP's value to OGB from the perspective of current OGB staff in the light of re-structuring begun in 2013 (Tan, 2013) since data collection for this research was completed. The question emerging from the current research data regarding IR which requires further investigation (identified in Chapter 5) is why with so much supporting rationale, the IR programme is not more extensive? Each element of the four-part hypothesis could be the basis for further research into NDNGOs and their programmatic choices. However, the case of RB particularly requires more data and work on the area of development ethics. The case of OA offers considerable potential for more detailed analysis and understandings of the move into the domain of comprehensive social action.

Beyond the specifics of the four case studies used in this research, there are several potentially fruitful areas for further research to extend and explore the findings and their application to other NDNGOs. Firstly, the enhanced heuristic framework could be applied to other NDNGO domestic programmes. This would facilitate deeper understandings of why NDNGOs choose to establish domestic programmes (or any other types of programmes) from the perspective a wider sample of case studies. It

would also lead to a more robust evidence base for the application of the analytical framework to NDNGOs' domestic programmes. Specific elements of the framework could be explored further: for example, the understanding of organisational *habitus* as a matrix in which theory of poverty, development ethic, concerns about the future and institutional practices are constitutive elements. The different domain models identified in this research (multiple, nested, ruptured) could be used as a heuristic device in analysing NDNGO behaviour and decision-making beyond domestic programmes. Finally, further use can be made of the considerable empirical data set created from both archive documentation and interview material (see in particular Appendix 1 and Appendix 3).

7.12 Summary observations for practitioners

This final section highlights the research findings that are most worthy of note for development practitioners and those working for and with NDNGOs. Firstly, if it is the case, as this study suggests, that there is a close association between NDNGO domestic programmes and an organisation's theory of poverty, development ethic, concerns for the future of NDNGOs and institutional practices, then these are features of NDNGOs that need to be understood by the NDNGOs themselves, their staff and partners. Those working with and for NDNGOs need to be transparent about their approach to these issues as they have the potential to impact programmatic decisions the organisation makes. For example, acknowledging the role of institutional practices around fundraising and organisational identity in decision-making would foster a greater level of transparency internally with staff and externally with partners. It may be helpful for those working with and for NDNGOs to reflect on the observation that the 'everyone matters' development ethic modelled by the four case study domestic programmes in this research, has been taken up and incorporated into the Sustainable Development Goals with their focus on inequalities.

Secondly, understanding better a NDNGO's theory of poverty will facilitate an analysis of how best to address different approaches amongst public supporters of NDNGOs. This is especially so where third-dimensional power is the differentiating factor, as in the case of OGB UKPP. This in turn will enable NDNGOs and practitioners to consider how to make third-dimensional power visible and incorporate its considerations into practice and intervention design, avoiding, for example, the violence of 'othering'.

Thirdly, with continued calls for NDNGOs to strengthen their rootedness in their own civil society (Banks et al., 2015), practitioners could usefully observe the way in which domestic programmes model an approach in which civic rootedness is an asset. Furthermore, practitioners may want to refer to the eight assets identified for the OGB UKPP, utilising this model of what a future NDNGO might look like as a tool with which to consider and plan for their futures.

Finally, the domain models identified in this study offer NDNGOs a reflective tool with which to consider the domains in which they operate and the impact of the dynamics between the domains on NDNGO work. Where, for example, an organisation experiences tensions between the domain of international development and that of religious belief and practice, this can be acknowledged and made explicit. Likewise, using the concept of assumed *doxa* can facilitate the process by which NDNGO staff, partners and practitioners can begin to ask previously unasked questions about the spaces, actors and practices of 'development'.

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Appendices

	Oxfam Archive documents			Scanned for Atlas Ti				
Ref.	**Date**	**File number**	**Doc Type**	**Title**	**Content**	**Notes**	**AtlasTi Ref**	**Biblio Ref**
OGB 1974	02-Dec-74	DIR/2/3/2/45	Proposal	**An assessment of the relationship between poverty in Britain and the Third World and proposals for action**	Proposals in priority order on a) commodity prices b) trade policy c) industrial policy d) effects of disarmament e) role of industry f) machinery of govt.	Submitted to PM from Group of Six (CPAG, Help the Aged, UNA, Shelter, Oxfam, WoW) following 10/5 meeting with PM, Home Office, DHSS and ODM.	P65	Group of Six 1974
OGB 1976/1	28-Oct-76		Report	Doesn't Charity Begin at Home?	Bill Elliot report submitted to Council of Management, 20/11/1976, summarising previous work, results of consultations with CofE and some UK charities and identifying tension between Ox need for resources OS v evidence of need at home v Ox objects demand tensions are			Elliot 1976

271

					addressed. Key questions are 1. how to address problems of magnitude and formalisation 2. "how can we avoid blurring our established image, confusing our supporters and reducing our appeal".			
OGB 1976/2	20-Nov-76		Report to Council	Charity Begins at Home?	Director recommends to Council, based on BE report, an agreed budget of no more than 2.5% of net unrestricted income in UK; est a field committee of UK and I to meet 3 times a year and make decisions on UKI projects; committee to follow same guidelines as for OS incl emphasis on self-help and "avoiding areas of need which ought to be met by the Welfare State or home based charities". Recs for a leaflet called Charity Begins at Home to			

					explain work in UK and against work in race relations.			
OGB 1976/3	20-Nov-76		Minutes	Minutes of Council Discussion	Long debate with 14 members against work in UK and 3 in favour. Chair concluded no change of policy at this time but agreed that "no doors should be slammed" and thinking should continue so Dir could continue his enquiries.			
OGB 1978	01-Sep-78	PRG/8/3/6/8 OXWORP 1977-80	Memo	"The Quest of a Field Approach to Evaluating OXWORP"	By Andrew Clarke, Oxford. Outlining summary of discussions re socio-ec. indices which may constitute independent variable of rural socio-ec change; eval. of OXWORP's wider objectives as "an			

					experimental programme"			
OGB ND/1	?	PRG/8/3/6/8 OXWORP 1977-80	Forms	OXWORP: CFO's Annual Assessment and Review of Progress (AAF/1)	Includes progress against each objective (social, ec, structural); dependency of group on Oxfam, effect of outside inputs on village and beneficiaries, group's utilization of funds, sustainability beyond Oxfam.			
OGB 1979	23-Aug-79	PRG/8/3/6/8 OXWORP 1977-80	Memo	Oxfam West Orissa Programme (OXWORP)	From Jeff Alderson to Field Directors copying prelim evaluation of programme in 1978, to share progress of prog and as an example of a simple methodology for the assessment of micro projects. Report says in Intro "'Poverty' according to OXWORP's analysis is social economic and structural (Political)			

					powerlessness. The stage is thus set of another small-scale planned social intervention to encourage its subjects to change the pace of history". (p.1) Incl methodology for selecting beneficiaries.			
OGB 1980	01-Apr-80	Oxfam News April-May 1980	Publication	Towards Self-Reliance in West Orissa	Article on p.6 " a team of young Oxfam field workers are involved in a unique project that could herald an exciting new way of working with the poor". "OXWORP is very much part of Oxfam's long term effort to help people not only to have more, but to be more."	Handwritten		
OGB 1981/1	1980-81	PRG/8/3/6 /9 OXWORP 1980-81	Memo	Terms of Reference for Evaluation of Oxfam West Orissa Programme	Outlines 6 TORs and 5 OXWORP aims.			
OGB 1981/2	01-Aug-81	Oxfam News:	Publication	How Much can we really do to help?	p.7 article by Glen Williams on discussion at staff			

		Aug-Sept 1981			conference (26-28/5/81) on recent challenge in Indian magazine "How" to foreign development agencies and NGOs.			
OGB 1982	02-Oct-82	PRG/8/3/6 /10 OXWORP 1982-86	Report	OXWORP Evaluation, Paper II	By Prof B. N Juyal. Brief report of a summary nature due to illness."It is an interesting experiment in 'going from above' to build 'from below', a characterisation that applies to most external NGOs which are attempting to build peoples' organisations" (p.16)	16 pages but only pp.1 and 16 found in file to-date.		
OGB 1983	01-Nov-83		Report	OXWORP: An Evaluative Study of the Oxfam West Orissa Programme	By Prof S Senaratne. Report's style, methodology and criticisms of OXWORP triggered much internal discussion about how the findings should be disseminated."OXWORP's performance has to be assessed as being both erratic and			

276

					unproductive" (p.188).			
OGB 1984/1	11-Jan-84	PRG/8/3/6/10 OXWORP 1982-86	Memo	OXWORP: Comments on "An Evaluative Study of the Oxfam West Orissa Programme"	By Glen Williams. Outlines Senaratne report's criticisms, responds and critiques presentation, implementation of evaluation, facts, biases.			
OGB 1984/2	23-Feb-84	PRG/8/3/6/10 OXWORP 1982-86	Minutes	Note on Meeting of OXWORP Steering Group, 23 Feb 1984	Meetings chaired by Oxfam Chair, Mary Cherry, and attended by AV Swami at which he spoke of his dissatisfaction with the Senaratne report incl on misappropriation of funds and lack of training for OXWORP CFOs.			
OGB 1984/3	23-Feb-84		Report	Should we do small-scale development work at home?: For discussion at JCC	Director, Guy Stringer, consulting with JCC on what resources shd be committed to this work. Uses Adrian Moyes' report on visit to project in	Marked by hand to Brain Pratt and Dick Copeland.		

277

					Hackney as example of assessment using same criteria as O/S. The Scotsman article attached 2/2/1984 "Scotland joins the Third World-official"			
OGB 1984/4	23-Feb-84			Minutes	Abstract from Executive Committee Minutes, Feb 1984	Craigmillar Development Project: "While some members were completely opposed to the spending of Ox funds in the UK, it was pointed out that the ordinary shop volunteer was pleased to be able to tell people who said that charity began at home that a small amount of money was spent in this way". Asked for report to April Council meeting on main areas of exp of Dir Discretionary Fund.		
OGB 1984/5	10-Apr-84	PRG/8/3/6/10 OXWORP 1982-86	Report		The Oxfam West Orissa Programme, Nov 1976-June 1983	By Pramod Unia giving an historical account of the prog and summary of		

					findings of the 2 eval reports. Circulated to all OXWORP Steering Group members.			
OGB 1984/6	21-Jul-84		Report	Director's Report to Council	Summary of use of Director's Discretionary Grants and £ totals.			Walker 1984
OGB 1985/1	01-Jul-85		Report	Oxfam Funding in the UK and Ireland	Author Michael Behr at request of Dir, Guy Stringer, May 1985, for discussion by JCC rec reviews in selected regions to consider nature of domestic development programme..			Behr 1985
OGB 1985/2	29-Oct-85		Memo	Strategic Plan	From Frank Judd, Director to David Bryer, OS Director and John Wallace, Home Divi Director requesting their collaboration ensuring UK work "gets attention" in SP because of "deterioration in our inner cities" and learning from 3rd World about tackling	Hand written notes: that meeting arranged for FJ and JW to discuss 11/11/85 and Bill Eliot and Mike Behr's "Charity Begins at Home" c 1977.		Judd 1985

					social problems and parallels with work in LA.			
OGB 1985/3	09-Dec-85		Memo	**Partnership with the Black Community**	Joan Wright, Caribbean Desk to David Bryer as "latest contribution to our linking debate".To-date most discussions on linking with B community within LA desk but proposes this is broadened out as Caribbean desk believe it "is a contradiction to be dealing in justice and equality in the overseas programme without making the same alignments in the UK...Many of the young black people suffering here are the nieces and nephews of our partners in the Caribbean."		P103	Wright 1985
OGB 1986/1	10-Jan-86		Memo	Should Oxfam work in the UK?	From JW and DB to Frank Judd proposing a small working			Wright and Bryer 1986

					group to look into this and report to Div Heads in April. TORs suggested.			
OGB 1986/2	10-Jan-86		Memo + attach	Oxfam Work in the UK?	From JW to DB with 3 docs from 1976 a) Doesn't Charity Begin at Home? By Bill Elliot b) Charity Begins at Home? From Dir report to Council, Nov 1976 c) Charity Begins at Home, Minute of Council discussion.			Wright 1986
OGB 1986/3	15-Jan-86		Report	**Oxfam and the Asian Community**	Sue Grieg recs on working with Asian groups in UK, more material in com languages, anti-racism training, use of com media, speaking tours-starting with Bengali community. Contextualise in terms of debate on Ox dev work in UK. "Oxfam as an organisation should actively work to eradicate [racism]... and		P94	Grieg 1986

					strengthen...[multicul turalism] because that is the good and right thing to do".			
OGB 1986/4	01-Feb-86		Discussion paper	..on the Creation of the Oxford Committee for Community Development in the UK, OXCOM	Author: Wyndham James,.circulated to Working Group in the UK. Argues that Ox's strengths of having independent publicly accountable financial base and devolution of resp to field make it well-placed to undertake dev work in UK. But needs to be a new org because of public perceptions, greater need OS, low priority UK work would have within Ox. Link with Oxfam would be good because of potential for exchange of experience between 3rd W and UK "breaking the myth that there is a separation between	References include 2 from M Norton at DSC on raising money from businesses.		James 1986

					'them' in the 3rd W and 'us' in the First World".			
OGB 1986/5	20-Mar-86		Memo	Re Working Party on Work in the UK	From Bridget Wooding (WP/OS Div) to Area Coords cc D Bryer requesting info on expenditure under overseas budget heads in UK in last and current FY.			Wooding 1986
OGB 1986/6	01-May-86		Report	**Working Party on Work in UK Report**	Recs of WP set up by Div Heads on 14/1/1986 and made up from 2 members of Home Div (Bill McGurie) and Wyndham James) and 2 members of OS Div (Sue Grieg & Bridget Wooding) + Joan MacCartney, Directorate. Recs: rationalisation of budget heads, new	Includes Annexes:Elliot and Behr reports, '84 Council meetings, WJ Oxcom proposal.	P123	

					budget head "Dev Exchange", discontinue Dir Discretionary and UK General heads, wind down existing low level com grants in UK "Halt to financial responses", creation of resource list to redirect requests, consider Oxcom idea.			
OGB 1986/7	30-Jun-86		Report	Summary of WP Report of May 1986: Oxfam in the UK	Key recommendations "That Ox does not undertake a systematic UK programme…That Ox initiates a wider discussion in the org…and gives consideration to the creation of a new organisation to work here at home in the Ox style".	From WP Chair: Bill McGuire		McGuire 1986
OGB 1986/8	08-Aug-86		Memo	Oxfam in the UK	Joan McCartney to Dir cc WP. Enclosing summary of WP report to be discussed at Directors meeting 23/9/86.			McCartney 1986

OGB 1987	15-Oct-87	Oxfam in the UK, 1986-93	Memo	Rationalisation of UK Grant Budget Heads	From Joan McCartney (Trustees & Policy Officer) to Div Heads requesting suggested TORs for rationalisation as agreed at Aug 86 Dir meeting - to be put to Exec Committee.			McCartney 1987
OGB 1988	08-Feb-88	"	Memo	**Oxfam Funding in the UK**	From Bill Yates to David Bryer + 3 suggesting review of UK funding rationale as Ox in 1990s will be v dif to 1970s due to amount of political analysis done and policy positions taken and media profile. This has implications for how vulnerable Ox is to external contradictions in policy "Are we in danger of making life too difficult for ourselves?" Request for note to remain confidential.	Marked Private and Confidential	P96	Yates 1988
OGB 1989	28-Mar-89	PRG/3/7/AFR/13	Report	**Learning from Experience in Africa**	Michael Edwards writing from Ganeshpuri, India in 1989 reflects on what		P79	Edwards 1989

					Ox can learn from work in Zambia & Malawi and their implications for Ox in general.			
OGB 1990/1	17-Jan-90	Oxfam in the UK 1986-93	Draft paper	**How could Oxfam work in the UK with full awareness of the organisation's overseas policy and practice?**	By Roy Trivedi to colleagues for comment. Looks at the criteria used OS to decide to fund: a) needs b) comparative advantage c) working through intermediaries d) avoiding duplication with other agencies e) support, M&E. Refers to previous Ox reports on this but identifies one argument not yet used - Ox has the advantage of a "unique cross-cultural perspective in to discussions and practice about work on these issues...Ox could make a significant contribution to increasing the awareness of people	Recipients incl Caroline Lucas	P77	Trivedi 1990

					about inter-dependence and thereby development..." Suggests priority areas: homeless, welfare rights, refugee groups, disability advocacy groups and NGO networking.			
OGB 1990/2	12-Oct-90	PRG/3/4/ ASI/33	Review	Summary of Review of Oxfam Hyderabad Programme - India Nov 1989-Jan 1990	Incl recommendation "ox needs to find ways of absorbing and disseminating the accumulated experience of the organisation" if it is to capitalise on its int base.			
OGB 1991/1	01-Mar-91		Report	**Report & Recommendations of the Working in the UK Working Group**	For discussion at Directors meeting 29/4/1991. Includes history of debate to-date, key issues, CA report by Michael Taylor, media implications. Recs: formal UK prog est with budget of £500k and Grants Officer to research partners, assess UK poverty	Group est when Frank Judd (Dir) asked Div Heads to set up group: Roy Trivedi (OS Div), Linda Blake (Home Div), Rob Wells (CFD) + Caroline Lucas (PACS)	P112	Blake 1991

					for 6 months; subject to Trustee approval, GO to est programme and UK Grants Committee. Key issues seen as: Ox as "3rd W Charity"; diversion of funds; political dynamics, comparative need of home v OS.			
OGB 1991/2	28-May-91		Memo	Oxfam in the UKI	From Gary Lancet, Africa Desk to all staff in OS Div asking for views on WP recs (GO, Grants Com, budget) - agree, disagree, not sure.			Lancet 1991
OGB 1991/3	01-May-91	c21/91	Council Minutes	Matters Arising	Chair explained that due to Charity Com report the paper on Working in the UK would not be discussed but suggested Exec could consider. Sev Trustees felt this was v important so agreed paper postponed to Council meeting in Sept or Jan 92.			OGB 1991

OIT 1992/1	? 1992	PRG/3/8/IND/5	Strategic Plan	Oxfam (India) Trust Bangalore Regional Strategic Plan, 1992-95	Need to enhance NGO understanding and awareness of debt, aid and SAP & negative impacts on poor and promote NGO campaigners to lobby. Need to cross-fertilise with other Ox experience "The exchange has so far been mostly North-South and very little South-South" (p.48).			
OIT 1992/2	01-Oct-92	PRG/3/8/IND/6	Strategic Plan	Oxfam (India) Trust Bhubaneswar Regional Strategic Plan, 1992-95	4.4 Oxfam's Role "With the funds available to the voluntary sector increasing at a much faster rate than the no.of agencies who can absorb these funds effectively, Oxfam, with comparatively less funds can either be marginalised or end up as just another funder of voluntary sector projects, unless it can add significant value to the work of our	(Internal Document - Not for Circulation)		

289

					partners" (p.4) Options for adding value incl: support for agencies who can do issue-based work + Networking + advocacy; promote watchdog role over govt; campaigning issues cd be SAPs, livelihoods, drought, health, gender.			
OGB 1992	15-Sep-92	PRG/3/8/I ND/3	Memo	**India Strategic Plan 1992-1995**	From India Dir to Ox Desk Officer with final amended version of SP incl analysis of poverty, SWOT	Marked "Strictly Confidential" - key doc	P78	
OGB 1993/1	? 1993		Publication	**Information from Oxfam: A brief history of Oxfam**	Details how Oxfam began and its growth.		P60	OGB 1993 (a)
OGB 1993/2	01-May-93	C21/93	Council Minutes	Oxfam's Strategic Intent 1994-1999	UKI work included in draft SI submitted to Council and Stewart Wallis spoke to this and "the Director explained the reasoning behind the extension of the development work to the UKI. This included the concerns of partners overseas,			OGB 1993 b

					the areas of expertise Oxfam might have to offer..., a more in-depth response to poverty from supporters...". Discussion included some members with serious reservations about UKI work and negative reaction of volunteers when surveyed in 1991. Other members supported proposal but queried whether such "a specific agenda should be contained within the Strategic Intent". Agreed that CMT to research what special competence Ox had to do this work and paper to be put to Council in 1994.			
OGB 1993/3	01-May-93		Report	Oxfam Grants List 1992-1993	Lists all grants in FY 92/93 to OGB partners internationally including £1.7m to India + details of			

					partners, regions and purpose.			
OGB 1993/4	20-Sep-93		Memo	**ME Desk Memo**	Chris Johnson, ME Desk to Stewart Wallis. Supportive of idea from discussions with OS staff and partners. Encouragement from UK Community work people "if it as linked with overseas work". "Being part of a number of meetings with people from marketing convinces me of their need to be more rooted in an analysis of poverty in this country and an understanding of how it affects people's lives...the overall culture is one which sees the UK population simply as 'givers' to the overseas work, or at best supporters of their causes".		P83	

OGB 1993/5	07-Oct-93		Memo	Brief on next steps in UK/I development programme	From Audrey Bronstein to Stewart Wallis. Initial thoughts on how to proceed with objective stated as "Council approval (Dec 94?) of policy paper (based on research/investigation, consultation) with CMT preferred option for action in developing a UK/I programme". Key point defined as "Operative definition of poverty now firmly based on issues of injustice, powerlessness, lack of access to basic rights.". Issue described as "extremely sensitive...4 out of 5 reports recommend proceeding...; so far no action; straw poll at staff conference indicate 2-1 against". Attached are 2 Guardian articles on			

					Home Office Report (Voluntary Action) proposing end of Charity status for vol sector and separate categories for service providers and campaigners.			
OGB 1994/1	21-Jan-94	UKI Poverty Programe 1994	Memo	**UK/I Poverty Programme**	From DB to all Dept Heads outlining process started by Trustees approving research into poss of UK/I programme in Strategic Intent to Council in March 1995. Background to issue. Phase 1 objective "to develop an initial analysis of key poverty issues in UK/I". Consultation June-August and at Assembly. Introduction of AB as UK/I Poverty Programme Officer wef early Jan. Feel free to contact her.		P116	

OGB 1994/2	29-Mar-94	"	Notes	**Oxfam's anti-poverty work in the UK: Notes on the current public position**	By John Magrath, Press Office -if asked by media then message is that research is at early stages into how existing UK prog to be taken forward. But do not want to seek out publicity or encourage media debate at this stage as no answers to questions.		P92	
OGB 1994/3	01-Apr-94	UKI Poverty Programe 1994	Report	**Poverty in the UK and Ireland- An Analysis**	Fran Bennett report concluding that key social policy issues for Oxfam are: a) absence of poverty from 1992 election agenda b) lack of involvement of people in poverty themselves in anti-poverty action c) globalisation of the economy and similarity of processes at work in the 'North' and 'South' d) structural factors involved in poverty.		P104	

| OGB 1994/4 | 01-May-94 | DIR/1/3/4 | Strategic Plan | **Strategic Plan 1994/95-1998/99** | Following on from May 1993 Strategic Intent in order to realise that Intent, incl in external situation analysis the changing roles of NGOs in N & S, little involvement in UK/I poverty issues despite being major anti-poverty organisation worldwide. "we will explore whether we should expand our development work in the UK/I." £2m/pa to be invested in public education as public perceptions differ so greatly from Oxfam's. | Key doc.Marked "Confidential to Staff & Volunteers. Not for publication." | P114 | |
| OGB 1994/5 | 01-May-94 | | Report | **Oxfam Review 1993-94** | Director's report says " The recognition that so many causes of continuing poverty and suffering lie outside the communities, or even the countries, where people live has led us to strengthen our voice by increasing | | P100 | |

					our links with other agencies".			
OGB 1994/6	24-May-94	"	Memo	Minutes of UK/I Reference Group	From AB to Ref Group. Purpose of meeting a) familiarise with project to-date b) consider draft interim report c) discuss next stage of project. Discussions on FB report. Key issues:Ox concept of poverty "that may be conceptually different from rest of the sector";racism and lack of understanding among stakeholders of Ox dev progr; dilemma b/t moral imperative for working in UK/I and risks;need to strengthen Ox authority and integrity to speak and act int.	v important insights		

OGB 1994/7	06-Jun-94	"	Notes	**Notes of CMT discussion of interim report**	DB set discussion in context of Ox work in Europe & lack of criteria for entering new countries "we will know more about reasons for UK/I prog than anywhere else in the world".Ox view of poverty has changed; inst questions; FR; future.Agreed to proceed and AB to develop aims and objectives, add southern perspective. Some refs to S partners by SW and need to incl @ Assembly.	"	P84	
OGB 1994/8	15-Jun-94	"	Memo	Reference Group for UK/I Programme Research	From AB to Ref Group. Purpose of next meeting on 28/7 to meet Stan and M Thek, ActionAid partners. AB recently attended a presentation by ST & "found their views fascinating".			

OGB 1994/9	22-Jul-94		Report	OGB Report and Accounts 1993-94	Showing total annual income for year ending 30/4/94 of £79.053million of which £32.117m from donations and £14.419m grants from UK Gov, EU & UN.30,000 volunteers.			
OGB 1994/10	…1994		Briefing	Oxfam Assembly94, Briefing Papers	Followed on from Assembly Induction Pack sent to all participants. Covers: the Topics "Poverty & Change: Influencing the Future"; the role of the 3 catalysts in each session.		P66	
OGB 1994/11	01-Sep-94	"	Memo	**Note to Regional Offices re Oxfam and Anti-Poverty Work in the UK**	Attached briefing on key messages on what to say to media on this issue following info that Guardian to run story on Ox research into UKP on 2/9.		P85	
OGB 1994/12	03-Sep-94	"	Press cutting	Relief n the home front	Guardian article by George Gelber arguing that 3rd world solutions will			

					not work for this country.			
OGB 1994/13	07-Sep-94	"	Memo	Media Reports about Oxfam Work on Poverty in UKI	From Stewart Wallis (DD) to all staff and volunteers..Refers to SP published in May p.13 "we will explore whether we should expand our development work in the UKI" + confirms no decisions have been taken until next March/April by Trustees. Assurance to staff of no "hasty decisions".			
OGB 1994/14	08-Sep-94	"	Memo	**Media Reports about Oxfam Work on Poverty in UKI**	From Press Office to all Trustees with press cuttings: Mail Comment "Playing games with poverty" + art (3/9); Mail on Sunday (4/9) + Telegraph (5/9).		P80	
OGB 1994/15	23-Sep-94	"	Press cutting	Now charity begins at home	Catholic Herald article by Paul Donovan "Oxfam ready to launch domestic aid"	Handwritten note to say article passed on by Paul Goggins.		

OGB 1994/16	26-Sep-94	"	Memo	Possible Seminar at IDS	From AB to Susie Smith (SG Chair) following on from discussion with Jeremy Swift of IDS @ Assembly to have joint seminar to look at parallels b/t poverty in N & S and consider what lessons from S cd be applied in N.			
OGB 1994/17	19-Oct-94	"	Memo	**Press Coverage/Analysis of UKI poverty programme**	From AB to CMT with Press Office analysis of coverage in Sept & think piece from JM of Press Office, 5/9 with reflections on lessons learned from coverage incl. perceptions of poverty & TW."The poor overseas are rather heroic.; the poor in the UK are reckless, feckless, people inclined to crime who are poor because they have chosen to be"		P108	
OGB 1994/18	…1994		Report	Assembly Voices	Interim report from Assembly, 19-21			

					September. Full report promised to members by November.			
OGB 1994/19	…1994	PRG/8/1/1/1	Report	**OGB Policy Dept Annual Report 1993/94**	Learning Points incl "Our advocacy on macro level debates needs to be more rooted in Oxfam's micro-level experience. New mechanisms are needed for this to happen and for ensuring we become a learning organisation".		P88	
OGB 1994/20	12-Dec-94	UKI Poverty Programe 1994	Memo	Media work on UK/I programme	From AB to John Magrath & Ana Feuchting, cc SW suggesting they contact an Ind journalist who is friend of SW - "Favourable leaders and/or articles around the time of the Council decision we know would be very helpful".	Handwritten note to say he no longer works for Ind.		
OGB 1995/1	03-Jan-95	"	Memo	UK/I Steering Group Meeting	From AB to SG with copy of draft report for consideration at			

					11/1/ meeting which CMT will discuss 16/1 and then Council 4/2 and April.			
OGB 1995/2	11-Jan-95	UKI Poverty Programe 1995	Draft Minutes	UK/I Poverty Programme Research Reference Group	Meeting considered draft report and discussed issues of corporate and divisional importance. Corporate concerns incl: new form of poverty resulting from ec globalisation; consequent changing role of NGOs in N & S; Ox long term direction which will need to be "publicly rooted". Aim to build movement of people. More work required on coms strategy for all staff, potential negative media coverage and budgetary implications.	Key doc		
OGB 1995/3	01-Jan-95	"	Report	UK/I Poverty Programme Research: Report to Council	By AB. Marked "Strictly confidential. For limited circulation only"			

OGB 1995/4	01-Jan-95	"	Report	Executive Summary	"			
OGB 1995/5	01-Mar-95	"	Memo	**Re: Council Decision on UK/I programme: Progress Report on Communications Strategy**	AB to CMT with detailed strategies for Appeals and Press Office covering neg or pos decisions, internal & ext, short, med and long term.Includes key messages eg "Poverty is more than a lack of material wealth" and coord of release of info to media and supporters.		P110	
OGB 1995/6	07-Mar-95		Memo	**Report of Stan and Mari Thekaekara's Visit to the UK**	AB to DB, cc OGB Chair, SG Chair, SG and CMT.St Report from May 1994 visit just published. "If the Trustees were to approve some kind of pilot prog, I hope that the insights contained here would form a systematic part of the work we could do with UK agencies". Report: Across the Geographical Divide	Key doc	P111	

OGB 1995/7	20-Mar-95	UK Poverty Correspondence 1995	Memo	**Suporters (and other public) interest in Oxfam and UK/I Poverty Prog**	From Supporter Services to AB and SG reporting on125 letters received to date on UKP issues with 105 against with majority saying level of poverty not comparable or govt's responsibility. 3 major against of whom 1 said wd withdraw donation. Compared with Barclays Bank issue in 86 when 279 letters opposed change of Bank.		P113	OGB Supporter Services, 1995
OGB 1995/8	31-Mar-95	"	Minutes	**Meeting Notes UK/I Poverty Programme**	Marked "Strictly Confidential". AB Chair. Council decision due on 29/4 with either "no", "yes" or "no decision". With Press Brief on 2 May at YWCA with Charity Projects, CentrePoint and CAP present. "Action Plan for Operation Mayday" attached incl action		P82	

					for dif teams. Next meeting 20/4.			
OGB 1995/9	20-Apr-95	"	Minutes	**Meeting Notes UK/I Poverty Programme**	Marked "Strictly Confidential". AB Chair. Due to 3 Trustees not being able to attend Council meeting not yet clear if decision will be announced that day. Meeting discussed implications of this for mailing, internal & ext coms & with Bank Holiday. Date of next meeting 1 May.		P81	
OGB 1995/10	20-Apr-95	UK Poverty Correspondence from Trustees 1995	Memo	**UK/I Poverty Programme**	Joel Joffe (Trustee) to DB cc Mary Cherry (Chair). As yet unconvinced that UKI prog shd expand at this stage because can't afford to lose £500k and burden on staff.		??	

OGB 1995/11	25-Apr-95	"	Fax	**Council 28/29 April: UK/I Poverty Prog**	From James Mackie (Belgium) to Mary Cherry supporting UKPP as overcoming poverty as a right is an imp development in Ox thinking; Ox Int aims to build a worldwide movement against poverty; "Poverty can touch any of us. We must not see it as something that happens to other people out there".		P76	
OGB 1995/12	28-Apr-95	"	Fax	**No title**	From D B Adriano (Trustee) to Mary Cherry with view against UKPP proposal with reasons incl dist b/t absolute & relative poverty, confusion of supporters.		P61	
OGB 1995/13	29-Apr-95	C4/95-3	Council Paper	**Council of Trustees 29 April 1995**	Copy of Council proposal and AB Supplementary Report to Council (dated April 1995) to all staff and volunteers. Sensitivities incl:	key doc	P74	

					credibility of Ox in the South, long-term positioning of Ox and broadening of support base etc.			
OGB 1995/14	29-Apr-95	C32/95	Minutes	**UK/I Poverty Programme Research**	Trustees authorised Chair & Chair designate to make final decision and agreed statement to guide them "making a reality of the one world concept".			
OGB 1995/15	01-May-95		Report	Oxfam Review 1994-95	Chair's report says "As a result of much research and consultation, trustees finally decided that the UK/I work should be refocused and developed within our One Programme: rejecting "us and them" concepts."			
OGB 1995/16	04-May-95	UK Poverty 1995 Corrrespondence from Trustees	Letter	**Oxfam's work in the UK & Ireland: Confidential to members of the Assembly, staff and volunteers**	From DB with Council decision to "refocus and develop the work we already do here" + internal briefing doc with FAQs.		P93	

OGB 1995/17	05-May-95	UK/I Poverty Programme 1995	News release	**Oxfam to refocus existing anti-poverty work in the UK**	Attached to details of existing UK work + Press Briefing for 5/5 with Maggie Baxter (Comic Relief), Paul Goggins (CAP), Mark Scothern (Crisis) + contact details of other UK agencies who can be contacted for comment: CPAG, Shelter, ACRE, Centrepoint, Strathclyde Poverty Alliance		P101	
OGB 1995/18	17-May-95	UK Poverty Correspondence 1995	Memo	Decision on Oxfam Working in the UK and Ireland	From Mary Cherry to all Assembly Members following similar from DB giving details of Council decision.			
OGB 1995/19	16-Jun-95	"	Report	UKI Poverty Programme Totals	Operations Centre report showing 6th week accumulative totals of £21,261 threatened cancelled donations, total mail 4,523, £9,000 donation increase.			

OGB 1995/20	30-Jun-95	OIT15.9.1 Vol2	Memo	Child Labour in India	From Policy Advisor to Policy Dept rec more research before producing a general policy statement for a campaign on child labour. Incl concern that Ox may alienate TU movement and working class people.			
OGB 1995/21	17-Jul-95	UK Poverty Correspon dence 1995	Memo	Strategic Planning for UK Programme	AB to Head OS, Marketing & Trading Divs cc DB and Chair SG asking for nominations from OS (2-3), Marketing (2-3) and Trading (1) divisions for new strategic planning group to meet 2-3 times between Sept & Nov. Gives criteria for personnel selection.			
OGB 1995/22	07-Sep-95	OIT15.9.1 Vol2	Memo	Child Labour in India	From Ox Bangalore to Policy Dept "Ox Bangalore has partners who are working intensively on this issue since 1992" Ref 1993 Ox Bangalore workshop			

					on Child Workers in Tamil Nadu.			
OGB 1995/23	25-Oct-95	UK Poverty Correspondence 1995	Report	Oxfam Assembly 94: Talking, Listening, Sharing	Final report to all Assembly members, helpers, Senior Staff and OS Offices.	Handwritten note to circulate to all staff	P67	
OGB 1995/24	28-Nov-95	"	Memo	UK/I Poverty Programme Strategic Plan (Draft)	AB to CMT with SP to be presented to Council "for information" after CMT approval. Main conclusions incl: budget to grow to £520k by end of 5-year plan; close links to orgs in UK will be key to implementation; will need close cross Div collaboration with cross-Div management structure by May 1996; good int & ext coms required espec in clarifying rel between concepts of "self help" and "rights".	Handwritten "Confidential"		

311

| OGB 1995/25 | 06-Dec-95 | " | Memo | Revised Aims, Obj and Strategies for the UK/I Poverty Programme | AB to CMT thanking for discussion at CMT earlier in week with agreed revisions to Section 6. Requests further suggestions by 12/1/1996 so that final version to DB for approval before to Council for info in Feb 1996. 4 Obj: to strengthen voices of marginalised; strengthen UK poverty lobby by incorp global analysis of causes of poverty; increase Ox capacity to tackle multi-dim nature & causes of poverty in UK/I by integrating diversity; promote more accurate understanding of nature and causes of poverty amongst Ox stakeholders. | | | |

| OIT 1995/1 | ? 1995 | PRG/3/8/I ND | Strategic Plan | **OIT Strategic Plan India 1996-2000** | Section on "Estimates and causes of poverty in India - building a framework to understand the multi-dimensional nature of poverty" - based on work by Murthy & Kabeer on "failures" of production, endowment, consumption and exchange. Section on Internal Env Analysis incl "Current Office Structure where and how Oxfam works in India" & "Partnership" & "Advocacy".Criteria for determining where work are: exten of poverty; presence of NGOs and potential for partnership; Ox dist competence and Vision of Success. | | P91 | |
| OIT 1995/2 | ? 1995 | PRG/3/8/I ND/9 | Strategic Plan | Hyderbad Regional Strategic Plan: 1996-2000 | "It is also important to bear in mind that all program development policies | Sets out Aims of Oxfam rom SP 94/5-98/99. | | |

					within Oxfam revolve around the theme "Basic rights & sustainable livelihoods" (p.356).			
OIT 1995/3	? 1995	"	Strategic Plan	Lucknow Strategic Plan: 1996-2000	Incl analysis of NGO sector due to funds pouring in, tendency of state to shift resp to NGOs, cooption of NGOs.			
OIT 1995/4	? 1995	PRG/3/8/IND/7	Strategic Plan	Calcutta Regional Strategic Plan: 1996-2000	External env analysis concludes that neg impacts of SAPs and ec liberalisation on lives of poor. SWOT analysis includes among weaknesses: "There has been a lot of discussion on the issue of partnership, it is not an equal partnership as it stands today and hence needs redefinition" (p.169) "V little inter office experience sharing of learning of success and failures" (p.169). Section 5 "Ox's Vision of Society" - "Central to this vision			

314

					are the concepts of sustainable livelihoods + ec justice, the protection of basic rights and people 's participation in determining their own future. his vision is intendedn to serve the interests of every individual in society, partic the poor and powerless" (p.173)			
OIT 1995/5	?1995	PRG/3/8/I ND/13	Strategic Plan	Ahmedabad Strategic Plan: 1996-2000	"Our Understanding of Poverty" & "Social Relationships Framework for Poverty Analysis" - failures framework.SWOT weaknesses incl lack of experience in advocacy & coms work and "insufficient understanding of what we mean by 'partnership'" (p.107)			
OIT 1995/6	?1995	"	Strategic Plan	Nagpur Strategic Plan: 1996-2000	Poverty Analysis Framework refers explictly to Sen's work on 4 failures but adds a 5th-			

					institutions & culture - due to lack of recognition of indigenous institutions which can influence livelihood potentials.			
OIT 1995/7	? 1995	PRG/3/8/IND/4	Strategic Plan	Bangalore Strategic Plan: 1996-2000	"While the NGO sector is quite vibrant, the process of globalisation, SAP and the new economic policies are hurting the poor most" (p.143 SWOT Analysis). Opps incl possibility of greater learning between Oxfams & Ox House. "The est of an Oxfam India as a separate entity would enable us to take a higher advocacy profile which we are unable to do at the moment because of our foreign agency status" (p.143)			
OGB 1996/1	early 1996	DIR/1/3/5	Strategic Plan	**OGB Strategic Plan 1996/97-2000/01 (Draft)**	External situational analysis incl: "Changing roles and funding of NGOs" -		P90	

316

					S NGOs funding to increase; NNGOS under pressure to be accountable and demonstrate impact; profound change in NGO sector.			
OGB ND/2	?	DIR/1/3/6	Strategic Plan	**OGB Strategic Plan May 1997-April 2000 (Draft)**	External situational analysis incl: "Changing role of NGOs", weakening of the state, growing humanitarian and service provision demand falling on int and local. NGOs		P89	
OGB 1996/1	01-May-96	PRG/8/1/1/2	Report	**OGB Policy Dept Annual Report 1995-96**	Key Issues; Risks & Threats incl "Attacks on Northern NGOs. There is a growing critique of Northern NGOs relating to their performance, accountability and transparency, and their failure to learn lessons…" Opportunities incl "UK Poverty programme integrated into the programme (allowing for a more creative		P86	OGB 1996c

					approach to poverty as a global issue)."			
OGB 1996/2	01-May-96		Report	Oxfam Annual Review 1995-96	One page explanation of UKPP decision and successful application for £500k lottery funds for 2 years on UKPP. Quote from AB "One of the reasons for this initiative came from our partners in the South who have visited us here and seen the homelessness, the unemployment, the racism inherent in our society, and the isolation of people caught in the poverty trap. They asked what Oxfam was doing to help...and we felt we had a duty to respond."	Quote from p.7		
OGB 1996/3	01-Oct-96	OIT 15.9.1 Vol.2	Press cutting	Child Labour in India	FT and Guardian articles from Oct 1996 re use of child			

					labour in India by UK retailers eg C&A.			
OGB 1996/4	25-Dec-96	PRG/3/8/IND	Report	Oxfam South India Programme: A Report on the Status of Projects administered by the Bangalore Office in Preparation of Phase Out	"It was not just the immanent loss of funds from Oxfam that disturbed them. For most, Oxfam meant much more than money it provided. For them, what mattered more was the basic values Oxfam symbolised, which were very dear to their work".			
OGB 1997	01-May-97		Report	Oxfam Annual Review 1996-97	2 para report on ULPP first year: 5 aims, 36 grants.			
OGB 1998/1	01-May-98	PRG/8/1/1/4	Report	**OGB Policy Dept Annual Report 1997-98**	Innovation section incl "Integration of work on poverty issues North and South: The Policy Dept has worked closely with the UKPP to try to integrate work on the UK poverty issues with learning and advocacy on the global programme". Impact measured according to: policy		P87	

					change; influencing key debates; learning/best practice.			
OGB 1998/2	01-May-98		Report	Oxfam Annual Review 1997-98	3 short para UKPP report incl challenging negative stereotypes of people in poverty.			
OGB 1998/3	16-Oct-98	OIT 8.9.10 Vol.1	Memo	Evalution and India Programme Review	"we did posit the question of the role of Northern NGOs in a development relationship" in the West Africa Review.	Author: Bridget Dillion. From Transfer Case RO844.		
OGB 1999/1	01-May-99	PRG/8/1/1 /5	Report	OGB Policy Dept Annual Report 1998-99	Analysis of key external trends incl: 2nd year of Labour govt; trade & investment disputes; fall in commodity prices; conflict-related crisis;opportunities on debt. Short para on UKPP impact.			
OGB 1999/2	01-May-99		Report	Oxfam Annual Review 1998-99	One para on UKPP grant from lottery for £999k over 3 years working with Sustain on food mapping.			

					Introduces Oxfam Asian Community Initiative to build links.			
OGB 2000/1	01-Oct-00		Intranet	South Asia Annual Report 1998/99	"Advocacy and communication efforts contributed to the liberalisation of non-timber forest produce trade in backwards areas of Orissa, and people are now receiving better process for their labour".(NP)	Earliest archive of intranet 6/4/2011		
OGB 2000/2	01-Oct-00		Intranet	South Asia Annual Report 1998/99	Aim 5 Gender Equity: "Capacity-building of NGOs in Karnataka with regard to negotiations with the State on issues such as displacement led to influencing the Govt to pay equal wages for men and women in watersheds" (NP)			
OGB 2000/3	01-Oct-00		Intranet	South Asia Annual Report 1998/99	1.5 Key Issues: "The sheer scale of poverty in South Asia challenges us to scale up our impact through much greater			

					insertion into the global advocacy agenda than the region has managed to-date". (NP)			
OGB 2001/1	01-Jan-01		Intranet	A Glossary of Development Jargon	NGO: "A relief or development organisation which is independent of government and business, althougb it might receive funding from these sources. Oxfam is an NGO, as are many of the local organisations through whom we work. NGOs may be clubs, associations, cooperatives, unions, charities, campaigning groups, and any other kinds of organisation". (NP)			
OGB 2001/2	01-Jan-01		Intranet	A Glossary of Development Jargon	Poverty: "Oxfam believes that poverty is more than just material deprivation. Poverty is made up of several inter-related components which			

					include: status..physical state..isolation…vulnerability…material poverty,powerlessness or lack f control" (NP)			
OGB 2001/3	01-May-01	PRG/8/1/1/8	Report	OGB Policy Dept Annual Report 2000-01	Publication of "Poverty, Social Exclusion and Micro Finance in Britain" - "promotion suffered from difficulties in developing a shared view between Oxfam and the co-publisher (NEF)" (p.6)			
OGB 2001/4	01-May-01		Report	Oxfam Annual Review 2000-2001	Half page focus on UKPP work with asylum seekers - negative press and voucher system.			
OGB 2001/5	01-Jun-01		Intranet	UKPP Annual Impact Report 2000/2001	Summary refers to difficulty in quantifying no of beneficiaries as prog has strong advocacy focus - but estimates 30,000 "direct beneficiaries" with under 60% women."In a relatively short	From intranet CD dated May 2002		

					period of time, the UKPP has established a strong reputation for bringing Oxfam's UK and international experience to bear on poverty and social exclusion in the UK. The concept of learning from the S' has fast become a (relatively) common element in discussions on tacking poverty ay community level: a number of NGOs and think-tanks... are also building southern experience and practice into their thinking" (p.3)			

OGB 2002/1	01-Jan-02		Report	Completing the Globe: Report on 'Poverty at Home' Seminar, June 2001	Seminar for OI affiliates organised by OGB. Attended by Ox Com Aid Abroad, Intermon, Novib, Oxfam America, Oxfam Canada, Oxfam Hong Kong. Obje: to learn and share best practice; to understand how domestic anti-poverty programmes are contributing towards SCOs; explore potential for domestic programmes to contribute towards OI's development as a "global movement for change". Presentation of UKPP set in context of UK increase in inequality & lack of participation by poor people in anti-poverty decision-making. Added value defined as strengthening anti-poverty movement in UK which is largely	Author: Fran Bennett		Bennett, 2002

					single issue groups and use of gender analysis. "Added value also had to be proved for OGB itself, due to trustee/supporter concern" (p.13). Annex 6 UKPP background sets in context of "pressure was growing from southern partner organisations for Oxfam GB to confront the poverty on its own doorstep" (p.51). Theory of poverty and NNGO futures. Budget £650k pa of which £230k is grants and approx 35 active partners.			
OGB 2002/2	14-Jan-02	C1/02-F	Council Paper	Council of Trustees, 31 Jan 2002: UKPP Budget/Programme Focus	Brief history of UKPP financial base: 1995 est with budget of £200k; Nov 1999 Council decision to remove financial limit and integrate into global prog management so that £	Contact points: AB/SW. Status: Draft		

					agreed by extent of contribution to SCOs; all future UKPP allocations to be clearly identified for Council annually. Council asked to note increase in budget for 2002-03 to £700k **unrestricted** funds and £500k **restricted** in 02/03 rising to £900k in 04/05.			
OGB 2002/3	01-May-02			Intranet	South Asia Annual Impact Report, June 2001	Quotes India beneficiary numbers as 5,099,248 and 151 projects, with £1.25 spend per beneficiary. Assessment of impact against 5 criteria:impact on lives of beneficiaries; change in policies, practices, ideas & beliefs; cont to enhanced gender eq; involvement of beneficiaries in project; sustainability.		

OGB 2002/4	01-May-02		Intranet	South Asia Annual Impact Report, June 2001	"A general lesson…is that where we have some influences in changing policy, but this does not lead to a change in practice, our impact is minimal. We need to be looking beyond changing policies to developing the ability to influence others, particularly governments, to implement new and amended policies" (p.10)			
OGB 2002/5	01-May-02		Report	Oxfam Annual Review 2001-2002	One-page focus on UKPP Far From Home event re Asylum Seekers			
OGB 2002/6	21-Jun-02	PRG/8/1/1/10	Note	Policy Dept OD Event, 20-21 June 2002 How is Policy Made in Oxfam?	Outlines process of agreeing prog policy and priorities, campaign priorities and public policy.			

| OGB 2003/1 | 18-Jan-03 | C1/03-Fiii | Council Paper | Raising Funds for Oxfam | Analysis of 3 sources of Oxfam income: shops; partnerships with orgs; FR from individuals. Starting point is that over last 10 years Ox moved from being dependent on shops to more balances income. FR is majority of unrestricted income and "enables Ox to pursue its preferred ways of work." Growth of FR income from committed givers and legacies. Weak ec env challenges planning assumptions in SP. Key strategy to meet this challenge is "Inspiring Action" - "make supporters feel more included in Ox fight against poverty so that they will do more for Ox and give more to Ox." | Contact: John Whittaker. Status: Draft | | |

OGB 2003/2	01-May-03	PRG/8/1/1/12	Report	OGB Policy Sept, Annual Impact Report 2002-03	Acknowledgement of increased securitisation of aid with Iraq War and War on Terror. Under Livelihoods Programme Development: "Cross-departmental coordination improved coherence between Oxfam's internal policies and campaign demands regarding labour and purchasing practices, and the effectiveness of engagement with the ETI Homeworking Project. Clear well-articulated policies, informed by UKPP partners' positions, strengthened guidelines for UK retailers on home-working and influenced ETI retailers to join Oxfam's advocacy on UK home-workers' employment rights".			

					Creation of new Campaigns & Policy Division.			
OGB 2003/3	10-May-03			Report	Completing the Globe: Discussion Paper for the Global North Domestic Programmes: How to contribute more "Towards Global Equity"?	Defines Core Added Value as needing to be further developed: truly global analysis and understanding of causes of poverty and injustice; authority to Oxfam's policy positions; bringing learning from international perspective to domestic setting; constituency building & image building; movement building;pioneering new models of engagement. Concludes that leadership commitment is vital.	Author: Sally Burrows, Consultant.		

OGB 2004	? 2004		Publication	No More Sticky Dots: Making Progress with Participatory Appraisal in Salford				
OGB 2005	01-Jul-05		Report	Programme Impact Report: Oxfam GB's work with partners and allies around the world	Impact measured against 5 SCOs. 2 mentions of UKPP 1. Gender audit of community engagement in Manchester as an example of working on women's part in civil and political structures (£14.8k); 2. Debt on Your Doorstep campaign (£36k over 5 years) - main obj of ceiling on interest was not achieved although policy debate stimulated.			
OGB 2006/1	?2006		DVD	Are You Bothers? Public attitudes to poverty in the UK				
OGB 2006/2	? 2006		Publication	Making UK Poverty History	Produced jointly by BOND, UKPP, TUC and End Child Poverty Coalition to learn lessons from success of 2005 MPH			

					and apply to UK poverty.			
OGB 2006/3	?2006		Strategic Plan	**Oxfam GB national change strategy for the UK, 2007-2011**	Follows on from UKPP review in 2005 and responds to question: "What is the best use of Ox's organisational capability towards the reduction of poverty in the UK in the medium term to 2010-11?".	Used as basis for 2010 refresh.Marked "Not for General Circulation"	P97	
OGB 2007/1	? 2007		Publication	Fair Play: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Scotland- A guide for Journalists				
OGB 2007/2	01-May-07		Publication	Links: A Newsletter on gender for Oxfam GB staff and partners	Articles on gender and conflict, logistics etc and OGB's gender non-negotiables eg all new PIPs must address issues of gender and analysis must inform prog objectives.			
OGB 2008	01-Sep-08		Publication	Migrant Matters: The Migrant Workers' Project Newsletter	Articles on Roma, advice for migrant domestic workers',justice for cleaners campaign. Newsletter for UKPP			

					MW Project funded by National Lottery.		
OGB 2009/1	01-May-09		Publication	Oxfam Annual Report & Accounts 2008/09	Shows total income @ £299.7 million and net @ £225.5m with majority from donations and legacies - £99.1m.Report structured around SCOs.		
OGB 2009/2	? 2009		Publication	The Sustainable Livelihoods Handbook: An aset based approach to poverty	Joint OGB-CAP publication		
OGB 2009/3	? 2009		Publication	How Comfortable are you with poverty in the UK?	Leaflet exploding myths: poverty exists in the UK; people don't choose to be poor…		
OGB 2009/4	? 2009		OGB Briefing Paper	Close to Home: UK Poverty and the economic downturn			
OGB 2009/5	? 2009		Publication	Women's Poverty in the UK - an uncomfortable truth	One of a series of leaflets about Ox work to tackle poverty in the UK		
OGB 2009/6	? 2009		Publication	Getting worked up: fighting for the rights of vulnerable workers	"		

OGB 2009/7	? 2009		Publication	Getting together - building strong and diverse communities	"			
OGB 2009/8	? 2009		Publication	Change with attitude	"			
OGB 2009/9	? 2009		Publication	Dignity. Security. A decent living.	"			
OGB 2009/10	24-Nov-09		Plan	**Wales Country Operating Plan, 2010/11-2012/13**	Based on 4 priorities of National Change Strategy: poor women's ec leadership; public understanding of poverty; sustainable livelihoods; community cohesion.	Prepared by Chris Johnes	P122	
OGB 2009/11	01-Dec-09		Plan	**England Country Operating Plan, 2010/11-2012/13**	Ditto with less focus on public understanding. Budget £2.25 million.	Prepared by Julie Jarman	P75	
OGB 2009/12	03-Dec-09		Plan	Scotland Country Operating Plan, 2010/11-2012/13	3 priority areas: building pro-poor ec dev; supporting vulnerable workers access rights; developing positive attitudes to poverty. Big Lottery as main restricted grant funder, as with England and Wales.	Prepared by Judith Robertson		

OGB 2009/13	03-Dec-09		Plan	Policy & Communications Team (PCT) OGB Country Operating Plan, 2010/11-2012/13	4 programme areas which will result in policy makers: adopting pro-poor anti-racist policies and recognise women's unpaid caring work; adopting a holistic SLA to anti-poverty policy; upholding rights of asylum seekers, refugees and vulnerable workers; seeing Oxfam as authoritative voice on poverty and public attitudes.			
OGB 2010/1	? 2010		Publication	No big deal. The outcome and aftermath of the Copenhagen summit	Article on the Robin Hood Tax "A new 0.05% tax on banks has the power to smash poverty here and around the globe".			
OGB 2010/2	05-May-10		Blog	Active Citizenship in the North: How does Citizens UK compare with developing country versions?	Duncan Green attended Citizen UK pe-election rally. "To my shame, I have seen much more community organisation in Latin America and other			

					developing world regions than in my own backyard…Is Citizens UK just a 'South in the North' version of social movements across the developing world, or is it breaking new ground?"			
OGB 2010/3	01-Jun-10		Organagram	UKPP June 2010	Staffing organagram			

Appendix 2

Central Research Question – Research objective – Interview question logic (after Wengraf, 2001)

Central research Question	Research objectives (Theory questions)	Small Case studies	Archive Documents	Interviews	Questionnaires	Interview/questionnaire questions
						1. How long have you worked for…. And in what roles? 2. What work do you currently undertake in the UK/US/Denmark? 3. When and how did this begin?
How, why and with what implications do Northern Development NGOs work with the poor in their own communities?	7. What does this mean for the future role and work of Oxfam GB and other northern development NGOs?	X	X	X	X	4. What is the value of this programme to Oxfam/IR now? 5. How do you envisage this will change or develop in the future? 6. How has this programme of work impacted on Oxfam/ IR as a whole? • Funding implications? • Campaigning? • Relationships with partners?
	6. What has been the impact of the decision on the NDNGO's relationships with southern partners?	X	X	X	X	6. above

	2. What theory of poverty informed the domestic programmes?	X	X	X	X	7. The UKPP briefing for the 2001 Poverty at Home seminar says of decision to establish the programme "This development did not happen by chance". What (do you think) were the main factors/reasons behind the 1995 proposal and decision? 8. How has Oxfam's approach to poverty in the UK changed since 1995?
	3. What development ethic informed the domestic programmes?	X	X	X	X	(5) above
	6. What has been the impact of the decision on the NDNGO's relationships with southern partners?	X	X	X	X	9. One of the reasons stated for Ox Am's establishing a Dom Prog in 1993 was urging by southern partners to tackle poverty in the US. (2001, p.10). Which southern partners played a similar role re UKPP? 10. What has been the impact of your decision to work in the UK/US/Denmark on your southern partners?
	7. What does this mean for the future role and work of Oxfam GB and other northern	X	X	X	X	11. Do you think other international development NGOs in the north will grow their domestic programmes over time? Why?

	development NGOs?					
	9. Does this indicate a new "domain" of development?	X	X	X		
	5. What role did institutional practices play in this process?	X	X	X	X	12. Who do you think are the main beneficiaries of the UKPP? 13. What criteria are used by UKPP to decide with which poor/excluded communities to work? • Are these the same as the criteria used for OS work? If not, why? • In your analysis, which poor and excluded communities in the UK have yet to be part of the UKPP? • How has the UKPP worked, for example, with issues of exclusion in UK's Muslim communities?
	1. To generate a working hypothesis from the literature as an exploratory heuristic framework.	X	X	X		14. What development theories, if any, do you think influenced this decision?
	5. What role did institutional		X	X	X	15. 2001 report describes Dom Programmes as "relatively invisible". Is this still the case?

	practices play in this process?					
	5. What role did institutional practices play in this process?	X	X	X	X	16. What are the potential pitfalls and advantages to using the UKPP/domestic programme to build a broader constituency or support base for OGB/IR?
Supplementary questions from reading of Ox reports, 2001 (Poverty at Home seminar) + 2003 (Completing the Globe) 2/4/2010.						• Could I get access to any of the domestic programme learning/online communities? • Could I get access to attend as an observer any future UKPP or OI domestic programme meetings? • Could I visit and interview any of the beneficiaries from Salford New Deal or PRDF projects (eg Amethyst)? • What do you think of the 2003 Completing the Globe report recommendation that responsibilities between campaigning departments, advocacy and domestic programmes will need to be defined? (p.iii) • The 2003 report (p.3) refers to one of UKPP's initial purposes as reaching new constituencies but that this was not known to many or acted on in the early years. What are your thoughts on this? • What is the relationship between UKPP and OI's 5 SCOs? How has this changed over time?

Appendix 3

List of all primary documents in AtlasTi

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P 1: A Audrey Bronstein 6 Apr 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\A Audrey Bronstein 6 Apr 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 2: A David Bryer 29 April 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\A David Bryer 29 April 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 3: A Frank Judd 20 May 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\A Frank Judd 20 May 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 4: A Stewart Wallis 12 Aug 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\A Stewart Wallis 12 Aug 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 5: B Horace Levy 27 June 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\B Horace Levy 27 June 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 6: A Ikaweba Bunting 4 June 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\B Ikaweba Bunting 4 June 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 7: B Md Idrish 18 May 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\B Md Idrish 18 May 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 8: B Paul Goggins 10 June 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\B Paul Goggins 10 June 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P 9: B Valli Seshan 7 June 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\B Valli Seshan 7 June 2010.rtf] text/rtf

P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf] text/rtf

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P31: H Jagadananda & A V Swami 26 Jan 2011.rtf [Managed in My Library -> **\\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti** **Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\H Jagadananda & A V Swami 26 Jan 2011.rtf] text/rtf**

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P36: SCS OA 2006 post-Katrina forgotten-communities-unmet-promises.pdf

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P49: SCS IR Meeting Jehangir Malik 17 May 2011.rtf [Managed in My Library -> [\\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti](\\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti) Phd Project\Small CS Interview data\SCS IR Meeting Jehangir Malik 17 May 2011.rtf] text/rtf

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P127: F Achyut Das 16 Nov 2010.rtf [Managed in My Library -> \\psf\Home\Documents\Phd\Atlasti Phd Project\Main case study Interview data\F Achyut Das 16 Nov 2010.rtf] text/rtf

Appendix 4

Data analysis codes and definitions

Code	Source	Code Definition
Future role of NDNGOs: ■ Legitimacy ■ Credibility ■ Accountability ■ Impact ■ Vis a vis southern partners ■ Challenge from S partners	Research objective (RO)	References to role vis a vis southern NGOs; legitimacy & accountability questions; operations v campaign; what changes are they working for? What is their impact?
Theory of poverty	RO	What are the dimensions of poverty? Multiple poverties? Who & where are the poor? What are its causes and solutions?
Development ethic	RO	Who are the beneficiaries? What type of change is development working for? Notions of deserving and undeserving poor?
Impact on southern partners	RO	
"Domains"/localities of development: ■ Donors & recipients ■ Patronising attitudes ■ Learning from the S	RO Sassen Crush	Are there assumptions about which parts of the world are development "actors" and "recipients"? Links to post-colonial theory. How has globalisation, interconnectedness and the power of international corporations changed this? Relevance to current sovereign debt crisis.
Institutional Practice: ■ Leadership ■ Personal values ■ Inst values ■ Dept tensions ■ Consultation ■ P&P Mgt ■ UK political context ■ Global political context ■ Dif theories of change	Bourdieu (1977) Zietsma and Lawrence (2010)	Factors associated with and expected of membership of the field of development NGOs. *Practices are shared routines (Whittington, 2006) or "recognized forms of activity" (Barnes, 2001: 19) that guide behavior according to the situation (Goffman,*

▪ Public opinion ▪ Reputation ▪ OGB identity	355	*1959; Pentland and Reuter, 1994).* (Zietsma & Lawrence 2010: 192)
Ideas/ideology:	John (1999)	Theories of change; personal & institutional value systems; faith; political programmes.
Power	Bourdieu Gaventa (1980, 2006)	Meanings and their boundaries derived from/determined and perpetuated by "given" state structures, practice and custom. Three dimensions of power in which third is about the shaping of perceptions.

Appendix 5

RESPECT for research ethics: Guidelines & Operational plan

	Principles	Action plan for PHD	Implementation notes
		Written April-May 2010	Written 30 July 2011 and updated December 2014
	Researchers/ research should endeavour to ensure that:		
1	The research aims should benefit society and minimise social harm.		
		Decisions about programme & beneficiary participation will be made on transparent set of criteria.	Difficult to demonstrate that theoretical research has long-term positive impacts. But the need for NDNGOs to evaluate how they think about development and who matters in it, will lead to long-term benefits to NDNGOs and the societies they serve.
2	Balance professional integrity with respect for national & international law.		
		No breach of Data Protection Act	The only time this was an issue was in acquiring an entry visa for India - tourist or research? The research system required a partnership with an Indian institution. The tourist visa prevented return within 20 days.

		If encounter breach of national/international law will a) discuss with supervisor b) raise with individual & consider future participation in research.	This issue never came up.
3	Research is commissioned & conducted with respect for, and awareness of, gender differences.		
		Gender balance in sample	Gender balance within the sample was not considered. This resulted in a clear pattern of gendered NDNGO practice with most past decision-makers men, most current OGB decision-makers women, most OGB partner staff men, most people in poverty women.
		Ensure interview set-up does not create/reinforce power dynamic between researcher & participant.	Efforts made to select appropriate venue for interviews. The pilot interview set up for Group G was one of the factors which led to the replacement of this interviews groups with Group H.
		Consider gendered analysis of data	
4	Research is commissioned & conducted with respect for all groups in society, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion and culture.		
		Small case study sample reflects diversity of NDNGOs	This worked fine.
		Beneficiary & partner sample reflects social diversity in UK and S partner country.	This worked to provide a geographical and ethnic diversity but not gender.
		Interview set-up respects culture of participants.	Always agreed place and time of interview with participant and usually in their space.

5	Research is commissioned & conducted with respect for under-represented social groups and that attempts are made to avoid their marginalisation or exclusion.		
		Sample & analysis gives weighting to beneficiary voices.	This did not work in India because informed consent was not considered possible in time available.
		Sample & analysis gives weighting to southern voices.	Of 35 OGB interviews, 16 were southern voices (Ax1, Bx4, Ex1, Fx5, Hx5)
6	The concerns of relevant stakeholders and user groups are addressed.		
		Meetings, calls and research details before agreements to participate.	This worked well in all cases except Group G.
		Sensitivity to OGB concerns re UKPP	Maintained regular contact with UKPP Director and archivist kept me appraised of sensitivities. Sharing of research findings with all key informants for feedback.
7	An appropriate research method is selected on the basis of informed professional expertise.		
		Research method concluded after GSM007 & GSM 008 & ISM3001.	
8	The research team has the necessary professional expertise & support.		
		Supervisors mix of expertise & above training	
9	The research process does not involve any unwarranted material gain or loss for any participants.		
		Small gifts to research participants in India as acknowledgement of time and hospitality. Where balance between loss and gain unclear, participation changed.	This worked OK.

10	Factual accuracy and avoid falsification, fabrication, suppression or misinterpretation of data.		
		Send drafts to research participants and incorporate their comments and critiques into analysis.	Where possible most key informants sent drafts but few responded. Any corrections and comments incorporated.
11	To reflect on the consequences of research engagement for all participants, and attempt to alleviate potential disadvantages to participation for any individual or category of person.		
		Anonymity and paraphrasing for data from existing UKPP staff.	Only two informants requested anonymity.
12	Reporting and dissemination are carried out in a responsible manner.		
		Dissemination via Oxfam workshop, then papers in peer reviewed journals. No media work unless Okd with Oxfam.	Dissemination to-date via EADI conference 2014 and DSA Conference 2014. OGB presentation tbc.
13	Methodology and findings are open for discussion and peer review.		
		Methodology and findings to be made explicit in thesis.	Dissemination to-date via EADI conference 2014 and DSA Conference 2014. OGB presentation tbc. Journal articles to be developed from chapters.
14	Any debts to previous research as a source of knowledge, data, concepts and methodology should be fully acknowledged in all outputs.		
		Full bibliography (via EndNote Web) in all research outputs.	EndNote v useful.
15	Participation in research should be voluntary.		

		Letter, guidelines and consent agreement to be sent to all.	Approach made after recommendation or via contact. Request + info sent. Consent form signed if agreed. I had no way of knowing if the one India beneficiary interview was voluntary. Should I use any of this data? Decided not.
16	Decisions about participation in research are made from an informed position.		
		Letter, guidelines and consent agreement to be sent to all.	First UKPP beneficiary interviews demonstrated challenge to enable informed consent. Used first visit to India to test this with a beneficiary and gain informed consent from 3 further partners (RCDC, SWAD & Lok Vikas)
17	All data are treated with appropriate confidentiality and anonymity.		
		All data to be kept anonymously. Research outputs will not use names unless requested.	
18	Research participants are protected from undue intrusion, distress, indignity, physical discomfort, personal embarrassment, or psychological or other harm.		
			Cross references to other interviews avoided unless helpful in context. Time kept to 1 hour in most cases.

Appendix 6

UKPP formation chronology

Date	Event
Dec 1974	Proposals drawn up by the Group of Six for the PM's office: *An assessment of the relationship between poverty in Britain and the Third World and proposals for action.*
…1976	Brian Walker asks trustee, Bill Elliot, to research the question "Should OXFAM respond systematically to poverty here at Home?" This report 'Doesn't Charity begin at Home' by WRE, 28.x.76, informs the Director's proposal to Council in November 1976.
Nov 1976	Proposal to expand and develop grants to UK rejected by Council (14 votes to 3); no change to policy; Council asked Director to pursue enquiries
Jan 1984	Guy Stringer commissions report on a UK project by Adrian Moyes, Public Affairs Unit[102] (includes section on 'Oxfam and poverty and suffering in Britain') and submits it the Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) for consideration as to 'whether we should undertake this type of work'.
Feb 1984	Executive Committee (EC) agreed grant to London-based income-generating cooperative, but decided against any major policy change. EC asked Director to prepare a report for their April meeting on the use of the Director's Discretionary Fund.
July 1984	Council decided against use of small-scale development grants in UK except with "genuinely deprived communities such as immigrants".
July 1985	Report (by Michael Behr) commissioned by Director recommending further research and organisational discussion on feasibility of a UK/I development programme; working group established in 1986.
Sept 1986	Report of internal working group to Directors (See 'Oxfam in the UK - A Working Party Report, May 1986) recommending that Oxfam consider the creation of a new organisation (in the Oxfam model) to work on UK development issues; also that a development exchange fund be created; report circulated internally, no decision taken.
Oct 1989	Following Special Meeting of Divisional Heads, Director, Frank Judd, asked John Wallace, David Bryer and Peter Tyrer to established small group to research ways in which OGB could work developmentally in the UK.
May 1991	Report of internal working group to Directors (Report and Recommendations of the Working in the United Kingdom Working Group, March 1991) recommended appointment of

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[102] The Public Affairs Unit (PAU) was set up by the Director in 1974 to develop links to Trades Unions, MPs and professional bodies. It developed into a research and information arm of the overseas programme.

	UK Grants Officer to develop priority programme areas, and subsequent creation of UK Grants Committee to oversee programme. Council debate on report delayed due to Charity Commission Report; Council debate never took place; overtaken by Compass; no further action taken.
May 1993	Council expressed concern over proposal to work in the UK/I in Strategic Intent 1994-1999; agreed further research to be carried out and presented to Council for further consideration.
Jan 1994	Audrey Bronstein begins in role as UK/I Poverty Programme officer.
May 1994	UK/I reference group consider interim report, *Poverty in the UK and Ireland – An Analysis.* Report identifies as a key issue the difference between OGB concept of poverty and that of many of its stakeholders.
Sept 1994	Oxfam Assembly held over 3 days included discussions on whether OGB should have a poverty programme in UK. Media reports that OGB considering UK programme.
January 1995	CMT considers draft report on UK/I Poverty to be considered by Council in Feb and April.
April 1995	Council of Trustees on 29 April considered proposals on UK/I poverty programme. Council still split 50:50 after debate and authorized Chair (Mary Cherry) and Chair designate (Joel Joffe) to make the final decision.
May 1995	Director, David Bryer, writes to all staff with UKPP decision on 4 May. Press briefing on 5 May announced news to media.

Appendix 7

Oxfam GB UK Partner summary information

ATD Fourth World is based in London and has its roots in an international movement established in France in 1957 to combat poverty and injustice wherever it is found and to give those living in poverty a voice and dignity. The UK office is in Lewisham, south London from which it runs programmes with individuals and families, the majority of whom are English and are part of families with multiple generations of unemployment. Many of its clientele or "beneficiaries" have had regular and difficult experiences with the care system. Both staff and volunteers (often from the "beneficiary" community) emphasise the significance of the organisation's name with its origins in understandings of exclusion from power and its later explicit rejection of the term "third world" (Kenningham, 2010, Roberts, 2010). Their programmes aim to support families to live together in dignity and to break down the negative stereotypes of people living in poverty in the UK. Between 2007 and 2008, OGB partnered with them in a research project, using the sustainable livelihoods approach, called *Voices for a Change: Exploring the Livelihood Strategies of People Living in Poverty in London* to understand better the realities of people's lives: what assets people had to manage their lives and how people move out of poverty (ATD Fourth World, 2008). The research trained and used twelve peer researchers and was one of several projects funded by the UKPP in which OGB explored how the sustainable livelihoods approach, used frequently in their overseas work, could be applied in the UK (CAP and OGB, 2009). ATD Fourth World used the project findings to tailor support to families to help them move out of poverty. OGB provided three grants for this work; the most recent in 2011 for £4,200 to help them use the project results in advocacy work around welfare reform. By 2011 their annual income was £367,000 and expenditure £349,000.

Church Action On Poverty is based in Manchester and works with churches across the UK to campaign at a national level on poverty issues and give poor people a voice. It came to national prominence in the late 1980s when it challenged the government with its *Hearing the Cry of the Poor Declaration* (Goggins, 2010). It worked closely with the UKPP from its inception, with its Director at the time, Paul Goggins (later to become Labour MP and Home Office Minister), attending the Oxfam Assembly in

September 1994 and the press briefing at the establishment of the UKPP on 5 May 1995, one of the two partners present. Goggins' successor, Niall Cooper, was seconded to the UKPP in Manchester for four months in about 2005 covering the post of the Manchester UKPP Officer (P18). CAP went on to work very closely with OGB in participatory budgeting (PB) work with local councils and the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG), as a result of an OGB-funded visit to Brazil to look at the PB work, which included Niall Cooper, community activists from Manchester (Cooper, 2010). This work included the publication of a set of PB resources for community activists (Community Pride Initiative and OGB, 2005). CAP went on to launch the OGB's first sustainable livelihood project in Stockton on Tees, undertaken by Thrive of Thornaby. Thrive used the SLA to understand the assets of 24 low- income households (CAP and OGB 2006). The findings (published in 2006 as *When Ends Don't Meet*) became the basis of campaigns, using community organising principles, targeting hire-purchase companies charging rates of interest, which led to people paying double the market rate for washing machines (CAP, 2009). OGB gave a grant of approximately £20,000 to CAP to write up the findings of the Thrive project and develop an SLA handbook for UK community development practitioners (IATI, 2012). By 2011 their annual income was £857,000 and expenditure £921,000.

Peak District Rural Deprivation Forum was established in 1992 as a network to raise awareness of the challenges of rural poverty, exploding myths about rural idylls. It was run with minimal funding and virtually no paid staff, except for when funded projects enabled the network coordinator to be paid. In 2000, they established the Farming Working Group to research, with OGB support, the lives of hill farmers and their families in the Peak District. The project report, *Hard Times: a research report into hill farming and farming families in the Peak District* (2004), highlighted the stress and social isolation experienced by families living in declining incomes in a policy environment characterised by bureaucracy, regulation and top-down policy-making. This became the basis for a establishing the National Farmers' Network and a further piece of work, which explicitly set out to test the application of SLA in a rural UK setting. The project, Farming Lives, used a small team of peer researchers to interview 16 farming families in the Peak District using the SLA, identifying their "pentagon" of assets. Conclusions, published in 2009, covered succession planning, access to information and support services (PRDF, 2009). The National Farmers

Network continued to work with rural communities to ensure their voices were included in national campaigns such as the 2010 European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion.

South Riverside Community Development Centre (SRCDC) is based in Cardiff and was established as a charity in 1978 aiming to relieve poverty and provide social welfare to three wards in the city, which have a very diverse ethnic demographic. In 2005 OGB partnered with SRCDC and the Splotlands Credit Union on a project to understand the livelihoods of forty-six people living in the different areas of Cardiff served by the two organisations. Staff and volunteers from the organisations were trained as interviewers using the SLA framework. The research was seen as building on the work done by Thrive of Thornaby and was published as *Making Ends Meet* (OGB, 2008). The research highlighted the two very distinct communities in which the research was undertaken and the different coping strategies adopted in each. Whereas the residents of Splott were predominantly white working class, with small numbers of people from the Gypsy and Traveller, Somali and Eastern European communities, the Riverside community was mainly Asian with families of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Afghani and Yemeni heritage (CAP and OGB, 2006). The research findings helped the organisations identify areas for future work and to understand the complexity and everyday realities of lives spent coping with poverty. SRCDC went on to develop their work with women accessing employment, running mentoring programmes, CV workshops and ESOL classes. It was particularly concerned that the findings were presented back to the communities who had participated in the interviews in appropriate ways, which did not instrumentalise them and developed a game to do this, in collaboration with the University of Glamorgan (Herbert, 2010). There was considerable financial support from the UKPP for community-based SLA work in Wales with over £450,000 spent by 2011 on small grants to partners, of which the SRCDC was one (IATI, 2012). UKPP also supported the work of the Anti-Poverty Network Cymru of which SRCDC was encouraged to be a member (Herbert, 2010).

UNISON is one of the UK's largest trade unions and represents those who provide public sector services. The union's Scottish region began its relationship with OGB in 2005 when the UNISON Equal Pay Officer spoke at an Oxfam event and

conversations followed about work the two organisations could do together, particularly in the light of the success of the London Living Wage campaign (Hunter, 2010). They jointly developed a project called *Fair Pay* looking at the rights of low paid women workers, particularly those in the care sector and class-room assistants. The project aimed to recruit and train 25 women action researchers who would generate, analyse and disseminate data on the impact of low pay in Scotland. A UNISON officer recalls the ambition and scope of the project in aiming for 200 interviews and a high profile dissemination event at the Scottish Parliament at the end of Phase 2 (Hunter, 2010). The project document makes clear the mutual benefits each organisation would reap from the partnership work on the Fair Pay project: UNISON would be able to explore new models of organising campaigns on labour rights and OGB would gain influence and standing amongst the community of organised labour. The partnership also clearly challenged UNISON ways of working with its primary focus on low paid working women who had not traditionally been able to access UNISON formal structures. For example, surprise was expressed that the women would be paid for their action research and senior UNISON officers were not comfortable with the sketch-show style of the final event at the Scottish Parliament (Hunter, 2010). One of the project outcomes was a small cohort of women with the confidence and ability to speak out at events and get their views heard and make demands of their MSPs and employers. The final project report and event at the Scottish Parliament called for public sector work to be respected and for the powers of the devolved Scottish government to be used to provide a Living Wage across the Scottish public sector. The total OGB funding budgeted for the project was £30,000 over 3 years (UNISON, 2008).

Appendix 8

Oxfam GB India Partner summary information

<u>Agragamee</u> was registered in 1987 (under the Societies' Registration Act of 1860) and works in seven districts of the state of Orissa with a base in the hills of Kashipur in the Rayagada District. Its main focus is in the holistic development of the tribal communities.[103] The organisation believes that the role of civil society is to provide models of sustainable development for other actors to replicate and scale up (Das, 2010). To this end, programmes include building up village-level women's organisations and empowering their leaders to work on issues such as the right to access and manage natural resources such as forest grasses and fruits. They use their campus in Kashipur to demonstrate organic and appropriate agricultural and renewable energy techniques that will best maintain and promote eco-diversity, running classes for school children and workshops for farmers. Fundamentally, their work aims to mobilise the rural communities to claim their rights under recent progressive legislation passing into statute in India, such as the Right to Information Act (RTI), the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and the National Right to Education Act (Agragamee, 2012). This work has frequently led to difficult relations between Agragamee and the state authorities, particularly throughout the Kashipur anti-mining movement in which Agragamee played a prominent role from the early 1990s (Das and Das, 2005).

The organisation's current Director, Mr Achyut Das, was one of its founders and had previously worked as a Programme Officer for Oxfam (India) Trust. It now has a total of 100 staff (Agragamee, 2012). Agragamee received financial support from OGB in the financial year 1992-93 for food supplies in tribal areas and to develop village organisations. The grant was for £6,327, of the total £1, 734,163 sent in grants to India that year by OGB (OGB, 1993). It subsequently became a regular recipient of Oxfam grants, for example, from Oxfam America, Oxfam GB and Oxfam (India) Trust in 2005-06 (OGB, 2006). By 2011 they were still considered a partner in

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[103] The Indian Census of 2011 records the scheduled tribe population of Orissa as 22.8% of the total (GoI, 2011).

sustainable livelihoods work by the recently established Oxfam India[104] but received no funding support from them that year from a total annual income in 2011-12 of Indian Rupees 34,729, 460 (approximately £340,000) (Agragamee, 2012).

Lok Bikas was registered in 1990 in the Jajpur district of Orissa by a group of social workers inspired by the Ghandian principal of 'Gram Swaraj' or self-reliance. They worked initially with their own funds with a focus on the most marginalised communities – women, the disabled, the Dalit caste and 'adivasis' or scheduled tribes. Their ultimate goal was to empower the community to be self-sufficient but by 2011 were implementing a wide range of programmes in, for example, how to claim rights through RTI, NREGA, environmental awareness campaigns, adult literacy, disaster preparedness and advocacy round early marriage and domestic violence (Lok Bikas, nd). The organisation is still led by Mr Abdul Safique, one of its founders, with a small staff.

After the super-cyclone on 1999 in Orissa, Lok Bikas started some relief work on the coastal plain and was soon after invited by Oxfam GB to work in partnership on the 10-month Coastal Orissa Rehabilitation Programme. Following severe flooding in 2002, they were invited by Oxfam again to be part of the three-year Disaster- Prone Area Livelihood Augmentation Project (DALAP). At the end of the 1990s, records show that no foreign funds were received but by 2002-03, the start of the DALAP, a very modest amount of external funds were received (Safique, 2011).

Regional Centre for Development Cooperation (RCDC) was established in 1993 as a response to the new policy context in India's natural resource management. The concept of 'joint forestry management' was introduced in 1990 by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, which encouraged the participation of local communities in the management and protection of the forests (Prasad, 1999). With high levels of mineral deposits, such as aluminium and bauxite, in the state of Orissa, the maintenance and management of forest assets became an area of contestation between civil society and community organisations and the state. RCDC now envisages its role

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[104] Email communication with Oxfam India Director of Programs and Advocacy, 2 August 2010.

as supporting the predominantly tribal communities in Orissa to access their rights to forest-based livelihoods, many of which are now legislated for in the 2006 Forestry Act.[105]

Their team of approximately 100 staff now works on programmes in sustainable forestry management, non-timber forest products, water and climate justice. They also have an active publication programme, for example, the *Community Forest Management Manual* (2009) funded by Christian Aid and *Sal Seed Procurement and Trade Operations: Issues and Challenges* (RCDC, 2004). The latter is a base-line study, which assesses the political economy of *sal* seed production (one of many non-timber forest products) and concludes that communities who collect it need to see greater returns from the trade. The central office is in Bhubaneswar with regional offices in three of the western districts of Orissa state.

It started work with Oxfam GB initially in 1996 when it funded their work in capacity building in natural resource management, participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and helped them build up their book and information collection. It was through this work with Oxfam GB that RCDC was exposed to other community development work being done in India. The organisation was subsequently funded for eight years by Oxfam GB, then two years by Oxfam NOVIB between 2007 and 2008 (Field Notes, 2010). By 2010-11, the organisation's annual income was 46,693,000 INRs. It received funds from a range of donors including Action Aid, Dan Church Aid, the European Commission, Government of Orissa and Oxfam India. Oxfam India, supported by Accenture, had contracted four partner organisations in four different Indian states to establish monitoring, evaluation and learning systems under the India Agricultural Scale-Up Programmes and RCDC was the Orissa partner for this (Field Notes, 2010). It received 1,564,482 INRs for this work in 2010-11.

<u>Society for Women Action Development (SWAD)</u> was established in 1989 after a major cyclone by a group of women in a Brahmin village in the coastal district of Puri. Due to the traditional constraints on the work considered appropriate for Brahmin men, the women of the village established income-generating projects such

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[105] From Field notes, Meeting with RCDC team, 15 November 2010.

as stone carving and *paan* growing which provided a livelihood for families made destitute by the cyclone (Field notes, 2010). In addition, the drive behind the organisation, as depicted by its founder and current Director, Binapani Mishra (Field Notes, 2010), was the male-dominated society of Puri in which women's voices were traditionally rarely heard as they frequently put the welfare of others first, to the detriment of their own health. The Super Cyclone of 1999, which devastated many villages in Puri, triggered the start of SWAD's relationship with Oxfam GB and other overseas funders. It also shaped the range and focus of its programmes.

By 2010, SWAD's portfolio of programmes included: a three-year community governance programme funded by Practical Action; a women's empowerment programme funded by Cordaid, Netherlands; capacity building programmes funded by both the State of Orissa and Concern Worldwide, and a three-year disaster preparedness and livelihood augmentation programme funded by Oxfam GB. Since 1999 Oxfam GB had also funded the capacity building of SWAD staff, for example, funding the Director's organisational development training in Bangalore, sending staff to Bangladesh to visit disaster preparedness work and training staff in community mobilisation, hygiene and sanitation work (Field notes, 2010).

The organisation is very proud of the number of women active in its governance, with women representing 16 out of its 18 staff, and the majority of its executive and volunteer cohort (total 312) (Field notes, 2010, SWAD, nd). Official records show zero funds received from overseas (GoO, nd). As of 2010, they had received no funding from Oxfam India (Field Notes 2010).

Appendix 9

Goulet's conception of Development Ethics: An analysis of Southern NGO perspectives

SNGO	What is ethically desirable development? ("ends")	What are the ethical means of achieving it? ("means")	What ethical dilemmas arise from the practices of development?
Summary analysis	People's knowledge of their rights, their power and capacity for action to change their lives for the better, including challenging inequalities and injustice.	Coalitions and networks of actors (local and international NGOs, local & national government, civil society & PS?) organising, lobbying, advocating and capacity building with the poor to facilitate access to their rights. This is *not* about the mere transfer of financial resources, provision of government services or charity. Processes which create or reinforce power inequalities between global north/south, donor/implementor, elites/marginalised are unethical. Experiments are required to test intervention approaches and effectiveness.	• Process should be driven by rights not welfare/ charity. • Donor power to design/impose outcomes and contract local implementers disempowers SNGOs (and all NGOs?). • Selection of beneficiaries can have distorting effect. • Donor reporting and accountability requirements. • Tension between NGO and grassroots infrastructure. • Need to reduce reliance on "external" funding sources. • How should civil society engage with large multi-nationals, especially on governance of natural resources? • Tension between sectoral isomorphism & need for specialism

371

			• Different conceptions of participation • Lack of "downward" donor accountability & transparency to implementers and grassroots. • Finding the appropriate framework with which to discuss and address poverty, especially without lived experience. • How to make best use of critical evaluations?
Does everyone matter?	Yes	Yes, but….how to ensure that N/S inequalities are not reinforced by these means?	Yes, but…this *habitus* or collection of practices is loaded/embedded with symbolic and practical distorting effects of the "international development" doxa. Only rupture of the ID doxa will enable new practices to reflect the "everyone matters" development ethic.
SWAD	**P27: F Mr S Panda 26 January 2011cl.rtf - 27:13 [they could able to understand ..] (121:121) (Super)** Codes: [pov_causes - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos they could able to understand the causal factors of poverty, causal relations of poverty, why poverty is coming and what are the causes, like power relations etc. etc. The government programmes, the	**P27: F Mr S Panda 26 January 2011cl.rtf - 27:11 [Poor nutrition. They have stom..] (118:118) (Super)** Codes: [pov_meaning - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos At that time the **civil society** were thinking that poverty means money, and that if we will donate something, we will combat, reduce poverty. Because Bina is telling, when she started the	**P27: F Mr S Panda 26 January 2011cl.rtf - 27:5 [What we are usually giving, th..] (71:71) (Super)** Codes: [eth_dignity - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos What we are usually giving, they are **taking as a beggar**. That attitude should not be there. This is a great change. That attitude should not be there. They should use what we are giving and what they are

silence of the community. Not raising queries about of their rights and entitlements. **P27: F Mr S Panda 26 January 2011cl.rtf - 27:40 [There should be well-paid to m..] (257:257) (Super)** Codes: [eth_dignity - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos They should be well-paid to maintain a dignified life. **P115: SWAD Case Study nd.rtf - 115:3 [Gundicha undergone above menti..] (115:115) (Super)** Codes: [PO_empow - Family: POWER] No memos Gundicha undergone above mentioned training with other participants. His knowledge level enhanced a little; the important thing which has happened is the growing confidence level and the eagerness of knowing more. .. he shared his opinion among the other participants and called a meeting in his village and makes the villagers understand about the real problem for which the socio-	organisation, she's telling, 'I didn't know this word poverty, and I have seen also families they have no money, they have no food and we have to give something, charity.' **P31: H Jagadananda & A V Swami 26 Jan 2011.rtf - 31:6 [The poor can and should take c..] (25:25) (Super)** Codes: [eth_dignity - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos **The poor** can and should take care of themselves. **P27: F Mr S Panda 26 January 2011cl.rtf - 27:26 [the INGOs should organise some..] (193:193) (Super)** Codes: [fut_role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] [SPV_S PARTNER VIEWS] No memos the **INGOs** should **organise** some programmes for bureaucrats and people's representatives where there is democratic government delivery processes is with bureaucrats, policy process is with the representatives, like	taking, judiciously to come help in future, to be used in future.

	economic condition of the poorest of the poor families is not changing as it is expected. So poorest of the poor families has to be organised, planned properly and place that plan through proper channel to change their own condition **P115: SWAD Case Study nd.rtf - 115:7 [He realizes that there are cer..] (204:204) (Super)** Codes: [PO_CS + govt - Family: POWER] No memos He realizes that there are certain structures which were not functioning as it is expected to, therefore he takes an initiative and ask for some information through Right to information act. He impressed by the philosophy that "Change is possible but that should start from me". So he takes the initiative first, to create an example before his village as well as before the society. Now Nrusingha and other two person of his village applied for the information.	members of parliament, members of assemblies etc. So they should be sensitised, there should be more power, more empowered. **Lobby** and **advocacy** process also needed. There should be advocacy.	
RCDC	**P109: RCDC rising hope 2009.pdf - 109:2 [to remove the disparity, a..] (1:655-1:742) (Super)**	**P28: F Ruturaj Paitnik 25 January 2011cl.rtf - 28:10 [I have to be … very careful. I..] (157:157) (Super)**	**28: F Ruturaj Paitnik 25 January 2011cl.rtf - 28:18 [We used to select beneficiarie..] (178:178) (Super)**

Codes: [eth_rights - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos To remove the disparity, awaken the workers about their obligations and rightful dues. **P109: RCDC rising hope 2009.pdf - 109:3 [Participating in the capaci..] (3:905-3:1180) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos Participating in the capacity building training Programme of R.C.D.C. committee members realized that development of the village will only take place of exploitation could be curbed. **P109: RCDC rising hope 2009.pdf - 109:4 ["now 113 daily wage earners l..] (4:369-4:597) (Super)** Codes: [PO_empow - Family: POWER] No memos "now 113 daily wage earners like me are getting	Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos I have to be … very careful. I'm seeing the practice, we're mostly going towards a bureaucratic structure. When I joined the sector in 1993, before research, now there's almost a bureaucratic structure so we have to do a lot of paperwork here in the office. Most organisations, they're trying to establish their organisation itself and at the time there are more number of small organisations, there are no … few organisation have their own infrastructure. **P109: RCDC rising hope 2009.pdf - 109:6** **[JSU is a Programme or org..] (2:5-2:532) (Super)** Codes: [PO_exploitation - Family: POWER] No memos **JSU** is a Programme or organisation of the job seekers. To award work to the labourers, save the workers from deception/ cheating raise the voice of the workers at the appropriate place	Codes: [pov_who? - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos We used to select beneficiaries … actually in this place **we are selecting the beneficiaries** … after consultation with the village people. Whilst the project … we usually send a concept note .. we are going to do these things, and people will come up. Once the concept has been accepted with more details and the money has come to carry out the activity at the field level, we will discuss at the village level what the poorest are, so at the village level everything is decided. So probably we are going to provide some incentive or subsidy kind of things at the project level and then the beneficiaries come, when, after they have come. **P28: F Ruturaj Paitnik 25 January 2011cl.rtf - 28:22 [Civil Society in Orissa we hav..] (190:190) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] Memos: [TQ6: Future role of NDNGOs?] Civil Society in Orissa we have yet to

	work in the agriculture field regularly. I do not run to sahukar (money lender) anymore being deprived of work. JSU has come to my rescue and I am now free from any exploitation.		learn how to **mobilise our own resources without asking outside organisations**, particularly in Orissa, because in other states they are able to raise different money, but in Orissa still they are just asking money from the corporates. They are just asking money for the [43:43] and other things. It's not that people are not doing charity; people are doing charity. It's not in an organised way. That will happen in an organised way. We are doing charity but not in that way. That has to be reorganised. **P28: F Ruturaj Paitnik 25 January 2011cl.rtf - 28:27 [We do not have to have our own..] (216:216) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos We do not have to have our own buildings, why?' RCDC can have a building on rent. If you are empowering people then **empower the people by building their own infrastructure**. We may not have to build our own but that is one thing. And when you're an organisation… because that organisation may not sustain. If it doesn't go well that

			organisation will not sustain. What are we going to do with that infrastructure?
Agragamee	**P62: Agragamee AR 2007-08.pdf - 62:6 [What NGOs can effectively do i..] (4:2366-4:2508) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos	**P127: F Achyut Das 16 Nov 2010.rtf - 127:24 [Those days the rights based ap..] (46:46) (Super)** Codes: [eth_rights - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos	**62: Agragamee AR 2007-08.pdf - 62:1 [Do tribals need to redefine th..] (3:120-3:443) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos
	What NGOs can effectively do is to set Models and examples of people's action in different locations. Agragamee has always followed this path.	Those days the rights based approach was also coming and Agragamee was known for that	Do tribals need to redefine their own way of lives and livelihoods when the **basics of Food and Nutrition, Water, Ecology, Energy related securities are threatened and how do we as a Civil Society Organisation support and encourage their efforts in the given context**? This is with reference to the local-global situation.
	P62: Agragamee AR 2007-08.pdf - 62:15 [rapid appraisal of the status ..] (20:2220-20:2753) (Super) Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos	**P62: Agragamee AR 2007-08.pdf - 62:6 [What NGOs can effectively do i..] (4:2366-4:2508) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos	
	…the study revealed the huge gap in government reporting on the NREGA, and the actual situation on the ground, and drew national attention to the dismal enforcement of this right, which has huge implications for the	What **NGOs** can effectively do is to **set Models and examples of people's action** in different locations. Agragamee has always followed this path.	**P127: F Achyut Das 16 Nov 2010.rtf - 127:3 [It basically depends on the go..] (17:17) (Super)** Codes: [PO_CS + govt - Family: POWER] No memos
		P127: F Achyut Das 16 Nov 2010.rtf - 127:7 [My point is that ultimately	

377

| | rural poor, who migrate in desperation and under the worst distress conditions in search of work, and livelihood with dignity. | **we..] (23:23) (Super)** Codes: [fut_role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] [SPV_S PARTNER VIEWS] Memos: [TQ6: Future role of NDNGOs?]

My point is that ultimately we NGOs or CS have to re-define its role **-** look there is a space - democratic, political, development space which we can use without being attacked all the time. INGOs - this is a very big debate whether they should work directly or not. This is a big question. I think that in Africa most INGOs should work where there are no local NGOs. But India has a vibrant CS - so what is the harm with let them work on their own. They have to take a very rational lead - sometimes to work directly and sometimes not. **The interface between the INGOs and SNGOs is not very clear. How do you operate? I think we have to use that space and work together.** | It basically depends on the **governance of resources**. If they are not governed in the right why - agricultural, forest produce, land - if everything is controlled externally then it will not be sustainable livelihood |

Lok Vikas			
	P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:28 [People, the purchasing power o..] (135:135) (Super) Codes: [DOM_DOMAINS OF DEV] [pov_dimensions - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos People, the purchasing power of the people, that has also gone up. The past 20 years, every village, they have … shortage of food, hunger and all these things. In some ways that has gone. I mean that problem has solved. But truly speaking, as we see development, that has not come. Some changes is there, some growths are there, but development is still … have to work at development, because politically people are not developed. Socially people are not developed. One development we see now, growth we see now, is only financial growth. So that is my motto about development. **P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:26 [So after working three years w..] (40:40) (Super)** Codes: [PO_inequal - Family: POWER] No memos	**P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:36 [we do three types of things. T..] (151:151) (Super)** Codes: [pov_dimensions - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos we do three types of things. That is the first- the social and the cultural development, … we do the political development and we do the economic development, and this putting three together, we call a holistic or sustainable development. **P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:27 [So actually I believe personal..] (135:135) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] [id_theory of change - Family: IDEAS] Memos: [TQ6: Future role of NDNGOs?] So actually I believe personally that change is a natural process, and **government** has a big role for this change process, for the eradication of poverty. It has a big role. NGO, they have a role but not as the government	**26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:31 [some NGOs are still working an..] (136:136) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos some NGOs are still working and doing some philanthropic charitable things, the need of relief, they will come, they will distribute some relief, and then they will go. Some people are managing the hospital, they are managing the orphanage … So we consider that these are all charities and humanitarian. If we consider about the development organisations, they are also, their approach is also **sectarian**. They are not holistic in their approach. Some people, they are working for education only, some people are working for the development of health, some people are working for capacity building, some people are working for their rights, so all NGOs in the country, they are not in the same direction. And that's why the NGO's effort for the development for the people, that is not a well visible. **26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:40 [But simultaneously I can see t..]**

379

| | | So after working three years we see that the Dalit women, they are sitting in with other caste people, so the other caste people | can act NGO can act. NGO can add some pull on that. So personally I believe that NGOs cannot eradicate poverty, but can **facilitate** the people to accelerate the process to get their rights or things properly done. That is the role of the NGO.

P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:60 [So she is telling basically th..] (215:215) (Super)
Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES]
No memos

So she is telling basically that we should find our time according to their leisure and all these things, because they are busy, so we shall not tell that our official work is 10 to 4 and we should do that, no, not that. When they are available in the villages and they don't have any work, we should go. We are going to them and we are organising meetings and discussing with them, so that they will find some time to spend with us and they could listen.

P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:11 [but in the other ten | **(145:145) (Super)**
Codes: [PO_private sector - Family: POWER]
No memos

But simultaneously I can see the **multinational companies**, they are also producing medicine and things, so we can't resist because we need also medicine. But other companies, other multinational companies, who are not adding to the growth of the poor people, they are not there destroying or polluting, there should be protest.

26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:44 [They write the proposal, they ..] (172:172) (Super)
Codes: [PO_don-recip - Family: POWER]
No memos

They write the proposal, they have also some experience in all that, but what to do, actually the proposal should be given by us, by the NGO, **but they have developed that proposal and they gave that proposal that these things has to be done.**

P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf |

| | | years, we..] (55:55) (Super)
Codes: [PO_empow - Family: POWER]
No memos

but in the other ten years, we get some insight that yes, this is possible, **people can organise themselves, they can fight for their rights, provided we give some education, real education, proper education, capacity building**; then people can do and I can say that now Anjelic Bikash Santagan is working well, and they are involved in so many development things and particularly in the rights-based approach they are involved | - 26:53 [And also frequently the INGOs ..] (184:184) (Super)
Codes: [PO_don-recip - Family: POWER]
No memos

And also frequently the INGOs in the governing body, also their policy level changes and that didn't come to our notice. So … but I know even all other NGOs, they are now mobilising funds not from the barber's shops but from other sources. Like you can say Oxfam mobilise funds from DIPICO. **We don't know from where the DIPICO people mobilise their funds - so there is a communication gap.** |
| | | **P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:29 [And for me, that I told you cl..] (137:137) (Super)**
Codes: [id_theory of change - Family: IDEAS] [PO_empow - Family: POWER]
No memos

And for me, that I told you clearly, that we can change the situation of the people, we can **facilitate** them for the change. If people will not be capacitated, if they will not demand for | **P26: F Abdul Safique 27 Jan 2011cl.rtf - 26:57 [But all the donor agencies, th..] (194:194) (Super)**
Codes: [PO_vict lang - Family: POWER]
No memos

But all the donor agencies, they don't believe in the process that people should participate in that way. **Participation of people for *them* is different**. People should come to the meetings and that's it, participate in the meeting no. I don't agree with that. Participation is participation |

		their rights, then how will they be developed?	from the heart and participation from the brain. That is real participation.
Group B/H Interviews	**P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:32 [At no point was there a feelin..] (57:57) (Super)** Codes: [eth_undeserving - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos At no point was there a feeling that money that should have gone to some poor, starving child in Africa was being used to support somebody in the UK **P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:47 [We're not going to have any ch..] (104:104) (Super)** Codes: [fut_legit - Family: NNGO FUTURES] Memos: [TQ6: Future role of NDNGOs?] We're not going to have any change, we're not going to see any improvement in the issue of climate change if we don't have a cut back on emissions. And because of the Oxfam UK programme and its base in UK, Oxfam is very well-placed	**P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:16 [There's a lot more about right..] (40:40) (Super)** Codes: [DOM_DOMAINS OF DEV] [pov_meaning - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos There's a lot more about rights, about injustice, about inequity and so on. And I think this has come primarily because of people working in, organisations like Oxfam deciding to work in the north. **P 9: B Valli Seshan 7 June 2010.rtf - 9:14 [I'm not talking about legitima..] (31:31) (Super)** Codes: [fut_impact - Family: NNGO FUTURES] [fut_legit - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos I'm not talking about legitimacy; I'm talking about being more aware of what you're doing. If you have been engaged in similar issues in your own country,	**P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:13 [Everybody feels that … this wa..] (40:40) (Super)** Codes: [DOM_DOMAINS OF DEV] [pov_who? - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos Everybody feels that … this was right. Because now **they're not looking at poverty as something out there**; they're looking at poverty as poverty. **P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:61 [when we were in the whole of t..] (143:143) (Super)** Codes: [pov_realities - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos when we were in the whole of the Oxfam UK Poverty Programme was framed in the debate between absolute and relative power. All of which were **insufficient frameworks to describe the nature of poverty and the problems of poverty**

to challenge that, they can challenge it authoritatively.	you **fight the policy of your government** or you have tried to create some schemes, then you're in a better situation to work with someone else who are in similar situations. It's not so much legitimacy - it is really kind of what you can do in terms of learning to be effective, maybe. **P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:19 [one of my hopes that I have is..] (51:51) (Super)** Codes: [fut-Changing debate - Family: NNGO FUTURES] Memos: [TQ6: Future role of NDNGOs?] one of my hopes that I have is that because of the Oxfam UK Poverty Programme and because of the global understanding, that we can rebuild what we had in the '70s, which was the social solidarity movement. And the positivity of building these kind of **global partnerships and solidarity movements** I think is more likely to bring about social change now than all our help and education and all these millennium development goal type of approach.	**globally** **29: H Dr Bhavan Prakash 23 Jan 2011.rtf - 29:8 [So then we had a new experimen..] (19:19) (Super)** Codes: [pov_meaning - Family: THEORY OF POVERTY] No memos So then we had a new experiment we called "living with the poor". We often discuss poverty in seminars, we discuss poverty in classrooms, **we discuss poverty in public debate. But we don't live poverty ourselves, the feeling of the poor**, living with the poor. We lecture on poverty, bring out reports on poverty - so we should live in poor people's houses - homes - to experience...a kind of experiential learning. So when you live in the family of a poor man then only you can realise what is poverty. **P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:46 [we are seeing this everywhere...] (96:96) (Super)** Codes: [fut_impact - Family: NNGO FUTURES] [id_theory of change - Family: IDEAS] [PO_don-recip - Family: POWER]

		P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:44 ['This was a catalyst. This was..] (88:90) (Super) Codes: [fut_impact - Family: NNGO FUTURES] [fut-Changing debate - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos 'This was a catalyst. This was what did it.' But at the time of happening, it's not a very visible thing. You know? And in fact the example that I used was of yeast in the bread. If you can pick up yeast and say this is what made the bread rise, you know that's what made the bread rise but you can't actually pick it out….So I've always said that in fact all development work should be like this. **P33: H Supriya Paitnak 25 Jan 2011.rtf - 33:1 [Orissa is very "I don't like t..] (11:11) (Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] [SPV_S PARTNER VIEWS] Memos: [TQ6: Future role of NDNGOs?]	No memos we are seeing this everywhere. Everybody wants to stay that our little bit of money is what caused this change, and it's reached very, very ridiculous levels, **the kind of reporting and record keeping that grassroots organisations like us on the ground have to keep, just to be able to prove that your one penny** **P 9: B Valli Seshan 7 June 2010.rtf - 9:18 ['How could anybody come from a..] (56:56) (Super)** Codes: [PO_don-recip - Family: POWER] No memos 'How could anybody come from anywhere and be in this complex situation and take some position?' like we fund you, we don't fund you, you do this, you must do that.

384

		Orissa is very "I don't like this phrase - 'backward'" in comparison with other states. 70-80% live below the poverty line. V.limited capacity of CS organisations. Dependant on government or international NGO funding. Fraught relations with the state - some have been coopted. Only a small number of organisations are **working on entitlements** and most are welfarist and implementing state programmes. **P10: B Stan Thekaekara 19 May 2010.rtf - 10:14 [and social change coming throu..] (40:40) (Super)** Codes: [PO_symbolic - Family: POWER] No memos and social change coming through the fight for social rights and the fight for human rights, but not necessarily this language. We moved in the '90s to a much more apolitical approach of development. From social change and social justice we moved to development and I think that coming back now we can see the language of the development sector	

| Oxfam India | **P98: OGB and OxIndia Wada Na Todo paper giving insights Nov 2008.pdf - 98:6 [Children as leaders: 'Nine is ..]** **(5:1583-5:1816)** **(Super)** Codes: [eth_rights - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos

Children as leaders: 'Nine is Mine' The 'Nine is Mine' campaign was led by children across the country. The 'nine' refers to the 6 per cent of GDP on education plus the 3 per cent on health that the children claim as their right | **P98: OGB and OxIndia Wada Na Todo paper giving insights Nov 2008.pdf - 98:7 [In order to press for the full..]** **(6:224-6:659)** **(Super)** Codes: [eth_rights - Family: DEV ETHICS] No memos

In order to press for the full implementation of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS), which aims to provide 100 days' employment a year for rural households, WNTA **organised** a Rozgar Adhikar Yatras ('**March for the Right to Employment'**) in six states. These marches were accompanied by People's Tribunals, where local officials were told about the inefficiencies and gaps in the implementation of the scheme

98: OGB and OxIndia Wada Na Todo paper giving insights Nov 2008.pdf - 98:4 [From the beginning, it was env..] **(3:1033-3:1382)** **(Super)** Codes: [fut_SNGO role - Family: NNGO FUTURES] No memos

From the beginning, it was envisaged | |

		that as well as creating a **national advocacy** agenda, emphasis would also be on **decentralised state-level campaigns** to ensure that local priorities were included. The focus was not on setting up a 'super body', but on harnessing and bringing together what already existed at all levels in Indian society. **P98: OGB and OxIndia Wada Na Todo paper giving insights Nov 2008.pdf - 98:2 [appreciatively, 'Oxfam has par..] (3:397-3:605) (Super)** Codes: [INST_org identity - Family: INST PRACTICE] No memos appreciatively, 'Oxfam has participated not in the style of donor but as **one of the constituents**, **ready to subsume the Oxfam identity within the campaign identity** and work passionately for the campaign'.	
Oxfam West Orissa Programme	"Redress some of the prevailing suffering and imbalances which continue to waste human life and potential" (Swamy 1979)	Project design to be practical/feasible. Involvement of ordinary group members in project.	Suitable methodologies for assessing immediate achievements and longer term impact of projects with rural poor? (OX3)

(OXWORP) Documents 1976-1983	Poor peasants to gain some control over their and their children's futures (OX4)	Spread of effect of project to those outside the group in the village and beyond. Group as a potential force for change in the future. (OX3) Not reliant on Ox funds but empowered to seek loans or get work from local government or license to trade/fish. Promote viable people's organisations based on interests of rural poor (OX5)	Extent to which people's organisations can function independently beyond programme life time and resources. (OX7) How to avoid corruption within programme? (OX7) How can programme explore and test new approaches and learn from the process? (OX7) Should programmes ask for evidence of target group action before intervention or is this a right for all? (OX7) Is it right for NGOs to take on the political role of transforming social systems within a democratic country? (OX7) How can interventions be appropriately used to develop graduate students for future careeers in development? (OX7) How can lessons leaned in one area be transferred and/ implemented in others? (OX7) How to use critical evaluations of programmes? (OX9)

			How to factor into programme planning & design patron-client relationships? (OX7 & OX9)
			How to avoid people's programmes being managed autocratically? (OX9)
			How to ensure the active participation of stakeholders in programme evaluations? (OX9)
			Should programmes ever engage with government disaster response programmes as contracting parties? (OX10) eg Food for Work post drought 1979

Appendix 10

OGB Case Study: OGB – SNGO power relations

Tensions/Power dimensions	1 Surface & visible mechanisms	2 Rules & agendas	3 Myths & symbols
Perceived tensions	Higher salaries in NDNGOs lead to loss of staff from SNGOs (P67) Competition for same funding (P90, P114) Donor-recipient relationship (P112)	NDNGOs "represent" the views of SNGOs too frequently in campaigns and in international bodies. (P67) Flow of communication from south to north for reporting & fundraising images (P78)	SNGOs take all the risks of working with local institutions (P67). NDNGO disconnect from poor people and their organisations (P78). NDNGO perception as "just a funder" (P78)
Potential new relations and roles	NDNGO to find additional value beyond funding.	Acknowledge that capacity building has worked (P79) and SNGOs represent themselves in campaigns, consultative & decision-making bodies (P67) Democratisation of knowledge (P67) Stronger N-S accountability.	NDNGOs to take "same risk" as SNGOs working locally (P67). Develop a shared analysis (P67) Accompanying role of solidarity (P10) Replacing traditional relationships of donor-recipient with interdependence (P65, P112) Changing the terms of the debate & challenging assumptions (P1)