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City University

Department of International Politics

**An Investigation into the Role of Religion in the Origins,
Strategic Development and Internationalisation Processes
of International Non-Governmental Organisations**

by

Patricia Claire Finlow MA (City University Feb 2007)

**A thesis submitted to City University, London
in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of International Politics**

Submitted February 2017

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Abstract.....	6
Part One: Background, Research Design and Theoretical Framework.....	7
Chapter One: Background and Overview.....	7
1. Background to Research Project	7
2. The Relevance of Research Questions.....	8
a. Transnational Activism in Global Politics.....	9
b. Conceptualising Religion and Religious Organisations	11
c. Different Religious Expressions that Pertain to this Research	20
d. Religion and International NGOs.....	29
e. Religion and Transnational Social Movements (TSMs)	38
f. Implications for Practitioners	39
g. Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation	39
3. Summary	42
Chapter Two: Research Design and Theoretical Framework.....	44
1. Research Design.....	44
2. Case Studies: Selection Process.....	44
3. Data Gathering.....	46
4. Analytical Framework: Social Movement Theory.....	50
a. Assessing the Appropriateness of Social Movement Theory as an Analytical Framework ..	50
b. Adapting Social Movement Theory for the Challenges Posed by a Secular Worldview.....	51
c. The Application of Social Movement Theory to this Research.....	52
5. Thesis Outline	58
Part Two: Presentation of Data and Analysis.....	60
Chapter 3: Oxfam’s Beginning and Early Years.....	62
1. The National Famine Relief Committee (FRC)	62
a. The Political Opportunity Structure: Responding to Famine in War-time Europe.....	62
b. Repertoires of Contention: Impact of Quaker Faith.....	65
c. Resource Mobilisation Structures: Reaching Beyond the Quaker Constituency.....	68
d. Framing the Message	70
e. Combining these Elements into a Nationwide Strategy.....	72
2. Oxfam’s Beginnings and Early Years to 1948: Provincial to National Organisation	72
a. Political Context and Opportunity Structure.....	73
b. Mobilisation Structures in Oxford	80
c. The Aims of the OCFR and their Changing Repertoire of Contention	83
d. Message Framing	89
3. Summary and Conclusion	93
a. Findings Concerning Oxfam.....	93
b. Implications for Social Movement Theory	94
c. Implications for Scholarship: Secularisation Theory, International Politics and International Development	97

4. Oxfam: Developments from 1948 to the end of the 1950s	97
a. Political Opportunity Structure after the War.....	97
b. Resource Mobilisation.....	99
c. Aims and Repertoires: Changing Priorities of the OCFR.....	103
d. Framing.....	105
5. Summary and Conclusion	107
a. Findings: Oxfam in the Post-War Years.....	107
b. Implications for Social Movement Theory	109
c. Implications for Scholarship	112
Chapter Four: World Vision: Beginnings and Early Years	113
1. Introduction	113
2. The Emergence of World Vision	114
a. Political Opportunity Structure	114
b. Resource Mobilisation Structures	119
c. Aims and Repertoires	122
d. Message Framing	127
3. Summary and Conclusion	131
a. Findings: World Vision.....	131
b. Implications for Social Movement Theory	133
c. Religious Literacy.....	134
d. Implications for Scholarship	134
Chapter Five: Oxfam 1959 to 1974 - Evolving Priorities and Internationalisation	136
1. Introduction	136
2. Oxfam's Evolving Priorities	136
a. Political Opportunity Structure	136
b. Resource Mobilisation.....	146
c. Oxfam's Aims and Evolving Repertoire: Leading to Overseas Expansion.....	150
d. Framing Processes.....	160
4. Oxfam's Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation	166
a. Oxfam's Overseas Expansion: A Consideration of the Factors Driving this Change	166
b. Oxfam's First Consideration of Internationalisation	174
c. Epilogue: Oxfam, Phase Two of Internationalisation Process	186
3. Summary and Conclusion	191
a. Findings: Oxfam 1960s onwards	191
b. Impact on Social Movement Theory and Wider Scholarship	194
Chapter Six: World Vision, 1960s and 1970s including Internationalisation	196
1. Introduction	196
2. World Vision: Evolving Priorities in the 1960s and 1970s	196
a. Political Opportunity Structure: 1960s to late 1970s	196
b. Resource Mobilisation.....	201
c. Aims and Repertoires: Evolving Priorities and Repertoire from 1959 to late 1970s.....	206
d. Framing.....	219
3. World Vision's Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation Process	223
a. World Vision's Overseas Expansion: A Consideration of the Factors Driving this Change	223
b. World Vision's First Consideration of Internationalisation	227
c. Second Phase of Internationalisation: Consideration of Aims	228

d.	Third Phase of Internationalisation: Consideration of International Structure	229
e.	Internationalisation: Formalising Structures and Process	230
4.	Epilogue: World Vision, Ongoing Review of Internationalisation.....	231
a.	Internal Issues	232
b.	First Review of International Structure	233
c.	Second Review of International Structure	234
d.	Restructuring Process.....	235
e.	Summary of Internationalisation Processes.....	235
5.	Summary and Conclusion	236
a.	Findings: World Vision.....	236
b.	Findings: Evangelicals and Socio-Political Activism	238
Part Three: Summary and Conclusions		240
Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusion		240
1.	Introduction.....	240
2.	Research Findings: Summary of the Main Similarities and Differences Between the Two INGOs.	240
a.	Religious Background of Case Study Organisations	240
b.	Similarities and Differences in the Origins and Early Years of the INGOs	241
c.	Changes in the INGOs during the 1960s and 1970s	247
d.	Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation	251
3.	Implications of Research Findings for Scholarship	253
a.	Religious Literacy: Recommendations for Establishing Whether Religion is Present	253
b.	Importance of Developing Religious Literacy within Scholarship	255
4.	Summary	257
a.	Drawbacks of Secularisation Theory: Underestimating Religious Presence and Influence	257
b.	Towards an Improved Understanding of Religion	258
c.	Final Thoughts	260
References		262
1.	Primary Source Material.....	262
2.	Secondary Source Material.....	274

Acknowledgements

I would like first of all to thank my supervisors, Dr Sara Silvestri and Dr Tom Davies for their unfailing support, wise advice, patience and continuing encouragement and for helping me to reach the finish line. I am also grateful to them for making this such an enriching and enjoyable experience. Thank you so much!

My thanks also go to Dr Lise Butler and Dr Scott Thomas for their comments and suggestions that were so appreciated and also to staff and fellow students in the International Politics Department at City University for their input at key points.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the archivists at World Vision International, the Bodleian Library, the Oxfordshire History Centre and Friends House in London for their invaluable help in searching out key documents.

I am also indebted to those who so willingly agreed to give up their time to share their memories, insights and experiences with me.

To all of you – I owe a huge debt. Thank you!

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my best friend and cheerleader, Alex Finlow, whose encouragement and support not only got me started on this journey but has been unfailingly by my side all the way through. Perhaps now, we can go on holiday?

Abstract

Non-state actors such as transnational social movements (TSMs) and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) have had an increasingly high profile in global politics in recent years through advocacy and campaigning activities which have caused them to be of growing interest to scholars. However, two aspects of INGOs have not received much scholarly attention. The first relates to religious INGOs and the lack of research regarding how religion influences this significant sub-set. The second concerns internationalisation processes as there is little research on why clusters of loosely affiliated and often diverse national NGOs choose to combine to form large INGOs and the processes they go through.

Using social movement theory as a methodological framework, this research addressed both points by carefully examining the genesis and developments of two large INGOs: firstly to identify how, and with what effect, religion interacted with other factors in their working practice; and secondly, to track the reasons for internationalisation and to determine the methods they used.

Underpinning the research was a detailed review of how international relations, international development and social movement scholarship conceptualise religion and religious actors. This identified weaknesses in scholarship caused by the legacy of secularisation theory as it obstructs the ability to perceive the presence of religion and to understand what effect it may have.

The research, therefore, concludes with two further contributions: the first are recommendations to improve religious literacy, by presenting a more contemporary way to conceptualise religion and religious actors; and finally, there are proposals for strengthening research methodology to enable the presence and influence of religion to be identified and incorporated into scholarly analysis.

Part One: Background, Research Design and Theoretical Framework

Chapter One: Background and Overview

1. Background to Research Project

For the past 20 to 30 years, non-state actors such as transnational social movements (TSMs) and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) have had an increasingly high profile in global politics through advocacy and campaigning activities which have been facilitated by significant budgets, well-resourced research and policy departments and their global reach. They have gained enviable reputations as expert voices on a range of issues as well as being alternative sources of information for governments and international institutions that may not have people on the ground to the same extent as INGOs. Their high public profile during times of crisis and disaster has contributed to their international stature, and they have acquired further distinction as trusted custodians of the public's financial contributions as well as having good reputations for being efficient, effective and responsive organisations. These factors combine to enable INGOs to make pertinent and frequent contributions to the deliberations of international institutions and other global decision-making bodies both in their own right and as part of broader coalitions. Many development INGOs now have global advocacy as a key strategic objective and have established offices in global centres for world politics, for example in Washington DC, New York and Geneva and are now to be found lobbying on behalf of the world's poorest people with the IMF, the World Bank, international institutions and, more recently, the corporate world.

These interventions have caused these non-state actors to be of interest to scholars of international politics, but there are two aspects of INGOs that have not received much scholarly attention, and these will form the basis of this research. By their nature, INGOs have a strong values base, which for many is drawn from religion but the sizeable sub-group of religious non-state actors have *'not been investigated with any consistency in contrast to a variety of other non-state actors – the IMF, the World Bank, multi-national corporations (MNCs), and relief and development agencies'* (Thomas 2005: 13).

Consequently, little is known about how religion has interacted with other factors in the origins, strategic development or growth of INGOs, or in their day to day operations.

Therefore, in order to help close this gap in scholarly literature, this research will enquire into the role of religion in INGOs by seeking answers to the first research question:

Research Question 1: How, and in what ways, does religion interact with other factors in the founding of an NGO and what influence if any, does it have on their aims, objectives and activities?

The second aspect of INGOs that has not attracted much academic interest relates to how INGOs came to be such large and prominent actors in global fora, as most had humble beginnings as national or even town-based NGOs. Little is known about the rationale and processes that transformed clusters of loosely affiliated and often diverse national NGOs into the large INGOs and TSM organisations seen on the global stage today. As INGOs are now recognised as having prominence and influence, it is both pertinent and timely to explore the reasons why an independent, national NGO, with specific objectives, carefully crafted branding, reputation and its own established network of supporters would choose to affiliate with other NGOs to form a global entity. Also of interest is how the founding values of each of the constituent parts of an INGO, especially if any were drawn from religion, synthesised to form the culture of the new entity and what types of negotiations took place to arrive at an agreeable compromise on matters of culture and practice. These interests around internationalisation may be summarised in the second research question:

Research Question 2: Why, and how, do NGOs internationalise to become INGOs?

2. The Relevance of Research Questions

This section will discuss the relevance of the research questions by first considering different notions of transnational activism, with a focus on how the roles of INGOs and TSMs are converging. There will then be a consideration of what this research means by religion and religious organisations, followed by a review of how the interaction of religion and INGOs and social movements has been treated in scholarship. This will be followed by a review of scholarly writings on the internationalisation of INGOs and a summary of the gap in the literature that this thesis will address.

Before discussing the relevance of these questions, the next sections will first provide what Beckford (2000) calls '*conceptual hygiene*' regarding some of the terms used as it is recognised that as phrases and concepts evolve, they are used in different ways and as a result may have contested meanings. The explanations given here are not intended as a final or even scholarly definition of terms but reflect the way in which they will be used by the author and are based, wherever possible, on how they have been used and understood by the actors in question.

a. Transnational Activism in Global Politics

Since the nineteenth century, activists have been increasingly cognizant of the more strategic and tactical benefits of transnational collaboration, and many different kinds of transnational activism are now in evidence. These are discussed in depth by Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) who provide a multi-level typology which will be used to structure this section.

The basic units of this thesis are non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and this thesis draws on the definition provided by Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) who describe NGOs as: *'private, voluntary, non-profit groups whose primary aim is to influence publicly some form of social change'* and note that domestic, or national NGOs, draw resources from one country but may direct their efforts overseas (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink. 2002:6). For clarity, this thesis observes that for many NGOs, especially in the early years of their work, the social change desired is effected via service delivery, although an increasing number of NGOs now cite advocacy as a key strategic objective. The next level in the typology is occupied by international NGOs (INGOs) which have the same basic definition as NGOs but are deemed to have a structure where decision-making or voting rights are allocated to at least three different countries and where their aims reach across borders. This definition accords with that adopted by the *'Yearbook on International Organizations'* (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002:6, 23). Drawing from Keck and Sikkink (1998), the third level in the typology relates to transnational advocacy networks (TANs), which are informal associations, whose main purpose is to provide support and information to those with common values and shared goals. The information exchange activities of advocacy networks are said to be the most ubiquitous form of transnational collective action and are the basis of most, if not all, functions in the transnational arena (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2000:7). Transnational coalitions are the next category and have a higher level of mutual interaction in pursuit of their common goals and typically act together in strategic development and tactical areas (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002: 7). Finally, transnational social movements (TSMs) are at the apex of this typology, but they are considered to be *'the most difficult and rare form of transnational collective action'* (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002:8). This category is of particular interest to this research, but before considering it further, it will be expedient to consider the nature of social movements in general before turning to those of a transnational nature.

A basic description of a social movement is provided by Cohen and Kennedy (2000): *'...agencies of social transformation that emerge in response to certain social changes and conditions'* (Cohen and Kennedy 2000: 287), but they also cite Wilson's more detailed definition: *'..a conscious, collective, organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalized means'* (Wilson 1973: 8, quoted in Cohen and Kennedy 2000: 288). McCarthy and Zald (1977) note that many contemporary social movements are populated by *'conscience constituents'* who mobilise on behalf of others, receiving no benefit themselves from the activity (McCarthy and Zald 1977: 1222). Returning to a consideration of transnational social movements, Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) define them as: *'..actors with common purposes and solidarities linked across country boundaries that have the capacity to generate coordinated and sustained social mobilization in more than one country to publicly influence social change'* (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002:8), but they contend that the difficulties of creating genuine TSMs mean they are a much rarer form of collective action. Cohen and Kennedy (2000) concur with this observation but nevertheless recognise that many diverse campaigning groups have *'drawn strength from collaboration with similar groups in other countries'*, and they perceive a difference between *'occasional collaboration between largely separate national groups'* and *'campaigns that are specifically designed to be globally orchestrated and which deliberately synchronize national support as a resource in the pursuit of worldwide goals'* (Cohen and Kennedy 2000: 295). It is this latter activity that is of interest to this research, as it describes the advocacy activities of INGOs in global fora. A further category, transnational social movement organisations (TSMOs) is provided by both Kriesberg (1997) and Smith (1997) who characterise TSMOs as giving shape, structure and direction to TSMs.

Smith (1997) observes that the transnational structures of TSMOs provides favourable access to international institutions and helps activists develop the skills and experience needed for campaigning at this level (Smith 1997: 42,43) while Kriesberg (1997) describes them as a subset of a wider category of INGOs that *'...seek to bring about a change in the status quo'*, asserting they contribute by both *'contentious as well as co-operative relations'* including monitoring compliance after new international standards or norms have been established (Kriesberg 1997:12, 3, 18). For Tarrow (2001), TSMs are those who regularly contend with international power holders while INGOs are characterised by their service provision and an implied lack of contentious political

activity. He argues that it is important to retain a distinction between TSMs and INGOS so that the relations between them can be monitored.

This, however, was written in 2001, before INGO advocacy became so prevalent in international institutions. Now, INGOS, who began by engaging in service provision are also heavily involved in the '*sustained contentious interaction with states, multinational actors or international institutions*' assumed previously by Tarrow as the sole preserve of TSMOs (Tarrow 2001:11,12).

b. Conceptualising Religion and Religious Organisations

A potential weakness in any academic enquiry concerning religion is the presumption of a shared understanding of what is meant by 'religion' or 'religious organisation' as these terms have been conceptualised, understood and applied in a variety of ways, in different disciplines and at different times. Therefore, before considering the effect of religion on the work of INGOS and TSMs, this section will bring some clarity to what this thesis will mean when using these terms.

Defining religion has been a perennial problem for scholars: referred to as a '*lumpy and complex concept*' (Toft 2013: 674). Marty (2000) agrees and presents 17 different perspectives of religion from a variety of writers to illustrate his assertion that '*Scholars will never agree on a definition of religion*' (Marty 2000:10). The implications of this for understanding religious organisations is problematic, summarised by Jeavons (1998) who remarks that '*consensus is elusive*' regarding what determines whether an organisation is considered religious, noting that organisations are rarely exclusively religious or secular (Jeavons 1998: 79, 80). This reference to the 'secular' alludes to the influence and impact of secularisation theory which will be discussed before moving on to conceptualise religion *per se* and then to a focus on the characteristics of a religious organisation.

i. Modernisation and Secularisation Theories

During the late 1950s, the theories of modernisation and secularisation began to emerge as significant features of academic life and thinking and, in combination, posit that as society becomes more modern, religion will be seen as increasingly irrational, leading to an ever-decreasing role for religion in society and predicting it would become a private matter and marginalised (Bruce 1996). By the 1960s secularisation theory had acquired a paradigmatic status and was a constant but latent presence in academic study and public life as an unstated premise

(Casanova 1994:17). The pervasiveness of secularisation theory has been identified as a '*globalised elite culture*' that perpetuates and disseminates an '*official definition of reality*' that is highly influential in social and political institutions (Berger 1999: 10). As this '*official definition of reality*' expects religion to have an ever diminishing influence in public life it perpetuates assumptions about religion that are based on this secular worldview (Bruce 1996; Bruce 2011). Thomas (2005) concurs, noting that modernisation theory is still the '*conventional wisdom*' that underpins the way religion is viewed by many scholars and that secularisation theory carries assumptions that distort our understanding and expectation of how religion and religious groups operate in the field of international relations (Thomas 2005:51,52). Hurd (2004) takes this further, observing that secularism positions itself as the starting point from which religion is considered as it '*arrogates to itself the right to define the role of religion in politics*' (Hurd 2004: 235,237-8) and elucidates this by noting that '*Secularism marks out the domain of the 'secular' and associates it with public authority, common sense, rational argument, justice, tolerance and the public interest. It reserves the 'religious' as that which it is not, associating it with a personal God and beliefs about that God*' (Hurd 2004:239).

The presumption of irrationality that attaches to religion by contrasting it with the scientific, positivist approach of modernity causes religion not only to be marginalised but also trivialised. Thomas (2005) notes that in public life this trivialisation causes many religious adherents to behave as though their faith is irrelevant (Thomas 2005: 221). But this trivialisation also inhibits accurate analysis in academic enquiry as even if religion is acknowledged as being present, it is assumed that its function is irrelevant to the matter under consideration. This thesis considers that disregarding either the possibility of religion's presence or its relevance sanctions a lack of curiosity about it which has contributed to a gap in academic literature regarding religious involvement in social movements, INGOs and international politics. This disregarding of religion has been described as the '*authoritative discourse*' of secularism and a '*form of political authority*' (Hurd 2008: 1) and an '*ideological formation*' (Hurd 2007:14), with Hurd (2007) describing these ideological formations in the manner that Hunt (1987) describes ideology in foreign policy: '*an inter-related set of convictions or assumptions that reduces the complexities of a particular slice of reality to easily comprehensible terms and suggests appropriate ways of dealing with that reality*' (Hunt 1987:xi).

ii. Substantive vs Functional Definitions of Religion

When religion has been considered in academic research, it has typically been in one of two ways: the first is a distinction between substantive and functional definitions and the second is between universal and particular characteristics. These will each be looked at in turn, beginning with substantive and functional definitions.

Haynes (2007b) provides a succinct summary of these by noting '*two basic ways that religion can affect the world: by what it says and by what it does*' (Haynes 2007b:12). He clarifies this by saying the former is to do with beliefs and theology, and the latter with how it '*works through a variety of modes of institutionalization, including church-state relations, civil society and political society*' (Haynes 2007b:12). The former 'substantive' approach is described by Davie (2007) as being '*concerned with what religion is ... [which] involves beliefs and practices which assume the existence of supernatural beings*'. In other words, this relates to issues such as religious texts, beliefs, rituals and practices. This is in contrast to the latter, functional approach which is described as '*concerned with what religion **does** and how it affects the society of which it is part*' (Davie 2007:19). This latter view has its roots in the thinking of Emile Durkheim and has been foundational in the development and application of secularisation theory. As a noted structural functionalist, Durkheim was interested in the role that religion fulfilled in society and believed that it had an integrative function as it created a common identity and collective consciousness that brought stability to a community (Tomalin 2007:2-4). But an emphasis on the functional role of religion that is disaggregated from a substantive one has led to a distortion, as it begins by positing the purpose of religion in society is to bring unity and cohesion. For example, Bruce (1996), drawing from Durkheim, asserts that when '*traditional people worshipped their Gods they were really worshipping their own commonality*', leading him to conclude '*The point of religion was to create and sustain a common sense of identity*' (Bruce 1996:44). While it is recognised that an effect of the practice of religion may be community cohesion, it is argued here that this is not its purpose. Rather it is the case that any societal integration is an outcome or by-product of religious belief and practice. Reliance on a predominantly functional perspective has led to a confusing array of definitions for religion which has created a tendency for many other institutions or practices that create social cohesion to be considered in the domain of 'religion'. For example, Tomalin (2007) refers to

instances where '*secular phenomena (such as sport)...*' are seen as a fulfilling the function of a modern-day religion (Tomalin 2007: 3), and Gunning and Jackson (2011) note that for many aspects of religion, such as priests, special buildings and texts, '*parallels can be readily found in the secular world*' (Gunning and Jackson 2011: 374). Barnett and Stein (2012) discuss similar perspectives, noting that definitions of religion need not '*pivot around God*' (Barnett and Stein 2012: 15) as it is argued many people experience a sense of transcendence without reference to a Deity. Berger (1974) detects hidden interests and agendas in this approach, noting that such broad functional definitions may be ideological as they serve the interests of those who wish to provide '*quasiscientific legitimations*' of a secular worldview by '*the avoidance of transcendence*' (Berger 1974: 128). He suggests that such definitions are constructed to equate any religious phenomenon with a secular equivalent and so argues this leads eventually to a situation where religious phenomena are no longer perceived as they are '*absorbed into a night in which all cats are grey*' (Berger 1974: 129). He, therefore, proposes a remedy to ensure steps are taken to understand religion '*from within*' and proposes viewing it from the perspective of the '*meanings intended by the religious consciousness*', recommending a recalibration of religion's definition towards the inclusion of more substantive factors. He explains this is more than merely observing what religious people do, but having an understanding of how and why those beliefs have translated into particular actions (Berger 1974:129).

In contrast to Berger's concerns in 1974 about an over-emphasis on a functional approach, Thomas (2005) argues that contemporary understandings of religion, especially in the West, privilege a substantive approach as it focuses on '*privately held beliefs and doctrines*' which he argues were invented as modernisation and secularisation theories developed (Thomas 2005:24). This view is endorsed by Moore (2015) who introduces a note of caution regarding over-emphasising substantive factors, observing these now represent the '*most common approaches*' to understanding religion. She asserts this has caused '*simplistic and inaccurate representations*' of the many different roles of religion in life today as she argues the situation is more complex as religion is '*inextricably woven into all dimensions of human experience*' (Moore 2015:4). Silvestri and Mayall (2015) concur that a substantive approach to religion should be complemented by a functional one that looks at '*how faith is articulated in practice, considering it and*

how it affects individual or groups' behaviour, thoughts and choices' (Silvestri and Mayall 2015: 6).

iii. Universal vs Particular Definitions of Religion

The second way in which religion is conceptualised is by attempting to articulate a universal definition which is problematic as this avoids the need to understand how and why different religions are practised. Bretherton (2010) summarises this problem by noting this tendency has had an homogenising effect on '*disparate and arguably incommensurable phenomena*' as they do not take account of the particularity of different religions (Bretherton 2010: 38). This inevitably leads to '*ill-judged action*' as '*outsiders*' are inhibited from appreciating differences between major faith traditions, and so he echoes calls for secular agencies to '*be prepared to engage with different faiths in terms of their own heterogeneous frames of reference*' (Bretherton 2010: 38). Hurd (2008) also questions the possibility of a universal definition, noting that any claims to have overcome all religio-cultural particularities in a pluralistic world are problematic (Hurd 2008:3). In a similar vein, Spencer (2016) expresses concern about the essentialist assumptions behind the word 'religion' and questions whether it is reasonable to assume there is such a thing as 'religion'. He argues that any definition that can accommodate a wide breadth of beliefs and actions is '*unlikely to do much fine analytical work*' (Spencer 2016: 9).

This thesis posits that the tendency to define religion with universal characteristics, especially those that don't '*pivot around God*', risks dissolving delineations between religion and other social institutions which will mask any distinctive characteristics that may religion bring. If any demarcations are so erased, it then seems more natural and even legitimate to ignore or marginalise religion in academic enquiry. As Berger (1974) noted in his critique of functional definitions, this practice is deeply ideological, but this thesis asserts it is also profoundly flawed as by conceptualising in such broad terms, religious groups cannot be seen as having any individual or specific characteristics.

A hypothesis of this thesis is that different religious expressions do have characteristics that are germane to academic enquiry, and this research aims to determine whether this is true and if so, what difference if any they make to the activities and outcomes of religious organisations. Therefore the concept of religion used in this thesis will not be a universal one but will incorporate the

particular characteristics of any religious expressions that are identified in this enquiry.

In summary, agreeing on a definition of religion is problematic for several reasons but this thesis recognises the need for a meaning that takes proper account of both substantive and functional characteristics and any causal links between them, and so will begin with a substantive definition and then expand to incorporate factors that take account of how those beliefs inform and influence actions. Further, as this research is interested in the impact and effect of major world religions as they are commonly practiced, religion will be conceptualised in a more particularistic manner and will incorporate reference to a supernatural being as it is recognised that religious beliefs that do 'pivot around God' will have profound implications for the religious practitioner, over and above those of sporting allegiance. Therefore, this thesis, while being fully cognizant of these varying perspectives regarding religion follows Silvestri and Mayall (2015) in recognising the need for a '*practical understanding of what is commonly called religion*' (Silvestri and Mayall 2015: 6) that will serve as a reference point when referring to religion in the research that follows. As Bruce (1996) evokes what '*ordinary people mean when they talk of religion*', his definition is used as a starting point: '*beliefs, actions, and institutions which assume the existence of supernatural entities with powers of action...*' to which he adds: '*or impersonal powers or processes possessed of moral purpose*' (Bruce 1996:7). Haynes (2011) concurs with this by stating that religious beliefs are concerned with '*the idea of transcendence... supernatural realities sacredness*' and that it '*... relates people to the ultimate conditions of existence*' but he also asserts that these beliefs produce behavioural change within the individual believer as they can motivate actions '*in pursuit of social or political goals*' (Haynes 2011: 4). Similarly, Marty (2000) in the context of contrasting religion with public religion, offers five features of religion which he says '*help point to and put boundaries round the term*', and so asserts that religion '*focuses our ultimate concern.. builds community... appeals to myth and symbol... is reinforced through rites and ceremonies... demands certain behaviours from its adherents*' (Marty 2000:10-14).

This brief review has indicated the indivisibility of substantive and functional definitions of religion which is affirmed by Rudolph (1997): '*although guided and sustained by the meaning systems of transcendent realms, religion as practiced is embedded in everyday life. In countries of the Western as well as of the non-*

Western world, the most significant form of social organization and source of world views ... may be religious entities rather than trade unions, political parties, or interest groups' (Rudolph 1997: 5).

One final factor in building a conceptualisation of religion for this thesis is a recognition that the articulation of religious beliefs and their practical outworking within society are continually evolving. This review has noted a variety of definitions but observes they are fixed to a particular time and, underpinned by the assumptions of a global elite, are frequently based on an outdated and, for many scholars, discredited, secular worldview. Moore (2015) cautions against the tendency to consider religion without social or historical context (Moore 2015: 2). This thesis concurs and further, suggests that since the 1950s, the predominance of a secular mindset, which effectively froze the understanding of religion to that time, causes a further weakness in contemporary scholarship as any residual understanding of religion may be linked to beliefs and practices as they were observed in the mid-twentieth century in predominantly Western cultures.

Thomas (2005) also argues that religion must be understood in a fundamentally different way as in many countries and communities it is '*...neither a body of ideas or a belief system...nor a social ethic ... nor... a cultural system'*, but instead should be seen as a '*type of social tradition*' (Thomas 2005:87) as '*religious ideas... are dependent on social life. They are not ... declaratory propositional, moral statements, to which rational (autonomous) individuals give their intellectual assent*' (Thomas 2005: 89). This perspective is shared by Smith (2003) who describes religion in the following terms: '*the distinctive way of life of communities of followers shaped by their particular system of beliefs and practices that are oriented toward the supernatural. Religion thus conceived is not merely a set of cognitive beliefs, emotional dispositions, or ethical imperatives, but is expressed fully as a way of life practiced by communities of people*' (Smith 2003: vii).

Therefore this thesis recommends the development of a fresh approach to the study of religion in international politics: during the analytical phase of this research, efforts will be made to incorporate sufficient religious literacy of contemporary religious belief and practice to identify how religion responds to and interacts with, the prevailing political, social and economic context. In so doing, a more informed, contemporary understanding of religion will be developed to assist current day academic enquiry, especially about INGOs, social movement

theory, secularisation theory and international politics. In addition to this general conceptualisation of religion, information regarding the specific expressions of religion that pertain to this thesis, namely Evangelicalism and Quakerism, is given in a later section.

Having conceptualised how religion will be considered in this thesis, the next priority is to determine what is meant by a religious NGO (RNGO). This is fundamental to this thesis and succinctly articulated by questions put to Michael Taylor when he was Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Christian Aid: *'What more do you offer than Oxfam with hymns?'* (Taylor 1995:101). Taylor had been the CEO of Christian Aid for nine years and had grappled with understanding what, if any, unique benefits Christian Aid, as a religious organisation, brought to relief and development. He notes that many people assume that a Christian organisation will be *'actively evangelising and promoting Christianity'* (Taylor 1995:101) and that there are some who believe this should be the case and others that do not. Noting therefore that the question may be asked with hostility as well as curiosity, he observes it carries an underlying assumption that in terms of the relief and development work itself, religious organisations behave exactly as other INGOs but with the addition that they *'deck out what they do with Biblical texts and theological language...'* (Taylor 1995: 101).

In a brief review of scholarly work where the activities of RNGOs have been considered, Thaut (2009) concurs, arguing there is a commonly held view that *'religious NGOs are not distinct from secular agencies in their operations, but their underlying vision or mission is informed by their religious beliefs'* (Thaut 2009: 4). But in seeking to answer the question regarding whether Christian Aid is more than 'Oxfam with hymns', Taylor (1995) discusses the different ways that RNGOs may be distinctive which may be distilled into the following: firstly with respect to their motivation; secondly in regard to the manner in which they conduct themselves and thirdly, in terms of their goals or choices of activities (Taylor 1995: 101-135). Kniss and Campbell (1997) also looked to answer a strikingly similar question: *'what difference does religion make for relief and development organizations?'* undertook a review of the promotional material of 57 American NGOs that self-identified as religious and were involved in relief and development. Their answer was *'Some, but not as much as one might expect'* (Kniss and Campbell 1997: 102) and determined that the primary difference was in how they

described or legitimised their work to their various stakeholders. However, the methodology of their research almost certainly introduced errors as it relied on analysis of secondary data, namely the publicly available promotional material of the organisations under review. The problem with this methodology is a reliance on the presence or absence of religious terminology or argument to determine the religious nature of an organisation's activities. Publicity material is, by its nature, aimed at meeting an organisation's needs for finance and other kinds of support from its audiences and so is geared to satisfying the hopes and expectations of a particular audience. It is not intended as an academically objective or neutral assessment of what the organisation is doing and achieving. While Kniss and Campbell acknowledge that a more in-depth study will be needed for a *'more complete accounting'* of the differences of RNGOs, they did not triangulate or corroborate their findings with any primary sources nor did they problematise their methodology or make provision for this weakness. Therefore their conclusion that RNGOs will have mixed motives when engaged in relief and development is unreliable as is their assertion that evangelical agencies that *"support local initiatives in relief and development are in fact primarily church planting organizations who engage in relief and development as an ad hoc peripheral activity"* (Kniss and Campbell 1997: 100).

The risk of misunderstanding the framing of an organisations work will be explored further in the analysis of the data collated in this research but a partial remedy to the weakness identified in the methodology of Kniss and Campbell is provided by Jeavons (1998), who theorises seven different ways to consider the 'religiousness' of an organisation: in other words the ways that religion may potentially influence an NGO. Firstly he recommends scrutinising its self-identity; secondly, he proposes examining the religious character of its participants; thirdly he suggests reviewing the source of its material resources; fourthly, he highlights the importance of examining its goals or services; fifthly, he recommends a consideration of its decision-making processes; his sixth point concerns its definition and use of power; and finally he proposes investigating the nature of the relationships that the organisation has, which he refers to as its 'organisational fields' (Jeavons 1998:81). Ironically, the strength of this taxonomy is the emphasis on the qualitative nature of the criteria, but this is undermined when he speaks of scoring organisations on each of the criteria to identify where they fall on *'a spectrum that runs from those that are profoundly, perhaps even purely, religious*

to those that are very clearly, even absolutely, secular in nature and function' (Jeavons 1998: 81).

This thesis views as problematic the notion that an organisation's 'religiousness' can be considered on a continuum and rejects the suggestion that the religious nature of RNGOs can be measured using accumulated scores. Nevertheless, it does acknowledge the value of Jeavons' qualitative factors as they help identify the different ways that religion may be applied and expressed. Jeavons categorisations were utilised by Julia Berger in 2003 when she conducted an analysis of RNGOs which she described as those "*whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions... to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good at the national or international level...*" (Berger 2003:1).

In summary, it is recognised that alongside a working definition of 'religion', a reference point for considering religious NGOs is also needed that will itself be tested as the research progresses. A helpful baseline for this discussion and one that has been utilised by other scholars (Thaut 2009; Benedetti 2006) is the one provided by Julia Berger (2003) which will be used as a reference point for identifying an RNGO.

c. Different Religious Expressions that Pertain to this Research

It is axiomatic that a generic definition of 'religion' cannot adequately describe the beliefs and practices of different religions nor can it help scholars understand how specific expressions within one religion, for example, Christian denominations, differ from one another, especially in how adherents to these expressions perceive and apply the teachings of their religion.

Scholars may be familiar with the broad differences in belief and practice between, for example, Catholics and Protestants, but may not be so aware, or conversant with, differences between the many different denominations or groupings within Protestantism nor how these practices have developed and changed over time. These differences are not restricted to religious rituals and services but frequently lead to diverse understandings of their practical application within society such as in social welfare projects, political activism or with regard to what an appropriate relationship with political leaders should be.

During the past 200 years, two of the most prominent religious movements in this regard have been evangelicalism and Quakerism. As both of these movements emerged as significant actors in this research, a summary of their core beliefs and the changing way in which they have been applied and outworked in society will be considered next.

i. Evangelicalism

Johnston (2000) notes that evangelicalism '*defies easy description*' as it is an umbrella term for a '*diffuse subculture*' that spans different denominations and theological positions (Johnston 2000: 217, 218). Bebbington (1993) refers to it as '*trans-denominational*', noting there are Christians who identify as evangelical within both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches as well as many other denominations, for example, Methodist and Presbyterian churches (Bebbington 1993: 183). A succinct definition of an evangelical is given by Johnston (2000): '*evangelicals are those who believe the gospel is to be experienced personally, defined biblically and communicated passionately*' (Johnston 1991 quoted in Johnston 2000:218). In other words, evangelicals have a '*triad of beliefs and practices*' that they perceive have been undervalued by the contemporary church: Biblical authority, evangelical witness and personal conversion. Others elucidate this by highlighting the centrality of Scripture to evangelicals, from which come all other identifying characteristics (Tizon 2008; Bebbington 1993). Evangelicals believe first and foremost in the authority of Scripture, seeing it as the basis for all matters of faith, doctrine and life, and usually (especially in the period of this research) this takes the form of a belief in its inerrancy. This leads to strong convictions about concepts such as heaven and hell which itself leads to a requirement for salvation through a personal faith in Jesus Christ, which begins at a conversion experience which should lead to a '*spiritually transformed life*' (Johnston 2000:219). A commitment to sharing this faith with others (evangelism) is another consequence. While the foregoing factors are the core '*identifying marks*' of evangelicalism, these beliefs have been expressed contextually depending on national culture and denomination and have also evolved over time resulting in a range of perspectives and emphases regarding how these beliefs are outworked (Tizon 2008; Johnston 2000). For example, Tizon (2008) notes differences between how evangelicalism evolved in Britain as compared to America, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. He notes that one

aspect of the contextualisation of American evangelicalism is the extent to which it came to be defined in opposition to Liberal Protestantism (Tizon 2008:2).

ii. American Evangelicalism

Historically, in the Western world, evangelical Christians had been the leaders and pioneers of many of the early transforming social movements, for example, the abolition of the slave trade, as they believed that *'to follow Jesus Christ meant nothing less than to bear witness to him by the words they proclaimed and the deeds they conducted for the betterment of humanity'* (Tizon 2008:22). But from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, social welfare activities in North America became more associated with theologically liberal Christians who were less committed to sharing their faith. This was problematic for evangelicals as one consequence of their commitment to Biblical authority was a *'critical posture towards any version of the Christian faith that is perceived to be unbiblical, impersonal, powerless over sin, and lacking in missionary zeal'* (Tizon 2008:2). The trend towards Christian involvement in social welfare without an accompanying commitment to evangelism caused evangelicals to establish a distinction between themselves and Liberal Protestants whom they considered apostate. This led to what Moberg (1972) has termed 'The Great Reversal' which was a strong resistance by evangelicals to engage in or support social welfare, which was disdainfully referred to as a 'social gospel' and perceived to be a distraction from the more important task of 'soul-winning'. Adherents to this view became known as 'Fundamentalists' due to their association with a series of publications called 'The Fundamentals'. As this group was the most prominent in the evangelical community, for many years, the terms 'evangelical' and 'fundamentalist' were synonymous (Tizon 2008:23,24). Therefore in North America, by the early twentieth century, evangelicals were identified by a fundamentalist theological position, having set aside their nineteenth-century ambitions to transform society and had willingly and intentionally withdrawn from all aspects of public life: social, political and cultural and focused their energies on their own religious communities and on personal spirituality and salvation (Lindsay 2007; Waters 1998). In this climate, the expectation of evangelical organisations was for them to focus on the verbal proclamation of salvation through Christ (Moberg 1972; Chester 1993) and not become involved in social welfare activities. This perspective was diffused throughout the world by fundamentalist evangelical missionary organisations,

leading Tizon (2008) to refer to *'the global reputation of the social negligence of evangelicals'* (Tizon 2008:25). Fundamentalists recognised the social needs and political concerns in society, but during the first half of the twentieth century, they perceived the only solution to *'the irredeemable depravity of the social situation'* was personal conversion to Christ (Tizon 2008:24; Moberg 1972). In consequence, Eriksson (1993) asserts that fundamentalism in America became associated with *'poorly educated, isolationist, mean-spirited, dogmatic Christianity'* (Eriksson 1993: 190).

In parallel with these developments, modernisation theory and secularisation theory were beginning to have an impact in academic discourse and public life, but these were outworked in different ways in America and Britain due to the different historical context. In America, the predominance of this began to influence theological thinking, with Smith (2003) noting that the *'intellectually thin'* legacy of nineteenth-century Protestantism meant it was poorly prepared to develop a theology to counter the claims of modernity, and as a result, Liberal Protestant leaders accommodated secularisation and redefined Christianity in terms of secular modernity (Smith 2003: 2, 35). Noll (2006) concurs with this assessment of an intellectually bereft Protestantism, asserting that evangelicalism was also in *'a parlous state'* having suffered an *'intellectual collapse'* which had led to minimal Christian influence in universities or in public policy resulting in evangelicals being *'politically inert'* (Noll 2006). Nevertheless, Noll doesn't concede the inevitability of evangelical isolationism but laments that *'its capacity to shape national mores or to influence national agendas in politics, the media and intellectual life seemed spent'* (Noll 2006). This began to change during the 1940s when a number of evangelicals began taking measures to distance themselves from what they viewed as anti-intellectual and isolated theological positions which ignored social issues.

Describing themselves as *new* or *neo-evangelicals*, they formed the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942 and five years later in 1947, Fuller Theological Seminary was established to provide a more enlightened evangelical scholarship and to encourage more socially-aware ministries (Eriksson 1993:190, Chester 1993) as well as craft a new reputation for evangelicalism. Alongside this, they believed Christians were called to *'transform culture'* as well as evangelise (Bornstein 2003:19) and so they began taking steps once again to have influence in public life. Their approach was summarised in a book published in 1947 entitled *'The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism'* where it was stated that the

prevailing fundamentalist evangelical mindset was *'the modern priest and Levite, bypassing suffering humanity'* (Henry 1947: 17, 20). In addition to contributing at an academic level, they also promulgated their ideas to a broader public through a variety of means including publications and conferences.

One of the most influential publications was *'Christianity Today'* magazine, a bi-monthly periodical launched in 1956 with a remit to provide *'balanced reporting and biblical commentary on the social, cultural, and theological trends, issues and opportunities facing thoughtful Christians nationwide'* (Christianity Today 2017). It was envisaged as a counter to the influence of theological liberalism on the one hand, and fundamentalism on the other. It aimed to disseminate neo-evangelical scholarship to church leaders and to provide reassurance and support for a view that application of the Christian faith could help solve many of the problems within American society (Christianity Today 1956; Graham 1997). It was believed that while many mainline Protestant leaders had *'liberal leanings'*, those that held more traditional evangelical views were *'discontented with the status quo... but had no flag to follow'* (Graham 1997). The purpose for the magazine, therefore, was to *'restore intellectual respectability and spiritual impact to evangelical Christianity'* and to ensure the widest possible reach, it was initially issued free of charge to church leaders, seminary students and Bible colleges in America (Graham 1997). Carl Henry, one of the founding members of the NAE and Dean of Fuller Theological Seminary was appointed editor, which ensured it was underpinned by the emerging theological perspectives of neo-evangelicals. The editorial from the first issue in 1956 summarises their position and explains their quest for change: Believing that *'historical Christianity'* had been *'neglected, slighted, misrepresented'* and that both theological liberalism and fundamentalism had failed to apply the Christian faith to the *'contemporary social crisis'* it affirmed its belief that the answer to *'the many problems of political, industrial and social life is a theological one'* and stated its view that evangelical Christianity was in need of *'a clear voice... to state its true position and its relevance to the world crisis'* and went on to promise that *'Through the pages of Christianity Today [neo-evangelical scholars] will expound and defend the basic truths of the Christian faith in terms of reverent scholarship and of practical application to the needs of the present generation'* (Christianity Today 1956:1). The reach and influence of the magazine can be seen by its recruitment of 38,000 paid subscribers by its second year, which grew to 150,000 by 1968. As its target audience was church leaders, its ultimate influence was significantly wider

than that as its ideas and teaching were disseminated to local congregations and it became the '*sustaining force of the emerging neo-evangelical movement*' with a worldwide readership (Ireland 2015:50,51).

Bornstein's (2003) observation that neo-evangelicals believed they were called to '*transform culture*' is not only borne out by the intentions of the magazine, but more insight is given as to what is meant by this term. They did not see involvement in public life as being restricted to moral or 'family issues', but instead believed their faith had much to contribute to all aspects of social, political and public life.

iii. Evangelicalism in Britain

Meanwhile the development of evangelicalism in Britain has been tracked by Bebbington (1993) who notes that while it had a '*pervasive influence over the Victorian era*' it developed a similar tendency towards anti-intellectualism, noting it '*nurtured an activism that at times has inhibited thought*' with conservative evangelicals believing themselves to be an '*intellectually despised minority*' (Bebbington 1993: 184-186). Nevertheless, the evolution of fundamentalism in Britain was '*much feebler*' than in America (Bebbington 1993:186) especially as there was not a '*total repudiation of liberal trends*' as the social gospel was seen as an '*outgrowth of evangelical convictions*' and complementary to the gospel rather than a substitute for it (Bebbington 1993: 186). Bebbington also describes a typically British compromise as many leaders in British denominations '*deplored the tendencies to polarization*' and so '*liberal and conservative attitudes*' co-existed in the interwar years (Bebbington 1993: 186).

One interesting parallel is between evangelicals in America and Anglicans in Britain who each responded to the charge of anti-intellectualism and the influence of secularism in society. While this was recognised by neo-evangelicals in America in the 1940s, a response to this had already been developed by senior churchmen in the Anglican Church in the 1930s, which was nurtured through missions and conferences leading ultimately to an '*intellectual revival*' of the Christian faith (Hastings 2001:300,388). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three of this thesis when considering the prevailing religious context from which Oxfam emerged.

By the 1960s, evangelicals in Britain had begun to develop their own theological defence of a conservative view of scripture and Bebbington (1993) notes they were

turning in '*in larger numbers to social responsibility*', thinking about social issues that '*verged on the political sphere*' (Bebbington 1993: 187). It was at this time that these two streams of evangelicalism (American and British), began to converge, encouraged by international evangelical conferences initiated by American neo-evangelicals and supported by one of the leading evangelical scholars in the UK, John Stott, who came to play an influential part in presenting a case of socio-political involvement alongside his American counterparts.

iv. Politics and Evangelicals: Differentiating between British and American Perspectives

One of the identifying marks of neo-evangelicals, as opposed to fundamentalists, is that they believed Christians were called to '*transform culture*' by applying faith to every area of life (Bornstein 2003: 19). This is evidenced by the aims of *Christianity Today* magazine which sought to present biblical solutions to social and political concerns. In terms of political involvement, there was some 'behind the scenes' activity in the early years of the NAE when it opened an office in Washington DC to seek support for concerns of personal interest to evangelicalism: for examples religious broadcasting, religious liberty and support for evangelical chaplains (NAE 2016) and by the 1950s the NAE had a reputation for getting things done and a delegation was invited to the White House by President Eisenhower (NAE 2016). Nevertheless, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, evangelicals were still not visibly active in political life: Studies have consistently shown that prior to 1974, evangelicals were the least likely group in America to participate politically but after that time they were the most likely (Wuthnow 1983:167-174; Wuthnow 1988: 198-199). This *volte-face* is seen in the dramatic change in perspective of Jerry Falwell, a prominent fundamentalist and popular televangelist. Prior to 1974, socio-political involvement was fiercely contested in fundamentalist circles: it was '*decried*', even being seen as '*deviant from their conceptions of proper religious behaviour*' (Wuthnow 1988: 198) and Falwell declared in 1965: '*Believing the Bible as I do...I would find it impossible to stop preaching the pure saving gospel of Jesus Christ, and begin doing anything else—including fighting Communism, or participating in civil-rights reforms*' (Balmer 2006:17). But by the late 1970s, Falwell had become the President and spokesperson for the Religious Right's 'Moral Majority' movement (Himmelstein 198).

Many theories have been put forward to explain such a profound change in such a short period of time: suggestions include the election of an evangelical President, Jimmy Carter, in 1976; reaction to the Watergate scandal in 1974; and the Roe v Wade decision of the Supreme Court in 1973. While these external factors may have facilitated the change, they do not explain the extraordinary shift in the public theological positions of so many church leaders in such a short time span. The public actions of the religious right in America have created a tendency to conflate evangelicalism with right-wing politics. A consequence of this is that the activism of left-leaning evangelicals in America, such as Jim Wallis or Tony Campolo, or the advocacy of non-partisan evangelical organisations such as World Vision, have not received the same level of scholarly or academic attention, and when they have been reviewed, their actions are misunderstood or misinterpreted. Similarly, the high profile of evangelicals in America causes the perception of evangelicals in Britain to be misunderstood, but as noted earlier, the impact of fundamentalism was 'much feebler' than in America. Therefore this also translates to differences in how relationships between evangelicals and politicians have developed and are now conducted.

Hatcher (2017) notes that in terms of their underpinning religious beliefs, evangelicalism in Britain and in America are '*one and the same*' but argues that in Britain, the religious and political identities of evangelicals are '*separate parts of their selves*' and this inhibits them being politicised in the same manner as in America (Hatcher 2017:2). Not only are these identities separate, but Hatcher argues that a distinguishing factor between British and American evangelicals is that in Britain, evangelicals identify themselves predominantly as 'Christian' rather than evangelical, due in part to negative associations with the term evangelical. Since the late 1970s in America, evangelicals have come to be seen as a 'voting bloc' and have been heavily courted, even co-opted by the Republican party, by using moral or so-called 'family-issues' to elicit support. Evangelicals only represent 3% of the electorate in Britain compared with 26% in America (Hatcher 2017: 48, 18), and this lower representation, combined with a lower profile and a greater diversity of political positions, means that the same tactics of political co-option have rarely been tried. Further, it is felt that any attempts to co-opt evangelicals in Britain would have a counter-productive effect by stimulating a secular turnout leading to more losses than gains (Hatcher 2017: 49).

v. Quakerism: The Society of Friends

Quakers are a comparatively small denomination both worldwide and in the UK, but have developed a strong reputation for social justice and peace-related activities. Officially known as the Society of Friends, the name 'Quaker' was originally a nickname, referring to the manner in which members would shake during worship, but has since been adopted by the Society of Friends as an alternative name. Quakerism began in the 17th century as a reaction to the established church at the time. Believing that God could speak to all people they eschewed the need for priests or any other kinds of religious rituals to encounter the Divine. Their meetings would be held in silence unless or until a member felt called by God to share a thought or revelation with the group, a practice known as 'ministering'.

A foundational view of Quakerism is that they share a '*way of life*' and not a '*set of beliefs*' (Quaker 2013b:27.19) and a fundamental principle of Quakerism is that their faith should have a practical application which combines with the belief that practical service is a pre-requisite to political activism. One aspect of Quakerism that is germane to this thesis is the distinction between an evangelical view of scripture and the Quaker view. For evangelicals, scripture retains the highest authority for divine revelation but Quakers, believing that revelation is available to all, hold that the Bible is an inspirational book and a source of wisdom, but not a final authority nor do they believe in its inerrancy. Another core tenet is a belief that there is '*that of God*' in every person. In other words, the Divine is present in each person, and so Quakers believe that any person may have a revelation from the Divine to contribute to whatever is under discussion. This leads to a commitment to the '*spiritual equality of all*' (Dandelion 2008: 36) and creates a highly egalitarian culture that is wary of, or even dismissive of hierarchical structures. In everyday relationships, this means that each person is obligated to listen carefully to others, and in Quaker business meetings this is seen by the requirement for all present to listen to viewpoints from all participants and to weigh them carefully for nuggets of truth or 'light' that may assist the assembled group reach a more enlightened outcome. This is explained in Quaker Faith and Practice: '*We must always be ready to give serious, unhurried and truly sympathetic consideration to proposals brought forward from whatever part of the meeting*' (Quakers 2013d:3.04). Therefore, time is spent partly in silence and partly in respectful listening to different viewpoints. Any person may speak, but would be

expected to *'listen respectfully to others and to the promptings of love and truth in your heart'* (Quaker 2006) and while logic and reasoned arguments would be permissible and welcomed, Quakers are reminded that in discerning a way forward *'We have learned to eschew lobbying and not to set great store by rhetoric or clever argument'* (Quaker 2013d: 3.04). Votes are not taken as it is believed this would *'emphasise the divisions between differing views and inhibit the process of seeking to know the will of God'* (Quaker 2013d:3.06). Instead, those present commit to discerning the mind of God by waiting for the right course of action to emerge, with the clerk of the meeting (the chairperson), summarising his/her understanding of the outcome, known as *'the sense of the meeting'* through which a way forward will have been discerned that correlates to the will of the Divine (Quaker 2013d). These values and practices produce a highly democratic culture and a sense of unity and social integration that a more random collection of citizens have struggled to achieve.

d. Religion and International NGOs

It was noted earlier that there has been a dearth of scholarship regarding the interplay between religion and INGOs, but this section will review the main contributions that have been made.

Barnett (2011) has written extensively on the history of humanitarianism where he credits religion with *'pouring the foundations of humanitarianism'* and contributing to many important aspects of its development (Barnett 2011: 17-18). He has also written separately to expand on this understanding of religion's contribution to humanitarianism. (Barnett 2011a; Barnett and Stein 2012). Noting that his work not *'a history of NGOs'* but rather a *'history of humanitarianism'*, Barnett warns his readers against confusing the two, pointing out that *'A variety of public and private actors contributes to humanitarian action, among them religious bodies, states, commercial outfits, philanthropies, and individuals'* (Barnett 2011:17). Nevertheless, he acknowledges that most humanitarian organisations have been NGOs or INGOs. As the latter form the basic unit of this research, Barnett's history (2011) provides a helpful place to begin exploring the literature regarding religion and INGOs.

Barnett (2011) divides the history of humanitarianism into three distinct eras, each having characteristics shaped and fashioned by the prevailing global context and within this framework, he provides many helpful observations regarding the interaction of religion and INGOs, but this thesis will show that some assertions are

not supported by empirical evidence and that at times his work contains internal contradictions. Barnett's various writings display a relatively homogeneous understanding of religion, and therefore this thesis asserts he misses some essential distinctions within and between evangelicalism and religious humanitarianism. These factors, therefore, provide additional areas for this thesis to explore. Barnett (2011) identifies religion as a key factor in both creating and shaping modern-day humanitarianism towards the end of the eighteenth century when religion, in the form of missionary movements, became more organised in reaching out to 'distant strangers'. He notes this was seen in the campaign to abolish slavery which gained ground in the same time period, and suggests this was the catalyst for missionary expansion: *'The antislavery movement had caused the British public to broaden its moral imagination and to recognize its special responsibilities to the colonized'* and also notes that *'..the missionary and abolitionist movements drank from the same evangelical well'* (Barnett 2011:63,65). He, therefore, posits that the genesis of humanitarianism, especially the discourse used to describe the forces of compassion evident in this era, was initiated by religion, and it was this religious perspective that provided the foundational reason, meaning and authority to these early expressions of humanitarianism. This was rooted in the belief of Christian missionaries that all peoples shared a common humanity but Barnett asserts that they also defined local populations by what they lacked, which in this era, alongside little or no education and healthcare, included faith in Jesus Christ (Barnett 2011: 64, 67; Barnett 2011a: 97). But the religious discourse emerging around humanitarianism did not just describe and support the work of those travelling overseas to bring aid. It was also part of and strengthened, the prevailing religious discourse domestically in the latter part of the nineteenth century, illustrated by the early years and activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). While the ICRC is currently renowned for its non-sectarian approach, Barnett (2011) draws attention to the oft-forgotten religious motivation of its founder Henri Dunant and his compatriots, and their belief that the development of local Red Cross societies would serve to strengthen within European nations, what were believed to be the *'uniquely Christian values such as humanity, charity, and compassion'* (Barnett 2011: 13).

In summary, the emergence and rapid spread of humanitarianism in this first era (from late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century) was characterised by a religious discourse that drew deeply from the proactive nature of evangelicalism which was prevalent at the time. This form of evangelicalism did not merely seek converts,

but as they believed that these 'distant strangers' shared a common humanity, they hoped to improve the moral character of their domestic populations by encouraging Christian compassion toward those in distant lands.

Barnett (2011) locates the beginning of a second era of humanitarianism during the Second World War when he asserts, *'the world got serious about humanitarianism'* (Barnett 2011: 107) as relief became more planned and co-ordinated, and governments, seeing relief aid as potentially serving their interests, became involved. Barnett asserts this was the *'defining elements of emerging architecture of humanitarianism'* (Barnett 2011: 107). But before looking closely at this second era, it will be important to consider the major shifts occurring in the first part of the twentieth-century that eventually gave birth to this second phase: Barnett (2011) describes the transition to his second era of humanitarianism as being marked by its *'once-explicit religious discourse losing ground to the discourse of humanity and international community'* (Barnett 2011:94). He identifies two reasons for this: first the creation a more scientific means of decision making which led to various legal instruments; and secondly, the emergence of non-religious activists and organisations and illustrates the shift from what he refers to as religiously-based decision making to a more scientific means by referring to the *'Conference on the African Child'*, which was organised in 1931 by Save the Children Fund (SCF). During this conference, considerable attention was paid to data and statistics, for example regarding child health (Barnett 2011: 93, 94). But the suggestion that a scientific perspective was replacing a religious influence is contradicted by Barnett's own report that missionaries played a *'critical role'* in the provision of *'knowledge, labour and organizing skills'* for SCF's conference (Barnett 2011:94), which challenges the implication that religious actors were opposed to an informed, scientific method of decision making when they were, in fact, driving this development. This was seen in an earlier, major missionary conference in Edinburgh in 1910 which Barnett himself notes aimed to be: *'informed by empirical analysis and not guesswork'* (Barnett 2011: 70). Further, he acknowledges that this aspiration for scientific method was an ongoing development in the world of Christian missions as they sought to professionalise by applying scientific methods to missionary practices (Barnett 2011: 70).

This thesis recognises that humanitarianism may have begun to incorporate secular elements, but argues this cannot be inferred because those engaging in it were conducting their affairs in a professional manner. The SCF conference marks the

emergence of non-religious activists in humanitarianism as Barnett (2011) notes it attracted both secular humanists as well as missionaries, arguing that the religious nature of humanitarianism's discourse was '*softening*' as it was '*increasingly difficult to tell where the religious ended and the secular began*' (Barnett 2011: 93, 94). When discussing religious influence, Barnett treats it as an homogeneous entity, not taking account of distinctions between different expressions of the Christian faith. In particular, Barnett only makes a passing reference (Barnett 2011a:98) to the changes that were taking place internally within evangelicalism and the missionary movement, which were discussed in an earlier section. Therefore, the initial motivation for humanitarianism, which had been a coherent and unified one, rooted in an holistic, evangelical expression of Christianity, became fragmented in the first half of the twentieth century. However, this was not simply because non-religious agencies emerged or governments became involved, rather it was because the religious community itself had become divided and polarised. The omission of these processes in the literature on religion and INGOs is one of the gaps that this thesis aims to address. Barnett (2011) makes a controversial assertion that one outcome of this move away from a religiously influenced discourse was a shift in decision making regarding where relief should be targeted: '*Prior to World War II religious agencies dominated the field, and religious discourse influenced whose suffering mattered the most, namely those who appeared ripe for conversion and who had not yet heard the gospel*'. He goes on to argue that after the Second World War, the emerging '*secularized discourse of humanity*' changed this so that the salience of material needs, not spiritual ones were 'elevated' and there was no longer any 'obvious metric' for choosing one population over another (Barnett 2011: 119). This assertion is problematic in two main ways. Firstly, Barnett presents no evidence for the claim that religious agencies had prioritised those '*ripe for conversion*' nor does he explain what constitutes people in this category. Secondly, his claim that there was no '*obvious metric*' for decision making in the post-war world is incongruent with his view that the involvement of states was a defining element of this era of humanitarianism. A sovereign state pursuing its own interests is an obvious metric (Barnett 2011: 97-102). Undoubtedly states were involved in the provision of relief in this era, providing funds and organisational capacity, but the extent to which they drove the humanitarian agenda is not clear. In parallel with this, Barnett (2011) notes there was a surge in relief agencies in the post-war period (Barnett 2011:111) and while he includes newly formed faith-based agencies such as World Vision and Lutheran World Relief he

maintains that the growth of secular agencies strengthened the tendency for the nature and discourse of humanitarianism to be predominantly secular. Unfortunately, Barnett doesn't discuss the emergence and influence of neo-evangelicals, discussed earlier in this Chapter, nor does he consider the considerable impact this had on relief and development in this era.

This thesis will show that the emergence of neo-evangelical thinking and scholarship continued to challenge the insular nature of evangelicalism in the post-war period, and eventually at a conference in Lausanne in 1974, publicly overturned the effect of the Great Reversal by endorsing and encouraging social welfare and political activism. These events are omitted from most scholarship on twentieth-century religion, and non-state actors and so represent another gap in the literature this thesis will address in Chapter six of this thesis.

The development of new religious agencies in parallel with the new secular agencies challenges the extent to which the discourse of humanitarianism became secularised as these new religious agencies, along with the pre-existing missionary agencies referred to in Barnett's (2011) first era, and the emergence of neo-evangelicals continued to present societal needs and their work in religious terms. Therefore the shift in the practice and discourse of humanitarianism was much more complicated than religion having passed *'the torch to secularism'* (Barnett and Stein 2012: 3). But his view on whether or how far humanitarianism became fully secular is ambiguous at best as he states: *'... humanitarianism tracks, in some ways, with the mythic versions of secularization, in which the secular replaces the religious as a source of authority and meaning. The world, of course, never became secularized, and neither did humanitarianism, which is why the sector maintains the distinction between faith and secular agencies'* (Barnett 2011: 20). In a separate paper, entitled: *'Another Great Awakening'* Barnett elucidates his thinking on this by questioning the dominant view of secularisation that assumes a binary relationship between religion and secularism and suggests that *'Treating these spheres as distinct, indeed as rivals for supremacy, risks neglecting how the two can be co-constitutive and discursively related...'* (Barnett 2011a: 102). The confusion noted earlier over whether relief aid or humanitarianism can have both religious and scientific elements is seen in Barnett and Stein (2012) where they discuss the apparent coexistence of religion and secularism and suggest there are ongoing, parallel processes of secularisation and sanctification within humanitarianism. But their description of this *'secularization process'* is instructive as

they include factors such as governance, fundraising, evaluation and professionalisation without explaining why these are considered antithetical to a religious approach (Barnett and Stein 2012: 7).

This brings to the surface one of the unstated assumptions referred to by Thomas (2005) that exists in academia regarding the role of religion in international relations: that actions associated with modernity or a scientific approach automatically assume the absence of religion. This misunderstanding is also recognised by Haynes (2007a) who notes that in this era, development and religion were considered '*emphatically separate concerns*' (Haynes 2007a:1) as development was closely tied to the paradigm of secularisation and modernisation that emerged in the post-war era. The economic development of countries in the 'Two-Thirds' world was a foreign policy goal of many countries in the West, as well as a natural extension of the relief work that had instigated the birth of many new NGOs. But in this era, development and INGOs that focused on relief and development were seen as being in a binary relationship with religion, which Haynes (2007a) explains was due to a perspective that only saw religion as '*being concerned with 'mere' spirituality*' while development was '*primarily understood as being concerned with material improvements*' (Haynes 2007a: 1,2). It is clear that in the post-war era there were both religious and secular agencies engaged in humanitarianism, but this thesis will interrogate the view that an absence of religious terminology and the adoption of professional practices constitutes a reduction in the religious commitment or influence of faith-based agencies.

Barnett's (2011) third era of humanitarianism is situated after the Cold War and he argues it was characterised by a '*shift in the purpose of humanitarianism, expanding from symptoms to root causes and becoming avowedly political in the process*' (Barnett 2011: 167) and was facilitated by the global context of complex emergencies and globalisation, and that a discourse of Human Rights emerged which came to predominate. He argues that the process of becoming more explicitly political caused INGOs to review their practice and for religious agencies such as Catholic Relief Services and World Vision, this meant also reflecting on their Christian identity and how this could or should inform their response (Barnett 2011:201-205).

There has been some discussion in academia regarding a '*resurgence of religion*' in this period, but this thesis notes that it is used by scholars to refer to different phenomena, which may have some overlap, but they are not equivalent. 'Resurgence' has been variously referred to as a greater number of people identifying as religious; a greater

interest by religious groups to participate in public life; and a greater awareness by academia of the activities of religious groups. Toft (2013) addresses both the first and third points together: that there are a greater number of people identifying as religious and that academics are now becoming more cognizant of their influence. Toft argues that the resurgence of religion is not due to its *'increased salience'* due to events such as 9/11, but instead represents a quantifiable increase in religious observance although she also asserts that for a season this increase was overlooked by academics and other *'educated people'* (Toft 2013:675) and uses statistics from surveys to demonstrate an increase in religious belief and identification with major religious traditions. However, she does not explain why this would in itself lead to an increase in religiously motivated political activism or what form this activism may take. Nevertheless, in an extension to this, Toft argues that shared assumptions that religion could or should be discounted from public life, in other words, the shared secular mindset of the previously referenced *'educated people'*, hampered scholars and policymakers from seeing the emergence of an *'increased desire for a public face for religion in the political arena'* (Toft 2013:676). But this *'increased desire'* for public involvement was not established by Toft, as the statistics presented showed an increase in traditional measures of observance, not public engagement. Therefore it may be that the phenomenon, in contrast to Toft's view, actually does represent an increased salience by scholars and policymakers of the work of religious actors. But Toft does conceptualise two broad ways in which religious actors may seek or choose to engage in politics. Firstly, she posits this could be through humanitarian intervention and secondly by instrumentalising religion to justify or support state actions, and then considers how each of these would be treated by the three main international relations theories, realism, liberalism and constructivism. Unfortunately, Toft's work is hampered by what seems to be a limited understanding of the nature of religion as it is lived and applied by its adherents. For example, she states that *'religious constructions are not infinitely variable; they are tethered to texts or to the pronouncements of charismatic leaders in ways that make them subject to predictability'* (Toft 2013:687) and some of the examples given to illustrate points, for example the reference to the involvement of evangelicals in the Roe vs Wade issue reflect popular understanding of the issue rather than established or historical fact (Toft 2013: 685). But the strength of Toft's work is the review of how each of the main international relations theories have considered and treated religion and concludes that *'secular assumptions ... have made it difficult, if not impossible for IR scholars and*

policy practitioners to take religion and religious actors seriously' (Toft 2013: 674). It is these pervasive secular assumptions that this thesis aims to identify and evaluate.

The second perspective on resurgence, i.e. that there is a greater interest by religious groups in participating in public life, is discussed by Haynes (2007a) who asserts that many religious actors are now becoming involved in matters such as economic growth and social justice. He argues that these activities are new areas of interest for religious groups and that it is the 'resurgence' of religion that has given rise to this: *'Resurgent religion does not only relate to personal beliefs but also leads to a desire to grapple with social, economic and political issues'* (Haynes 2007a: 30) indicating that prior to this 'resurgence', religious groups did not have a desire to 'grapple' with socio-political issues. Once again, this view reflects an assumption arising from the legacy of a secular worldview that didn't believe religion would or could have a role in public life and so, as Toft asserts, made it difficult to see (Toft 2013: 674). The lack of evidence provided by Haynes regarding a previous disinterest in socio-political issues would support this view. Presents

Regarding the third perspective on resurgence, that academia is now more interested in the influence of religion, Haynes (2007a) suggests this is related to an increasing disappointment with the outcomes of a secular, modernist approach to development that focussed primarily, if not exclusively, on economic improvements rather than broader goals of well-being and human flourishing. Consequently, he argues, this generated a growing interest in the potential of religious organisations to contribute towards international development goals (Haynes 2007a: 3-5). He suggests this was seen by a growing disillusionment with neo-liberalism and the Washington Consensus, which also became a factor in the shift towards a renewed consideration of faith-based agencies in the 1990s (Haynes 2007a: 9). Similarly, the World Bank began to recognise the contribution of non-state actors, including faith-based organisations and began seeking to incorporate their perspectives into their deliberations. Haynes (2007a) illustrates this by quoting a speech made in June 2005, by Katherine Marshall, a senior World Bank official who stated that the World Bank *'did not believe that religion and socio-economic development belong to different spheres'*, and that there was *'agreement both in the World Bank and within other secular development agencies'* that faith-based agencies can contribute to development goals *'not least because issues of right and wrong and social and economic justice are central to the teachings of world religions'* (Haynes 2007a: 12). Regardless of this renewed interest in

religion, Barnett (2011a) observes that most contemporary writing about humanitarianism continues to assume it is secular because of the lack of religious terminology describing its underlying principles (Barnett 2011a: 91). But he also notes the strength of the religious foundations of humanitarianism and questions whether these really disappeared or have been operating in a stealth-like way; asking in a tongue-in-cheek manner whether religious groups have used humanitarian institutions to *'launder'* religious values (Barnett 2011a: 92). He builds on this idea by suggesting that *'our contemporary world order might have a religious dimension in visible and veiled ways'* and also that *'the secular and religious elements of international order might not be as cleanly segregated as international relations theorists presume'*, arguing that religious values may have become institutionalised in the world's governing institutions (Barnett 2011a: 105) and urges caution regarding an overly scientific approach to discerning the role of religion. He, therefore, makes three broad recommendations: first, he argues that religion and religious discourse should not be seen as having a fixed meaning as it is effectively a social construct (Barnett 2011a:106). Haynes (2007a) agrees, noting that as religions *'are both creative and constantly changing'* their relationship to other actors is also constantly in flux (Haynes 2007a:24). Secondly, Barnett (2011a) warns against simplistic views that assume the rise of secularism is automatically matched with a diminution of religious influence as he argues they can and do co-exist (Barnett 2011a: 106-107). One aspect of this thesis is to explore this conundrum, considering whether it is feasible to assume there was one discourse of humanitarianism in this third era, or, as suggested, a binary relationship between religion and secularism, and if so, whether humanitarianism developed a more secularised identity. Thirdly, he cautions that treating religion as a variable would hinder understanding of how individual actors find meaning in their actions (Barnett 2011a:108).

Barnett's various contributions in recognising the presence and influence of religion in humanitarianism and INGOs is an encouragement to this thesis and his observations and cautions regarding the analysis of this influence are noted. The analysis of this thesis will build on and add to this work, not least by incorporating aspects of the history of evangelicalism that have been omitted in the work of Barnett and others.

In summary, there has been little academic interest in the role of religion in INGOs, but there have been some key exceptions to this. The work of Barnett (2011); (Barnett 2011a); (Barnett 2012), Haynes (2007a), Toft (2013) Thomas (2005) and others have

taken different approaches in drawing attention to the presence of religion in INGOs and humanitarianism and in tracking developments in the interaction between them. However, most analyses omit critical developments in religious thinking and practice, for example, the changes in evangelical theology and practice regarding the validity of social welfare and political activism, and so any conclusions about the role or distinctive nature of religion's influence in INGOs has been poorly informed. It is recognised there is now much greater agreement in academia that religion is active and influential in INGOs, TSMs and ultimately international relations, but due to a lack of religious literacy stemming from the legacy of secularisation theory, there is little understanding of the breadth and impact of this involvement and a lack of clarity regarding whether the religious activism is undergoing a resurgence, or whether it has only recently been rediscovered by scholars and policymakers. This thesis aims to make a contribution not only to a greater understanding of the influence of religion in INGOs and international relations but also to help bring insight into the historical and contemporary role of religion in international development and international relations.

e. Religion and Transnational Social Movements (TSMs)

Some scholars have recognised the potential and actual role of religion in social movements, for example, Thomas (2005) notes that: '*... religious values, practices, traditions, and institutions really do shape their struggles, encourage mobilization, and influence their type of social or political action*' (Thomas 2005: 12). and over 35 years ago, Zald (1981) documented a wide range of ways that religious groups support and catalyse social movements, but Kniss and Burns (2008) note that since then, there has been little progress in exploring this issue and contend there are still '*fertile areas of inquiry at the intersection of religion and social movement*' (Kniss and Burns 2008: 694-695). Kirmani (2008), after conducting a review of the literature on religion and social movements, concludes that this is an area that has been under-researched, having had '*relatively little attention paid to the relationship between [them]*' and argues this is important because as social movements often have a '*critical role*' in advocacy, '*understanding the role of religion in either supporting or challenging such movements is often vital to understanding processes of social change*' and that '*For these reasons, understanding the ways in which religion ...interacts with contemporary social movements and the impact of these interactions on processes of social change is one of the most pressing and yet at the same time one of the most neglected areas of research in this field*' (Kirmani 2008: 1, 26).

f. Implications for Practitioners

This lack of intellectual curiosity about religion is not just a theoretical or academic problem but has practical implications for practitioners in international development, foreign policy and international relations. The lack of information about religion has been noticed by these actors who are seeking answers to questions regarding how, when and why religion influences the decisions and actions of the communities and organisations with which they work. Organisations, as varied as UNICEF, the Royal Society of Arts, Oxfam and the UK government's Department for International Development (DfID), have been commissioning reports and research projects and sponsoring conferences and workshops to explore the religious underpinning of the work of faith-based INGOs. Similarly, the State Department of the American government, EU Foreign Policy personnel and the UK's Foreign Office have been active participants in conferences seeking elucidation on how religion affects the behaviour of individuals and organisations (Wilton Park 2014). For example, the 2005 Annual Meeting of the Clinton Global Initiative, where one of the themes addressed was "Religion, Politics, and Social Progress" and the conference noted that *'...progressive elites are often at a loss as to how to engage devout religious communities and in recognising that religious networks were 'powerful actors of civil society', the conference called for a 'better understanding [of] the role played by religion in social matters ...'* (Clinton 2005).

These enquiries have not been an endorsement of the beliefs of those involved, nor approval for the presence or influence of religion in public life or international affairs, but rather a belated recognition that while religion remains a factor in the day to day lives and decision making of many individuals and organisations, ignoring it, or attempting to operate with a 'faith-blind' approach is no longer tenable and is not conducive to effective policy making (Wilton Park 2014). Andrew Norfolk, the Chief Investigative Reporter for the Times Newspaper, succinctly summarised this when he stated: *'We don't have to believe in God. But... we sure as hell need to begin to understand those who do'* (Norfolk 2017).

g. Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation

Before outlining the nature of academic work in this area, this section will briefly discuss what is meant by these terms: 'internationalisation' has been used in other works to refer to two different things which can lead to confusion and for clarity, a distinction will be made in this work between them. The first use refers to expansion

overseas: in other words the setting up of similar operations in other developed countries that are replications of the originating national body, not recipient offices or beneficiaries. In this thesis, this will simply be referred to as 'expanding overseas'. The second use of the term is the process of creating a new umbrella organisation to coordinate the work of several separate national NGOs that are based in different countries. This new umbrella organisation would then be referred to as an international NGO (INGO). This thesis will restrict the use of the term 'internationalisation' to the latter definition and following Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) and the 'Year Book of International Organisations', by considering that INGOs are made up of at least three national organisations.

Given the growing presence and influence of INGOs in global politics in recent years, there is a surprising lack of literature on the transformation of national NGOs into INGOs. That which does exist tends to focus on the development of the structures that INGOs form when they internationalise, but little had been written about their reasons for internationalisation or overseas expansion in the first place. Scholars writing about internationalisation usually begin with the premise that the unwieldy nature of large groupings of individual and independent national NGOs made communication and coordination difficult and so effective structures were needed to address these problems (Fowler 1996; Foreman 1999; Jordan and Van Tuijl 2000; Davies 2012). The logic of this cannot be disputed, nor can their insights into the challenges that these structures must overcome, but what they do not consider are the earlier phases in the process: which is why a national NGO would undertake an expansion programme to create multiple organisations in the first place. Also, as the nature of internationalising requires independent national NGOs to cede at least some authority to a central body, the literature was surprisingly silent on empirical studies exploring why some organisations are prepared to do this, as many do not. While not writing about internationalisation *per se*, Fowler (1996) highlights an increasing need to report on, and therefore measure, the effectiveness of the work of INGOs in the post-Cold War years. He notes that a global organisation will have a range of stakeholders who are in different power-relations within an organisation and so reconciling different concepts of evaluation, will be a difficult task, ultimately leading to a '*permanent headache*' (Fowler 1996: 63), thereby requiring some form of global structure to manage the relationships. Foreman (1999) similarly notes the need to reconcile the perspectives of different stakeholders, but outlines a major challenge for those undertaking an internationalisation process: '*without the common purpose among members, the INGO*

will break apart as national members find no advantage to remaining linked', but conversely, *'Without a strong sense of national identity, the national member NGO will have limited relevance or lasting impact in its national environment'* (Foreman 1999:194). Foreman also notes the importance of protecting the reputation of the brand name, noting that with a globalised media, the actions of one organisation could have negative repercussions on others (Foreman 1999: 195). This is a point picked up by Jordan and Van Tuijl (2000) who introduce the concept of *'political responsibility'* which refers to an awareness of and respect for the positions of other NGOs working in the same area or on the same campaign and requires not only the sharing of goals but also a commitment to conducting themselves *'with democratic principles foremost in the process'* (Jordan and Van Tuijl 2000). However, in introducing a 4-stage typology of campaigns that utilise different levels of political responsibility, they note that most do not demonstrate it at a high level and in doing so they implicitly recognise the reluctance of most organisations to cede authority to a central body. The need for effective advocacy is noted by Davies (2012) as he suggests the increased importance placed on advocacy has been contributory to the nature and style of the global structures INGOs have adopted, and provides insights into why internationalisation was considered by INGOs: Firstly he notes the new global structures recognise the shifting of the targets of their attentions, from national governments to intergovernmental bodies and corporate actors; secondly, the opportunity to participate in global coalitions with other INGOs requires a global perspective; and finally, he notes the newer global structures aim to incorporate the voice and perspective of their partners in the Global South (Davies 2012).

To summarise, there is a recognition of different expectations among multiple stakeholders, especially if they are based in different countries and cultures. Therefore governance structures need to be established that facilitate the different contributions of each and also manage their concerns in a fair and equitable manner. Deciding to participate in an internationalising process may be a difficult choice from the perspective of the individual NGOs as it will usually require them to cede some measure of authority to another body. Therefore there need to be strong reasons for national entities to connect in this way. And so a global entity must offer something of value to the constituent parts to compensate for any perceived loss of sovereignty. This research aims to gather and present empirical evidence of two INGOs that have undertaken internationalisation as a contribution to understanding what this 'something of value' may be. But what the literature doesn't consider is the earlier

phase, when national NGOs would have undergone an expansion process to create sister organisations, and so the reasons for this remain unexplored. Baguley (2004) has made proposals regarding the factors that drive NGOs to expand, for example, political, economic and technical factors as well as a more general 'globalisation' factor, but unfortunately, he conflates overseas expansion with internationalising which creates some confusion in the results he presents. Baguley offers his research as a contribution to understanding the internationalisation processes of NGOs, and as there are so few academic works on this subject, these papers are referenced here, but with caution, as Baguley uses different definitions for INGOs and internationalisation than are used by both this thesis and other scholars.

This thesis contends there is a distinction between overseas expansion and formal processes of legal integration and it will be shown that organisations may have very different reasons for their engagement in these two distinct stages in their development. Unfortunately, Baguley does not make a distinction between these two processes. Nevertheless, one helpful observation of Baguley is a distinction between factors that drive change and those that facilitate it. Finally, public education, influencing public opinion, advocacy and religion were not part of the Baguley factors, but as they are significant factors for this research, Baguley's were used for general reference only.

3. Summary

As INGOs are now increasingly recognised as influential non-state actors in global politics, it is essential to understand more of their history and background, their ambitions, aims, objectives and values. This will include understanding any role that religion may have had, in combination with other factors, in contributing to or hindering an INGO reaching a position of credibility and influence. Even though some scholars consider there has been a resurgence of interest in religion in world affairs, on the whole, the influence of religion on global non-state actors has not been the focus of academic research. Where the impact of religion on global processes is considered, it is usually only in terms of determining whether religion is visibly present or absent. Therefore wider aspects of religious influence, for example, whether it operates in conjunction with other factors in policy formation and in response to economic and political dimensions, are less understood or researched. This thesis will address this gap by enquiring whether or how religion may be influencing INGOs.

A review of the literature on internationalisation processes discovered that the focus was in relation to the structures that INGOs formed when they internationalised, but little had been written about why they had done so. It was mostly assumed that the unwieldy nature of large groupings of individual and independent national NGOs made communication and coordination difficult and so processes were needed to address these problems. But what had not been considered was why a national NGO had undertaken an expansion programme to create multiple organisations in the first place. There was also a gap in considering why independent national NGOs would consider ceding authority to a central body. This research will make a contribution to these questions.

Part One: Background, Research Design and Theoretical Framework

Chapter Two: Research Design and Theoretical Framework

1. Research Design

An overview of the research design is given below, followed by sections which provide further detail on each phase of the process.

It was decided to construct the research by comparing the trajectories of two INGOs who had begun as domestic NGOs but who were now global entities with structures and operations that mirrored those of TSMOs, using an historical comparative case study approach. As the primary question is to explore the role of religion in the genesis and development of INGOs, it was initially decided to select the cases on a 'most similar' basis with religion as an independent variable, choosing one organisation that identified religion as being essential to them and one organisation that declared a secular identity. A shortlist of eight organisations was drawn up, four secular and four faith-based and these were compared using a broad range of criteria. As a consequence, World Vision and Oxfam were selected as the two organisations to use in the case study with World Vision being the organisation that self-identified as religious and Oxfam as secular. Information on their origins, how they grew and internationalised was gathered from secondary and primary sources in an iterative process, and this was then triangulated with other external material. The data was reviewed and analysed on an ongoing basis using an augmented form of social movement theory, adapted to elicit any evidence of religion. This process will be discussed in detail in Section 4c of this Chapter.

2. Case Studies: Selection Process

The initial domain used to identify potential cases was the Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP), the largest civil society movement calling for an end to poverty and inequality (GCAP 2013). Its aims and objectives, combined with its geographical reach and broad-based membership, made it an ideal primary source for selecting a 'long-list' of organisations for the case study. A second filter was the membership list of BOND, the umbrella body for NGOs in the UK working in international development, which helped to narrow down the long-list to a short-list of organisations for initial review. As BOND has over 350 members and GCAP also has several hundred, the author's own knowledge of the

sector was used to select eight organisations for the long-list, four of which were secular and four religious. The secular organisations were Save the Children Fund, Oxfam, British Red Cross and Action Aid and the religious ones were CAFOD, World Vision, TearFund and Christian Aid. The British Red Cross is not a member of BOND or GCAP, but as it is such a widely known and respected organisation in this field, it was added to the shortlist. A confirming factor in this selection was that all eight of these organisations were members of the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) which has strict criteria for membership based on financial probity, programme quality and reach, recognised expertise, legal status and acceptance of various codes of conduct. At the time of selection, there were only 13 members of the DEC, the others being Merlin, Islamic Relief, Help the Aged, Concern Worldwide and Care International UK.

A comprehensive desk review of the eight organisations was undertaken using publicly available information from the Charity Commission, the organisations' own websites and publicity material which included annual reports, annual accounts, strategic plans and research and policy documents in order to narrow the field to two organisations, one secular, one religious, but who were 'most similar' in respect of other variables and factors. One key criterion was the importance of finding two organisations with a comparable timeframe through which they grew and developed so that they will have been exposed to the same external circumstances and influences at similar stages in their respective histories. Other key factors concerning the 'most similar' basis were their annual turnover, sources of income (e.g. how much is voluntary and how much is from government sources), national organisational structure, international organisational structure, operational experience, issues for campaigns, their approach to advocacy and background to key personnel.

Using these criteria, World Vision and Oxfam consistently emerged as the two organisations 'most similar' for use in the study. They officially began within five years of each other and underwent similar changes in their operation and expansion in the same timeframe. They both currently have a presence or support work in approximately 100 countries and globally have multi-million-pound budgets with a comparable range of income streams. They each focus on relief, development and advocacy, backed by the promotion of campaigns among their supporters. The international advocacy of both organisations, a key aspect of the research project, is carried out by an international coordinating body which has offices in key sites of global influence around the world. They are members of, and frequently key partners in, joint initiatives, networks and alliances.

This indicates not only a similarity of concerns and activities but also similar links, relationships and networking capacity. With regards to religion, World Vision emerged from an evangelical expression of Christianity and self-identifies as a Christian agency: *'World Vision is a global Christian relief, development and advocacy organisation....'* (World Vision 2017) and the importance of religion to its work is seen in the opening paragraph of its mission statement: *'World Vision is an international partnership of Christians whose mission is to follow our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in working with the poor and oppressed to promote human transformation, seek justice and bear witness to the good news of the Kingdom of God'* (World Vision 2017). Conversely, Oxfam's values and belief statement makes clear that religion is not factored into its operation and practice when it states it is: *'secular, open-minded and pluralistic'* (Oxfam 2017). The meaning of this, that Oxfam does not entertain religion within its own practices, is clarified by Green (2008) who notes that as a secular agency Oxfam will support and work with faith organisations, provided they share the same goals of *'rights and social justice'* (Green 2008). A final factor in the choice of these organisations was the availability of research material as both organisations had archives that were open to researchers, enabling parity with regards to primary source material.

There was only one potential drawback to this selection which was that World Vision began in America while Oxfam began in the UK and so this risked introducing an intervening variable into the research. However as World Vision has been operating in the UK for over 30 years, having been launched through funding by World Vision in America, and Oxfam has been established in America since 1970, initially with funding from Oxfam GB this was not felt to be problematic. While it will be important to consider this in the analysis, it is not felt to be significant enough to overturn the advantages of this selection. Therefore as World Vision and Oxfam met the criteria of being 'most similar' on all other criteria except religion, which provided the main differentiating factor, they were chosen as the case studies for the research.

3. Data Gathering

The data gathering of the research was conducted in two main phases. The first utilised secondary sources, such as books, publicity materials, websites, academic research, media articles and internet searches for news items, biographies and obituaries in order to gather factual information on the origins and development of both organisations. But recognising that secondary sources tend to be subjective accounts and therefore unreliable in terms of qualitative information, a second phase, where this factual

information would be supplemented by first-hand accounts, obtained from primary sources such as interviews and archival information, was also carried out.

The first stage was a straightforward and unproblematic process as data on both organisations was collected from freely available secondary sources. Data from each INGO was entered into a year by year timeline matrix developed by the author to provide an overview and framework to facilitate comparison and analysis. The timeline had previously been populated with data on world events which could have affected each organisation's work such as wars, disasters, famines and other external factors, for example, changes in political regimes, especially in host countries for the INGOs, and developments in global politics. Another column charted any significant developments or events in the broader religious context such as the emergence of liberation theology, major conferences or publications. This matrix provided a visual means to observe changes in each organisation alongside factors in the external environment. This preliminary data was either purely factual information regarding personnel, operational matters or internal organisational changes, or represented the subjective accounts of those within the organisations, or of people commissioned to write reports or histories of events or the output of their own publicity communications. While this was indispensable in establishing a timeline and tracking developments alongside external and internal contexts, the subjective nature of much of this secondary data was problematic, although this had been expected as it was recognised this information had been generated by the organisations themselves for publicity or public relations purposes. It therefore became imperative to access primary sources of information such as archival documents that could provide more objective and contemporaneous information, or interviewees that would enrich, supplement or challenge the original data and provide a source of triangulation to cross-check and verify facts.

Towards the end of the first stage, i.e., the plotting of data gathered from secondary sources, a preliminary analysis was conducted, structured around the four main lenses of social movement theory. (These 'lenses' are described in more detail in Section 4c of this Chapter). This analysis was to identify any differences between the organisations and to begin developing initial hypotheses of why any differences existed and to what these could be attributed. This also helped develop parameters for identifying which primary source materials would be most useful. It was decided that where possible, interviews with ex-staff would be conducted and specifically identified archive documents would be examined. Consequently, a number of potential interviewees were identified and

approached to see if they would be willing to participate. All except one were willing to be interviewed and so semi-structured interviews were conducted with six ex-employees of Oxfam, including three who had held the office of Director General. In parallel with this, two interviews were held with people who had held senior office at World Vision, one of whom had been President of World Vision International in the 1980s but had been part of the International Council for some years before that. In addition to seeking their perspective and reflections on activities during their tenure at their respective organisations, their thoughts regarding the developing hypotheses regarding the reasons for the difference between the organisations were also elicited. As some of the findings related to the faith base of World Vision, it was decided to discuss these with an additional interviewee from another faith-based organisation to see if these findings were specific to World Vision or were more broadly applicable. Therefore an additional interview was conducted with the Chief Executive of TearFund, a British faith-based relief and development NGO. Without exception, all of the interviews provided rich detail and many insights into the operation of the organisations and enabled a much greater understanding of their culture and practice than had been possible with the secondary sources alone.

Shortly after these interviews, permission was obtained to spend time in World Vision's archive in Monrovia, California where many different documents from a broad range of sources were examined. These included: publicity material; correspondence and reports relating to their Internationalisation Study Committee and subsequent consultation with staff and supporters; documentation relating to a review following internationalisation; minutes, papers and consultations relating to World Vision's Council, (the body responsible for governance of the world-wide partnership); consultation papers, correspondence, theological papers and minutes relating to World Vision's Justice Commission that led to its adoption of advocacy as a central pillar of its work; papers, correspondence and board reports relating to the establishment and ongoing work of its International Relations office; papers, reports, minutes, internal commission work and articles relating to World Vision's changing and contested understanding of the Christian distinctiveness of its work, incorporating issues such as world evangelisation, Christian Witness and proselytism; papers, correspondence, minutes and feedback documents relating to its work in training local church leaders in the South.

Oxfam's archive, now held in the Special Collections section of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, also provided a rich vein of material including: publicity material; minutes of the founding group; minutes and associated papers of the Executive and Council for over 50

years; annual reports and annual accounts; conference papers; notes and minutes of its internationalisation working party; notes and minutes of other working parties that contributed to its evolving aims and repertoire; a variety of correspondence including information regarding the commissioning of authorised accounts of Oxfam's history.

Additional factual information from the archives and interviewees was added to the timeline, and qualitative findings were considered in the analytical stage of the research.

During the interviews with ex-staff at Oxfam, an unexpected recurring theme emerged, which was the 'Quakerly nature' of the internal culture at Oxfam which continued well into the 1980s (Goyder 2012; Norton 2012; Walker 2012). Similarly, information from the Oxfam archive indicated that the influence of Quakers in Oxfam's founding years and in its subsequent development had been significantly understated in the secondary sources.

This suggested new avenues of exploration which constituted a third phase to the data gathering. In consequence, the search for primary sources extended to the Oxford Quaker Archive where minutes of meetings and membership lists from the 1940s onwards were reviewed. This was followed by research in the National Quaker Archive at Friends House in London where minutes, correspondence and newsletters were accessed. This expanded scope and associated triangulation led to a significant shift in understanding about the motivations and actions of the personnel involved in Oxfam during its beginnings and an unexpected discovery that for over 30 years, religion, primarily but not exclusively, in the form of Quakerism, had been a much more significant presence and influence than had previously been understood.

At this point, it became clear that religion could no longer be considered as an independent variable in the research as it was not 'present' or 'absent' in either of the cases but was observed operating differently within each. This led to a revision of the research methodology as it became clear that rather than just looking for information on how religion affected the origins and developments of World Vision, the same questions needed to be asked of Oxfam, but in a more nuanced way as the presence of religion in its origins wasn't as evident or acknowledged. The revision of the methodology was informed by Berger's (1974) proposal that the impact of religion needs to be understood '*from within*' (Berger 1974:129), which was discussed in Chapter One, Section 2bii of this thesis. This suggested further triangulation of the qualitative data, but with the underpinning of theological perspectives and insights of the religious community in question. This was achieved initially by pursuing a curiosity about Quakerism that emerged from the Oxfam research which highlighted a previous lack of understanding, or religious literacy, regarding

Quakerism in the author's experience. It was recognised that this curiosity should not just be applied to Oxfam, but also to World Vision in order to ensure that the same rigour of analysis and questioning was applied to both organisations. Therefore this triggered a comparable investigation into the contemporaneous background and activities of evangelicals which led to an exploration into the theology of mission as understood by missiologists and evangelical academics.

While the discovery of religion as a potentially significant factor within Oxfam was at first frustrating as it undermined the initial research design, it ultimately led to more profound insights into the role of religion in NGOs and enriched the research as it triggered a more in-depth investigation into the perspectives, objectives and contexts of two different Christian communities and highlighted how the role of religion could be overlooked. The research was no longer commenting from purely external perceptions of how religion and religious people influenced the organisations, but instead, was aiming at an internal perspective by being better informed in order to place the author in a position to gain a greater understanding of the reasons behind the actions taken.

4. Analytical Framework: Social Movement Theory

This section will first discuss why social movement theory was selected as the analytical framework and will then outline why this framework needed to be adapted to meet the challenges of uncovering the presence and influence of religion in the case study. It will then describe the different elements of social movement theory and how they were adapted to meet the needs of this research.

a. Assessing the Appropriateness of Social Movement Theory as an Analytical Framework

In recent years, social movement scholars have settled on a broad theory of social movements that incorporates four core components: resource mobilising structures; political opportunity structures; the framing of messages; and repertoires of contention which are described in more detail in Section 4c of this Chapter.

As many development INGOs now have global advocacy as a key strategic objective, theories of social movements were considered as potentially the most appropriate theoretical framework and the four different elements were considered to be helpful lenses through which to structure the analysis of the research data. But it was also recognised that there were potential drawbacks in considering INGOs as proxy social movements as the remit of INGOs is usually considered to be broader

than that attributed to social movements. Therefore a more in-depth review of social movement theory and its applicability to this project was undertaken to assess whether this would be an appropriate framework to use for the research questions. Khagram, Riker and Sikkink's (2002) typology for transnational collective action was outlined in Chapter One of this thesis where it was noted that INGOs were at the lower end of the typology and TSMs at the higher end, which may suggest that social movement theory may not be appropriate as a framework. But in the intervening years, there has been a burgeoning of transnational activity in all sectors of social, economic and political life due to the technical and communicative advances associated with globalisation which has also contributed to an associated convergence of INGOs and TSMs. Other factors in this convergence are the growth and scale of operation evident in the chosen INGOs and in their range of activities, which indicates that many INGOs demonstrate the characteristics outlined in each level of the typology, including that of transnational social movements. Finally, the similarities of INGOs and TSMs was evaluated using the four lenses of social movement theory, and it was noted that the combination of political lobbying and advocacy of INGOs equates to the contentious politics of TSMs in responding to the external political opportunity; the public awareness campaigns of INGOs compare with the framing of issues undertaken by social movements; and finally, the deliberate and intentional call for supporters to take action corresponding to the resource mobilisation activities of social movements. Having considered all of these varying perspectives, it was decided that social movement theory provided the most relevant and applicable framework for the analysis.

b. Adapting Social Movement Theory for the Challenges Posed by a Secular Worldview

In Chapter One it was noted that in recent years the predominance of secularisation theory might have been counterproductive to effective scholarship as the resultant secular worldview hinders scholars from enquiring whether religion is present (Toft 2013). Keohane (2002) summarises the problem when he refers to theories of world politics as '*relentlessly secular with respect to motivation*' (Keohane 2002), but others see signs of a new scholarly interest in religion, speaking of its '*resurgence*', or even that religion is '*returning from exile*' (Thomas 2005: 12).

But Thomas (2005) also strikes a note of caution regarding this renewed appetite regarding religion, discerning that there has been a tendency to incorporate religion

into concepts which may now be obsolete, and argues that scholars do not just need better facts and data but '*better theories, paradigms, and frameworks*' to interpret them (Thomas 2005: 72). Consequently, this thesis aims to make a contribution to developing these by proposing modifications to social movement theory suggested by the analysis of this research. It is hoped that the empirical evidence gathered by this modified version will demonstrate a more apposite, in-depth analysis of information gathered, especially with regard to detecting the presence or influence of religion to INGOs. But a secular worldview may bring other disadvantages when religion is recognised as present, as its influence may be misunderstood due to '*unstated assumptions about the nature of religion and liberal modernity*' (Thomas 2005: 12). Therefore the adaptations to social movement theory in this thesis will also aim to encourage a more open-minded and religiously literate approach to data gathering to help bring these unstated assumptions to the surface.

c. The Application of Social Movement Theory to this Research

The analysis first aimed to identify any repeated or thematic differences between the organisations and secondly, applied itself more directly to the overseas expansion and internationalisation processes that each organisation went through. This was done by applying each of the four lenses of social movement theory to the data in order to identify differences between the organisations and to explore what factors were responsible for any differences. Consideration was then given as to whether religion was a contributory factor. A description of each of the lenses of social movement theory will be outlined next.

i. Political Opportunity

The concept of political opportunity was initially used to describe both the constraints and opportunities prevailing or perceived in the external political environment that would shape or limit a movement's activities and contribute to its level of success or failure. When considering the link between political context and the emergence of social movements, Kriesi (2007) notes that scholars typically cite an indicative shift towards a favourable political opportunity as a prior condition for a movement to emerge but notes that they often '*assume the rationality principle – that political actors do what they think will allow them to attain their goals under the given opportunity set*' (Kriesi 2007: 68): McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) posit that in addition to feeling aggrieved about an issue, people need to have a sense of optimism about a

favourable outcome if they are to invest time and energy in participation. Therefore they argue that an improving or sympathetic political context is considered to be a primary requisite for a movement to emerge, being viewed both as an incentive for action and as the '*ultimate spur*' (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 5, 7). McAdam (1996) refers to the '*ideological disposition of those in power*' as being a key factor in movement emergence (McAdam 1996: 23); and Tarrow (1996) speaks of the presence of consistent '*signals*' which either encourage or discourage the mobilisation of people and networks into social movements (Tarrow 1996: 54). But the notion of political opportunity has broadened and is now frequently used as a generic 'catch all' phrase for factors in addition to the political context, for example, it now includes any societal and cultural factors that may also affect the emergence or activities of a social movement. McAdam (1996) refers to the '*conceptual plasticity*' surrounding the term, arguing that this continues to '*afflict work in this area*' (McAdam 1996:25) while Gamson and Meyer (1996) speak of the concept as '*an all-encompassing fudge factor for all the conditions and circumstances that form the context for collective action*' (Gamson and Meyer 1996: 275). Tarrow (1988) helpfully observes that it may be more accurately described as '*a cluster of variables*' where some are '*more readily observable than others*' (Tarrow 1988: 430). Scholars rarely consider religion as one of these variables, and so when analysing the data, this thesis took account of two types of religious context. First, the religious 'climate' in the general public was explored to determine what level of respect for religion remained, or whether antipathy to religion would make its presence unwelcome. Secondly, investigations were made into any related theological factors or trends within the religious communities most closely associated with the INGOs in the study (Quakerism and Evangelicalism). This involved developing a much higher level of understanding about their history and contemporaneous theological perspectives. In both cases, the general religious 'climate' proved to be a relevant factor in shaping the activities of the INGOs, as did the insights around how each religious expression believed their faith should be practically applied to the world around them.

ii. Resource Mobilisation

While a sense of grievance and desire for change is essential to any social movement activity, this does not explain how this becomes translated into

collective action. The resource mobilisation aspect of social movement theory recognises that social movements will need many different resources: finance, personnel with varying skills, leadership, practical resources such as office space and telephones, structures through which they can mobilise large numbers of supporters, and communication networks for the dissemination and collection of information. These mobilising structures are defined by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) as '*...collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action*' (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:3), and it is through such structures that movements recruit members, obtain financial resources and communicate both with their own members and with wider society, political elites and structures. Smith (1996), Pagnucco (1996) and Zald (1981) all identify ways in which religious groups assist in these aspects of social movements, which includes pre-existing infrastructures and communication networks which they make available to a social movement. If a movement has a transnational dimension or is at the point of deciding whether to expand overseas, the global infrastructure of religious groups and churches are particularly beneficial. Another associated benefit of these infrastructures is the shared identity and vocabulary based on the common values and beliefs of religious communities which facilitates the transition of the movement's message to a different nation or culture (Smith 1996; Wuthnow 2009). Smith (1996) also highlights the importance of inspirational and gifted leaders, partly in mobilising its members, but also in strategising and in broader organisational matters: religious groups usually have pre-existing, trusted leadership, or 'moral entrepreneurs', that have the confidence of the wider community as well as members of the religious community (Smith 1996: 13; Morris 1996: 31). In addition to the possibility that religious groups may have access to finance, they will also be familiar with taking collections or special offerings, to generate financial donations as an accepted part of regular worship services in traditional religious settings. Also, some religious groups, who may not be part of the movement themselves, may provide resources or encouragement for nascent social movements. For example, religious media, special interest groups, epistemic communities or religious training centres. These have been referred to as '*movement midwives*' (Smith 1996: 16), or '*halfway houses*' (Morris 1984: 139; Pagnucco 1996:205; Zald 1981).

When applying this lens to the data gathered for this research, attention was paid to whether the INGOs in question utilised any of the factors outlined above. For example, were there any pre-existing communication networks and were they co-opted for the INGOs publicity and recruitment of support? Did any pre-existing structures cross international borders and were these utilised in the organisation's work or expansion? Were there any '*moral entrepreneurs*' within the religious community that provided leadership to the INGO or reassurance or endorsement of its work to the broader religious community? Was the religious community targeted when seeking staff, volunteers or trustees? Did the religious community have a role in the generation of financial resources? Did the INGO make use of any other religious groups as 'movement midwives'? For example, did it utilise religious media for advertising or religious training centres for its staff? If so, did it do so exclusively or did it also use service providers outside its own religious community?

Through asking these questions of the data, distinct, recurring patterns of religious involvement were discovered within each INGO, but which were different to each other. This served to confirm the value of specific enquiry about religion.

iii. Repertoires of Contention

Tilly (2010) refers to the range of actions available to movement participants to achieve their aims, as a '*repertoire of contention*', akin to '*loosely scripted theater*' as he argues the protagonists adopt positions and make claims that innovate within limits set by the repertoire of learned routines they share with their target audience (Tilly 2010: 41, 35). Theoretically, a group will have a wide range of options available to them, but Tarrow (1993) notes that a repertoire is shaped by '*what [actors] know how to do and what society has come to expect them to choose to do from within a culturally sanctioned and empirically limited set of options*' (Tarrow 1993: 283). In parallel with this, Tilly highlights that further filters are placed by what the participants themselves find acceptable and what is expected of them (Tilly 2010:40, 41). This raises interesting questions when probing for the influence of religion. Will the presence of religion make certain actions more or less likely?

When applying this lens to the research data, another question presented itself which emanated from the analysis of religion in the political opportunity

section. It seemed that when publicising their work, both organisations were promoting additional ideas or concepts in parallel with the articulated aim of fundraising. This will be discussed fully in the following chapters, but the issue raised for the analytical framework was that when considering the choices made from the available repertoire, one presupposes that all the aims of participants are explicit, comprehensively stated and publically understood. Giugni notes that there may be unintended consequences from actions taken, for example, cultural or institutional effects and that these may not necessarily be related to the original issue (Giugni 1998:383-4). But this raises the possibility that some outcomes that had been perceived as unintended may actually have formed part of the protagonist's original aims. In many cases, protagonists will legitimately have two audiences they wish to influence: firstly, they may identify a need to sensitize the public to an issue as a precursor to their ultimate aim of '*provoking political change*' (Giugni 1998:379], but it is suggested here that they may also use the primary aim as a 'Trojan Horse' to influence public opinion on an associated matter. Therefore in addition to asking questions about the actions taken by the INGOs to meet their explicit aims, this research also asked whether there were any secondary, *de facto* aims being pursued, especially related to any of the theological trends or events discussed in the political opportunity section. In both cases, it was discovered that secondary aims were present and that these were related to the religious background of each community. It was not felt that these were deliberately hidden nor that there was an attempt to mislead, but rather it was a reflection of the vision and perspective of the religious community at the time.

Once again, this adapted methodology of specific enquiry generated much useful information.

iv. Message Framing

Resources and organisational assets, while necessary to the emergence and functioning of social movements are by themselves insufficient to recruit and motivate people unless the issues are communicated in compelling ways. Therefore the fourth lens, message framing, emerged in recognition that the manner in which issues are depicted is a crucial part of social movements, and these ideational elements need to be incorporated into the analysis. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) speak of the '*shared meanings and definitions that*

people bring to their situation' and that in order to commit to action on an issue, people need to feel *'both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 5). Framing has therefore been defined as: *'...the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 6).

A comprehensive overview of the various components of framing is provided by Benford and Snow (2000). For example, they highlight the need for separate *'diagnostic'*, *'prognostic'* and *'motivational'* frames. Diagnostic frames are needed, not only to state the problem but also to identify the root cause of the grievance. Prognostic framing enables a clearly stated, achievable solution to be presented to actual and potential participants. Finally, motivational framing is used to provide compelling reasons for people to join and participate in the movement's activities. They also underscore the importance of the message *'resonating'* with the target audience and identify factors needed for this to occur (Benford and Snow 2000: 615-617). Smith (1996) refers to the powerful effect that linking a cause with the will of God can have as for religious adherents it can provide an important and unique motivation not only for joining a movement but also for a long-term commitment to it. He shows that if participants believe that a cause is God's will, it will *'infuse the struggle with non-negotiability'* (Smith 1996:10).

When this framing lens was applied to the data, the initial focus was on discovering when and how religious language, theology or scriptures were used and why, as the assumption was that religious groups would use religious terminology. An unexpected discovery was that one INGO used religious framing and the other didn't which led to an exploration of these choices as it had implications, not only for this research's methodology but for social movement theory more generally. In brief, the decision regarding whether or not to use religious terminology was related to the different target audiences of each INGO. For one, which had a narrow focus on its own religious community, religious language was used extensively in diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. For the other, which saw the general public as its audience, religious language was not used at all. There were other reasons for

this choice which will be thoroughly discussed in the next two chapters. The effect of the audience on framing was confirmed when the INGO which used religious terminology began to broaden its communications beyond its own religious community and simultaneously adapted the nature and tone of the religious references in its publicity. It still retained a religious identity but adapted its language when addressing a less religiously active audience, which led to a 'bi-lingual' approach to its publicity. Therefore the methodology was adapted to enquire which audiences were being considered at different phases in the INGOs histories in order to evaluate the framing being used. This was important when considering the internationalisation of the INGOs as the audiences being considered were in different countries and cultures. It has been noted that forming transnational networks is difficult (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002:13) as establishing agreed messages usually happens among *'homogenous people who are in intense regular contact with each other'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:9). Therefore this thesis looked for evidence that religious framing was used to assist in forming transnational links. Again, one INGO did, and the other did not which increased reliance on the other three lenses to determine whether religion was present in these processes.

The application of this adapted methodology once again provided insight and opened up new avenues for research.

5. Thesis Outline

Part Two of this thesis will present the results of a case history comparison between two INGOs, Oxfam and World Vision, which seeks to identify whether, or how religion has been influential in their beginnings, and subsequent growth and development. It will also investigate the overseas expansion programme and internationalisation processes that each followed to become the global entities they are today.

The presentation of data and analysis will be as follows: Chapter Three will first establish the context and foundations of Oxfam by outlining the external, political, cultural and religious context of the time. This will begin with a description of the work of the National Famine Relief Committee which was established in the Second World War. This is followed by a description of the context in Oxford at the time when Oxfam began and continues with an account of its origins in 1942 and its subsequent early development until 1948 and is followed by an account of its work from 1948 to 1959. These both have ongoing analysis provided by the adapted methodology of specific enquiry outlined earlier, with social

movement theory providing the framework. The chapter ends with a summary of the main findings and implications for both social movement theory and secularisation theory.

Chapter Four follows the same pattern for World Vision's genesis, beginning with an account of the external environment, both political and religious, which provided the context for its emergence. This is followed by a discussion of its early years with ongoing analysis structured around social movement theory. The chapter ends with a summary of the main findings, implications for social movement theory and some thoughts on religious literacy.

Chapter Five returns to Oxfam and presents an account of its evolving priorities in the 1960s and 1970s set within the context of an increasing appetite for political activism in the general public and reviews how Oxfam addressed internal concerns about its own increasing political activities. It outlines how and why Oxfam's external communications developed a deliberately secular tone and the implications this has had for understanding Oxfam's origins. This is followed by a description of the overseas expansion programme that Oxfam undertook in the 1960s followed by a discussion of the reasons for this. Oxfam's endeavours at creating an international entity in the 1970s are then described with comments on the outcome. There follows a short section outlining Oxfam's changing priorities in the 1970s and a brief description of the second and successful process of internationalising in the 1990s. The chapter ends with a summary of findings.

Chapter Six is an account of the development and growth of World Vision in the 1960s and 1970s, including its overseas expansion programme. This is followed by an account of the reasons why it underwent an extensive process of internationalisation in the 1970s and a discussion of the outcome. There is then a brief outline of subsequent developments in its internationalisation process. The chapter ends with a summary of the main findings.

Chapter Seven concludes the thesis by reviewing the findings of the research and provides a summary of the recommendations for adapting social movement theory in order to make specific enquiries about the interaction of religion with social movements.

Part Two: Presentation of Data and Analysis

Part Two of this thesis will present the results of a case history comparison between two INGOs, Oxfam and World Vision, which seeks to identify whether, or how, religion has been influential in their beginnings and subsequent early growth and development.

This original research has uncovered that each organisation's identity had been built on a carefully constructed narrative of how it originated which has obscured a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the role of religion in its beginning and subsequent development. These have mainly remained unchallenged as formal accounts, commissioned or approved by the organisations themselves, have built upon previous narratives, both oral and written, which have selectively filtered out and factored in key events, people and perspectives that reinforced the organisational identities that were believed to help achieve their strategic goals. Many practitioners and scholars have uncritically accepted the traditional accounts of the organisations' beginnings, beliefs and development which, for example in the case of Oxfam, has led to a reinforcement of the erroneous view that Oxfam has always been a secular organisation and that it has always been politically active and engaged. Neither of these claims is supported by the evidence. These narratives were helpful to this research when building a framework and timeline of key historical events that contributed to each organisation's development. But as subjective accounts, they proved to be unreliable witnesses for broader influences, context and motivations. The research, therefore, identified primary sources, which included archive documentation and interviews and triangulated these with other contemporary sources, to determine whether or how religion was an influence in the organisations' beginnings and early development.

In the case of World Vision, the role of its founder, Bob Pierce, has been elevated significantly higher than that of his peers and early Board members, which has served to underestimate the contributions of the latter in the achievements of the organisation and in World Vision's contribution to challenging the prevailing theology in evangelicalism that had caused fundamentalist Christians to eschew social activism and withdraw from public life. World Vision's board members were drawn from an emerging group of neo-evangelicals who worked to craft a new reputation and public role for evangelicalism, using the experience and praxis of World Vision to challenge the entrenched thinking about social and political activism that dominated evangelicalism in both the United States and globally. These findings will be built on in a later chapter where it will be shown the current understanding of the rise of

evangelical political activism in the late 1970s has been distorted by omissions in scholarly accounts.

In the case of Oxfam, authorised accounts of its beginnings (Milford 1963; Jones 1965; Whitaker 1983; Black 1992) state that it began in October 1942 with the formation of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OCFR) by an eclectic mix of academics, clergymen, internationalists and Quakers. This thesis has discovered that Oxfam's roots are at least six months earlier than this and that it began as a direct result of religious faith and practice emanating from Quakerism and that this influence continued for over 30 years. Some accounts acknowledge the participation of some Quakers in Oxfam's early days but do not explore the implications of this. It will be shown that Quaker faith and practice was a far more central influence than has previously been understood. Cross-referencing Oxfam's archive records with those of Quakers in the Berkshire and Oxfordshire region and the central Quaker library at Friends House in London, reveals that a campaign, initiated by a national Famine Relief Committee (FRC) and ostensibly a purely humanitarian venture, was a Quaker initiative and drew from Quaker faith and practice and relied heavily on the organisational capacity and connections of Quakers. Consequently, the OCFR began as a direct result of a central Quaker strategy implemented via the FRC and the religious prompting of one of the elders in the Oxford Quaker meeting who was also a member of Quaker national committees. It was therefore evident that in order to establish an accurate account of Oxfam's origins, the genesis of the FRC also needed to be scrutinised.

Social movement theory will be used both to structure the account and to explore the different ways religion was drawn upon, or disregarded, by the FRC and why. First, there will be a consideration of the political context and opportunity structure that existed at the time the FRC was formed, which will be followed by an evaluation of their mobilisation strategy. The repertoire of contention that pertained in war-time will then be examined followed by a consideration of how they solved the dilemma of framing their arguments for a diverse range of participants.

Chapter 3: Oxfam's Beginning and Early Years

1. The National Famine Relief Committee (FRC)

a. The Political Opportunity Structure: Responding to Famine in War-time Europe

In Chapter Two, Section 4ci of this thesis, the notion of political opportunity was introduced and discussed. This section will now describe the political opportunity that pertained at the time Oxfam began.

In the years leading up to the Second World War, Greece had shifted much of its agricultural production to cash crops and had become heavily dependent on imported food that arrived by container ships. When Germany began its occupation of the country in April 1941, Greek food supplies were commandeered for German troops and the accompanying appropriation of transport and fuel severely curtailed the transportation of people and foodstuffs within the country, which in many areas was prohibited by the occupying forces (Hionidou 2006). Realising the importance of imported food to Greece, and wanting to weaken the German military efforts, the Allies responded to the occupation with a naval blockade of Greece to stop the delivery of food. The blockade, combined with the restrictions imposed by the occupying forces, caused such food scarcity that signs of famine were observed in the summer of 1941. These conditions worsened and, during the winter of 1941/42, it is estimated that over 200,000 Greek people died from starvation and malnutrition, but the British public knew little about this tragedy (Hionidou 2002; Hionidou 2006; Black 1992). There were some reports in the British press which caused local committees of the Peace Pledge Union to begin lobbying MPs, but they had little expectation of success as they knew their efforts could be '*easily dismissed as the work of fanatics, soft-heads, and sentimental idealists*' (Black 1992: 9). In January 1942, the food crisis had reached other parts of occupied Europe leading to a debate in the House of Lords where Lord Cranbourne reasserted the government's position: it was Germany's responsibility, not the Allies, to provide food for the occupied territories and that while the blockade was '*an odious weapon*', it was one of the '*strongest weapons*' available to the Allies and claimed it was having '*a profound effect upon the resistance of the Germans*'. He further claimed that to break the blockade would risk losing or prolonging the war. He invoked the

'overwhelming mass of the British people' in support of his argument (Hansard 1942; Jasper 1967).

The preceding describes a harsh and unflinching political position which did not provide any comfort or optimism to those seeking to bring relief to the suffering people of occupied Greece. The only signals emanating from the government reinforced their position: they would not countenance a breach of the blockade. With the limited communications of the day, they seemed impervious to both moral challenge and reasoned argument, and thus were able to withstand the lobbying of those limited numbers that were aware of the extent of the tragedy. According to the theory outlined above, one would not normally expect a social movement to emerge in such a hardened political context.

Another aspect of the political context pertinent to this research is the impact of Anglican thinkers in the inter-war years. Grimley (2004) challenges the assumption that religious voices were absent regarding political thought in these times by drawing attention to the work of William Temple, Ernest Barker and Alexander Lindsay. He notes that in contrast to the emerging nationalism in Europe, Temple, Barker and Lindsay believed that the state and community were separate and that the church and church leaders should have a role in national life, as they believed that the infrastructure of British life, its laws, and other public functions were '*marked by Christianity*' (Grimley 2004: 173). Grimley also sees evidence of a civil religion in the UK which, underpinned by Anglicanism, provided a sense of cohesion and unity (Grimley 2004:225).

The events and ramifications of the First World War had also dramatically affected the thinking and practice of Quakers in respect of foreign policy, described by Byrd (1960) as a shift from an *ad hoc* involvement in international affairs to a more strategic and intentional engagement: a structure of '*watching committees*' were established to keep national Quaker committees informed of developments overseas (Byrd 1960: 152). Consequently, members of the national Quaker representative committee, known as the 'Meeting for Sufferings', became increasingly troubled by the deleterious effect the Allies' blockade was having on occupied countries in Europe. One Quaker, Edith Pye, an experienced international relief worker since the First World War, believed that urgent action needed to be taken to ameliorate the suffering (Black 1992:9) and this belief was in the form of a religious conviction known among Quakers as a '*concern*' (Pye 1943).

When a Quaker is *'acting under a concern'*, this is not the same thing as *'being concerned'* about something in the normal usage of the term. Rather, it is *'... a feeling of having been directly called by God'* which leads to an *'imperative to action'* (Hall 2013; Quaker 2013a: para 13:02). Wilson (1949) underlines its transcendent character by separating it from logical thought processes, or even compassion, by stating it will be *'... rooted in Worship and not in debate or philosophical analysis or social synthesis'*, and is understood as *'a leading of His Spirit that may not be denied'* (Wilson 1949 cited in Hall 2013). Believing that *'gathered together we are capable of greater clarity of vision'* (Quaker 2013a), concerns are shared formally with fellow Quakers, often in a specially convened meeting, to discern corporately whether the sense of calling is inspired by God and, if it is so determined, this then places an obligation on the wider Quaker assembly to provide moral and practical support to him or her (Hall 2013; Quaker 2013a). An affirmed concern is perceived as a Divine calling, similar to the description provided by Smith (1996) as something that *'transcends temporal, earthly reality'* which then endows those so called with the ability to *'... question, judge and condemn temporal earthly reality'* (Smith 1996:6) and sustains those involved during times of discouragement, opposition or adversity, encouraging them to speak boldly to powerful elites. The outcome of this discernment process results in a sense of non-negotiability regarding the concern and is illustrated by Pye's own description of it as having *'taken hold'* of her and that she *'took up the concern because she could do no other'* even though *'it meant great difficulties and misunderstandings with those near to me'* (Pye 1943).

The impact of Pye's concern brings a challenge to current scholarly thinking about the political contexts of social movements: the assumption that an expectation of success is a necessary pre-requisite for the emergence of a movement is brought into question. It was noted in Chapter Two Section 4ci of this thesis that scholars, especially those with a political process approach, expect participants to be motivated by, or even require, the possibility of success (Kriesi 2007: 68). But this view is challenged by the actions of Pye and her fellow Quakers, as the likelihood of a successful outcome is irrelevant to the decision to engage in an activity: *'Results, to Friends are incidental. Friends do not undertake a piece of business because they anticipate certain desirable or useful results...'* The only criterion is an *'Inward Light'*: the affirmed concern (Byrd 1960: 22).

Kriesi (2007) also discusses the beliefs of actors regarding political opportunity, but he is not referring to religious beliefs, but to the perception afforded by a changing political context. For Pye and her co-religionists, the imperative to take action was not because they hoped for, or expected, Divine intervention in favour of their cause: it was because they were compelled to speak up about what they believed to be morally right. The lack of any indication that the government would shift its position did not even factor into their deliberations. As Byrd (1960) explains: '*a piece of work may appear to be certain failure to other observers, but Friends would be clear that it would be a proper undertaking providing only that they were urged towards it by the prompting of that of God within.*' (Byrd 1960: 22-23). Bruce (2003) maintains that people with such religious convictions are not irrational, but rather they have '*extra reasons*' and therefore do not deliberate in the same manner as those who only have secular criteria to consider (Bruce 2003:12).

Religious motivation is rarely explored as a factor in a movement's emergence, but it is noted here that the influence or impact of religion may cause participants to disregard the political context and its indication of a successful outcome. The preponderance of religious participation in social movements would indicate that religious motivation as a factor should be given greater consideration within scholarship.

b. Repertoires of Contention: Impact of Quaker Faith

Pye's concern was confirmed, adopted and supported at the highest levels in the Society of Friends who through their long history of social activism had recognised that challenging unjust situations would mean '*speaking the truth to all, including people in positions of power*' (Quakers 2014a). The inflexible nature of the government's position had convinced Pye that the priority was to create a change in the public mood so that it would be the voice of the British people, and not Quakerism, that would be the public spokesperson of the campaign. Pye had a difficult decision to make: what actions would be the most effective in bringing about the change she sought? Tilly's (2010) description of the interaction between political regimes and the challengers to these regimes, the repertoires of contention, indicate that the options available to Pye were influenced by '*a long history of previous struggles*' (Tilly 2010:35), but there would also be the possibility of innovating within limits set by the existing repertoire. But repertoires are also shaped by the broader political and cultural context (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald

1996) which for Pye was war-time. To strengthen support among the general population for the war effort, Churchill had drawn from the country's shared religious heritage to craft a notion of 'Christian nationhood' by the use of biblical references and religious allusions in his speeches (Spencer 2016a). Churchill's deft framing of the nation's self-identity as a Christian nation in support of the war placed considerable constraints on what actions would be socially acceptable, and therefore possible, for Pye. Further filters are created by what the participants know how to do, what they find acceptable and what is expected of them (Tarrow 2011; Tilly 2010) and this combination created challenges for Pye, who was responsible for the FRC's communications programme. While wanting to challenge the government's position she did not want to antagonise or alienate potential allies or partners. In outlining options available to movements who wish to engage in collective challenges, Tarrow (2011) includes '*rendering uncertain*' the activities of others (Tarrow 2011:9) and this aptly describes Pye's intention. Her aim was not to undermine the war effort but to create sufficient disquiet at the ramifications of the blockade to produce '*a public opinion which understands the conditions...*' (FRC 1942a; 1,2). She aimed to create a nationwide mobilisation of sympathetic people and groups who would disseminate reliable information in order to shift the public's understanding of the issue so they would be a voice for those suffering in the occupied territories.

From her involvements at Friends House and especially with the 'Meeting for Sufferings', Pye had access to the nationwide network of Quaker groups who were looking for ways to express their '*ancient testimony of Peace*' during war-time and specifically for any means to help alleviate the famine in Europe. Regular communications were being sent to Quaker groups by Friends House, and speakers were visiting area and local groups with updates on the situation to encourage prayer and to urge groups to consider what they could practically do, both during the war and after it (Byrd 1960: 57-58; Friends Peace Committee 1942; Witney Quakers 1942; Witney Quakers 1942b). But Pye realised that the pacifist tradition of the Quakers, and especially their association with conscientious objections to the war, meant they would achieve little if they campaigned alone or framed their arguments in religious terms: '*it was obvious that if Friends alone took up the crusade, we should not get far, since our right standing aside from the war made us unacceptable as councillors*' (Pye 1943). As noted previously this was already the experience of the Peace Pledge Union who had begun speaking out on the issue.

She, therefore, reached out beyond Quaker and pacifist circles to draw together like-minded but publically influential individuals who would be able to lead and be the public face of the campaign. But this presented a two-fold dilemma, as Quakers were not accustomed to working in collaboration with non-Quakers. There had been some notable exceptions to this: the abolition of the slave trade; and in the years leading up to and following the First World War, some '*patterns of co-operation*' had developed, but '*working in the mixture*,' as it had been termed, was still not encouraged and often frowned upon (Byrd 1960: 147, 143, 130).

The underlying reason for this reticence provides the second part of the dilemma: there were fears they would need to compromise their moral stand if they worked with others, who although they may hold a similar objective, may be willing to adopt methods that were not acceptable to Quakers in order to achieve it, or would utilise arguments that were not drawn from the initial moral case. This is a corollary of the position discussed earlier: that lack of expectation of a successful outcome will not deter a Quaker from taking action they believe to be the will of God. In other words, the moral stand is more important than the outcome, but this also leads many Quakers to a conviction that pragmatism, or compromise, is not acceptable (Byrd 1960: 24-25). An exchange of correspondence in January 1943 between Pye and Roger Wilson, the head of the Friends War Relief Service, demonstrates how contentious this issue was (Pye 1943). Wilson, who represented the most unwavering strand of Quaker thought on the subject of pragmatism and compromise (Brown 1996), wrote expressing concern that '*humanitarian non-Friends*' may present the issue in a manner that would advocate '*...the right policy for the wrong reasons*' and expressed concern lest Friends became associated with this as he was concerned that feeding children in occupied countries might be presented as '*good war strategy*' to encourage those in occupied countries to look favourably on the allies in a post-war world. He ended by stating his view that '*Friends have inherited a very special responsibility to hold high the standard of universal truth*' and '*though it hurts me desperately to contemplate suffering which might be alleviated by dubious means, I think we must be clear where we stand*' (Pye 1943). Pye's response shows that while she retained a strong commitment to arguing from a moral position, she believed that the suffering of others, especially of children, justified both collaboration and pragmatism: '*It is the old dilemma – should we stand aside and preach righteousness, or should we go with others as far as we can in unity? I believe in the latter point of view as far as the feeding of*

children, but the former as far as military effort is concerned! (Pye 1943). This leads to one of the most significant challenges Pye faced: how to develop a campaign that would ensure the commitment and participation of the broadest possible membership?

c. Resource Mobilisation Structures: Reaching Beyond the Quaker Constituency

Recognising the need for a central body to oversee a national campaign, Pye reached out beyond her familiar Quaker circles to mobilise other influential public figures and organisations.

The concept of a '*social movement community*' that are '*informal networks of politicized individuals with fluid boundaries*' has been proposed (Beuchlar 1990:42) and provides an accurate description of the pool of people that Pye was able to call on. The non-Quaker personnel that Pye began to work with were led by George Bell, the Bishop of Chichester, who was a senior cleric in the House of Lords and had spoken in favour of controlled food relief in the Lords debate in January 1942. Dismayed and perturbed by the government's view that the British people believed that '*temporary sufferings, however severe they may be*' were necessary (Hansard 1942), Bell joined forces with Pye to create a national Famine Relief Committee (FRC) whose aim was to inform and shift public opinion (Jasper 1967:264). Bell was developing a reputation as the '*conscience of the British governing elite*' (MacCulloch 2009:949) through speaking up on aspects of the conduct of the war. For example, he had drawn attention to the conditions of the German and Italian interns in the UK (Hastings 2001: 374). But he also had a reputation for being well informed and '*his grasp of awkward facts*' was perceived as '*acutely irritating*' (Hastings 2001: 378-9). As a senior cleric in the Church of England he was well connected and well respected and, although he was '*disliked by Churchill*', he was known as an effective advocate (MacCulloch 2009; Hastings 2001:379). Ultimately, his position in the Church of England made him an eminently suitable figurehead, and spokesperson for the establishment element of the campaign, and his principled stand on the conduct of the war endeared him to those coming from a more non-conformist perspective. By April 1942, Bell and Pye had assembled a diverse range of public figures from different spheres of British religious, political and academic life to form the nascent FRC whose objects were: '*to obtain authentic information as to food conditions in German-controlled or invaded countries; to promote schemes*

for the sending of food, vitamins and medical aid into such countries, wherever control is possible, in co-operation with existing organisations' (FRC 1942a).

The FRC had 20 members and while Pye was the only Quaker, 14 others were prominent Christian leaders: chaired by Bell, there were two other Anglican Bishops, Liverpool and Stepney; two senior Roman Catholic churchmen who were knowledgeable of, and active in, foreign affairs, the Very Rev Canon Craven and Father Myers, the Bishop of Lamus; five senior representatives from the free churches, the General Secretaries of both the Baptist Union and the Presbyterian Church; the Moderator of the Free Church Council; the Secretary of the International Missionary Council; and a Senior Methodist, the Rev Henry Carter, founder of the Methodist Peace Fellowship. Mindful of the need for sympathetic media coverage, they recruited the services of Kathleen Bliss from the Christian Newsletter, an influential weekly periodical with a circulation of 10,000 which aimed to discuss and debate the implementation of Christian values to society's problems; and Douglas Woodruff, the editor of the weekly international Catholic publication The Tablet. Academia was represented by The Master of Selwyn College, the Rev George Chase; the Master of Balliol, Alexander Lindsay, who was a moral philosopher and Christian Socialist and regarded as one of the most influential academics of his generation (Hastings 2001); and Professor Gilbert Murray, a retired Oxford Regius Professor of Greek as well as being a well-known internationalist and humanist. The committee was completed by a Conservative MP, Sir Thomas Moore; Dr Harriette Chick, a nutritionist; Prof Norman Bentwich, a British Barrister of Jewish descent and Chair of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; and the Hon Mrs Crawshay, whose background is unknown (FRC 1942a). There was also a subsidiary technical advisory committee on controlled food relief which, in contrast to the public face of the FRC, had six Quakers out of a total of ten members (FRC 1942b).

One of the early publications of the FRC addressed the preponderance of religious representation by stating: *'While mainly a committee of the churches, the above committee will be glad of the co-operation of organisations and groups who are in sympathy with its aims and are willing to accept a purely humanitarian basis for its work'* (FRC 1942a: 1). The context of the term 'purely humanitarian' makes a statement that the work will not be religious and so frames it as something that all people could support. They declared the committee's *'first and most important job'* was *'the creation of a widely informed public opinion locally'* (FRC 1942a; FRC

1942b). To do this they created a nationwide network of local campaign committees whose purpose was to recruit '*leading citizens who are willing to look at the question in its moral and humanitarian aspects*' and enlist '*the weightiest and best-known sympathisers to write letters to the local press*' and '*arrange for a deputation from the committee to see the local MP*' (FRC 1942a: 11). By doing so, they aimed to develop '*... a well-informed opinion among those whose opinion carries weight in the community*' (FRC 1942a: 11), in order to place pressure on the government by creating multiple deputations to, and questions for, Parliament. The networks of the FRC's membership was essential to their strategy of creating local campaign committees which were formed by communicating and mobilising through the extensive Christian networks already existing in the UK (i.e., non-denominational media networks as well as the more conventional denominational channels). Local committees were formed by influencing those closest to the centre in each religious denomination at a local level, and from there fanning out to those on the periphery, eventually reaching and influencing the general public. The inclusion of well-known and eminent non-religious figures ensured it remained accessible and welcoming to those of other faiths and no faith.

d. Framing the Message

Benford and Snow (2000) provide a categorisation of different types of framing which illustrates how Pye structured a compelling argument for participation that appealed to a broad range of groups. She began with a technique described as 'frame bridging' which brings together '*two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem*' (Benford and Snow 2000:624).

The British Quaker community had been well informed about the impact of the blockade, and as they were already looking for opportunities to help alleviate the suffering arising from it (Friends Peace Committee 1942 Witney Quakers 1942; Witney Quakers 1942b), they formed Pye's first 'ideological group'. For this group, she needed to frame the issues in ways that were commensurate with the broad range of understandings in Quaker faith and practice at those times while not alienating those who were still uncomfortable with, or resistant to, working in collaboration with non-Quakers. As Pye discerned the campaign would need non-Quaker spokespersons who could gain access to, and influence, the British establishment and the general public, she needed to reach a much broader

ecumenical group as well as those with no faith. To bridge these different groups, diagnostic and prognostic frames were used to align their positions, ensuring the message would be acceptable to both groups as well as the elite government decision makers before whom they would ultimately be making their case.

In Chapter Two, Section 4civ of this thesis, the concepts of diagnostic and prognostic framing as were introduced and discussed: it was noted that diagnostic framing is used to identify the need to be addressed and also the locus of attribution (Benford and Snow 2000:615), but Pye avoided assigning blame for the famine as, especially for the Quaker constituency, this would be irrelevant and potentially counter-productive, but she did take pains to focus on the extent of suffering and starvation. Prognostic framing is '*the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem*' (Benford and Snow 2000:616) and Pye based this on scientific evidence of the efficacy of controlled food relief with both guarantees and proof that the International Red Cross could deliver this aid without benefit to the armies of occupation (FRC 1942a). In weaving together these different positions, Pye was assiduous in framing the arguments in purely humanitarian, not religious, terms but at the same time elected to work with many respected religious leaders, who by their participation and association with the campaign, gave it moral force and provided reassurance to religious audiences and potential supporters.

It may seem curious that a faith group would not seek acknowledgement for its faith or seek to use this as a motivation for potential participants. This thesis has uncovered a number of reasons why faith did not feature in the discourse used: firstly, the political context in war-time and the associated antipathy towards conscientious objectors, of which Quakers were a highly representative group, meant any link to Quakerism needed to be minimised; secondly, Churchill was already drawing on the language of Christian faith to generate support for the war, and so the use of religious terminology would have been confusing or counterproductive; thirdly, the FRC wanted to ensure as broad a reach as possible, and so it wanted to be explicit that the venture was purely humanitarian; finally, and underpinning the three previous reasons, moral arguments did not need to be articulated in expressly religious terms as an association with religion was assumed or imputed even when not openly stated. Jelen (2000) quoted in Hurd (2004) speaks of '*a shared adherence to a common religious tradition*' which provides '*a set of publicly accessible assumptions..*' which can lead to individual citizens who, sharing this heritage, accept a '*moral or ethical consensus*' (Hurd 2004:247): one

could draw on general, publically accessible values, based on a shared faith but without utilising the vocabulary of the faith from which it was drawn. The involvement of senior religious figures from a variety of denominations served to reinforce this perspective as they provided a religious underpinning merely by their association.

e. Combining these Elements into a Nationwide Strategy

The national Friends committee, the Meeting for Sufferings, was a principal promoter of the campaign and they continued to mobilise local Quaker groups, urging them to take action (Oxford Quakers 1942a; Witney Quakers 1942a; Jasper 1967; FRC 1943), but the broad representation on the FRC ensured the nationwide campaign was not restricted to Quakers. By October 1942 there were over 100 groups, and by January 1944 there were over 200 (FRC 1942c; FRC 1943d; FRC 1944a). Monthly newsletters were sent keeping local groups up-to-date with any developments and providing suggestions for action, which included sending letters to newspapers; organising petitions; holding public meetings; and fundraising. Although they utilised the networks of religious groups to mobilise support, they did not frame their arguments in religious language but continued to use an inclusive discourse which enabled many different groups to coalesce around a shared aim: a humanitarian desire to relieve suffering in Europe. Working with all the major Christian denominations provided much-needed legitimacy as it tapped into the *'abiding or latent public respect for religion...'* that can *'undermine potential state or counter-movement charges that a social movement represents marginal or extremist elements'* (Smith 1996:21).

Of the 200-plus town-based Famine Relief Committees that emerged as a result of the national FRC, the most influential and long-lasting, was the one that began in Oxford: The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OCFR), later to become known as Oxfam. The next section will explore how it began and developed in its early years.

2. Oxfam's Beginnings and Early Years to 1948: Provincial to National Organisation

As reported in the previous section, the national FRC, and subsequently the town-wide famine relief committees, emerged as the result of a Quaker-inspired concern to challenge the government's intransigent position on the Allies' naval blockade of Greece. This section will first consider the factors that contributed to the societal and religious disposition which led to Oxfam continuing in the post-war period when over 200 other

local groups did not. It will then review and assess how they mobilised support, chose actions from the available repertoire and created a long-lasting collective identity. Finally, it will consider how these elements combined to enable their work to flourish within Oxford and, ultimately, led to their expansion from a provincial to a national organisation.

a. Political Context and Opportunity Structure

In Chapter Two, Section 4ci of this thesis, the notion of political opportunity was introduced, and it was noted that it might be more accurately described as a '*cluster of variables*' (Tarrow 1988: 430). But scholars rarely consider religion as one of these variables, as proponents of secularisation theory assert and predict the diminishing influence of religion in society (Bruce 1996; Bruce 2011; Wilson 1976; Dobbelaere 1981). However, if religious actors are even potential participants in a movement, this thesis has shown that religious motivation can predispose actors to disregard difficulties in the political context, which suggests that scholars should consider the religious background to an issue. It is therefore recommended that this should be carried out as a separate section when considering the political opportunity.

As the initial invitation to form an Oxford FRC came to the Oxford Quaker meeting via their connections at Friends House, this section will first examine the religious context within Oxford, which itself was partly a response to the broader political context. It will then explore how the local Quaker group went about creating the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OCFR).

i. Political Context – National and Local

a. National Political Context

The national political context pertaining to this research was firstly and most obviously the war and more especially the Allies' intransigent position regarding the naval blockade of Greece, as outlined in Section 1 of this chapter. However, the war also strengthened the resolve of internationalist thinkers who believed that long-term peace could only be achieved if the principles and practice of internationalism were implemented. The hopes for peace and internationalism that had attached to the League of Nations after the First World War had faded and the Second World War was seen by many as a '*defeat for internationalists*' (Davies 2013:124), especially as the intense public mood of patriotism

grew. The kind of nationalism encouraged by the government in support of the war effort was diametrically opposed to the hoped-for internationalism that remained central to the League of Nations Union (LNU) in the UK. However, Iriye (1997) argues that hopes for cultural internationalism remained, which encouraged collaboration between practitioners in different spheres and disciplines. Alongside this, political thinkers such as Zimmern and Woolf kept alive the idea of an *'international mind'* which they believed was essential if new international organisations were to emerge and give shape and direction to internationalism in the future (Morefield 2004).

b. Local Political Context

The prestige of Oxford University, combined with its links to government and the church through its extensive alumni, meant it was a highly valued potential partner in the FRC's national campaign, especially as two of the national FRC, Alexander Lindsay and Gilbert Murray, were eminent persons from the University.

There were also strong historical links with internationalism in Oxford in the form of the League of Nations Union (LNU) and the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC). One of the founders of the LNU and its President since 1923 was Gilbert Murray, a member of the LNU's Oxford branch and a founder member of the national FRC. Murray, a contemporary of Zimmern, was a prominent supporter of Zimmern's concept of an international mind as being necessary for a new international order to emerge (Morefield 2004).

Murray worked alongside Nowell Smith, a retired headmaster, at the LNU in Oxford where they both continued to promote the cause of peace and the merits of internationalism, one outcome of which was the founding of the CEWC in 1940, which emerged from a sub-committee of the LNU. The CEWC's purpose was to work within the UK's education system to promote the values and interests of the LNU. It began by holding its first conference for teachers in Oxford in April 1940 when over 300 people attended (Heater 1984), illustrating the continued and determined internationalist presence in Oxford at a time of growing nationalism in the country at large.

ii. Religious Context: Responding to the Political Context

Chapter One, Section 2bii of this thesis, concurred with Berger's suggestion that to fully comprehend the role and impact of religion, it needs to be understood 'from within' (Berger 1974:129), which requires scholars to do more than observe the actions of religious people and groups: rather it requires an understanding of how and why their beliefs have translated into particular actions. This thesis, therefore, follows Berger's proposal, recognising the analysis needs to incorporate sufficient religious literacy to perceive and understand how religious faith and practice are responding to and interacting with, the political, societal and economic context. Therefore, the national religious climate will be reviewed first, followed by an examination of the religious culture in Oxford at the time of the emergence of the OCFR.

a. National Religious Context

The development of secularism among the educated elite was one of the chief characteristics of the international religio-political context from the late 1920s. The rise of nationalism in Europe and the global impact of the Great Depression were also factors. The combined effect of these caused increasing concern to religious leaders in Britain.

Grimley (2004) observes a strong sense that England remained a Christian country, evidenced by the reaction of the general public to key events: firstly the death of King George V in 1936. Temple observed that the public reaction did not denote, or equate to, religious observance, but he did believe it showed a 'diffused religion' that should not be 'disparaged' as it was a 'priceless asset to our national life' (Grimley 2004:189). Church commentators took comfort in the public's reaction to the abdication of Edward VIII, seeing 'a nation united in its support for Christian morality' (Grimley 2004: 189). The Church Times summarised its perception of a national faith by commenting on the coronation of George VI in May 1937: 'at a moment like this, the true heart of a nation stands revealed, manifesting a deep instinct of service and a genuine, if often confused, feeling after God... the people of England is perhaps more Christian than it knows' (Grimley 2004:192)

But early in the 1930s, this diffused religion was perceived as waning and Christian political thinkers, and senior clerics such as George Bell, the

Bishop of Chichester and William Temple, the Archbishop of York, were at the forefront of Anglican efforts to address this challenge (Clements 1999; Smith 2004; Turner 1994; Grimley 2004). This ultimately led to a Christian movement of radical origins, described as an *'intellectual revival'* of the Christian faith (Hastings 2001:388) which began in the 1930s and continued until late in the 1940s. The foundation of this revival was a week-long mission conducted by William Temple at St Mary the Virgin University Church in Oxford in 1931 and led to the church becoming one of its main centres. This mission and its effect will be considered next.

c. Local Religious Context

Before the mission, there was a consensus that Christianity was *'intellectually effete and therefore, as a moral sanction, a spent force'* (Turner 1994: 314). Therefore, the purpose of Temple's mission was not an evangelistic one, to convert people to the faith, but aimed to address and reverse this negative perception of Christianity by encouraging the emerging generation of decision-makers and leaders to apply their faith and intellect to social and political concerns. Temple was already at the forefront of establishing a *'coherent and defensible pattern of Church life'* (Hastings 2001:257), and as a radical thinker and social activist, worked to connect the church's teaching to the day-to-day lives of people and to encourage the application of its resources to the wider problems of society (Hastings 2001:254-256; William Temple Foundation 2015). Temple's ideas found both expression and a significant following in the Oxford mission which made a substantial contribution to a revitalisation of the Christian faith. During the Oxford mission, whose primary audience was the academic and intellectual elite of the university, Temple sought to promulgate his ideas using intellectually grounded methods: debates; speeches; sermons; and discussion groups to persuade and urge his listeners to apply their Christian faith and academic discipline to social and political life. Over 1,400 people attended each of Temple's nightly meetings with 2,000 attending the final evening (Justus.Anglican 2015). The content of Temple's sermons illustrate the dual nature of the mission as they were not only urging a fresh application of Christian faith and energy to societal issues, they were also *'supported by deeply thought rational argument'* which *'put religion back on the Oxford map by making*

it intellectually respectable' (St Mary's 2013), and where *'a belief in supernatural religion really was an intellectual option for modern man'* (Hastings 2001: 291)

Similar missions in subsequent years reinforced this positive framing of religion. They also broadened to include non-conformist churches and continued into the 1950s, pausing only during the war years (Turner 1994:314). Reflecting on his time as an undergraduate, the writer and journalist John Wain observed: *'It was impossible, at that time, to take in 'Oxford' without taking in, if not exactly the Christian faith, at least a very considerable respect for Christianity... Everybody to whom [you] looked up, every figure who radiated intellectual glamour of any kind, was in the Christian camp'* (Turner 1994: 295). A *'distinctly powerful Christian culture'* was thus generated within Oxford where Christianity was highly respected and influential (Hastings 2001: 292). The outworking of the faith of Christians in Oxford in the 1930s and 1940s was thus shifted to a focus on applying both intellect and Christian principles for the benefit of society. While this was not experienced in the same manner as the non-negotiability of a divine calling, as was Pye's concern, it did form a powerful collective identity that later enabled them to commit to a cause over an extended period of time.

This syncretism of faith and activism in Oxford was not merely a theological or intellectual exercise. There were two separate political events in 1938 which serve to illustrate its practical application. First, Henry Gillett, an elder from the Oxford Quaker meeting, was elected Mayor of Oxford after serving as a councillor for many years. Secondly, in a Parliamentary by-election in October of that year, which was fought primarily on the issue of foreign policy, both candidates were at pains to emphasise their Christian faith to the electorate (Hastings 2001; 350). When it is noted that one of these candidates was Alexander Lindsay, the Master of Balliol, one can see the extent to which the fusion of Christian faith, politics and the intellectual life was not just accepted, it was expected.

This revived and confident religious movement emanating from Oxford challenges many aspects of secularisation theory: firstly, it challenges the

assumption that modernisation will invariably cause the intellectually astute to view religion as irrational. Temple was deliberately engaging with the foremost thinkers, intellectuals and academics of his day to challenge this view and had considerable success. Secondly, the outcome of the mission challenges the notion put forward by proponents of secularisation theory that the public authority of religion would be diminished. As these assertions are partially predicated on the assumption that religion is irrational, it follows that religious people will be comparatively defenceless when faced with reason, intellectual argument or alternative viewpoints, and therefore, having little agency of their own, will retreat to a private sphere. However, the emergence of this intellectual, religious cohort which was also socially and politically active, serves to destabilise this logic and shows that, at a minimum, the effects of secularisation are avoidable or reversible.

iii. Oxford Quakers: the Seedbed of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief

In parallel to these religious and internationalist developments in Oxford during the 1930s, the international Quaker community had been considering how to respond to the rise of nationalism in Europe which they considered to be '*unenlightened parochialism*' as they believed that an international community (Byrd 1960: 60, 53) underpinned by a renewed sense of internationalism was the best foundation for long-term peace.

The internationalist ideals of Quakerism were essentially no different to the notion of an '*international mind*' as described by Zimmern and Gilbert Murray, and mirrored the ideas of '*cultural internationalism*' as described by Iriye (1997). The only differential with these streams of thought concerns practical application: Quakers were looking for ways in which to promote these views to the general public in order to make the international mind a reality. A fundamental principle of Quakerism is that faith should have a practical application which combines with the belief that practical service is a pre-requisite to political activism. Therefore, when considering how to address situations of injustice or suffering, Quakers prefer to engage in '*demonstration projects*' that illustrate their beliefs rather than merely putting forward a theoretical perspective (Byrd 1960: 39, 57, 129). During the time of rising nationalism in Europe, the Quaker community saw themselves as being in '*the*

vanguard of a developing international harmony' and was seeking initiatives that would undermine the more destructive forms of nationalism (Byrd 1960: 57, 60). This was seen as a responsibility for all Quakers and not just national figures and was affirmed in the minutes of the 1937 Friends World Conference which presented a challenge to all Quakers: *'Our... task is that of remaking the world as it is to be ...the local Quaker society ought to be a specimen of such a group, revealing the way of ...co-operative social activity'* (Byrd 1960: 57). All of these general principles and exhortations to prepare for the post-war world were given serious consideration by the Quaker groups in Oxford and Witney (Witney Quakers 1942; Witney Quakers 1942a; Witney Quakers 1942b, Witney Quakers 1942c, Witney Quakers 1942d). A seminal event in this process was in February 1942 when Marian Parmoor, representing the Meeting for Sufferings, travelled to Oxford to speak about the naval blockade of Europe and the impact it was having on the people of Greece. She urged the group to become informed and to prayerfully consider their response, challenging them with these words: *'...there must be a dedication of ourselves for the relief of suffering Europe which is facing general famine. What can we do to help raise the blockade even while the war goes on? This is an immediate need and this service may help to build bridges to better understanding'* (Witney Quakers 1942). In so doing, she prepared the ground for a 'demonstration project' where they could express their testimony of peace in a practical way. At this time, the national FRC had not been officially launched, but this plea produced a fertile seedbed in the Oxford and Witney Quaker meetings for the creation of an Oxford FRC when the call to create one came two months later.

iv. Impact of Religion on Political Opportunity

Political process theories contend that social movements only emerge after two prior events have taken place: first, the identification of a specific issue or grievance; and secondly a favourable assessment of the political opportunity (McAdam 1996; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996; Kriesi 2007; Tarrow 1996). The shift in the religious climate in Oxford during the 1930s and 1940s challenges this position, as a movement of religious activists which included Anglican, Quaker and other non-conformists, was being created but without a specific grievance identified for their attention. Instead, they were being encouraged to broaden and apply their understanding of religious faith, so that

it would be of benefit to wider society by contributing to the resolution of contemporary problems. This did not mean they were seeking converts to the faith; instead, they believed the teaching, values and principles of their faith had merit for broader society and should be drawn upon in their day-to-day lives. They did not see this as campaigning for a specific cause, but of influencing change within the different spheres of society in which they found themselves. However, while this loosely connected group of individuals had a growing predisposition for social and political activism, they did not yet have a specific, shared cause to champion. Even when the call to create an Oxford FRC came, this was not sufficient of itself to cause them to join forces and campaign. There needed to be some agency or deliberate and intentional effort to harness this potential and convert it into action (Edwards and McCarthy 2007).

Gamson suggests that '*Mobilization is a process of increasing the readiness to act collectively*' (Gamson 1975, quoted in Edwards and McCarthy 2007: 116), and so the next section will review the sequence of events that led to the formation of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.

b. Mobilisation Structures in Oxford

It was noted in Chapter Two, Section 4cii that mobilising structures are '*those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action*' (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:3), but this does not answer the question of how people are identified or recruited to join the mobilisation. McAdam (1982) introduced the notion of '*structural proximity*' as a key factor, but later, in critiquing how his earlier work on political process theory had been applied, he argued that too great an emphasis had been put on a structurally determinist view of the mobilisation of social movements. While acknowledging the weight of empirical evidence supported the view that structural proximity is a '*strong predictor*' of recruitment to a movement, he suggested that less attention had been given to understanding the reasons that a movement's members would choose to join it. He consequently proposed that a shared collective identity, containing both cognitive and affective components, for example, anger at the injustice and hope for a successful outcome, must be present (McAdam 1999: ix-xiii).

This thesis has presented evidence that the collective identity of religious activism had been gaining strength among those associated with St Mary the Virgin

University Church for the previous 11 years and that this resonated with the Quaker aim of demonstrating their testimonies of peace.

It was into this politically aware and religiously connected culture, centred on St Mary the Virgin University Church and the Oxford and Witney Quakers, that the petitions of the national FRC were received. The minutes of the Oxford Quaker Preparatory Meetings during April and May in 1942 record they were approached by both the Meeting for Sufferings and Edith Pye regarding actions related to the Allies' blockade (Oxford Quakers 1942a; Oxford Quakers 1942b).

In 1942, Oxford Quakers were a cohesive group as they already had an identifiable organisational structure that was able, ready and willing to convert the various resources into a movement, thereby addressing the observation by Edwards and McCarthy (2007) that some agency is required to fashion a movement from potential constituent parts. One of the Quaker elders in Oxford was Dr Henry Gillett, who was also a member of the Meeting for Sufferings and the Yearly Meeting, which is the Quaker's national decision-making body, (Witney Quakers 1942b; Witney Quakers 1942c; Pask 1977). In similar fashion to Pye, he experienced a 'concern' to do what was within his power to address the suffering caused by the blockade (Oxfam 1978a; Oxford Quakers 1942a) and was supported in this endeavour by the Oxford Quaker group who had been considering how they could respond to the issue. Gillett was a retired GP, an alderman on the Oxford Council, and had been Mayor of Oxford in 1938/9 and so was widely known and respected within Oxford society. He, therefore, had the connections to mobilise local support himself but in actions which mirrored Pye's strategy of veiling the Quaker origins of the initiative, Gillett approached another respected local figure, Canon Milford of St Mary the Virgin University Church, to discuss collaboration (Oxfam 1978a). Canon Milford was a strategic choice to partner with, as St Mary's remained a '*major focal point of Oxford's religious life and the chief institution for ... Anglican social concern*' (Turner 1994:313) since the intellectual renewal of Christianity in Oxford in the 1930s (Hastings 2001). In considering the public face of the initiative, they agreed that '*Churchill might approve a rather different committee with an Anglican Canon taking the chair*', recognising the hindrance that a Quaker spokesperson would be and so agreed that Milford should be chair (Gillett 2006). However, the organisational infrastructure was provided by the Quakers, which began when they invited Pye to speak at an ecumenical gathering in July 1942 so they could hear first-hand about the national campaign and find out what they could do (Oxford Quakers

1942c). In consequence, a provisional Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OCFR) was established at the July meeting, and officers were appointed (Oxfam 1942a; Oxford Quakers 1942d). The committee held its first formal meeting on 5th October 1942, the date generally given for the beginning of Oxfam. By then the membership had broadened to welcome non-faith-based members who initially came from the local branch of the LNU. Nevertheless, the majority of the members, especially those most active, were drawn from the religious networks of Gillett and Milford. These pre-existing religious contacts and networks fulfilled McAdam's (2004) criteria of structural proximity and a shared collective identity, thereby contributing to the speed of the OCFR's formation, the strength of its cohesion and its stability and longevity.

The opening paragraphs of this chapter noted the uncritical acceptance of traditional accounts that claim Oxfam had always been a secular organisation. A comparison of its early minutes with those of the Oxford Quaker archives, tells a different story as this showed that original committee was comprised of many more Quakers than previously understood. The authorised accounts usually referenced as source documents for Oxfam (Jones 1965; Whitaker 1983; Black 1992) only identify one of the founding members as being a Quaker, Dr Henry Gillett, and give prominence to other members: the two internationalist members of the LNU, Professor Gilbert Murray and Nowell Smith; and to three other people who were very active in the committee: Dr Leo Liepmann, a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany; Sir Alan Pim, a retired colonial administrator and Cecil Jackson-Cole, a businessman who became Honorary Secretary. What these accounts fail to identify is that Liepmann was himself a Quaker and Jackson-Cole was a long-term regular attendee at the Oxford Quaker meeting (Berks and Oxon 1944). Little is known about Pim's religious affiliations in his adult years, but he came from a Quaker family and was educated at Bootham, a Quaker school in York and so would be well known in Quaker circles and familiar with Quaker beliefs and practices.

The comparison of the OCFR minutes with Oxford Quaker archives show that five other founding members were also Quakers: Mary Pask, the original Secretary; Wilson Baker, the Clerk of the Oxford Quaker Meeting; Lady Mary Murray, wife of Professor Gilbert Murray; Kathleen Compton-Ford; and Margaret MacNamara. There were four other founding members, of whom three were clergymen: Rev F Greaves; Rev HR Moxley; and Rev RV Holt. The final member, Dr Hugh Robertson

was a retired surgeon whose religious affiliation cannot be determined, although as the son of a Bishop it may be assumed he was familiar with religious practice and discourse (Oxfam 1942a; Berks and Oxon 1944). Therefore the religious affiliation of the founding members of the committee was, at a minimum, 50% Quaker and 75% practising Christian. During the first five years of the committee, its core membership remained relatively static, and any additional people tended to join the appeals committee. An analysis of the attendance of committee members reveals that the percentage of people with an identifiable religious commitment rarely dropped below 85%, and the proportion of members who were Quakers continued to be over 50%, and these latter participants remained the most active.

This thesis argues that this predominance of religiously inspired participants, acting with a shared perspective of Christianity's value to society, calls for a reassessment of the assertion that Oxfam has always been a secular organisation.

c. The Aims of the OCFR and their Changing Repertoire of Contention

It is axiomatic that a movement's activities are chosen to help bring about their aims and objectives. Therefore, the aims of the OCFR will be identified first before analysing its choice of actions in pursuit of them.

i. Aims of the Oxford Committee

It is generally assumed that actions taken by a movement's participants will be directed exclusively at achieving their aims and objectives, but this presupposes that all of these aims are explicit, comprehensively stated and publically understood. Giugni (1998) notes that there may be unintended consequences, for example, cultural or institutional effects, arising from actions and these may not necessarily be related to the original issue (Giugni 1998:383-4). This raises the possibility that some outcomes may actually have formed part of the original objective and were not unintended. In many cases, protagonists will legitimately have two audiences they wish to influence: firstly they may want to sensitise the public to an issue as a precursor to their second but ultimate aim of '*provoking political change*' (Giugni 1998:379). However, this thesis suggests that the primary objective may also be used as a Trojan Horse to influence public opinion on an associated matter.

It was noted in an earlier section that Quakers prefer to work through demonstration projects which illustrate their view on how to bring about social

change (Byrd 1960: 39, 57). This thesis suggests that Oxford Quakers saw the potential of the OCFR as a demonstration project for their broader aims. Byrd (1960) notes the Quaker hope for an international community generated a sense of responsibility to help bring this about: They believed it was critical to *'establish channels by which others might be provided with factual and interpretive information on the basis of which a greater awareness of international community might be built.'* (Byrd 1960: 54). As part of this, they also felt compelled to bring to the public's attention any *'information or points of view which were being ignored or overlooked by other sources and which would tend to increase knowledge of and a sense of unity with the peoples the world over'* (Byrd 1960: 55). Without this insight into Quaker thinking, an assessment of the early minutes of the OCFR would conclude their activities were only concerned with changing the government's stance regarding food relief for Europe, and that they sought to do this by having an interim objective of informing and influencing public opinion on the matter (Oxfam 1942a; Oxfam 1942b; Oxfam 1942c).

While it is recognised the committee fully supported the national FRC's aim of shifting the government's position, this thesis suggests that the Quaker contingent saw an opportunity of using the new organisation to provide a platform on which they could promote ideas of international harmony that they believed were *'being overlooked'*. In doing so, they hoped to undermine the more destructive forms of nationalism they believed were a barrier to long-term peace (Byrd 1960: 54-55, 60). While these ideas emanated from Quaker Faith and Practice, they were also consistent with the aims of the other members, especially the internationalists. For over 300 years, the primary interest of Quakers in foreign affairs has been *'taking away the occasion for war'* (Byrd 1960: 191) which they first believed was hampered by an absence of the Christian faith. This position gradually shifted to an emphasis on promoting the application of Christian principles to public policy, which is in line with the purpose of the missions initiated by William Temple in the 1930s and discussed earlier in this Chapter at Section 2a ii b. However, they did not believe Christianity had a monopoly on these principles, and therefore their strategy shifted once again to actions that would change public opinion so that this, in turn, would assert influence on foreign policy through the democratic process (Byrd 1960: 192). Therefore we can discern the influence of religion in the OCFR

as the longer term aims of the Quakers served to broaden its objectives beyond that of influencing the government regarding food relief to sensitising the public to broader issues of foreign affairs and ultimately towards a favourable view of an international society.

ii. Repertoire of Contention: The Actions of the Oxford Committee

Tilly's (2010) concept of repertoires of contention was introduced and discussed in Chapter Two, Section 4ciii of this thesis. This noted that a group would have an extensive range of options available to them, is constrained by '*what [actors] know how to do and what society has come to expect them to choose to do from within a culturally sanctioned and empirically limited set of options*' (Tarrow 1993:283). Therefore the repertoire available to the OCFR at its beginning was shaped by at least three factors: first, the national climate of patriotism and the largely unquestioning support for the war. This meant that challenging the blockade was highly sensitive and risked being perceived as unpatriotic. The OCFR minutes in October 1942 acknowledged it needed to '*... mitigate the famine without invalidating the Allies' blockade*' and in consequence many '*... urged caution in planning effort, lest controversy be roused*' (Oxfam 1942a). Secondly, their own capabilities and experience would influence what they believed was possible; and finally, their perception of what would be an effective action (Elster 1989 quoted in Kriesi 2007: 68) given the social conventions of the time. These latter two factors are complex as they depend not just on an objective assessment of the political environment but also a highly subjective view of their ability to persuade the government to change course. Quakers, realising they could not impose their views, were cognisant they needed to commit to a long-term project which would seek a '*gradual and continuing realization of the moral order*' (Byrd 1960: 49, 45). This is seen in the actions of the OCFR which began a long-term commitment to building networks and developing expertise that would assist in its ultimate goal of influencing the public. These factors determined its actions, which while overlapping, were, in essence, as follows:

a. Public Awareness: for Political Lobbying

At the meeting of the OCFR in October 1942, there was a discussion about how to support the mitigation of the famine but the minutes record they were mindful of the difficulty of doing this without appearing to

undermine the government's war efforts. Therefore, they agreed the first step should be a public awareness campaign where they would put the facts before the people which would provide reassurance of their intentions (Oxfam 1942a). Consequently, they held a public meeting in November 1942 when the Greek Ambassador's son spoke about famine conditions in Greece (Black 1992)

At the next committee meeting in December 1942, they decided to enlist the support of respected and well-known establishment figures, such as eminent academics, to help them persuade and influence local public opinion and they also secured the support of medical personnel to demonstrate credibility for the plan for controlled food relief (Oxfam 1942b). They combined this support by organising a letter to the national press signed by the heads of four Oxford colleges: Oriel; Christchurch; Magdalen; and All Souls and other known public figures: GDH Cole, a political theorist and historian; Margery Perham, an historian and writer on African Affairs; Sir Farquhar Buzzard, who had been Physician to the King; Professor Girdlestone, a pioneering orthopaedic surgeon; and Sir Arthur Hurst, the founder of the British Society of Gastroenterology (Oxfam 1943a). They circulated copies of the FRC's booklet '*Hunger in Europe: a statement of the case for controlled food relief in German occupied countries*', to all Oxford churches, asking them to pray for controlled famine relief in the affected countries (Oxfam 1942b; Milford 1963). While having the appearance of religious activity, this was also an effective means of putting information before a diverse and potentially influential group of people who were predisposed to political activism, and so this also served as a recruiting tool for additional members and supporters. A second public event was held in February 1943 when Emile Cammaerts, a Belgian academic living in London, addressed a public meeting chaired by the Bishop of Oxford, to promote the cause of controlled food relief in Belgium (Oxfam 1943b; Black 1992:14).

The focus on putting information before the public set a pattern for their actions not only for the next few months but years. At first, the identified purpose of this public information activity, as articulated by the national FRC, was to encourage the public to put pressure on their local MP so

he/she would, in turn, influence government policy. However, in Oxford, it changed within four months to a focus on generating funds.

b. **Public Awareness: for Fundraising**

Raising funds for famine relief was considered by the OCFR in October 1942, but at that time there were no means to deliver relief, so it discounted this idea (Oxfam 1942a). But in February 1943 this position changed with the news that the Greek Red Cross was able to distribute funds (Oxfam 1943b). The OCFR, therefore, built on its awareness-raising activities to launch a Greek Famine Relief Appeal, culminating in a week of special events in October 1943 to both publicise the cause and raise funds. The appeal raised over £12,000, and because of this success, the OCFR agreed that a fundraising sub-committee, constituted for this appeal, should continue (Oxfam 1943g; Black 1992; Milford 1963). It was at this point that the explicit objective of the public awareness activities began to change from encouraging the public to lobby their MP, to eliciting funds for famine relief. However, even though the response sought from the public changed, the public education activities did not. The OCFR continued to present the public with factual information about the suffering in Europe while sowing the seed of international fellowship.

c. **Political Lobbying: a Brief Reprise**

During this initial fundraising, the national FRC had been urging local FRCs such as the OCFR, to keep up the pressure on MPs: in both March and April of 1943 they requested groups to organise a petition that would be signed by as many constituents as possible, even enclosing a sample petition for this purpose (FRC 1943a; FRC 1943b; FRC 1943c); and in March 1943 they requested that local groups issue a statement by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the local press (FRC 1943b).

Surprisingly, and contrary to the oft-stated view that Oxfam had always been politically active, the minutes of the OCFR for this period do not refer to these requests, referring only to their fundraising activities and appeals (Oxfam 1943c; Oxfam 1943d; Oxfam 1943e). For the ten months between February and December 1943, there was no lobbying or other political activity noted or even proposed (Oxfam 1943c; Oxfam 1943d; Oxfam 1943e; Oxfam 1943f; Oxfam 1943g; Oxfam 1943h). This situation changed

for a short while in early 1944 after Henry Gillett and Leo Liepmann attended a Famine Relief conference in London. A small delegation from the conference, which included Gillett, met with the Minister for Economic Warfare to argue for further aid for Greece, but without success. This disappointing news galvanised the OCFR into a renewed, albeit temporary, commitment to lobbying via a petition which gathered over 8,000 signatures. In June 1944, the OCFR's Chair led a deputation from Oxford to the Ministry for Economic Welfare for talks and to submit the petition (Oxfam 1944a; Oxfam 1944b; Oxfam 1944c; Oxfam 1944d; Milford 1963), but the delegation was disappointed and discouraged with the negative response. The OCFR's frustration at the outcome led to its decision to take no further action apart from drafting a report for the press. The OCFR did not meet again, or undertake any reportable activities, until six months later in January 1945 (Oxfam 1944d; Oxfam 1945a; Milford 1965).

d. **Public Awareness to Generate Resources: the Post-war Years**

The OCFR reconvened in January 1945 to approve its annual accounts, but decided to begin exploring options for providing broader relief as suggested by the FRC, who had begun promoting a revised remit for local groups (Oxfam 1945a; FRC 1944b; FRC 1944c; FRC 1945a; FRC 1945b; FRC 1945c; FRC 1945d). Consequently, in February 1945 the OCFR resolved to launch an appeal for clothing and extended its charitable objects to *'relief of suffering as a result of the war'* (Oxfam 1945b) to accommodate this change. It developed fundraising activities in parallel with the clothing appeals, both of which targeted the general public and built on its previous experience of public awareness activities. A sub-committee chaired by Rev Moxley, one of the original committee members, was responsible for these. The OCFR extended its activities beyond the confines of Oxford by advertising in the national press and Christian publications, developing a response-driven marketing strategy which enabled them to target spending to generate the highest return (Black 1992: 35; Andrews 2014). They discovered the most profitable titles were The Times, The Guardian and the religious press which led Oxfam to utilise the latter to a significant degree (Smith G 1996). Even though they utilised the religious press, they still did not use religious language or motivation in their advertisements, continuing their practice of working through the

structures of religious groups but without referencing religious beliefs or language as motivation. The next section on framing explores the implications of this.

d. Message Framing

Having explored how the OCFR responded to the political opportunity, mobilised resources and developed its repertoire of contention, the next consideration is succinctly posed by Fominaya: *'How does a set of individuals become a collective entity we can identify and name as a social movement... and how its cohesion and commitment ...sustained over time?'* (Fominaya 2010:394). The concept of collective identity has been suggested as the ideological glue that holds different groups and individuals together. The members of the OCFR were drawn from three groups with differing histories, philosophies and ethos and so it was not able to rely on any one of the pre-existing *'ideological templates'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 11) to create a master frame or collective identity. Firstly, the members from the Oxford Quaker meeting were highly motivated to participate as they wanted to see a more internationalist perspective gain traction but recognised their association with pacifism could be a barrier to influencing public opinion. The second group were the politically aware Christian activists, both Anglican and non-conformist, who were the natural legacy of the Temple missions, discussed in this Chapter at Section 2.1.1, who believed in the efficacy of Christian principles to bring positive change to problems in society. The third group were denoted by a commitment to internationalism that did not draw from a religious perspective. Additionally, Fominaya (2010) distinguishes between external and internal notions of collective identity where the former, the product, is what those outside the movement perceive it to be; and the latter, the process, is what insiders 'feel'. Similarly, Rahman (1998) notes that external stakeholders such as donors or supporters of an organisation do not need to be committed to its core beliefs or even values: their primary connection is that they support its aims and objectives (Rahman 1998: 21). However, for those working closely within an organisation, there is a different relationship with its beliefs and values. The OCFR, therefore, needed to develop an identity and discourse that was acceptable to all three groups for both external and internal purposes. For purposes of clarity, this thesis will follow Fominaya (2010) and Rahman (1998) and refers to the external identity as its collective identity and the latter, internal identity as its collective consciousness.

The notion of bridging frames provided by Benford and Snow (2000) once again provides a useful starting point for considering how the OCFR developed a distinct collective identity as well as a cohesive collective consciousness.

i. Oxfam's External Positioning: Collective Identity

The previous section demonstrated that Pye needed to create a bridging frame that would connect at least two *'ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames'* (Benford and Snow 2000:624) for the FRC. In Oxford, the OCFR also had to craft a message frame that would consciously connect the different faith groups with the non-religious internationalists on the OCFR, and so used *'frame extension'* techniques to do so. These depict the movement's interests *'as extending beyond its primary interest to include issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents'* (Benford and Snow 2000:625). In this case, the primary interest was emergency food relief for occupied Europe, but as we have seen, the Quaker base of the OCFR was highly motivated by the cause of internationalism and so were able to extend their primary interest to incorporate the perspective of the secular internationalists. This foundational framing formed the basis of their long-term collective identity. However, during wartime, this shared internationalist perspective was problematic for the general public. As previously noted, the onset of the war was seen *'as a defeat for internationalists'* (Davies 2013: 124) and so the OCFR needed to frame its work without using language that invoked an ideal that, for many, was discredited. This framing also needed to accommodate both the religious and non-religious internationalists within the OCFR.

The frame adopted was synonymous with that used by the national FRC as issues were presented in humanitarian, not religious, terms and focussed on facts and empirical evidence with compassion and sympathy for the suffering as the motivational factor. Consequently, the OCFR developed an articulation of its belief in the equality of all people that was commensurate with the Quaker notion of *'that of God'* in every person but without using religious terminology. Many religious traditions would have resisted a process where their faith is not identified as foundational to their actions, fearing this may appear as a denial of the faith, or even an unacceptable compromise. But British Quakers, who are predominantly from the liberal Quaker tradition, often find the verbalising of

religious belief problematic as they contend it can limit the understanding of God as they believe the *'God and the experience of God are inexpressible'* (Dandelion 2008: 80, 81). Therefore the Quakers in the OCFR did not find the non-religious language of the national FRC a problem and drew from it for their own publicity materials.

ii. **Internal Framing: Collective Consciousness**

This section will review the internal functioning of the OCFR: how its collective consciousness was formed and how it developed over time. It will also consider whether, or in what ways, religion was a factor.

The three groups comprising the core members of the OCFR were initially recruited and bound together by a shared commitment to aims and objectives. But this section will show that a robust, pervasive and internal collective consciousness emerged from the Quaker contingent that served as its ideological glue for many years. Acknowledging that the concept of collective consciousness is *'notoriously slippery'*, Fominaya (2010) draws on a definition by Polletta and Jasper (2001): *'an individual's cognitive, moral and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice or institution'* (Polletta and Jasper 2001:285 quoted in Fominaya 2010:394). Rahman (1998) describes this collective consciousness as an organisational culture, seen in the *'basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organization, that operate unconsciously, and define in a basic 'taken for granted' fashion an organization's view of itself and its environment'* (Schein 1985 quoted in Rahman 1998:21). Melucci (1988) describes it as being *'constructed and negotiated through the repeated activation of relationships that link individuals'* and that these relationships create *'mutual recognition'* (Melucci 1988: 342). He also asserts that individuals, when deciding whether to act together, go through a process whereby they recognise and assess what they have in common (Melucci 1996: 64). These processes operate below the surface in an organisation and are often learned as part of an informal induction, colloquially referred to as *'learning the ropes'*. As the organisation develops, the behaviour of individuals within it become normalised and *'... routinized into rules, rituals, values, codes of conduct and standard operating procedures'* (Walkup 1997: 47). Thus the *'the social reality of the organisation'* becomes the core identity of the group, and crucially, inclusion in this group is *dependent on following the*

organisation's inter-subjective rules (Rahman 1998: 28,30). Rahman concludes that it is these processes and inter-subjective rules that formed the basis of Oxfam's organisational culture. The evidence of this thesis concurs with this assessment but asserts that it falls short of a full explanation as Rahman does not explore the roots of these inter-subjective rules: he fails to note that the OCFR developed distinctive social norms that drew from the religious practices of the majority of the membership: Quakerism. As Quakers regularly comprised over 50% of those present at the OCFR and were its organisational engine, their way of life, including long-established inter-subjective practices, formed the basis of the culture and ethos of the new organisation.

A foundational view of Quakerism is that they share a '*way of life*' and not a '*set of beliefs*' (Quaker 2013b:27.19). As part of that, a fundamental principle is to put faith into practice which combines with the belief that this practical service is a pre-requisite to political activism. Consequently, they have developed a strong reputation for social justice and peace-related activities. It was the Quaker '*way of life*' that formed the collective consciousness of the OCFR. Another core belief of Quakerism is '*the realisation that there is that of God in everybody, that all human beings are equal, that all life is interconnected*' (Quaker 2013c:23:12), and one essential outworking of this is how Quakers relate to other people, which led to an unusually democratic and consultative organisational culture. These shared values and practices were not explicitly or overtly decided upon by the OCFR, but emerged and became established because the majority of those present instinctively behaved and related to one another according to these principles. This thesis will present evidence to show that as the organisation grew, the OCFR deliberately appointed Quakers to fill the majority of vacancies in roles of prominence and influence. These appointments strengthened the internal culture and helped create resistance to any challenges to its aims and objectives.

Rahman (1998) observes that '*social interaction with other members of an organisation encourages individuals to adopt the common values, beliefs, norms, even the social reality of the organisation themselves*' (Rahman 1998: 28). The norms and social practices established by the Quaker members of the OCFR were therefore adopted by any non-Quakers joining the organisation through the socialisation process described by Rahman (1998). This would have been a relatively seamless process for the early members of the OCFR as they were

either familiar with, or regularly exposed to, Quaker practice through familial ties, for example, Alan Pim and Gilbert Murray, or shared a commitment to Christian values (the clergymen and Hugh Robertson).

3. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has taken a fresh look at the beginnings of Oxfam and placed it within the social, economic, political and religious context of the time. It also identified its founding aims, values and practices as benchmarks for subsequent chapters which assess its ongoing development and investigate how and why it developed into the influential actor in international development and global politics that it is today.

The research encountered the effects of secularisation theory in several places and found it lacking in capacity to explain some of the research findings. Even more problematic, was the discovery that working from a secular viewpoint does not readily permit a researcher to see or recognise the presence of religion unless the use of religious terminology or discourse indicates its presence. Therefore it is possible that the influence or contribution of religion or religious motivation may be underestimated or overlooked in scholarship.

It is axiomatic that it is only when the presence of religion has been perceived and accepted by scholars that they can assess how it interacts with the political, social and economic contexts. Therefore, it became apparent that a proactive approach to discerning the presence of religion would be needed and that this required either sufficient religious literacy to recognise extant indications that it is present or an open-minded curiosity about the religious community that would stimulate further enquiry.

This section will summarise the findings of this research regarding the origins of Oxfam and will consider what contribution if any, that religion made. It will then discuss implications for social movement theory, followed by recommendations for secularisation theory.

a. Findings Concerning Oxfam

This thesis has presented evidence that contradicts the long-accepted narrative of Oxfam: that it has always been a secular organisation, with perhaps limited influence from a small number of Quaker members at its beginning. This evidence demonstrates that Oxfam was a Quaker-inspired initiative and that the local Quaker meeting provided most of its founding committee, which created a distinctly religious, Quaker culture and pattern of operation. However, this Quaker influence was not seen only through this culture, democratic practices and business methods. It was most powerfully evident in a parallel objective: to promote a new vision of

international society that linked back to and drew directly from, the Quaker commitment to peace. So, in addition to its explicit aim of generating resources for those suffering as a result of the war, it was also a vehicle through which the Quaker members could encourage and promote internationalism into the public consciousness through a discourse of compassionate humanitarianism.

b. Implications for Social Movement Theory

i. Political Opportunity

This thesis has identified three areas where religion influenced the political and social climate from which Oxfam emerged: first, it was shown that the political elite had identified the value of the '*abiding or latent public respect for religion...*' (Smith 1996:21) in UK society to generate support for the war effort, which was evidenced by the public reaction to key national events such as the death of King George V in January 1936 and the abdication of Edward VIII later the same year (Grimley 2004). They, therefore, conflated religious faith with patriotism to produce a notion of Christian nationhood (Spencer 2016a) which not only framed support for the war as a positive moral virtue, it also presented resistance to the war effort as unpatriotic and lacking in religious understanding or commitment. But for Quakers, who were already concerned about the rise of nationalism in Europe, using religion to invoke a form of nationalism to support the war was anathema and reinvigorated their efforts to counter this with a new vision for internationalism. The government framing also helps to explain the preponderance of religious figures on the national FRC. While not engaging in a theological debate with the government, or disputing its framing, the presence of religious figures would have provided reassurance to potential supporters who may otherwise have felt the campaign was ill-advised at a time of war. Secondly, for religious actors, the possibility of success, for example changing government policy, isn't necessarily relevant to their decision to participate. For many, as illustrated by Edith Pye, the perceived sense of a calling from God to speak up and witness to a higher truth is more important. The third area was the legacy of, and ongoing commitment to, the intellectual revival of Christianity in Oxford which began with William Temple's mission in the 1930s. This legacy was a collective identity for Christian thinkers in Oxford which incorporated a syncretism of faith with political and social activism which itself had been driven by a shift in theological understanding which led to Christian intellectuals and

academics being predisposed to political and social action, even before a specific grievance had been identified.

ii. Repertoire of Contention

A key finding of the research was the importance of determining whether all of an actor's aims are explicit and widely understood. If not, the actions chosen may not appear to be rational or reasonable. This thesis has presented evidence that Quakers in Oxford had been looking for an opportunity to promote a new vision of internationalism and that the public awareness campaign conducted by the OCFR provided a channel through which they could promote this secondary, esoteric aim.

The previously accepted narrative of Oxfam's history that asserts it had always been a politically active organisation was challenged by the discovery that after only four months, the OCFR shifted from its original objective of persuading the public to lobby the government, to fundraising from the public for relief supplies. It is not clear why this change occurred, especially in the light of the continued entreaties from the FRC to continue with lobbying. However, even though the response sought from the public changed, the public awareness and education activities remained firm, and so lends credence to the assertion of this thesis that these activities were a vehicle for their esoteric, Quaker-inspired, aim of promoting internationalism through compassionate humanitarianism.

iii. Resource Mobilisation

Another finding was the extent to which religious networks were used as general communication channels to recruit and mobilise members even though religious language was not used to motivate potential participants.

It has already been established that even though there may be potential participants in a movement, two other elements are essential before a movement is formed: first there needs to be a shared value system, and secondly, there needs to be some form of agency that can convert the potential into collective action (McAdam 1999: ix-xiii; Edwards and McCarthy 2007). This thesis has presented evidence that the networks of many different religious groups were called upon by the FRC to promote their campaign and to establish town-wide groups. These networks already existed and had tried and tested systems of communication in place, making them an effective and efficient means to disseminate information. The fact that the communications were

passed along religious networks by religious figures would have reminded the recipient of their shared value system and encouraged a sense of collective identity, even though they did not use religious language. The decision not to use religious language was not problematic as the '*shared adherence to a common religious tradition*' (Jelen 2000 quoted in Hurd 2004:247) would have provided sufficient credibility and cohesion for the campaign. Once the local groups were established, they were expected to disseminate the campaign's message to the general public. In Oxford, the organisational capacity to convert the various elements into a local campaign was provided by the local Quaker meeting who already had an organisational structure as well as extensive connections with the local community and so they formed the administrative backbone of the OCFR, illustrating one aspect of how religious groups are involved in resource mobilisation.

iv. Framing

Benford and Snow (2000) note that movements comprised of conscience constituents, those acting on behalf of others, tend to amplify underpinning values and beliefs, not minimise them (Benford and Snow 2000:624). Therefore one of the unexpected findings of the research was the extent to which a religious voice was muted even though the faith of the majority of the participants was the primary reason for their involvement. The decision to avoid religious terminology set the OCFR's publicity and communications on a trajectory of benevolent or Judeo-Christian secularism, which is a form of discourse where '*Christianity does not need to be invoked that often because it is already inscribed in the pre-discursive dispositions and cultural instincts of the civilization*' (Connolly 1999:24). The lack of religious terminology in the OCFR's publicity was not because they were opposed to religion. Instead, it was a pragmatic decision to maximise the likelihood of positive outcomes, combined with a sense that religion didn't need to be explicitly referred to in the '*powerful Christian culture*' (Hastings 2001: 292) which existed at the time in Oxford. However, this thesis asserts that the lack of religious framing has contributed to a misunderstanding about the motivations and factors that led to the emergence of Oxfam and an underestimation about how and where religion played a part.

c. Implications for Scholarship: Secularisation Theory, International Politics and International Development

Part of the legacy of secularisation theory is the lingering habit of applying assumptions based on a secular worldview to academic research, which includes social movement scholarship and international politics. A secular worldview that does not expect to find religion in public life cannot be expected to delve deeply to look for it, especially if the movement's own materials or public pronouncements do not refer to it. Indeed the absence of religious terminology or references will serve to affirm the expectation that religion is no longer active or relevant to the organisation's operation or active in the public domain, leading scholars to look for other factors of influence.

This thesis has presented evidence to show that the lack of religious discourse in the work of the FRC and the OCFR does not imply a lack of religious involvement, rather a commitment to maximising the possibility of success. Religion has been shown to be highly active, especially concerning motivation, goal-setting and mobilisation. This thesis, therefore, recommends that the assumption of secularisation theory, i.e. that religion is no longer influential in public life, be put aside when undertaking an analysis of social movements or international politics. This will require scholars to take deliberate steps to identify whether religious actors are involved by acquiring sufficient understanding of contemporary religious practice to look beyond the rhetoric used to determine whether or how religion is a factor in the movement's activities. This recommendation will inform the next stages of this analysis.

4. Oxfam: Developments from 1948 to the end of the 1950s

a. Political Opportunity Structure after the War

i. Political Context

The shadow of the Second World War continued to reinforce the highly nationalistic mindset within the British public, and the onset of the Cold War only served to accentuate this perspective. Suri (2005) records that while the number of new NGOS '*grew astronomically*' during the decades after the war, there is little evidence that this made any '*tangible difference*' to policy or everyday life, noting that '*NGOs... were straitjacketed after 1945 in a Cold War world that emphasised bipolarity, nationalism and state-centred power*' (Suri 2005: 239). But alongside this continuing nationalism, was an increasing

awareness of the urgent need for refugee relief: first for refugees within Europe as a result of the war, but this later extended to Arab refugees following the establishment of Israel in 1948 (Black 1992:37).

ii. Religious Climate

Section 2a of this Chapter recommended that the religious context should be considered as part of the political opportunity as otherwise, the actions of religious actors may seem irrational. An extension to this logic is that issues, events or philosophies within the religious community should also be factored into any analysis. Tarrow (1988) observes that some factors in the '*cluster of variables*' are '*more readily observable than others*' (Tarrow 1988: 430) and it is self-evident that variables internal to a religious community will be less accessible or '*readily observable*' to outsiders, but that makes the detection of them all the more important. As noted in Chapter Two, Section 2 of this thesis, the research methodology was adapted to incorporate Berger's (1974) proposal that the impact of religion needs to be understood '*from within*' (Berger 1974:129), and so the internal perspective of Quakers and how this influenced the activities of the OCFR will be explored next.

The broader canvas for Quakers at the end of the war was a long-held recognition that their views could not be imposed, nor legislated upon, but instead should be carefully nurtured. They recognised that perseverance would be needed as this nurturing would require a '*gradual and continuing realization of the moral order*' which included a responsibility to encourage and nurture an expanded consciousness of the needs of others, especially those '*less fortunate, those exploited, those in foreign lands*' (Byrd 1960: 49, 45). One of the implications of this was to commit to a long-term strategy of influencing public opinion towards international harmony. This was evidenced by a global conference for Quakers held in 1942 to consider their role in peace and reconstruction in the post-war world (Byrd 1960: 43). There were also regular encouragements and urgings from the central Friends Committees for local Quaker groups to prepare for the post-war world, which they anticipated would entail devastation, homelessness, physical exhaustion and spiritual depletion (Witney Quakers 1942). In support of this, the Friends Service Council had been training over 1,000 Quakers for '*Christian Leadership showing valour, understanding and devotion*' for acts of service in a post-war world (Witney

Quakers 1942d). These urgings continued, and are exemplified by the minutes of the Oxford and Witney area meeting in 1945: *'as Friends we must learn to work as part of the whole Christian church while giving what is valuable in our distinctive light on Christianity'* (Witney Quakers 1945). It is clear that Oxford Quakers saw the OCFR as a channel for these ideas of reconstruction: Robert Castle, a part-time organiser for the OCFR and a member of the Oxford Quaker group, presented the OCFR's work to the Witney area meeting in October 1946, affirming that it was *'an opportunity afforded of giving our message of pacifism and love of neighbour without frontiers of race, politics, class or creed'* (Witney Quakers 1946). In this, he affirmed the secondary role adduced in the previous section: that the committee was being used as a demonstration project for the promotion of Quaker values.

b. Resource Mobilisation

i. Mobilising Structures: Personnel

It was noted on Chapter Two, Section 4cii of this thesis that mobilising structures can be *'informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 3) and Section 2b of this Chapter introduced the concept of *'structural proximity'* as a strong predictor of recruitment to a movement (McAdam 1999: ix-xiii).

An earlier section presented evidence that structural proximity was the primary means of recruiting members to the nascent committee in 1942 as they were drawn from the local religious networks of Henry Gillett and Canon Milford. This section will show that while the OCFR continued to rely upon religious networks for the recruitment of staff and volunteers as it expanded, these networks extended much further than the known and familiar faces of religious friends and contemporaries within Oxford. They were the anonymous, unknown members of the same or similar faith groups nationwide. The preponderance of Quakers in the early years of the OCFR is not in itself remarkable as the OCFR was initiated by the local Quaker groups in Oxford and would have naturally drawn on these local networks and friendship groups for volunteers and staff. For example, their first employee, Robert Castle was a member of the Oxford Quaker meeting, and he was joined in 1947 by another Oxford Quaker, Frank Buckingham (Black 1992). However, what is significant, is that the OCFR sought out Quakers for later appointments, often recruiting from much further afield,

demonstrating an intention to reinforce the organisational culture, which this thesis contends was to ensure a continued commitment to the Quaker ideals for a post-war world.

This strategy is seen by their appointment of H Lesley Kirkley, a Quaker from Leeds, to lead the organisation through a time of anticipated expansion (Oxfam 1951a; Jones 1965:33). Appointed in 1951, he remained in post for 24 years, ensuring the shared but tacit internationalist goals would be sustained and protected. The Quaker-inspired aims, direction and culture were further reinforced by the appointment of Quakers to the most senior and influential roles in the organisation: Harold Sumption, an advertising professional, began to oversee publicity and fundraising in 1951; Francis Jude, worked as Assistant to Lesley Kirkley (Oxfam 1957); and Rodney Ogley was recruited to assist the Regional Organiser, who was himself a practising Christian, in 1953. Bernard Llewellyn was appointed to the new post of Grants and Information Officer in 1958, and Gordon Rudlin was also appointed as Financial Officer. Other Quakers also joined the committee as trustees in the 1950s: these included Professor Dobinson, an academic (Oxfam 1950b); and Michael Rowntree, Manager of the Oxford Times, who joined in 1952 and went on to become Chair of Trustees in the 1970s (Black 1992). As Quakers represented only 0.049% of the adult population in the UK in the early 1950s, it is clear that the appointment of Quakers to such a large number of senior and influential roles was a deliberate strategy to preserve the Quaker ethos which enabled them to continue promoting their internationalist aims. During this period the chairmanship of the OCFR remained in the hands of clergymen who, in addition to being at the vanguard of Anglican political and social activism, were highly sympathetic to, and supportive of, Quaker faith and practice. This is exemplified by Rev Canon Milford, the founding Chair, who handed over to Rev Moxley in 1948 but took up the chair again in 1960 (Milford 1963). The Christian influence was consolidated further in 1950 when the committee agreed to extend membership to '*representatives of other free churches*' and consequently ministers from three different denominations, Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian were invited to join them (Oxfam 1950b). By 1958 all of the senior managers and outward-facing staff plus two-thirds of the committee members were practising Christians, and among the senior staff, Quakers were by far the most represented group. An analysis of Oxfam's minutes shows that for the first

16 years the percentage of people with an active religious faith attending committee meetings rarely dropped below 67% and was frequently 85% or higher. This dropped slightly in the late 1950s when a conscious effort was made to '*extend their influence and interest*' and to ensure that the committee was fully representative of '*the religious, university and business life of Oxford*' (Oxfam 1956a). Therefore, it was agreed that 60% of the committee should live in Oxford or the immediate vicinity (Black 1992). Nevertheless, in 1958 when the committee registered as a company, of the 25 names listed in the Constitution, eight were Quakers, and a further seven had a known Christian commitment. There were ten more where religious affiliation is not known, giving a minimum of 60% practising Christian on the principal policy-making body in 1958 (Oxfam 1958e).

The utilisation of national religious networks for the recruitment of personnel extends the definition of '*structural proximity*' used by McAdam (1988) as the proximity drawn upon by the OCFR concerns religious affiliation, belief and practice rather than geographical closeness or even prior relationship or network ties. The '*collective vehicles*' referred to at the beginning of this section as mobilising structures, usually refers to a prior relationship or connection with others (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:3). For example, McCarthy (1996) speaks of a '*wide variety of social sites within people's daily rounds*' where connections facilitate mobilising (McCarthy 1996: 143), and McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) speak of the '*informal associational networks*' from which movements often emerge (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:13). In asserting that a group of actors need to be '*sufficiently well organised to act on [a] shared definition of the situation*' (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:8) they again assume a prior relationship between the parties concerned. But the evidence presented by this thesis is that when the OCFR expanded its reach to recruit from a national domain, it drew on those with similar faith positions, usually Quaker, demonstrating that the connection with people of a shared faith position was more important than connections with other potential recruits that the members may have known locally.

ii. Distribution of Resources

The OCFR continued its practice of utilising religious networks, for example, Christian mission organisations, for the distribution of material resources such

as clothing and finance. The OCFR chose the Friends Relief Service as a recipient and distributor for clothing received from appeals (FRC 1945b), and Michael Rowntree, a Quaker and Trustee, arranged free transport to London for the clothing via his family's confectionary business (Black 1992: 30, 31). Faith-based organisations known to the committee members received 80% of the funds raised: these were, for example, the Friends Service Council; the Salvation Army; and the Church Missionary Society. The remaining funds were distributed to organisations such as the Greek Red Cross (Oxfam 1949a). During the 1950s, many long-term distribution relationships were established as the geographic spread of recipients broadened. The OCFR began supporting emergency relief work and refugees in China, Hong Kong, Korea, India and South Vietnam, extending to a total of 27 countries by 1957 (Oxfam 1951a; Oxfam 1951d; Oxfam 1952a; Oxfam 1952b; Oxfam 1957). The continuing expansion necessitated a new grants sub-committee (Oxfam 1955) which would consider recommendations by a Grants and Information Officer, Bernard Llewelyn (Oxfam 1958a) who, as noted earlier, was a Quaker. Up to this time, there had been no specific criteria for grants and decisions were made on a case by case basis (Black 1992:73). However, Llewelyn, an economist with a background in overseas relief, began to challenge this unstructured approach, requiring potential recipients to submit project proposals to demonstrate how they would make a difference (Black 1992:59, 60, 74). Nevertheless, under this revised system, Oxfam continued to disseminate its resources through Christian missions or religious societies such as Inter-church Aid and the World Council of Churches (Oxfam 1958c), believing they were best placed to meet their principles of working where the need was greatest, where committee members or could visit to monitor the expenditure (Black 1992: 38) and could be trusted to ensure the resources were put to '*the best possible use*' (Oxfam 1962). In later years, this approach was explained by reflecting that Christian agencies overseas were frequently '*the only game in town*' (Goyder 2012). To summarise this situation, for the ten year period to 1958, over 80% of funds received were distributed via religious organisations (Oxfam 1951a; Oxfam 1951d; Oxfam 1952a; Oxfam 1952b).

iii. Generation of Resources

The OCFR took steps to develop a national profile and presence through newspaper advertisements, appeals via the BBC (Oxfam 1950a; Oxfam 1950b; Kirkley 1963) and through the appointment of a Regional Organiser in 1952 to develop local appeals in other parts of the country. The appointee was an evangelical Anglican, Frank Carter, who created and mobilised local groups in other towns and cities to mirror the fundraising activities of the OCFR in Oxford (Oxfam 1952a; Black 1992: 50). He was joined in 1953 by Roderick Ogilvy, a Quaker (Oxfam 1953a). It is noteworthy that it was only in the generation of material resources that the OCFR reached out beyond its religious networks to the general public. This broader reach contrasts with their practice of using religious networks for the recruitment of personnel and distribution of resources. There are two reasons for this difference: first, this enabled them to maximise their income as they had a much wider target audience; but it also supported their secondary aim of challenging the nationalistic perspective of the public at large, and so they needed to ensure they were reaching and influencing the general public and not just their own religious circles.

c. Aims and Repertoires: Changing Priorities of the OCFR

This section will describe and assess how the explicit aims, and the means to achieve these aims, evolved in the relative stability of the post-war years, while their secondary aim of promoting internationalism remained firm.

In 1948 the OCFR reflected that its current activities of clothing appeals and fundraising were very different from its original remit and began to consider whether it should close or affirm this new direction of relief work and develop '*into a wider organisation*' (Oxfam 1948c; Oxfam 1948d). Two of the people involved at the time, Cecil Jackson-Cole and Leslie Swain, credit the underlying faith of its members as key to the decision to continue (Jackson-Cole and Swain 1963).

Another perspective is provided by Black (1992) who credits Cecil Jackson-Cole as being a major factor in its continuation as she notes he used the OCFR to test his beliefs that a charity could and should be run along business lines: This included using his own finance to underwrite experimental advertising, and seconding staff from his commercial businesses to work in the OCFR (Black 1992: 32-34). His financial backing provided reassurance to the OCFR regarding untried expenditure but does not explain why they would want to continue after the war when the

reason for its existence had been to lobby the government and provide food relief to occupied Europe during war-time. Once again the perspective of the Quaker members of the committee, of which Jackson-Cole was one, is revealing. Believing in 'that of God' in all people, Quakers have a strong sense of commitment to suffering people regardless of which country they come from, and they were increasingly aware of the plight of refugees, first in Europe and then further afield. Therefore the prospect of continuing the work of the OCFR, but with a revised remit to care for those suffering as a result of the war was highly appealing. In parallel with this, the extension of beneficiaries for their support was a further demonstration of the need for an international society and provided additional encouragement to continue promoting their vision for internationalism. The outcome of this is that in September of that year, the minutes record a unanimous decision, not only to continue but to expand, '*...the committee, being of the opinion that this is no time to withdraw, recommend the prosecution of the present efforts with such extension in activities as from time to time may seem desirable*' (Oxfam 1948e). In March 1949 the OCFR extended its objects again, this time to incorporate a worldwide remit (Oxfam 1949) which enabled them to respond to the Arab refugee crisis, denoting the emergence of a broader vision for influence on a global scale. While throughout the 1950s they continued with clothing collections and fundraising as their primary, visible, public activity, broader aims and ambitions began to evolve as they built on this experience to develop relationships for wider influence within global fora. The relative stability of the 1950s enabled the OCFR and Kirkley to invest time in laying the foundations for this global influence which, as will be shown in the next chapter, were built on in the 1960s.

The centrality of Kirkley to this enterprise is affirmed by Jackson-Cole and Swain: '*...the full significance of [Kirkley's] appointment only became apparent over the years as the build-up of the national and international organization took place*' (Jackson Cole and Swain 1963).

i. National and International Influence

Seeing the potential of their global reach for influencing policy and practice on both national and international platforms, Kirkley began to develop links with external bodies and networks: in 1953 he joined the Standing Conference of British Organisations for Aid to Refugees (Oxfam 1953); in 1956 he began networking with agencies in Geneva (Oxfam 1956); in 1958 he joined a

consortium of British agencies to persuade the UK government to sponsor a World Refugee Year (Oxfam 1958b); and arranged for the UN High Commissioner to address a conference of the OCFR's supporters (Oxfam 1958b). By the end of 1958, the OCFR's activities, self-perception and confidence had shifted from that of a local charity with a limited range of beneficiaries in Europe to a national charity with global impact and potential. It had also begun to revisit its first ambition of political lobbying. Byrd (1960) notes that the international relief work of Quakers has '*international understanding as a factor in their reason for being*' (Byrd 1960: 56), and while this comment refers to projects run by Quaker groups, it provides a helpful context for evaluating Kirkley's motivation and objective in participating in these initiatives. While these associations may have had benefits for the explicit aims and objectives of Oxfam, they also harmonise with the Quaker commitment to influence society in the post-war world, and this thesis suggests that Kirkley utilised the experience and reputation of Oxfam to obtain representation on key national and international groups with this aim in mind.

d. Framing

i. External Framing

This thesis has presented evidence to show that the OCFR had a layered, or dual, purpose: to relieve suffering in Europe but also to use the associated communication and publicity to influence the public mind towards a more internationalist, rather than nationalistic, mindset.

It is notable that from its earliest days, Quakers were given the responsibility for crafting these messages. Initially, this was Robert Castle, but in 1949 the responsibility was passed to Harold Sumption, an advertising professional and Quaker, who remained responsible for the OCFR's external publicity for over 20 years (Black 1992: 36), thereby ensuring messages were framed in accordance with its internationalist perspective. The appointment of Sumption followed a two year period where he was writing advertising copy for them while recovering from illness. When Sumption began working for a marketing company, the OCFR agreed to spend over half of its advertising budget via his agency, in return for continued access to his expertise and advice (Black 1992: 36; Oxfam 1951b; Oxfam 1951c). Sumption continued to spearhead Oxfam's marketing and publicity for 20 years, later joining the Council and continuing to

advise them for a further 15 years through roles on various sub-committees. Through all of the broad range of fundraising activities Oxfam undertook, they assiduously utilised secular language, having found a discourse and vocabulary that resonated with the British public while remaining true to its Quaker heritage.

One of the types of framing identified by Benford and Snow (2000) is '*frame amplification*' which they identify as '*..the idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs*' (Benford and Snow 2000: 624). They contend it is '*particularly relevant*' to movements who are dependent on conscience constituents, i.e. those who are active on behalf of others and they note that '*most movements seek to amplify extant beliefs and values*' (Benford and Snow 2000: 624). However, a consistent finding in this research contradicts this, as the religious faith, values and beliefs of the core constituents, Quakers, were been minimised, cloaked and hidden from view, for strategic purposes. As this thesis has shown, the OCFR was entirely made up of those working on behalf of others, and therefore according to Benford and Snow, would be expected not only to draw from their faith but also to amplify and utilise it in support of their arguments. But they did not. This thesis, therefore, recommends that existing theory should be adapted to accommodate this muting of a religious voice and masking of the religious background of the participants.

ii. **Internal Framing: Collective Consciousness**

An earlier section presented evidence that the collective consciousness of the early OCFR drew deeply from Quaker life and practice and this collective consciousness was consolidated and strengthened in the 1950s, firstly by the appointment of Lesley Kirkley as General Secretary in 1951 and then by other appointments to senior positions. Kirkley soon gained a reputation for reflecting Quaker values, for example, he was known to prefer '*... to discern a way forward rather than force an issue*' (Quakers in Action 2014a) and this strengthened an unusually democratic and consultative organisational culture, which continued well beyond his 24-year incumbency (Black 1992; Norton 2012; Rahman 1998). Rahman (1998) notes that the process of policy formulation under Kirkley '*emphasised the participation of individual members*' and that the '*strong informal participation of Oxfam's members ..*' had '*become confirmed as a*

central part of its identity'(Rahman 1988: 107). Although Rahman does not identify this as a Quaker trait, he acknowledges that under Kirkley, this *'consensual method of creating and ascribing intersubjective meaning had become established as a core aspect both of Oxfam's identity and practice'* (Rahman 1998:107).

The intersubjective practices of the OCFR deepened with further appointments of Quaker personnel to key roles which extended the Quaker-inspired culture from the periodic meetings of the OCFR to the day-to-day work of the staff team. These appointments ensured it continued to frame its work in terms of humanitarian neutrality and that the underlying Quaker ethos remained a key factor and influence in everyday life. As they continued to recruit members to its core group, the 'collective consciousness' was able to absorb and socialise new personnel, volunteers, staff, and committee members into its way of operating and behaving. Kirkley's appointment was key to this process, and was not made by happenstance: the OCFR looked for someone to take the work forward and to maximise the opportunities they perceived for the organisation. As a Quaker, he was equally committed to their original aims and objectives, especially that of promoting a new internationalism. He was ideally suited, not only to slot into their organisational culture but also to protect and expand it.

5. Summary and Conclusion

The previous section examined the development of Oxfam in the post-war years and assessed its activities and decisions in the context of the changing political, social and religious environment of the time. This section will first summarise the findings of the research as it relates directly to Oxfam, followed by a consideration of any implications for social movement theory and recommendations regarding scholarship generally.

a. Findings: Oxfam in the Post-War Years

The first finding of this period in Oxfam's history is an answer to the question of why the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief continued to operate after the end of the war when over 200 other town-wide FRCs did not. The decision was a combination of two different streams of thought which both saw the value of the OCFR as a vehicle for experimental activities. One was the Quaker-inspired demonstration project which promoted a new vision of internationalism while raising resources to alleviate immediate suffering. The other was an opportunity to assess the potential of modern business methods to maximise the resources of a charity. Both were

needed for the organisation to continue: without a vision for what the organisation could achieve, it would have closed; but without the financial backing of Jackson-Cole, it would not have been able to evaluate the new activities. The financial investment in the OCFR by Jackson-Cole was successful and enabled it to expand its network of fundraising activities and clothing collections on a nationwide basis. The increase in resources gathered led to a significant expansion of its distribution arrangements, which continued to be the pre-existing networks of the committee members which were predominantly religious or missionary organisations. This network formed the basis for its resource distribution for over 30 years.

The expansion also caused them to review their organisational structure and staffing, which leads to a third finding: as they began to expand their staffing complement, they took steps to ensure a continued and ongoing commitment to the Quaker-inspired programme of activities for a post-war world by consolidating the Quaker ethos of the organisation by appointing Quakers to key outward-facing, publicity and decision-making roles, and this practice continued for over 20 years. Two appointments were significant: first was the appointment of Harold Sumption in 1949 to head up their publicity and advertising, and secondly, the selection of Lesley Kirkley in 1951 as Director. Sumption's appointment ensured that external messages were consistent with Quaker values; and Kirkley's ensured that the Quaker aims, values and culture would be protected, strengthened and expanded within the organisation's culture, which leads to the final finding.

As the OCFR became more established in the UK, it began laying the groundwork for a demarche into global influence, demonstrated by Kirkley's investment of time in a number of different committees and alliances. Membership of these groups would have been a natural extension of activities for an organisation with the OCFR's growing reputation, but it was also commensurate with the Quaker commitment to influence foreign policy, as they had '*international understanding as a factor in their reason for being*' (Byrd 1960: 56). As the OCFR was already committed to promoting the notion of internationalism in the UK, these new relationships opened the door to begin influencing on a global stage.

By the end of the 1950s, the OCFR had consolidated its commitment to meeting the needs of those suffering overseas and had established business-like methods and internal systems to support this work, which gave it the confidence needed to expand its horizons to a global stage. Additionally, the reins of the organisation,

which included its direction, strategy, internal culture and key decision makers, as well as its external communications, were in the hands of, and therefore safeguarded by, a team of people with Quaker faith. Alongside this, the OCFR distributed its resource via a network of organisations of which 80% were religiously based. Nevertheless, the organisation continued to publicise its work using non-religious language.

b. Implications for Social Movement Theory

i. Political Opportunity

The Quaker view that influencing public opinion could have a more direct impact on foreign affairs (Byrd 1960: 192) led to their seeking various opportunities to influence the public. Evidence of how this applied to the establishment of the OCFR was discovered through the minutes of meetings but also through various newsletters and circulars sent through religious communication channels.

This period in the history of the OCFR saw a dramatic rise in response-driven advertising and direct mail where messages began to be crafted by media professionals and were highly targeted, often emotive and geared towards a specific response. The methods initially focussed on direct mail, the circulation of charity magazines to supporters or newsletters to local groups. By their nature, these latter methods bypass more traditional media, i.e. newspapers, TV and radio and are not readily accessible to researchers when they are considering the social and political context or extant public opinion of interest to a movement. This problem is compounded when considering religious organisations as there may be even more channels to consider, such as denominational networks, religious media, religious conferences and non-denominational ginger groups.

This thesis has already recommended that when considering the political opportunity in social movement analysis, it would be advisable for scholars to take steps to understand the religious context and the perspective of any religious actors that may be participating. Further, it now also recommends that efforts be made to obtain and review publicity materials and newsletters to increase understanding of the religious context and to determine whether or how religion is present or influential.

ii. Resource Mobilisation

The most natural and effective recruiting ground for a movement is typically understood to be those already known to its members, and earlier in this Chapter, the notion of '*structural proximity*' was used to describe the nature of these relationships. McCarthy (1996) discusses the kinds of places that they may be found, all of which involve some measure of prior connection, for example, unions, churches, neighbourhoods or activist networks (McCarthy 1996: 143).

This thesis has presented evidence that people within the same faith community, even if they haven't previously met, may also be assumed to have shared expectations of how that faith should be outworked. These communities, therefore, provide a fertile recruiting ground for additional volunteers and staff members as they instinctively understand and share the objectives of the organisation and its ethos and preferred methodology. This thesis, therefore, recommends that the concept of '*structural proximity*' be extended to include those belonging to the same expression of faith, even if they have never met before. When this extended view of structural proximity is considered alongside the recommendation in the previous section, regarding publicity and alternative communicate channels, it becomes clear that the task of a researcher evaluating mobilisation processes where religious actors are involved is even more challenging as neither the domain of potential recruits nor the networks or channels connecting them are '*readily observable*'. This, therefore, calls for a broader understanding and definition of religious literacy, requiring more than mere knowledge of beliefs and rituals as it needs insider knowledge of the day-to-day practices and communication channels of the religious expression.

iii. Aims and Repertoires

This thesis has presented evidence that Kirkley invested time and energy in the post-war period in developing links with a number of external bodies, both national and international.

These activities are to be expected, as Florini and Simmons (2000) assert that '*human activity is less constrained than ever by national borders*' and that NGOs and coalitions are '*inserting themselves*' into decision-making processes (Florini and Simmons 2000:3) which are increasingly hosted in new arenas that are

changing the international political landscape (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002: 4).

But this thesis has also presented evidence that indicates the strategic intention to influence on a global scale was commensurate with the Quaker commitment to promoting international understanding. Previous accounts of the history of Oxfam have not fully understood its religious foundation, and so this religious influence for global expansion has been underestimated if not missed altogether.

Therefore this thesis recommends applying a process of reverse engineering or deconstruction when religious actors are involved in alliances and joint ventures, to ascertain whether religion or religiously inspired aims are a factor in the decision to pursue membership in such bodies.

iv. Framing

The muting of a religious voice continued to be of interest to this thesis, as it was the only area within the theoretical framework where religion was not evident. While the initial reasons for this practice within the OCFR were discussed in an earlier section, this muting was also an increasing trend in wider ecumenical, as opposed to evangelical, circles, in the 1950s. During the 1950s, there was a trend for Christian agencies who were affiliated to the World Council of Churches (WCC) to consider social welfare activities purely on the basis of a Christian responsibility to care for the poor, but without any concomitant or felt need to publicise this as being faith-based as they considered it was the outcome that mattered, not the motivation. Not only did they feel that a Christian 'label' for their efforts was not necessary there were concerns that it may have been counterproductive (Hunt 2011). Therefore any outcomes for which they and their work were responsible were not accredited as being derived from, or connected to, religion. This thesis contends that this contributed to a significant underestimation of the impact of religion in the post-war era and lent credence to the notion, closely associated with secularisation theory, that religion would become less influential in public life. This reinforces the earlier recommendation of this thesis that deliberate, intentional steps should be taken by scholars to ascertain whether there is a religious influence within a movement and if so, what impact it has.

c. Implications for Scholarship

One of the implications of the muting of a religious voice is that it appears to affirm the basic tenets of secularisation theory: that religion was no longer present or relevant in public life. However, there is an inherent problem with this logic: if there is no expectation of finding religion, then there is no longer any need to know anything about it. A consequence of this is that it is wrongly assumed that religion is now confined to personal beliefs and rituals, but this leads to an associated 'blind spot' regarding the effect of religion on the decisions and day to day lives of religious adherents.

One of the drawbacks of the differentiation and privatisation aspects of secularisation theory is the failure to recognise that the faith of many religious people impels them to apply it to their day to day lives: they do not have a concept of personal piety that can be practised without reference to the world around them. Their view of the Christian faith is that it should have transformation of some kind as a central characteristic. But the trends in the ecumenical world, fused with the practice of organisations like the OCFR, who had other, pragmatic reasons to veil their faith connections, led to a situation where many faith organisations did not openly speak of their religious roots. This led to a circular, reinforcing argument that faith wasn't present, so wasn't relevant, so wasn't present. The evidence presented by this thesis would suggest that religion was present more than had been previously assumed.

Therefore this thesis recommends that scholars no longer assume that religion is not present just because religious rhetoric or language is not used in an organisation's publicity and communications. Instead, this thesis recommends that scholars ensure a sufficient level of religious literacy to enable the presence of religion or religious influence to be determined even in the absence of religious discourse.

Part Two: Presentation of Data and Analysis

Chapter Four: World Vision: Beginnings and Early Years

1. Introduction

Most accounts of the beginning of World Vision are chronological narratives which emphasise the role of its founder, Rev Dr Bob Pierce and focus on his encounter with poverty in China and Korea, which caused him to fundraise in America to support the work of Christian missionaries in those countries. In contrast with these accounts, this thesis will place World Vision's genesis and growth into a broader political framework by taking account of the prevailing societal, political and religious context, as it will be shown that these factors were instrumental not only in the emergence of World Vision but also to its identity and praxis and ultimately its internationalisation and international political influence.

This thesis will present evidence to show how religion interacted with other factors to shape World Vision and will, therefore, provide a parallel analysis with the scrutiny of Oxfam's origins in Chapter Three of this thesis, again following Berger's (1974) advice that the impact of religion needs to be understood '*from within*' (Berger 1974:129). Therefore this account uses primary sources, i.e. documents in the World Vision archive and interviews with former senior staff, to provide understanding and insight concerning the decisions taken within World Vision. This led to an exploration of contemporaneous shifts in evangelical theology, and so the work of evangelical scholars in missiology augmented the account further, providing a deeper understanding of the context and influence of religion not only within World Vision but also to its influence on evangelicalism. In doing so, this account does not just comment as an outsider on how religion and religious people have influenced the organisation but aims to create an 'insider perspective' to engender a greater understanding of the reasons behind its actions.

It will be shown that World Vision intentionally used its experience and praxis to challenge entrenched evangelical thinking concerning social and political activism and worked in a symbiotic manner alongside neo-evangelical leaders and scholars to craft a new reputation and public role for evangelicalism, especially among the political class, firstly in America but ultimately on a global stage.

2. The Emergence of World Vision

a. Political Opportunity Structure

The changing culture and worldview of evangelical Christianity in the post-war years is foundational to understanding the role of religion in the formation and development of World Vision, but that culture itself was influenced and fashioned by the broader political and social context of the time. Therefore, this will be explored first, followed by a review of the religious context in general. The aspects that were pertinent to evangelicalism will be then be considered and finally, the process of how these elements fused together, ultimately giving rise to World Vision, will be explored.

i. Social and Political Context

Post-war America enjoyed a time of technological advance, expansion of higher education, rising affluence and consumer confidence (Wuthnow 1988). It was a time of increasing membership of social organisations, leisure clubs, labour unions and neighbourhood committees leading to a profoundly associational culture. Participation in civic life and political engagement were higher than ever before, and Putnam (2000) refers to American communities as having '*an impressive organizational vitality at the grassroots level*' (Putnam 2000: 48). Since the war, the public was more aware of and interested in world affairs with news coverage of international matters increasing in both the mainstream and religious press (Wuthnow 1988: 41) reflecting an awareness of America's greater role in world politics.

The American politician, John Foster Dulles, articulated his view of America's global role in a speech in 1945: '*The United States ought to take a lead*' as it was '*the only great nation whose people have not been drained, physically and spiritually. It devolves upon us to give leadership in restoring principle as a guide to conduct*' (Wuthnow 1988: 38). But the prevailing public mood was not one of 'untrammelled optimism' as the new sense of American power was accompanied by '*bewilderment and confusion*' about how that power should be used (Wuthnow 1988: 43,42). It was also the early days of the Cold War when American hegemony was just beginning, and the American public was increasingly alarmed by what they understood as the inexorable advance of communism. In his inaugural address in 1949, President Truman also positioned America as the lead player in a process which would help solve the problems of

poverty and underdevelopment around the globe. He contrasted the '*false philosophy*' of communism with the benefits of democracy, and the picture he painted of communism was so stark, it led his audience to see it not only as a threat to their domestic way of life but also potentially leading to war:

'Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence. Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change. Communism holds that the world is so widely divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable. Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain a lasting peace' (Truman 1949).

ii. Religious Climate: General

The post-war period saw a rise in both church attendance and membership which paralleled the increasingly associational culture in America at the time. There was optimism regarding religion and shared assumptions about it deeply embedded in the cultural fabric of American life which helped to affirm and reinforce a notion of traditional American values (Wuthnow 1988: 15, 35). During this time, religious faith has been described as widespread but thinly spread: as being more a superficial '*vogue*' than a '*deep commitment*', but nevertheless helped provide Americans with a sense of identity (Wuthnow 1988: 17, 71). There was also a common understanding that America's stature in the world was due to its religious heritage, and so it was felt this needed to be upheld (Wuthnow 1988: 42). Alongside rising church attendance, clergy looked to, and drew encouragement from, the heritage of their past and began to revisit plans and programmes for expansion that had been on hold due to the Depression and then the war. This led to a church building boom and an increasing number of people trained for full-time Christian ministry (Wuthnow 1988: 14, 30) which was matched by an expansion of recruits to missionary organisations: in 1952 there were 18,000 missionaries working overseas, and by 1960 this had increased to 29,000. Wuthnow (1988) asserts that the mood within religious organisations was one that combined elements of both '*promise and peril*': optimism for the future but mixed with fears of communism (Wuthnow 1988:35-53).

iii. Religious Climate: Evangelicalism

In parallel with these generic religious influences, there were significant developments within evangelicalism which were outlined in Chapter One. It

should be noted that World Vision emerged from an evangelical expression of Christianity, and therefore these factors are pertinent to the considerations in this Chapter.

iv. Religious Background: Post-War Interest in World Evangelisation

The terms 'evangelism', 'mission', and 'evangelisation' are often used interchangeably within a religious community where the meaning of the terms will be mutually understood and unambiguous. But in a broader setting, the terms may have different meanings, leading to misunderstanding. For example, Bosch (1991) who has written extensively on the topic of Christian mission, identifies 12 different ways the term is used and notes that the terms are not synonymous but are *'nevertheless, indissolubly linked together and inextricably interwoven in theology and praxis'* (Bosch 1991:421). Therefore this section will begin with a brief description of how some key terms will be used in this thesis.

For evangelicals of all kinds and in all eras, the term 'evangelism' has been synonymous with a verbal articulation of the gospel with the aim of seeking converts to the Christian faith (Tizon 2008). This may be through preaching at large meetings or through one to one conversations, often referred to as 'personal witnessing'. By the 1960s, 'evangelisation' was a term increasingly used by evangelicals to describe a broad range of Christian service activities as they believed that all Christian service should incorporate elements of evangelism. For fundamentalists, evangelism and evangelisation were synonymous as they rejected any notion of social welfare or political activism, but for neo-evangelicals, evangelisation was a broader concept that incorporated both evangelism and social welfare. For more mainline Protestants and many Catholics, evangelisation and mission were synonymous as they both denoted an outworking of the faith but may not have included a verbal articulation as a component. Therefore the different understandings of the term 'evangelisation' are significant. The term 'world evangelisation' draws from a passage in chapter 28 of the Gospel of Matthew in the New Testament of the Bible where Jesus instructed his disciples to *'go into all the world and make disciples'* and from the book of Acts Chapter One where Jesus stated: *'...and you shall be My witnesses.... even to the remotest part of the earth.'* The primacy of scripture for evangelicals means that these injunctions from the New Testament created an immutable commitment to world evangelisation, which for many in

the first half of the twentieth century, was synonymous with travelling overseas to seek converts to Christianity. In the post-war era, many evangelicals, returning from service in the forces overseas, brought with them a greater awareness of other cultures which led to an increased interest in overseas Christian missions and a higher number of people wanting to train for church leadership and Christian ministry. Subsequently, during the 1940s, 60 new Bible Colleges were established, and dozens of new para-church organisations sprang up, many of which were overseas missionary organisations with a commitment to world evangelisation (Wuthnow 1988; Wuthnow 2009; Putnam and Campbell 2010; Engstrom 1999).

v. American Civil Religion: a Fusion of the Political and Religious

The context as outlined above provided political leaders with a template on which to weave together a strategy for uniting the country behind action against a perceived communist threat: a conflation of traditional American values and Christian faith. Truman's inaugural address, as noted above, affirmed the concept of American exceptionalism, but his speech went on to mesh together American values, democracy, and Christian faith. The central themes were: America's leadership in securing the world's freedom; development; and the necessity of overcoming communism which was expounded in the context of religious faith: '*.. the faith which has inspired this Nation from the beginning ...[and that] from this faith we will not be moved*' ... and a promise at the end of the address: '*Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we will advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure* (Truman, 1949). This was not the first time that Truman had drawn a parallel between Christian faith and American values. Three years earlier, in an address to the Federal Council of Churches, broadcast on national radio, he called for:

'a moral and spiritual awakening in the individual and the 'councils of the world' without which he claimed: 'we are lost'. He continued: 'There is no problem on this earth tough enough to withstand the flame of a genuine renewal of religious faith. And some of the problems of today will yield to nothing less than that kind of revival. If men and nations would but live by the precepts of the ancient prophets and the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, problems which now seem so difficult would soon disappear... that is the great task for you teachers of religious faith. This is a supreme opportunity for the Church to continue to

fulfil its mission on earth. The Protestant Church, the Catholic Church, and the Jewish Synagogue-bound together in the American unity of brotherhood--must provide the shock forces to accomplish this moral and spiritual awakening. No other agency can do it. Unless it is done, we are headed for the disaster we would deserve' (Truman, 1946). This style of rhetoric wasn't restricted to Truman: General MacArthur had urged Christian leaders to send *'ten thousand missionaries'* to Japan in order to *'provide the surest foundation for the firm establishment of democracy'* (Engstrom, 1999).

Earlier in this thesis, in Chapter One, Section 4ci, the importance of perceiving a favourable political context was noted as usually being a trigger for a movement to emerge. In this context, the American government had made clear, not just a willingness for religious organisations to speak up and take action to prevent the spread of communism, but had declared their hope that this would take place. Religious leaders had already been condemning communism as a *'godless'*, describing it as *'an atheistic force bent on destroying America and its churches'* and so were encouraged to continue raising the spectre of this *'impending peril'* (Wuthnow 1988:52,49). Religious leaders not only urged the nation to be ready to wage *'holy war'* to keep communism at bay but also to remain vigilant *'against this rising danger'* (Wuthnow 1988: 41). The response of fundamentalists was to continue focussing on the verbal proclamation of the gospel, in the belief that conversion to Christ was the only way to counter communism. Emphasis was placed on the spiritual renewal of individuals as it was believed this was how society would be improved, and that the church's role in influencing society was to influence individuals (Wuthnow 1988: 55; 64-67).

But despite this favourable atmosphere towards religious groups in the post-war world, fundamentalist evangelicals were firm in their determination to remain separate from public life, working within their own specially created networks of institutions: schools, universities, publishing houses and other media outlets (King 2013; Lindsay 2007). As such, they appeared to exemplify the assertions of secularisation theory that religion would become a separate differentiated grouping within society with little if any, influence on social or political life. But this was not a function of modernisation; it was a position that emerged as an outcome of their own doctrine and choosing, with the intention of making a

distinction between themselves and liberal Protestants whom they considered apostate.

But the cohort of neo-evangelicals who were beginning to emerge, partly in response to the favourable political opportunity structure, began to challenge the very essence of fundamentalist evangelical thinking and lifestyles.

b. Resource Mobilisation Structures

It was noted in Chapter Three, that mobilising structures are defined as *'those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:3) and it is through such structures that movements recruit members, obtain financial resources and communicate with their own members and with wider society and political elites. For over 200 years, evangelicals serving as missionaries overseas or in full-time evangelistic roles domestically had raised their own financial support. They would be expected to recruit and retain a wide range of individual and church supporters by undertaking speaking engagements, letter writing and developing personal contacts. Supporters would either make a single donation or commit to regular monthly financial support, usually sent via a mission society. Supporters would also be expected to pray for the missionary and would receive updates for this purpose by means of a regular newsletter. This practice, combined with the rapid growth of mission agencies led to numerous overlapping networks of evangelicals, comprising both individuals and churches.

i. The Emergence of World Vision

One of the new para-church organisations that emerged in this era was 'Youth for Christ' (YfC), formed in 1944 with a focus on meeting the spiritual needs of young people around the world (Chester 1993) and they followed the practice outlined above, where workers were expected to generate their own financial support. One of their most well-known preachers was a young man named Bob Pierce who had worked as a youth pastor and itinerant preacher since 1937. In the mid-1940s he began working with YfC where he was expected to carry out fundraising activities in addition to organising and preaching at large rallies for young people. In 1946, he was appointed as VP-at-Large and so regularly travelled across the country to speak on behalf of YfC at large rallies and gatherings. Through these activities and travels, he had become a well-known and respected figure in evangelical circles and had developed a nationwide

network of individual and church supporters both for YfC and for his own ministry.

It was noted in the previous section that religious organisations shared the concerns of the American government regarding the threat of communism and so targeted countries at risk with programmes of evangelistic activities as a means of countering this threat. Consequently, in 1947, YfC agreed to hold a series of evangelistic campaigns in China and sent Pierce to tour China for four months to preach at evangelistic rallies. In the course of his travels, Pierce encountered extreme poverty for the first time and met many missionaries who were struggling financially as they cared for increasing numbers of orphaned children. While his letters home spoke animatedly of the response to his evangelistic preaching, claiming many hundreds, even thousands, became Christians. As a result, he was *'shocked and outraged that the extreme suffering and spiritual darkness he had seen could go unchallenged'* (Pierce Dunker 2005: 77, 85). He, therefore, began to record his experiences on film to help him raise funds from his supporters in America for the work he had seen. When he first returned from China, he continued to visit his support networks but extended his appeals to raise funds for the needs he had seen. By first going to his existing supporters, where he and YfC had built a reputation for evangelical orthodoxy, Pierce created a solid base from which to generate funds which was not only an expeditious means of recruiting support but also conferred much needed legitimacy on these endeavours which were, as was shown previously, disapproved of by fundamentalist Christians. These fundraising efforts were very successful, and while the handling of these monies was originally carried out under the auspices of YfC, it became clear that a new, separate organisation would be needed. Consequently, in 1950, a separate office was opened and World Vision was incorporated as an independent NGO with a remit to: *'care for the fatherless and widows, to help the poor and starving, to care for the sick and to seek to present the gospel of Jesus Christ'* (Irvine 1996: 261; Pierce Dunker 2005). Therefore the emergence of World Vision was more than the spontaneous response of Pierce to encounters with poverty: it was the result of several overlapping factors, which were all needed for the organisation to emerge: firstly, the dread of communism that had been nurtured by both the government and religious leaders provided the backdrop for the ensuing activities. Secondly, evangelicals like Pierce and his supporters from YfC, who

believed that only religious conversion could stem this tide, were energised to engage in programmes of evangelistic activity in countries believed to be at risk of communism. Pierce not only shared but fed the public's dread of communism. Believing that "*Communism is a godless religion spawned in hell*", he asserted that only Christianity could stop it and that patriotic Americans ought to be supportive of organisations like World Vision (VanderPol 2010: 67). Thirdly, the pre-existing international evangelical networks provided YfC and Pierce with a range of contacts that not only facilitated the evangelistic preaching programme but also crucially, exposed him to extreme poverty and deprivation and to the plight of missionaries struggling to cope. Finally, the domestic networks Pierce had developed in the preceding years provided him with a rich source of potential supporters and funds for the new organisation.

ii. **Mobilising Structures: Rapid Growth of the New Organisation**

During the 1950s Pierce travelled extensively around the world, often away for over ten months of the year (Pierce Dunker 2005). His work was a mix of preaching at evangelical rallies and visits to missionaries to gather stories and information for fundraising in America. This activity led to a rapid growth in financial commitments but these were not developed as part of a planned organisational strategy, but rather were pledged '*in the heat of action*' (Irvine 1996:20), considered by Pierce as 'living by faith' as he believed that if God had given him a task he would also provide the finance for it (Gehman 1960: 173). This rapid and unplanned expansion of funding commitments created significant demands on World Vision's fundraising capacity in America, and so it began to look overseas to increase its fundraising base. In 1950 Pierce began travelling to Canada to carry out preaching engagements, and financial support also began to arrive from there. This was consolidated in 1957 by the opening of a fundraising office in Toronto. The effectiveness of utilising these pre-existing networks is illustrated by the growth in income during the first ten years: at the end of the 1950s, World Vision's turnover had risen to \$2.7 million. The effectiveness of the global networks is illustrated by there being 165 projects supported in ten countries and with 13,000 children in the sponsorship scheme (Irvine 1996).

iii. **Informal Networks: Recruitment of Staff and Trustees**

To be effective, mobilising structures need to combine with framing processes among '*homogenous people who are in intense regular contact with each other*'

(McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 9). World Vision had close ties with the NAE and Fuller Theological College, and these provided a gateway to other like-minded individuals, including political figures, for positions of trust on the World Vision board and senior staff. The board of World Vision comprised many experienced and well-known evangelicals whose contribution is not often remarked upon. For example, Dr Carlton Booth, appointed as a trustee in 1954 (Barker 2009) was Professor of Evangelism at Fuller, Cliff Barrows from the Billy Graham organisation was also part of the NAE and Dr Richard Halverson, appointed in 1956 was one of the founding members of the NAE and associated with Fuller Theological Seminary and his political connections were such that he later went on to become chaplain to the US Senate.

Evangelical beliefs underpinned World Vision's existence, and it would have been unthinkable to appoint staff or board members that did not share this ideological commitment. Whaites (1999) confirms this '*homogeneous ethos*' during the first 2-3 decades of its existence which was forged and sustained by appointing to people who were hand-picked from other evangelical organisations, where the person's evangelical credentials, as well as their work performance, were known (Irvine 1996). These organisations included special purpose groups, ginger groups, epistemic communities, publishing houses, Christian colleges, business fraternity groups and missionary societies. These longstanding networks, which also included personal affiliations, enabled World Vision to quickly develop trusted contacts on a nationwide basis. This also assisted with the generation of resources and the recruitment of staff, volunteers and influential board members.

c. Aims and Repertoires

When World Vision was established in 1950, its stated aims were '*to care for the fatherless and widows, to help the poor and starving, to care for the sick and to seek to present the gospel of Jesus Christ*' (Irvine 1996: 261; Pierce Dunker 2005) but this thrust the nascent World Vision into the midst of the ongoing debate among evangelicals about the legitimacy of social welfare activities. Therefore it developed a second *de facto* aim of challenging the entrenched thinking of American evangelical Christians about the nature of Christian mission. During its early years, these initial aims evolved into five objectives: Christian social welfare; emergency aid; evangelistic outreach; Christian leadership development (through training

indigenous pastors); and missionary challenge (Gehman 1960; Irvine 1996). This demonstrates that its role was much more than adding social welfare to evangelistic activities but also included equipping leaders and practitioners in the worldwide evangelical community with a broader understanding of Christian mission, not merely encouraging people to support it.

The next section will explore the different ways World Vision went about its work of raising funds to support the welfare activities of missionaries. This will be followed by a review of the steps it took to challenge the perspective of evangelicals who remained in the fundamentalist camp.

i. Generating Finance for Social Welfare and Overseas Missions

Pierce was the primary driver of fundraising activities, and developed several methodologies to encourage donations from his network of supporters in America: first, he toured the country himself, visiting churches and telling dramatic stories of need and presenting an appeal on behalf of orphan children. He proposed that American Christians 'adopt' an orphan by sending a regular monthly donation to help provide for their needs. This was successful leading to World Vision developing a child sponsorship scheme which remains a core income stream to the present day. Secondly, a barbershop quartet was recruited to tour the country with a 'Christian variety act' to promote the work (Pierce Dunker 2005; Irvine 1996; Rohrer 1987). Thirdly, professionally produced films that showed the poverty Pierce had encountered in China and Korea were distributed to churches around the country. In 1950, TV was in its infancy, and only 9% of American households had a TV set, and many evangelicals disapproved of going to the cinema. Therefore a World Vision film was a significant event for many Christians, and so attendance was high (Hamilton 1990). The impact of these stark and emotional films, especially on an audience unfamiliar with the medium, should not be underestimated and they were a highly effective recruitment tool for the child sponsorship programme (Pierce Dunker 2005; Rohrer 1987). Fourthly, as a prominent member of the YfC organisation, Pierce had been a regular contributor to its monthly magazine and so he began to challenge the YfC readership with graphic stories and photographs of the people he had met, contrasting comfortable American lifestyles with those of missionaries and people living in extreme poverty (VanderPol 2010: 39-40). Finally, he began a weekly radio broadcast

which developed into a missionary variety show which featured celebrity interviews, stories of missionaries and bible teaching. Carried by 130 stations nationwide, they provided opportunities for World Vision's message to reach beyond its evangelical roots but as it still drew upon the public's concern about communism, it was well received (Pierce Dunker 2005; Gehman 1960; VanderPol 2010:53).

ii. **Challenging Fundamentalist Attitudes to Social Welfare**

It was noted in an earlier section that repertoires of action are shaped by both external and internal factors (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996). The external factors are seen in the broader political and cultural context of the times, which in this case was fear about the rise of communism while still adapting to the new, expanded role of America in world politics. World Vision benefited from this political environment as it was seeking to help those most at risk from communism.

Internal forces are seen in the filters that participants use to determine both what is acceptable and what is expected of them (Tarrow 1993; Tilly 2010) and for World Vision there remained resistance from the prevailing fundamentalist attitude to social welfare which it addressed in two main ways: firstly through thematic messages in its publicity material; and secondly by its association with neo-evangelical scholars.

a. **World Vision's Publicity**

As World Vision did not want to alienate its long-held supporter base it needed to engage in what Tarrow describes as '*rendering uncertain*' the activities of others (Tarrow 2011:9). This will be explored further in the section on framing, but suffice it to say here that World Vision's fundraising publicity not only intrinsically challenged the evangelical mindset that rejected social welfare activities but over time, evolved into a parallel activity to its core work of raising funds.

Pierce was one of the most high profile evangelicals to challenge the more restricted fundamentalist framing of evangelicalism, and he used the various platforms available to him to reframe Christian mission. His viewpoint is summarised in this extract from a radio broadcast: '*Perhaps some of us who are jealous for the Word of God and for the old faith of our fathers, in our zeal to maintain our orthodoxy, have forgotten some of the*

social obligations of the gospel..... in World Vision ... We are trying to hold forth his message and at the same time be the loving heart and the extended hand that we believe Jesus taught we should be to the suffering of the earth' (Rohrer 1987:50).

b. Working Alongside Neo-evangelical Scholars

The focus that World Vision narratives traditionally place on Pierce tends to neglect, or at least minimise, the role of other actors affiliated with the organisation. Rohrer (1987) remarks that *'Official records accord [Pierce] the honor of having founded World Vision'* but asserts that more precisely *'he was the head of steam that launched and propelled the organisation that others helped to build'* (Rohrer 1987: 35). The board of World Vision comprised many experienced and well-known evangelicals whose contribution in these years is seldom remarked upon, but this omission enabled World Vision to present its early days as a triumph of David over Goliath, with Pierce as an unsophisticated preacher addressing world leaders armed only with a bible and simple faith in God.

Meanwhile, neo-evangelicals had been taking steps to develop an intellectually sound discourse for the role of evangelical faith in public life, but this had little traction with the rank and file believer. However, the solid evangelical credentials of Pierce and Youth for Christ, including reports of many hundreds and thousands of Chinese converts, enabled them to present a compelling case that *'troubled the conscience of fundamentalist believers'* (Rohrer 1987:47) and gave practical expression to the new, emerging theological perspective being put forward by neo-evangelicals. While the elite group of neo-evangelicals were crafting a new intellectual and theological understanding of evangelicalism and Christian mission, World Vision was seeking to influence the perspective of mass audiences. When viewed together, these factors show there was a symbiotic relationship between the NAE, Fuller and World Vision, who were all working in different but complementary ways to challenge the insular mindset and isolation that had caused evangelicals to withdraw from public life (Rohrer 1987).

iii. Influencing Globally: Equipping Local Leaders

One area of World Vision's work that has received little scholarly attention is its commitment to the training and equipping of local, indigenous church leaders. Beginning in 1953 and continuing for nearly 50 years, World Vision ran regular, large-scale conferences for local pastors in developing countries. Their purpose was to provide encouragement, bible teaching and other practical advice and support to church leaders who had received little if any, formal training.

The conferences began when Pierce learned that local church leaders in Korea had been tortured and murdered and that thousands of Korean believers had been killed (Pierce Dunker 2005; Irvine 1996) which created within him a deep respect for their sacrificial faith and a concern for the welfare of Korean pastors. There were as many as five or six conferences a year, attracting a minimum of 200-300 participants at each, sometimes 1,000 or more. They gradually expanded to cover a wide range of developing countries, and by the end of the 1950s, over 23,000 people had attended one. As most of the participants were from impoverished backgrounds, World Vision paid for their accommodation and food and a proportion of their travel costs to ensure no-one was excluded because of a lack of finance. During the first few years, World Vision board members were the principal speakers but did not receive any fees for their participation (Houston 2013).

World Vision's support for local church leaders and the conferences was a regular feature in its publicity. Articles extolling their value, especially their impact on world evangelisation appeared in every issue of their magazine and stories of individual pastors featured prominently, even on the cover page (World Vision 1959a, World Vision 1959b, World Vision 1959c, World Vision 1959d, World Vision 1959e). Such public affirmation of indigenous workers was quite unusual in the America of the early 1950s when notions of American exceptionalism and rising hegemony were rife. The continual endorsement of the faith, hard work and sacrifice of local pastors and workers, which inherently challenged racial stereotypes, was both unusual and bold at the time. Framed to support the cause of world evangelisation by helping '*brothers in Christ*' fulfil their calling in the Great Commission, World Vision supporters were encouraged to send financial support to enable more pastors to attend. On at least one occasion, these appeals were entitled '*Operation Brother*', which deliberately drew on the vocabulary of being part of the worldwide family of God (World

Vision 1959b, World Vision 1959e, World Vision 1972). Pierce was unusually progressive in his attitude towards indigenous pastors and workers and spoke frequently and warmly of their friendship, generosity and spirituality (Pierce Dunker 2005).

In 1958 Dr Paul Rees, who had been President of the NAE in 1953/4, was appointed to oversee the conferences, a post he held for the next 20 years, drawing on his network of neo-evangelicals as speakers and teachers at the conferences, which ensured that the more progressive understanding of evangelisation was disseminated throughout the developing world and counteracted the isolationism that had been fostered by fundamentalist Christian missions. Evangelical scholars from developing countries were strong proponents and supporters of this broader understanding of mission and became regular contributors at the pastor's conferences. Links with senior evangelicals from America were therefore created and deepened, further strengthening the transnational links between evangelical leaders.

Without an appreciation of World Vision's commitment to challenging the limited view of mission fostered by more fundamentalist Christians, it may appear that the only reason for these conferences was to accelerate the cause of world evangelisation. While this was part of the reason, they also played a significant role in helping World Vision and their neo-evangelical partners to change the mindset of evangelicals globally and subsequently, to improve their reputation and influence. They also served to enlighten prominent American evangelical leaders with a greater appreciation of the circumstances, abilities and gifts of leaders in the worldwide church.

d. Message Framing

i. External framing

In order to challenge the entrenched resistance to funding social welfare projects, World Vision needed to frame messages in terms its audience would feel comfortable with. As many were traditional, fundamentalist evangelicals, this meant using highly religious language and carefully selecting scripture verses to build a case for support. It also meant taking steps to dismantle opposition and present a compelling argument on several levels in order '*render uncertain*' the arguments of those opposed to social welfare.

The concepts of diagnostic and prognostic framing were introduced and discussed In Chapter Two, Section 4civ of this thesis, and they provide a helpful structure to analyse how World Vision began to challenge fundamentalist thinking. As the identified problem in the early years was the suffering of Korean orphans, Word Vision's diagnostic framing used stark, graphic and emotional images of children to capture the attention of the audience and to engender the same sense of outrage that Pierce himself had felt. But they also presented the cause of this suffering as primarily a spiritual problem, rooted in '*godless communism*' which corresponded with the public and political description of it.

A framing technique called '*frame amplification*' was introduced in Chapter Three, Section 4di of this thesis which is the '*embellishment*' or '*invigoration*' of the existing values and beliefs of an audience in order to strengthen resonance with the message (Benford and Snow 2000:624). It has already been noted that communism was presented as a serious threat to the American way of life, and in religious circles, it was perceived as an '*atheistic force bent on destroying America and its churches*' (Wuthnow 1988:52). Therefore frame amplification techniques can be seen in the actions of Pierce who graphically described communism as a '*godless religion spawned in hell*' (VanderPol 2010:31). When considered in these terms, the framing of the suffering as part of a spiritual battle between Christian faith and communism was a deft move to attract the audience's attention and generate support.

Having diagnosed the problem, World Vision's framing now moved to a prognostic phase which offered the audience with a means to help win the battle: the child sponsorship scheme was presented as a practical way for Christians in the West to participate as by making a monthly donation, they were able to provide not only for the physical care of an orphan but also a measure of spiritual protection against the influence of communism. But there was a second part to the prognostic phase, linked to their secondary *de facto* aim: they needed to legitimate the role of social welfare and place it firmly within the remit of evangelical activity in order to avoid a charge of having capitulated to the social gospel.

As noted in Chapter Three, frame transformation is a technique used to change a previous understanding of an issue and provides a means to understand how

this problem was tackled (Benford and Snow 2000). While Pierce had undergone a shift in his own understanding of a Christian response to the poor, he continued to believe that spiritual conversion was the key to long-term progress. While committed to releasing the '*potential of the poor*' he believed that this could only be obtained through religious conversion (VanderPol 2010 :64)), which also remained the position of the neo-evangelicals. The prognostic frame, therefore, retains at its core the essential nature of religious conversion but places this further along a continuum of activity which incorporates world evangelisation but isn't seen as equivalent to it. Using the immediate needs of the poor as a starting point, he argues for strengthening and expanding the welfare work of evangelical missionaries through the provision of financial support. In this way, he contends missionaries will be able to meet the physical and material needs of the poor. In addition to using his own reputation to bring credibility to this argument, he increased its resonance through the frequent use of scripture quotations, thereby ensuring the argument was grounded firmly in their faith. Crucially he believed that welfare activity would gain for the missionaries the 'right to be heard' on matters of eternal, spiritual significance and that once the poor had been converted, this would serve to release their potential so long-term change in their circumstances would be possible.

Finally, a frame bridging technique was used to issue a call to arms to supporters and provided the motivational framing of the message (Benford and Snow 2000). Frame bridging enables previously disparate groups to be connected by finding common ground. Pierce's primary goal was to provide his American evangelical audience with a way to connect empathetically with groups of people thousands of miles away in a different culture and radically different circumstances, which Wuthnow (2009) refers to as the problem of '*distance and difference*' (Wuthnow 2009:95). Pierce did this in two ways: first of all his messages made clear that the missionaries, local pastors and beneficiaries were members of the same Christian family, part of the 'global body of Christ' which is a biblical concept drawn from the New Testament which would have engendered a strong sense of spiritual solidarity. But the portrayal of these 'family members' was made in stark juxtaposition to the affluence and comfort of his audience: for example in one film made in China, after showing missionaries at work, Pierce turns to the camera and says: '*Think of it . . . four white haired old women serving five hundred blind children. What are you doing,*

buddy? . . . they who have so little sacrificed so much while we who have so much sacrifice so little . . . what you probably spend on food for a single day can care for a leper for a whole month' (VanderPol 2010:37). The second way the two groups were connected was by using himself as a bridge, even referring to himself in such colourful terms as *'your errand boy for Christ in Asia'* (VanderPol 2010:42). At a time when international travel was not commonplace, Pierce was able, through the child sponsorship scheme, to invite ordinary Americans into a relationship with impoverished children thousands of miles away, bridging both the problems of distance and culture.

Urgency was another factor that was thematic to these appeals. Not only did the physical needs demand a speedy response, but the expectation and fear in America were that as communism spread it would close off more countries to the gospel, therefore Christians must act while they could. Therefore, using a potent mix of Christian solidarity, guilt, urgency and fear of communism, Pierce presented a challenge to affluent Western Christians, which presented the appeal as part of their Christian and patriotic American duty. In placing himself as the bridge between two very different worlds, he provided reassurance and credibility to an unusual request. In this, he was meeting Benford's four vocabularies of motivation: severity, urgency, efficacy and propriety (Benford 1993).

ii. Internal Framing: Organisational Culture

It was shown in an earlier section that people were recruited only through evangelical networks, ensuring that all staff members and decision makers on the World Vision Board shared the same faith and worldview. In the New Testament, the followers of Jesus are referred to as being his body on earth and that each Christian has a unique but equal place in that body. For evangelicals who place the highest regard on biblical texts, this doctrine was a powerful and unifying concept especially in the context of transnational relationships. Therefore all those connected with World Vision, staff, trustees, workers in recipient countries, and church leaders attending the pastors' conferences, didn't just subscribe to similar goals, they perceived a deep mutual, and most importantly transcendent, bond connecting them: they viewed themselves collectively as fellow members of the Body of Christ on earth.

3. Summary and Conclusion

The story of World Vision's beginnings has frequently been told, but as with Oxfam's beginnings, traditional narratives can hinder an accurate understanding of all the factors that led to its emergence. This chapter has therefore bypassed the familiar narrative of World Vision's beginnings to place it into a wider socio-political context while providing an insider account. This summary will begin with findings regarding the early years of World Vision, followed by some implications for social movement theory and secularisation.

a. Findings: World Vision

i. The Context from which World Vision Emerged.

Traditional accounts of World Vision begin with Pierce and his evangelistic activities in Korea and China, but this research traces the roots of the organisation further back in the emerging post-war, anti-communist rhetoric of the American government. While the government saw communism as a threat to the American way of life, religious leaders perceived it as a threat to religious freedom at home and abroad. The shared perception of a communist threat facilitated the fundraising activities of Pierce among evangelicals as they were able to utilise frame amplification techniques to position their work as part of a spiritual battle between good and evil. Meanwhile, looking for a unifying ideology in the post-war world, American politicians drew upon prevailing religious sentiments in society to craft a notion of an American Civic religion that conflated American values, such as democracy and freedom, with the Christian faith in order to mobilise public opinion against the threat of 'godless communism'. The result was a notion of 'patriotic theism', a Christianised version of American exceptionalism which became widely accepted and was something most Americans felt comfortable identifying with even if they were not adherents of any particular religion. This thesis has presented evidence that World Vision perceived a basic compatibility between its aims and those of the government and so in addition to seeking support from its core evangelical supporters, was able to extrapolate to this version of civic religion, making connections between its work and the concerns of less religiously active people in the population, which Davie (1999) refers to as the '*differently religious*'.

ii. **World Vision's *de facto* Aim of Challenging Fundamentalist Views**

A second finding is that World Vision had a *de facto* aim operating in parallel with its stated aims, which was to change the way evangelicals understood evangelisation as when World Vision began, social welfare was not considered by fundamentalist evangelicals as an appropriate activity for an evangelical organisation. World Vision, therefore, used its publicity and fundraising as a frame extension technique to place social welfare activity alongside evangelism. Rohrer (1987) describes the impact of this as something that '*troubled the conscience of fundamentalist believers*' (Rohrer 1987:47) and consequently made a pivotal contribution to the debate in the evangelical world about how far socio-political activity was valid and acceptable.

iii. **Pastors' Conferences**

A third finding is the extent to which World Vision invested in the training and religious education of indigenous church leaders through its programme of pastors' conferences. Ostensibly supporting the cause of world evangelisation, the conferences also contributed to the *de facto* objective of World Vision which was to reverse the isolationist trend of fundamentalist overseas missions and to encourage and support social welfare activities as a part of evangelisation which would also enhance the reputation and influence of evangelicals around the world. An additional benefit of the conferences was the strengthening of the global networks of relationships between evangelical leaders in America and those in developing countries.

iv. **Global Perspective**

A fourth finding is the extent to which World Vision perceived an international community which it saw described in Scripture as the '*worldwide body of Christ*'. This concept underpinned and strengthened its internal culture as well as being a means to motivate and encourage people to support the work, framing it as helping 'brothers and sisters overseas'.

v. **Domestic Mobilisation: Recruiting Trustees and Staff and Generating other Resources**

A fifth finding is the deliberate construction of an homogenous internal culture that was neo-evangelical. When looking to recruit staff or trustees who would act as decision makers and guardians of its vision and objectives, it recruited

people from its pre-existing networks as they had the same background, worldview, understanding of faith and ultimate objectives. As those objectives incorporated the promotion of social welfare activities as an intrinsic part of world evangelisation, it would have been unthinkable to recruit people who were opposed to or even indifferent to this goal. Therefore, Word Vision created and preserved an homogeneous internal culture so that its worldview and priorities would be both established and strengthened.

vi. Target Audience

A sixth finding is that in its early years, World Vision's target audience had a much narrower focus than that of Oxfam. While Oxfam was aiming to reach and influence the general population, World Vision's efforts were primarily aimed at persuading the evangelical community.

b. Implications for Social Movement Theory

i. Political Opportunity

Religious faith was considered to be widespread but comparatively superficial (Wuthnow 1988:17) but political leaders were able to use this residual public respect for religion as a template on which to weave together a strategy for addressing the communist threat: a conflation of traditional American values and Christian faith which produced a Christianised version of American exceptionalism. The predilection of political leaders to use religious faith is itself intriguing. At a minimum, it speaks of their perception of the abiding respect for religion as a plumb-line for moral values, but it also demonstrates their belief that using religious rhetoric would help generate a consensus of support for such an important issue. This reinforces the recommendation made by this thesis in Chapter Three that the broader religious context should be considered as a separate factor within the cluster of variables that make up the political opportunity.

ii. Repertoire

The evidence presented by this thesis suggests it will be prudent to look beyond any publicly stated aims when considering the appropriateness of any actions taken. This will be to ensure that any secondary *de facto* aims are considered alongside any publicly stated ones. As discussed in a previous section, if there are indications that religious actors may be participants, it will mean ensuring

sufficient religious literacy to both perceive and fully understand the group's aims.

iii. Framing

It has been shown that World Vision used frame amplification techniques to strengthen its argument about social welfare activities in order to affirm their evangelical credentials with fundamentalist supporters.

Therefore this thesis recommends that scholars look for evidence to support an organisation's self-description of its religious commitment in order to guard against possible misunderstandings based on messages that were aimed at one particular audience.

c. Religious Literacy

The previous point also has implications for religious literacy. While it is important to look for religious influence in an ostensibly secular organisation, the reverse is also true: when considering religious organisations, it will be important to check that assumptions and expectations about religious motivation or action are supported by the evidence. It may be that in order to secure or maximise support from religious audiences, publicity may have embellished certain facts or focussed on specific areas of work at the expense of others in order to create a favourable impression with a particular audience.

d. Implications for Scholarship

It has been shown that from the beginning of the twentieth century, fundamentalists had taken steps to distinguish themselves from the more theologically liberal mainline Protestants as they believed the latter had overemphasised social and political action to such an extent that evangelism wasn't required. They, therefore, withdrew to a differentiated private place in society, developing their own network of schools, colleges, publishing houses, and media outlets (Lindsay 2007). But this thesis would stress that this position was deliberately chosen and for reasons internal to religion and independently of the processes of modernisation. These groups maintained a strong commitment to evangelism, creating para-church organisations such as YfC, from where they carried out large-scale evangelistic outreach activities which predominantly involved preaching or radio broadcasts, and later, television programming.

In the 1940s the neo-evangelicals were prescient to recognise the opportunities to influence in public life but saw that the privatised world of fundamentalism was a barrier to participation and so took steps to reverse this trend. In seeking to gain influence, they didn't begin with the general public or government, as they realised they first needed to build legitimacy and credibility for evangelicalism itself. They, therefore, began with their own 'tribe': challenging what they believed were unhelpful and unscriptural approaches to social and political life. This process kept them with one foot in the differentiated world of fundamentalism as they worked to persuade their co-religionists of this broader understanding, but they gradually developed approaches and relationships with the general public and government: first for financial support and later for political influence.

Part Two: Presentation of Data and Analysis

Chapter Five: Oxfam 1959 to 1974 - Evolving Priorities and Internationalisation

1. Introduction

By 1959 the OCFR was widely known as Oxfam although this didn't become its official name until 1965, but for convenience, the term 'Oxfam' will be used throughout this chapter.

It was shown in Chapter Three, that during the relative stability of the 1950s, Oxfam developed a portfolio of activities which, combined with the business methodology encouraged and underwritten by Cecil Jackson-Cole, gave it confidence to experiment with new forms of fundraising. The success of these initiatives enabled it to enter the 1960s with a level of financial stability that helped to strengthen its ambitions and emboldened it to expand on a global scale. The cultural and social changes of this period gave further impetus to these aspirations, leading Oxfam to begin a process of overseas expansion and internationalisation. As the latter is one of the two foci for this research, this will be considered in depth in a later section, but first, the evolving nature of Oxfam's work in this period will be considered.

2. Oxfam's Evolving Priorities

a. Political Opportunity Structure

As discussed in Chapter Two, Section 4ci in this thesis, political opportunity may be considered as a '*cluster of variables*' (Tarrow 1988) and as recommended in Chapter Three, Section 2a of this thesis, the component parts will be considered separately, including a separate section for the religious context.

i. Political Context: Emerging Opportunities in the International Environment

Shortly after the UN was established in 1945, it acknowledged that the input of NGOs could be beneficial to its deliberations and so made arrangements to confer NGOs with 'consultative status' through the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) provided they met the criteria of one of three categories. One of these was '*the development of public opinion and with the dissemination of information*' (Willets 1996: 32). While this criterion was rescinded in 1950, the value to the UN of NGOs carrying out public awareness functions remained. The

UN favoured international NGOs for consultative status and only admitted single-country NGOs if they had specific experience to offer and had the approval of their government (Willetts 1996:32). The consultative procedures were reviewed in 1968, and a provision was added that required NGOs to be financed predominantly by their membership and not by governments, and therefore required government contributions to be declared. The UN also addressed the reticence of admitting single country NGOs by saying they would be more welcome if they helped '*achieve a balanced and effective representation... of all regions*' (Willetts 1996:42).

There were also three criteria for NGOs to lose consultative status which included engaging in '*politically motivated acts*' against a UN member country (Willetts 1996:42). The benefits of consultative status to NGOs included the ability to place items on the agendas of various bodies, to submit statements and to present their experience and policy perspectives as well as receiving timely information on the progress of policy formation (Lindenberg and Bryant 2001: 187). It also conferred legitimacy on NGO workers as well as formal and informal access to UN delegates (Willetts 1996) where matters could be discussed and opinions expressed. As these activities were often not available to NGOs in their own countries' policy-making fora (Willetts 1996), consultative status was a highly valued attribute for organisations like Oxfam who wished to use its experience to influence policy.

These changes on the international stage were also beginning to affect the domestic activities of NGOs. In the wake of the establishment of the UN and its associated agencies and the 1951 Refugee Convention, NGOs began building strategic alliances on matters of common interest in order to increase their voice and influence with these bodies. This led to a number of new umbrella organisations such as the *Standing Conference of British Organisations for Aid to Refugees* (est 1951); the *International Council of Voluntary Agencies* (ICVA est 1962); and the *Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development* (VCOAD est 1965). These provided new ways for organisations like Oxfam to share its experience and exert influence.

Two other significant opportunities for influence emerged: the first was in June 1959 when the UN-backed 'World Refugee Year' (WRY) was launched which was an international initiative to focus attention on the plight of refugees; develop

plans for resettlement; and to raise funds to assist in the resettlement process (UNHCR 2013). The UK was at the forefront of the campaign and was one of the first countries to establish a national committee which comprised influential individuals who were prominent and active in public life. Many NGOs were involved, but the chair of the UK's executive committee was Sir Arthur Rucker, Oxfam's treasurer and a trustee who was simultaneously chair of the UNA's refugee fund and had previously held senior roles at both the UN and the UK government.

The second major initiative was the Freedom from Hunger (FFH) Campaign which was launched by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in the summer of 1960 and was envisaged to last five years. It aimed to build partnerships between the FAO and NGOs in order to raise awareness of the causes of hunger, as well as generate funds for identified projects that would provide long-term benefits.

ii. Political Context: UK

A number of empirical studies have shown that during the 1950s and 1960s the general public was becoming less associational with membership of a range of civic organisations experiencing decline and attendance: for example, women's organisations and church attendance (Putnam 2000). But a more dramatic

change in associational behaviour was experienced by political parties, which saw membership decline significantly in this period. This is illustrated in the graph alongside, taken from Keen and Audickas (2016) which shows a sharp increase in membership at the end of the



1940s to the early 1950s, but then an equally dramatic downturn in the 20 years after that. This pattern of weakening political engagement is matched by a drop in voter turnout at general elections. This peaked at over 80% in 1950 but underwent a persistent decline over the next 20 years with turnout in 1970 at just over 70% declining further to under 60% in 2001 (Hilton et al. 2012:20).

Davies (2013) notes that during the same period, an array of ‘*fragmentary forces*’, which included tensions between East and West; evidence of human rights abuses by Cold War governments; the Cuban Missile Crisis; the Vietnam War and the growing realisation of environmental problems led to a significant increase in the number of NGOs, noting the number of INGOs during the 1960s

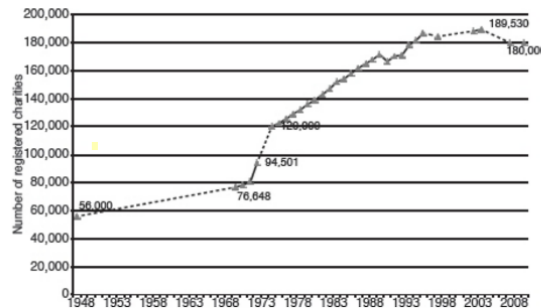


Figure 2.8: Number of registered charities, 1948–2010

Sources: Anne F.C. Bourdillon, *Voluntary Social Services: Their Place in the Modern State* (London, 1945), p. 213; William H. Beveridge, *Voluntary Action: A Report on Methods of Social Advance* (London, 1948), p. 212; Jeremy Kendall and Martin Krapp, *The Voluntary Sector in the United Kingdom, Johns Hopkins Nonprofit Sector Series* (Manchester, 1996), p. 5; Wolfenden 1978, p. 34; Charity Statistics (various years); NCVO Almanac (various years); Charity Commission Annual Report 2009/10, p. 22, available at: www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Library/about_us/Charity_Commission_Annual_Report_09_10.pdf; Charity Commission, www.charity-commission.gov.uk/About_us/About_charities-factfigures.aspx.

more than doubled (Davies 2013: 141). The rise of UK NGOs is shown in the graph alongside which tracks the number of registered charities in the UK since 1948 (Hilton et al. 2012:25).

This growth was matched

by a rapid increase in support for newly formed NGOs such as War on Want Christian Aid, and Oxfam, who had recruited over 325,000 regular givers by December 1963 (Oxfam 1963d). There was also widespread support for activist organisations such as Amnesty International (Clifford 2010; Buchanan 2002), and many social movements, and protest organisations emerged, and participation in contentious politics became more acceptable and mainstream. The decline in political affiliation, combined with the rapid growth of NGOs and activist organisations, shows that many people were looking for alternative ways to address injustice and social concerns as they had become disillusioned with the ability of conventional politics to address contemporary issues. In the same manner that Davie (1999) suggests that people in Europe aren’t becoming less religious, rather they are ‘*differently religious*’ (Davie 1999: 65), (see Chapter Four, Section 3ai of this thesis) it is suggested that the social and cultural shifts in the 1960s and 1970s indicate that many people were also becoming ‘*differently political*’. The 1960s had ushered in a new era of socio-political activism that had a markedly different character to what had gone before. Similarly, the notion of charitable activity, which had previously been associated with social welfare and relief of the poor, now began to incorporate elements of a political nature. A consequence of this was that it attracted the attention of the Charity Commission which will be explored next.

iii. UK Legal Framework: The Charity Commission

Changing regulations instigated by the Charity Commission, the body that regulates the work of charitable organisations in the UK, was another influential factor in the development of Oxfam during the 1960s. The notion of charitable activity in UK law was first established in 1601 when Queen Elizabeth I gave Royal Assent to the 'Statute of Charitable Uses' which set out the first definition of charity and the purposes for which a charitable body could be established. In 1853 the Charity Commission was created, and in 1891, a legal case established four groups of activity that it deemed to be charitable. However, there was not a review of the definition of charity, or of the operation of charitable bodies, until the middle of the twentieth century (Parliament 2013). One of the benefits of being legally recognised as a charity was financial. If a supporter made regular and committed donations to an organisation registered with the Charity Commission under a deed of covenant scheme, the charity would benefit from a form of tax relief as the income tax paid by the individual on the donation was reimbursed to the charity.

Palmer (1995) argues that when there is an increasing encouragement for the public and private corporations to give to charity, there is a concomitant need to ensure confidence in charities, leading to '*a clear correlation between the importance of charity to the state and the emphasis on regulation*' (Palmer 1995: 213). Consequently, a Committee of Enquiry into the Law and Practice Relating to Charitable Trusts, known as the Nathan Committee, was established in 1952 due to a perceived need to '*obtain the greatest advantage from the funds available and to adjust and develop the relationship between voluntary action and the government and local authorities*' (O'Halloran et al. 2008:139). The report of the Nathan Committee led to the Charities Act of 1960 which introduced a register of charities and gave the Commission powers to investigate charities. The primary purpose of the 1960 Act was to '*supplement aspects of the statutory welfare state*' (Palmer 1995: 212) and implicit in this is an assumption that the primary purpose of charity is to support beneficiaries in the UK.

The work of Oxfam and other relief and development agencies were intrinsically challenging this assumption as their ultimate beneficiaries were overseas and they were not benefiting communities in the UK. Writing in a different context, Thomas (2007) observes that aid for overseas development may be considered

as an intervention in another country's affairs (Thomas 2007). As this time was also a time of decolonisation, UK government funds, in the form of the tax relief given to Oxfam and other overseas aid charities, would have been indirectly channelled to other countries. This explains why, in 1963, the Charity Commission questioned whether long-term development work could be charitable, although it did accept that emergency relief was a charitable activity. The Commissioners considered that '*purposes beneficial to the community*', one of the main charitable headings in law, should be restricted to the UK, dependent territories and the Commonwealth. In other words, the beneficiaries of aid would need to be, or have been, British subjects (Oxfam 1964; Black 1992:85-89). It also asserted in its annual report in 1962, that the '*promotion of international friendship*' and advocacy for legislative change were political and not charitable activities and therefore were not acceptable and so announced an investigation into the work of overseas aid charities (Black 1992:86). Oxfam's high public profile attracted scrutiny by the Commission, and it was put under notice that until the issue was resolved, it wasn't to make any grants for purposes other than relief or welfare. Oxfam, along with other overseas aid charities, worked diligently to achieve a ruling in their favour, which it eventually did. Nevertheless, this took two years of negotiations, and as part of this, Oxfam was required to change its objects to a form approved by the Charity Commission and the Inland Revenue. It finally did this in May 1965 when it also, following a recommendation from the Commission, officially changed its name to Oxfam which removed the word 'famine' from its title, which the Commission had felt was misleading (Oxfam 1964; Oxfam 1965a). For Oxfam's Council, the intervention by the Commission and the subsequent protracted negotiation contributed to a culture of caution regarding its wider public education activities, especially for any that could be perceived as political (Black 1992:155). They were acutely aware that if the Commission had ruled against Oxfam's charitable status, it would have had far-reaching financial ramifications. While this did not directly lead to Oxfam's consideration of overseas expansion, Kirkley and others in leadership positions were aware that political influence on a global stage, for example through consultative status with the UN, did not carry the risks that were present in the UK.

iv. Media and Cultural Context

The advent and impact of television news in the UK exposed the general public to international crises in new and dramatic ways which contributed to a rapid increase in resources to Oxfam and other organisations working in international relief. Oxfam's high visibility during such crises led to a step change in its public profile, reputation and recognition among the public. By the mid-1960s, Oxfam was perceived as '*a phenomenon*' (Black 1992: 96) and was frequently referenced in popular culture, newspapers and other media, with celebrities and politicians seeking to be associated with it, especially during the special events organised for its 21st anniversary year in 1963. This era has been described as '*the most frenzied and exciting campaign of Oxfam's history*' (Black 1992:82,83).

The prevailing cultural climate, especially the manner in which issues are presented in the media, can influence a movement's perception of the political opportunity (Gamson and Meyer 1996:279) but this perception is more important than an objective assessment of the likelihood of change when making decisions: while Kriesi (2008) notes that movements must believe they have the ability to bring about change, Gamson and Meyer (1996) note that activists habitually overestimate what they can achieve (Gamson and Meyer 1996:285). It will be shown in Section 3ai of this Chapter that the combination of media attention, TV News and Oxfam's own public relations activities, led Oxfam to overestimate the sustainability of its trajectory of growth and to be unrealistically optimistic that expansion overseas would elicit a similar response to that in the UK.

v. Religious Context

a. Religion and Secularisation

Beginning in the 1950s, the theories of modernisation and secularisation had begun to emerge as significant features of academic life and thinking: secularisation theory posits that as society becomes more modern, religion will be seen as increasingly irrational, leading to an ever decreasing role for religion in society. In parallel with this, it asserts the role of religion will become more private and marginalised (Bruce 1996). By the 1960s secularisation theory had acquired a paradigmatic status and was a latent presence in academic study and public life as an unstated premise (Casanova 1994:17).

It was noted in an earlier section that the 1960s were a time of socio-political activism and elite-challenging behaviour where many groups and individuals were seeking change in society and the status quo. To gain an audience and be heard was essential to achieve these goals but the risk of being perceived as irrational or anti-intellectual was anathema to this. Therefore the growing acceptance that religion or religious beliefs and practices were irrational served to mute religious influence, and many religious organisations began to adapt their religious identity and discourse to accommodate this new environment. This was seen in their policies and contributions to broader debates being expressed in increasingly secular terms leading Hilton et al. (2013) to the observation that any difference between the policies of faith-based NGOs and secular ones was '*barely noticeable*' (Hilton et al. 2013:226). The question of whether this reflected a lack of confidence in the religious underpinnings of these organisations or was a pragmatic approach to the use of language will be explored in a later section. But Hilton et al. (2013) do not believe religion stopped being relevant to the organisations concerned, merely that they '*kept theology out of their political rhetoric*' but also that religion '*waits in the wings, casting a shadow across the stage far stronger than previously assumed*' (Hilton et al. 2013: 228). The implications of this for Oxfam will be discussed in the section on framing.

b. Liberation Theology

As secularisation theory was gaining traction in western elite circles, Liberation Theology was emerging as an influential force in Latin America, especially amongst the most impoverished communities, even though it emanated from a network of interconnected theological elites in the Catholic Church (Smith 1991). Smith (1991) describes Liberation Theology as the result of a concerted effort by a new cadre of young Catholic theologians to redefine the church as an advocate of social justice and economic equality. Popularised as '*God's preference for the poor*', Liberation Theology was disseminated through grassroots movements and aimed to break cycles of social and economic oppression. Smith (1991) suggests that by the time secular authorities and Catholic Bishops became aware of it, it was too late to hinder its spread and impact. The approach of Liberation Theology was to use stories from the Bible to draw comparisons between

the lives of the biblical characters and the poor. For example, the Old Testament story of the Exodus where the Israelites were freed from captivity in Egypt was used to illustrate that the societal and economic oppression poor communities were experiencing was not inevitable or God's will, but rather was against God's plan. This led to encouragement for them to challenge the unjust structures in which they lived. But Smith (1991) also notes a careful use of language: for example, he asserts that '*conscientization*' was used as a 'code word' that the bishops didn't fully understand. The closest translation of '*conscientization*' is consciousness-raising: a means by which literacy was fostered and communities were encouraged to challenge the social structures that were oppressing them. This was a secular articulation of the religious teaching and challenges brought by Liberation Theology.

Tizon (2008) notes that Liberation Theology not only challenged the perspective of poor communities, but also '*shook the theological foundations of the Church as they challenged Christians of all stripes to radically rethink their role in alleviating the suffering of the poor, the oppressed, the discriminated and the forgotten of the world*' (Tizon 2008: 55) and diffused from Latin America to other parts of the world. But it wasn't just the church and Catholic groups who were forced to rethink their approach to working with the poor: Oxfam's Field Directors were also challenged by seeing the impact of this empowerment of the poor, articulated by Catholic political thinkers such as Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich and Xavier Albo who, though writing on conscientization, were aligned with Liberation Theology (Norton 2012). Consequently, there was much internal debate within Oxfam around these new, radical ideas.

Black (1992) notes that this '*whirlwind of ideas gathered force*', and had a profound effect on many within Oxfam, but that senior staff and trustees had reservations about the implications of such doctrines, as they believed they '*invited not only the poor but everyone to challenge the values inherent in their own status quo*' (Black 1992:183). This will be explored in a later section, but it should be noted that this is another example of religious influence being assimilated into Oxfam's practice by the use of secular rhetoric.

c. **Quaker Mobilisation for Post-War Influence in International Affairs**

Byrd (1960) explains that Quakers believe they are *'in the vanguard of a developing international harmony, always showing the way to the next step by putting into practice an advanced degree of international community'* and that they perceive their task as *'remaking the world as it is to be... revealing the way of... co-operative social activity'* (Byrd 1960: 57).

The outworking of this in Oxford was shown in Chapter Three of this thesis, where evidence was presented to show that the underpinning Quaker influence within Oxfam generated a *de facto* secondary aim of promoting the notion of international community amongst the British public. This continued throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, but as reported earlier in this thesis, Oxfam also had ambitions to broaden this influence to international fora.

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) assert that political changes only become an opportunity when they are *'defined as such by a group of actors sufficiently well organized to act on this shared definition of the situation'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:8) and by the 1960s Oxfam met the criteria of being a well-organised as well as a well-connected group and capitalised on the shifts and changes in both the domestic and international political context to begin sharing its ideas of international community to global audiences.

Among the factors that influence the perception of opportunity is an *'optimistic rhetoric of change'* (Gamson and Meyer 1996:286) which will increase, or decrease, along with the successes and achievements, or otherwise, of similar groups: for example, if a comparable group has been accepted as a valid spokesperson for an issue or has been able to increase its salience in the media or public agenda (Gamson 1990; Schumaker 1975). Carrette (2013) notes that Quakers have had access to *'top leadership'* over a lengthy period of time and that in a range of different issues, their *'diplomatic interventions were also part of the integrated approach with related NGOs to bring about political change'* (Carrette 2013:41). In the post-war period, there were a number of individual Quakers involved in UN diplomacy and peace work (Carrette 2013; Byrd 1960), some of whom were intimately known to those within Oxfam. For example Sir Geoffrey Wilson,

who later became a chair of Oxfam, was a member of the British delegation to Yalta and was later involved in the drafting of the UNDHR, and Sir Oliver Franks, who was married to Lady Barbara Franks, one of Oxfam's trustees, was British Ambassador to Washington from 1948 to 1952 and worked on the Marshall Plan and chaired committees discussing the North Atlantic Pact. For those setting policy and direction in Oxfam, the awareness that there was already effective intervention and representation by Quakers at a high-level globally served to encourage the notion that Quaker principles and values had merit and acceptability in the councils of nations.

b. Resource Mobilisation

i. Mobilising Resources in the UK: Fundraising

The World Refugee Year (WRY), which was outlined in Section 2ai of this Chapter served as a springboard for Oxfam to invest heavily in its regional operation which drew on the traditional understanding of 'structural proximity' as outlined by McAdam (1982) and discussed in Chapter 3 Section 2b of this thesis. During the WRY, Oxfam recruited regular givers through local collectors in neighbourhoods and workplaces for a pledged giving scheme (Oxfam 1959a) which led to a significant increase in income: by 1960 they had over 200,000 supporters around the country (Black 1992:80), causing Oxfam's treasurer, Sir Arthur Rucker, to comment that '*during WRY, Oxfam has developed into a major national charity*' (Oxfam 1960).

The Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFH) and introduced in Section 2ai of this Chapter also served as a catalyst for Oxfam's fundraising and public awareness activities. The FFH's emphasis on public education and awareness-raising led to Oxfam playing a central part in its UK activities, and it became closely associated with FFH in the mind of the British public (Black 1992). Oxfam's links with the FAO, the main backer of the campaign, were strengthened when Rucker was appointed Deputy Chairman of the FFH UK National Committee.

The advent of TV news was a significant factor in publicising both the famine in the Congo and the FFH Campaign. The anger and hope generated by these events provided further impetus for Oxfam's domestic expansion, requiring it to recruit an additional 14 local organisers to cope with its expansion in the regions. A threefold increase in the pledged giving scheme was seen in just six months (Oxfam 1961a) and in September of 1962, there were over 300 local

committees established as a result of the FFH campaign (Oxfam 1962b). The WRY and FFH campaigns were critical factors in a tripling of Oxfam's income to £1.4 million in the two year period ending 1960/1961. In December 1963 it was reported that there were 200 local branches and 26,000 local collectors who volunteered to collect donations from 325,000 pledged givers (Oxfam 1963d).

ii. Mobilising Resources in the UK: Recruitment of Staff and Trustees

The rapid growth in income led to a sharp increase in staff numbers: from 30 in 1960 to 200 by the end of 1963 (Black 1992:80) which brought fresh ideas and broader perspectives to the staff team. This new cohort was highly motivated and idealistic, and shared the humanitarian aims of the organisation, but was more questioning of the best way to prioritise resources to address extreme poverty.

While the majority of the dissenting voices were from staff in middle management positions, Oxfam's practices and discourse continued in the manner described in Chapter Three. This was facilitated by continuing to appoint people with Quaker backgrounds or similar worldviews to key decision-making posts, drawing on the wider definition of structural proximity offered by this thesis in Chapter Three, Section 5b ii. These appointments are discussed in detail in the later section on framing.

iii. Mobilising Transnational Networks: For Distributing Resources

The predominantly religious nature of the organisations used to distribute Oxfam's resources was confirmed in 1959 when a list of approved agencies for the distribution of funds and other resources was agreed by first the Executive and then Council who stated: *'this Committee's grants for relief work overseas in cash or in kind should, wherever practicable, be channelled through the workers of the established and accepted international relief agencies, such as: The World Council of Churches (and allied groups), the Salvation Army; the Society of Friends; The Roman Catholic Church; Lutheran World Service; The Red Cross and Red Crescent (League and International), United Nations Agencies; Missionary Societies, The World YMCA and YWCA; the Near East Christian Council'* (Oxfam 1959b). This decision was reiterated by Oxfam's Council and Executive in June 1961 (Oxfam 1961b). Therefore the distribution of resources remained in predominantly religious hands for the next few years. But the discussion itself is telling, in that the 'settled norm' of distributing funds through predominantly

religious ex-patriot recipients was beginning to be contested. However, this remained a live issue, illustrated by comments of Oxfam's Chair at the AGM in December 1962 when he reassured those assembled that they worked with both secular and religious groups (Oxfam 1962c).

Another concern about Oxfam's distribution network concerned the predominance of using ex-patriot groups to receive funds rather than indigenous ones. This was raised by Henry Fletcher, Oxfam's Deputy Director, who wrote to the Council in January 1965, referring to Oxfam's previous practice of distributing funds through missionary societies. He reported that Oxfam was moving away from this practice but argued it needed to '*intensify the attempts they have made to find suitable indigenous groups*' (Oxfam 1965).

iv. Mobilising Transnational Networks: To Expand from a National Organisation to an International Coalition

Florini and Simmons (2000) note that '*human activity is less constrained than ever by national borders*' and that NGOs and coalitions are '*inserting themselves*' into international decision-making processes (Florini and Simmons 2000:3) which are providing an increasing range of opportunities to influence the international political landscape (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002: 4). It has been noted that transnational networks can '*break the cycles of history*' as they '*open channels for bringing alternative visions and information into international debate*' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:x)

Kirkley's involvement in various alliances and committees in the late 1950s and early 1960s reflect this practice of as it exposed him to the global networks that Oxfam would need to be part of if it was to exert international influence. A significant event in Oxfam's journey towards global influence was a major FFH Conference on hunger in August 1960 which it hosted in Oxford. Key speakers included the head of the UN's FAO and the Assistant Secretary General of the World Health Organisation, which highlight the access that Kirkley, on behalf of Oxfam, had to key international figures in the UN and development world. The final resolution of the conference declared: '*it is vital... that we and all other peoples should habitually think of ourselves as members of a world community*' (Black 1992:71).

One of the main ramifications of the conference for Oxfam was a '*perceptual leap*' (Black 1992: 71) that it needed to develop an international presence, and

as Edwards and McCarthy (2007) highlight, this requires coordination and strategic effort to convert '*available pools*' of resources into collective action (Edwards and McCarthy 2007:116). For Oxfam, the available pools included the American and Canadian voluntary agencies they already had links with through grant funding, and so within a few months of the FFH conference, they appointed a retired Salvation Army officer, Colonel Widdowson, as 'Travelling Officer' to visit America and Canada to explore opportunities for replicating the Oxfam model there (Oxfam 1961a). As the majority of organisations receiving funds from Oxfam were faith-based groups, the available pool of contacts in North America reflected this. Kirkley's commitment to this process is seen by the investment of six weeks of his own time during Spring 1962 to travel widely in American and Canada to follow up on the previous visits of Widdowson. This was during a period of unprecedented growth and activity for Oxfam in the UK, and so highlights the strategic importance that Kirkley placed on overseas expansion.

Kirkley's report to the Council on his return reveals that his travels were about far more than establishing a fundraising operation as he reports taking part in TV and radio programmes, participating in press interviews and meetings with 50 voluntary agencies. He also refers to assurances of support from Eleanor Roosevelt and the New York Times (Oxfam 1962x).

'Mobilization is a process of increasing the readiness to act collectively' (Gamson 1975, quoted in Edwards and McCarthy 2007:116) and Oxfam's readiness was taken a step further when, on receipt of Kirkley's report into his North American travels, the Council approved his recommendation to seed fund an Oxfam office in Toronto on the proviso that funds raised would be channelled through the Oxford office (Oxfam 1962x). The Toronto office opened in the spring of 1963 with another retired Salvation Army officer, Colonel Dalziel at the helm. The influencing aspect of this initiative role was confirmed by Black (1992) who described it as a *'planned demarche to spread worldwide the Oxfam crusade against world hunger'* (Black 1992:100).

Even as the nascent Canadian office was becoming established, there were indications that this wasn't perceived as a one-off venture: for example, Kirkley wrote to the Executive Committee in January 1963 about the need to *'go beyond this country to similarly placed people overseas in all countries to plead*

for the right use of resources to meet world needs. This requires something to spark off something beyond what is being done at the moment. Oxfam is in a position to do this. The situation is so grave that some such imaginative move is necessary now' (Oxfam 1963). The envisaged '*imaginative move*' was the formation of other national entities to create a network of beachheads from which Oxfam could exert influence. Kirkley continued to prepare the ground for further overseas expansion, which is seen in his remarks to the Oxfam Council in March 1963: {an} '*imaginative step was required to rouse world opinion and produce adequate international action in face of the current and immediate future needs of underdeveloped countries*' (Oxfam 1963b). The reason for Kirkley's urging for overseas expansion became clearer in September 1963 when he stated at the Oxfam Council that there was an imperative for Oxfam to be recognised as an international rather than just a national organisation: he explained that until that point was reached, Oxfam was not in a position to be accorded consultative status with the UN (Oxfam 1963c) which restricted its capacity for influence on an international stage. The strong commitment to overseas expansion is seen again in the Council minutes of October 1964, where Kirkley's report stated: '*the time had come for Oxfam to ... play its full part in international affairs. We should envisage becoming not solely a British organisation but international*' (Oxfam 1964b) and announced that this responsibility was being allocated to his Deputy, Henry Fletcher. Consequently, other fundraising offices and sister Oxfams were opened, and by 1971 there was an Oxfam entity in six other countries plus a partnership agreement with Community Aid Abroad (CAA) in Australia. An Oxfam America had also been established in 1970 with seed-funding from Oxfam UK (Black 1992: 170).

c. Oxfam's Aims and Evolving Repertoire: Leading to Overseas Expansion

i. Aims

Chapter Three of this thesis presented evidence that Oxfam had two mutually reinforcing aims in its early years: the publicly understood one of promoting compassion for those less fortunate leading to the generation of resources to be distributed through partner organisations to refugees and others; the other, secondary aim, rooted in the Quaker faith and practice of its key decision makers, was to encourage an internationalist perspective in the public

consciousness by bringing to its attention any *'information or points of view which were being ignored or overlooked by other sources and which would tend to increase knowledge of and a sense of unity with the peoples the world over'* (Byrd 1960:54-55). From 1959, these aims were strengthened domestically and extended geographically, but they were also contested as Oxfam faced external and internal challenges that questioned the appropriateness of these developments. This section will explore Oxfam's repertoire of actions in pursuing these expanding aims.

ii. Oxfam's Evolving Repertoire

It was noted in Chapter Two, Section 4c iii, that the actions a movement takes to achieve their goals innovate incrementally within limits set by *'learned routines'* they share with their target audience (Tilly 2010:35) and that the field of actions is further filtered by *'what [actors] know how to do and what society has come to expect them to choose to do from within a culturally sanctioned and empirically limited set of options'* (Tarrow 1993: 283).

For their first 18 years, Oxfam's *'learned routines'* included the development of a network of partnerships for resource gathering and dissemination; public education; influencing public opinion; and information sharing. In addition, their sphere of operation had evolved from local activities within Oxford to operations on a national scale.

Contrary to standard accounts of Oxfam's early years it had not engaged in, nor attempted to engage in, any policy influencing work apart from limited activities during the war. But from 1959 onwards the minutes of Oxfam's Executive and Council show this began to shift as there was an increasing willingness to draw from its experience to speak out about matters of concern and so their repertoire began to evolve accordingly. The different constituent parts of Oxfam's evolving repertoire will now be examined in turn.

a. Networking: Oxfam's Evolving Participation

During this period, Oxfam's networks and connections evolved and expanded, which brought a greater sense of ambition to its goals and also in its expectations of what it could achieve. Up to this point, Oxfam had operated solely as a conduit for finance and clothing, but now it began to participate in external groups for information exchange and the exertion of influence.

From the mid-1950s Oxfam had been gradually gaining entry into groups and alliances where it could exert influence as Kirkley began strategically cultivating a wide range of contacts in other NGOs, the government and UN agencies. These included: membership of domestic fora such as the Standing Conference of British Organisations for Aid to Refugees (Oxfam 1953) as well as attendance at international conferences, and Kirkley's developing relationships with lead personnel in international bodies such as the World Council of Churches and other voluntary agencies in Geneva (Oxfam 1956; Black 1992). As noted in an earlier section, these connections led to Oxfam's high profile involvement in both the World Refugee Year (WRY) in 1959/60 and the five-year Freedom from Hunger (FFH) Campaign, launched in July 1960.

Kirkley's own influence and growing reputation are seen during the WRY as he was appointed the chair of its Public Affairs and Publicity Committee, and Black (1992) notes that he viewed these involvements as key to shifting the perception of Oxfam from a local to a national, influential body (Black 1992:59). At the end of the WRY, Kirkley strengthened his links in the international community when he became part of the UK delegation to two international conferences held by the International Committee of World Refugee Year (ICWRY) and chaired one of its three working parties (Black 1992: 61). Further evidence of Kirkley's increasing influence came in 1962 when he became a founder member of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), a network that advocated for humanitarian action (Oxfam 1962a). Interestingly its first President was also a Quaker, Duncan Wood from the American Friends Service Committee. Nine years later, in 1971, Kirkley became its President (Black 1992: 170). In 1965 Kirkley also became a founder member of the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD) initiated by the new Ministry of Overseas Development. VCOAD, whose members included NGOs, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the United Nations Association (UNA) and the FFH campaign, aimed to coordinate the influencing work of NGOs, especially in the areas of education and opinion forming (Black 1992; 103, 158). The minutes of the Oxfam Council in March 1967 contains a report from Kirkley, affirming Oxfam's ongoing commitment to playing an

active part in VCOAD, FFH, ICVA and the Standing Conference of British Organisations for Aid to Refugees (Oxfam 1967).

b. Evolving from Public Education in the UK to Changing Norms Internationally: 'A New Way of Thinking'

Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) note a distinction in international relations between ideas and norms: the former being beliefs held by individuals, and the latter being beliefs held by communities. They extend this to international norms which they define as: *'shared expectations or standards of appropriate behaviour accepted by states and intergovernmental organizations that can be applied to states, intergovernmental organizations and non-state actors...'* and assert that principled ideas about right and wrong will become norms if they are accepted by a critical mass of people (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002:14, 15). Consequently, one of the drivers for NGOs to operate on an international scale is so they may contribute to the critical mass of support needed to change international norms which will then benefit the national communities about which they are concerned. This description of how international norms are influenced is central to understanding Oxfam's determination to operate on an international stage: as Oxfam had a secondary aim of promoting internationalism, it wanted to take all opportunities to influence, and so it was a natural extension for them to want to do so on a global stage.

It has already been argued in this thesis that Oxfam had a *de facto* second aim of promoting internationalism amongst the British public. Kirkley's networking and experiences when visiting Oxfam-funded projects were affirming his own understanding of how to address the extreme poverty he encountered: there was a need to address the root causes of poverty which would require action by governments, not just public philanthropy. Black (1992) attributes the role of the FFH conference hosted by Oxfam in 1960 as articulating this and providing a *'large perceptual leap'* for Oxfam which began to shift its thinking away from a focus on small-scale projects of good works, to longer-term development and influence (Black 1992: 71). Kirkley realised it was imperative to promote this new way of thinking about the world, to fashion new norms, not only nationally but also internationally and that this was not just a valid role for Oxfam, but an essential one. In 1963 he

began to outline an incipient strategy for this to an extended Executive Committee meeting: he proposed organising a *'high-powered appeal to the conscience of the world'* by first securing the agreement of 100-200 people of influence in public life in the UK and then to go to *'similarly placed people overseas... to plead for the right use of resources to meet world needs'*.

Many of the committee members spoke in favour of this proposal and the minutes note that the committee affirmed that such *'propagandist activity is a function of Oxfam'* (Oxfam 1963). Henry Fletcher, Kirkley's deputy in the UK, drew out the implications of this strategy in a paper to the Oxfam Council when he stated: *'If Oxfam became purely a fundraising organisation it would lose its character'* (Oxfam 1963).

This perspective of Oxfam's dual strategy is affirmed in an authorised biography of Oxfam, written in 1965, that asserts while Oxfam initially *'spreads the knowledge'* in order to raise funds there is a *'larger purpose'* to these activities which is to *'affect the social organisms through which popular opinion is transmuted into action'* (Jones 1965: 214). Jones (1965) cites political parties, the government and Churches as among those they want to influence and comments *'In everything that it does to get its name and its meaning across to the public, Oxfam is out for more than money. It is aiming to spread the knowledge that will cut into indifference... the goal is something greater even than knowledge; it is a new way of thinking'* (Jones 1965:213). A specific definition or description of what is meant by a *'new way of thinking'* isn't given by Jones, nor Black who frequently makes similar allusions, but the context is usually in regard to applying the principles of internationalism, and the development of an *'international mind'* which would encourage the public to view those in other countries as having equal rights and value to those in the UK, which if applied assiduously, would foster not only greater co-operation with other countries but also lead to a more significant commitment to eradicate poverty and suffering.

By 1966 Kirkley was becoming even more outspoken about Oxfam's responsibility to be an influential force in both national and global politics. In a paper to the Council, provocatively entitled *'Oxfam's Raison d'Etre'* he said: *'...we are required to campaign even more vigorously, on the one hand to secure greater financial support for our own aid programme and on the other to build up an informed and determined public opinion which will in*

turn have an influence on government policy and then on inter-governmental action.... We should be prepared to see our role as extending beyond that of a fund-raising charity' (Oxfam 1966b).

Through these actions and statements, Oxfam was bringing what this thesis has referred to as its *de facto* second aim to be an explicit, publically understood, primary aim. But at this stage, it perceived that public opinion would be the tool for influencing government, and it didn't yet have political actors or other policymakers identified as key audiences for its communications. The next section discusses how this began to change.

c. Evolution of Oxfam's Political Role: Broadening its Audience to include Political Actors

Tarrow's (1993) discussion of the constraints on a movement's repertoire argues that the options available are narrowed by '*what [actors] know how to do and what society has come to expect them to choose to do ...*' (Tarrow 1993: 283) which implies that both internal and external factors have an influence on a movement's actions. The experience of Oxfam shows that while external factors facilitated change, i.e. what society had come to expect it to do, internal factors provided the strongest motivation for the developments that occurred. However, paradoxically, it was also internal concerns that provided the strongest impediment to change. An influencing role was seen by many within Oxfam as foundational to its philosophy and remit, being described variously by Directors of the organisation as being '*part of its DNA*' (Bryer 2012) and even its '*destiny*' (Judd 2012). Some saw the concept of influence as a form of public awareness, but others understood it as having direct political connotations or overtones. Frank Judd, General Director in the early 1990s but active prior to that in the FFH campaign, explained that within Oxfam there has '*...always [been] a willingness to stand up politically – because [there is] an understanding amongst intelligent peoplethat it's not enough to be emotionally concerned about famine – you had to think what needed to be done and to understand what political stands were necessary to do it*' (Judd 2012). As NGOs such as Oxfam have experience on the ground, Judd's view was that NGOs had a '*duty to contribute*' to public debate and that not to speak up about what they knew and understood would be a dereliction of duty and

saw that its credibility in this was inextricably linked to its experience '*... the strength of campaigning and advocacy ... was we were speaking out of our demonstrable experience in the context of trying to meet the needs of people*' (Judd 2012). But in the 1960s, for some on the Council, the newly emerging vision for Oxfam to have a political influence was causing unease, and there were rumblings of concern regarding a drift from meeting practical, physical needs, which was perceived as a loss of focus from its core purpose. This was seen in the comments of two of its founding members: Jackson-Cole, Oxfam's Honorary Secretary who raised concerns about some of the proposals emerging from the FFH conference hosted by Oxfam in 1960, as he believed Oxfam '*should be careful not to be associated with political activities*' (Oxfam 1960b) and in 1961, the Chair of the Council rejected a call for Oxfam to bring pressure to bear on the government regarding a situation in Angola, by stating that Oxfam '*was not political*' (Oxfam 1961b). These concerns were strengthened in the years that followed by the investigations of the Charity Commission, which were outlined in Section 2a iii of this Chapter.

Dissent within Oxfam regarding its engagement in any activity that could be construed as political continued for the next five years (Oxfam 1965b; Oxfam 1965c; Oxfam 1966a) and culminated in the Council establishing a working party in 1966, chaired by Dr F Cyril James, whose remit was to '*examine afresh the place and purpose of Oxfam*' (James 1967). The Working Party consulted widely within the organisation, and the final report, accepted by the Council, recognised that governments would not take action unless '*urged to do so by an informed and demanding public opinion*' and believing that Oxfam's reputation and profile laid on it a responsibility to '*strive continuously to awaken the conscience of the public... to develop in private individuals and in governments a deep concern for the underprivileged peoples of the world*' (James 1967). Thereby they affirmed that Oxfam should be developing a wider role that would catalyse greater action by the governments of the world. They also recognised that the needs of the poor and underprivileged of the world could not be met by voluntary agencies alone and averred that '*...massive effort by all governments is essential, and to encourage such effort, Oxfam must sometimes play the role of Socrates and be a gadfly to sting the State to*

action” (James 1967). Finally, after consideration of the recent establishment of Oxfam Canada and Oxfam Belgique, and noting that Oxfam was keen to contribute to policy matters in emerging global fora as well as in the UK, they did not consider there to be any benefit or advantage in creating a separate legal international body at this stage: *‘While the Oxfam spirit was and remains internationalist..., it would be premature at this moment to think of creating Oxfam International in any formal way’* (James 1967).

The report was considered in depth at both the Oxfam Executive and Council and in 1967 was accepted by the Council and became Oxfam’s reference point for explaining its opinion-forming activity for the next few years. There was a sense in the language of the report that the influencing activity should be focussed on global audiences and domestically, Oxfam would focus on articulating its grassroots experience. But even as the Council were approving the recommendations of the committee, there remained concerns that activities involving advocacy would attract the attention of the Charity Commission, and so Kirkley steered the organisation towards working in conjunction with other organisations, and these developments will be considered next.

d. Advocacy through Alliances

The deliberations of the Charity Commission, outlined in Section 2a iii, of this Chapter, continued, and the definition of political action remained unclear, and so Oxfam adopted a practice of working through a separate umbrella body wherever possible. For example, in 1969 Oxfam were planning a joint campaigning programme under the rubric of ‘Action for World Development’ with Christian Aid (Oxfam 1969a), but this had again attracted the attention of the Charity Commissioners causing the aid agencies to establish a non-charitable body, the World Development Movement to carry out this work on their behalf (Black 1992:161).

In 1970 Kirkley wrote to the Executive stressing that in engaging in activities that may be deemed political, Oxfam *‘must always be sailing fairly close to the wind’*, but while still being committed to influencing the public, he recommended that Oxfam should do so by working in conjunction with other overseas aid agencies (Oxfam 1970a). For Oxfam, this was only a

partial solution as it believed it had a responsibility to influence public opinion and advocate for change in its own name (Oxfam 1970a) and in a paper to the Executive in 1972, it is clear that Kirkley's own position regarding influencing public opinion had strengthened. The concerns of the Charity Commission regarding advocacy did not abate, but Kirkley's commitment to advocacy caused him to state that the question was no longer *whether* they should be influencing the public, but rather *how* to go about it (Oxfam 1972a). Kirkley's concerns were explained in an internal memo he wrote in 1972, following a senior management review of Oxfam's future: *'Our primary objective is the meeting of desperate needs and to achieve this end we must significantly widen our constituency.... which should enable us to mobilise a popular movement.... while not contracting out of the legitimate exercise of political influence, we did not see Oxfam as an intensive political pressure group- this is a function to be performed by others probably with our blessing and support from time to time'* (Oxfam 1972c).

With regard to the Charity Commission, Kirkley sought legal advice and worked in conjunction with other aid agencies to try and persuade the Commissioners to soften their view regarding advocacy, but after protracted negotiations, the Commissioners held firm (Oxfam 1972d). With little prospect of the political opportunity structure easing in their favour, Oxfam's resolve to pursue low-key private lobbying rather than vocal public declarations of a more political nature was strengthened, and encouraged it not only to work in alliance with others on the domestic front but also to pursue expansion further afield where there were fewer restrictions on political activity.

e. From Disseminating Information in the UK to Information Politics on an International Stage

The foregoing paragraphs demonstrate that Oxfam had cultivated key relationships and access to senior decision makers in the UK in order to encourage a 'new way of thinking' about the world. But Oxfam also realised it needed to influence the elite decision makers in international fora. Florini and Simmons (2000) argue that in contrast to many powerful international actors who have a vast swathe of resources, especially economic resources, at their disposal, groups in civil society such as social movements and NGOs

must rely on so-called 'soft' power – *'moral authority and the ability to shape how others see their interests'* (Florini and Simmons 2000: 10). Risse (2000) also argues that moral authority and the principled use of information are the key tools NGOs have to use (Risse 2000).

In order to translate access to decision makers into meaningful influence, an organisation needs to have, or believe it has, something worthwhile or distinctive to contribute. For example, NGOs who have been active for some years will have gathered a raft of information and data which, if used strategically, can be one of its key strengths through *'information politics...symbolic politics...leverage politics... and accountability politics'* (Keck and Sikkink 1998:16). By the 1960s, Oxfam had considerable experience in gathering information from its global distribution network and were adept at customising this for different audiences. Oxfam was, therefore, able to fashion the information garnered through its experience on the ground to bring influence and fresh perspectives, what it termed the *'new way of thinking'*, via the international coalitions and committees of which Kirkley was a member.

f. Establishing Oxfam Resourcing Offices for International Influence

Oxfam's dual purpose in establishing overseas resourcing offices is stated in a paper Fletcher wrote for the Council in January 1965 in which, when speaking of Oxfam Canada, he writes that not only was it raising funds but was also involved in *'the essential work of informing public opinion about needs overseas'*. In the same paper he speaks of *'the real contribution that [Oxfam] is making to international thinking'* and speaks of joining with others *'in assisting the education of the public in the developed countries with the ultimate aim of creating an informed body of public opinion which will induce governments to participate more fully in international development'* (Oxfam 1965). He also urges that Oxfam continue to participate in international conferences and committees. In asking the Council to approve finance for the work of international relations, he explains that it will not produce any income but should rather be considered as an investment in the overall effectiveness of Oxfam (Oxfam 1965) thereby demonstrating that the *'secondary aim'* of influencing global public opinion was a core part of Oxfam's objectives. In July of the same year there

was an unequivocal statement that influencing public opinion on a global scale so that governments would be compelled to act, was one of the reasons for global expansion: Fletcher reported to the Council that Oxfam was *'not solely a fundraising organisation'* but had *'a second function which has gradually assumed greater importance, which is... to stimulate the international community, including both voluntary and governmental sectors, to recognize their responsibilities and to take action on a global scale'* and states that in developed countries Oxfam should *'take all necessary steps to achieve the greatest possible activity in stimulating public opinion'* (Oxfam 1965b). In a paper to the Oxfam Canada Board in November 1966, Fletcher, now appointed as its Executive Director, refers to the two-fold aims in Oxfam of Canada's charter, which included the running of *'an educational advisory programme to bring awareness of hunger and general poverty'* but acknowledges that unless their effectiveness in fundraising improves, neither of their objectives can be realised (Oxfam Canada 1966).

These various papers, reports and minutes to Oxfam's Council track the evolution of Oxfam's purpose in two different directions: firstly, influencing public opinion is now explicitly a separate activity to fundraising and no longer a *de facto* secondary aim. Secondly, it perceives this influencing role should be operative on an international level and not just a national one.

d. Framing Processes

i. Internal Framing: Collective Consciousness

The previous chapter noted that the collective consciousness in an organisation's culture is seen in the *'basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organisation, that operate unconsciously, and define in a basic 'taken for granted' fashion an organisation's view of itself and its environment'* (Schein 1985 quoted in Rahman 1998:21) and that new members are gradually socialised into the norms and practice of the organisation. The settled 'collective consciousness' of Oxfam that had been established during its earliest days and that had gradually expanded to absorb new people and ideas during the late 1940s and 1950s was put under strain in the 1960s and 1970s by the rapid growth in staff. This led to some of the norms and 'intersubjective rules' of the organisation becoming contested, for example, the extensive use of

religious ex-patriot organisations as overseas partners began to be challenged (Oxfam 1962c; Oxfam 1965). Nevertheless, or perhaps because of this, Oxfam continued to consolidate its internal ethos by ensuring its key posts of both staff and trustees were occupied by Quakers or people sympathetic to the Quaker faith. Therefore the leadership and decision-making bodies continued to operate using the long-established norms and culture of the organisation. For example, when Oxfam needed to appoint two senior staff members to replace Llewellyn, who had moved to become Field Director for Asia, two Quakers, Ken Bennett and Michael Harris, took up the newly created positions of Overseas Aid Officers. The following year, another Quaker, Jim Howard, was appointed Field Director for India. In 1963, Malcolm Harper, a practising Anglican, was appointed a Field Director in Nairobi, becoming Emergencies Officer in 1972 and Communications Director in 1975 until he left in 1981. In 1967, Harris went to Lesotho to take up a position as Field Director, returning in 1969 as Deputy to Bennett whose role had developed into Overseas Director. When Bennett retired in 1972, Harris became Overseas Director, remaining in post for 12 years. It should also be noted that the Chair of the Overseas Aid Committee in the mid-1960s was a clergyman, Rev RC Childs (Jones 1965: 201) and it was his committee that was the final authority on the allocation of grants. Another key appointment was that of Bill Jackson to the newly formed Education Department in 1962 (Black 1992), and in 1970 he was appointed as International Secretary, with responsibility for liaising between different Oxfam entities. Although not a Quaker himself, he came from a Quaker family and described the values of Quakerism as *'closest to those I deem my own'* (Jackson 2006). In 1973, an open, national recruitment process, attracting over 300 applicants, was undertaken to find a replacement for Kirkley who was due to retire in 1974. Despite the broad range of applicants another Quaker, Brian Walker, a businessman from Northern Ireland was appointed, to begin in 1974 (Oxfam 1973; Oxfam 1973d).

Senior positions on the Oxfam Council, its governing body, were similarly held by a succession of religious figures: In 1965, Rev Moxley stood down as Chair of Trustees, handing over to Professor Coulson, a theoretical chemist, who was also a committed Christian and published religious author. Coulson remained Chair for six years, handing over in 1971 to Michael Rowntree, a Quaker, who was succeeded in 1978 by Sir Geoffrey Wilson, another Quaker and career

diplomat. In 1983 the role was taken up by Chris Barber, another Quaker who was also on national Quaker Committees at Friends House in London.

Therefore, even after 35 years, in the highly secularised external culture of the late 1970s, Oxfam had ensured that the majority of its key decision making roles, for example, the Chair of Trustees, Director General; Overseas Director; Communications Director; Finance Director and a number of Field Directors were Quakers or practicing Christians.

ii. Oxfam's External Framing

Chapter Three noted that since Oxfam began, it had assiduously avoided religious terminology in its external communications and publicity, and this thesis has identified this was because it perceived a need to mask its Quaker origins so its views would not be disregarded in war-time.

a. Oxfam's Secular Turn: Shifting from a Frame of Benevolent Secularism to Hostile Secularism

In considering how Oxfam's discourse evolved in this later period, the notion of frame transformation is helpful: this is the process of '*changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones*' (Benford and Snow 2000:625). The secular discourse in which Oxfam engaged prior to the 1960s, the '*old understanding*' equates to what has been called '*benevolent secularism*' by Ahdar and Leigh (2013) or '*procedural secularism*' by Williams (2006) and '*Judeo-Christian secularism*' by Hurd (2007) who describes this as providing the grounding for Euro-American public life '*... in a larger Christian, and later Judeo-Christian, civilization*' (Hurd 2007:6) in which Connolly (1999) observes '*Christianity does not need to be invoked that often because it is already inscribed in the pre-discursive dispositions and cultural instincts of the civilization*' (Connolly 1999:24).

But during the 1960s, with the rise of secularisation theory and its widespread adoption into academia of all disciplines, the secularism within British public life began subtly to shift from the '*benevolent secularism*' of the post-war years to a form described as '*hostile*' where unbelief is said to hold a privileged position (Ahdar and Leigh 2013:98). Similarly, Williams (2006) refers to the assumption that '*a secular perspective is the default position for a liberal and intelligent society*' (Williams 2006) and Hurd (2007) contends that '*a secularist frame of reference has become... the invisible*

scaffolding of our thoughts' (Hurd 2007: 16) and that its paradigmatic and unchallenged status has led it to become an '*authoritative discourse*' (Hurd 2008:1). Therefore, in a comparatively short time span, a benevolent secularism that was descriptive and welcomed all views, including religious ones had mutated and remodelled into a proscribing form which disallowed and viewed with approbation, any consideration of religious perspectives in academia, public debate or public discourse. It was noted in an earlier section that this caused many faith organisations to veil or mute their theological underpinnings lest they be dismissed as irrational and irrelevant, and so they adopted a secular discourse for pragmatic purposes. In 1963, there were indications that Oxfam's non-religious discourse was still of the 'benevolent' type: in its programme of events to commemorate its 21st anniversary there were services of thanksgiving at Westminster Cathedral, Westminster Abbey and in Oxford; an approach to all churches asking them to join in thanksgiving for the work that had been done and a promotion to local groups suggesting thanksgiving services in their own communities (Oxfam 1963bb). The chairman's remarks at the AGM the same year concluded with the words: '*Oxfam was being used by a spirit which was alive... and more and more active in the world and which made men care for one another; this was most encouraging*' (Oxfam 1963d). But within two years, there were signs that this discourse was beginning to shift.

During this anniversary year, Oxfam published a collection of essays, edited by the founding Chair, Canon Milford, which set out a chronology of Oxfam's beginnings. There is an allusion to spirituality in the first chapter, written by Milford: '*The very amateurish and hesitancy of our beginnings gives us confidence that we are being used by a spirit which is greater than ourselves*' (Milford 1963:3) but apart from that, the book does not mention its religious roots or influence. It also omitted the role of the national Famine Relief Committee and other national Quaker committees: the only mention of Quaker involvement is a reference in the second essay that Harold Sumption, their marketing advisor, was a Quaker. Additionally, little mention is made of the recipients of aid. As this booklet was edited by the founding Chair, it carried quite an authority. Therefore the omission of its Quaker roots and the ongoing participation and influence of so many

religious figures, especially as the author was a clergyman, served to establish the mythology that Oxfam had been a secular organisation from its beginning. This had significant implications for the approach and perspective of later accounts as well as the internal narrative of the organisation. Another book was commissioned the following year and published in 1965, this time in conjunction with Hodder and Stoughton and the services of a professional author, Mervyn Jones, retained. The resulting book, *'Two Ears of Corn'* was a collection of stories from the field, but with a section devoted to Oxfam's beginnings. The Quaker concern of Gillett was mentioned, but only as the prompting for the first meeting (Jones 1965: 26, 27). The appointments of Castle, Kirkley, Llewellyn, Howard, Harris, Bennett and Carter are noted but without reference to their faith. The Quakerism of Sumption is noted but only as a passing reference, and as with Milford's account, there was no attempt to explain the implication of this. It is interesting to note that in a chapter entitled 'How the Money is Spent', the religious character of the majority of recipient organisations is ignored, but assurances are given that the only criterion is need (Jones 1965: 199-208). A later chapter asserts there is no Oxfam type, rather that staff, volunteers and supporters are drawn from all sections of society and that many perspectives of religious and political life are represented. Jones does acknowledge that *'as one would expect, the Society of Friends has from the start contributed its flavour'* (Jones 1965: 210) but without explaining what this flavour may be or how it influenced the organisation. He also continues: *'Oxfam's lack of attachment to any religious denomination is valued, even by those who themselves are thus attached'* (Jones 1965:210) which overlooks the evidence presented by this thesis that key decision makers were religious, predominantly Quaker, and appointed on this basis.

It is recognised that both books were commissioned to publicise Oxfam and to position it for a contemporary, secular, audience to generate further support and its growing ambition for policy influence. But for historians or scholars wanting to understand the genesis and culture of Oxfam, the omission of its religious, especially Quaker, genesis and ethos, and its continued reliance on religious personnel and partner organisations, makes these authorised biographies exceptionally misleading. At this time Oxfam

was seeking to emerge from being viewed as a provincial niche NGO in Oxford, with many academics on its Council, into an organisation with national and international prestige and influence. The secular drift in the external environment that now considered any religious participation as being irrational also served as motivation, even perhaps unwittingly, for Oxfam to redefine its history and identity into an overtly and proactively secular one.

b. Promoting a Secular Identity

The secular turn in Oxfam gathered pace in the next few years as it began deliberately describing itself as a non-religious body. In a paper to the Executive in 1965, Fletcher commented that Oxfam had become ‘unique’ among organisations working in relief and development as *‘no other organisation covers such a wide variety of activities in a completely non-denominational and non-political way’* (Oxfam Jan 1965aa). For a number of reasons, this is not an accurate statement, but it is one of the first occasions where Oxfam made such a definitive claim that its nature was consciously and deliberately secular. Fletcher continues by saying that it is now *‘opportune’* for Oxfam to establish a *‘truly international partnership.... on a non-racial and non-religious basis’* (Oxfam Jan 1965aa). But this is in contrast to a report by Kirkley to the Council only a few months earlier in which he describes meetings with the World Council of Churches and Inter-church Aid that would lead to *‘more effective programmes both in this country and in the field’* (Oxfam June 1964a).

But only seven years later, in a paper about Oxfam’s International Relations in 1971, Kirkley himself commends Oxfam’s secular approach when he comments that Oxfam is *‘above all, still the most important single voluntary body in the world witnessing to the strictly non-sectarian and non-partisan approach which is increasingly in tune with the attitudes of donors and the preferences of recipients. Oxfam is thus respected and has a certain authority internationally’* (Oxfam 1971). It may be argued that this overstates the international status of Oxfam at the time, but it clearly articulates the importance that Kirkley now puts on the non-religious framing of its work as he perceives this is central to its uniqueness, credibility and acceptability in global fora.

Paradoxically, these statements were made at a time when the majority of Oxfam's key decision-making personnel were Quaker or with Quaker sympathies. This organisational schizophrenia can only be understood within the context of the increasing secularisation of public discourse at the time: Oxfam perceived a vacancy in the global public domain for a non-religious body to speak up about the causes of poverty and it was taking deliberate steps to 'own' this space by positioning itself as a consciously secular body, even though many core aspects of the organisation were still influenced by religion and religious people. It was shown in Chapter Three, that the national FRC and the early OCFR believed that to be taken seriously in war-time they needed to veil their Quaker roots. This thesis argues that in the increasingly secular 1960s, Oxfam similarly believed that to be taken seriously by policy-makers, it needed to eschew any taint of religion, and so its discourse began to be infused with phrases that would distract attention from, or counter any sense that it was influenced by religion.

4. Oxfam's Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation

The second question of this research was regarding the reasons NGOs have for overseas expansion and internationalisation.

The previous sections noted that Oxfam provided seed funding and other practical support to create sister organisations in North America. The next section evaluates the various reasons Oxfam had first, for expanding overseas and second, for considering an internationalisation process.

a. Oxfam's Overseas Expansion: A Consideration of the Factors Driving this Change

Oxfam was rooted in an internationalist ideology and had sought to promote this to the British public. It had also begun to see the opportunities for influence that the emerging international arenas, created by or associated with, the UN presented. These were a natural development for its increasing appetite for influence, but this thesis recognises that there are a number of other factors that could have influenced the decision to expand overseas: for example, economic factors, political interests, technological developments and religious faith. Therefore this section will present recommendations on the factors to be considered when analysing the internationalisation processes of NGOs. The work of Baguley (2004) which was discussed in Chapter Two, suggested that these factors may be grouped into

different categories and that some are enablers that facilitate international processes rather than drive them. This is a useful distinction and will be used here.

i. Economic Factors: Balancing Income and Costs

Foreman (1999) notes that '*Establishing a national presence in countries with potential for resource development provides supply-side incentives for NGOs to globalize their structure*' (Foreman 1999: 194). Therefore, when Oxfam began expanding overseas in the 1960s, ostensibly to generate additional income streams, a superficial assessment may conclude that this was the only or primary purpose of this development. But by the early 1960s, Oxfam's fundraising and publicity machinery were well established in the UK and income was growing rapidly, and so there was no need to undertake a potentially risky expansion programme into uncharted overseas territory for income alone. But as outlined previously, the publicity that was needed to fundraise in other countries had a purpose beyond that of raising income as it formed a core part of promoting a '*new way of thinking*' aimed at influencing public opinion in order to seek action by governments to address the root causes of poverty. Nevertheless, the new entities still needed to generate income to cover their own costs and to contribute to the work of Oxfam overseas.

It has been suggested that activists have a tendency to overestimate the opportunities available to them (Kriesi 2007: 68; Gamson and Meyer 1996:285) and consequently this thesis suggests that the success and recognition Oxfam had been experiencing in the UK led them to over-estimate the potential for a successful fundraising operation in North America. Oxfam in Canada did not become established or 'take off' in anything like the scale anticipated by Oxfam in the UK, and so a member of staff was seconded to Canada to help it develop fundraising activities. In June 1964 a report to the Council spoke of the need for a '*substantial breakthrough*' in fundraising (Oxfam 1964a). Shortly after this secondment ended Henry Fletcher, Kirkley's deputy, made a series of visits to Toronto to try and keep things afloat. This continued for two years with little sign of the hoped-for breakthrough. In the spring of 1966, Oxfam UK's continuing investment in Canada is seen by a further cash investment of £60,000 which was accompanied by the long-term secondment of Fletcher to Toronto to head up the organisation and develop its impact (Oxfam 1966a; Black 1992: 170). Kirkley's entreaties for the Council to provide repeated seed funding for

overseas entities were also aimed at addressing concerns regarding the disappointingly slow development of the Canadian operation. This had not been anticipated in the original planning, and the additional investment again affirms the broader aim that establishing overseas offices was to influence public opinion and governments.

Oxfam's fundraising activities had always been highly response driven with return on investment (ROI) closely monitored, reported upon and used to make decisions about the future targeting of resources. As this was such a fundamental principle of Oxfam's *modus operandi* for fundraising, it is unlikely that such a high level of investment would have continued for such an extended period of time without a favourable outcome, unless there were other reasons for the Canadian operation. Even so, it is unlikely that such a drain on resources could have continued or gone unchallenged in the UK for much longer, but in 1967 things changed significantly for Oxfam Canada with the introduction of sponsored walks. The first sponsored walk was headed by the Canadian Prime Minister, Lester Pearson, and these captured the imagination of the Canadian public. In the following year, the impact of these walks had quadrupled their income to \$680,000, and by the end of 1970, Canada had distributed £1.2 million in overseas aid, half of which through Oxfam UK and the other half through its own grantmaking mechanisms. After five years at the helm, Fletcher handed over the leadership of a flourishing Oxfam Canada to a Canadian, Jack Shea, in 1971.

ii. **Technological Factors in Overseas Expansion**

While the possibilities of international travel and communication had increased in the post-war period, the costs of these were still high and so maintaining relationships with new offices would have been expensive and may have been prohibitive unless the benefits of international expansion were seen as justifying this. Again, the fact that Oxfam did continue to invest in the Canadian office while simultaneously incurring the high costs of travel and communications are indicative of the priority they placed on this development. In later years, with cheaper air travel and the onset of the internet and email communication, these technologies became enabling factors as they removed many of the difficulties associated with maintaining long distance relationships.

iii. Globalisation as a Factor in Overseas Expansion

Much could be written about globalisation and its effects, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage in those debates or to attempt to define it. But globalisation has contributed to a measure of global convergence in respect of lifestyles, social expectations, brands and media consumption. These factors of convergence have also enabled the rise of transnational activism causing Tarrow (2006) to note that the '*fundamental socio-cultural change*' that has led to this rise is the '*growth of a stratum of individuals who travel regularly, read foreign books and journals, and become involved in networks of transactions abroad*'. He calls this stratum '*rooted cosmopolitans*' who are linked through a wide range of networks and epistemic communities (Tarrow 2006: 35, 29, 42). But in the 1960s these factors of convergence were still at a relatively early stage and didn't fully mature until the onset of the internet in the 1990s, but nevertheless were beginning to show their potential. Tarrow also notes that rooted cosmopolitans are not a new phenomenon but have been around for centuries. Within Oxfam in the 1960s, the travels of Lesley Kirkley and Henry Fletcher put them within this category and exposed them to the early signs of these trends and processes of convergence, especially between the UK and North America. This exposure encouraged them to expand overseas as they would have seen and been encouraged by the growing potential of similarities in media, lifestyles and advertising.

Tarrow (2006) identifies transnational activists as a subset of rooted cosmopolitans and defines them as '*individuals and groups who mobilise domestic and international resources and opportunities to advance claims on behalf of external actors, against external opponents, or in favour of goals they hold in common with transnational allies*' (Tarrow 2006:43). This also describes the intentions and actions of Kirkley and Fletcher on behalf of Oxfam in their demarche into North America and therefore globalisation, and the associated factors of convergence were facilitating or encouraging factors rather than as drivers as they helped affirm a vision of the future for which Kirkley and Fletcher were preparing.

iv. Political Factors in Overseas Expansion

a. Domestic Constraints

A boomerang strategy is the colourful name given by Keck and Sikkink (1998) to situations where, if national political opportunity is closed and domestic social movements are unable to achieve their goals, they may '*push outwards*' to an international arena to seek allies who may speak up for the cause and bring pressure from outside the original country (Keck and Sikkink 1998:12). In other words, the combination of a closed domestic opportunity structure combined with an open international one provides a key driver for international expansion as the NGOs can work to challenge and ultimately change international norms that can subsequently provide leverage for domestic change (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002). The Oxfam Canada office was established in 1963 which was a time of considerable uncertainty for Oxfam UK as this was when the Charity Commission had begun to challenge its work in long-term development and public education (See Section 2a of this Chapter). As Oxfam was simultaneously deciding that political influence was one of its aims, the investigations of the Commission contributed to the apprehension of some members of the Council regarding the advisability of influencing and advocacy work in the UK.

b. Opportunities Emerging at a Global level

For Oxfam, who had been promoting the benefits of international fellowship since it began, the gold standard of international influence would be working within the UN system by being granted consultative status via ECOSOC at the UN. Unfortunately, the reticence to admit single country NGOs was a problem, as though Oxfam had a presence in many developing countries, Oxfam's application for consultative status with the UN in 1963 was rejected as it was considered to be a single country NGO and not international (Oxfam 1963c).

This made the establishment of sister Oxfams in other countries an imperative as without it they could not be officially recognised and consequently not able to operate and influence within the UN system. Therefore this thesis contends Oxfam's overseas expansion programme was underpinned by its objective of obtaining consultative status with the UN.

c. Domestic Constraints Combined with International Opportunities

In seeking to establish bases overseas, Kirkley was making plans on two levels to enable Oxfam to continue its influencing work: first, in a similar manner to the boomerang pattern described by Keck and Sikkink (1998), he was ensuring that Oxfam would be able to continue its influencing work in Canada. It is not suggested that the actions of the Charity Commission embody the authoritarian regimes that Keck and Sikkink (1998) are referring to in their description of the boomerang strategy, nor that this was a primary driver in Oxfam's overseas expansion programme, but it is considered that the risk of having to water down or stop its public education work in the UK provided additional impetus for the programme of overseas expansion and further reasons for the extended period of support to the Canadian office. Secondly, by establishing sister organisations in other countries, Oxfam was taking deliberate steps towards becoming an international organisation which would enable it to achieve consultative status with the UN.

v. Individual Personalities as a Factor in Overseas Expansion

Research among commercial companies has identified the strong influence of key executives in driving forward a personal vision for overseas expansion and the enduring impact this has on the organisation's long-term strategic direction (Bartlett and Ghoshal 2002).

Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) assert that the primary motivation of individuals and groups in the non-governmental sector is to '*shape the world according to their principled beliefs*' and that they act as '*moral entrepreneurs*' to bring about their vision of the world (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002:11).

John Thomas, one of the founding members of the Oxfam America Board of Directors, emphasises that it was Kirkley's vision to see Oxfam become a global organization rather than just a leading British NGO and that this underpinned the establishment of sister Oxfams in other countries (Thomas 2010). It has been shown that a key message increasingly pressed by Kirkley during the 1960s was to generate a new way of thinking, to influence public opinion, first on a national stage and then internationally in order to create a new '*international norm*' and in so doing he was acting as a '*moral entrepreneur*' on behalf of Oxfam. Black (1992) refers several times to a '*vision*' or '*dream*' of an

international network of Oxfams and ascribes the main proponent of this as Lesley Kirkley (Black 1992: 170-174). Kirkley's contemporaries didn't see this dream of a global network as vanity or hubris; they perceived a more noble purpose as underpinning it as it would take the '*new way of thinking*' into the counsels of other nations. Black (1992) notes that '*image by image, Oxfam was helping develop a new way of looking at the world, an ideologically charged view of other countries and cultures*' and refers to the '*attempt to market a new notion of international friendship*' (Black 1992: 104).

But Kirkley's commitment to international influence and generating this new way of thinking, cannot be understood without reference to his deep commitment to the Quaker faith which included the Quaker commitment to seeing an international society emerge, combined with the responsibility Quakers feel to promote this by public education programmes. In one respect, Kirkley was just one Quaker among many in the Oxfam organisation, but his role as Director General was pivotal: he not only set the tone and direction for its day to day activities but was also the principal contact with the Executive and Council, many of whom were also Quakers or in sympathy with Quaker aims and lifestyle. Therefore the potential role of Quakerism in the overseas expansion of Oxfam will be examined in the next section.

vi. Religion: Quakerism as a Factor in Overseas Expansion

The Quaker influence in the day to day operation and decision making of Oxfam has been determined in an earlier section of this thesis, and so this section seeks to outline in what ways the Quaker ideology may have influenced the actions of Oxfam in regard to overseas expansion.

At the end of the war Quakers believed they had a responsibility to encourage and nurture an '*expanding consciousness*' of the needs of others, especially those '*less fortunate, those exploited, those in foreign lands*' and recognising that this could not be imposed, they were encouraged to work for a '*gradual and continuing realization of the moral order*' (Byrd 1960: 49,45). In seeking to influence foreign policy, the strategy of Quakers had evolved to a primary focus that sought to bring about change in public opinion through the sponsorship of public education programmes even while they continued to seek to influence those in '*high places*' (Byrd 1960: 192). It has already been demonstrated that Kirkley, a Quaker, had a view that to meet the needs of the poor, Oxfam needed

to spur governments around the world to address the causes of poverty, and we see from the preceding paragraph that this was commensurate with and drawn from Quaker faith and practice. But in order to present this new way of thinking on a global stage it needed to have an international, not just national, presence and it has already been argued that this, therefore, was a key driver behind its overseas expansion. This is seen in the many papers and proposals presented to the Council and Executive by both Kirkley and Fletcher.

This emerging global strategy, of creating an informed global public opinion by creating satellite offices in other developed countries, is reminiscent of the FRC's strategy in 1942 when they wanted to create multiple points for influence of the government. The FRC had a national strategy of creating local committees in towns around the country to disseminate information about the Allies' naval blockade in order to develop an informed public opinion that would in turn influence the UK government. Now, in the 1960s, Oxfam had a counterpart strategy operating on a global stage: to create offices in other developed countries with the aim of disseminating information on the causes of poverty so that an informed global public would influence other governments and inter-governmental organisations. We have seen that the FRC strategy was Quaker-inspired and fully in step with their belief that they should be influencing governments through public education, which was believed to be a responsibility of all Quakers. The approach outlined by Kirkley in 1963, discussed at Section 2biv of this Chapter, was to secure the support of influential people in public life, which closely mirrors the strategy of the national FRC in 1942. And in 1966 his words echoed those outlining the FRC's original strategy to challenge the Allies' blockade of occupied Europe when they stated they wanted to secure *'the creation of a widely informed public opinion locally'* as this would then be used to influence the government (FRC 1942a; FRC 1942b).

Many have referred to the new way of thinking that Oxfam was promoting in its national and international discourse, but what has been missed from previous accounts is an understanding that this can be traced directly back to Quaker faith and practice via Kirkley and his Quaker contemporaries within Oxfam. The influence of religion is therefore not seen just seen on an organisational level but is personified in Kirkley's drive to expand overseas in order to have the widest possible reach for the Quaker supported, and Quaker-inspired ideas of international harmony and society.

vii. Overseas Expansion: Summary of Factors

In the 1960s, the ability of Oxfam to achieve its objective of influencing on a global basis was largely dependent on its ability to acquire consultative status with the UN, which it was prevented from doing due to its being considered a national organisation. This was, therefore, a powerful driver for it to generate sister resourcing organisations in other western countries. Combined with this, the opportunity in the UK for Oxfam to develop advocacy and policy influence was uncertain as the Charity Commission was continuing to question whether such activities could be considered charitable. When combined, these two factors made the development of an Oxfam presence in other countries particularly attractive.

In the UK, Oxfam's income was increasing rapidly which gave it sufficient financial stability to consider a calculated risk of seed funding sister organisations and its confidence in doing so was boosted by its strong reputation among the public, media and political class. Nevertheless, the new organisations were expected to generate income to cover their own costs and to contribute to Oxfam funded projects, but it has been argued that the rapid growth of income in the UK, combined with the economic risk factor entailed in expansion, does not indicate that this was a primary reason to expand. The high cost of travel and communications would be a constraining factor in the decision to expand, especially for an organisation such as Oxfam which placed a high value on financial metrics. But the decision to proceed, while incurring such costs, only serves to highlight the importance placed on non-financial factors.

Therefore this thesis concludes that the primary reason for overseas expansion was to establish a basis for global influence, which itself was underpinned by the pervasive influence of Quakerism and its associated commitment to internationalism.

b. Oxfam's First Consideration of Internationalisation

i. Postscript to Oxfam's Application for UN Consultative Status

In 1968, the UN reviewed its process for allocating consultative status, and was now more open to single country NGOs, provided they met certain criteria (Willets 1996). Therefore there were two possible ways for NGOs such as Oxfam to be accorded this status: either as a national NGO with a specific,

unique contribution or if they were able to demonstrate they were an international body.

By the summer of 1971, Oxfam had established several sister Oxfams and Kirkley's view was that the time had come for Oxfam to adopt a more intentional and strategic approach to international relations and recommended to the Oxfam Council that Oxfam: *'accept the opportunity open to it to play a constructive role internationally in the coming years'*. He argued that Oxfam was *'already a fact'* on the international scene, being *'received at the highest level'* in the UN Secretariat and specialised agencies which led to renewed consideration for applying for consultative status (Oxfam 1971a). This view was articulated in a paper entitled *'International Relations'* where he set out Oxfam's current reputation on the *'international scene'* which he argued was not from having a *'multi-national base'* as did other groupings but because of *'the quantity and quality of our aid programme and from the internationalism inherent in the humanitarian approach of Gilbert Murray and his co-founders'* (Oxfam 1971a). The paper asked for endorsement to four recommendations which were headed by a veiled suggestion for consultative status: *'in the positive spirit of the founders of Oxfam, the organisation should accept the opportunity open to it to play a constructive role internationally in the coming years'*. This was unanimously agreed, as was a further proposal by one Council member to reapply for consultative status (Oxfam 1971a).

The next reference to consultative status is in the January 1972 minutes of the Executive where it is noted that Oxfam had been approached by Curtis Roosevelt, the Chief of the NGO section at ECOSOC suggesting that it apply as *'in his view it would be very useful for Oxfam to be linked to the United Nations in this fashion'* (Oxfam 1972). This information was updated in February 1972 when Kirkley reported to the Executive that Roosevelt was *'most anxious'* that Oxfam apply as he was aiming to *'build up direct contact with the agencies rather than oblique approaches through co-ordinating bodies'* (Oxfam 1972aa) and consequently a proposal to make formal application was presented to the Oxfam Council in March 72 (Oxfam 1972ai). As a result, Oxfam was finally accorded consultative status with the UN in 1973, but it is important to note for the discussions that follow, that pursuant to the review of criteria in 1968, they achieved this as a national NGO, not international, in accordance with article 71 of the UN Charter.

ii. Developments in Oxfam Affiliate Organisations

It is argued that transnational networks can '*break the cycles of history*' as they '*open channels for bringing alternative visions and information into international debate*' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:x) but the difficulty of developing effective transnational networks is also noted (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996). Wuthnow (2009) describes this as the twin problems of '*distance and difference*', explaining that distance creates problems for coordination and increases costs, and where '*difference*' refers to the cultural and language barriers that need to be addressed (Wuthnow 2009: 95). By the late 1960s, these problems had begun to emerge in the relationships between the various Oxfam entities, which led eventually to a consideration of internationalisation.

By 1969, some initial differences of view began to emerge in the relationship with Oxfam of Canada, as Canada began to indicate it did not want to be constrained by what it perceived to be the paternalistic approach of Oxfam UK towards recipients of funds and they wanted to identify recipients that weren't missionaries or other expatriate groups. A report to the Oxfam Canada Board stated: '*liaison between Oxfam of Canada and Oxfam ...consists of exchanging ideas and experience and keeping one another informed of the major activities...*' with an expectation that '*Oxfam of Canada would complement not duplicate [the work of] Oxfam UK*' (Oxfam Canada 1969). At the time Oxfam UK saw this as a sign of a maturing organisation, and in a report to the UK Executive Committee it was stated that Oxfam Canada was making encouraging progress, that is was a '*fully weaned*' autonomous body that would work according to '*the Oxfam spirit*' and complement the work of Oxfam UK. It recognised that as an independent body, it would not necessarily share Oxfam UK's priorities, and would eventually go its own way (Oxfam 1969b). But in 1971, a Canadian took over the helm and began to change its aims and policies in a '*deliberate effort to distance Oxfam Canada from Oxfam UK*' (Black 1992: 172). With respect to the Nigerian Civil War, for example, it channelled far more funds to a Scandinavian Airlift into Biafra than to Oxfam's efforts and in 1971/1972 made a grant to an institution run by FRELIMO in Mozambique (Black 1992:171-172), in order to show solidarity with those fighting against Portuguese colonialism. As Oxfam UK had been at pains to be both peaceful and non-partisan, it struggled with the association of the Oxfam name with an armed liberation movement. A policy

paper from Canada, *'White Paper on Political Affairs'*, that indicated a departure from the operating principles of Oxfam UK, was approved by the Canadian Board in 1973. The paper proposed that Oxfam's development policy be based on a commitment to social justice, self-determination and political development and that countries for projects should be selected for funding on political criteria, including a requirement that the project assists those involved to achieve political power (Oxfam 1973a). The leadership and trustees of Oxfam UK were deeply troubled by these proposals, especially as they would be carried out under an 'Oxfam' banner, leading to repercussions on their own work and reputation for neutrality (Oxfam 1973a). It recognised that as Oxfam of Canada was an independent organisation, they had no power to inhibit these developments, but instead continued to press for further dialogue before any action was taken (Oxfam 1973a; Oxfam 1973b). During 1973, the Executive continued to monitor the evolution of the other Oxfams and noted that during the second international meeting of Oxfams, *'relationships between Canada and the rest of the Oxfam family loomed very large'* (Oxfam 1973c). Growing tensions within Oxfam Canada created its own internal problems: a separate Quebec office, created in 1968 to raise awareness of third world issues among French speakers, broke away in 1973 to form an entirely separate and independent organisation (Oxfam 1973c).

Oxfam UK was in sympathy with Canada's developing philosophical approach but nevertheless wanted to preserve the integrity and reputation of its own overseas aid programme. It felt that strident, public declamations about unjust systems or governments were not the most effective way to bring about change and in many cases would be counterproductive, and could endanger staff or close projects. It also viewed with dismay the perception that Oxfam Canada was deliberately developing a reputation as a critic of right-wing governments (Black 1992) as the use of the Oxfam name would lead many to conclude that Oxfam UK was also championing this viewpoint. Additionally, as Oxfam UK had by now been accorded consultative status with the UN, any association of the Oxfam name with these highly charged political activities would have put this status at risk.

By January 1974, Kirkley was approaching retirement, thereby weakening the connection between the organisations still further, and the UK Executive were concerned that without any guidelines or policies determining how the

organisations should relate to one another, the difficulties between them could become worse and that the public voice of Oxfam Canada could jeopardise the international reputation of Oxfam UK and also its status with the UN, as well as put its own staff and programmes at risk. By 1973 Oxfam America was also beginning to show signs of increasing independence and differences with Oxfam UK's style of working were developing, but with different concerns to those expressed by Oxfam Canada. It had also begun to develop its own policies: for example, in order to maintain its independence from government and to avoid any sense of compromise when dealing with statutory bodies, it had agreed a policy of not accepting government grants of any kind. This contrasted sharply with Canada, who in spite of their vocal opposition to some federal policies, continued to receive government funding and the UK who had, since 1962, been working in collaboration with the British High Commission on three projects in Southern Africa. Secondly, in contrast to Oxfam UK's continued use of strong emotive and negative imagery for fundraising, Oxfam America committed itself to avoiding a '*condescending attitude*' towards the poor and affirmed that communications would be '*thought-provoking rather than emotional*' (Oxfam America 2016). While these emerging issues were different from those in Canada, it was yet another fissure opening up in the transnational working relationships.

By the early 1970s, Oxfam UK had established a number of links with existing or newly created organisations in other countries. While these organisations had a shared aim of relieving suffering around the world, the view on how these aims could be achieved was no longer in harmony. Oxfam UK was aware of and sensitive to, the drawbacks of its own grant-making mechanisms, especially with regard to the recipients of grants, but remained committed to changing its processes in a consensual and gradual manner that would minimise disruption to the communities and projects involved (Black 1992; Bryer 2012; Walker 2012). When differences began to emerge between Oxfam UK, Oxfam America and Oxfam Canada, there were no procedures in place through which these could be resolved as they had been expecting that any problems would be addressed by '*objectivity, diplomacy and a willingness to a meaningful collaboration*' (Oxfam 1971a). Strictly imposed guidelines and policies were not the Oxfam way as these would have been perceived as dictatorial (Norton 2012).

Kirkley's vision for overseas expansion had not anticipated central control by Oxfam UK as it was assumed the Oxfam UK model would be transferred overseas and that the quality and efficiency of the UK grant system, combined with trusted relationships, would be sufficient to enable people with shared aims to work together in pursuit of their common goals (Norton 2012; Black 1992). What had not been fully appreciated was that Oxfam UK's approach, principles and values had been instinctively understood by those in key positions of decision making in the UK, but it was not something articulated or set down in policy terms. The combination of diverging philosophies and the lack of mechanisms to resolve difficulties meant that the Oxfam Council came to the conclusion that something needed to be done to address the problems as they perceived them.

iii. The Perspective of Oxfam UK

In January 1974, in recognition of the damaging effect these disputes were already having and with the potential to cause further problems, a working party was established by the Oxfam UK Council to explore options for resolving these difficulties. The remit of the working party was to consider '*the wider implications of membership of the Oxfam family*', and whether an 'Oxfam International' of some description was a viable proposition: in other words, it began a process to explore the option of formal internationalisation.

Jordan and Van Tuijl (2000) argue that in order to be effective in advocacy on an international stage, there needs to be a degree of '*political responsibility*' operating among international affiliates in an NGO family (Jordan and Van Tuijl 2000). The evidence presented by this thesis would concur with this finding as the different affiliates in the 1960s and 1970s who bore the Oxfam name didn't demonstrate this attribute and consequently provided a stark illustration of the '*permanent headache*' described by Fowler (1996) when trying to reconcile different views and perspectives (Fowler 1996: 63). Oxfam UK had begun to realise that the informal nature of its inter-organisational relationships was not effective, recognising that the differences in philosophy and approach with the other Oxfams were not merely a conceptual distinction: it led to fundamental differences in how the organisations operated in the two core areas of Oxfam's work: grant-making and political influence. Without formal, agreed procedures through which these could be resolved, the Oxfam UK Director invested time

and energy in lengthy consultative processes to try and resolve issues on a case by case basis.

These problems had the potential to disadvantage Oxfam UK far more than the other entities. The increasing reputation of the Oxfam name was a benefit to the newer, smaller Oxfams, but the political statements and activities of the newer entities risked the reputation and work of Oxfam UK (Oxfam 1973x). These tensions coincided with Oxfam UK's newly acquired consultative status with the UN and the actions of the other organisations, especially Oxfam Canada, had the potential to put this status at risk, and so increased the urgency for Oxfam UK to find a resolution to the problems. Ironically, the expansion programme which had been instigated to enable them to gain consultative status by dint of being an international body was now presenting a serious risk to their retention of it.

iv. Oxfam UK: Working Party to Consider Formal Internationalisation

The decision to explore options for formal internationalisation reflects Foreman's discussions around the need to recognise the contributions of multiple stakeholders in an NGO 'family' for considering global structures. But the premise that Foreman and other scholars were working to was that including voices of all stakeholders, especially those from the South was paramount.

The situation with Oxfam was that the reputation and work of the founding organisation, Oxfam UK, which was also the largest, was being threatened by the actions of much smaller affiliates with the same name. Therefore the driving force for considering internationalisation emanated from Oxfam UK, not from the affiliates, and the purpose was to minimise the potentially damaging effect of the affiliates on Oxfam UK, by restraining or curbing their activities, rather than in incorporating them. Also, the only organisations that Oxfam UK was considering in the internationalising process at this stage were the resourcing organisations in the North: it was not looking to incorporate the recipient countries in the South in this process. Foreman's (1999) contention that any formal governance structures should provide legitimacy, accountability and effectiveness (Foreman 1999:179) will be used to assess the process that Oxfam underwent. The newer resourcing entities had been established as independent organisations with no legal constraints on what they could or could

not do, and as the working party to consider internationalisation was initiated by Oxfam UK for reasons pertinent to them, the other entities had little incentive to invest time and energy into these discussions. While the working party recognised they were looking at *'structural problems of a multi-national grouping'* (Oxfam 1974a), for Oxfam UK it was about protecting the brand of Oxfam which it perceived was being put at risk by other stakeholders and its primary purpose was to restrict or constrain activities carried out under the banner of the Oxfam name which would harm its reputation in the UK and the UN. It was not designed to look for a structure to facilitate positive engagement by others to facilitate future developments.

The Working Party met four times between March and June 1974 and invited the Council and staff to contribute their thoughts and perspectives. It also met with senior Oxfam UK staff and received papers from different divisions within Oxfam UK. They finally met with the assembled representatives of other Oxfams at the 3rd International Meeting in June 1974. Their final report was issued later that month and stated that it was *'highly desirable'* that Oxfam UK, its Executive Committee, Council and staff arrive at a genuine consensus regarding international policy as it recognised that in recent years this had been *'closely associated with the vision and personality of Lesley Kirkley: with his retirement from the directorship such a consensus becomes all the more necessary'* (Oxfam 1974a). They accepted the premise of Oxfam having an international role but believed that the grouping of Oxfam organisations was only international *'in loose parlance'*. Consequently, they saw their role as looking to *improve co-ordination*. Their first recommendation was to refer to the grouping as the Oxfam Movement rather than the *'Oxfam family'* as the latter term was thought to imply *'parent/child'* relationships which were inappropriate. Their main recommendation was that there should be an Oxfam International (OI) Board, constituted at law with equal representation from each national Oxfam (Oxfam 1974a). The role of the Board would be to determine policy between the Oxfams and to consider what action, if any, to take if agreements are broken. They affirmed the role of International Secretary but recommended it reported to the OI Board and had the status of a divisional head. They made no recommendation regarding the overseas programme other than to encourage the movement to work towards *'a coherent and identifiable programme of aid'* and a *'gradual harmonisation and coordination of our commitment to*

development, functionally and geographically'. They also affirmed an agreement reached at the International Meeting of Oxfams to develop a co-ordinated approach to disasters. Recognising that the field directors were currently responsible to Oxfam UK, they recommended that steps be taken to enable the field directorate to *'become the instrument of the movement as a whole'* but recognised this would need harmonisation of policies, but believed that *'without a genuine internationalisation of the Field Directorate... the prospect of a coherent movement to be ultimately doomed'*. Regarding expansion of the movement, they expressed a preference for this to be conducted by alliances with groups who shared Oxfam's non-sectarian and non-partisan approach and that any further use of the name should be decided by all in the current movement and that the Australian 'qualifying' format be used (Oxfam 1974a). The report recognised that Oxfam UK had membership of a number of international bodies and acknowledged that it usually made it clear that it was part of a wider movement. The report also acknowledged the desirability that Oxfam UK consult with the other entities wherever possible when contributing to these bodies so their voice could also be heard. The consultative status with the UN was referenced separately, noting that this had been gained by Oxfam UK as a national NGO and that it was doubtful that the 'loose grouping' of Oxfam organisations would satisfy the UN's criteria for an international NGO and pertinently stated that *'it is important that the present status should not be jeopardised'* (Oxfam 1974a).

The Working Party's report was deferred by Oxfam's Council until its November 1974 meeting to allow senior staff and the other Oxfams time to deliberate and make comments and also enabled the new Director of Oxfam UK, Brian Walker, to familiarise himself with all the previous Oxfam International activity. A meeting of the national directors in September 1974 came to the view that an international secretariat should not proceed but that each Oxfam should appoint a Liaison Officer to improve the effectiveness of consultation and information sharing. They did however unanimously agree to recommend to each Board the establishment of an Oxfam International Disasters Unit (OIDU) that should be a separate legal entity, and situated in Oxford (Oxfam 1974d). Oxfam UK considered these proposals alongside the Working Party report and concluded that it would be wise to monitor how the OIDU worked in practice before making any decision about internationalising further (Oxfam 1974e).

Walker had serious reservations about the practicality of the proposals and was apprehensive about the Oxfam partnership in general. He felt that there should be clarity on the field and that the *'contradictory policies'* of different Oxfams would undermine the whole field operation. In writing of his reservations to the Executive, he explained that unless the movement had an agreed philosophy, and hence policy, it would be difficult to have any joint decision making (Oxfam 1974e; Oxfam 1974d). The proposals of the Working Party and the proposition for OIDU continued to be debated by the Executive and Council from October 1974 to March 1975 during which time Oxfam UK, Oxfam America and CAA (Australia) withdrew their support to OIDU being a separate legal structure and the Working Party continued to press its view that structural change needed to be considered.

In February 1975 Walker presented a paper to the Executive where he summarised the steps taken to that point and set out his reservations about the possibility of any further harmonisation, and asked the Executive and Council to consider *'disentangling ourselves from largely illusionary, pseudo international groupings'* so they could concentrate on their core work of helping the poor (Oxfam 1975b). Within this paper, he also addressed the issue of consultative status with the UN, but recognised that *'...if we are to speak there as an International group then consultation must precede...'* but went on to express his doubts that this would be possible due to the difficulties between them (Oxfam 1975b). He expressed frustration that the agreed decisions regarding OIDU had been *'unilaterally reversed'* by some of the Oxfams. As a consequence of all these matters, his view was that any form of formal collaboration was not possible and urged the Oxfam Executive and Council to *'remain uncommitted to the structural change advocated'* (Oxfam 1975b). These views were reiterated throughout 1975 (Oxfam 1975a; Oxfam 1975c; Oxfam 1975d; Oxfam 1975f; Oxfam 1975g).

In 1975, both the Executive Committee and the Council supported Walker's view that structural change was not appropriate but urged the leadership to *'strive for better coordination of programmes by continuous dialogue, liaison and exchange of visits...'* and encouraged an annual meeting of senior personnel to develop working relationships and to continue discussion regarding harmonisation of aid programmes (Oxfam 1975e). Walker remained concerned about the risk to Oxfam UK's reputation by the other entities continuing to use

the Oxfam name , which led to a series of correspondence and discussions throughout 1975, where Walker proposed and suggested inducements for the other Oxfam entities to relinquish the Oxfam name. This did not happen, but the informal relationship between the Oxfam entities continued albeit with various degrees of acrimony and harmony until the early 1990s when the prospect of internationalisation was revisited, which will be examined in a later section. Meanwhile, the various affiliates continued as a transnational network, sharing information and a common name but their differences in approach continued to preclude any higher level of coordinated activity (Black, 1992; Walker 2012). While reaffirming his commitment to continuing consultation and information sharing, Walker also reiterated his firm view that as the Oxfams were '*six autonomous bodies with no agreed philosophy, structure or policy*', it would be impossible to move towards any structural change or joint decision making until these issues were resolved (Oxfam 1975b).

It was noted earlier that a formal governance structure should provide three things: legitimacy, accountability and effectiveness (Foreman 1999), but Walker's assessment of the profound differences between the organisations summaries why, at this stage, a formal international body would be unworkable: firstly, the differences in philosophy made legitimacy impossible; secondly, the diversity of structures would make accountability impractical; and finally the variations and contrasts in policy would make effectiveness extremely hard to attain.

v. An Articulation of Oxfam's Philosophy

Up to this point people within Oxfam had not been overly concerned by the lack of an articulated and agreed ideology as they referred to the '*spirit of Oxfam*' which was said to be instinctively understood by those in key positions, with some describing it as '*a peculiarly British animal*' (Black 1992: 101). Others have referred to its character as being: '*... an idea and not a tightly defined idea*' (Black 1992: 102); '*rather like an amoeba – our shape [is] ill-defined*' (Walker 1975) and '*Oxfam is difficult to grasp or define, but you knew it when you had it*' (Bryer 2012). But the failed internationalisation process drew attention to the lack of ideological and strategic cohesion within Oxfam and people began to call for something to be clearly articulated and set down in policy terms.

An earlier section outlined the interest that 'conscientization' had generated among Field Directors who were also beginning to challenge Oxfam's fundraising images and messages as they believed them to be paternalistic and pandered to Oxfam donors at the expense of the dignity of the poor. Black (1992) recalls that these concerns and tensions had '*convulsed Oxfam House*' (Black 1992: 195).

One key voice was Reggie Norton, a practising Catholic, who from his perspective as Field Secretary for Latin America, became determined to see Oxfam develop a '*clear and coherent policy*' (Norton 2012). With the Director's approval, Norton convened a study group of middle managers to explore whether there could be an '*Oxfam Vision of the World to which we could all subscribe with enthusiasm and genuine commitment*' (Black 1992: 196), and the terms of reference included Norton's view that there needed to be coherence between what was undertaken overseas and what was presented at home. Norton, convinced that Oxfam needed to listen carefully to what the poor actually wanted, sought advice from Xavier Albo, a Jesuit scholar based in Bolivia for a '*Third World view of what Oxfam should be doing*' (Norton 2012). Norton had met Albo and other political thinkers when visiting projects in South America and had become convinced that Oxfam should ensure that the people with whom it worked and who would benefit from its support were also '*being made aware of the social situation ..and are questioning it*', demonstrating an influence from conscientization and Liberation Theology. He drew from Freire's thinking and was keen to see a meshing of political awakening within practical action (Norton 2012). Albo's response to Norton's enquiry formed the core thinking for Norton's working party who met from May to December in 1974, consulting with figures from all aspects of Oxfam's work. They aimed to pull together the many ideas and views about who Oxfam was and what it should be doing into a comprehensible and coherent form.

The outcome of their deliberations, a paper entitled '*Oxfam: An Interpretation*' begins with a statement of Oxfam's belief in '*the essential dignity of all people and their capacity to overcome the problems and pressures which can crush or exploit them*'. It continues with a strong commitment to Oxfam being a '*partnership of people who share this belief*' and that '*...to be effective, Oxfam staff, volunteers and supporters must function as an integrated movement*' with a lifestyle consistent with its overseas aims; all public statements informed by their overseas programmes; and a responsibility to influence decision-makers. It

also recognised that *'all people.... rich or poor... are interdependent and should share in the common task of seeking to achieve mankind's full potential'* and also notes that *'we must be sensitive to the need to change ourselves'* (Oxfam 1977) which show themes from Liberation Theology and conscientization. The document was approved by Oxfam UK trustees in March 1975 and initiated much reflection at all levels of the organisation as to how its recommendations could and should be implemented. Black (1992) notes that it was *'a turning point in [Oxfam's] own perception of the world and of its mission'* and just as importantly at this time of international discord, *'represented the moment at which the maelstrom of alternative ideas reaching Oxfam was tamed and incorporated into its institutional character'* (Black 1992: 197). It served as its *de facto* constitution for over 15 years, appearing as an introduction to key documents such as *'The Field Director's Handbook'* and as a core piece of evidence to the Charity Commission during an inquiry into Oxfam's activities in 1991.

It is interesting to note that this major piece of work, partly inspired by Jesuit scholars and Liberation Theology was developed in parallel with Oxfam's 'secular turn' in its external framing. There was no reference to the religious roots of the organisation which provides further evidence of Oxfam's practice of adapting its messaging to accommodate the secular expectations of the prevailing culture.

c. **Epilogue: Oxfam, Phase Two of Internationalisation Process**

Following the abortive attempt in the 1970s to form an international body of connected Oxfams, the separate entities continued as a *'loose collection of national organisations bearing the same name'* (Green 2008) with little interaction between the senior leaders of the different Oxfams and when there was contact it was *'polite'* and more of a *'diplomatic chat'* (Bryer 2012). Eventually, the Directors began to meet together on an annual basis, but there remained no formal processes, rather *'a constant interplay... with perhaps more being achieved through informality'* (Walker 2012). Nevertheless, Oxfam UK's goal of national and international influence remained.

The forces of globalisation on the global political economy combined with the dramatically improved communications created by the emerging power of the internet in the late 1980s and early 1990s caused Oxfam to reconsider closer

collaboration to enable a more unified approach to advocacy with international institutions on what it saw as increasingly global problems (Green 2008).

These processes will be explored more fully in the next section.

i. Political Opportunity

a. Domestic Constraints in the UK

In the UK, the growing influence and reputation of development NGOs led to increased dialogue with government ministers, but also increased scrutiny (Black 1992) but concern about the growing number of campaigns being initiated and supported by charities led to new guidelines from the Charity Commission in 1986 regarding the involvement of charities in political activity which stated that '*reasoned research*' on issues of direct relevance to the charity could be used to make arguments to government for a change in policy. The following year there was a public inquiry into the nature of charitable activity, and in 1989 a Home Office White Paper proposed that the definition of charitable activity should be revised. A new Charity Commissioner was appointed in 1988 who affirmed that '*[charity] cannot avoid influencing or being influenced by the politic of the day*' but also did not believe that charities should pursue these matters too far (Black 1992: 271) leading to renewed unease among the Oxfam trustees. In the late 1980s, there were several complaints made to the Charity Commission about Oxfam's activities as the complainants believed Oxfam was straying too far into political activity. These complaints were not upheld, but in 1990, following further complaints, the Commission conducted an inquiry into Oxfam's activities to ascertain whether it was acting in accordance with charitable law. The potential damage to Oxfam in both financial and reputational terms would be considerable. If it had been determined it was in breach of charitable law, it would have meant the repayment of significant sums to the Inland Revenue that had been claimed from Deeds of Covenant from supporters, an outcome of concern to the trustees as they would be personally liable for such a loss. The inquiry determined that Oxfam had not differentiated between '*stating a possible solution to a problem in reasoned fashion and campaigning to have that solution adopted*' (Black 1992: 283), that certain campaigns '*far exceeded the Commissioners guidelines*' and stated that the '*unacceptable political*

activities of the charity must cease' (Black 1992:283). As the trustees were deemed to have acted in good faith, there were minimal financial penalties, but a warning was given that financial penalties would be considered if there were any further breaches.

b. Opportunities in Global Fora

International development had moved up the political agenda with the publication of the Brandt Report in 1980. This report, commissioned by the World Bank but separately financed, was the product of a high-level commission of world leaders, many from developing countries and drew attention to the immense disparities between rich and poor countries, and called for a greater sense of social justice and action on behalf of developing countries. At the same time, the World Bank was also reconsidering its approach. Until the 1980s, the World Bank operated on a macro basis, working with governments on large budget projects, but a realisation that these programmes were not always reaching the people they were aimed at helping, caused them to consider involving NGOs in service delivery (Clark 2012). They, therefore, began working with NGOs in the 1980s and in 1981/1982 established a joint World Bank/NGO committee and in 1986 established an NGO unit.

ii. Aims and Repertoire

The increasing difficulties with the Charity Commission in the UK, combined with the new openness of the World Bank to engage with NGOs, led to further evolutions of its advocacy role in both domestic and international fora which eventually led to a reconsideration of internationalisation. This will be explored in the next sections.

a. Oxfam UK: Evolution of Advocacy Role

Oxfam UK continued to pursue its lobbying and advocacy work but adapted the manner in which it did so to avoid censure by the Charity Commission. A new policy unit was created in the early 1980s to spread its influence on matters where it had experience by developing reports on a range of topics, aimed at professionals rather than the public, although it still continued with its public awareness work. Its continuing commitment to international influence is illustrated by comments in its 1983 Annual Report where it reaffirmed its determination to '*... represent the poor who've no voice of*

their own in the decisions and councils of rich nations'. In 1983 it also began a review of its charitable objects, which were changed in 1985 to include *'..to educate the public concerning the nature, causes, and effects of poverty, distress and suffering... to conduct and procure research concerning these and to publish or otherwise make the results thereof available to the public'* (Black 1992:256).

Oxfam's lobbying and advocacy work gained further momentum in 1985 with the appointment of a new Executive Director, Frank Judd, who had been a Labour MP, holding various roles in the government, including Minister for Overseas Development. He arrived with a wealth of insider knowledge about government, its workings and a wide range of valuable contacts. His worldview was similar to that of Oxfam's founders, as he came from a committed internationalist family and was determined to see Oxfam become more involved in advocating for the poor, especially on the international stage. He believed that Oxfam's experience required it *'to champion humanitarian values in the international political arena'* (Black 1992: 266). He pursued this international agenda through his chairmanship of ICVA and in 1989 was also appointed to the World Bank/NGO Committee. Bryer (2012) observed that the world had changed significantly since the early 1970s and that British power generally was reducing which meant it was harder for a British organisation to achieve change in international fora on its own and consequently Oxfam UK was a declining voice on the global stage (Bryer 2012). Linked to this was an increasing awareness that the fundamental issues that Oxfam was addressing were now global rather than national and that international institutions did not want to talk to lots of different national agencies. It became clear that the different Oxfam entities needed to have a coherent and unified global voice in order to speak to international institutions such as the World Bank. In 1991, discussions began between Oxfam UK and Oxfams in Europe with a view to creating a single European voice to lobby in the EU. While this didn't get off the ground, the thinking and discussion behind it caused a reconsideration of an Oxfam International entity (Bryer 2012).

b. Convergence of Aims and Practices

Nelson (2000) asserts that advocacy with the World Bank is *'ethically essential, substantively important and politically relevant'* (Nelson 2000) and accordingly, the different Oxfam entities recognised the imperative of presenting a united Oxfam voice rather than several fragmented ones.

While conscious of the different backgrounds of each Oxfam entity, Bryer (2012) notes that by the early 1990s, the Directors and trustees of the different Oxfams were increasingly aware that the globalisation of communication meant each organisation could no longer operate purely within its own national boundaries, speaking to its own constituencies without impacting on other Oxfams. Each of the Oxfams recognised that the Oxfam brand needed to be protected by more formal processes. In parallel was a growing realisation that the differences that had so divided them in the 1970s were now less relevant. They had each changed and matured. Oxfam UK was more confident to speak out politically, and the Oxfams who had been more vocal in the 1970s were now less strident and confrontational in their approaches (Bryer 2012). Therefore in 1993, for purely pragmatic reasons, discussions began regarding the establishment of a Washington Advocacy Office in order to lobby international institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF on behalf of all Oxfams.

iii. Mobilisation of Resources

For Oxfam to form an effective Washington presence required them to come together on a formal basis to work through the issues at hand. A crucial stage in this process was a meeting of the Directors and Chairs of the Oxfam entities in Hong Kong in May 1994 where relationships of mutual respect and friendship began developing which was a fundamental part of reaching an agreement to form *'something called Oxfam International'* (Bryer 2012). A paper was agreed at that meeting which recognised that having a voice in international fora was essential to the effectiveness of its mission: *'If [Oxfam agencies] are to fulfil their mission and exercise influence [they] must be present ...where they can represent their Northern constituencies and partnerships with peer agencies of the South...to provide forum for their participation in International debates'*. It continued to observe that to be effective Oxfam must: *'... be strategically located in relation to loci of International Policy Analysis, formulation and action'*

(Anderson 2007). Consequently, the different Oxfam entities began a process of collaborative working and opened a Washington Advocacy Office (WAO) in 1995 which was backed by nine independent resourcing Oxfams. While acknowledging that pragmatism enabled joint advocacy work to develop and flourish, Bryer notes that this could only take Oxfam International so far and progress on joint working on humanitarian issues and other operational matters took much longer and were gradually incorporated in later years (Bryer 2012). Nevertheless, the establishment of the Washington Advocacy Office (WAO) later proved to be a foundational point in the creation of Oxfam International (OI).

iv. Framing

The 1986 UN Declaration on the Right to Development was a crucial factor in Oxfam's quest to articulate a shared vision that all Oxfam entities could agree on. Not only did this new rights-based approach to development affirm its view that poverty was essentially an imbalance in power relations, but it also provided a basis to underpin the values and aims that Oxfam had been striving to achieve. It provided a master frame and prognostic frame around which all the different Oxfams could cohere and as a consequence provided the basis for the first strategic plan of the new Oxfam International (Forsyth 2009).

3. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has tracked the development of Oxfam during a time of social upheaval and political change which is in stark contrast to the relative stability of its founding days and in the post-war years. During this later period, Oxfam drove forward significant expansion and change, and most notably its demarche into international influence, overseas expansion and internationalisation. This section will summarise the research's findings on these changes and the driving forces behind it. This will be followed by a discussion of the implications these findings have for scholarship.

a. Findings: Oxfam 1960s onwards

The relative stability of the 1950s had enabled Oxfam to develop dependable and reliable income streams, and so it entered the turbulent 1960s in a stable financial position. Therefore in the emerging external environment, where the public was behaving in a '*differently political*' manner, it had the confidence to adapt its practices to meet public expectations and to explore new avenues of activity.

The first finding is that Oxfam responded to the appetite within the public for NGOs and other voluntary agencies to challenge the status quo by evolving its repertoire of public education to foster and promote a 'new way of thinking' in the public, especially regarding overseas development and international affairs. In this, it began to articulate in an explicit manner that its role was not just fundraising but was also to influence the public, which it came to define as incorporating publics in other western countries, in order to influence their governments. In this, the *de facto* secondary aim, outlined in the previous chapter, became an equal partner with its primary aim of raising and distributing resources.

This leads to a second finding which is the confirmation that Oxfam had not seen itself as having a political remit before this period which was illustrated by comments from two of the founding members and by the need for repeated papers to the Executive and Council to argue for its inclusion. This explains the apprehension of the Council when Oxfam began speaking out about issues in the 1960s as they perceived this as a new departure for the organisation. The other reason was the attention these activities attracted from the Charity Commission. These internal concerns led Oxfam to a formal process to determine whether this was a direction they wished to pursue. A working party (The James Committee) was established with a remit to '*examine afresh the place and purpose of Oxfam*' which leads to the third finding: Oxfam did not officially incorporate political influence into its remit until 1967 when the Council accepted the James' Committee's observation that Oxfam had a responsibility to speak up about the issues on which it had experience. Nevertheless, it recognised there were risks attached to these activities, especially with regard to the Charity Commission, and so adapted its practice which leads to the fourth finding: Oxfam began to invest time and energy in alliances with other agencies and where possible worked through these fora to advocate for changes to policy.

These domestic concerns also lead to the fifth finding which is that a fortuitous combination of internal and external factors both drove and facilitated Oxfam's overseas expansion. Internally, it retained the Quaker-inspired determination to promote the concept of international friendship, and this was now augmented by its view that involvement by governments was imperative to address the unjust structures it perceived as the cause of so much global suffering. But it also believed that governments would only act if pressured to do so by the public. It, therefore, wanted to establish the means by which it could extend its influence to publics in

other western countries in order to help establish 'new international norms'. The establishment of the UN and UN agencies had given expression to Oxfam's view of the benefits of an international society and accordingly opened up the possibility of working and influencing within the UN system. The aim of achieving consultative status with the UN, where it would be able to influence in ways not possible with the UK government, was a powerful incentive and primary driver to develop an international presence and reputation. Alongside this, its financial stability meant it was able to take a calculated risk and invest in new ventures; the rapid expansion in its regional operation in the UK added to this and gave additional confidence in its business model; the associated esteem with which it was held in the UK gave it confidence that it would be able to achieve this; the '*differently political*' environment had given it experience of adapting its messages in ways suitable for different audiences.

An associated sixth finding is that the expansion of Oxfam to North America and other Western countries was primarily to establish additional places of influence as opposed to securing additional funding streams. The protracted experience of establishing a financially viable base in Canada was so opposed to Oxfam's long-established modus operandi of targeting resources based on financial metrics, demonstrates that the expansion was aimed primarily at extending influence rather than increasing finance. This was later affirmed by various papers to the Oxfam Executive and Council.

A seventh finding is that the shared objective of all the Oxfam entities, to eradicate poverty and suffering, was insufficient to overcome differences of ideology, policy and practice. The working party on internationalisation in the 1970s was unable to reach agreement on a global structure as the independent affiliates were unwilling to cede authority to a central body which would have required them to adapt or adjust their practices and policies. The rapprochement reached in the 1990s, when the Washington Advocacy Office was established, was based on two things: firstly the policies and practices of the independent organisations had begun to converge, and so the differences between them were less stark; and secondly, the opportunities afforded by the openness of international institutions required them to present a united voice on behalf of the poor. In effect, the lack of political responsibility seen in the 1970s had been reversed.

This leads to the eighth finding: the rapid expansion of Oxfam in the UK in the 1960s led later in the decade to a shaking of the settled collective consciousness that it had enjoyed in its earlier years. This caused it to undertake a process that would articulate and set down in policy form, the '*spirit of Oxfam*' that had been said to guide its decision up to that point. The result was a document entitled '*Oxfam: an Interpretation*' which, for the first time provided an agreed and articulated value base and strategy for Oxfam. In similar fashion, the establishment of Oxfam International in the 1990s was facilitated by the UN Declaration on the Right to Development which provided a set of values articulated in the discourse of justice to which they could all subscribe.

A ninth and final finding is regarding what this thesis has dubbed its 'secular turn' where it began consciously to describe itself as a secular organisation, rather than just not referring to religion at all. In this, it moved from using a benevolent form of secularism in its discourse to a more hostile version. This, however, was in contradistinction to its continuing practice of safeguarding its Quaker-based internal culture and the ongoing partnership with religious organisations for the distribution of resources. These developments were also in parallel with the assimilation of the principles and practice of conscientization within Oxfam, which were in effect a secular articulation of Liberation Theology. This secular turn was first seen in its authorised biographies which were written to support Oxfam's strategy and direction at the time. The result were accounts that described a trajectory of evolution that supported its current and future strategy of wanting to 'own' the secular space in international development, and so inevitably minimised the role of religion in its past. This process helps explain the disparity between Oxfam's assertions of its non-sectarian basis and the evidence presented by this thesis.

b. Impact on Social Movement Theory and Wider Scholarship

The main implications of the findings in this Chapter are in relation to framing and the assumptions based on a secular worldview and the impact this has for secularisation theory.

The evidence of this thesis in respect of the secular turn taken by Oxfam provides two areas of adjustment for secularisation theory. Firstly, the impact of modernisation and secularisation theories at the time, which, in asserting that religion is irrational, moved from expressing expectations regarding modernisation to proscribing a role for religion in the public domain. But its unchallenged influence

affected the confidence of religious groups to speak from their religious basis through a form of intellectual intimidation. In doing so, this muted the voice of religion in the public square, as opposed to eradicating the participation and influence of religion.

This leads to the second point which is that this thesis highlights a weakness in secularisation theory as it relies on the readily observable and recognisable measures of religious rhetoric and discourse to determine whether religion is present or influential in public life: If religious language or reasoning is not used, it assumes the absence of religion and religious influence. Secularisation theory does not allow for the translation of religious values or rationale into secular language for pragmatic or strategic purposes.

Part Two: Presentation of Data and Analysis

Chapter Six: World Vision, 1960s and 1970s including Internationalisation

1. Introduction

Since World Vision began, there were two factors that threatened to undermine the achievement of its objectives: the first was a lack of finance to meet its growing commitments to projects overseas; and the second was the risk of alienating its primary audience, evangelicals, because of its commitment to social welfare activities, which also had financial implications. Therefore many of the developments within World Vision during the 1960s and 1970s were aimed at addressing one or other of these two problems. The first, related to financial concerns, led to a broadening of its fundraising and communication activities which included overseas expansion and led ultimately to a process of internationalisation. They continued to address the second issue by utilising frame amplification techniques but also participated in national and international conferences that would help change the prevailing evangelical perspective on what constituted appropriate activities for a Christian organisation.

As overseas expansion and internationalisation form the basis of one of the two research questions for this thesis, these activities will be considered separately in a later section. But first, the various developments within World Vision will be explored.

2. World Vision: Evolving Priorities in the 1960s and 1970s

a. Political Opportunity Structure: 1960s to late 1970s

This thesis follows Tarrow (1988) in considering political opportunity as a ‘cluster of variables’ and has recommended in Chapter Three, Section 2a that the different elements within this cluster be considered separately. This thesis has also presented evidence to suggest that if religious actors are involved, the religious context should be explored separately, and where possible with an insider’s perspective. These recommendations will structure this section of this chapter.

i. Political Context

During the 1960s, America’s self-confidence and awareness of its super-power status grew, but this was counterbalanced by continuing worries about the spread of communism which were fuelled by the building of the Berlin Wall, the

Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba, the Cuban Missile Crisis as well as the Cold War and the Vietnam War.

The work of NGOs, including faith-based NGOs, in countries at risk of communism, was known to the American Government who began reaching out to them as it perceived they could help in its aim of stabilising poor countries against the advance of communism. As a consequence, World Vision and other faith-based NGOs became '*trusted allies*' for the distribution of food and other forms of relief. These closer relationships were fostered by a series of legislative acts, beginning in the 1960s, which led to an increase in the proportion of government funding to NGOs from 10% in 1953 to 27% in 1973 (Wuthnow 2009:124-125).

ii. Social and Cultural Context

During this time America experienced a mix of consumer growth, technological advancement and optimism; television ownership proliferated, and the introduction of TV News brought global events directly into people's living rooms. But the Kennedy and King assassinations and events such as Watergate in the early 1970s also brought seasons of disillusionment and disappointment with social and political life, leading to uncertainty, social change and, in certain circles, '*uncommon social and political mobilization*' (Putnam 2000:154). In what at first seems like a contradiction with the previous statement, Putnam (2000) notes that towards the end of this period, American society was becoming less associational in terms of face-to-face engagement: membership of party political groups had begun to wane as did voluntarism and to a lesser degree, church attendance. But Putnam also notes that '*mailing list membership continued to expand*' (Putnam 2000:63) which corresponds with trends in the UK, noted in Chapter five of this thesis.

In parallel with the drop in attendance at civic groups, the adoption by NGOs of direct mail as a fundraising mechanism provided a means for people to contribute to society, but without the time commitment previously required. Hilton et al. (2013) observe that financial donations replaced the giving of time and energy to local groups and at the same time, there was the emergence of elite-challenging behaviour in the form of social movements such as the civil rights movement and the women's movement. This shift was also evidenced by student unrest and protest in the 1960s (Putnam 2000:155). Williams (2003)

observes that '*although parties still matter enormously in the institutional workings of established governments, they have lost their place as the culturally approved way of organising political attitudes and loyalties*' (Williams 2003: 321). This cultural shift to joining or participating in a social movement, or supporting a special interest group or charity, meant an individual could avoid the sense of compromise sometimes attached to joining a political party, where they may not agree with every position the party takes. Instead, they could invest their energies fully into a single cause.

As noted earlier in this thesis, in the same manner that Davie (1999) suggests that people in Europe aren't becoming less religious, rather '*differently religious*' (Davie 1999: 65), this thesis suggests the social and cultural shifts in the 1960s and 1970s indicate that many in the American public became '*differently political*'.

iii. Religious Context: General

These changes in associational behaviour were also evidenced by a decline in church attendance although this was less prevalent in evangelical churches (Putnam 2000). During this time new patterns of church affiliation emerged, referred to as '*religious churn*' where many Christians became less loyal to one church or even denomination and would shop around for a congregation that suited them and their lifestyle, rather than commit to the nearest local congregation (Putnam and Campbell 2010). This loosening of denominational ties also encouraged the rise of the '*megachurch*', usually defined as one where the congregation is over 2,000 members and not affiliated to any traditional denomination.

There was also a concomitant rapid rise in the establishment of parachurch organisations and religious special purpose groups (Wuthnow 1988; Lippy and Williams 2010). The rise of TV ownership combined with a deregulated TV broadcast media led to the creation of religious TV programming, where churches and Christian preachers could purchase time on TV networks and request financial donations for their ministry. This kind of TV programme came to be known as televangelism and was predominantly associated with more conservative fundamentalist religious groups.

In similar fashion to the outsourcing of political commitments, the emergence of religious special purpose groups and the rise of religious television programming

facilitated a new form of religious participation where individuals who were not religiously observant in traditional ways, for example in church attendance, could participate in and support the work of para-church organisations. Wuthnow (1988) argues these practices have been a valuable way of '*sustaining religious commitment*' (Wuthnow 1988: 125) which echoes the trends observed by Davie (1999) when she speaks of people in Europe becoming '*differently religious*'.

In parallel with this outsourcing of religious participation, it has been observed that local religious congregations remain sites of connection for local social networks and consequently, also constitute effective recruiting grounds for social movements and para-church organisations. Williams (2003) notes that '*Typically people do not "join" social movements as isolated individuals; more often they get drafted into participating in activities that other people know they are participating in – social networks, not isolates, make up movements*', and as a consequence, local churches function as '*movement midwives*' (Williams 2003:318-319). This is seen for example in the mobilisation of support for the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s (Morris 1996), but also in the recruitment of support for para-church organisations such as World Vision.

Therefore in the 1960s and early 1970s, disillusionment with traditional political and religious institutions provided the church, and especially the evangelical wing of the church, where attendance numbers were maintained, with potential to influence both socially and politically. But Wuthnow (1983: 167-174) presents evidence to show that this potential wasn't accessed or drawn upon until after 1974, a phenomenon that will be discussed further in a later section.

iv. Religious Context: Impact of Secularisation in America

Chapter Five noted the impact that modernisation theory and secularisation theory were having in academic discourse and public life during the 1950s and 1960s in the UK. These trends were also observable in public life in America but in different ways due to the contrasting historical context of religion. The presence of American Civic Religion, discussed in Chapter Four, meant there was not the same sense of approbation with regard to speaking of one's own religious beliefs in public life, but religious convictions had nevertheless become associated with anti-intellectualism. Smith (2003) argues that secularisation in America was not inevitable, as secularisation theory would suggest, rather he

asserts it was deliberately promoted by intellectual elites, who were seeking to gain control of cultural and social institutions, even suggesting it was a form of political revolution (Smith 2003:4). He notes the '*curious contrast*' between the importance of religion in the lives of the majority of Americans and its absence from the institutions of public life but suggests these may be correlated: that it was the strength of religion '*on the ground*' that encouraged secular elites to seek its removal from public life (Smith 2003:7,8). He also suggests that the '*intellectually thin*' legacy of nineteenth-century Protestantism meant it was poorly prepared to develop a theology to counter these claims and so in response, liberal Protestant leaders accommodated secularisation and redefined Christianity in terms of secular modernity (Smith 2003: 2, 35). As noted in Chapter One, Noll (2006) concurs with this assessment of an intellectually bereft Protestantism, asserting that evangelicalism was in '*a parlous state*' having suffered an '*intellectual collapse*' which had led to minimal Christian influence in universities and public policy, resulting in evangelicals being '*politically inert*' (Noll 2006). Nevertheless, he doesn't concede the inevitability of evangelical isolationism but laments that '*its capacity to shape national mores or to influence national agendas in politics, the media and intellectual life seemed spent*' (Noll 2006). But as was shown in Chapter One, Section 2c ii, there was a new cadre of evangelicals emerging who were committed to addressing the anti-intellectualism they inherited from their forebears as well as a determination to craft a new reputation for evangelicalism: believing that as Christians they were called to '*transform culture*' as well as evangelise (Bornstein 2003:19), neo-evangelicals began taking steps to have influence in public life once again. This will be explored further in the next section.

v. Religious Context: The Re-emergence of Evangelical Activism

Studies have consistently shown that prior to 1974, evangelicals were the least likely group in America to participate politically but after that time they were the most likely (Wuthnow 1983: 167-174; Wuthnow 1988: 198-199). It was shown in Chapter One, Section 2cii, that the earlier avoidance of political activity was an active, deliberate decision by fundamentalists, not a response to modernisation or even happenstance. Chapter One also charted the emergence of neo-evangelicals and their determination to counter the anti-intellectualism

of fundamentalists as well as the perspective that socio-political activism was not an appropriate activity for evangelicals.

The work of neo-evangelicals led to a seminal conference on evangelisation in Berlin in 1966 at a time when the relationship between evangelism and social concern was becoming '*particularly contentious, especially among ecumenical churches*' (Ireland 2015: 52). Paradoxically, while neo-evangelicals were promoting the adoption of social welfare alongside evangelism, the conflict in ecumenical circles '*pitted social action priorities against evangelism*' and many sectors of modern Christianity were perceived to be leaving the '*heavy burden of evangelism to a small company of professional supersalesmen*' (Ireland 2015:52). The Berlin conference was the first of several national and international conferences in the 1960s and 1970s which gathered evangelical leaders from across the globe to debate and strategise for world evangelisation. The outcome of these conferences will be discussed fully in a later section.

b. Resource Mobilisation

During the 1950s, World Vision had rapidly extended the range of projects it supported which led to the 1960s being a turbulent and challenging time: it entered the 1960s with over 13,000 sponsored children in 165 different projects and an annual operating budget of \$2.7 million, but the infrastructure was inadequate to cope with this level of complexity and unplanned growth. By 1963 it was half a million dollars in debt and 120 days late in making payments causing the World Vision board to be increasingly concerned for its financial stability (Irvine 1996; Rohrer 1987: 92). To help address this situation, Ted Engstrom, a neo-evangelical and a previous colleague of Pierce from YfC days, was appointed Vice-President in 1963 with a remit to bring sustainability to its operation. Engstrom had a reputation for sound business practice and immediately instituted a domestic fiscal austerity program alongside other fundamental changes to the internal running of the organisation (Irvine 1996: 22-25; Rohrer 1987:89-93). Nevertheless, the organisation still needed to find new sources of funding in order to meet its existing and growing commitments to projects overseas (Irvine 1996).

The concept of 'structural proximity' was introduced in Chapter Three, Section 2b of this thesis as it is seen as a key factor in mobilising support. For World Vision in the 1950s, the '*structural proximity*' was with reference to religious belief and practice rather than geographical closeness as they drew on a pre-existing national network

of evangelicals that had been supporters of the work of YfC and Bob Pierce. But by the beginning of the 1960s, these networks were insufficient to meet the growing demand for funds. Therefore World Vision began reaching out beyond this core group in three different ways: firstly it reached out beyond the evangelical community within America; secondly, it began a new partnership with the American Government and thirdly it expanded overseas to reach evangelicals in other English speaking western countries. These developments will be outlined next.

i. Mobilising Resources in America: Reaching Beyond the Evangelical Community

It is argued that movements are shaped by the *'political constraints and opportunities unique to the national context in which they are embedded'* (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 3) and it was shown in the earlier section on political opportunity that the national context in America in the 1960s and 1970s experienced a shift whereby people were becoming less associational and outsourced their social concerns and religious commitments to professional groups and NGOs. As a consequence, there was an additional potential audience for World Vision: people with a religious disposition but who were not currently practising that faith in more traditional ways, such as regular church attendance, but who were amenable to supporting World Vision's work.

Another aspect to the national context was the notion of *'patriotic theism'* or American civil religion that had been crafted by the political elite as part of its anti-communist rhetoric. Therefore members of the public who were in sympathy with this view presented another stratum within American society for World Vision to reach out to for support. These groups did not need to subscribe fully to World Vision's evangelical stance, as it has been noted that external stakeholders are generally concerned with the aims and objectives of an organisation and not necessarily its core beliefs (Rahman 1998: 21).

Nevertheless, in order to fashion an external identity that less religiously observant groups would be comfortable with, World Vision needed to adapt its vocabulary and discourse in order to maximise its appeal and to be a welcoming place for these groups. This will be discussed in more detail in the section on framing, but an early illustration of this practice was in 1959 when World Vision, using a PR company, commissioned a well-known celebrity author, Richard Gehman, who did not claim to be an evangelical, to travel with Pierce so he could write about his experiences and so cultivate a sympathetic audience

among the general public (Rohrer 1987). The resulting book, *'Let My Heart be Broken'* was published in 1960 and became a best-seller. One measure of the accessibility of the book outside evangelical audiences is seen in Rohrer's claim that it was read by Government officials and was a factor in the development of a new funding relationship between World Vision and the American Government (Rohrer 1987:81-83). This relationship will be examined next.

ii. **Mobilising Resources: Developing Partnerships with Government**

In a proposal for classifying the relationships that NGOs have with Governments, Stoddart (2003) identifies a group that she labels 'Wilsonian' after US President Woodrow Wilson who believed American values could be a force for good in the world. She argues that this group of NGOs see *'a basic compatibility between humanitarian aims and US foreign policy, albeit not necessarily particular policy acts'* and that they can be identified by their close association with the Government's foreign policy (Stoddart 2003:27). This is in contrast to a group she labels 'Dunantist' after Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross movement, who rather than accepting Government policy, take stands to oppose or challenge it. It was noted in political context section of this chapter that the American Government saw NGOs as part of a *'broader effort to stabilize poor countries against communism'* and began reaching out to forge partnerships for the distribution of food and other forms of relief (Wuthnow 2009:124-125). During World Vision's early years, Pierce was viscerally critical of communism, asserting that in many places, World Vision's pastor's conferences were *'the only weapons the United States has [to fight communism]'* (Gehman 1960:205). Whether this perspective was influential in developing a partnership with the Government is moot, but there was a 'Wilsonian' coherence between the American Government's opposition to communism and that of World Vision which facilitated the development of a new charitable organisation, the World Vision Relief Organisation (WVRO) as a subsidiary of World Vision in 1962 (Rohrer 1987:82-83). The WVRO had the express purpose of receiving and distributing relief and gifts in kind from the government and was established as a separate body as the American government restrictions did not permit its funds to be used to promote a religious view, but could be used by an organisation that had a religious identity (Rohrer 1987:83; World Vision 1980). This both illustrates and confirms the assertion that World Vision was

one of the Government's *'trusted allies'* (Wuthnow 2009:124-125). This Wilsonian style relationship with the Government began to shift in the 1970s to a more Dunantist approach, but this change will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

iii. Mobilising Resources Overseas: From a National Organisation to an International Coalition

Even when resources are available, Edwards and McCarthy (2007) note that planned action is needed to convert these resources into useful assets and that this requires a deliberate process of organisation building and the creation of mobilising structures (Edwards and McCarthy 2007: 116,118).

In Chapter Five, this thesis discussed the role of *'transnational activists'*, defined as *'individuals and groups who mobilise domestic and international resources and opportunities to advance claims on behalf of external actors, against external opponents, or in favour of goals they hold in common with transnational allies'* (Tarrow 2006:43). In the 1950s, the role that Pierce played in *'mobilising resources ... on behalf of external actors...'* placed him, and by association World Vision, into this category. This was illustrated when his preaching engagements extended to Canada which led to funds being raised for the work of World Vision and was consolidated by the opening of a fundraising office in 1954. This venture proved to be successful, and in 1961, World Vision Canada became an independent entity. This development represented the first step in creating a transnational network. World Vision's financial difficulties encouraged it to extend this network by replicating the Canadian model in Australia: in 1966 the President of World Vision Canada was sent to Australia with seed funding from World Vision US to establish another satellite fundraising office.

World Vision Australia became a successful off-shoot of World Vision US and had some *'spill over'* into New Zealand which eventually led to World Vision New Zealand being established in 1971. This cluster of western-based resourcing organisations continued to grow, and a World Vision Europe Office was opened in 1975, which ultimately generated a range of European offices, including World Vision UK which opened in 1979. Alongside these resourcing offices in western countries, World Vision opened a number of field offices in developing countries to facilitate the grant-making process. To summarise this

growth: at the end of 1959, there were World Vision offices in only three countries, USA, Canada and Korea, but by 1969 there were resourcing organisations in three countries and six field offices, and by 1979, these numbers had grown to five and 35 respectively.

World Vision's network of personal contacts and connections with evangelicals in other countries made overseas expansion a fairly uncomplicated process as it was able to 'hand pick' candidates from other evangelical organisations, where the person's spiritual credentials, their work performance, understanding of and commitment to world evangelisation and existing network of contacts were known. Therefore, by the time they were approached for a position at World Vision they would have been through a thorough vetting process, albeit an informal one. There was an extensive induction process for the leadership of the new entities which ensured the internal culture of the newer offices was consistent with that of World Vision US.

It has been noted that transnational networks can '*break the cycles of history*' as they '*open channels for bringing alternative visions and information into international debate*' (Keck and Sikkink 1998:x) but the elusiveness of strong operational transnational networks is also noted, as in order to be effective the constituent actors need to be connected by '*shared values, dense exchange of information and services and common discourses*' (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002: 7). McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) concur with this finding, describing the circumstances for success to require '*..homogeneous people who are in intense regular contact with each other*' (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 9). For many transnational networks, this homogeneity was not seen or realised until a measure of global convergence associated with globalisation in the 1990s, began to emerge. But in the case of World Vision, there were the beginnings of a transnational network 30-40 years earlier among evangelicals who shared deeply-held religious beliefs and values and who were in regular contact with each other. While the network was initially established to generate finance, they had, albeit unwittingly, laid the foundations for a transnational network that met many of the criteria, outlined by Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) and McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) for effectiveness. This network later became a factor in facilitating World Vision's internationalisation process which will be discussed in a later section.

c. Aims and Repertoires: Evolving Priorities and Repertoire from 1959 to late 1970s

Wuthnow (1988) notes that the capacity to adapt is one of the '*impressive features of American religion*' (Wuthnow 1988:5,6) and this section will show how, during the 1960s and 1970s, World Vision adapted its repertoire to meet the challenges created by the forces of change in wider society as well as those within its own ranks.

Chapter Four demonstrated that World Vision emerged from an evangelical culture where world evangelisation was viewed as a priority for Christian organisations, but that World Vision was working to broaden the understanding of this concept from pure evangelism (soul-winning) to incorporate social welfare and socio-political activities. In consequence, World Vision's aims were summarised as Christian social welfare; emergency aid; evangelistic outreach; Christian leadership development, through training indigenous pastors; and missionary challenge (Gehman 1960; Irvine 1996) which it believed were essential components of world evangelisation.

Accordingly, its repertoire of activities in the 1950s can be viewed as having three parallel strands: firstly, communicating the needs of Christian social welfare projects in developing countries to evangelical audiences in America to generate awareness, funds and prayer; secondly, evangelism, which was then undertaken primarily by organising large evangelistic rallies; and thirdly, organising training conferences for pastors in developing countries.

Wuthnow (1988) remarks that American religion has been '*remolded by the force of changes in the larger society*' (Wuthnow 1988: 5), and this thesis has shown that these '*forces of change*' included societal and cultural shifts which caused many people to outsource their social concerns and religious commitments to NGOs.

World Vision was a beneficiary of these changes, but this required it to adapt its repertoire of activities to accommodate a broader range of religious perspectives.

In parallel with these external '*forces of change*', there were internal debates which ultimately led to a change in the senior leadership of World Vision: These began with the appointment of Ted Engstrom as Vice-President whose remit was to bring stability to their ailing finances. He instituted a range of processes, procedures and planning but these did not sit well with Pierce, the founding President, who profoundly disagreed with some of the austerity measures being introduced (Irvine 1996:23; Waters 1998). His mental and physical health began to deteriorate, and as

a result, his work for World Vision became increasingly intermittent. After two lengthy leaves of absence, he resigned in 1967 and was replaced temporarily by the Chair of World Vision's Board, the Rev Richard Halverson (Rohrer 1987) and then by Stan Mooneyham in 1969 (Irvine 1996).

World Vision's activities also evolved as they began to reflect the vision, skills and experience of the new President and Vice-President: Firstly, its communications evolved as it capitalised on emerging technologies such as television that extended its capacity to reach beyond its core evangelical supporters to the less religiously observant, as well as government officials. Other technological advances, for example, its computerised supporter database, enabled it to communicate with selected segments of supporters in different ways, tailoring communications according to the interests and background of the supporter. This facilitated the 'bi-lingual' approach referred to previously. Secondly, the practice of evangelism evolved as the appropriateness of this operating alongside social welfare was internally contested and debated; thirdly, the content of the pastors conferences evolved and expanded to other continents, becoming a truly global function; fourthly, World Vision's intrinsic challenge to the more restricted view of Christian mission became an explicit, separate activity and also extended to influence international evangelical leaders as senior personnel participated in conferences where the topic was debated. Finally, World Vision's communications expanded in the 1970s to incorporate speaking about the structural causes of poverty and to lobby the government about these issues.

i. Adoption of Technology to Broaden and Target Communications

During the 1950s, World Vision employed a variety of means, for example, newsletters, filmmaking, speaking engagements and radio broadcasts to inform and inspire supporters and potential supporters about its work. Later, in the 1960s, World Vision invested in emerging technologies to enhance and expand its communications in two different directions: the written word and the spoken word.

a. The Written Word

In the 1950s, World Vision's written communications were primarily newsletters to supporters, but this evolved into a sophisticated direct marketing programme, operated through a state of the art computerised mailing system which incorporated appeal letters and a magazine. World

Vision was one of the first non-profit organisations to use computers and mailing list technology which enabled it to target its fundraising budget with precision: for example they could send appeal letters to over 100,000 people several times a year (VanderPol 2010 :53) but segmented according to the interests and background of the recipient which enabled it to identify its core evangelical supporters separately from those recruited from the general public and to adapt the style and tone of the communication accordingly. For example, while its television programming was recruiting supporters from the less religiously observant public, it was able to send tailored communications to evangelical churches and individuals which retained a strong Biblical underpinning.

By 1960, World Vision had begun using the services of a PR agency to broaden its communications beyond evangelicalism (Rohrer 1987). This was first seen in Gehman's book *'Let My Heart be Broken'* (Gehman 1960), commissioned by Pierce as he believed the general public was not aware of the impact of Christian missionaries and wanted this to be brought to their attention by an *'unbiased outsider'* (Gehman 1960: i, 3; Rohrer 1987:81-82). World Vision's intention of reaching beyond its core evangelical support is demonstrated by the unexpected choice of Gehman as the author, as among other roles, he had been a contributing editor for Playboy, written for Esquire men's magazine and Cosmopolitan. But as a populist author, specialising in celebrity profiles, he had a reputation for connecting with the general public, and so he was a trusted pair of hands to present its work in a positive manner to the general public. The book positioned Pierce as a dedicated and passionate advocate for the poor in Asia and positioned World Vision as an expert voice on poverty in the region.

In later years, Pierce's successor, Stan Mooneyham, was similarly positioned as an expert but reflecting World Vision's broader work at the time, this was in regard to world hunger. In a similar manner to Pierce, Mooneyham published a series of books which accompanied World Vision's TV programming which again was aimed towards the general public and government policymakers.

b. The Spoken Word

In the 1950s, World Vision had discovered the potential of an audio-visual medium to communicate its work when they used video films in churches to generate funds. With the rise in TV ownership and a de-regulated broadcast media, World Vision began to purchase time on national commercial networks to broadcast documentaries about its work so it could reach beyond its core evangelical audience to the general public.

Mooneyham, the World Vision President in the early 1970s, worked with an external PR agency to adapt their fundraising material to a television format. The result was a series of TV specials which were aired on hundreds of independent TV stations across America (Waters 1998:74). This format had been pioneered by the Muscular Dystrophy Association where a combination of emotional content and celebrity appearances had proved to be an effective, reliable and predictable fundraising mechanism (Romero 2009). In order to maximise the return on investment (ROI), World Vision utilised its computerised database to closely monitor the cost and response of each broadcast, which then informed the content of future programmes (Waters 1998:91). Later in the 1970s, the content shifted from a documentary style programme to fast-moving telethons, and in accordance with their response driven approach to the programmes, 'what worked' drove the content and messaging, not ideology or ethics. They utilised the emotive force of the visual medium and used '*shocking images, a real or imagined sense of urgency and an appeal to American ethnocentrism*' with numerous endorsements by Christian leaders, American politicians and celebrities (Waters 1998:77). The associated commentary would contrast the lives of the poor in the films with the affluent lifestyle of the viewer (Waters 1998:86). Waters (1998) relates that Mooneyham wasn't comfortable with the 'what works' approach as the highly emotive messaging used drew on negative stereotypes: he tried to build in greater background information on the culture and people they were seeking to help, but when this was done, the response rates and income '*plummeted*'. Therefore in order to maximise income and ensure the programmes remained viable, the sensational style of programming remained (Waters 1998:88-89). But an analysis of the content of World Vision magazines at the time shows that this was partly ameliorated as the magazines presented

background information on the history, culture and even politics of the countries in which they worked and took pains to explain the causes of poverty and deprivation. Mooneyham also published several books on the topics covered in the programmes which covered in some detail the background to the issues being addressed.

The highly emotive broadcasts were financially successful, causing Waters, an employee of World Vision who worked on the programmes, to claim the resulting donations '*catapulted World Vision to whole new plateau*' enabling them to develop extensive new programmes in Africa and Latin America and that this '*changed the face of World Vision*', transforming it from an organisation supporting work in Asia to being '*a truly international organisation*' (Waters 1998: 92). While the funding generated by the programmes was significant, Waters involvement may have led him to overestimate its overall significance as World Vision was also developing other income streams, for example, its satellite offices overseas, during the same time period. Nevertheless, the addition of TV programming to World Vision's repertoire was a seminal decision as it was a critical factor in several other changes in practice. The audience for the TV programmes was the general public which was far broader than even a mainstream Christian constituency, so the language used was adapted to accommodate this less religiously literate and biblically aware audience, but the programmes still retained a strong Christian identity (Waters 1998:75-76). Therefore for the '*differently religious*' viewers, those believers who were no longer attending church or religiously observant in other ways, this provided an opportunity for a form of religious commitment or participation that also had the advantage of benefitting others.

ii. Evolution in the Practice of Evangelism

World Vision emerged from YfC whose primary objective was evangelism, and this remained one of the key aims of World Vision when it became an independent organisation. It was retained as one of the five objectives when they were refined a few years later, and throughout the 1960s and 1970s, World Vision's commitment to evangelism remained firm.

But the definition of evangelism, its outworking and priority within the five aims came under constant review and scrutiny. In its early years, evangelism within

World Vision was seen in one of two ways: firstly, as a separate activity but in parallel with the projects they funded as they continued the YfC model of conducting large-scale crusades. Secondly, it was part of the Christian education given to the beneficiaries of the social welfare activities of missionaries. During the latter part of the 1960s and the 1970s, World Vision phased out its previous practice of large-scale preaching commitments and adopted a holistic model of social welfare that incorporated elements of evangelism within it. This was in parallel with a new initiative that began in 1966 when World Vision entered a formal alliance with the Fuller Theological Seminary to develop a research and information resource called the Missions Advanced Research Communication Centre (MARC) whose purpose was to help the worldwide Christian community mobilise more effectively for world evangelisation. They did this by applying technology and systems theory to gather and disseminate information about the current state of play on world evangelisation which they did through publications and training courses. Within a year MARC had become a division of World Vision and was promoting cross-cultural approaches to evangelisation, social responsibility and good management practices such as strategic planning and time management. They also became a key provider of information at the international evangelical conferences referred to previously. By 1976 the evangelistic work of World Vision had come to be defined as '*reaching the unreached*' which reflected the position adopted by MARC which then understood evangelisation as a process by which people moved towards a faith in Christ rather than being measured by a person making a specific decision to become a Christian which had been World Vision's earlier expectation.

This revised understanding of evangelisation was presented by Dayton (1978), who headed up MARC, to the first Triennial Council of World Vision International, in an historical perspective of its approach to evangelization. Dayton made several other points: firstly, he noted that World Vision had never defined evangelism but recognised it had always contained an element of '*verbal witness*'; he recorded that measuring success by the number of converts had become problematic as evangelisation was now understood as a process, not a specific decision; he outlined the emerging understanding and practice of evangelism within World Vision, explaining that it had developed an holistic approach which was person-centred and no longer '*evangelist centred*'. He explained this meant it was interested in the '*whole person*' which didn't

demarcate between physical and spiritual needs but instead addressed the specific needs of the person before them. He also acknowledged the accusation that World Vision had been creating 'rice Christians', i.e. by offering food or relief in return for Christian conversions, stating World Vision did not offer aid in order to evangelise but '*rather, we attempt to meet the need that is before us*', but in doing so, he recognised an inherent dilemma in Christian development. Dayton also noted that as a result of World Vision's rapid expansion, it had recruited a significant number of staff from around the world, who while having '*a relationship with Jesus*', were from many different religious traditions and by implication, would have a range of perspectives on how evangelism should be conducted and that they may not be familiar with, or supportive of, World Vision's integrated or holistic approach (Dayton 1978).

While Dayton's paper reflected the official position of evangelism within World Vision, it was nevertheless contested and continued to be a subject of internal debate. On the one hand, some felt World Vision's new position indicated it was capitulating to a secular agenda, while on the other, many believed that associating relief and development with evangelism was inappropriate and would discourage support from less evangelical audiences. This will be discussed further in the section on internal framing later in this Chapter.

iii. Pastor's Conferences

The notion of '*rooted cosmopolitanism*' is used by Tarrow (2006) to describe people who '*move physically and cognitively outside their origins*' and who have an '*allegiance to the worldwide community of human beings*' but who continue to be linked to a domestic place and to the opportunities, resources and social networks of that place (Tarrow 2006:42). He goes on to define transnational activists as a subgroup of rooted cosmopolitans who draw from these domestic resources for the benefit of those outside this setting. This describes World Vision's practice, as in addition to eliciting finance from domestic audiences to benefit those abroad, it had also mobilised western bible teachers and church leaders to draw from their experience to bring bible teaching and encouragement to local church workers in developing countries through its series of Pastors Conferences. The success of the early ad hoc conferences led to a process of formalisation, and they continued to develop in content and geographical reach, with the first Latin American conference being held in 1960

in Medellin and the first African conference being held in 1967 in Nairobi. At the end of 1959, there had been 30 conferences with nearly 24,000 delegates.

During the next ten years, there had been a further 43 conferences with over 28,000 delegates (World Vision 1998).

Initially, speakers at the conferences tended to come from the West, but as they developed, church leaders and theologians from the country in which they were held also played key roles. Many of these conferences were held before World Vision was operational in the country and contributed to the extensive network of World Vision's global connections, providing further networking on a transnational basis, connecting elite groups in Western countries with leaders in the Global South as well as reaching into the heart of the most distant rural communities. In 1974, the leadership of this function was assigned to Sam Kamaleson, a theologian from India, after the American incumbent resigned due to ill health. This again was an unusual and progressive appointment at the time, as was the decision to triple the number of conferences held around the world (Rohrer 1987:125-130; Houston 2013).

As in the 1950s, World Vision's primary purpose for holding these conferences was to support and train pastors which served as an investment in world evangelisation, but they also played a crucial role in disseminating the neo-evangelical perspective on evangelisation to a global audience.

iv. Conferences Promoting and Debating World Evangelisation

There was an increasing awareness among neo-evangelicals that in seeking to distance themselves from the social gospel of more liberal Protestants, evangelical missionary social action hadn't ceased, but had been left without an '*evangelical social ethic*' to support and justify their work (Tizon 2008: 30,32). Neo-evangelicals wanted to correct this, and one of the main ways they sought to influence the worldwide missions community was through a series of national and international conferences which incorporated debate and discussion about how to integrate social concerns holistically into mission activity. As practitioners of a more enlightened form of evangelicalism that fully embraced social welfare alongside evangelism, World Vision invested heavily in these conferences with senior personnel playing key roles. World Vision's influence is illustrated by its involvement in two seminal events that will be outlined next.

a. Berlin 1966: The World Congress on Evangelism

An international congress of evangelicals was held in Berlin in 1966, sponsored by Christianity Today magazine and organised by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. This was a seminal time in the history of evangelicalism as 1,100 evangelical leaders from over 100 countries gathered to explore *'new ways of reaching contemporary man'* with the gospel (Chester 1993; Lausanne 2014). The primary aim of the Congress was what it deemed to be the *'One Task'* of the church: evangelism, but the role of social activism within this was also discussed. The Congress was the first time MARC had contributed publically to the debates within evangelicalism, and it did so by providing statistical information on world missions and promoting the use of technology and strategic thinking in planning world evangelisation. Several senior members of World Vision made keynote speeches which included making a biblical case for the role of social concern, which was endorsed by leaders from the global south. Chester (1993) believes the inclusion of social welfare in the debates showed there were signs that *'social involvement was creeping up the evangelical agenda'* and that the Congress was in part responsible for demonstrating *'the first signs on an international level of a growing concern for social involvement among a minority of evangelicals'* (Chester 1993:28,33). However, as this *'growing concern'* was only among a small number of evangelicals, the debate was far from over. Other national and regional conferences followed, but the next milestone wasn't until eight years later at Lausanne in 1974.

b. Lausanne 1974: International Congress on World Evangelisation

The Lausanne Congress was once again initiated by neo-evangelists and spearheaded by Billy Graham, who perceived a need for a *'more diverse Congress to re-frame Christian mission in a world of social, political, economic and religious upheaval'* (Lausanne 2014). He believed the church needed to gain a shared understanding of the *'ideas and values behind rapid changes in society'* and consequently how to *'apply the gospel to the contemporary world'* (Lausanne 2014). The Congress attracted 2,700 delegates from 150 countries for ten days of *'discussion, fellowship, worship and prayer'* around the cause of world evangelisation (Lausanne 2014).

The strength of World Vision's reputation in the evangelical world and its extensive global network of relationships, opened doors for it to play a central role in the Congress, putting across not just theory but also examples drawn from its experience of social welfare as a component of world evangelisation.

The principal outcome of the conference, the Lausanne Covenant, affirmed that *'evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty'* and expressed *'penitence for seeing evangelism and social action as mutually exclusive'* (Lausanne 2014). Most of the well-known and respected evangelical figures of the time, for example, Billy Graham, Carl Henry and John Stott, were signatories to the Covenant which added to its standing and authority with evangelicals around the world. But the Covenant did not dilute their commitment to evangelism and the importance they placed on personal conversion, but instead, in recognising the extreme poverty and deprivation in which many thousands of churches and missionaries worked, it affirmed a broader understanding of evangelisation so that *'socio-political involvement'* was embraced alongside evangelism (Chester 1993:71-73). A minority of delegates were not happy with the outcome of the Congress, and so the debate about the role of social and political activism continued in some circles, but for the vast majority the Lausanne Congress was the point at which the world's evangelical leaders corporately agreed to reject the previous view that evangelisation should be purely verbal proclamation and committed themselves to incorporating socio-political involvement alongside evangelism.

The significance of this should not be underestimated.

The Congress has been noted by missiologists as being pivotal to the evangelical understanding and acceptance of social responsibility and also gave evangelical theologians and practitioners a *'new sense of freedom to explore what social responsibility might mean'* (Tizon 2008: 39; Samuel and Sugden 1999:ix), describing the Lausanne Covenant as initiating a *'momentous transformation'* (Tizon 2008: xiii). Chester (1993) refers to the rediscovery of socio-political activism embodied at Lausanne as being when evangelicals no longer simply spoke of God's love but decided to

'demonstrate it with actions and in truth' (Chester 1993:15) and Samuel and Sugden (1999) note it was a *'very important affirmation'* for ministry that many evangelicals had already been quietly carrying out but also led to an exponential increase in financial support for evangelical relief and development agencies as it served to legitimise their work to evangelical constituencies (Samuel and Sugden 1999:ix). This exponential increase in funding doesn't just demonstrate a financial commitment amongst evangelicals but demonstrates how far and how quickly the new paradigm or framing of world evangelisation spread among the rank and file of evangelicals.

But this conference wasn't a 'stand-alone' event: it built on nearly 30 years of activity by neo-evangelicals who had been promoting a new way of thinking among evangelicals that encouraged a pro-active role in public life. There was a dramatic shift in the involvement of evangelicals in socio-political activism in 1974: before that time, they were the least likely group in society to be involved in civic and political life, but after this time they were the most likely (Wuthnow 1983: 167-174). This was a seismic shift and has not been adequately explained by previous writings on the topic. It should be noted that previous attempts to explain this phenomenon have not referred to the Lausanne Congress, or the Berlin Congress and while they have noted socio-cultural factors external to the evangelical world (such as the election of an evangelical President, Jimmy Carter) they have been seemingly unaware, or dismissive, of factors that occurred within it. This thesis, therefore, contends that the significant change in evangelical socio-political involvement in the mid-late 1970s had been a latent force, simmering under the surface of public church life for some time, but was finally triggered by the widespread and public agreement to a new theological understanding of socio-political engagement reached at the 1974 Lausanne Congress. It was a pivotal moment in the history of evangelical socio-political activism and by association the American political landscape.

World Vision also played a role in ensuring the agreements made at Lausanne were communicated worldwide and implemented by its involvement in a continuation committee that was established at Lausanne.

The purpose of this committee was to progress the discussions at the Congress and coordinate strategies for world evangelisation. It has been referred to as the beginning of a movement that would continue to research and promote theology and practice relating to this new agreed definition of world evangelisation. This committee agreed to form four working groups for intercession, theology, strategy and communication (Lausanne 2014) and the Director of MARC and other World Vision senior leaders played active roles in these groups with MARC being referred to as *'the backbone of the Lausanne movement, providing staff support, encouragement, and administrative support to Lausanne's volunteer leadership'* (Haas 2003).

v. Influencing Government

Social movements are usually understood to have either Government decision makers or the general public as the target of their actions, but for World Vision, its primary audience for the first 20-25 years the evangelical community, especially leaders in the global evangelical world. But as it began to reach beyond its core audience, especially through television and the magazine articles and books published alongside these programmes, Mooneyham, and by association World Vision, developed a reputation as an expert on world hunger (Mooneyham 1975). This brought with it the realisation that it could use its experience and reputation to influence government policy, and so this became another stream of activity in its repertoire. Accordingly, it also developed publications to present its views to the public and government. For example, Mooneyham's book, *'What Do You Say to a Hungry World'*, published in 1975, was, in contrast to the emotive coverage of hunger issues on the TV programmes, seen as a well-researched book on the causes of world hunger, including a critique of the affluent west and the government's response to the issue. It was well received and considered to be a *'serious contribution'* to a better understanding the issue (Waters 1998; Irvine 1996: 41; Mooneyham 1975).

But moving into Government lobbying was not an easy change for World Vision to make. Tilly (2010) maintains that the actions a movement takes to achieve their goals innovate incrementally within limits set by *'learned routines'* they share with their target audience (Tilly 2010:35) and Tarrow (1993) observes that the field of actions available is filtered by *'what [actors] know how to do and*

what society has come to expect them to choose to do from within a culturally sanctioned and empirically limited set of options' (Tarrow 1993: 283). But as noted in Section 2b ii of this Chapter, the relationship World Vision had with the American Government was of the Wilsonian variety: it had been a 'trusted ally' to distribute food and other relief to countries at risk of communism. A shift to influencing government policy, which by its nature challenges existing practice, put the relationship with the government onto a very different footing, which was far more than an incremental change in its repertoire. World Vision did not have any experience to draw from, and Mooneyham notes that when he first attempted to lobby the government (about drug eradication funding for Burma) in 1971, he hit a brick wall, acknowledging he was '*an evangelist not a diplomat...*' and '*didn't even know where to start*'... and '*It was my first real encounter with the government bureaucracy and it was worse than I imagined*' (Mooneyham 1978a: 36).

In the early 1970s, there were two barriers for World Vision to overcome before it could begin influencing policymakers in Government. First, it needed insight into how to engage with government departments, Tarrow's '*know how to do*'. But in shifting away from its Wilsonian relationship with the Government to one where it engaged on a political basis did not meet the criteria of actions that were '*culturally sanctioned*' in the world of evangelicalism and could have put at risk the financial support World Vision received from its evangelical audience. The first issue was addressed in 1973 when Mark Hatfield, a Republican Senator and Chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee joined the World Vision Board which brought a change to World Vision's confidence, ambitions and ability to engage with the Government. Hatfield brought insight into Government machinery, so World Vision now had the '*know how to do*' noted by Tarrow (1993). The timing of the Lausanne Congress (1974) and the affirmation that socio-political activities were appropriate for evangelicals addressed the second point as lobbying activities were now considered acceptable. These two changes occurred in parallel with the positioning of Mooneyham as an expert on world hunger and helped launch World Vision's new Government lobbying initiative with Hatfield (Irvine 1996: 41). Additionally, Hatfield and Paul Rees, a Vice-President of World Vision, were founding directors of 'Bread for the World' a multi-denominational Christian organisation which began in 1974 with the sole purpose of mobilising Christians around the

country to contact their Congressmen on issues related to hunger (Simon 2009; Chester 1993:104). Mooneyham also endorsed the campaigns of Bread for the Word and joined its board a few years later (Simon 2009).

It is here the fruits of the repositioning of evangelicalism by the neo-evangelical elite and NGOs such as World Vision can be seen. Through both theory and praxis, they had demonstrated that evangelical voices had relevant experience and insight into the societal problems of the day. A further example was from 1979 when World Vision produced a television programme that featured Vietnamese Refugees which, in addition to highlighting the work World Vision was doing, drew attention to the need for both the American Government and the UN to take action. Although the programme was not a financial success, it was a public relations success because of the international attention that accrued to the organisation (Waters 1998:81). The work of World Vision was later covered in the mainstream press and Waters (1998) asserts it was a factor in driving the American Government and the UN to take action for which World Vision received international acclaim (Waters 1998:80-81). This was the first time World Vision evaluated its promotional activity with criteria other than finance. Not only does this indicate the relative financial stability of the organisation, but it also demonstrates a more definite shift in their repertoire as they were also seeking to influence Government policy in addition to fundraising activities.

d. Framing

i. External Framing

It was demonstrated in Chapter Four, that World Vision utilised various framing techniques to connect and communicate with its core audience in order to craft a new understanding of evangelisation. This included extensive use of Biblical and spiritual references and requests for prayer support alongside appeals for finance. But as was noted in earlier in this chapter, as World Vision began reaching out beyond its core evangelical audience to the less religiously observant, it needed to adapt its language to ensure it would be a welcoming and inclusive place for this audience. But at the same time, it couldn't risk alienating its core supporters by appearing to be less committed to evangelical ideals, so they developed a two-track framing strategy by which they utilised different styles of communication for these two different supporter groups. Noll

(2006) observes that a trait of evangelicals is their ability to combine '*traditional religion with cultural adaptability*' and that evangelicalism is '*at its best when continuity with doctrinal tradition has balanced sensitive response to surrounding circumstances*' (Noll 2006). Lippy and Williams (2010) concur with this assessment noting that evangelicalism has shown '*an uncanny ability to speak the idiom of the culture*' (Lippy and Williams 2010). World Vision, therefore, acquired skills and experience in '*speaking the idiom of the culture*', and this thesis contends this generated a 'bi-lingual' approach to their discourse and communications. When speaking internally, where all staff would have been evangelicals, or with its core supporters from evangelical churches, its communications remained deeply infused with spiritual content such as scriptural references, request for prayer and other rhetorical elements recognisable to, and expected by, an evangelical audience. But when speaking with those outside clearly demarcated evangelical circles, its language was adapted to recognise and accommodate the perspective and background of the audience. This flexibility is spoken of by Lindsay (2007) as the '*elastic orthodoxy*' of American evangelicalism that he sees as '*critical*' to its success and argues that that '*American evangelicalism has the ability to maintain a core set of convictions without being so rigid that it cannot cooperate with others who do not share them*'. He goes on to assert that this '*elasticity*' is not a '*softening of conviction*' but is a mechanism that enables them to work alongside others in common cause (Lindsay 2007: 216, 217).

One of the framing techniques discussed earlier in this thesis is '*frame amplification*' which is defined as '*..the idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs*' (Benford and Snow 2000: 624) and as was noted in Chapter Three, they aver that '*most movements seek to amplify extant beliefs and values*' (Benford and Snow 2000: 624). This thesis has already drawn attention to the framing decisions of Quakers who rather than amplify their beliefs, sought to minimise them for pragmatic, strategic purpose. It was also noted in Chapter Four that World Vision utilised frame amplification techniques to strengthen its credibility and ultimately support with fundamentalist supporters. Now, 10-15 years later, it had begun to use frame minimising techniques to adapt to the '*idiom of the culture*' of the less religiously observant, the '*differently religious*' groups in society. But paradoxically, its need to use frame amplification with its core supporters was

also necessary to provide reassurance of its evangelical orthodoxy for those encountering World Vision's TV programmes and publications.

ii. Internal Framing: Collective Consciousness

From its beginning, the internal culture of World Vision, its collective consciousness, was highly evangelical as it recruited staff only through evangelical networks, ensuring that all staff members and decision makers on the World Vision Board shared the same faith and worldview and perceived a deep mutual, spiritual bond connecting them. It should also be noted that as it began as an American organisation, evangelicalism would have had a distinctly Western, American expression. It was noted earlier in this Chapter that as World Vision expanded overseas, it utilised practices to ensure the culture of the new offices, including the ideology of the new ventures was commensurate with that of World Vision US.

The appointment of World Vision Australia's first Executive Director provides an example of this practice. Graeme Irvine was an evangelical Christian, who at the time was General Secretary of Australia's YMCA. He had already worked with the President of World Vision Canada in 1962 when they collaborated on a speaking tour for the missionary Gladys Aylward. Irvine was hand-picked for the World Vision Australia role as his evangelical credentials, combined with his proven track record, reputation and extensive evangelical contacts, fostered while at the YMCA, made him an ideal candidate to take forward the fledgeling organisation. In order to ensure the principles of operation and ethos were congruent with those in America, Irvine had a lengthy period of induction which included time at World Vision HQ/US, the Canadian office and each of the field offices (Irvine 1996: 7-9). This ensured that he was thoroughly schooled in the ways of World Vision: not only its procedures and communication style but also its history, stories, narratives and ultimate aims. At the end of this period, there could be no doubt about the aims and objectives of the organisation or of its commitment to a particular understanding of world evangelisation.

Nevertheless, as World Vision grew in size and geographical reach, the homogeneity of its internal culture became diluted. While it remained evangelical, non-Western perspectives began to challenge the US-centric nature of its expression of evangelicalism and its policymaking. In addition, external forces, such as the growth of modernisation theory and the associated

secularisation theory were affecting the ability of many religious groups to articulate their work in terms of their faith, and World Vision found itself needing to address these challenges (Mooneyham 1978).

McCarthy, Smith and Zald (1996) assert that *'movements are constrained by competitive agenda-setting logics'* (McCarthy, Smith and Zald 1996: 310), and this describes the differing views in World Vision's affiliate and field offices, especially concerning the nature of evangelism.

World Vision was seeking to reconcile many different expressions of the Christian faith, even within one subculture, evangelicalism. But the official position of World Vision had been arrived at from a Western, and primarily American, theological perspective that was addressing evangelism and public witness in the context of growing secularisation. The context for many of its field offices was very different which led to continued internal disagreement on the best approach to take in regard to evangelism. In 1978 during a speech to the Australian and New Zealand Boards Mooneyham addressed the differing internal views as well as the external challenges brought by the increasing influence of secularisation in wider society. He asserted that World Vision must *'continue to be openly and passionately evangelical and evangelistic, and we must be so without apology or embarrassment'* as in reviewing prior evangelical movements, he believed many had *'become little more than secular institutions'* and asserted that *'I tremble for our future and determine to fight the inevitable drift [to secularisation] with every ounce of strength I have'* (Mooneyham 1978). He went on to describe what he saw as the danger of secularisation, asserting it was not an obvious, explicit 'enemy', but rather something that World Vision may capitulate to, by degree, in one of the following ways: secularisation by 'success', seen by a muting of its distinctive Christian voice in order not to offend a secular audience; secularisation by intimidation as many accuse World Vision of 'conversion by bribery' and he feared this might cause some to abandon their Christian witness; and secularization by subsidiarity if they were to create entities that did not express their Christian stance (Mooneyham 1978).

McCarthy, Smith and Zald (1996) suggest that *'in their most truncated version, frames reduce complex issues into evocative phrases, metaphors and slogans'* and so *'more elaborate plans and programs'* may be needed (McCarthy, Smith and Zald 1996: 311). This was true within World Vision as while Mooneyham's

speech articulated the official World Vision view, it wasn't sufficient to quell the growing dissent. Over time, when contentious issues emerged, World Vision developed a practice of commissioning theological papers and global consultations as a means of drawing together different strands of thinking and to incorporate a wider range of voices in its policymaking. But at this stage, Mooneyham recognised that the internal disagreements were arising from a real sense that World Vision's policy-making was too US-centric and that other, non-American voices needed to be heard. This contributed to the initiation of World Vision's internationalisation process which will be discussed next.

3. World Vision's Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation Process

It has been noted that in the late 1950s and 1960s, World Vision began expanding overseas by creating satellite resourcing offices in other western countries. By the 1970s World Vision had developed a broad network of sister organisations around the globe, and they went through an extensive process of internationalisation to become World Vision International. This section will explore the reasons behind these decisions in order as part of addressing the second of the two research questions: '*Why and how do NGOs internationalise to become INGOs?*' Incorporated within this analysis will be a consideration of whether or how religion was a factor in any of the decisions.

a. World Vision's Overseas Expansion: A Consideration of the Factors Driving this Change

World Vision grew out of a culture that had a global perspective, partly as it believed that all Christians were part of the 'world-wide Body of Christ' and partly because it was committed to world evangelisation which was a response to a scriptural injunction to 'go into all the world' with the gospel. It had also cultivated a global network of connections with other evangelical individuals and organisations, and so while it had emerged from an American context; it had from its earliest days, perceived itself to be a global organisation with a religious, evangelical identity, rather than just a national identity. Therefore, the process of expanding overseas was seen as building on existing relationships and networks with 'family members', rather than a process to identify new partners and develop relationships with them. The next section will consider the possible factors relating to World Vision's overseas expansion process, in order to understand the decisions it took to establish satellite offices overseas.

i. Economic Factors: Balancing Income and Costs

In the early 1960s, World Vision was facing extreme financial difficulties and had appointed a new Vice-President with a remit to bring financial discipline into the organisation. Therefore any decisions were highly cognizant of the financial implications as it didn't have the luxury of experimenting or carrying out activities that were not sustainable. The determination to instil financial discipline is illustrated by two different decisions: firstly, it stopped funding a nationwide radio broadcast that Pierce was involved in, even though this led to internal turmoil and was a contributory factor to Pierce's resignation. Secondly, the development of TV programming was closely monitored for return on investment (ROI), and it was hoped to incorporate a more educative element to the programmes. But when they did so, the financial response took a downturn, so this was dropped. This level of financial scrutiny ensured that decisions to establish offices in other Western countries were made using a rigorous estimation of likely financial return that would also be closely monitored.

ii. Technological Factors

Ted Engstrom, the new Vice-President, was a long-term advocate of using business methodology to improve the efficiency of charitable organisations, and so introduced World Vision to computer technology which enabled World Vision to monitor the return on investment of its fundraising to a much higher degree than before. They were, therefore, able to assess whether their expansion overseas was contributing to, or detracting from, its financial position. Technological factors, therefore, facilitated overseas expansion by the provision of timely information.

iii. Globalisation as a Factor

Globalisation has already been noted as initiating a convergence of lifestyles, social expectations, brands and media consumption. While many of these outcomes were not fully seen until the 1990s, nevertheless, there was in the 1960s and 1970s, a global evangelical sub-culture that disseminated a variety of media products, for example, books, magazines, music and audiotapes as well as conferences and public speakers, all of which transcended national boundaries. World Vision's high profile in global evangelical networks caused its media profile to reach beyond American borders and would have facilitated its recognition in, and expansion into, other western countries.

Earlier in this chapter, the notion of a 'rooted cosmopolitan' was referenced to identify people who 'move physically and cognitively outside their origins' with an 'allegiance to the worldwide community of human beings' but who continue to be linked to a domestic place and to the opportunities, resources and social networks of that place (Tarrow 2006: 42). While this is not directly related to globalisation *per se*, the global travels and preaching commitments of World Vision's senior personnel prefigured the effect of global convergence seen in other contexts in the 1990s.

iv. Political Factors

During the 1950s and 1960s, World Vision had gained a positive reputation with the American government, as when the Cold War began to exert its influence, the government was very supportive of organisations that supported its foreign policy, especially any activities and messaging that supported its anti-communist rhetoric and World Vision's communications fell into this category.

But later, during the latter part of the 1960s and 1970s, World Vision had begun to recognise the opportunity of influencing the American government on issues about which it had experience: it had not at this stage identified international institutions as potential partners or as an audience for its communications. This was because, during this time of overseas expansion, World Vision's global focus was restricted to the worldwide evangelical community and encouraging them to incorporate social welfare into their activities.

Therefore, political factors did not feature as a reason for its overseas expansion programme, but nevertheless the result of its expansion, the global network of World Vision offices in developing countries, facilitated its demarche into international advocacy when it did turn its attention to influencing on a global stage in the 1980s and 1990s.

v. Personalities as a Factor

World Vision's founding President, Rev Dr Pierce, was a well-known evangelical and the work of World Vision was presented for many years as synonymous with the personality and energy of Pierce. While he didn't espouse an internationalist philosophy in the manner of Oxfam, he frequently referenced the notion of the 'Worldwide Body of Christ' which implicitly recognised the equal value of all believers which became a foundation stone within World Vision. Pierce's replacement in the late 1960s was another well-known

entrepreneurial evangelical preacher and author, Dr Stan Mooneyham. In a similar manner to Pierce, Mooneyham's personality and drive were key elements in the development of World Vision's repertoire as outlined in previous sections. Both Pierce and Mooneyham had a predisposition to work from a global perspective as they saw this as already existing, and so didn't feel an imperative to create a global identity or organisation. Expansion overseas was not a significant decision to them, not because they were indifferent to the prospect, but because they assumed this already existed as it was a natural outworking of the organisation's faith base.

vi. Religion as a Factor

The evangelical beliefs of World Vision provided the criteria for establishing affiliate organisations that would mirror the values and practices of the founding organisation. By the 1960s, World Vision had drawn from a complex web of pre-existing connections of individual evangelicals and evangelical organisations around the world to create its own international network for the generation and dissemination of resources. Therefore religion wasn't a factor driving World Vision's overseas expansion, rather religion, in the form of its worldwide religious connections meant it was a facilitator of expansion.

vii. Overseas Expansion: Summary of Factors

By the 1960s and 1970s, World Vision's global ambitions for influence were focussed on the evangelical community where it had already established a reputation within the evangelical subculture, and where its leaders and Board members were well known and highly regarded in international evangelical circles. It, therefore, did not need to establish overseas offices in order to become known. In fact, the reverse was true, the establishment of satellite offices was expedited as they were already so well-known and connected. But it was struggling financially and expanding overseas to places where it was known and well regarded was a low-risk means to generate new income streams, which was further helped by its commitment to technological innovation which enabled it to monitor this investment closely. World Vision's reasons for expansion were therefore based on a need for additional finance and facilitated by technology and its prior reputation and connections in the global evangelical community.

b. World Vision's First Consideration of Internationalisation

By the early 1970s, 25% of World Vision finance came from non-US sources, and this percentage continued to increase: in addition to the three support offices in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, there were ten field offices managing work in 45 countries. Nevertheless, a feeling was growing that it did not have an adequate international perspective and that decisions were taken unilaterally by *'a small group of senior executives who were US citizens'* and without due consideration of the context or people that these decisions would affect. This led to a sense of alienation for many, especially those geographically removed from the head office in America who felt the organisation was becoming too big and impersonal (World Vision 1976).

In parallel with this, its organisational culture and communication style, especially its TV programming, remained US-centric and did not reflect the international nature of its constituent parts. The earlier section on framing noted McCarthy, Smith and Zald's (1996) observation that *'movements are constrained by competitive agenda-setting logics'* (McCarthy, Smith and Zald 1996: 310), and this describes the differing views that were emerging from World Vision's affiliate and field offices, especially about the nature of evangelism within its work and there were increasing calls for a more formalised role for resourcing and field offices to input into World Vision's policy, strategy, long-term direction and disbursement of funds (Irvine 1996; 77; World Vision 1976). Wuthnow's (2009) reference to the twin problems of *'distance and difference'* has already been discussed, but he also argues that the *'extensive organisational ties'* of religious groups that have been generated over centuries can overcome these problems by *'creating channels through which money, personnel and ideas flow'* (Wuthnow 2009: 95, 139).

At this time, World Vision's communication channels and information sharing logics were helpful but insufficient to overcome the problems encountered in their increasingly large and complex multi-cultural network. Reflecting on these tensions, Mooneyham described World Vision as being at a new stage in the *'modern missionary movement'* and at a new frontier of internationalism, where Christians worked in *'true partnership across national and cultural boundaries'* (Irvine 1996: 78) and recognised not only that this would require a new structure, but also the importance of including voices from both the satellite and field offices. He, therefore, established an experimental Council comprised of Board members and

senior staff from the resourcing organisations as well as representatives from Korea and Pakistan. Their remit was to consider the tensions within World Vision and to recommend how it could move towards being a more representative organisation (World Vision 1976; Irvine 1996). This group concluded that a formalised international structure was needed and so a committee, chaired by a member of the World Vision Board, was commissioned to explore different options.

c. Second Phase of Internationalisation: Consideration of Aims

The terms of reference of the new committee required it to consider two broad questions: *'What is essential about World Vision that we must retain? What is desirable that we want to gain through internationalisation?'* Criteria from the first question stipulated theological integrity which recognised that *'we are evangelical in the historic sense. In lengthening cords we must not dilute our theology. National autonomy must make some provision for maintaining a central core of evangelical beliefs which are not only published but practiced'* (World Vision 1976). A second point recognised the increasing diversity in World Vision as it stated that an *'ecumenical spirit'* must also be retained as *'While thoroughly evangelical, we are not narrowly fundamentalist. The willingness and capacity to work as broadly as the Body of Christ is a hallmark which we must not lose'* (World Vision 1976).

The first advantage of internationalisation it was aiming for was to include voices and perspectives from across the globe, and so the terms of reference required the structure to facilitate *'a community of true partnership of all national entities'* which needed to be *'...a partnership of structure as well as of spirit'* (World Vision 1976). Other aimed-for advantages were a larger pool of staff, increased competence, improved communication and coordination, flexibility and improved effectiveness through shared resources. The committee looked at the structures of 14 other organisations, both religious and secular, including Oxfam, UNICEF, UNESCO, Youth for Christ International, Africa Inland Mission, Overseas Crusades and Latin American Mission but concluded the ethos of World Vision presented them with *'unique problems for which there are no precedents or easy answers'* and that *'there is no model for us to copy exactly and that World Vision International has unique aspects that encourage us to seek a distinct pattern of organisation'* (Booth 1973). Mooneyham expanded on this perceived uniqueness by explaining World Vision was not a traditional missionary society nor was it a representative democracy, with a membership or voting constituency. He believed it was unique in that it was called

by God '*... to help the rest of the Body [of Christ] through ministries of service*' (Mooneyham 1978).

d. Third Phase of Internationalisation: Consideration of International Structure

This sense of uniqueness led to the establishment of another group in 1974, the Internationalisation Study Committee (ISC), whose remit was to recommend a structure that would provide a basis for true partnership. Mooneyham (1974) described the overall aim of the internationalisation process as something that '*... expresses our desire to lift World Vision from its mold as a Western organisation of 'haves' helping the 'have-nots' in a paternal way. It speaks of our efforts to create a true partnership of service that is both supranational and supracultural, which minimises the 'giving' and 'receiving' mentality and maximises the unity of the body, the equality of service and the intrinsic worth of every member of the body as taught by Paul in 1 Corinthians 12*'. Recognising that '*World Vision is already one body with many parts*' he continued: '*... our goal is to find a way to bring every constituent part into true international partnership as a demonstration of the fullest expression of what it means to be 'labourers together with God'*' (Mooneyham 1974).

The ISC had a broad range of members: it was chaired by the President of World Vision Australia and had representation from field offices as well as resourcing countries and two theologians, one of whom was from World Vision India. They retained the goals of internationalisation that had been set out for the previous committee but stated they believed they already had an international partnership, because '*as Christians [we are] already members of a supra-national organism – the Body of Christ*' (World Vision 1976). They defined internationalisation as a '*process of growth in partnership*' recognising that the partnership already existed, and so their goal was ultimately to '*fulfil [their] mission more effectively*' as '*the ministry must be better performed, and people in need must be more effectively cared for*' (Irvine 1996: 80). In considering partnership, they perceived not a legal definition but a spiritual one. They understood partnership to be '*based on the spiritual connection that [holds] us together as members of the Body of Christ*' which led them to strive for '*mutual acceptance and accountability to each other*' (Irvine 1996: 80). With this perception underpinning the remit, the guidelines they were given stressed the need to find a way to make the existing partnership more effective. They believed that '*at heart, partnership is more than a process or structure, it is an*

attitude,' but recognised that this '*attitude needed a foundation*' (World Vision 1976). This then was their challenge: to devise an international structure that both reflected and facilitated the spiritual bonds they perceived they already had. They conducted internal surveys and interviews to comprehend the concerns of the constituent organisations fully and commissioned two theological papers on internationalisation.

They met four times in two years for extensive meetings to consider the findings and discuss the future. The finding of the research was that World Vision had an overwhelmingly American image and that decision and policy-making were not representative of the broad range of views and international perspectives within it. The support offices did not feel they were sufficiently consulted or involved in decision-making and field offices felt left out of decisions affecting their own work. They recognised too that their rapid growth combined with the energy and commitment of World Vision personnel had '*.. inevitably produced strains on relationships and an outgrowing of earlier forms*' (World Vision 1976:13), but when considering these divisions, they believed: '*.. our common bond in Christ provides us with a framework within which to discuss and resolve differences*' (World Vision 1976:13). One aspect of the theological papers was to affirm the prior mutual connection they perceived they already had through the Body of Christ and to assert that their commitment to Jesus should be above all other loyalties, including nationalism (World Vision 1976:50).

e. Internationalisation: Formalising Structures and Process

The committee presented its findings to the World Vision Board in 1976 with recommendations for a radically different structure as well as proposals for a period of transition. These recommendations were accepted and a two year transition period was overseen by an interim commission on internationalisation. This led to the creation of a new legal entity entitled World Vision International, established in 1978 where the Board comprised nine representatives from the four resourcing countries and six 'members at large' appointed from countries where World Vision had projects. All of the World Vision entities worldwide now comprised the 'World Vision Partnership' which was represented by a governing Council who, in addition to the World Vision board members, had representation from each field office. It was decided that the Council would meet every three years to consider overall direction, strategy, policy and constitutional matters (World Vision 1976). The

articles of incorporation and by-laws were debated and agreed during the first Council meeting in 1978. In addition, a *'Declaration of Internationalisation'* was presented at the first Council meeting which outlined World Vision's understanding of the new International Partnership. After outlining a brief history of the internationalisation process, the Declaration stated, in terms distinctly reminiscent of the Lausanne Covenant: *'We are therefore assembled to effectuate a closer and more productive unity between the several vital components of World Vision'*. In acknowledging the enormous scale of human need and suffering it affirmed its commitment to a progressive view of Christian mission: *'...our approach to this staggering need is holistic: we decline the unbiblical concept of the spiritual over against the physical, the personal over against the social...'* It ended with a solemn commitment to one another: *'We as the incorporating members of the enlarged and restructured World Vision International, do on this 31st May 1978 covenant together to: offer praise to God... ; pray faithfully for the manifold ministries of World Vision... ; seek the wisdom of God... ; commit ourselves to one another... to toil unsparingly...'* (World Vision 1978). This in itself was not a legally binding document, but the choice of language, for example, in agreeing to 'covenant together', drew deeply from Scripture, and the participants would have understood the term as meaning a solemn promise before God. The Declaration was signed by Council members at a special ceremony which was preceded earlier that day by a service of Holy Communion, which for the participants further reinforced their shared understanding of a deep spiritual commitment to one another.

4. Epilogue: World Vision, Ongoing Review of Internationalisation

The unity that had met World Vision's internationalisation declaration in 1978 began to show cracks by the mid-1980s. During the intervening years, not only had World Vision's finances grown significantly but inevitably for such a large, geographically dispersed organisation, it had also recruited a much more diverse range of faith traditions among its supporters and staff. Such diversity brought a wide range of views on several topics, for example, the role of evangelism, advocacy and justice issues, all of which led to further developments in World Vision's internationalisation process. The background to these two issues will be discussed before considering how they contributed to the process of internationalisation.

a. Internal Issues

i. The Role of Evangelism within World Vision

It was noted earlier that the outworking of World Vision's commitment to evangelism had become internally contested as the official World Vision position of an holistic approach to development was not fully embraced by all its field offices. By the late 1980s, the terminology of evangelism was no longer appropriate for World Vision's work as it had begun to explore new ways to articulate its approach to relief and development in a Christian context. A new terminology, 'mission as transformation', was now used in evangelical circles (Samuel and Sugden 1999), and over the next few years, World Vision developed this into a concept termed 'Transformational Development'. This was officially adopted as its core philosophy in the late 1990s, but it had become core to its practice for several years before that.

In 1986 at World Vision's Triennial Council, the President, Tom Houston explained the change: '*[We are shifting] from fragmented ministry to holistic ministry...integration of all that we do, so that we keep in view the whole Gospel for the whole person... We are committed to making Jesus known by word and deed and sign...*' (World Vision 1986). This articulation of a new model of working caused '*earnest theoretical reflection*' in all World Vision offices and projects (VanderPol 2010: 293), but as the most obvious outcome of this change was the demise of a separate evangelism department, there were many people within the World Vision partnership who were concerned that this new approach would lead to the secularisation of the organisation.

ii. Growing Calls for Advocacy

During the mid-70s, World Vision US had begun to discreetly lobby the American government on issues where it had concern, experience and relevant contacts. Nevertheless, when field offices began to ask for guidelines on speaking out on issues of justice locally, they met with some resistance from the World Vision leadership. Support offices were uneasy at what they perceived as 'mission drift' and were fearful of a negative impact on their fundraising if World Vision was seen to be engaging in political matters. Senior management and World Vision Board members, conscious that their by-laws prohibited involvement in partisan politics, were reticent to pursue the matter. But they also had theological concerns regarding whether, how, or to what extent, World Vision as

a Christian agency, should be speaking out about injustice. Realising the opportunities for influence were increasing, but wanting to avoid damaging internal division, Mooneyham asked one of the board members, John Rymer, a theologian to explore the issue of justice from both a practical and theological basis. After scriptural study, visits to church leaders and projects he headed a consultative process that resulted in a position paper that was adopted by the World Vision board the following year which cleared the way for World Vision to pursue a more open advocacy strategy: in 1985, a new International Relations Department was opened in order to build productive relations with the UN system and other international institutions; in 1986, as the World Bank launched its NGO unit, World Vision opened a Government Liaison Office in Washington; a year later it opened an office in Geneva.

However the initial months of the Geneva office proved to be an instructive and sobering time for World Vision as in visiting the different organisations it soon became clear that World Vision's Christian identity and purpose was often misunderstood and that in many countries it did not always have the kind of reputation it had hoped for (Irvine 1996:114-116). Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) note that a fundamental goal of transnational advocacy is to influence, and ultimately change, international norms but in order to be credible, any group of actors advocating on a global stage must be in broad agreement regarding their values, aims, strategies and tactics (Keck and Sikkink 1998; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996). This accurately describes the position World Vision found itself in, as the new opportunities for it to have a voice in national and international fora required it to have a more unified position and so brought to the fore some of the inherent weaknesses in its first international structure, which included insufficient representation of field offices in its decision and policy making.

b. First Review of International Structure

While the new structure and the declaration of partnership established in 1978 articulated World Vision's commitment to the interdependence of all national entities, the omission of formal representation from recipient countries in the early legal structure is noted by Irvine: he explains that this new structure was a compromise between two different views within the ISC, but was intended as the first step towards a more inclusive body and that the '*fairly modest start*' of the new

body would eventually lead to *'something ultimately more mature'* (Irvine 1996: 81). Irvine notes that some were concerned that sharing legal control would undermine the *'unique character of World Vision'* but that others argued that recipient nations should be fully part of the partnership. This consensus view gave legal rights to donor countries that were not conferred on the recipient countries, which implies a higher regard for financial contribution than other aspects of partnership. Therefore concerns and tensions continued to be expressed in various gatherings and the World Vision International structure underwent a continual process of review and evolution during the next five years. In 1983 a Commission of Internationalisation was established to review the progress of internationalisation during the first five years; to identify strengths and weaknesses of the structure and to make recommendations for further change (World Vision 1985). The recommendations of the Commission were accepted, and incremental corrections to the structure were made but the *'season of discontent'* continued and the 1987 National Director's Conference, where the work of over 60 countries was represented, became a watershed for the organisation. The field offices did not believe their views or concerns were being heard by World Vision leadership and perhaps most damaging, that the ideals of 'partnership' that underpinned its 1978 internationalisation process, were not being lived up to in practice (Irvine 1996:128-130).

c. Second Review of International Structure

The outcome of the 1987 conference was a call for a process to *'clarify our values in the light of experience so that a jointly-owned sense of identity and mission can emerge'* (Irvine 1996: 128,129). The process began in 1988 when 15 executive directors from all aspects of the organisation met for a week to review, reflect and discuss the way ahead. The review affirmed both the vision of partnership and the general direction of ministry but also generated further ideas for the future (Irvine 1996: 129).

It was widely recognised within the World Vision leadership that healing was required and when the World Vision President resigned later that year, they approached Irvine, a long time senior World Vision figure to take over in order to see this process through. Irvine agreed to take on the role, on the proviso the board would support his proposal of a four-stage process to overhaul the structure and governance of World Vision worldwide. Irvine's previous role as the head of International Relations had given him an insight into the potential for World Vision

to make an impact internationally, but he also recognised the challenges it would need to overcome before it could fully capitalise on these opportunities.

d. Restructuring Process

The Board agreed, and over the next year, Irvine conducted the first stage in the process: an organisation-wide review of their core values. Explaining that as the organisation spanned over 60 national entities, it recognised '*...a need to strengthen the sense of common understanding that bound us together as a ministering community*' (Irvine 1996: 136). To ensure that there would be widespread ownership of the outcome, the consultation process involved all field offices in every country where World Vision worked. From this, a core values document was produced which was accepted by all participating countries (Irvine 1996: 137).

The second stage was to produce a new mission statement which began at the National Directors Conference in 1990 and was finalised in 1992. Again, they consulted extensively with every country office, and the final document went through 24 drafts. The next stage was to review the Covenant of Partnership, and finally, they reviewed their structure and global governance (Irvine 1996: 139-141). World Vision retained the global council of all country members but significantly altered the membership criteria of its governing board. After an initial proposal to use financial contribution as part of the criteria, it was agreed that a system of regional representation was a better reflection of their values (World Vision 1995; Foreman 1999: 185).

e. Summary of Internationalisation Processes

The experience of World Vision illustrates how global structures can provide a framework for INGOs to manage their multiple stakeholders (Foreman 1999). But structure alone is insufficient to provide the unifying identity necessary for an INGO to make an effective contribution at an international level. For that to take place, the organisation must also have the credibility that it speaks with the authority of those multiple stakeholders, but in the late 1980s, it appeared to many within World Vision's field offices that it had lost sight of its underpinning value of partnership. This thesis has frequently noted that problems of distance and difference must be overcome if meaningful and authentic transnational links are to be developed (Wuthnow 2009). During the last half of the twentieth century, the benefits of globalisation in terms of improved communications and travel have helped INGOs to

overcome the problems of distance. But faith-based organisations like World Vision, are also able to draw on the far-reaching connections that have been developed by mission societies and denominational groupings with local people and churches in developing countries over the past 200 years which are also assisted and enriched by being based on shared values. These ties, therefore, do not just help overcome distance, but they have also formed trusted channels of communications for the flow of ideas, opinions and information (Wuthnow 2009: 139). Nevertheless, these factors did not mean that resolving the considerable turmoil within World Vision was inevitable, and, as has been shown here, there were continuing concerns after each stage and the process needed to remain under constant review. But the channels of communication and shared faith did provide a means for this review of structure and governance to take place. As a consequence, since the 1990s, regional fora have not only had an opportunity to input into strategy, but also share in the legal responsibility for its operation and governance.

5. Summary and Conclusion

This second era of World Vision began during a time of external pressures which contributed to internal instability, especially with respect to finances. It was also a time of significant debate and change in the global evangelical community, of which World Vision was a part. This section will begin with a summary of findings with regard to developments within World Vision, followed by a consideration of these broader changes and World Vision's role within them.

a. Findings: World Vision

The financial pressures that World Vision experienced as it entered the 1960s caused it to look beyond its evangelical core supporters to the section of the public that had become '*differently religious*', which led to the first finding: World Vision developed a 'bi-lingual' approach to its communications as it needed to adapt its language for this broader group in order to accommodate their level of religious knowledge and participation. This was facilitated by its investment in computer technology as it was able to differentiate between its core evangelical supporters and others when communicating with them.

A second finding arises from this bi-lingual capacity, which was the development of a relationship with the American government. This began when they formed a subsidiary organisation to facilitate the distribution of relief from the American government to countries at risk of communism. This was initiated by a shared

concern about the risks of communism, but facilitated by World Vision's willingness and capacity to adapt its language to its audience.

A third finding is the evolution of its relationship with the government from one of partnership to one where World Vision lobbied for a change to policy. During the 1970s, World Vision's use of television began a process whereby they positioned themselves as experts on relief and development which included publications of books about the causes of poverty and world hunger. These included critiques of the government's position, and alongside this, World Vision began to lobby the government with regard to world hunger quietly. A public commitment to advocacy did not emerge until the 1980s, after extensive internal consultation and debate on the matter.

A fourth finding is that the financial instability in the 1960s introduced a carefully managed programme of overseas expansion, where World Vision established satellite resourcing offices in other Western countries to bring new sources of income into the organisation. In establishing these offices, World Vision was at pains to ensure homogeneity of values as well as practice which was demonstrated by the careful selection of senior staff and a lengthy programme of induction.

A previous chapter noted that World Vision had a *de facto* aim of broadening the understanding of evangelicalism among its core evangelical core support. A fifth finding is that this evolved into an explicit aim which incorporated the worldwide evangelical community. Senior personnel from World Vision participated in a number of international conferences which sought to address what was then a controversial topic of whether socio-political engagement was an appropriate activity for an evangelical organisation.

How World Vision addressed conflicting views internally leads to a sixth finding. In its early years, the official World Vision view on a matter was established by the central World Vision office in America and articulated by the President. As World Vision grew, it developed a practice of commissioning theological papers and undertaking extensive consultation before arriving at an official position. This was seen in its process for addressing internal dissent which led to the internationalisation process in the 1970s where two theological papers were commissioned. Another example was in response to calls from field offices who wanted World Vision to adopt a more pro-active approach to advocacy and justice.

This leads to a seventh finding which relates to World Vision's reasons for internationalising. The newer World Vision resourcing and field offices were increasingly uncomfortable with what they perceived as an overly US-centric culture in the organisation and believed that the perspective of other countries and cultures should be incorporated into policy and decision making. World Vision did not see the process of internationalising as creating a global entity as they believed they were already part of one as they were each 'members of the worldwide Body of Christ'. Their shared faith identity meant they perceived the task of internationalising was to create an administrative structure that would reflect the spiritual one they already had. A primary purpose of the process was to incorporate voices from the South and the initial internationalisation process provided for these to be represented on the World Vision Council. In practice, this proved to be an inadequate solution, and so the structure of World Vision went through an almost continual process of review for the next 10-15 years.

In the 1970s, at the first stage of internationalising, World Vision's primary audience for influence on a global stage was the evangelical community. Therefore the initial reasons for undertaking this process were to address internal concerns that World Vision was not reflecting the international nature, culture and experience of its varying constituencies. Nevertheless, later in the 1980s and 1990s, World Vision began to incorporate advocacy and justice issues into its remit and saw opportunities for influencing international institutions and so these issues became drivers in its later review of its international partnership arrangements.

b. Findings: Evangelicals and Socio-Political Activism

It was noted earlier in this Chapter that disillusionment with traditional political and religious institutions provided the church, and especially the evangelical wing of the church, with unexpected opportunities to influence both socially and politically. But it was also observed that the prevailing fundamentalist worldview was reticent to engage in public life.

But many scholars have drawn attention to a curious and dramatic shift in the prevalence of evangelicals in political activism and public life that took place in 1974 and many suggestions have been made to account for this unexpected shift. However, none of these refers to the changing nature of evangelical thinking and theology that culminated in the Lausanne Congress of 1974 where evangelical leaders from around the globe, expressed 'penitence' for their previous reluctance

to engage in socio-political activism. The Congress and its outcomes were widely covered in evangelical media and disseminated through the publicity of organisations like World Vision. This was a pivotal time in the history of evangelicalism, and evangelical scholars concur that it was the cause of a surge of support for evangelical organisations working to address poverty and deprivation (Samuel and Sugden 1999; Tizon 2008). It is therefore surprising that scholars who have written on the changing nature of American Religion in the twentieth century, and on the shift in evangelical activism, including the rise of the religious right, do not refer to it: for example, Wuthnow 1988; Liebman and Wuthnow 1983; Wuthnow 1983; Himmelstein 1983; Liebman 1983; Guth 1983; Heinz; Putnam 2000; and Putnam and Campbell 2010. Not to note or comment on this event which signalled such a momentous shift in evangelical theology and practice is surprising and so one may only conclude that they were either unaware of it or did not consider it relevant. Which leads to a question: Why? On close inspection of the approach taken by scholars outside the evangelical community, it appears that usually only external factors are considered when reviewing changes in religion or religious practice, thereby reflecting an underlying assumption that changes in religious belief or practice are a result of adapting to external factors, implying that religion has little or no agency of its own. This thesis contends that the very public affirmation of socio-political activism at Lausanne in 1974 was a critical factor in the resurgence of evangelical engagement in public life. This assertion is based on two factors: first, this was the first time that such a broad range of prominent evangelical leaders, known for their theological orthodoxy had publically endorsed socio-political activism, especially as a valid and necessary part of a broader view of evangelisation. Secondly, the timing of this, 1974, correlates with the changes in evangelical activism reported by, for example, Wuthnow 1983; Liebman and Wuthnow 1983; Wuthnow 1988).

This thesis, therefore, contends that there are gaps in scholarly work in both the sociology of religion and international politics which have led to a misunderstanding regarding the emergence of political and social activism among evangelicals in the 1970s which has led to a misleading view of this shift in the American political landscape.

Part Three: Summary and Conclusions

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusion

1. Introduction

This research was established to inquire into the role of religion in INGOs as it is recognised they are frequent contributors to the deliberations of international institutions and other global decision-making bodies both in their own right and as part of broader coalitions. But little is known about how religion has interacted with other factors in the origins, strategic development and growth of INGOs or in their day to day operations. Therefore, in order to help close this gap in scholarly literature, this research has been enquiring into the role of religion in INGOs by seeking answers to two research questions:

- *How, and in what ways, does religion interact with other factors in the founding of an NGO and what influence if any, does it have on their aims, objectives and activities?*
- *Why, and how, do NGOs internationalise to become INGOs?*

The research was structured as an historical case study comparison between two INGOs to identify what influence, if any, that religion may play in their aims, objectives and day to day operation. World Vision and Oxfam were selected for the case study for two reasons: firstly because of the current similarities between the two organisations and secondly because World Vision self-identified as a religious organisation and Oxfam as a secular one, thereby enabling religion to be considered as an independent variable. But as noted in Chapter Two, the research methodology needed to be adapted when it was discovered that religion was a significant feature within Oxfam at its beginnings and for at least the first 30 years. Therefore rather than being considered as an independent variable, religion was viewed as a differentiating factor between the two organisations as it became evident it was operating differently in each organisation.

2. Research Findings: Summary of the Main Similarities and Differences Between the Two INGOs.

a. Religious Background of Case Study Organisations

It has been shown that both organisations had their ideological roots in Christianity, which brings many similarities but, as Oxfam was rooted in Quakerism and World

Vision in evangelicalism, there were differences in religious doctrine and practice, as well as regarding how they responded to the external environment.

The commitment of adherents to both these religious expressions is robust as they each have an expectation of individuals having chosen the faith: in the case of evangelicals, this would be by religious conversion and for Quakers, an individual is said to be a 'Quaker by conviction', or one who has become convinced of the truth of the Quaker way, as opposed to being born into a Quaker family. Another similarity is that until the time of the Second World War, each religious 'family' had been quite isolationist, with Quakers avoiding '*working in the mixture*' as they did not want to risk compromising their principles, and fundamentalist evangelicals wanted to create a distinction between themselves and liberal Protestants whom they considered apostate. In the years after the war, each group gradually became more open to cooperative working with others outside their own religious community.

One significant difference between evangelicals and Quakers is that for evangelicals the highest form of spiritual authority is the Bible whereas, for Quakers, it is the 'inner light' of God they believe is present within each person. Another difference is their perspective on verbalising the reasons for their actions. For evangelicals, it would be important for their actions to be seen as '*for the glory of God*' and so would want to associate any beneficial outcomes with their faith. Conversely, Quakers, especially those from the liberal tradition, often find the verbalising of matters of faith problematic as they believe it can limit the understanding of God (Dandelion 2008).

This section will now summarise the main similarities and differences between the two organisations using social movement theory as a framework to structure the discussion.

b. Similarities and Differences in the Origins and Early Years of the INGOs

i. Political Opportunity

Both organisations emerged as a response to the political context of the time: Oxfam's origins were as a result of the Allies' naval blockade of Greece, and World Vision's activities were aimed at generating support for Christian social welfare projects in countries under the threat of communism. The political class

in both host countries sought to align themselves with, and co-opt, the generic civic religion prevailing at the time in their own countries to support its objectives, but Oxfam's response to this was diametrically opposed to that of World Vision. World Vision saw its underpinning evangelical faith as an effective challenger to the perceived communist threat and so drew on the political framing of communism as a dangerous ideology and positioned themselves accordingly alongside the government. Conversely, Oxfam's aim of promoting a humanitarian internationalism combined with the pacifism of its strong Quaker contingent did not permit them to be aligned with the conflation of religious faith and patriotism being crafted by Churchill in support of the war effort.

In the post-war period, in both Britain and America, disillusionment with conventional politics caused many people to become '*differently political*' by outsourcing their social and political concerns to charities or activist organisations, leading to a significant increase in support for NGOs. By the 1960s, this had begun to evolve to incorporate an acceptance of 'elite challenging behaviours' where many engaged in some form of direct action through social movements. Oxfam was a beneficiary of this new activist paradigm as its high public profile and increasing willingness to speak about the root causes of poverty enabled it to capitalise on this changing pattern of socio-political engagement. World Vision also benefited from these societal shifts, especially from the sector this thesis has termed '*differently religious*': those who were no longer traditionally observant with respect to religion, but still identified with it. Therefore World Vision was in a strong position to attract support from people who were both *differently political* and *differently religious*.

The implications for scholarship are that there are two ways in which religious influence may be overlooked in the realm of political opportunity: firstly if the analysis doesn't take account of the religious climate in the general population, especially as it is perceived and interacted with by the actors themselves.

Secondly, religious ideas that develop internally to the subculture of a religious community will be less recognisable to outsiders such as researchers or journalists, but that makes the detection of them all the more important.

ii. Aims and Repertoires of Contention

a. De Facto Aims

Initially, the primary aim of both organisations was to raise funds for work overseas, but they both also had a *de facto* secondary aim which drew from the prevailing nostrums within their respective religious communities. Oxfam's *de facto* aim was to promote internationalist values which were drawn from the prevailing understanding within Quakerism of how to contribute to a peaceful world; World Vision's *de facto* aim was to challenge the prevailing view within evangelicalism that social welfare and political activism were not appropriate activities for evangelical organisations. Over time, the repertoire of both organisations evolved so that these aims emerged as core functions in their own right.

An implication of this finding for scholarship is that when assessing an actor's actions, it would be prudent to look beyond any publicly stated aims when considering the reasons behind any actions taken.

b. World Evangelisation and Equipping Local Leaders

One difference between the two organisations was in the commitment of World Vision to world evangelisation which it pursued in two different ways. Firstly, it initially continued the practice of Youth for Christ by conducting large-scale evangelistic rallies in countries around the world. Secondly was the investment it made in training local pastors and church leaders in developing countries. World Vision was unusual among both faith-based and secular organisations in its early appreciation of local leaders, and its consequent investment in the training and development of indigenous pastors and workers which was based on their understanding of a scriptural principle that all men are equal under God and that each has a different but valuable role to play in the worldwide 'Body of Christ'. Tens of thousands of local leaders were trained by World Vision, which contributed to the capacity of local churches and organisations to influence their communities which resulted in practical, development outcomes as well as spiritual nurture. During this same period, there was no equivalent training programme run by Oxfam who continued to disseminate their resources through predominantly ex-patriot missionary organisations.

An implication for scholarship is the need to be mindful of any unintended consequences of activities that may have been undertaken for ostensibly different reasons.

iii. Resource Mobilisation: Networks for Recruitment

In their early years, both organisations used different versions of an ‘old boy network’ when recruiting people to senior positions and trusteeships, by headhunting from their circles of friends, acquaintances, colleagues and ‘cultural similars’. While World Vision’s networks were more extensive geographically than Oxfam’s they were also more tightly defined ideologically as they restricted appointments to fellow evangelicals. Nevertheless, while Oxfam demonstrated a less stringent religious requirement for more junior staff, it reserved its main decision-making posts for Quakers and those in sympathy with Quaker faith and practice. When each organisation moved to more formal recruitment processes, World Vision’s Christian ethos ensured it continued to draw from a pool of like-minded people, whereas Oxfam’s pool of candidates for less senior positions became broader and introduced wider thinking into the organisation. An implication for scholarship is that the ideological basis of an organisation, formed by a core group who instinctively think and act in similar ways doesn’t need to be explicitly stated and may, therefore, be missed by outsiders, such as researchers.

iv. Networks for Generating and Distributing Resources

World Vision’s primary audience was the evangelical community, and when it began, it had extensive pre-existing networks both nationally and internationally. World Vision’s ready access to and willingness to use these networks was a distinct advantage in becoming recognised, trusted and established and subsequently in generating resources. In contrast, Oxfam’s primary audience was the general public, or to subsets of it defined by media purchasing, and so needed not only to create a supporter base and associated communication networks, but it also needed to work harder to establish its credibility and trustworthiness. When it came to distributing resources, both organisations used pre-existing religious networks which began with utilising friendship networks before broadening to wider groups within their faith communities.

An implication for scholarship is to note that extensive communication networks exist both within and between religious communities that provide trusted channels for effective communication and the distribution of both resources. While these channels may not be readily observable to outsiders, as they operate outside mainstream media, they are nevertheless a cost-effective means of communication and distribution that can then ripple out from the religious community and influence norms and opinions in the general public.

v. Message Framing

a. Audience

Another difference between the two organisations was the intended audience for their communication or target for their actions: while Oxfam's primary audience was the general public, they welcomed support from religious groups, but in, in contrast, World Vision's primary audience was the evangelical subculture, although, over time, this extended to include sections of the public who were '*differently religious*' and the general public. These differing approaches affected the framing and tone of their discourse. This is another example of the points made previously: the effects of religious influence may not be readily observable to outsiders as the actions, while targeted at a specific religious expression, may have wider, longer-term consequences for general society.

b. External Framing

In their early days, both organisations used highly emotive imagery and language to generate support for their cause, but a central difference between them is that World Vision drew frequently and deeply on religious discourse, especially by utilising scriptures and calls for prayer, whereas Oxfam did not use religious language or reasoning at all. This difference derived not from their religious beliefs *per se*, but from decisions about how to maximise the response to their appeals for support. For Oxfam, the muting of the religious voice was for pragmatic reasons as during the war they believed that associating the cause with Quakerism, and by association, pacifism, would undermine support and reduce response to their appeals. Conversely, in seeking to maximise response from an evangelical audience, World Vision drew deeply from the linguistic traditions of the evangelical movement, not only because this would have been expected, but because it

would provide reassurance of its evangelical and theological orthodoxy while operating outside the expected remit of pure evangelism. In this World Vision was using frame amplification techniques to focus on and assert its shared values and beliefs in order to provide reassurance to potential supporters, whereas Oxfam was consciously veiling their religious background to provide a different form of reassurance to their potential supporters. As Oxfam needed to reach and connect with a broad range of ideologies and worldviews, it used frame bridging techniques to craft an identity that would be appealing to and satisfy the perspectives of different groups. To do this, it began a process that it continued to use for many years, the translation of religious values and perspectives into secular, non-religious language that would be recognisable and acceptable to both religious and non-religious audiences. For example, the Quaker concept of 'that of God' in each person became the 'equality of all mankind'. Another difference is that Oxfam wanted to promote internationalism to generate a sense of worldwide community, but World Vision perceived it already had a worldwide identity, based on a scriptural understanding of being 'members together' in the worldwide Body of Christ.

One other interesting contrast was regarding the language of warfare. The pacifism of Quakers meant Oxfam eschewed the language of warfare, even in a non-physical context, whereas World Vision saw the challenge of communism in terms of a 'spiritual battle' which enabled it to frame support for its work as a tangible means of fighting communism which brought added leverage to its appeal, especially when it was promoting child sponsorship.

An implication arises from this for scholarship as great care needs to be taken when reviewing an organisation's promotional material as the context and target audience must be factored into any analysis. There may be many reasons why an organisation will edit out or factor in different aspects or perspectives of its work. It has been shown that different framing techniques were utilised by the INGOs in question in order to satisfy what they perceived an audience would expect or want to see. Significantly these included for World Vision, frame amplification of its religious commitments but conversely for Oxfam and the FRC, it entailed a conscious and deliberate veiling of any influence of faith.

c. **Changes in the INGOs during the 1960s and 1970s**

i. **Resource Mobilisation: Overseas Expansion**

In the 1960s and 1970s, both organisations began to establish resourcing offices in other Western countries, but each had different reasons for doing so. Oxfam, wanting to influence on a global stage, needed to become established as an international organisation, especially as it wanted to obtain consultative status with the UN. It, therefore, needed to establish ‘beachheads’ and develop networks in other Western countries and so began to establish resourcing offices overseas. Conversely, World Vision urgently needed to increase resources, and so utilised its existing worldwide network of organisations and individuals to establish additional resourcing offices. Interestingly, it was Oxfam’s relative financial stability at the time that enabled it to undertake this untried venture, but conversely, it was World Vision’s lack of finance that drove its expansion.

An implication for scholarship is to emphasise the need to go ‘under the surface’ when analysing an organisation’s activities, as it may have additional *de facto* reasons for its actions that are not readily discernible.

ii. **Evolution of Aims and Repertoires**

Both organisations gradually expanded their relief activities to include development during this period and also began exploring opportunities to influence decision makers and governments on matters of policy. They both also began working in alliance with others and looked for opportunities to extend their influence to global fora. But there were also differences in how they went about these which will be looked at next.

a. **Evolution of Advocacy**

By the mid-1970s, both organisations were committed to influencing governments with regard to policy change on behalf of the poor, and both saw the importance of shaping public opinion as an essential step in this process. But while Oxfam began by influencing opinion in the general public, World Vision saw its first task as changing the thinking and practice of evangelicals. This then served as a staging post or catalyst in shaping the practice and thinking of the general population and ultimately, governments. Therefore, World Vision had an additional, primary stage in

its approach to advocacy where it began its appeal to people with a common frame of reference, i.e. evangelical Christians, and so was able to make its initial case in a targeted fashion based on religious values. As this became a new norm in evangelical circles, it served as a stepping stone to influencing on a broader canvas to the wider Christian world and the '*differently religious*' public.

b. Alliances

In order to support its advocacy aims, World Vision began to forge alliances with other religious organisations, whose purpose was to encourage Christians and churches to lobby governments. Oxfam also began working in collaboration with others, and while some of these were religious groups, they did not specifically target the Christian community.

c. Changing International Norms and International Influence

Oxfam perceived opportunities to influence international norms in global fora such as the UN much earlier than World Vision. Therefore, during the 1960s and early 1970s, it expended much time, energy and finance to establish an international presence that would facilitate this process. In contrast, World Vision was not at this time, targeting international institutions like the UN, but instead was seeking to influence the worldwide evangelical community to embrace socio-political activism and was doing this through participation in conferences, collaborative working with neo-evangelicals and its own Pastors conferences. Therefore both organisations were taking steps to change norms and practices, but World Vision was looking first to change the norms of a religious sub-group on a global basis, that would later diffuse into the general public and ultimately governments, while Oxfam was positioning itself to influence international institutions directly.

The implication for scholarship from these three areas is that religious organisations may be promoting and effecting change especially with respect to norms within a religious community or sub-group that may later have wider consequences for international politics. It would, therefore, be prudent to remain cognizant of developments and changes within the perspective, culture and practice of religious communities as they may be

incubating practices or new norms that will later diffuse into the general public.

iii. Message Framing

a. Audiences

World Vision successfully utilised television as a promotional medium in the 1970s, but this was not an option for Oxfam as charities in the UK were not then permitted to advertise on television. But while this provided an income stream not available to Oxfam, the core of World Vision's support still came from its network of church and individual supporters.

Nevertheless, in order to communicate effectively with a broader, non-evangelical audience, the language it used in its programming was less religiously intense.

Meanwhile, Oxfam began to open resourcing offices overseas, and its audience broadened geographically. It had taken these steps as it perceived a gap in the global public domain for a non-religious body and so took steps to 'own' this space by positioning itself as a consciously secular body, even though many core aspects of the organisation were still influenced by religion and religious people. This expansion enabled its repertoire to expand to incorporate advocacy and lobbying and so its audience profile extended to include governments and international institutions. One outcome of this was that it finally gained consultative status with the UN via ECOSOC in 1973.

World Vision underwent a similar expansion overseas, but its primary audience was the evangelical community within these countries, and so it built on this presence to influence the worldwide evangelical community to embrace socio-political activism. World Vision's repertoire did not fully embrace advocacy or lobbying until 10 to 15 years later than Oxfam, and so its audience profile did not expand to governments and international institutions until much later, and it didn't apply for consultative status with the UN until 1985.

b. External Framing

During this period, both organisations evolved their message framing but in different ways and for different reasons. Oxfam's external discourse

took a distinctive and deliberate secular turn in order to capitalise on what it perceived to be a gap in the international development world for a non-sectarian agency. The result being that Oxfam began to publically and deliberately promote a non-religious approach to development rather than its previous practice of publicly avoiding reference to religion.

At the same time, World Vision reduced the intensity of its religious language when communicating with less religious constituencies, for example, television audiences or governments, but retained its evangelical tone with its core audience and so developed a 'bi-lingual' approach to communications.

c. Internal Framing

The faith-base of World Vision and the concomitant evangelical faith of all of its leaders and decision makers, plus a majority of its employees, provided an 'ideological glue' that enabled it to weather and resolve many internal debates about strategy, structure and leadership. When faced with differing views or calls for a change in direction, it often turned to theologians to provide a biblical perspective as well as eliciting professional advice. This was seen, for example, when considering advocacy work.

In contrast, as Oxfam grew and recruited people with a broader range of perspectives to junior and middle management positions, the internationalism that was a key driver for Oxfam continued to provide a direction of travel but did not provide an ideology around which the many different people in Oxfam could cohere. Conversely, one of the strongest influences within Oxfam was intellectualism and its openness to ideas, debate, innovation and radical thinking. In such an environment, ideas do not require 'resolving' but are fundamental to intellectual inquiry. They did not feel obligated to come to an agreement but chose instead to live with difference in an attitude of mutual respect. When establishing other Oxfams, this lack of internal coherence was replicated, and the new bodies were formed without any ideological similarity to Oxfam UK or any obligation to conform to a prescribed method of working (Walker, 2012; Norton, 2012; Judd, 2012). Even while it was developing a secular approach to its external framing and was considering the views of middle-

management who had begun challenging old orthodoxies, Oxfam's senior decision making positions remained occupied by people of faith, with Quakers being particularly well represented. Consequently, a Quaker influence on decision making and organisational style was sustained, long after their external framing adapted to new secular paradigms.

The implications for scholarship regarding public pronouncements concerning faith or the terminology used in promotional material are that there may be a disjuncture between public appearance and what is practised or understood, even subliminally, within the internal collective consciousness of the organisation regarding religion. Therefore it is recommended that scholars don't take public statements or appearances at face value but rather seek corroboration from other spheres of the organisation's work in order to assess more accurately any influence or activities of religion within an organisation.

d. Overseas Expansion and Internationalisation

By the mid-1990s, both Oxfam International and World Vision International had established a presence in Washington in order to capitalise on new opportunities to influence global decision makers in international institutions such as the World Bank, but the journey for each of them had been quite different.

Transnational advocacy, like any other transnational enterprise, needs to overcome the twin obstacles of distance and difference: and while technology can help overcome the former, cultural and language barriers require significant investment in developing and maintaining meaningful relationships (Wuthnow 2009). When formal processes of global advocacy began in the 1990s, World Vision had nearly 20 years' experience of working as an international organisation which proved invaluable as it had well-developed and proven systems of global communications and relationships, with mature consultative processes. These had evolved during World Vision's internationalisation processes where its faith identity, articulated in its early internationalisation study reports as '*our common bond in Christ*' (World Vision, 1976:13) provided a compelling, transcendent motivation to persevere with its internationalisation process when conflict arose. These aspects of World Vision exemplify the assertion made by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996), that to be effective, mobilising structures need to combine with framing processes among '*homogenous people who are in intense regular contact with each other*' (McAdam,

McCarthy and Zald 1996, 9). In these internationalisation processes, it had, perhaps unwittingly, developed the conditions necessary for an effective contribution to global advocacy. While it had begun as a strictly defined evangelical organisation, as it expanded in size and global reach it had broadened its internal faith basis to encompass a much wider range of Christian experience, beliefs and perspectives. It had also developed alliances with both faith and secular groups in order to progress its aims. These processes helped to hone its ability to adapt its message in order to present its work and core values to different audiences in meaningful ways.

In contrast, Oxfam, without a core shared identity had been unable to agree on how to internationalise and had remained a loosely associated group of independent NGOs until operational necessity led to the formation of Oxfam International in 1995. Oxfam recognised that to be effective in this new environment, it had to move from being a non-homogenous group of different Oxfam entities to being an homogenous one. As part of that process, it became crucial to develop an agreed and articulated value system and approach. The rights-based approach formulated by UNDP in the 1990s provided the solution and was adopted by Oxfam International in its first strategic plan, thus finally providing '*an over-arching rationale to the 13 member federation*' (Forsyth, 2009:162). Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) suggest it is unlikely that a movement will emerge without '*prior network or coalition activity*' (Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002:9). Until the 1990s, the different Oxfam entities had only cooperated on a very limited basis. Nevertheless, they were able to draw from these loose connections and their long-held commitment to justice and social change. Over time, it gradually forged a collective identity and brand and built a formidable reputation as an advocate for the poor on a global stage as well as a national one.

The differing experiences of Oxfam and World Vision in their internationalising processes illustrate two things of interest and note to scholars. First is that they demonstrate the importance of having a shared value system and effective, trusting relationships if the obstacles of distance and difference are to be overcome in transnational activities. Secondly, they illustrate the potential of religion to provide this shared value system although it is recognised this will not always be the case. Nevertheless, in this instance, while World Vision's shared evangelical faith did not stop problems and disputes from arising, its shared commitment to the goal of world evangelisation, combined with a shared value system based on reverence for the Bible, provided sufficient impetus for it to work to overcome their differences.

3. Implications of Research Findings for Scholarship

a. **Religious Literacy: Recommendations for Establishing Whether Religion is Present**

An early and foundational finding for the research was that religious influence isn't necessarily observable, especially if religious language or terminology is not used in its self-description, publicity, prescriptions or motivations.

It became evident that using the presence or absence of religious language to determine whether religion itself is present was problematic as religious terminology can only act as an initial filter to indicate that it *may* be involved and therefore provides only a superficial and unreliable assessment of religious influence. This problematising of religious framing was the first of several incidences where it was shown that the legacy of secularisation theory had led to a lack of religious literacy and therefore erroneous assumptions which led to misunderstandings about the role and influence of religion. Therefore, this research needed to adapt its own methodology to overcome it and in so doing developed recommendations for scholars coming from a secular perspective. These will be presented and discussed next.

i. **Recommendation: Academia to Develop a Curiosity about Religion**

The proponents of secularisation theory assert and predict the diminishing influence of religion as they argue the process of modernisation will move religion to the margins of society, to a differentiated place (Bruce 1996; Bruce 2011). While there are ongoing debates in academia regarding the merits and demerits of these predictions of secularisation theory, one of its legacies is the lingering habit of applying assumptions based on a secular worldview to academic research, which includes social movement scholarship and international politics.

A secular worldview that does not expect to find religion in public life cannot be expected to delve deeply to look for it, especially if it is not observed in the movement's own materials or public pronouncements. Indeed the absence of religious terminology or references will serve to affirm the expectation that religion is no longer active or relevant in the public domain leading both scholars and journalists to look for other factors of influence to explain any phenomena. This underlying assumption has also led to a significant lack of religious literacy,

which has compounded the problem: if there is no expectation of finding religion, there is no need to know anything about it, and an assumption that religion is confined to personal beliefs and rituals leads to an associated 'blind spot' regarding its effect on the decisions and lives of its adherents.

ii. Recommendation: Reconsider the Assumption that Religion will become Privatised

One of the drawbacks of the differentiation and privatisation aspects of secularisation theory is the failure to recognise that the faith of many religious people impels them to apply it in their day to day lives as they do not have a concept of personal piety that can be practised without reference to the world around them. Their view of the Christian faith is that it should have transformation of some kind as a central characteristic. This thesis has presented many examples of this, including, in addition to the emergence of Oxfam and World Vision, Edith Pye acting on her concern which led to the formation of the Famine Relief Committee; William Temple's mission to encourage the application of faith and intellect to social concerns; the emergence of neo-evangelicals who similarly worked to encourage socio-political activism to become an accepted and expected part of Christian life. In all of these cases, which spanned a broad spectrum of Christian belief and practice, withdrawing to a private differentiated place to practice personal piety and prayer, as secularisation theory would suggest, was not an option: they perceived that something intentional and pro-active was required of them, and the transcendent nature of their faith made this non-negotiable, in order to see transformation in the world around them. All of these intentions and actions emanated from the Christian faith as their particular tradition understood it.

iii. Recommendation: Don't Assume that a Non-religious Discourse Indicates the Absence of Religion

This thesis has shown that religion may be present and influential, even in the absence of any religious terminology or references and therefore argues that attention also needs to be given to discerning whether other aspects of an organisation's activities or relationships indicate the presence of religion. This will enable a more comprehensive assessment of the possible influence of religion on social movements, INGOs and international politics. This thesis, therefore, recommends that religion should be considered as a separate factor

in academic enquiry, in the same manner as social or political context, cultural and economic factors or technological changes.

This is not a normative argument that religion should be involved or influential in society, rather a pragmatic observation that it may already be active, as demonstrated by this research and so needs to be separately considered to ensure any influence can be identified and understood.

It is recognised that applying these recommendations would be a significant shift in the nature of social movement research as it asks for long-standing assumptions and practices to be overturned. But the prevalence of religious actors in social movements, especially transnational ones, requires it to ensure a comprehensive and rounded analysis that includes all factors. This will involve researchers incorporating an element of curiosity about religion and religious people, which would lead to an increase in the level of religious literacy, which will be considered next.

b. Importance of Developing Religious Literacy within Scholarship

The concept of religious literacy has itself evolved in recent years moving from a sense that this was referred to knowledge about the beliefs and rituals of differing religious traditions, to an ability to recognise religious influences based on an understanding of how belief affects individual and group behaviours. But Moore (2015) notes that the former still represents the '*most common approaches*' which lead to '*simplistic and inaccurate representations*' of the many different roles of religions in life today (Moore 2015:4).

This paper has provided evidence to show that in order to 'recognise' the presence or influence of religion, one needs to acquire knowledge of, and remain current in, three different areas of religious life: firstly, an 'insider's awareness' of theological shifts, events and trends within the subculture of any religious expression involved. For example, this thesis has shown that the lack of attention given to shifts in the evangelical perspective on socio-political involvement, including major conferences and consultations has led to erroneous conclusions about the rise of the religious right and socio-political engagement by evangelicals in America. Secondly, an appreciation of its internal discourse or terminology, or denominational 'jargon', is needed as its absence can lead to misunderstanding and poor interpretation of the actions of religious actors. For example, the implications of Edith Pye's 'concern' could be overlooked if the Quaker use of the word is misunderstood. The third area

is an understanding of the difference between official versions of religious beliefs and practice and those practised by people identifying with the religious expression. It may be problematic only to consider the views of religious leaders when enquiring into beliefs and practice as they will likely respond with theologically correct views and not necessarily those held or practised by those self-identifying as members. Therefore this thesis argues there should also be an awareness of folk practices and beliefs, such as the widely accepted 'civil religion' in America and the pervasive Anglicanism of rural England in the middle of the twentieth century.

Writing from the perspective of the Religious Literacy Project at Harvard Divinity School, Moore's (2015) definition of religious literacy includes an appreciation of how beliefs interact with social, economic, political and cultural factors to influence the behaviour and choices of individuals and a recognition that religious belief isn't static, but evolves and acts *in response to these external forces* (Moore 2015: 4,2).

While recognising that religion can and does adapt to prevailing circumstances, this thesis has also shown that religious actors seek to bring changes to aspects of the prevailing culture, political status quo or public policy that it perceives are inimical to a good, prospering society. Religion is therefore not a passive actor, with little agency of its own, only acting and adapting in response to external pressures: but instead operates in an interdependent and symbiotic manner with external factors in order to bring about changes in that environment. In doing so, it challenges one of the basic tenets of secularisation theory: that religion will lose influence in public life. Moore's assertion itself draws from a worldview which continues to carry the influential assumptions emanating from secularisation theory, which assumes that religion, religious individuals and bodies, having little agency of their own are highly vulnerable to external circumstances, especially the processes of modernisation.

It is ironic that a definition of religious literacy retains vestiges of secularisation theory, demonstrating once again how pervasive its influence has become.

The view that changes in religion are due primarily to external circumstances has been a factor in the analysis of the significant changes in the socio-political involvement of evangelicals in the mid-1970s. The framing of the analysis contained an underlying assumption that something must have happened externally to generate such a sea change, but this thesis has presented evidence of internal factors within evangelicalism that had been growing in influence since the 1950s

that were a significant contributor, if not the main contributor, that led to the observed dramatic shift.

4. Summary

a. **Drawbacks of Secularisation Theory: Underestimating Religious Presence and Influence**

In Chapter One, this thesis reviewed how religion is conceptualised in academia and showed that the legacy of secularisation theory had hampered an accurate and informed understanding of the role of religion. It was shown that it had contributed to a lack of curiosity about religion and religious actors by encouraging a perspective that homogenised and trivialised religion that bordered on intellectual intimidation by asserting the irrationality of religion. In that chapter, a discussion on the perceived resurgence of religion also raised questions regarding whether religion itself was resurgent, or whether this resurgent phenomenon was an increased salience about religion among scholars and policymakers following high profile international and political events where the presence of religion was evident.

This thesis has presented evidence from both case studies, showing that religion remained active in social and public life although for pragmatic reasons adapted its language to meet contemporary conventions in public discourse. Therefore the expected pointers towards religious involvement: religious terminology, scriptural language and arguments based on religious doctrine, were less evident. Toft (2013) notes that *'academics and policy-makers live and work in fairly tight-knit communities'* with a shared belief that religion had become a private matter, mostly for the less educated (Toft 2013:675-676), therefore in their day to day lives they would rarely encounter religion or religious groups. This gave them confidence that religion could be *'shuffled off into the error term'* (Toft 2013: 676).

This suggests an interesting irony, that the resurgence of academic interest in religion is related to a different, and as yet unreported product of secularisation theory: that it caused a strata of global society, namely academia and policymakers, to withdraw to a differentiated place of secular rationality that bred and encouraged an intellectual indifference to religion which caused them to be largely unaware of its continuing presence and influence in wider society.

This thesis has also presented evidence that this influence may have begun within religious sub-cultures, but as these are not ringed off from wider society, their work and influence diffused into the public domain in both deliberate and unintentional ways. Eventually, as secularisation theory could no longer be stretched to explain the events taking place in international relations, it was academia and other key figures that needed to emerge from a differentiated space, not religion or religious actors, who had remained in public life but hidden in plain sight, for over 60 years. For scholars and academia, this new awareness of religion led to an unholy scramble to understand the nature of religion in public life, but this was problematic as their understanding, concepts and theories were over 60 years out of date.

So even though scholars are now working to understand the role of religion, this thesis posits that the long-term lack of curiosity about religion has caused the effects of religion and religious influence not only to be underestimated and misunderstood but also inaccurately attributed to other factors.

b. Towards an Improved Understanding of Religion

This thesis has made several recommendations for identifying the presence of religion in INGOs, social movements and international politics, but would also like to make proposals for improving scholarly understanding of religion and religious actors. This builds on the observation of Thomas (2005) that religion needs to be understood in a totally different way. This thesis posits that the traditional binary of substantive versus functional definitions for religion is outmoded and unhelpful, but even if they are not disaggregated, they still do not have the ability to convey the manner in which religion is viewed and experienced by many, especially those groups considered in this research. It is suggested this could be improved by attending to three aspects of religion that are rarely considered:

i. Religion: Experienced as Whole Life Commitment

While it is recognised that religious faith may be practiced in a nominal way: for example by a '*differently religious*' section of the public or by general acceptance of a 'civil religion' as discussed in the first chapter, the participants in both case studies demonstrated by their involvement, a deep and enduring commitment to the religious expression to which they belong. Such religious adherents would be commonly referred to as 'practising' or 'committed'

Christians. A consequence of this for the evangelicals and Quakers in this case study was that they take a 'whole life' approach to religion that believes it should affect every area of life. It is not considered as an optional extra or add-on to life in the manner of sporting allegiance or a hobby that can be picked up or put down at personal convenience or traded in for a new model if the old one fails to live up to expectations. This isn't perceived as a commitment to a belief system, but as a commitment to God and as such their faith would be expected to affect all aspects of their lives, including their finances, how they spent their time and conduct their relationships. It would also be a life-long commitment. These aspects frequently combine to create and sustain a sacrificial lifestyle, illustrated by missionaries who follow a Biblical injunction to go to the 'uttermost parts of the world'. Even without such an extreme commitment to the faith, committed Christians often perceive a sense of non-negotiability when challenged to participate in or support a venture.

ii. Religion as Experienced in Community

Thomas (2005) noted that religion is part of a broader social and cultural narrative and this was seen operating within each of the organisations in the case studies, where there was an internal collective consciousness that reflected the religious expression of the faith community from which they came, and the collective experience both reinforced the original commitment and encouraged long-term commitment to it. The beliefs and actions arising from those beliefs did not need to be regularly or explicitly articulated as it was instinctively understood by those involved. The main times that religion needed to be explicitly stated was when communicating with those outside the organisation (its supporters and other stakeholders) when they needed to build a connection with the audience: for example to encourage response to a request for support. To an outsider, for example, a researcher, the lack of explicit reference internally to religion may indicate its absence, but the converse may be true as it may be a strong indication of the depth of its shared experience and vision.

iii. Religion as Response to a Compelling Vision

This leads to another major finding of this thesis: that religion needs to be seen as more than a set of beliefs that lead to discrete, individual actions but rather as providing a purpose for the lives of religious adherents by presenting a vision of how the world is meant to be. Both case study organisations were compelled

to act, not just by immediate needs, but rather by an over-arching vision, provided by their religion, of how the world was meant to be. It has already been noted that the individuals in these case studies were serious about their faith: they were committed, practising Christians and as part of that, they perceived through scripture and had affirmed through religious rituals, Christian teaching and other social interactions, that God intended the world to be different and they had a part to play in helping that vision come to pass. For the Quakers, it was a vision of a peaceful world, free from violence and war which led to their promotion of internationalism. For evangelicals, it was in their commitment to seeing a biblical way of life as taught by Jesus Christ, spread on earth through world evangelisation and in seeing the understanding of that concept expanded.

This thesis posits that the actions of the religious actors in both case study organisations cannot be fully understood without an appreciation of the impact of such a vision which would motivate and drive a life-long commitment to making this vision a reality. Consequently, individuals and communities were compelled to invest and sacrifice money, time and energy to bring this vision about. This commitment was all-encompassing and all-embracing.

c. Final Thoughts

Michael Taylor (1995) has articulated the core question of this thesis by quoting something often asked about Christian Aid: Are you more than 'Oxfam with hymns'? This thesis has presented evidence and argument that religious involvement in INGOs is often much more than that. Nevertheless, there is a line from a hymn that is often quoted by Christians when seeking to explain religious sacrifice: *'love so amazing, so Divine, demands my soul, my life my all'*. This summarises most succinctly the immutable nature of religious commitment that has been so underestimated by scholars.

This thesis concludes with the view that there is currently a lack of religious literacy, which has hampered a full understanding of the role and influence of religion in social movements, INGOs, international politics, international development, and possibly other disciplines. Therefore, if religious actors are present, it is recommended that scholars seek 'insider knowledge' and advice from appropriate persons or groups when conducting research to ensure that these potentially hidden, but relevant and important factors are taken into

account. It is also recommended that in any academic endeavours, scholarly antennae are attuned to the possible involvement of religion, even in the absence of religious terminology.

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