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**Citation:** Cooper, G. (2019). #AidToo? The 2018 humanitarian scandals in Oxfam GB and save the children UK. In: Tumber, H. & Waisbord, S. (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Media and Scandal*. (pp. 342-353). Abingdon, UK: Routledge. ISBN 9780815387596

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#AIDTOO? THE 2018 HUMANITARIAN SCANDALS IN OXFAM GB AND SAVE THE CHILDREN UK  
Glenda Cooper

### Introduction

On 31 July 2018, the UK's House of Commons International Development Select Committee published its report into sexual exploitation in the aid sector. The results were highly uncomfortable reading. It concluded that sexual exploitation and abuse were endemic, there had been a collective failure of leadership and engagement, and a 'self-delusion' among the aid sector in dealing with and tackling problems (House of Commons 2018).

The committee made clear what had sparked their investigation – the exposé by The Times newspaper earlier in the year into sexual exploitation and abuse by Oxfam workers in Haiti; and the subsequent revelations about abuse and harassment by senior executives at Save the Children UK's head office as revealed by the Mail on Sunday. Following that, charities such as Médecins Sans Frontières, World Vision and the United Nations also found themselves answering questions about aid workers' behaviour. Within six months, Oxfam GB and Save the Children UK had seen senior figures resign, had lost significant public support and donations – Save the Children estimated it would be in the region of £67m (Marsh 2018) – had had to step away from bidding for government cash and were facing new regulatory frameworks and oversights. These stories however were not new. The Oxfam scandal dated back to the aftermath of the Haitian earthquake of 2010, while the allegations against Save the Children executives referred to incidents in 2012 and 2015. Despite the previous efforts of whistleblowers, there was little coverage in the mainstream media until 2018 when a succession of exclusives lifted the lid on sexual abuse by aid workers towards both beneficiaries and other workers.

This chapter therefore looks at the coverage of this humanitarian scandal in the first half of 2018, from The Times' breaking of the Oxfam GB Haitian scandal to the publication of the House of Commons report at the end of July. I adopt Greer and McLaughlin's model (2017) to trace the development of the scandal; and I consider whether the #MeToo movement inspired the sudden focus on abuse and exploitation in the humanitarian sector.

The humanitarian scandals of 2018 lend themselves to sociological theory around folk devils and moral panic (Cohen 1972). Aid workers, who are usually lauded for helping the neediest and least powerful in society, were transformed in the media into sexual predators and abusers. Flinders (2012) points out that with Cohen's analysis of Mods and Rockers, it was not so much the activities of the groups, but the cultural strain that these 'folk devils' represent – and the same was true of the humanitarian scandal. This came in the wake of other scandals, such as the sexual abuse by celebrities such as Jimmy Savile and the BBC's failure to deal with this, the child sex rings in different British towns and the abuse of children by UK football coaches. This suggested that institutions set up for the public good – social services, a public broadcasting corporation, children's activities – had been used to further sexual exploitation, resulting in a collapse of public trust as a result. The aid agencies – those who aim to help the

less powerful but who were exposed as exploiting them – were thus a natural progression of these scandals.

Greer and McLaughlin's model looks at recent institutional scandal in the UK such as these, and the regular calls for public inquiries by the news media, pressure groups and social movements that come in their wake. It conceptualises scandal as a process and suggests that there are five stages – latency, activation, reaction, amplification and accountability. This takes a story from being an 'open secret' within a particular institution/sector but with no wider coverage, through to publication, trial by media and moving beyond a problem affecting a small number of individuals to encompass a whole institution or sector. The Oxfam GB story fulfils this model in the way that the story developed.

However, what is interesting to note is that both the Oxfam story and the Save the Children revelations come from outside typical 'development journalist' sources and were published in publications that are not as closely associated with covering humanitarian stories.

#### Latency

Greer and McLaughlin posit that the first stage of their scandal model is latency, which is when the 'scandal' is an open secret within the institution, or is known to a select few, but is not in the public domain. The institutions then engage with denial, diversion or neutralisation to contain it.

Both the Oxfam GB scandal and the Save the Children scandal were known about in some circles well before the story broke. With Oxfam, a report as far back as 2011 detailed that three men had been allowed to resign and four sacked after an inquiry into sexual exploitation, use of pornography, bullying and intimidation in Haiti. One of those allowed to resign was Roland van Hauwermeiren, the country director.

This however did not break as a scandal at the time. While Oxfam GB were later accurate in saying that they had made public the fact that there had been a report into the men's behaviour, the charity engaged in forms of dismissal and diversion to neutralise the risk of the knowledge of the full scandal becoming public (Cohen 2001; Marris et al. 2014).

Print coverage between 13 August and 13 September 2011, according to a Nexis search, reveals that there were two Press Association newswire stories (Lancefield 2011; Silverman 2011) and a smattering of 'news in briefs' in the regional papers derived from these accounts. Most stories were less than 100 words long, none explicitly mentioned sexual exploitation or use of prostitutes; instead Oxfam said that the scandal involved 'abuse of power' and 'bullying' but was not concerned with fraud. The reason given for van Hauwermeiren's resignation was because he took 'managerial responsibility' for the issues that had occurred. The charity, through its spokesperson Penny Lawrence, also stressed no beneficiaries were involved and none of the men were British. In terms of news values theory, Oxfam's decision to categorise what had happened as non-specific bullying/abuse of power of non-British people and not involving abuse of donations that had been given by British people would place the investigation very far down a newspaper's news list. Galtung and Ruge (1965), building on Harcup and O'Neill (2001; 2017), attempt to categorise and refine news values to explain more fully why some stories receive the attention they do – of which some of the most important are relevance to those reading and the involvement of celebrities or elite people. But in this telling of the

narrative, there were no references to elite persons or relevance to readers (what Galtung and Ruge term 'elite nations' – in this case Britain). Following Adams (1986), Oxfam's insistence that this was not a 'British' problem decreased the interest the media might have had in it.

The former International Development Secretary Andrew Mitchell later described this approach as Oxfam abiding by the letter but not the spirit of the law when he gave evidence to the 2018 Select Committee (House of Commons 2018). Barbara Stocking however disputed this at the inquiry saying that they had been given legal advice not to mention the sexual exploitation but that Oxfam had voluntarily made press statements on the dismissals (Stocking 2018). As well as neutralising the story, Oxfam GB also employed what could be seen as diversionary tactics – in particular, promotion of its then chief executive, Dame Barbara Stocking, who was celebrating ten years in the role.

Just before the story broke Stocking gave an interview to The Times (Sylvester 2011) in which she discussed Oxfam as a lifestyle brand and revealed before she had joined the agency that she had 'hidden behind the sofa' when an African child appeared on television during a disaster. Haiti and the ongoing investigation was not mentioned. She then gave a wide-ranging interview to The Guardian's Women section, published during the coverage (Saner 2011). The interview began as follows:

The idea that increasing female empowerment is the best way to reduce poverty isn't new, but in the 10 years Barbara Stocking has been chief executive of Oxfam, it has been at the heart of what the organisation does.

'It's quite deliberately said that way,' she says. 'It's not that we only work with women, it's that we look at every programme and say, "What could this do for poor women?"'

(Saner 2011, 16)

Again there is no reference to the investigation. Later in September, a positive feature also appeared in The Times suggesting different career options within Oxfam, such as public health engineers and marketing, with Oxfam employees talking enthusiastically about their work (Potter 2011).

Unlike Oxfam GB, there had been a specific report in the mainstream media relating to the Save the Children scandal. In November 2015, the Mail on Sunday's political editor Simon Walters reported that both Brendan Cox, Director of Policy, and Justin Forsyth, Chief Executive, had left Save the Children. The piece reported that Cox had had allegations of 'inappropriate behaviour' made against him but was quoted as saying that the rumours were 'untrue' (Walters 2015). Forsyth was said to have left for unconnected reasons. The story was also framed as the fall of 'New Labour apparatchiks' rather than a humanitarian story per se.<sup>1</sup>

There was limited follow-up, apart from a brief news story in The Times, a diary item about Samantha Cameron's links to Save the Children in the Mail and a call-out from The Guardian's global professional development network for people to send in their experiences of working for Save the Children (Purvis 2015a). On 11 November 2015 The Guardian published a selection of those views. While some were critical of Save the Children's corporate attitudes, none of those published mentioned allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse, except in the context of the charity taking a firm role in tackling norms that promote child abuse (Purvis 2015b). The murder of Brendan Cox's wife, the MP Jo Cox in June 2016 and the

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widespread sympathy for him, meant there was no further discussion of the allegations in the media.

#### Activation

Greer and McLaughlin posit that the second stage of scandal is 'activation' – when the allegations move from a network or social media chatter into the mainstream media. They argue that scandalous allegations circulating on social media can only gain real traction when they are repeated by mainstream news media (Chagnon and Chesney-Lind 2015; Liebes and Blum-Kulka 2004).

This activation occurred on 9 February 2018, when The Times ran a front-page story with the headline 'Top Oxfam Staff Paid Haiti Survivors for Sex' (O'Neill 2018a). The article, written by the paper's chief reporter, was following up on one written the previous autumn detailing how an Oxfam employee, Lesley Agams, had been sacked after complaining of sexual assault by an Oxfam senior official (O'Neill 2017). The February article alleged that the aid agency had covered up claims that senior staff working in Haiti in the aftermath of the earthquake had used prostitutes, some of whom were said to be under-aged. Lurid headlines referred to 'Caligula-style Orgies'. Among those who were accused was Roland van Hauwermeiren, who had been the charity's director of operations. Oxfam revealed that, after an internal report into the matter in 2011, four members of staff were dismissed but three were allowed to resign before the investigation was over, including van Hauwermeiren. O'Neill wrote: Dame Barbara Stocking, offered the Belgian [van Hauwermeiren] 'a phased and dignified exit' because sacking him would have 'potentially serious implications' for the charity's work and reputation.

(O'Neill 2018a)

Oxfam said that it announced the investigation at the time, but the Charity Commission said that it had not been made aware of the full facts of the use of prostitutes by aid workers (Charity Commission 2018). The Times also revealed that Oxfam did not warn other agencies, with the result that van Hauwermeiren then went on to work elsewhere in the aid sector.

The day after The Times's story about Oxfam, the Mail on Sunday ran a piece reporting that Brendan Cox, former director of policy at Save the Children UK, had been accused of assaulting a woman at Harvard University in 2015 (Walters 2018a). While Cox initially denied the claims, a week later he gave an emotional interview to the paper announcing that he would quit his roles at the charities set up in his wife's name, and apologising to the women he had allegedly harassed (Walters 2018b). The paper also mentioned that Justin Forsyth, the former chief executive of Save the Children UK who had left soon after Cox in 2015, had also been subject to a complaint by a female employee.

#### Reaction

Greer and McLaughlin describe the main approach of the reaction phase of the scandal model as trial by media (TBM). While scandal activation has had the intention of provoking shock and outrage from the public and confession, excuse or denial from the accused (Schönbach 2010), Greer and McLaughlin say that TBM is a key driver and 'market-driven form of populist justice in which individuals and institutions are accused, prosecuted, judged, sentenced and permanently stigmatised in the "court of public opinion"' (2017, 120). The media frame those named as guilty and approach any form of denial as lying, thus inviting journalists to intensify their investigations.

The way that the former and current CEOs of Oxfam reacted to the publicity at the time conformed to this model. When media organisations publish investigative stories with potentially libellous consequences, it is always difficult for journalists at other institutions to cover them in depth. So The Times's exclusive could have well remained largely confined to the paper – as the Walters' story about Brendan Cox did in 2015 – had it not been for actions by actors outside the newspaper, two of the most important being Barbara Stocking and Mark Goldring.

Stocking, who had been in charge of Oxfam GB at the time of the scandal, agreed to do a Newsnight interview when The Times story came out. The result – in which Stocking admitted Oxfam had known for years about the abuse – gave other journalists a legitimate way in to the story without possessing the documents that The Times had based its stories on. The consequences went beyond her actual words: a nervous-looking Stocking appeared to smile inappropriately, and under attack from the interviewer Emily Maitlis, helped to perpetuate an image that her denials were more cover-up.

The then current CEO of Oxfam GB, Mark Goldring, also found himself in this spotlight when he decided to give an interview to Decca Aitkenhead of The Guardian, which appeared a week later on 16 February, to explain the situation and allay the growing media furor. He told Aitkenhead of the difficulty of getting his point of view across:

I went on the Today programme on the first day and tried to explain and it totally failed. All it did was fuel the fire. Every explanation he's tried to offer has been branded an excuse 'and just failed in the court of public opinion. We've been savaged.' Even apologies only make matters worse. 'I said on TV: "Yes, we could have done some things faster," and all of a sudden we've got two former ministers calling for my resignation. What I felt really clearly is many people haven't wanted to listen to explanations.'

(Aitkenhead 2018)

Ironically, a further quote that Goldring gave to Aitkenhead in the same interview fuelled the fire even more. Returning to the theme that the coverage of this story was in fact a way for the media to pursue an anti-aid agenda, Goldring tried to put what happened in perspective:

The intensity and the ferocity of the attack makes you wonder, what did we do? We murdered babies in their cots? [my italics] Certainly, the scale and the intensity of the attacks feels out of proportion to the level of culpability. I struggle to understand it.

(Aitkenhead 2018)

Goldring's words immediately provided the next day's headlines, with condemnation and derision from the media and renewed intensity of focus on Oxfam. He was castigated for failing to grasp the severity of the accusations and to show enough penitence for what had happened. An editorial in the Daily Mirror – a newspaper's customary way of speaking directly to its readers about what it thinks is most important – entitled 'Face Facts Mr Oxfam' read: THE chief executive ... has done himself and his organisation no favours. If Mr Goldring cares about its reputation ... he should stop blaming his critics and start taking responsibility.

His crass comments have only undermined still further the dwindling support for a once venerable organisation.

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(Daily Mirror 2018)

The consequences of TBM, Greer and McLaughlin say, are a 'chilling' of public sentiments towards the accused, potential prosecution, new regulatory frameworks and policy reform.

Certainly, consequences for Oxfam were immediate. The International Development Secretary, Penny Mordaunt, threatened to cut funding within two days of The Times report (Elgot 2018), while the Charity Commission launched a full statutory inquiry into the NGO on 12 February (Booth 2018). The same day the deputy chief executive Penny Lawrence – who had given the statement back in 2011 – resigned, apologising for what had happened on her watch.

But if Oxfam hoped this would be sufficient, it proved not to be. Despite Oxfam publishing its 2011 report, within a week Goldring revealed that the aid agency had lost significant public support with 7,000 public donors deserting it, while 16 celebrity ambassadors including the actor Minnie Driver resigned, as did Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Beaumont 2018; Elgot & McVeigh 2018; Slawson 2018)

As more revelations were published by The Times, Haiti temporarily suspended Oxfam's right to work in the country, which four months later was made permanent. By that time Goldring himself had announced that he would step down by the end of the year so that someone with 'fresh vision and energy' could take his place (Rawlinson 2018) and Oxfam was facing £16.2 million worth of cuts (Anders 2018).

Save the Children UK also found themselves under the spotlight as a result, although the story unfolded in a different way. The Mail on Sunday which broke the story then secured an interview with Brendan Cox the following week in which he denied the allegations but said he might have 'overstepped the line' and resigned from two foundations set up in his wife's name. The chief executive of Save the Children announced a review of the organisation's culture but the charity started to come under more pressure on the 19 February when it became clear Cox had been allowed to resign before disciplinary procedures were completed (Bannerman 2018) followed by the revelations by Manveen Rana, a reporter for the BBC's PM programme, that there had been three separate complaints against former chief executive Justin Forsyth between 2011 and 2015 and that he had admitted to 'personal mistakes' in sending overfamiliar text messages to women at Save the Children, which he had later apologised for (BBC 2018). When it emerged that Save the Children had not told Unicef (where Forsyth was now deputy chief executive) of the complaints, Forsyth resigned in order he said to protect the 'wider cause' of Unicef (Churchill and Martin 2018).

#### Amplification and accountability

The fourth and fifth stages of Greer and McLaughlin's scandal model are that of amplification and accountability. By this they mean that 'the actions of individuals are connected with wider institutional structures and practices' (Greer and McLaughlin 2017, 121) – in other words moving from the individual to the systemic. With the Oxfam revelations coupled with those of Save the Children UK, the media representation began to characterise the aid industry in the UK as suspect; some sections of the media called for the whole funding of charities to be reconsidered.

Greer and McLaughlin argue that, if a scandal is contained at the individual level, then there is a separation of individual and institutional accountability, with the

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focus remaining on the individual and the institution as the backdrop. If it is not contained, however, there is a 'conjoining of individual and institutional accountability' (ibid., 122).

I would argue that there was a conjoining in both the Oxfam and Save the Children scandals. This was partly caused by the fact that those who were the centre of the scandal at both charities had already left the organisation, leaving the TBM to focus attention both on what happened to those involved and on who else was responsible. And while Brendan Cox and Justin Forsyth both had to step down from subsequent posts they held after Save the Children, the media and protestors continued to focus their attention on the structures that they said had allowed sexual harassment and abuse to occur at both charities.

Both Oxfam GB and Save the Children UK were now confronted by women who were willing to go public as whistleblowers to speak about failures of process by the organisations. Helen Evans, the former head of safeguarding at Oxfam GB, gave an interview to Channel 4 News to speak about how she had raised the alarm about women being coerced into sex as early as 2012, while former Save the Children UK employees Brie O'Keefe, Faizan Shaheen and Alexia Pepper de Caires also went public with a variety of media organisations (Bannerman and O'Neill 2018).

In particular, the Save the Children whistleblowers wanted scrutiny of the role of the agency's international chairman, Sir Alan Parker, as a symbol of how processes had failed women.

Pepper de Caires wrote an open letter to the current CEO, Kevin Watkins, as well as helping to coordinate another letter signed by more than 1,000 female aid workers.<sup>2</sup> She also gate crashed the charity's board meeting to demand the resignation of Parker – an act that was filmed by the Women's Equality Party.<sup>3</sup> On 10 April the Charity Commission announced it was opening a statutory inquiry into whether Save the Children had covered up sexual misconduct (Hope 2018). Just over a week later Sir Alan Parker resigned (Slawson 2018). But it emerged soon after during questioning by the Select Committee that, under Parker's reign, Save the Children had spent more than £100,000 on the lawyers Harbottle & Lewis in order to try to shut down media reporting of the sexual harassment cases (O'Neill 2018b).

The consequences of the two scandals, however, went far beyond the resignations of Parker et al. As a result, aid agencies found themselves facing widespread calls to change their practices. The investigation by the International Development Committee concluded with a highly critical report into the aid sector, accusing the sector generally of complacency, if not complicity, and a sexist 'boys' club' attitude across agencies which saw women and girls, both beneficiaries and aid workers, being exploited and abused. It called for a global register of aid workers to be set up to help prevent sexual exploiters entering the profession. Meanwhile, the Department for International Development (DfID) announced a raft of new measures including the developing and updating of procedures such as the Due Diligence Framework, Risk Management Framework, Safeguarding Smart Guide and Whistleblowing Policy as well as preparing for an International Safeguarding Solutions Conference in October 2018.

Added to that, right-wing newspapers took the Oxfam scandal as a clarion call to revise the whole UK government commitment to 0.7 per cent of GDP being spent on overseas aid. The charge was led by the Daily Mail, which had long criticised

the government's spending. On 11 February Dominic Lawson wrote a piece headlined 'This Oxfam farrago must sound the death knell for our £13.5bn aid bonanza' (Lawson 2018). The Telegraph, Times and Express ran similar pieces calling for a stop or rethink of foreign aid. While there were pieces in support of the aid sector – the former Tory leader William Hague wrote an impassioned piece in the Telegraph warning against slashing the aid budget (Hague 2018) – a ComRes poll conducted at the same time found that more than half of adults were now against the 0.7 per cent commitment (ComRes 2018).

Conclusion: The humanitarian scandal and the #MeToo movement  
The scandals mentioned fit the Greer and McLaughlin model in that they move through the five stages listed. But was there added significance of the timing of this scandal because of the #MeToo revelations in late 2017? Because of the timing of the Times stories, and that of Save the Children, some publications tried to link this overtly to the #MeToo revelations, and the link between #MeToo and the aid scandal was made clearly in the International Development Committee report:

In recent months, the #MeToo movement has helped bring to light the extent to which sexual abuse pervades workplaces and society at large. The international aid sector is not exempt, and we should not expect it to be. But the distressingly familiar pattern of senior male executives sexually harassing junior female employees – while present in aid organisations – is not the whole story in that sector. Sexual exploitation and abuse is ultimately an abuse of power and the aid sector is one of extreme power imbalance: those receiving aid in humanitarian crisis situations are some of the most vulnerable and disempowered people in the world. The sector as a whole needs to confront the fact that, although the exact scale remains unknown, sexual exploitation and abuse is happening and it is happening across organisations, countries and institutions.

(International Development Committee 2018)

The New York Times story about sexual abuse allegations against the film producer Harvey Weinstein which triggered the #MeToo campaign was published in October 2017, and in its aftermath, #MeToo started to spread to other areas, particularly in the UK, concerning politics and the City.

A potential link between the aid world and #MeToo was made early on with both the global development website Devex and The Guardian hosting their own #AidToo chats in order to try to establish whether the aid sector was about to have a similar moment.

In theory, the spike in coverage in early 2018 suggests that there was a big change in 2017. A Nexis search of UK publications containing the words 'aid agency' and 'abuse' or 'scandal' reveals 209 stories between 1 January and 31 July 2018. For the same period in the previous ten years the figures never go above 16, suggesting that a significant change happened (see Figure 34.1).

[Insert Fig 1]

Figure 34.1

Coverage of Aid Agencies, Scandal and Abuse, 2008–2018

Yet while #MeToo might have provided a conducive atmosphere for this and for women to feel more confident in speaking out, the story was not engineered by #AidToo activists in the first context, despite many trying for years to interest the mainstream media in the stories.

There had been recognition of problems in the aid industry as far back as 2002 with the publication of a controversial report by Save the Children and UNHCR regarding exploitation of refugee children in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone (UNHCR & Save the Children 2002). However, attention to the sexual harassment and assault by and against aid workers in general had started to creep into the public domain two years before #MeToo, with newspaper coverage in 2015 and a succession of international reports in 2016 and 2017. These reports were important because they provided concrete statistics for journalists to use when reporting later scandals. The Humanitarian Women's Network produced a survey in 2016 and there were two reports from Report the Abuse in 2017 (Nobert 2017). This was followed by a major analysis in May 2017 by the Feinstein International Center (Mazurana & Donnelly 2017) which coded and analysed 78 scholarly reports, grey literature and media reports as well as reviewing security training and carrying out semi-structured interviews. The Guardian with its Secret Aid Worker column had also noted problems around sexual assaults on aid workers as far back as 2015 (Secret Aid Worker 2015), running a series of pieces including an account by Megan Norbert of her rape (Nobert 2015). But most of the other reporting in the UK was restricted to The Guardian's Global Professionals Development Network. The reports failed to become a widespread scandal.

Perhaps then it is significant that the 2018 stories were not broken by those who traditionally covered this field, which perhaps also gave more freedom to the journalists involved. Both the Oxfam and Save the Children scandals were not revealed by foreign correspondents or development journalists but by crime and politics journalists from centre and right-leaning publications that were not well known for covering humanitarian issues. The Oxfam story was broken by Sean O'Neill. He was the former crime editor and now chief reporter of The Times, with a long history of covering abuse stories based in the UK. The Save the Children story was broken by Simon Walters, the political editor of the Mail on Sunday.

The genesis of the Oxfam story came long before #MeToo. O'Neill had started investigating The Times story ten months before it was published, well before the Weinstein revelations came to light, while Walters had first published about Brendan Cox as far back as 2015.

So to link directly the initial exposure of aid agency scandals to #MeToo is difficult. However, the framing of abuse and harassment stories in the light of #MeToo may well have allowed these stories to move through all stages of the scandal model, rather than stopping in the latency and minor activation phases as had happened earlier. As seen above, when stories concerning these two scandals came to light in 2011 and 2015 respectively, they did not gain widespread traction in the media and quickly disappeared again, despite the fact that this was a time when other institutional abuse scandals were coming to light.

The whistleblowers, some of whom were willing to go public and who also helped to prolong the stories and reveal new angles after the first exposure, also appeared to gain traction from the social media campaign. For example the Save the Children whistleblowers mentioned earlier who pursued the involvement of Sir Alan Parker also explicitly aligned themselves with the #MeToo movement

(Phillips 2018). As a result of the scandal, new groups supporting women in the aid sector were also formed, such as NGO Safe Space and ChangingAid.<sup>4</sup> In conclusion, the Oxfam and Save the Children scandals fulfil the scandal model. The revelations were not directly the result of the #MeToo movement but the widespread nature of the scandal may have been aided by the atmosphere generated in its aftermath.

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Notes

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**1** Brendan Cox and Justin Forsyth had both worked for Gordon Brown during his premiership. Forsyth had earlier worked as an aide to Tony Blair.

**2** See <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/mar/08/1000-women-aid-workers-urge-reform-in-open-letter> for text and signatories

**3** See <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/save-the-children-charity-chief-sir-alan-parker-urged-to-quit-over-handling-of-harassment-claims-7kt39nszw> for the video

**4** See <https://www.changingaid.org/surveyresults.html>