

University of San Diego

Digital USD

Dissertations

Theses and Dissertations

2023-05-21

Safeguarding from Scrutiny: Toward a Critical Consciousness of Organizational Culture in Humanitarian NGOs

Andrew Henck
University of San Diego

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digital.sandiego.edu/dissertations>



Part of the [Development Studies Commons](#), [Leadership Commons](#), [Nonprofit Administration and Management Commons](#), [Nonprofit Studies Commons](#), [Organizational Behavior and Theory Commons](#), and the [Other Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#)

Digital USD Citation

Henck, Andrew, "Safeguarding from Scrutiny: Toward a Critical Consciousness of Organizational Culture in Humanitarian NGOs" (2023). *Dissertations*. 987.
<https://digital.sandiego.edu/dissertations/987>

This Dissertation: Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Digital USD. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital USD. For more information, please contact digital@sandiego.edu.

SAFEGUARDING FROM SCRUTINY:
TOWARD A CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE IN HUMANITARIAN NGOS

by

Andrew Fitzgerald Henck

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2023

Dissertation Committee

Hans Peter Schmitz, PhD, Chair
Zachary Gabriel Green, PhD, Member
Paula Cordeiro, EdD, Member

University of San Diego

© Copyright by Andrew Fitzgerald Henck
All Rights Reserved 2023

University of San Diego
School of Leadership and Education Sciences

CANDIDATE'S NAME: Andrew Henck

TITLE OF DISSERTATION: SAFEGUARDING FROM SCRUTINY: TOWARDS A CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE IN HUMANITARIAN NGOS

APPROVAL:

_____, Chair
Hans Peter Schmitz, PhD

_____, Member
Zachary Gabriel Green, PhD

_____, Member
Paula Cordeiro, EdD

DATE: April 20, 2023

ABSTRACT

Humanitarian nongovernmental organizations (HNGOs) face a moment of reckoning brought on by decades of operational complexity and conceptual tensions between self-espoused values and external pressures as social change movements like #MeToo and Black Lives Matter demand organizational accountability. Humanitarian aid is being questioned systematically as most HNGOs continue reconciling with their colonialist origin stories from the Global North. Alongside a shrinking British foreign aid budget, and mounting pressures for proving value for money, HNGOs face a record number of natural disasters, energy crises, armed conflicts, and other major emergencies to respond to across the globe.

As the British aid sector continues to deal with the policy aftermath of the Oxfam abuse scandal from the 2010 Haiti earthquake, growing calls for new safeguarding measures have resulted in unresolved implications around organizational culture. This dissertation shows that the sector has delivered a largely technocratic response, with new policies, procedures, and management positions while trying to meet the competing demands of British aid actors. As public accounts of wrongdoing continue, these calls for sectoral change involve far-reaching goals but reinforce the lack of clear consciousness around the complex cultures surrounding these global giants of aid distribution. A more comprehensive understanding of the unconscious dynamics of power at play is critical for these accountability actors to achieve effectiveness across the institutional landscape of humanitarianism.

This qualitative dissertation utilized Cameron and Quinn's Competing Values Framework (CVF) as the theoretical foundation for document analysis involving the Charity Commission and Parliament, with their institutional responses to the Oxfam scandal. After analyzing after-action inquiry reports and Parliamentary proceeding transcripts, the key findings center on (1) an overreliance on hierarchical ideas of organizational culture and (2) a lack of sufficient cultural consciousness around HNGOs on the part of actors responsible for their oversight and regulation. The dissertation builds on the CVF by proposing a

new four-phase developmental model for greater cultural consciousness in HNGOs: (1) organizations have cultures, (2) organizations are cultures, (3) culture makes sense of reality, and (4) culture is reality. Policy recommendations for organizational development including humanitarian safeguarding efforts, charity oversight and regulation are proposed for implementation across the sector.

Keywords: organizational culture, humanitarianism, NGO, organizational wrongdoing, competing values

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my esteemed advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. Hans Peter Schmitz, I am incredibly grateful for your counsel and mentorship throughout this process. Alongside Dr. Paula Cordeiro and Dr. Zachary Green, this dissertation committee of distinguished scholars, treasured mentors, and gifted educators has all shaped my understanding of not just sound research, but effective teaching, coaching, and living with intention. With deep gratitude to each of you for encouraging me along this unorthodox way of completing a Ph.D.

To my classmates and colleagues whom I have learned with and from across the last five years, thank you for your faithful presence that has been evidenced in so many ways. From FaceTime calls to ZoomWrite sessions to voice memos across countless timezones, you've listened to these emerging ideas, challenged and refined them, and helped shape my goals as a practitioner-scholar. You've also affirmed, celebrated, and refined Especially to Hayden, Megan, Sabrina, Ronnie, Novien, Eugena, Matt, Doreen, among many others: thank you for your friendships.

To my dear friends who have not only housed and fed me as I've traveled to and from campus in San Diego from Los Angeles and London, but offered invaluable support through the process, I am forever grateful. Especially to the Wilsons, Justin, Shonali, Thabani, and Melissa, among others: thank you so very much for your love and support.

To my professional colleagues who have supported this Ph.D. and the research process in various ways, thank you. With gratitude to my current and former faculty peers at Anglia Ruskin University, Glasgow Caledonian University, and King's College London: thank you.

Finally, to my parents who have been a lifelong source of encouragement and support, especially while I have pursued this Ph.D. To my Mom for modeling the life-changing power of education and faithfulness to vocational living: thank you, Dr. Henck. To my Dad, for your sage wisdom and constant prayers across many different seasons: thank you, Mr. Henck. I love you both dearly.

ORDER OF PAGES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER ONE HUMANITARIANISM ON QUESTION	1
Focus of inquiry: organizational culture and wrongdoing	2
The Competing Values Framework	4
When organizations do wrong	5
Defining organizational wrongdoing	6
On normalizing organizational wrongdoing	7
The crisis of trust and legitimacy during episodes of wrongdoing	8
Responding to organizational wrongdoing	10
Distinctives of Dissertation	11
The Oxfam Great Britain Case for #UKaid	13
Study Explained	14
Methods Overview	14
Summary of Findings	15
Chapter Summaries	16
CHAPTER TWO CONCEPTUALIZING COMPETING VALUES AND CULTURE IN HNGOS	18
An Institutional Analysis of HNGOs	19
Understanding how HNGOs manage competing values	21
Culture as Values	22
Tapping into the Multidisciplinary Foundations of Organizational Culture	24
Cultural Paradigms	25
The Competing Values Framework (CVF)	28

Issues in Diagnosing Organizational Culture	30
CHAPTER THREE THE TWIN EARTHQUAKES OF HAITI AND HNGO WRONGDOING	36
The Oxfam Scandal in Haiti	36
Haiti and Oxfam's Future	37
Three Key Moments from the Oxfam Episode in Haiti	40
Key Moment #1: British aid actors respond to the Times of London cover story	41
Key Moment #2: The Safeguarding Summit of October 2018	42
Key Moment #3: The Parliamentary Debate on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of 2020	46
Analyzing the Parliamentary Debate	57
CHAPTER FOUR ANALYZING THE AFTER-ACTION REPORTS	60
Different Approaches to Understanding Organizational Culture	60
Utilizing Culture Types to Understand Organizational Wrongdoing	61
The Charity Commission Investigates	65
The Remit of the 2018 Charity Commission Inquiry into Oxfam	65
The Language of Culture used by the Charity Commission	67
The Commission's Claims on Organizational Culture	68
The Independent Commission on Sexual Misconduct, Accountability and Culture	72
The Remit of the 2019 Independent Commission (IC) Report	72
The Language of Culture from the Independent Commission (IC)	73
The Independent Commission's Claims on Organizational Culture	74
The Presence of Power Named by the Independent Commission (IC)	76
CHAPTER FIVE FROM NAMING TO CLAIMING A NEW HUMANITARIAN REALITY	79
Summary of results	80
Implications for the study of HNGOs	81
Summary of current response	82

Recommendations for the Charity Commission	83
Recommendations for the British aid sector (and general public)	86
Opening HNGOs to their critics	88
Looking ahead	91
REFERENCES	93
APPENDIX A Methodology	105
APPENDIX B Positionality	116

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Organizational Culture Types from Cameron and Quinn (2010)

62

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Multidisciplinary Research Map on Organizational Wrongdoing	12
Figure 2. The Competing Values Framework	29
Figure 3. Four-Phase Developmental Model for Cultural Consciousness in HNGOs	33
Figure 4. Coding Organizational Culture Types by Charity Commission	63

CHAPTER ONE

HUMANITARIANISM ON QUESTION

Humanitarianism faces a moment of reckoning brought on by decades of operational complexity and conceptual tensions between self-espoused values and external pressures whilst social change movements like #MeToo and Black Lives Matter continue to demand organizational accountability on nearly every front today. Humanitarian aid itself is being conceptually reexamined as existential questions linger around the operational and functional reality of most NGOs forced to reconcile with their colonialist origin stories from the Global North. This, alongside the ongoing financial challenges facing government aid budgets and multilateral organizations, widely blamed on pandemic and inflationary impacts, has converged with mounting pressures for accountability actors to responsibly refit the global humanitarian system as it prepares for record numbers of natural disasters, energy crises, armed conflicts, and other major emergencies anticipated in 2023 and beyond.

For much of the last century, humanitarian nongovernmental organizations (HNGOs) have played a leading role in responding to the world's most complex human-made and natural disasters. As a result of this growing demand for humanitarian aid, the operational footprint of these organizations has exploded in recent decades (Alexander & Parker, 2020; Obrecht & Swithern, 2022; Watkins et al., 2012), resulting in a growth of 250% in the number of aid workers in the last decade alone (The New Humanitarian, 2021). With the sheer scope of HNGOs reaching new levels in crisis zones and halls of power in global capitals, so too has the scrutiny of this sector risen to an entirely different scope with more and more stakeholders reexamining their roles and responsibilities in holding these organizations to account. In those moments where this endeavor is not as successful is where the reality of organizational wrongdoing comes to mind as the scholarly focus of this study.

With the humanitarian system growing and diversifying its offerings to a world increasingly in need, the multidisciplinary study of humanitarianism has produced research from a myriad of academic

fields ranging from supply chain management to international relations to global health. Scholars have explored decision-making processes (Heyse, 2016), the conditions of aid workers (Hor, 2022) and better understanding disaster relief supply chain operations (Kim et al., 2017) among other topics surrounding the humanitarian system. Significantly, however, there is less understood today about how these aid organizations behave, and misbehave, in the process of achieving their respective mandates and missions; as they operate alongside the multitude of different interconnected actors with the competing values, tensions, and ideas of culture existing chiefly among them. Fundamental questions around *how things are done*, what distinctives define the culture of these organizations, and how change takes place are worth exploring because they shape the effectiveness and ultimately challenge the status quo that so many HNGOs claim to achieve across the sector. With today's renewed focus on the purpose and origins of many of the world's most prominent aid actors, including critical reexaminations around race and coloniality (Aly, 2022), the implications for organizational culture are innumerable as the sector attempts to reshape itself for responding to global challenges in a more equitable, just, and inclusive fashion. As such, a closer examination of these actors is needed as this complex humanitarian web becomes more interconnected with its own values and agendas, often competing but interdependent, across the globe.

Focus of inquiry: organizational culture and wrongdoing

As one of the key areas of focus in recent episodes of wrongdoing across the sector, *how* organizational culture is conceptualized by two key actors will serve as the framework for considering the operational and strategic challenges facing HNGOs in today's changing landscape. This dissertation will critically explore how the organizational culture is conceptualized and competing values at play through examining one HNGO case, at Oxfam Great Britain, that triggered a sweeping safeguarding effort across the system and continues to influence many strategic and operational realities across today's humanitarian world.

At the heart of this research lies this series of questions – (1) as a case for the global humanitarian system, how does the way the British aid sector understands organizational culture influence its response to episodes of organizational wrongdoing? (2) Which, if any, ways do the proposed safeguarding solutions typify the Competing Values Framework? Tangentially, could the response from British aid actors shed a light on how they conceptualize culture inside these organizations? Similarly, did the language in their response represent any specific conceptualization of culture? Do practitioners and government officials see the humanitarian world functioning appropriately in response at its requisite levels? How does their understanding of organizational culture influence these sensemaking responses accordingly? Across prominent HNGOs, the continued episodes of wrongdoing from sexual abuse to bullying to harassment and beyond, keep testing the purpose and limits of the system and the various structures, policies, and philosophies that further its mission and remit. This often has stemmed from public reporting in news outlets that continue to rock the humanitarian world as it learns of the latest episode from different corners of the globe. Inquiries into specific events have been conducted, as evidenced by numerous after-action reports that call for better reporting processes, organizational culture change, and more. The Charity Commission of England and Wales, with some regularity, launches statutory inquiries and regulatory compliance cases into charities, like NGOs, operating across the United Kingdom. At the same time, the Select Committee on International Development (“the IDC”) of the House of Commons continues a sweeping inquiry into the aid sector, first focusing on sexual harassment and abuse with a broader examination now into the underlying philosophies and cultures at play. These oversight and regulatory actors will be explored more closely as both entities have displayed the extent of their investigatory and convening powers within a British aid sector that is undergoing continued uncertainty and change within an institutional landscape experiencing even more in 2023.

Considering the limited state of organizational scholarship from the humanitarian world, the premises of this research are poignant and vital to better understanding the sector during the present time where the contexts and cultures around humanitarianism are being broadly questioned and reconsidered. Competing values between actors across the sector have been pervasive for decades but have rarely been considered deeply for their implications for organizational cultures; how they are conceptualized and ultimately undergo temporary change or systematic transformation. Drawing from Cameron and Quinn's work, the inherent tensions around HNGOs involving their internal and external orientation as well as their organizational predisposition for either stability or flexibility, amidst certain institutional forms and norms have been widely noted in the literature (Schmitz & Mitchell 2022; Walkup 1997). However, as episodes of wrongdoing persist and influence widespread change initiatives around safeguarding and accountability in the sector, there is value in examining more closely the relationship between these competing values and how they shape our views on these organizations and the cultures they espouse to humanitarian stakeholders responsible for their success and sustainability. We've seen a wide range of differences explored in the multidisciplinary world of humanitarian organizational scholarship including but not limited to accountability practices (Deloffre, 2022; Hilhorst et al., 2021; Saez et al., 2021), governance structures (Beagles, 2022; Saez et al., 2021), national cultures (Hilhorst & Schiemann, 2002; Stroup, 2012), and organizational models (Egger & Schopper 2022; Stroup & Wong 2013). However, little has been examined in the context of cultural dynamics driving the episode of wrongdoing within and around these organizations at the frontlines of humanitarian response.

The Competing Values Framework (CVF)

Cameron and Quinn's Competing Values Framework serves as just one lens from which to consider the Haiti episode from Oxfam Great Britain: a key moment in the ongoing evolution of the British aid sector and humanitarian system worldwide. While the framework offers some practical

methods to consider the different tensions and factors working within across the institutional landscape of humanitarian aid, it is important to acknowledge that the contours of this safeguarding narrative continue to expand as more episodes of wrongdoing come to light and the system grapples with its own identity and purpose in 2023. In short, the CVF offers one, and not the only, way to make sense of the different narratives, philosophies, and actors at work in today's British aid sector. However, it is noteworthy to consider the reputable tenure that Cameron and Quinn's scholarship has produced research-driven practical instruments and recommendations for industry practice relevant across every continent.

When organizations do wrong

Another critically important, yet often underexamined, subfield of literature for this dissertation sits within the organizational behavior discipline, focused on wrongdoing and misconduct. When Kenneth Boulding (1958) was reviewing the first two volumes of *Administrative Science Quarterly* and noted the disconnect between the overwhelming importance of such scholarship and the limited attention received in the journals, it underscored a startling assumption; that organizational wrongdoing, to a certain degree, was a rare phenomenon and less interesting than topics like organizational effectiveness more broadly. Within this research environment around humanitarian NGOs, however, it is worth noting the scholarship to date that has considered questions of wrongdoing and misconduct and the philosophical conflicts underlying the moral principle of "doing good" undergirding the modern humanitarian project (Coyne, 2013; Fassin, 2011; Krause, 2014) Similarly, the warnings of the organizational saints (Ashforth & Lange, 2016) predicate potential links between a moral self-concept, or their self-perception of being ethical, and fostering immoral behavior; inasmuch the prevalence of many missions and misbehavior of the world's most prominent NGOs begs the question if more 'saintly' scholarship is just what is needed as the global humanitarian system grows in scope and scrutiny. Sims and Brinkmann (2003) posited that some organizational actors pursue misconduct when

their cultural environments endorse wrongdoing. This cultural level serves as the critical point of this dissertation for scholarship to advance further by asking critical cultural questions of these organizations that exist at the intersection of “doing good” and not always accomplishing as such.

Defining organizational wrongdoing

As this dissertation utilizes the Haiti episode to understand how the broader institutional landscape of British aid makes sense of wrongdoing, it is important to consider the basic definitions and theoretical approaches at play. Specifically, from the macro and meso levels of analysis employed here, the terms misconduct and wrongdoing will be used interchangeably and could involve things such as the violation of ethical principles, social norms, administrative rules, or civil and criminal law. Additionally, the sociological classics of Durkheim and his ‘intellectual descendants’ (Becker, 1963; Black, 1993) make an important distinction relevant to considering the impact of wrongdoing across the humanitarian world, and more significantly, how relevant actors conceptualize culture today:

“...in order for a behavior to constitute wrongdoing and for a perpetrator to assume the status of wrongdoer, another actor must label the behavior and perpetrator as such. The implication of this insight is that in order to understand the causes of misconduct, one must understand not only the behaviour of those who perpetrate behavior considered wrongful but also the behavior of those who seek to label behavior as ‘wrongful’ (Palmer, 2012, p. 9)

This is where my dissertation seeks to position one of its key empirical contributions; toward a more conscious and comprehensive understanding of how British aid actors consider organizational culture, especially amidst episodes of wrongdoing that pose such reputational, operational, and existential challenges for HNGOs – as will be discussed with the Oxfam case in Haiti here. While many continue to espouse aspirations for institutional change, the efforts of many aid actors might just seem contradictory at best and existentially threatening at worst as trust and credibility continue to dwindle across the public (2021 Edelman Trust Barometer UK findings) with enhanced scrutiny of a humanitarian

system seeking to make sense of its identity in a post-COVID and post-George Floyd world.

Understandably, the media coverage of these wrongdoing episodes (Flummerfelt & Peyton, 2020; Mednick & Craze, 2022; O'Neill, 2018, 2021) has subsequently contributed to “the perception that organizational misconduct is increasing in frequency, scale, and complexity, suggesting systemic causes and precipitating catastrophic consequences” (Palmer et al., 2016, p. 2)

With varying levels of public responses albeit amidst large-scale calls for change by British aid stakeholders, some might think the increasing attention to episodes of SEAH (sexual exploitation, abuse, and harassment) has contributed to a perception that wrongdoing is becoming more frequent. However, this dissertation will critique the underlying assumptions and organizational realities that could impact and influence the understanding of, response to, and resulting culture change efforts stemming from, episodes of wrongdoing in the first place. By considering the perspectives of the requisite British aid actors, a broader humanitarian case for stakeholders is made to offer a unique contribution to more clearly and consciously understanding their cultural dynamics at work, especially in the time immediately following a scandal.

On normalizing organizational wrongdoing

As this literature has developed further in recent decades, some have argued through a sociological lens that the normalization of wrongdoing (Ashforth et al., 2004; Brief et al., 2001; Palmer, 2013) not only implies that it is a frequent phenomenon but also interconnected to the same processes that contribute to rightdoing such as human cognition, organizational efficiency, and effectiveness. This very point will prove relevant as we consider how British aid accountability actors have conceptualized organizational culture in their responses to the Oxfam episode in Haiti. Questioning the very existence of wrongdoing in HNGOs is key to better understanding the cultural dynamics in these organizations as stakeholders seek to bridge their divides of espousing behavioral change and living structural

transformation while meeting the ongoing challenge of showing evidence of legitimate safeguarding success across the sector in this post-Haiti humanitarian context.

While much of this literature has centered on a microlens of analysis within episodes of organizational wrongdoing, the study employs meso and macro lenses to explore the related factors and conceptualizations within the British aid sector and the broader humanitarian world. Studying the internal organizational dynamics of an HNGO like Oxfam would be limited to only a certain set of research questions compared to this examination of the broader institutional landscape where it is situated for achieving greater cultural consciousness of the humanitarianism at work. However, the aim here is to enhance knowledge through a systems view of the most prominent British aid agency and one of the world's most prominent humanitarian brands today. As a result, this will make a conceptual contribution to expanding understanding of those institutional contexts, especially in charity and humanitarian spaces, from which wrongdoing is reported while also filling a niche gap in the literature around the ongoing organizational development of HNGOs and the respective oversight and regulation actors charged with their accountability in the United Kingdom and across the globe.

The crisis of trust and legitimacy during episodes of wrongdoing

Despite the debates in the literature about whether it is 'bad apple' individuals or 'bad barrel' organizations (Gillespie et al., 2019; Phillips, 2019) that are the cause of wrongdoing, there is widespread consensus that they still pose risks to our faith in actors and the ethical norms from which they operate. Before going any further, it is critically important to underscore the significance of studying responses to organizational wrongdoing in the first place. These episodes not only challenge our collective trust in HNGOs but ultimately the legitimacy of the British aid sector to achieve its mandate of responding to a historic number of crises and disasters like never before. As a result, it is especially important to position our understanding of how things are done in HNGOs within the broader

reality of organizational wrongdoing to make sense of how those oversight and regulatory actors execute their respective responsibilities and hold humanitarians to account for bad behavior.

Appropriately, it is worth noting the fact that societal condemnation tends to follow for these 'bad apples and barrels' with many thinking "their behavior can be rooted out" (Ashforth & Lange, 2016). This is where much of the safeguarding movement has been situated, namely within the British aid sector's response to the Oxfam episode in Haiti. As this dissertation examines the response of key actors, one would presuppose that the widely held belief is wrongdoing can be tackled and it's just a question of rooting out those bad apples. However, the underlying question remains: how does our understanding of organizational culture impact the approach and ultimately success with the sector's safeguarding efforts? A parallel question for consideration in future research is whether can wrongdoing even be fully *rooted out* or *tackled* in the first place within humanitarian spaces across the globe?

In recent years, some of the most well-known HNGOs, including Oxfam and Save the Children, have been accused of hiding systematic staff misbehavior (Flummerfelt & Peyton, 2020; Mednick & Craze, 2022; Prakash, 2019). Amidst the #MeToo and #AidToo movements that continue, growing calls for new accountability and safeguarding measures (Gillespie et al., 2019; Phillips, 2019) have resulted in organizational culture implications (Bruno-van Vijfeijken, 2019) still left unresolved or even fully understood as public accounts of wrongdoing persist. These calls for sectoral change have far-reaching goals and yet a limited consensus on how to move forward. While many HNGOs remain indebted to a tradition of serving donors, historically from the Global North with their prerogatives, new forms of accountability towards aid recipients or local staff struggle to take practical shape across the sector. Bloodgood (2019) writes, the "...practical push toward accountability by NGOs, defined in narrow and easily measured ways" has "perverse consequences...[with] donors 'focus on financing" (p. 2). Simply put, within the broad and present organizational and cultural contexts existing across humanitarianism today, "INGOs face a complex array of choices and competing demands...as donors and the public

require evidence of positive impact rather than ‘good intentions’” (Deloffre & Schmitz, 2019, p. 11). As stakeholders demand public responses to claims of racism, especially within Doctors Without Borders (Aizenman, 2020) and Amnesty U.K. (Parveen, 2021), this is proving a challenging endeavor for HNGOs as the Black Lives Matter movement continues to force organizations across the globe to examine their internal behavior and practice. Within this British context especially, the ongoing Parliamentary Inquiry on the Philosophy and Culture of Aid, including a June 2022 report on Racism in the Aid Sector from the Select Committee on International Development, offers more timely recommendations for HNGOs and stakeholders to implement.

Responding to organizational wrongdoing

As episodes of wrongdoing continue to come to light across the system, the challenge centers around the systemic issues that plague HNGOs as these actors await the next news reports to hit the media. Meanwhile, sectoral efforts at safeguarding and accountability reforms attempt to break the cycle of scandal and response. From child exploitation and sexual abuse to workplace bullying and fraud (Dodds, 2021; Flummerfelt & Peyton, 2020), the spectrum of wrongdoing has been expansive in HNGOs alongside UN agencies as well. Seemingly, this has resulted in a largely technocratic approach focused on finding safeguarding solutions to meet donors' demands, regulatory bodies, and government oversight committees, each with their stake in the humanitarian world. Through one recent case review, it “reveals that despite the NGOs having been reportedly aware of the field mission personnel’s sexual misconduct against beneficiaries, the sector tended to view them as technical rather than system-threatening matters” (Goncharenko, 2021). This recognition symbolizes the necessity of stepping back and considering the breadth and depth of how we conceptualize and systematically understand organizational culture across the humanitarian system that is largely seen as a force of good despite continuing to face episodes of wrongdoing.

HNGOs also have a moral imperative to improve internal governance that can set rules for participants in a fair and equitable way. Effective governance involves “shaping incentives, establishing rules, and creating a normative environment to coordinate aid agents and provide relief to people hit by humanitarian crisis” while outlining which behaviors are “prescribed, permitted, or prohibited” (Prakash, 2019). Given that the aid sector engages many stakeholders, including aid recipients, aid workers, governments, and donors, it needs to balance the needs of key stakeholders. Ultimately, as compounding crises and episodes continue to challenge our longstanding ideas of humanitarian aid, these HNGO actors have never been more relevant in today’s geopolitical spaces, as evidenced most recently by the January 2023 earthquakes that struck Syria & Turkey. Especially as they strive to show value for money and relevance to national governments of the world, notably in the United Kingdom during these times of cash-strapped foreign aid budgets; the ways in which we understand these HNGO actors, who often have claimed moral and charitable aims to transformative good, are vital to any effort aiming to saving lives and our responses to the world’s most complex challenges.

Distinctives of Dissertation

As I discuss the surroundings of the Oxfam episode in Haiti, it is important to distinguish what aspects of this *scandal* are being examined in this research. An important note to make is the deliberate use of *episode* as describing this wrongdoing event has seemingly transfixed the attention and resources of the British aid sector and the entirety of the global humanitarian system. While there has been much written about *the press* referring to the Oxfam episode in Haiti as a sex scandal, I am most interested here in considering the systems-shaping effect that a single episode of wrongdoing has had, and will continue to have, on not just the British charity sector, the work of HNGOs but even more widely today’s global social sector landscape.

<p>Antecedents & Causes <i>What caused it?</i> Preventing this in the future</p>	<p><i>*Insufficient regulation</i> <i>*Passive reaction to allegations</i> <i>*Power imbalances at work</i></p>	<p>Greve, Palmer & Pozner, 2010 Lamothe et. al., 2023 McDonnell & Rutherford, 2018 Palmer et. al., 2016</p>
<p>Details of Episode <i>What happened?</i> Different actions of actors</p>	<p><i>*Denial & neutralization</i> <i>*High-profile supporters quit</i> <i>*Positioning victims as figures of suffering to legitimate HNGO</i></p>	<p>Clemente et. al., 2016 Gibelman & Gelman, 2004 Pardy & Alexeyeff, 2022</p>
<p>Making Sense <i>What do we do now?</i> Range of responses from across the system</p>	<p><i>*Using social media as online accountability discourse</i> <i>*Public inquiries in UK</i> <i>*Safeguarding reporting systems</i></p>	<p>Cooper, 2021 Goncharenko, 2021 Greer & McLaughlin, 2017 Greve & Teh, 2016</p>

Figure 1

Multidisciplinary Research Map on Organizational Wrongdoing

Unquestionably, there is, and continues to be, much interest around the (1) antecedents of such a scandal to take place, not only within an organizational context but specifically within the humanitarian system. This area of research interest might understandably then have a desire to prevent future scandals from happening and adopt a safeguarding approach for various purposes including, but not limited to child protection, human resources management, and donor relations. Another aspect of what has been documented and discussed about the Oxfam episode in Haiti is the (2) specific details of events (or even ‘play by play’). These accounts, largely because of public news reporting, have told the story of wrongdoing in the Oxfam episode in Haiti and the role that each of the requisite British aid actors have played. Since the start, my dissertation has been most interested in the third and final stage of this research map– (3) how (and why?) do we make sense of the episode (the way that we have)? What actions are undertaken in the immediate or longer-term aftermath to better understand what has happened? From the immediate press releases to the punitive public policy interventions to the longer-term creation and maintenance of a new safeguarding infrastructure – what do each of these actions and behaviors say about each actor, their approach to conceptualizing the culture of these organizations

and, as a collection of such, the project of humanitarianism today? These, and notably other adjacent, questions are relevant towards achieving a more conscious understanding of the cultural dynamics surrounding the work of HNGOs. Before we even consider these questions, however, it is important to take a step back and look at the case at the heart of this study and the broader contextual framing for understanding its impact on the British aid sector.

The Oxfam Great Britain Case for #UKaid

Oxfam is embedded in a web of expectations driven by competing values amongst internal and external actors alike. Each of the requisite institutions in the accountability landscape of British aid are important players in better understanding the ramifications of the Oxfam episode in Haiti but the continually evolving and interconnected world of humanitarian aid. After asserting the reality that institutions do not exist in isolation, Ogilvie (2007) aptly asked, 'can we really explain any given institution without looking at the wider framework of other institutions surrounding it (p. 674)? Understandably, the actors identified in this study are simply serving as a representative sample of the web of expectations embedded around Oxfam and other HNGOs. It goes without saying that further research, beyond this study, is necessary to exhaust the full explanatory institutional connections across the British aid sector.

While we consider the role of organizational culture as an explanatory factor for how organizational wrongdoing is understood, it is also critical to acknowledge the variety of perspectives held and behavioral expectations of HNGOs like Oxfam today. Various philosophies behind British aid including, but not limited to (1) Value for Money, (2) Power Imbalance, and (3) Charitable Good provide important conceptual support for analyzing the Charity Commission, UK Parliament, among other related publics with their respective roles as accountability actors in British aid. Ultimately, these behavioral expectations are worthy of additional examination in future studies surrounding HNGOs and international aid. Nonetheless, these nuanced approaches add to the vast web of expectations and

frameworks influencing the behavior of the modern HNGO in certain ways. If we acknowledge the necessity of examining the broader institutional frameworks surrounding an HNGO like Oxfam, we, too, can see the value of considering the fullness of academic discourses viewing the phenomenon of organizational culture from their respective disciplines. The ongoing debates and discussions within and across the related literature of anthropology, international relations, political science, and sociology are all necessary towards achieving a fuller consciousness of the roots of today's modern aid system and all the cultural dynamics at play. In Chapter 2, this will manifest itself in a proposed developmental model for greater consciousness of understanding organizational culture, expanding on the scholarship of Cameron and Quinn, and uniquely applying it to the world of humanitarian NGOs. In short, pursuing a more conscious understanding of the culture at work in these institutions is the crux of this study as it aims to help the British aid sector move forward productively in the post-Haiti reality of continued safeguarding challenges today.

As the Charity Commission and UK Parliament are identified here as the primary British aid actors in this study, it is important to consider their positions and perspectives in recent history towards the evolving UK policy landscape impacting HNGOs and the charity sector more broadly amidst changing operating contexts, especially. From claims of woke agendas (Dowden, 2020) and unaccountable decision-makers (Purkis, 2018), the critiques in the public media, especially as of late, have been fiercely focused on the charged political environment of the United Kingdom, especially in the aftermath of Brexit, COVID-19 and the ongoing economic challenges that have resulted. Nonetheless, the criticisms of charities, like Oxfam, and the government entities responsible for their oversight and regulation seems to be mutually held as you'll learn more about them in the forthcoming chapters of this study.

Study Explained

Methods Overview

The aim of this study is to understand better how the British aid sector conceptualizes organizational culture to make sense of episodes of wrongdoing; specifically, by examining the actions of the Charity Commission for England and Wales as well as Parliament in executing their respective oversight and regulatory responsibilities. By way of the document and thematic analysis, Cameron and Quinn's Competing Values Framework will be utilized to typify the respective understandings of organizational culture held by these actors as they respond following episodes of HNGO wrongdoing. Ultimately, recommendations for organizational development will be offered not only for HNGOs across the United Kingdom but the broader humanitarian system as it continues to grapple with systemic debates and discourses around its relevance and sustainability into the future.

Summary of Findings

These findings center on the lack of cultural consciousness around HNGOs, largely on the part of key British aid actors accountable for their oversight and regulation. Subsequently, this underdeveloped cultural understanding of these organizations perpetuates continued strategic challenges for the humanitarian world including safeguarding, sectoral legitimacy, systemic inequality, and more. Specifically, in the aftermath of the Oxfam episode in Haiti, my study found that the common response to allegations of exploitation and abuse was focused on "*changing the culture*" of the organization. However, in subsequent public statements and after-action reports it remains evident that both the Charity Commission and Parliament, either by virtue of their remit, responsibilities, or something not yet determined, are largely misaligned with the cultural reality of HNGOs like Oxfam in two important ways. First, by way of the Competing Values Framework, most espouse a hierarchical culture type in their public statements. When asked "*what now*" with proposals for change, my findings show that they, especially the Charity Commission, overwhelmingly prefer to stick with the same ideas about how these organizations should do their work. Notably, the study findings acknowledge the work of the Select Committee on International Development in the UK Parliament as an exception, worthy of further

research, with a slightly more developed and conscious conceptualization of culture surrounding humanitarian organizations like Oxfam. Ultimately, the vacuum for any cultural change continues as HNGOs drive the ever-evolving safeguarding infrastructure of policies and procedures to technocratically fix themselves out of the problem when the real need is for adaptive and systemic solutions more fitting for the current sectoral dialogues and debates around power, colonialism, and effective change.

Chapter Summaries

In Chapter Two, I will set the theoretical foundation for understanding culture as an organizational phenomenon, complete with the myriad of perspectives and philosophies stemming from the academic literatures of organizational behaviour, management, sociology, anthropology, and more. My proposed developmental model for cultural consciousness in HNGOs will serve as a key building on the seminal work of Cameron and Quinn's understanding of competing values today. In Chapter Three, the specific episode of wrongdoing at the heart of this study will be explained as well as the timeline of events following that provide key insights into the responses from actors across the system. By examining the days immediately following the public reporting on the Oxfam episode in Haiti, the UK Government's Safeguarding Summit, and the Parliamentary Debate on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, these three key events will reveal how different responses and understandings have shaped the state of today's British aid sector and global humanitarian system. Chapter Four will begin to provide an empirical examination of how understanding organizational culture influences and informs the wrongdoing responses from the Charity Commission for England and Wales as well as the UK Parliament and its Select Committee on International Development. Through document analysis and the findings of this study, the multidisciplinary roots of understanding organizational culture will illustrate the need for deep consciousness and clarity about the institutions in global affairs. Chapter Five will conclude the dissertation with a series of recommendations for the British aid sector and the evolving state of

humanitarian affairs globally. The requisite limitations will be considered with a brief discussion focused on future research directions stemming from this study. Now that we have the necessary context for framing this humanitarian research environment as well as the rationale for this study, we can look more closely at *how* these various actors, HNGOs, and stakeholders understand organizational culture and why it matters in today's evolving policy landscape with a myriad of ideas and solutions up for debate.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALIZING COMPETING VALUES AND CULTURE IN HNGOS

As this web of expectations frames how Oxfam and other HNGOs should behave in today's aid sector, this chapter will, in the words of Edgar Schein, focus deeply on how things are done by these institutional actors at the frontlines of humanitarian disasters and emergencies across the globe. We know that different conceptualizations of organizational culture exist from across the management and organizational behavior literatures with very few offering any consensus as the collective theoretical need for greater cultural consciousness has become critically important to capture the full dynamics of HNGOs, especially around episodes of wrongdoing. This is especially the case when we consider the philosophies and perspectives espoused by the British aid actors charged with overseeing and regulating them in the United Kingdom.

Accordingly, "the interplay of multiple institutions as a source of both tensions and opportunities...[provides] a possible source of dynamics which studies focused exclusively on a single institution is unlikely to capture" (Pierson, 2004, p. 136). As a result, this study presents a unique opportunity to utilize a key episode (organizational wrongdoing in Haiti) in the history of one prominent institution (Oxfam Great Britain), within the larger institutional framework of British and international humanitarian aid, littered with all the cultural dynamics and competing values that pose tensions and present opportunities for strengthening organizational development in the future. This meso-level institutional perspective will acknowledge the different lenses and levels of understanding organizational culture, while focusing on the roots of the Competing Values Framework, to help make sense of the evolving humanitarian landscape to expand cultural consciousness for strengthening policy solutions to the ongoing safeguarding and systemic issues dominating the sector's discourse in 2023 and beyond.

At the heart of this chapter, an institutional analysis approach will frame the humanitarian research environment. Through a pair of disciplinary foundations for understanding organizational culture, an anthropological and sociological lens will form the basis for building on Cameron and Quinn's research by proposing a four-phase developmental model for achieving cultural consciousness in HNGOs:

- (1) Organizations have cultures
- (2) Organizations are cultures
- (3) Cultures make sense of reality
- (4) Culture is reality

Ultimately, the depth of understanding organizational culture will be argued as a key crux for enacting positive change within and across the humanitarian system as it continues to grapple with safeguarding from sexual exploitation, abuse, harassment, and other forms of organizational wrongdoing today.

An Institutional Analysis of HNGOs

Before we consider cultural conceptualizations, it is critical to first understand the institutional landscape across British aid and the humanitarian world. As such, using an institutional lens is important to first examine the broader dynamics and factors at play around HNGOs and the actors charged with keeping them accountable and regulated. As Searle (2009) rightly acknowledges, 'humanity swims in a sea of its own institutionality,' just as a record number of people across the globe touch the metaphorical waters of humanitarian NGOs amidst global uncertainty and endless planetary challenges. The reach, scope, and impact of HNGOs charged with providing aid and protection to vulnerable populations in need have never been as considerable in human history as it is today and serves as one of the many practical reasons why humanitarian scholarship from an institutional lens is necessary at this time, especially pertaining to culture. Jupilee and Caporaso (2022) rightly acknowledge, "Institutions are

ubiquitous, permeating, encompassing social structures. They provide the cultural foundation for human life and action” (p. 49).

Accordingly, going to the foundational history with the origin stories of the modern humanitarian NGO is a critically important place to start the work of institutional analysis. Undoubtedly, these agencies, many of whom were founded, headquartered, and transformed into international prominence from countries across the Global North, have for some time reflected societal factors like values, norms, identities, and certain cultural scripts largely popularized in the 20th century and before. Whilst the scrutiny of these origins has been considerable in recent years and will be discussed in forthcoming chapters, the foundation of these agencies and the broader institutional landscape from which they’ve operated for decades is critical to understanding how they should behave and function. Amidst all of this, power has been a driving force and connecting thread across each of these institutional origins leading Jupilee and Caporaso (2022) to remind us that ‘we get the institutions that the powerful want’ (p. 41).

Notably, as changes have swept the landscape of humanitarian organizations in modern time (Barnett, 2013; Dromi, 2020; Hilhorst & Jansen, 2010) institutionalized power has remained a critical, yet relatively understudied and insufficiently understood, phenomenon for consideration as we conceptualize the cultures of these actors in the landscape of British aid. Like the consensus of the organizational culture literature, the notion of institutionalized power is just as taken for granted with all the assumptions and presuppositions involved. However, importantly this reality leaves it that much harder to detect and for its influence to be countered (Brekhus, 1998) within and across the institutional landscape of HNGOs as it continues to undergo change; cultural, structural, and systemic. This will be particularly relevant in the forthcoming discussion around organizational culture types espoused by the oversight and regulatory actors in the British aid sector. How certain expectations and norms are perpetuated via the after-action reports following the Haiti episode helps clarify the wide range of

institutional power across the system that poses challenges for effective organizational development in today's humanitarian world.

Understanding how HNGOs manage competing values

Just like other organizations, HNGOs are “filled with internal contradictions and conflicts and cannot be regarded as either unitary or predictable structures” (Lewis, 2003, p. 216). As a result, how these HNGOs consider their own internal cultures and other perceptions have significant implications for their effectiveness in a growing humanitarian system of diverse actors. With a myriad of organizational paradigms and cultural conceptualizations failing to provide uniform clarity in the literature, the resulting tensions and institutional demands found in and across these HNGOs (Pache & Santos, 2010) are left to be navigated in just as many ways whether struggling internally with balancing centralized operations and accountability measures or working with greater agility needed to promote creative and local solutions in country contexts (Ingram & Lord, 2019). Additionally, sudden shifts in daily humanitarian operations prompt a series of cultural implications for these HNGOs. Within these volatile job markets, often wholly dependent on the latest funding grant or humanitarian call for donations, the inherent insecurity of consistent employment is prone to affect cultural norms and behaviors in response. From an extreme focus on standard operating procedures to over-reliance on formal communication channels, this paradox of flexibility and control can reinforce a cultural dynamic of organizational risk-aversion and resistance to change with long-term consequences and opportunities as well (Walkup, 1997).

Ultimately, it is not just the organizational dynamics that shape the lived realities for these HNGOs, but the chosen and established cultural paradigms in place within these organizations. The competing values within and around HNGOs present practical leadership challenges across the sector. From certain expectations of cultural uniformity to the lack of acknowledging subcultures across the HNGO, the managerial expectations of positional leaders can be expansive, and this lack of consensus

has ramifications for the future of these organizations critical for humanitarian response now and in the future.

As an inherently dynamic phenomenon studied across multiple disciplines, the extant literature on organizational culture is wide-ranging and with little consistency. After reviewing 30 years of culture research, Giorgi et al. (2015) acknowledged the proliferation of conceptualizations and organizing definitions in the literature from a sociological lens in their metanalysis. Subsequently, they identified five prominent models of culture utilized by scholars in the literature: (a) values, (b) frames, (c) toolkits, (d) stories, and (e) categories. Howard-Grenville (2006) acknowledged these perspectives as different views on culture, not mutually exclusive or competing, but representations of the broader literature evolving considerably. Similarly, as these conceptualizations of culture continue to appear in cases of organizational life across the humanitarian sector, it is important to note how they speak to the very existence and ongoing development in NGO contexts. With little empirical evidence in the literature, these differences provide a mandate for better understanding the paradigms and perspectives on organizational culture that exist in an HNGO as a part of a larger system, like the British aid sector.

Culture as Values

This shared values perspective, often identified as the most frequently used model on culture within popular circles, recognizes that our actions are guided by a set of values typically determined by the organization's leadership. This perspective views culture as a stabilizing force, aligning our actions with the values espoused by leaders (Howard-Grenville et al., 2015). These shared values, incorporated into many mission statements, are prone to becoming a series of taken-for-granted assumptions across the organization (Meyerson & Martin, 1987; Schein, 1985) and embedded by way of rituals, practices, and artifacts that help socialize others to the culture (Trice & Beyer, 1984). Similarly, a standard method for categorizing organizational cultures utilizes typologies based on certain values (Trice & Beyer, 1984). However, this assumes that the culture is highly integrated and aligned internally and fails to recognize

the complexities and differences often experienced across occupational groups and geographies (Schein, 2010) in organizations. This vital point is foundational to deepening our understanding of the literature on organizational culture.

Despite proving to be a dominant cultural perspective in the literature, there is value in critiquing the roots of shared values in the broader understanding of this organizational phenomenon. As a conceptualization of culture, shared values emphasize uniformity and consistency while often being under the creation and explicit control of the organization's leaders. Those holding formal leadership roles typically orchestrate any requisite efforts toward a culture change in a top-down and planned manner (Howard-Grenville et al., 2015). Importantly, a critical leadership perspective takes this a step further and even posits organizational culture as "possibly, more sinister attempts at achieving worker control" (van Bommel & Spicer, 2017, p. 151). Similarly, when "respect for the individual is equated with complying with the values of the...culture," this appears to view any challenge to these shared values as a "crime" against the organizational culture-at-large (Willmott, 1993, p. 526). While Adler et al. (2007) describe the historically rooted nature of these assumptions as mechanisms of power, this leaves HNGOs to reconcile the taken-for-granted nature of a culture operating in such volatile and uncertain contexts with potential ramifications of not "acting in line [being] inconceivable" (Howard-Grenville et al., 2015, p. 9). Additional scholarship is needed to consider the evolution of values and conceptualizations of culture, particularly considering this while utilizing a critical lens. How do leaders view their role in the cultural dynamic of their organization? Does the 'cultures as values' conceptualization include the full breadth and depth of external perspectives of an organization? Through the remaining part of this chapter, I will clarify the different cultural dynamics and roles of actors who espouse them across the British aid sector.

Tapping into the Multidisciplinary Foundations of Organizational Culture

While the sociological lens serves as the dominant disciplinary focus of modern organizational culture literature, there is considerable merit in utilizing an anthropological one as well, especially considering the forthcoming discussion of competing values. These two disciplinary foundations offer just another practical example of how scholars and practitioners alike can conceptualize the inner workings of an HNGO today and subsequently make sense of wrongdoing as it happens. As a result, a key aim of this dissertation is to build on the Competing Values Framework, rooted in both the sociological and anthropological disciplines, to broaden understanding and amplify the practical impact of Cameron and Quinn's scholarship across the humanitarian and development space. Rather than perpetuate a common myth of popular literature on organizational culture, often found in bestselling business books with easy steps and prescriptive approaches to change and success, the forthcoming recommendations will recognize first that we need to consider the variety of contexts at play and choose the most appropriate, for the time, among the full scope of possible cultural conceptualizations in HNGOs. Plainly said, the current systemic challenge, as supported by my dissertation findings, is that all too often the understanding of organizational culture is quite limited to transactional and power-dependent conceptualizations driven by the status quo. Whether or not the myriad of British aid actors can adopt a fuller nuanced view of the complex dynamics at play surrounding these organizations to better inform needed structural and systemic change remains to be seen as culture continually remains at the forefront of ongoing responses to wrongdoing today.

Anthropologist Matthew Engelke (2018) wrote, "...we tend to think of values as enduring, fixed, and self-evident. What anthropology teaches us about values raises questions about this" (p. 93). A more conscious understanding of culture and values is foundational to the current debates and dialogues around HNGO behavior and safeguarding solutions. The competing values that are replete from the humanitarian world range the gamut from globalization and localization to internally focused

organizations and externally adaptable cultures and warrant multiple conceptualizations for consideration by humanitarians and policymakers alike. As the colonial origins of the humanitarian world continue to be subjected to new levels of scrutiny (Baughan, 2022; Krause, 2014), the same is slowly becoming reality for the ways in which the sector distributes aid into the third decade of the 21st century; however, much more critical examination is necessary. The underlying question we should be asking is how can we better understand the cultural and organizational dynamics at play around the likes of Oxfam and others, to improve impact for the world's most vulnerable people and the planet?

While the phrase *competing values* might imply fixed ideas or points, quite to the contrary, these tensions exist on a continuum of both magnitude and expression. What might be valued in one HNGO could be the same in another but at a different level of strength or context as much of this discussion is contextualized to the operating environment. Additionally, in the institutional context of the British aid sector, there just may be a set of competing values that are operationalized in nuanced ways amongst the requisite humanitarian actors. In short, to utilize the language of Cameron & Quinn, what might appear to be a hierarchy culture in one HNGO could feel a bit different in another organization based on various contextual factors. This underscores, whether viewed from a sociological or anthropological lens, that culture is widely considered relevant as everything and everywhere – not just limited to ‘how things are done here,’ widely attributed to the ‘father of organizational culture,’ Edgar Schein (2018).

Cultural Paradigms

In this operational context of humanitarian NGOs, where some of these entities operate with an excess of billions of operating dollars and hundreds of thousands of staff, it is poignant to acknowledge the reality of multiple cultural layers and frames at play. Across different geographies, professional occupations, and more, the likelihood that one singular view on culture exists within a multinational entity like today's most prominent and wieldy HNGOs is limited at best and ill-conceived at best.

Considering this, it is also wise to acknowledge culture as an organizational phenomenon through the paradigms offered by Meyerson and Martin (1987). The integration paradigm, widely recognized in popular literature around organizational culture, provides a view that it is uniform and often focuses on consistency. Individuals occupying formal leadership positions espouse the basic values and behaviors of organizations with the hopes of garnering wide acceptance across institutional ranks. Conversely, a differentiation paradigm views culture as a series of puzzle pieces representing different subcultures that come together, complete with a myriad of values, frames, and cultural factors that are often contradictory. An example of this would involve various subcultures surrounding certain occupations or specialty areas like HR or Finance practitioners and those directly on-call for emergency response roles and in-country program directorships. Finally, a fragmentation paradigm on culture recognizes a lack of consensus across the organization on values, norms, and beliefs and instead notes interactions and behaviors in response to certain events or issues (Meyerson & Martin, 1987). In this context, ambiguity is widely accepted, and culture transpires fluidly based on the situation. Fragmentation is not recognized as commonly as integrated or differentiated cultures. However, as the humanitarian sector continues to make sense of its evolving future, we can see the integration and differentiation views of culture on display vis a vis the core debates around HNGO behavior today, including but not limited to locally-led responses and pressures of globalization to contextualizing policies and centrally standardizing procedures. Ultimately, these overarching paradigms serve to frame our understanding of organizational culture as a widely written about and often misunderstood phenomenon.

Schein (2010) defined organizational culture as “the basic tacit assumptions about how the world is and ought to be that a group of people share and that determines their perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and their overt behavior” (p. 17). Their theoretical model on organizational culture also addresses the following elements at play: observed behaviors, group norms, espoused values, and climate. Hofstede (1983) offers another critical and multifaceted lens on organizational culture as (a)

holistic, (b) historically determined, (c) related to anthropological concepts, (d) socially constructed, (e) software, and (f) difficult to change. Ultimately, he defined organizational culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one organization from another” (p. 76). One of the main distinctions and connections to the broader literature on culture comes through their distinction between the “software” for national cultures primarily expressed in values and the software for organizational cultures, typically revealed through practices. Additionally, it is important to note the focus on historical determinants within Hofstede’s organizational culture definition. With a growing number of new industries and sectors, including a changing world of HNGOs, additional scholarship could validate the relevance of this claim amidst continued change. Similarly, Adler (2002) defines culture, in part, as something that shapes behavior and structures one’s perception of the world. Here, the literature offers a relevant analysis of a culture’s deeper and underlying dynamics that are often unacknowledged in empirical studies.

As uniformity is prized in one cultural paradigm of organization, the inverse isn’t necessarily disobedience to norms but “opportunities for survival” (Swidler, 1986, p. 282). This parallel view on the fundamental ways we conceptualize organizational culture complements and further concretizes this phenomenon as dynamic and ever-changing. With the basic tacit assumptions that Schein (2010) acknowledged, there is room in the literature for further exploration of those that are unsaid, unconscious, and perhaps even contradictory to the espoused values of an organization. This will become relevant in the upcoming discussion regarding the competing values and tensions represented in the HNGO sector today. Nonetheless, for the most part, the literature recognizes organizational culture as a dynamic phenomenon, complete with elements and factors that contribute to our ongoing experiences at work. However, as Morgan (1986) describes, the tension emerges when we reduce culture into discrete variables rather than recognizing it as an ongoing construction of reality, both individually and as organizations. Rather than one uniform organizational culture, there might be a

series of competing values systems that create a broader mosaic of organizational realities (Morgan, 1986).

The Competing Values Framework (CVF)

This metatheory was initially developed to explain the differences in values underlying models of organizational effectiveness (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983). For the purposes of the dissertation, the idea of competing values more broadly will be utilized as a conceptual lens to consider themes and tensions across HNGOs, the British aid sector, and the humanitarian system alongside its theoretical framework used to analyze various documents here. This notion of competing values will help frame how we understand the Charity Commission and Parliament as British aid actors engaging the Oxfam case in Haiti. Grounded in the scholarship of Kim Cameron & Robert Quinn, the CVF has inspired decades of practical application through the Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (OCAI) which has been widely utilized across the globe as a diagnostic frame for organizational culture and subsequent change management initiatives. Additionally, they take changing culture a step further and propose specific leadership behaviors for effective practice and implementation. Through the organizational effectiveness literature, the CVF has framed various organizational phenomena, including a prominent focus on culture. The two key tensions that comprise the framework include the competing values of (a) control and flexibility and (b) internal and external environments. Along these lines, the instrument asks participants to assess the currently lived and aspirational values of the organization based on a typology of cultures: clan, market, adhocracy, and hierarchy (Wilkins & Ouchi, 1983) that results in a two-by-two quadrant matrix. John Van Maanen rightly challenged the idea of oversimplifying culture types by warning that the anthropological ancestors would be “turning over in their graves” (Cameron & Quinn, 2010). Accordingly, Cameron and Quinn remind us that this theoretical model was developed to *organize* organizational culture types and is far from comprehensive of all cultural phenomena. Another vital element of the CVF stems from Quinn and Cameron’s (1983) research on

organizational life cycles. Their research hypothesized certain effectiveness criteria present within each stage of organizational development: (a) entrepreneurial stage, (b) collectivity stage, (c) formalization and control stage, and (d) elaboration of structure, and mirror the culture types offered in the OCAI. The importance of these criteria will differ across conditions and time within different institutions.

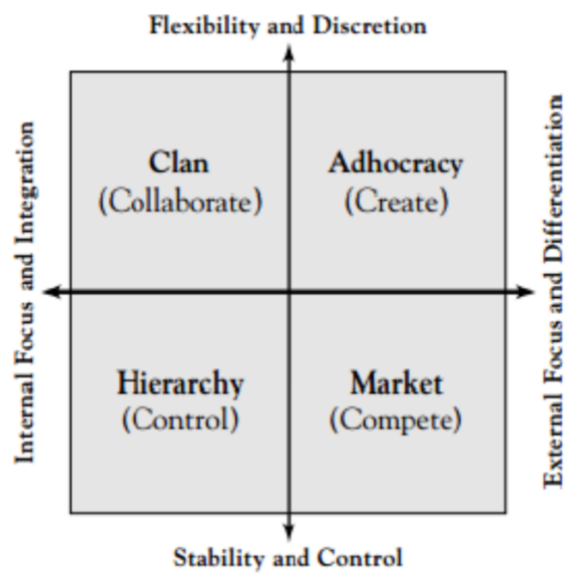


Figure 2

The Competing Values Framework

Beyond serving as an organizing principle here for the critical tensions at play in HNGOs, the CVF has been tested through many empirical studies that have been published to ensure its validity and reliability, particularly related to organizational culture (Howard, 1998; Lamond, 2003). Notably, quantitative research from Denison and Mishra (1995) validated the CVF and the relationship between organizational effectiveness and the four culture types utilized in the OCAI. Additionally, the CVF has been shown to differentiate organizations from each other based on the four cultural types and any possible combinations that might result at the end (Kwan & Walker, 2004). It is important to note that other studies have sought to produce empirical support of the CVF through organizational variables

ranging from the implementation of total quality management (Sousa-Poza et al., 2001) to job satisfaction (Lund, 2003).

The critical reception of the CVF framework entails recognizing its limitations in recognizing the dynamic nature of subcultures present in organizations. Furthermore, the OCAI has been utilized for decades across empirical studies and only sought to acknowledge the distinct culture at hand in the organization. It is also important to recognize the diversity of methods and environments present in the research. From mixed methods approaches to school contexts to survey instruments to multinational firms, there is strong support for the CVF across many studies and environments (Yu & Wu, 2009). As the OCAI is firmly rooted at the heart of many of these empirical studies, it is also worth noting this prominent quantitative focus across recent decades considering the four different culture types. This observation doesn't diminish the fact that the study of organizational culture is, indeed, holistic and comprehensive in methods and approaches. Nonetheless, noticeable perspectives are missing in the literature around utilizing the central tenets of the CVF to organize and make meaning of the less quantifiable aspects of culture in equally uncertain and dynamic environments like HNGOs. This gap provides opportunities for additional qualitative research to examine why certain competing values arise over time in HNGOs, how various paradigms are utilized when considering the culture of an organization, and ultimately, how these tensions shape the effectiveness of these institutions in global affairs.

Issues in Diagnosing Organizational Culture

According to Cameron and Quinn (2010), organizational culture emerged initially from two different disciplinary roots: an anthropological foundation (the fact that organizations are cultures) and a sociological foundation (the fact that organizations have cultures). Within each of these disciplines, two different approaches to culture have been identified: a functional approach (culture emerges from collective behavior) and a semiotic approach (culture resides in individual interpretations

and cognitions). The functional approach “assumes that researchers and managers can identify differences among organizational cultures, change cultures, and empirically measured cultures.” The semiotic approach “assumes that nothing exists in organizations except culture, and one encounters culture any time one rubs up against any organization. Culture is a potential predictor of other organizational outcomes (such as effectiveness) in the [functional approach], whereas in the [semiotic approach] it is a concept to be explained independent of any other phenomena” (p. 168-169)

From Cameron and Ettington’s (1988) reviewing a long list of published definitions of organizational culture and noted that in most cases, culture has been treated as an enduring set of values, beliefs, and assumptions that characterize organizations and their members. Perhaps most significantly, these definitions distinguish the concept of organizational culture from organizational climate, which refers to more temporary attitudes, feelings and perceptions on the part of individuals. Culture is an enduring, slow-changing core attribute of organizations; climate because it is based on attitudes, can change quickly and dramatically. Culture refers to implicit, often indiscernible aspects of organizations; climate refers to more overt, observable attributes of organizations. Culture includes core values and consensual interpretations about how things are; climate includes individualistic perspectives that are modified frequently as situations change and new information is encountered (p. 169).

Considering these challenges leading us all too often to misdiagnose and misunderstand organizational culture, it’s especially poignant that we utilize multiple disciplinary approaches in developing a more conscious understanding of how things are done in and around HNGOs. This pursuit of deeper exploration and research is a worthwhile endeavor chiefly because this understudied and oversimplified phenomenon in modern organizational life has ongoing implications for the humanitarian system as it aims to respond with more aid and support to a world that has never needed more before. With the ongoing scrutiny of power imbalances and sectoral legitimacy persisting, it is to the benefit of

HNGO leaders and the boards that oversee them to develop full cultural consciousness of their operations within and across humanitarianism today.

While much of the popular business literature espouses a functional approach to organizational culture, notably, much of the sector's response to the Haiti episode assumes the same. With the collection of after-action reports and public comments from across the sector prescribing cultural change after the myriad of Haiti inquiries and investigations, there is surprisingly little depth or detail around how to accomplish such a task. Broad and sweeping statements like "the culture needs to change" substantiate a functional focus on the simple assumption that organizations "have" cultures as opposed to the semiotic approach which acknowledges they "make sense of reality." This will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5.

At the crux of the figure below, we can see support from the findings that the central assumption from both the Charity Commission and the UK Parliament is that HNGOs 'have cultures.'" This sociological foundation for conceptualizing the cultures of these organizations uses a functional approach. One of the main aims of this research is to examine a semiotic approach, as described by Cameron and Quinn in Table A.1 and take up the central assumption that indeed, organizations have cultures, but these cultures also 'make sense' of reality. The question ultimately that comes from this now is – what is that reality that exists, is it defined differently among actors, and if so, how, and why could that be the case within the broader humanitarian world in 2023?

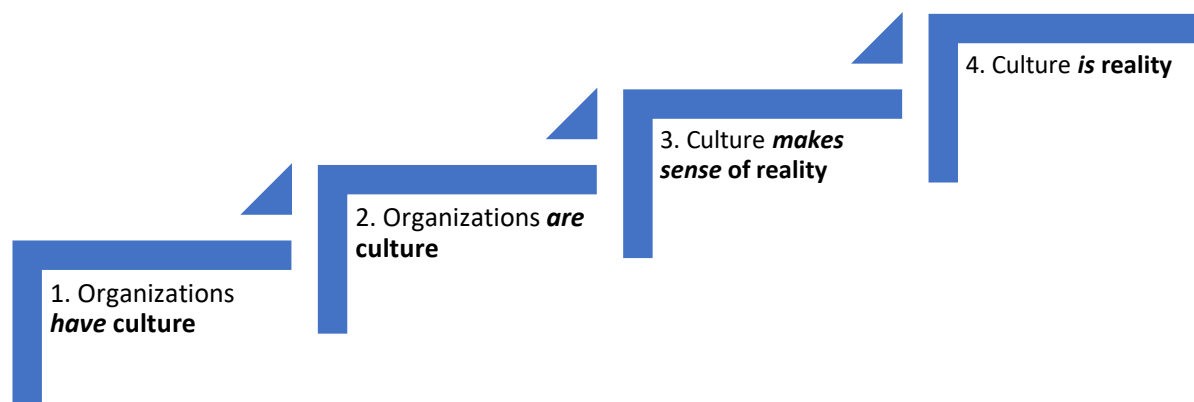


Figure 3

Four-Phase Developmental Model for Cultural Consciousness in HNGOs

At the heart of this developmental model is Cameron and Quinn’s dual focus on the anthropological and sociological roots of organizational culture. As represented above, I’ve adapted their approach to diagnosing and understanding organizational culture and built on this theoretical framework for sector application. I am proposing these four phases for organizational culture consciousness for consideration by those humanitarian stakeholders aiming to more fully understand HNGOs today. A key assumption of this model is that as each phase progresses, it requires greater consciousness of the full scope of cultural dynamics to develop understanding.

The model begins in the bottom left with Phase One: Organizations have cultures. This is a commonly held understanding across the British aid sector, as evidenced by the findings from this study involving various oversight and regulatory stakeholders. These stakeholders put this Phase One thinking at the heart of their initial response to organizational wrongdoing with calls for culture change. It includes proposing technical fixes and prescriptive solutions, hoping for a different culture. With a focus on the collective behaviors, this Phase One understanding is prone to applaud any actions that model the desired culture. Conversely, when future episodes of wrongdoing come to light, those at Phase One

likely isolate them from the idealized organization as a *weak point* simply needing to be fixed, strengthened, or just written off as an impromptu error within the broader culture of the organization.

When we progress our consciousness of cultural understanding to Phase Two: Organizations are culture there is wider recognition of dynamics at play within and around the institutional landscape of HNGOs. Today, beyond the British aid sector, there is continued awareness of similar behaviors and artifacts that comprise a common “HNGO culture” today. Movements like #AidToo (Cooper, 2021; Gillespie et. al., 2019; Riley, 2020) and #ShiftThePower (van Wessel et. al., 2023) alongside increased attention around the demographic makeup of senior leadership teams and boards are just a few of the elements here. Contrary to the other functional approach in this model, the distinctive of Phase Two understanding is that the organization wouldn’t necessarily be isolated from the culture but instead married together as synonymous entities. The organization is culture and vice-versa – where there could be generalized similarities across like-minded and like-structured entities (e.g. mission statements, core values, etc.) – and as such, the collective assumption presupposes consistency across certain types of organizational cultures via sectors and logics. However, the challenge is that all too often, the brush stroke used is far too broad to paint across the institutional landscape of HNGOs replete with all the nuances and complexities left unexamined, if at all.

In Phase Three, we shift our level of consciousness, and the focus turns to what is really happening as culture makes sense of reality. Just as culture is dynamic and the consensus around it is hard to achieve, the reality is not yet clearly defined across the humanitarian landscape. Despite repeated public statements by humanitarian actors acknowledging things like power imbalances, the work of operationalizing this across the humanitarian system remains unseen and often nothing more than a passing comment. The unique challenge of Phase Three understanding here involves even more important questions to consider as we advance Cameron & Quinn’s model for humanitarian application: which reality does the organizational culture not make sense of or unable to at all? Who, within the

culture, is left without their reality being considered in full? These, and other answers, will help the humanitarian stakeholder to develop their cultural consciousness even further around HNGOs and move towards Phase Four understanding.

When individuals are able to see that culture is reality they have reached Phase Four understanding. Here is where the insufficiently examined dynamics of race, power, gender, wealth among others are brought to the conscious and help stakeholders and the HNGO reach a new level of congruence between espousing culture change and living structural and system transformation across the humanitarian world via new operating models, leadership approaches, and even more institutional norms not yet conceptualized.

Overall, as represented through the British aid actors in this study, the sector has recognized, for the most part, that organizations have cultures while the humanitarian system has yet to fully embody the notion that organizations are cultures. Subsequently, this is emblematic of the underlying and largely unconscious, dynamics of power at work within and across the landscape of humanitarianism which will be examined more in-depth moving forward in Chapters 5 and 6. For now, the next chapter will detail the literal and metaphorical earthquake that precipitated the premise of this study; both in Haiti during 2010 and the system-shaking news of wrongdoing that followed in 2018 as the British aid sector and the humanitarian world continues to safeguard itself from more scrutiny, nearly five years on.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TWIN EARTHQUAKES OF HAITI AND HNGO WRONGDOING

The Oxfam Scandal in Haiti

On February 9, 2018, the British public woke up to the news that would rock the humanitarian world as Sean O’Neill in *The Times* of London reported a front-page expose outlining wrongdoing at the hands of Oxfam country leaders in the aftermath of the devastating 2010 earthquake in Haiti. At the time, the earthquake registered as one of the worst natural disasters ever to hit the region leaving more than 300,000 dead (DesRoches et. al., 2011). At the heart of the episode, Country Director, Roland van Hauwermeiren and six other employees were found to be hosting orgies in Oxfam staff housing, hiring Haitian minors for sex, and the aid agency wasn’t completely transparent with sharing what it knew with the appropriate authorities and British aid actors. Notably, the *Times* newspaper reported that Dame Barbara Stocking, the Chief Executive of Oxfam Great Britain at the time, had offered van Hauwermeiren a “dignified exit,” because senior leaders concerned that broad publicity of the events would harm donations (O’Neill, 2018). While this wasn’t the first-time news of the episode had become known it was delivered to a much wider audience with more damning details of an apparent effort to keep the truth from various stakeholders of Oxfam Great Britain.

This chapter will offer an overview of the abuse scandal immediately following the earthquake in Haiti while also providing a snapshot of early reactions from across the British aid sector and humanitarian world. The analysis focuses on three key moments surrounding the episode to provide empirical support to our understanding of how British aid actors focus on distinct cultural frames during times of organizational wrongdoing. As Haiti experienced a devastating earthquake, a metaphorical earthquake shook the broader humanitarian system as it sought to respond to a natural disaster with emergency aid and descended onto one of the most politically fractious and historically volatile small island nations of the world. This chapter complements existing academic works which have elaborated

on overall harmful effects of aid efforts in Haiti (Schuller, 2012), but not explored subsequent stakeholder responses.

Haiti and Oxfam's future

Since 1978, Oxfam had operated in Haiti with little to no issues until it suspended its operations in the fallout of the scandal in 2011 only to ultimately be banned from operating in-country by governmental officials in 2018. Haitian President Jovenel Moise took the opportunity to claim wide-spread abuse by external aid actors within his country: "The Oxfam case is the visible part of the iceberg...It is not only Oxfam, there are other NGOs in the same situation, but they hide information internally" (Delva, 2018). Within days of the Times report, not only did the Haitian Government issue a ban but the UK Department for International Development (DFID) temporarily banned the aid agency from receiving government funding. Oxfam was also forced to stop bidding for major institutional funding from the likes of the European Union (EU) and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).

Open questions about the future of Oxfam reverberated across the United Kingdom and the broader humanitarian system as it began to make sense of the public revelations of wrongdoing at the hands of humanitarian aid workers. British Prime Minister Theresa May described the behavior at the heart of the Oxfam episode as "horrific" and said, "it was far below the standards that we expect for the charities and the NGOs that we're working with" (McGuinness, 2018). Later in the week at Prime Minister's Questions with pressure from her own Conservative Party to reduce foreign aid spending because of the Oxfam revelations, she told MPs, "It is absolutely crucial that we continue our support through aid for those who are most vulnerable. But they also deserve to be treated by the same high standards that we would expect to be treated ourselves." In an interview with CNN, United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres acknowledged the seriousness of the problem of abuse and harassment 'everywhere' from the public and private sector to the UN and NGOs before calling for

culture change. “We still live in a male-dominated culture, in a male-dominated world, and so these things happen, and people are afraid to come out, to speak up, to denounce. So, we need to do everything possible to change this culture,” he said (Robertson & Masters, 2018). Within the course of a week, high-profile Oxfam ambassadors like Archbishop Desmond Tutu and actress Minnie Driver withdrew their support and quit their affiliations with the organization. Nearly 7,000 regular donors pulled their financial support. After firing back at critics of the organization for their ‘disproportionate response’ to the episode, the Chief Executive of Oxfam GB, Mark Goldring asked The Guardian in an interview, “The intensity and ferocity of the attack makes your wonder, what did we do? We murdered babies in their cots?” (2018). Several days later when testifying to the Select Committee on International Development, he issued a public apology for his comments and shared that it was due to the stress he was experiencing responding to the episode.

In an interview with the on February 16, 2018, Winnie Byanyima, Executive Director of Oxfam International, announced the creation of the Independent Commission on Sexual Exploitation, Accountability and Culture “to look into our culture and our practices.” She began to describe the internal Oxfam situation by saying, “we do have, I know, a porous system that has brought in people who do not share our values and that’s my challenge.” The objectives of the IC would be four-fold: (1) on culture; (2) on policies, procedures, and practices; (3) for cases; and (4) sector-wide change (Independent Commission on Sexual Abuse, Exploitation, and Culture, 2018). Poignantly, when asked if Oxfam will ‘survive this’, Byanyima said, “Absolutely, I have no question, because its mission and its mandate is so relevant and so important. There is no way this organization can die. The world needs it” (Oxfam sex scandal: Director promises justice for victims).

Meanwhile, the financial implications rippled across Oxfam’s bottom line resulting in selling of some of its 650 high-street charity shops across the UK, laying off staff, and eventually reducing the HNGO’s operating footprint in certain countries. In an internal memo circulated by Chief Executive of

Oxfam Great Britain, Mark Goldring, outlined plans for 16M pounds of savings to effectively respond to the public relations crisis stemming from the HNGO's failure to sufficiently disclose information about the alleged misconduct to the Charity Commission. Numerous high-profile resignations, including Penny Lawrence, Deputy Chief Executive, came after the first reports of the Haiti episode; notably, the Chief Executive Mark Goldring who said in a statement when he quit: "Along with all of you, I feel anger at the impact of the abhorrent abuse of power by those individuals in Haiti in 2011 and Oxfam's failure to protect the women we were there to support. Oxfam is overwhelmingly a force for good" (Oxfam, 2018).

In the subsequent months as more developments came to light, a myriad of British aid actors responded and made sense of the episode in a variety of ways. It should be noted at the time of 2018, Oxfam was not the only HNGO being accused of organizational wrongdoing. As #AidToo swept across the humanitarian world, the British Government attracted scrutiny of its own with its International Safeguarding Summit that followed in October that year. Delegates raised critical questions after government officials announced that Save the Children UK, also under investigation by the Charity Commission at the time for abuse allegations of its own, would co-sponsor the event and help lead the pilot of an aid worker registry designed to "prevent perpetrators of sexual abuse and misconduct from moving around the sector" (Abrahams, 2018). Subsequent efforts across the British aid sector have seen the Charity Commission and the Select Committee on International Development ("the IDC") conducting their respective investigations into HNGOs and convening regular hearings to receive expert witness testimony in their functions of regulating these organizations and holding them accountable to British taxpayers. The document analysis of two key after-action reports will serve as the foundation for Chapter 4.

Three Key Moments from the Oxfam Episode in Haiti

To better understand how the broader institutional landscape of the British aid sector ‘made sense’ of the Haiti episode and the underlying organizational culture, I’ve selected three key moments in the timeline of events since the public first learned of wrongdoing at Oxfam: (1) the immediate aftermath of the Times reporting in February 2018, largely via press outlets and social media accounts, (2) the Government’s Safeguarding Summit held in October 2018, and (3) the Parliamentary Debate of 2020. Each of these moments has been deliberately selected to represent the breadth of this episode’s reach not just across the British aid sector, but the wider humanitarian system as well as encompassing the depth of relevant stakeholders from MPs to the wider British government to the oversight and regulatory actors at the IDC and the Charity Commission. This focus will allow me to trace in detail how the British aid sector understands organizational culture as a contributing factor to, and remedy for, the many challenges facing the humanitarian world, not the least of which is safeguarding from sexual exploitation, abuse, and harassment. In the first key moment, the immediate responses to news of the Oxfam episode in Haiti were swift and the cultural consensus was that “change” was necessary and the immediate solution. The second key moment at the Safeguarding Summit of 2018 highlighted the fractious institutional landscape for safeguarding amongst British aid actors as continuing episodes of organizational wrongdoing undercut confidence in any immediate and easy change. Finally, the Parliamentary Debate of 2020 offered clear policy perspectives based on the Oxfam episode in the broader context of British humanitarian aid and foreign policy.

As I’ve already established in Chapter 1, even though this dissertation is focused on more than the “scandal” of the Haiti episode, it is important to understand the key aspects of the events here to begin to consider how British aid actors responded and made sense of it across the humanitarian sphere. Accordingly, the episode and its aftermath offer important macro/meso level implications for better understanding the British aid sector, the global humanitarian system, and ultimately how both

not only respond to and make sense of wrongdoing but understand their cultural realities and lead accordingly.

These three moments embody the competing values and critical cultural tensions that persist for humanitarian and development practitioners. It is of critical importance to note that while the situations and stakeholders surrounding the Haiti episode are complex and nuanced, there are still relevant threads to pull out here as the system undergoes further scrutiny for its safeguarding efforts. This analysis of these moments will be grounded in my proposed four-phase developmental model for cultural consciousness in HNGOs. We can't understand how and why a fully developed consciousness of organizational culture is important without acknowledging some of the key historical details surrounding the episode, the immediate aftermath, and some key sensemaking responses of actors in the British aid sector.

Key Moment #1: British aid actors respond to the Times of London cover story

The reaction that followed the Times front page story on February 9, 2018, was swift and considerable as the Haiti episode, and Oxfam would quickly become a firestorm of focus and attention, in the days to follow, from British aid actors and the humanitarian world at-large. The day after, the Charity Commission released its own response stating, "The allegations reported in the media have absolutely no place in society, and are made all the more shocking by the alleged involvement of charity workers. Charities are rightly held to the highest standards" (2018). They continued, "It is important that charities engage with the regulator frankly and openly. We must fully understand the allegations that have been made to ensure that we have confidence in the charity's approach to safeguarding now and in the future." On 12 February 2018, the Commission announced the opening of a statutory inquiry, the most significant action that the UK regulator can take with a registered charity into the culture and leadership of Oxfam. In the press release, the Commission's Deputy Chief Executive David Holdsworth commented, "Charities and dedicated, hard-working aid workers undertake vital, lifesaving work in

some of the most difficult circumstances across the world. However, the issues revealed in recent days are shocking and unacceptable. It is important that we take this urgent step to ensure that these matters can be dealt with fully and robustly” (2018). In their final inquiry report, Commissioners would go on to criticize Oxfam for the lack of leadership focus on underscoring the importance of cultural values in internal operations and effectiveness (2019). Specifically, these charity regulators identified weaknesses with Oxfam’s mission and values being insufficiently embedded in daily actions and behaviors to reinforce expectations in the code of conduct (2019, p. 19). Another finding negatively evaluated the ambiguity permeating the Oxfam culture stemming from the organization’s structure as a confederation (2019). A deeper analysis of this after-action report and its underlying presumptions about organizational culture will appear in Chapter Four.

The immediate reaction from Members of Parliament included calls for investigations and swift action from HM Government considering the respective DFID contracts working with Oxfam at the time. Ultimately, the calls from MPs to investigate the episode led to the Select Committee on International Development to announce its own inquiry surrounding issues of exploitation, abuse, and the underlying philosophy of aid espoused by British HNGOs. On 20 February 2018, Parliamentary Undersecretary of State (DFID), Lord Bates with portfolio oversight including safeguarding delivered remarks to the House of Lords saying:

In chaotic and desperate situations, the very best safeguarding procedures and practices must be put in place to prevent harm, but when organizations fail to report and follow up incidents of wrongdoing that occur, it undermines trust and sends a message that sexual exploitation and abuse is tolerated. We cannot prevent sexual exploitation and abuse if we do not demonstrate zero tolerance.

Ultimately, what followed from Parliament was a series of committee hearings and debates in the House of Commons around the Haiti episode, the DFID contracts with Oxfam, and the relationships across the

humanitarian sector with HM Government. In the end, this led to the Government, in consultation with the IDC, to host the Safeguarding Summit of 2018, which will be discussed shortly in more detail.

Immediately following the press reporting on the Oxfam episode hit British news outlets, DFID (Department for International Development) Secretary of State Penny Mordaunt told the BBC's Andrew Marr, that Oxfam was lacking "the moral leadership at the top of the organization" and threatened to pull government funding if the NGO failed to comply over safeguarding issues (BBC, 2018).

Key Moment #2 – The Safeguarding Summit of October 2018

Perhaps the most telling of these "key moments" came later in October 2018 when much of the British aid sector was represented at HM Government's Safeguarding Summit. The event was aptly titled "Putting People First: Tackling Sexual Exploitation, Abuse & Harassment in the Aid Sector." Perhaps more than ever, it was here that the competing values and ideas around HNGO culture were on display – with DFID bureaucrats, HNGO executives, MPs, civil society activists gathering to air their grievances and focus their efforts on solutions in response to the Haiti episode. But Oxfam was not the only rationale for the summit, as HNGOs, like Save the Children UK, had been implicated in similar misconduct (BBC, 2018; The Guardian, 2018). At the time of the Safeguarding Summit, the organization was under scrutiny with an open Statutory Inquiry into its own revelations of sexual misconduct and wrongdoing. It was clear that the UK Government was keen to get its arms around the growing recognition that something systemic was going on and needed solutions. Surprisingly, then, the UK Government allowed Save the Children UK to serve as a co-host of the event, drawing the ire of many participants and stakeholders.

DFID and the UK Government took the public opportunity at the Safeguarding Summit to respond to public concerns and collect input from stakeholders around how to implement change across the British aid sector. During the event, various perspectives and philosophies were on display from different actors present in London. Notably, Yves Daccord, Director General of the International

Committee on the Red Cross (ICRC), used his comments to frame the problem of SEAH beyond the scope of just Oxfam and the British aid sector, subsequently requiring systemic changes for the future:

If we want to tackle [it] we need to recognize its endemic, systemic problems. We can't call it an Oxfam crisis; we can't. That's not possible. This is not the problem of Oxfam...it could have happened to all of us and it's extremely important that we realize that...It's a sector-wide crisis and we need to agree with that if we want to be able to tackle that... "And we heard some people say let's be careful, you must have the right system in terms of case management, in terms of inquiry...that will allow people affected to trust us; to trust our system. We have to reduce the response when we do inquiry, no question, we have to take actions. So, the systems side is a very important one. At the same time, a very strong message let's not forget the informal side of it. We're talking about culture, about practice, behaviour. Systems will not change on their own practice and behaviour...it's the balance and recognition of the importance of systems but also the importance of the informality, the informal natures of our work when we talk about cultural change. Very critical.

This recognition from the leader of one of the world's most prominent humanitarian brands, the ICRC, appears to be representative of the consensus at the time to espouse the distinctions between technical fixes and systemic cultural change. However, the extent of speaking to solutions seems to stop at diagnosis and repeating the widespread belief that things need changing. Representing the UK-based NGO sector, Frances Longley (UK Chief Executive of AMREF Africa as of 2018), espoused a functional approach to organizational culture as it related to episodes of wrongdoing in humanitarian spaces. As Chair of BOND's Culture and Leadership Working Group, she framed her comments on values plainly this way:

Every time a woman is sexually exploited by one of our staff, every time a child in our care is abused, every time a colleague is bullied, every time we have failed to listen and act is a time when we have not lived up to who we are as a sector and what is rightly expected from us.

The keynote speech of the summit, that included a viral moment of its own, came from DFID Secretary, Penny Mordaunt in the opening session. She framed the operating focus for humanitarian and development organizations moving forward as unequivocal accountability:

No environment is so chaotic or complex. No disaster or crisis so horrific. Or atrocity so heinous. That the protection of people from the abuse of power becomes unimportant... We've not had these opportunities that we've created over the last six months ever before. And they will provide the means by which we will clean up this sector...And we know that mistakes and wrongdoing can happen anywhere. No one must be above scrutiny.

At this point in her prepared remarks, Mordaunt is interrupted on stage by Pepper de Caires, one of the summit's panelists and whistleblowers into Save the Children UK's own episodes of organizational wrongdoing. de Caires walks up to Mordaunt to stop her remarks and says:

...That's an excellent time for me to intervene, Secretary of State. A number of us would like to be on this platform but we have been kept back from DFID and your attempt to control the women who are speaking out in this sector...We do not need fancy new systems. We do not need technology. We need systematic change. We need to understand the sexism, racism, and abuse of power that happens from the very top of the leadership and I was disgusted to learn on my way her to this morning's summit that Save the Children will be awarded a headline project to try and tackle sexual misconduct in the sector when they are still under investigation by the Charity Commission themselves. This silencing and use of us to come along to a summit as part of your audience and not to have any truth to power is what compels me to come up and speak to you in

person. It was very clearly put that there would be no time for Q&A this morning. This platform is not, I'm afraid, for you today, it's actually here for the people who have been doing this work.

Undoubtedly, this exchange symbolized so much of the underlying dynamics present at the summit across competing values, ideas for moving forward, and ultimately how the future of the sector should be considered as such. Perhaps most notably, de Caires calling out Mordaunt for the hierarchical approaches to enacting safeguarding change and limiting certain actions and speakers revealed the often-unconscious tensions across the sector as represented across the auditorium in London that day. While Mordaunt did finally offer to give the afternoon session time slot to de Caires and others, the gesture was already overshadowed by the searing content of the interruption that called out the often understated and underrecognized dynamics of gender, race, and power manifest themselves in deeply cultural ways within British humanitarian aid and development.

Key Moment #3: The Parliamentary Debate on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of 2020

On November 4, 2020, the House of Commons held a Parliamentary Debate, secured by Pauline Latham MP, as a series of speakers from across the political party spectrum delivered speeches on various aspects of the SEAH efforts since the Oxfam episode went public in 2018. A longstanding member of the IDC, Ms. Latham was often acknowledged by her colleagues for her leadership across related policy issues, most notably in the international development space surrounding the wellbeing of women and girls. Only a month before the Parliamentary Debate, the New Humanitarian's investigative reporting (Dodds, 2020) revealed episodes of wrongdoing during the 2018/20 Ebola response in the Democratic Republic of Congo implicating countless prominent HNGOs and UN agencies (The New Humanitarian, 2023). These abuses served as a first systemic test of the safeguarding infrastructure which had emerged after Haiti and had widely triggered an onslaught of new policies, procedures, and positional leadership roles.

What follows here is an analysis of the Parliamentary record from 4 November 2020, with specific focus on remarks from six different Members of Parliament (MPs), from different political parties, who speak to different facets of the Oxfam scandal, understandings of organizational culture, and subsequent implications for the British Government and its humanitarian aid budget. The debate concludes with comments from James Cleverly MP and Minister for Middle East & North Africa, at the time, with oversight and program responsibilities over HM Government's safeguarding efforts. Cleverly was appointed Foreign Secretary in October 2022 and remains in post, through the Cabinets of Prime Ministers Liz Truss and Rishi Sunak, at the time of writing this dissertation.

At this point in time, this is a significant debate within the Commons for a variety of reasons. Namely, the news about sexual abuse in the DRC is the first notable scandal to hit the news since the Oxfam scandal, and it comes at a time when there is increasing uncertainty around the future of British aid funding levels with considerable reasoning to believe that the Conservative Party would re-neg on its 2019 Manifesto and international commitments to fund foreign aid at 0.7% of GNI. Since then, this has been reduced to 0.5% and is widely believed to be impacted further under pending budget reviews increasingly at threat during the ongoing cost of living crisis and funding debates in the United Kingdom. Nonetheless, the resulting debate reveals much about where Parliament is sitting, as a key British aid actor, from both a policy and practice front involving their understanding of organizational culture and the requisite positions of HM Government surrounding safeguarding, foreign assistance, and other related topics, as a result.

Pauline Latham MP (Conservative)

Pauline Latham opened the Parliamentary Debate by candidly speaking to fears from within the IDC about the most recent SEAH episode in the DRC recognizing "the latest round of complacency has arrived." She proceeds to cite from one of the IDC's many evidence sessions in 2019, a full year after the

Oxfam scandal went public, where Tracey Smith, then Chief Executive of British Expertise International told MPs:

The companies have shared best practice. They have looked at the way the sector operates. They have collaborated...but it is felt that those specific, strategic issues, the support for survivors, cultural change, minimum standards, organizational capacity, and capability, are covered by the code of conduct.

Latham proceeds to push back on this notion from Smith and speak with skepticism about the sector's response to the safeguarding crises since the Oxfam episode telling MPs:

Passion, collaboration, and discussion do not produce results and will certainly not do so if the fall back on vague code of conduct that has hitherto abjectly failed to ensure the safety of the most vulnerable women and girls across the world...Oxfam was more concerned with looking good than doing good, and acquiesced in one of its top staff members enjoying all the acclaim of his position while performing none of his responsibilities towards the vulnerable people he was meant to protect.

From a surface level of observation towards this opening of this Parliamentary Debate, Latham is embodying Phase One understanding. She has acknowledged that Oxfam has a culture that was insufficiently living its values in protecting people affected by the Haiti earthquake of 2010. However, towards the end of her speech, Latham acknowledges Phase Two understanding when speaking about the numerous evidence sessions to the IDC as "it has become apparent that the problem is not exclusive to Oxfam." Furthermore, Latham isolates the power of language for a moment to distinguish Phase Two understanding to make a broader point about the HNGO culture at the time:

Nevertheless, what I want to know is why they believe that women or girls are 'prostitutes' rather than victims. How many people in this Chamber went to school with somebody who said, 'when I

grow up, I want to be a prostitute?’ Exactly. These women or girls are victims, as are all sex workers.

This question she poses to her Parliamentary colleagues makes an important point about the significance of language as another element of consciously understanding organizational culture. How we speak about individuals in the HNGO context helps perpetuate and reinforce certain values, agendas, and other relevant elements that are often not consciously named for the impact they have in the broader humanitarian milieu.

Sarah Champion MP (Labour)

As Chair of the IDC, since the aftermath of the Oxfam scandal, Sarah Champion has easily become one of the most persistent and prominent voices within the ongoing dialogues and debates in British aid, on topics like safeguarding and more from the halls of Parliament to her active Twitter account. In the opening to her comments, Champion recognizes the response to the Oxfam scandal by HM Government with their Safeguarding Summit, praising them for taking it “seriously” while acknowledging certain unresolved ‘hopes’ for action. She goes on to detail the largely technical responses of HNGOs that followed with a risk mitigation focus:

The non-governmental organizations took up the challenge led by the umbrella organization, BOND, that put in place training, policies, and lots of resources. The UK NGOs saw this as an opportunity to better their practice and get on top of the issues.

What follows next is a prime example of advancing beyond one phase of cultural consciousness to the next, and perhaps from some perspectives jumping a few levels, as Champion acknowledges the differences in approaching and conceptualizing the ongoing systemic challenges across British aid:

Unfortunately, we have seen is an endless cycle of scandals leading to policy change, rather than work to address the actual problem that is obvious to all of us if we only take the time to look. It is quite simple – people who prey on the vulnerable go to where the vulnerable are. We have seen

big movements within faith organizations and children's organizations to prohibit and prevent this sort of behavior, to call it out and to prosecute, and I am incredibly grateful for that. I am, however, shocked that the aid sector is probably 20 or 30 years behind that. The culture that existed, for example, in faith organizations, still exists within the aid sector. They see themselves as doing good work, as being virtuous, and think that everyone is there for the right reasons, so they do not dig down into the fact that perhaps a very small minority is there for very, very wrong reasons.

Beyond this damning initial analysis on the institutional landscape of British HNGOs, Champion appears to acknowledge the possibility of the ending the cycle of scandals given the right prescription of actions to follow, if we simply “take the time to look.” The challenge here is that it hasn’t appeared to be as obvious to the myriad of British aid actors but nonetheless warrants stopping, consciously observing, and making ample investments in systemic solutions that result in deeper institutional change beyond the scandal cycle that Champion refers to. She continues her remarks by exhibiting Phase Three and Four understanding of organizational culture in her speech to the House of Commons:

Abuse can always happen where there is a power imbalance. By very definition, aid workers work with the most vulnerable people on the planet. The IDC is currently running an inquiry into the sexual exploitation of beneficiaries by aid workers, and I have discovered that there is a very unpleasant layering of racism, colonialism, and deep, deep sexism coming from the aid workers to beneficiaries. We have to challenge this. We really need to see the Government stepping back onto this platform.

At this point in the Parliamentary Debate, we have the first acknowledgment of not only the deeper systemic dynamics at the heart of the safeguarding challenges, supported by the different understandings of organizational culture, but several unresolved questions are left to consider after the Chair’s speech to the chamber. While Champion names the inherent power imbalances between aid workers and those vulnerable people seeking aid, we know similar dynamics are at play between aid worker colleagues with episodes of SEAH at varying levels of the organizational chart inside the HNGOs

operating across the British aid sector. As Champion's comments provide a clear example of how culture can make sense of reality, and, at times we can understand that culture *is* reality, there is yet more worthwhile questioning around the layering of racism, colonialism, and sexism that she acknowledges to achieve a fully conscious understanding of these dynamics at work. She develops these ideas further by referencing a support group on Facebook comprised of nearly 8,000 women aid workers who had been sexually harassed or abused by their colleagues: "They described it as the wild west: these men, and it is almost exclusively men, coming in as saviors on their white horses, but now they tend to be white UN Hummers and Land Cruisers." Poignantly, the Chair of the IDC closes her speech by turning to Minister James Cleverly of the Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO) asking for a policy solution to be enacted that she aptly describes as 'real simple.' "Currently, NGOs cannot access DBS (disclosure and barring service) checks. We need to expand what is classified as regulated activity, and then we can stop this parade of people going to exploit the most vulnerable in the world."

Jim Shannon MP (Democratic Unionist Party -- DUP)

Shannon then picks up on Champion's insistence on a legislative response to the need for widening regulatory activity of HNGOs. Here, he acknowledges that the current system of approaches hasn't worked and even leaves questions to consider regarding the related remit of the Charity Commission. Shannon then rightly distinguishes between "issues that we cannot control" and others that can be controlled as HM Government continues to grapple with its own policy moves in the safeguarding arena:

We also need UK legislation to widen the meaning of regulated activity. Perhaps legislation needs to be tweaked in order to provide an obligation for NGO workers to have DBS checks, and to require NGOs to report to the DBS any cases where harm has been caused, so that these individuals can be not just legally barred but made accountable in the courts of the land and prevented from working with children and at-risk people.

Notably, beyond the largely technocratic lens that Shannon is speaking from with the technical prescriptions for safeguarding, he does close his remarks by exhibiting Phase Three understanding to use culture as a way to make sense of reality, especially as it relates to MP responsibilities, within the humanitarian landscape of British aid:

We must put in place a new system of working in partnership with NGOs that goes beyond funding. Were direct Government workers to be found guilty of exploitation, we would make changes to prevent repeats. If that is our approach in this land, let us do it in other lands as well. I know that the responsibility for running these charities does not belong to us in this House, but we still have an obligation to make safeguarding changes that permeate through the NGOs, as we seek to ensure that every penny that we put into the charities helps people and does not abuse and exploit the vulnerable any further.

Anthony Mangnall MP (Conservative)

Mangnall's comments delivered to the House in this Parliamentary Debate on Safeguarding are notable (and problematic) in several regards. First, after restating the importance of the IDC's work, while specifically acknowledging the work of Latham and Champion, he appears to call out HM Government for having "no excuse," with a specific reference to its 2014 initiative on preventing sexual violence in conflict that resulted in "nothing...other than lip service." What follows is an exhibit of Level Two understanding while considering HNGOs as cultures representing certain values and agendas:

In any conflict or crisis, the sight of aid agency workers or peacekeepers should be welcome. They are the first responders, the international community's emissaries of goodwill, peace, and assistance. For those suffering from the horrors of war, famine, and disease, our NGOs and international organizations, such as the UN, should be welcome. Their arrival reflects not just

medical assistance, food aid, and peacekeeping missions, but a realization that the international community is paying attention to the plight of a people and of a conflict.

Richard Thomson MP (Scottish National Party – SNP)

At the heart of Thomson’s speech during the Parliamentary Debate is a clear awareness of the reach and scale of the safeguarding challenges facing British aid across the globe. After naming “many countries” from Liberia to Sierra Leone to the Democratic Republic of Congo among others, Thomson delivers comments that exhibit Level Four understanding of organizational culture as it is reality for some within and across the sector:

These cases involve the abuse of power and the power imbalances in the relationship between those there to deliver aid and help on the ground, and those in need of that help. It is about who has power in those situations and who does not. It is about who has control, or, in many cases, who is thought to have control over access to food, shelter, medicine, jobs, and life opportunities, and over the immediate future for people, their families, and perhaps even their wider communities.

His speech proceeds to articulate the importance of trust as a dynamic within the sector but also the impact of SEAH on the reputation of HNGOs, as he argues, is integral to the overall effectiveness of these aid agencies. In doing this, he exhibits Level Three understanding of organizational culture as it helps *make sense* of reality:

When that relationship is abused, it undermines trust not only in aid workers, who are there to assist how they can, but in the agencies and the work itself. That is not something that we should allow to stand, because that undermining of trust is hugely debilitating for all concerned – not only for the wellbeing of those in need of the aid, but for those who are exploited indirectly through that and for the aid agencies themselves, which rely on their public standing to carry out all the work they do.

The subsequent comments from Thomson aptly focus on cultural issues almost exclusively, as it relates to the espoused and lived realities for HNGOs in British aid. Perhaps most importantly, he distinguishes the different stakeholders involved with aid agencies and how these should be given a voice while focusing on Level One understanding that organizations *have* cultures:

Yes, there needs to be a culture of safeguarding within aid agencies and organizations. We are all familiar with that and need to ensure it happens. But there also needs to be a culture in which concerns can be reported and taken seriously without fear of consequence, apart from the consequences that need to arise from those concerns being reported. People need to know that their concerns, when expressed, will be taken seriously, particularly victims, but also those within aid organizations who know what is going on and perhaps do not feel that they have the power to report their concerns.”

Thomson proceeds to offer quite a concise, yet comprehensive, cultural diagnosis of the British aid sector, the HNGOs operating within its institutional landscape, and proposes requisite policy solutions while drawing an interesting British comparison to the safeguarding challenges for these agencies operating abroad:

When we deal with aid agencies, we are dealing with organizations that are by definition at the sharp end of the human experience, operating as they do in areas where civil society has perhaps broken down, whether through conflict or chaos. Many of our own domestic institutions have struggled to deal with accusations of sexual abuse, in a country with a functioning judiciary and legal system. We should not underestimate the difficulties of trying to tackle sexual abuse in situations of chaos and conflict, but that cultural change needs to happen nevertheless.

Thomson continues his speech in the House of Commons with perhaps the most conscious Level Four understanding possible of the cultural dynamics at play within HNGOs alongside a policy proposal that could impact the sector’s safeguarding efforts:

One fundamental thing that we could do that would greatly assist that would be to ensure that more women are represented in aid agencies in leadership, management, and frontline positions...to ensure balance and supervision that might not otherwise be there. I do not mean to decry the men working in aid agencies who do their very best and are not party to the abuse, but we need that balance, which could help to bring about and embed the necessary cultural change to challenge the abuse that operates in plain sight.

At the close of Thomson's speech in this Parliamentary Debate, he reminds MPs of the reputation and leadership role for the United Kingdom, its government, and the aid sector, within the global humanitarian system. Specifically, he draws attention to the UK seat on the United Nations Security Council and claims "a particularly strong leadership role in demanding reforms" of the UN, its agencies, and a culture of internal and external accountability there.

Stephen Doughty MP (Labour)

Perhaps it is because he mentions his previous employment in the British aid sector, but the unique perspectives of Doughty offered in this debate, as a former Oxfam and World Vision employee, provide varying degrees of conscious understanding of the cultural dynamics at play in HNGOs. As such, he offers perhaps the most damning and comprehensively conscious Level Four-understanding of organizational culture as it relates to this safeguarding context at the heart of the Parliamentary Debate:

Consistent attention to this issue is absolutely crucial, because as we have heard today, simply investigating and responding in a reactive way to each incident in an isolated fashion is not, and will never be, good enough. I regret to say that these issues have been and are systemic, and not just in the aid sector, among international aid agencies, or among private sector contractors working in international development or peacekeeping. They are systemic in all contexts where vulnerable people exist and, crucially, where there are power imbalances, not least gender-based

power imbalances, imbalances that exist between donors and recipients, or those that exist between so-called protectors and the people they are supposed to be protecting.

Doughty continues to frame the topic of the debate within the broader institutional landscape of society, by reinforcing the Level Two understanding that to a certain extent, organizations *are* cultures whether in the United Kingdom or around the world:

...we have to recognize that predators and abusers actively seek out the vulnerable, and usually manipulate and take advantage of such systemic, specific power imbalances. We know this from decades of our own experiences...whether in parts of the Church, among celebrities, in sport, in the media or with looked-after children, we have seen those tactics used to find and exploit victims. It is absolutely right, as has been done, to highlight environments of conflict, extreme poverty and distress as particularly vulnerable environments with vulnerable individuals, and I have seen those myself around the world.

At the center of the Parliamentary Debate at the time, was the most recently reported Ebola scandal to hit the news and implicate multiple aid agencies working in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Doughty cited the investigative reporting by The New Humanitarian and Thomson Reuters Foundation on 29 September 2020 that uncovered 51 women who made accusations of sexual exploitation and abuse at the hands of aid workers employed by Oxfam among other HNGOs and UN agencies. Significantly, Doughty pointed out that the news reports only centered in one city, and it was “likely that the abuse was widespread.” He urged MPs to “accept that in these situations we are not getting the full picture of what has been going on.” Accordingly, Doughty admonishes part of the Oxfam response, including their involvement in the interagency misconduct disclosure scheme, that was at the heart of the sector’s change efforts to highlight perpetrators in the aftermath of the 2018 Oxfam episode in Haiti:

...I have to ask: is that working? We see these platitudes in these letters; we see these warm words. What is the reality on the ground? These examples keep happening again and again. We

asked some extremely tough questions and we will continue to do so...Oxfam also pointed out research that it was doing that has uncovered a range of aspects that prevent people from coming forward. It pointed out the issues of people not being willing to speak in certain country contexts, preferences about the way to report incidents and so on. I am not sure that needs research. A lot of it is absolute common sense and blatantly obvious to anybody who has looked at these examples. We need to see less dilly-dallying and dithering by agencies. We need to see action on the ground, and the Government need to be supporting that.

Doughty's comments here reinforce the significance of cultural dynamics at work, albeit oversimplified at times, in these power-imbalanced contexts of distributing humanitarian aid. Accordingly, it's clear that his speech highlights the necessity of achieving Level Four consciousness of understanding cultural dynamics within and around HNGOs. The question for discussion after his comments in the Parliamentary Debate seems to now be centered on *how* exactly the sector goes about achieving such an aim. As he concludes speaking, Doughty urges his fellow MPs to "accept that there is a systemic problem," insisting "we have to drive systemic and cultural change within organizations in the sector and ensure that there is prevention, not just reaction."

Analyzing the Parliamentary Debate

At the heart of this Parliamentary Debate on safeguarding in British aid, there are several relevant findings across these selected MP speeches that are supporting this analysis of Parliament as just one key institutional actor by using my proposed developmental model. As such, these remarks represent the myriad of perspectives, both lived and political, and understandings of organizational culture, both espoused and lived, that speak to the layered and complex realities surrounding the issue of "tackling the problem" of sexual exploitation, abuse, and harassment in humanitarian aid and more consciously understanding the dynamics of organizational culture at play. Questions and ideas presented ranged broadly from adopting a zero-tolerance approach to wrongdoing to technical fixes by

way of new reporting systems to the parallel role of the United Nations as one of the leading entities continuing to grapple with SEAH outside of this research environment of HNGOs. Importantly, all these comments were made during the time of slashing foreign aid budgets in Great Britain whilst demand for humanitarian aid only grows. This warrants the question of how Parliament will effectively execute its various responsibilities of HNGO oversight in the politically charged and resource-limited environment of 2023 and beyond. The 2020 Parliamentary Debate serves as the final key moment that I've identified to consider in the broader examination of events and responses surrounding the Oxfam scandal in Haiti and the requisite implications for actors to systemically consider moving forward.

The full scope of Cameron and Quinn's framework and my proposed developmental model is represented across the range of MP speakers in the November 2020 debate. However, it is apparent that the application of "how things are done" is primarily limited to the first two levels (organizations *have* culture and organizations *are* culture) or the functional approach overall. Both sociological and anthropological lenses are present in varying forms and levels of magnitude which represents well the dynamic conceptualizations that Cameron and Quinn offer us to consider this phenomenon around HNGOs. However, this begs the question of how exactly Parliament will continue executing its accountability duties as a leading G7 nation within the global humanitarian system. We know that the ongoing work of the IDC since 2018, chaired by Sarah Champion, has continued to examine, and explore the underlying dynamics around organizational culture, including, but not limited to: colonialism, racism, and misogyny, all of which have shaped the current humanitarian landscape. Even as each of these inquiries has engaged a diverse range of stakeholders and shone a spotlight on a comprehensive understanding of organizational culture and the various realities at play, the verdict is still out on Parliament's effectiveness around relevant policy change. Especially as non-UK stakeholders engage and focus on the ongoing IDC Inquiry into the Culture of the Aid Sector, this would be a timely opportunity for the United Kingdom to lead legislatively, with the input of BOND, and other British aid and

development actors, as it continues to garner the attention of humanitarian stakeholders grappling with wrongdoing and other challenges across the globe. As the underlying focus of this dissertation examines the United Kingdom context as a crucial case for the international humanitarian system relating to safeguarding, the potential for practical solutions and policy change is significant. However, it remains critical for not just one disciplinary lens or approach but the full scope of understanding organizational culture, as represented by Cameron and Quinn's model, to be present not just in the speeches from policymakers, but in the subsequent systemic shifts that are warranted for fully and consciously understanding the dynamic nature of culture around HNGOs today.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYZING THE AFTER-ACTION REPORTS

This chapter will take the chronological history presented in the last chapter and build on it through document analysis to better understand how the British aid sector conceptualizes organizational culture amidst and after wrongdoing. At the heart of this chapter, the after-action reports from the Charity Commission and the Independent Commission on Sexual Misconduct, Accountability, and Culture will serve as the two key documents for analysis. Given the various responses from across the sector, many of which include specific calls for “culture change,” this chapter examines *how* the British charity regulator, and the Independent Commission of external professional experts conceptualized the idea of culture change. This provides insights into the future of safeguarding efforts as a case for the broader operational and strategic challenges within HNGOs across the United Kingdom and the globe. Both reports identified overwhelmingly a hierarchy culture as the predominant culture type at present, and most notably, when making recommendations for how culture should change, the clear consensus to reaching a solution was a hierarchy culture again. This finding will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 but presents an interesting dilemma for HNGOs and their relevant stakeholders to consider moving forward. In short, we know that a highly prescriptive, or functional approach to organizational culture with a higher focus on internal control can often conflict in the operating contexts where humanitarian aid is needed most; increasingly complex and uncertain environments are inherently uncontrollable, and a hierarchical approach is quite incompatible as the sole and overwhelmingly dominant conceptualization.

Different Approaches to Understanding Organizational Culture

The roots of Cameron and Quinn’s Competing Values Framework acknowledge that there are both vital anthropological and sociological foundations to our understanding of organizational culture today. Whilst the British aid sector has widely espoused a sociological lens that organizations have

cultures (isolated elements which need to change after episodes of wrongdoing), the wider humanitarian system and various related actors have tended to embody an anthropological claim that organizations are cultures (the structures and systems of humanitarianism perpetuate power imbalances that need fixing). In parallel to this functional approach, it is necessary to carry on further and recognize the semiotic approach to organizational culture that exists from both anthropological and sociological foundations used to 'make sense' of reality to help frame the anthropological argument that culture is (ultimately) reality, albeit invisible or unconscious yet in need of being brought to the forefront of daily operational and strategic decisions.

All too often, as outlined in this chapter's analysis of these after-action reports especially, the tendency is to respond almost exclusively from a functional or transactional approach to organizational culture and attempts to change accordingly. With several notable exceptions made by the Independent Commission, a concerning gap between espousing change and living action here is real. It's not an either-or reality when considering the impact of culture in episodes of wrongdoing but instead, I would argue, a both-and reality that is critical for moving the system forward effectively with all the underlying dynamics brought to the surface and informing a radically different humanitarian system in a continually changed world.

Utilizing Culture Types to Understand Organizational Wrongdoing

By using the four cultures typified by Cameron and Quinn: (1) hierarchy, (2) clan, (3) adhocracy, and (4) market, a series of relevant words from their Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (OCAI) were pulled to form the coding scheme for analyzing both documents. Within the framework, a series of relevant words were identified in different variations and forms, ranging for example from the key themes of accountability, safeguarding, and culture to the relevant technical and administrative phrases of reporting, policies, and procedures. Accordingly, there are several elements to observe in both documents as the actors aim to make sense of the Oxfam scandal and how the organizational

culture is to change to prevent future wrongdoing. In the process, deeper dynamics of power and representation are noticeably worthy of additional discussion in Chapter 5.

<p>CLAN</p> <p>A very friendly place to work where people share a lot of themselves. It is like an extended family. The leaders, or head of the organization, are considered to be mentors and, maybe even, parent figures. The organization is held together by loyalty or tradition. Commitment is high. The organization emphasizes the long-term benefit of human resource development and attaches great importance to cohesion and morale. Success is defined in terms of sensitivity to customers and concern for people. The organization places a premium on teamwork, participation, and consensus.</p>	<p>ADHOCRACY</p> <p>A dynamic, entrepreneurial, and creative place to work. People stick their necks out and take risks. The leaders are considered to be innovators and risk takers. The glue that holds the organization together is commitment to experimentation and innovation. The emphasis is on being on the leading edge. The organization's long-term emphasis is on growth and acquiring new resources. Success means gaining unique and new products or services. Being a product or service leader is important. The organization encourages individual initiative and freedom.</p>
<p>HIERARCHY</p> <p>A very formalized and structured place to work. Procedures govern what people do. The leaders pride themselves on being good coordinators and organizers, who are efficiency minded. Maintaining a smoothly running organization is most critical. Formal rules and policies hold the organization together. The long-term concern is on stability and performance with efficient, smooth operations. Success is defined in terms of dependable delivery, smooth scheduling, and low cost. The management of employees is concerned with secure employment and predictability.</p>	<p>MARKET</p> <p>A results-oriented organization. The major concern is getting the job done. People are competitive and goal oriented. The leaders are hard drivers, producers, and competitors. They are tough and demanding. The glue that holds the organization together is an emphasis on winning. Reputation and success are common concerns. The long-term focus is on competitive actions and achievement of measurable goals and targets. Success is defined in terms of market share and penetration. Competitive pricing and market leadership are important. The organizational style is hard-driving competitiveness.</p>

Table 1

Organizational Culture Types from Cameron and Quinn (2010)

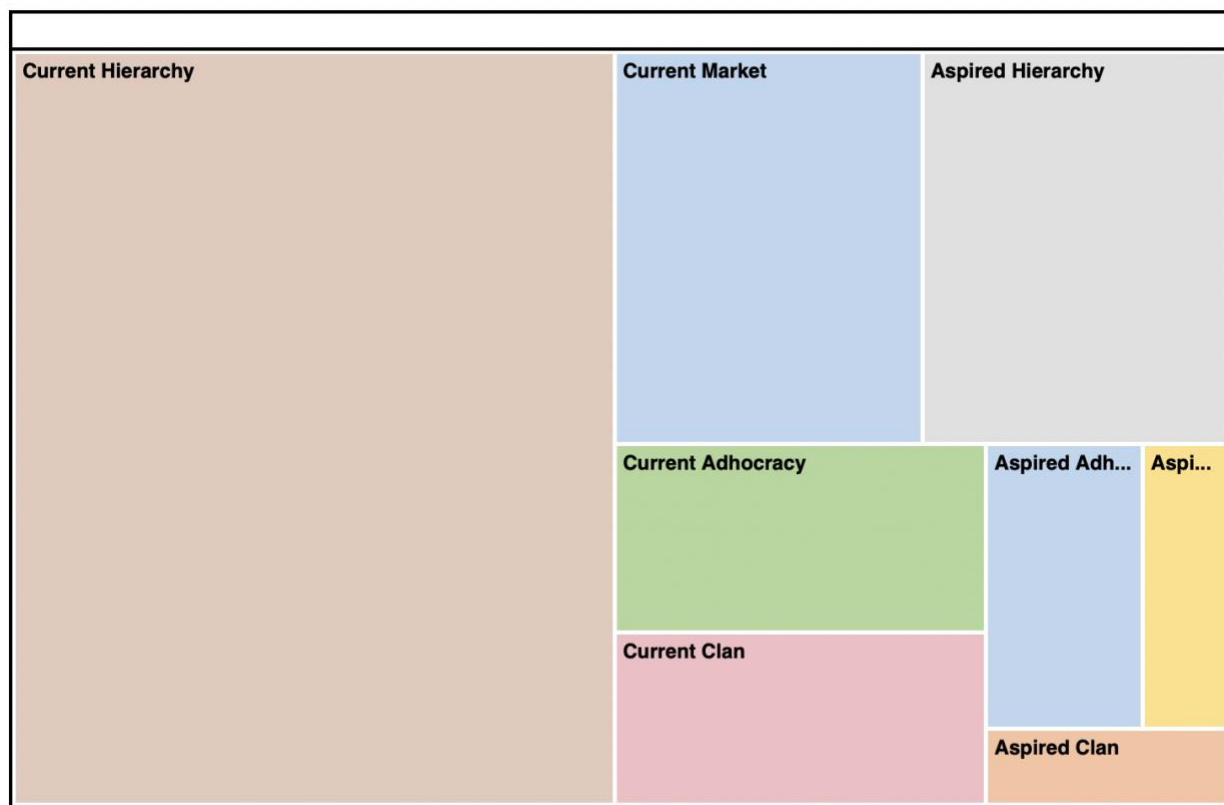


Figure 4

Coding Organizational Culture Types by Charity Commission

As represented by the chart above, the Charity Commission makes an overwhelming number of references to attributes and factors that comprise a hierarchy culture. When we consider any aspirational statements toward changing culture for the future, it is here where perhaps the most telling finding exists. After reviewing the final inquiry report, the Commission is recommending even further, that behaviors and attributes from a *hierarchy culture* be implemented. While the Commission has identified the present reality of organizational culture as hierarchical in scope and is calling for “culture change,” it simultaneously supports even more hierarchical realities in the future. This is highly problematic for HNGOs moving forward as they’re held to certain cultural expectations that are clearly contradictory and misinformed vis a vis the Charity Commission for England and Wales.

Amidst the varied references to different culture types around Oxfam, the sheer number of additional culture types mentioned by the Charity Commission is overwhelming and significant to the central premise of this study. While Chapter 2 acknowledged the many foundations from which organizational culture is conceptualized and studied, the lack of consensus in the literature is notable and evidenced here in the Charity Commission inquiry report through the broad and numerous descriptions of different cultures within and around Oxfam:

- **“Culture of Impunity”**
- A **‘work hard play hard’** environment (referring to Haiti)
- There was a **“bullying culture”** in-country
- **Culture of openness and learning** (need to promote)
- Holding female only meetings when female senior staff and trustees visited overseas locations to encourage a **culture of speaking out**
- (there is not) a universal **culture of assessing management performance** in terms of behaviour and adherence to organization values and consequently there is not a link between behaviour/conduct and performance rating.”
- the extent to which holding people to account is something that doesn’t always happen in practice, and this is perceived to play a part in the degree to which appropriate sanctions are or are not applied in cases of misconduct which in turn is linked to a **culture of tolerance**.
 - a **culture of tolerance** is likely to put victims off speaking up in the first place
 - A **culture of tolerating poor behaviour** existed in Oxfam in Haiti at the time.
- **Culture on safeguarding**
- **HR culture**, policies and practice
- There were early warning signs of this from 2010; ultimately some individuals took advantage both of the charity’s presence in Haiti and the **culture of poor accountability** that existed.

- An effective **culture of keeping people safe** identifies, deters and tackles behaviors which minimize or ignore harm to people and cover up or downplay failures.
- an **institutional culture that privileged and protected certain people and practices**.

This data presents an operational challenge for the Charity Commission as it seeks to regulate not only HNGOs but other charity organizations. Specifically, the Commission's findings are predominately considered through the functional approach to organizational culture and fail to reflect the nuanced complexities that embody the semiotic approach to this phenomenon. In short, the diversity of culture types presented above by the Commission, while it reflects the literature, ends up diluting the pursuit of consciously understanding the breadth and depth of cultural dynamics in HNGOs like Oxfam.

The Charity Commission Investigates

Prior to the opening of this Statutory Inquiry, the Commission formally engaged with Oxfam in November 2017 following concerns made public about numerous Oxfam investigations about safeguarding allegations involving senior staff. That engagement resulted in Oxfam agreeing on an action plan due to be completed by March 2018 to address weaknesses identified by the Commission in its safeguarding governance. Events were overtaken when the abuse allegations from Haiti staff became front-page news in the Times of London. The allegations claimed that, in 2010, Oxfam staff had sex with prostitutes, some of whom may have been underage. Additional allegations were made about Oxfam's Country Director in Haiti, including that he had been allowed to resign. Subsequently, a different allegation arose about the conduct of Oxfam staff in the Philippines in 2013. This also alleged sexual misconduct. As a result, on 12 February 2018, the Commission opened a Statutory Inquiry into the organization as a registered charity in England. The purpose of the Commission's Inquiry was to examine the charity's governance, including leadership and culture of safeguarding matters, and their management, policies, and practices. The Inquiry would be conducted in two parts. Part 1 covered Oxfam's handling in 2010/11 of the allegations about Oxfam staff in Haiti. Part 2 covered Oxfam wider

approach to safeguarding, historically and currently. To inform the work for Part 2, the Inquiry supervised an external review and assessment of Oxfam GB's approach to safeguarding and people protection matters. Ultimately, the Inquiry concluded with the Charity Commission's publication of the 143-page report to the public on 11 June 2019.

The Remit of the 2018 Charity Commission Inquiry into Oxfam

The Commission discussed the initial scope of its inquiry "to examine the charity's governance (including leadership and culture), its management and its policies and practices with regard to safeguarding, in the context of the applicable law, good practice and its obligations as a charity, both generally and particularly in relation to (1) its response, general handling and disclosure to the Commission, statutory funders and other key donors, agencies and stakeholders in relation to serious safeguarding incidents which have taken place since 2011 including its Haiti program; (2) its responsibility to provide a safe environment for its beneficiaries, staff and other charity workers in the delivery of its overseas programs and generally; (3) maintaining its reputation as a major aid charity which can be entrusted with international, governmental and public support and the confidence of its beneficiaries, staff and volunteers.

After analyzing the Final Statutory Inquiry Report from the Charity Commission, the clear and underlying assumption is that new policies, procedures, and senior positional leadership roles are the answer to "tackling the problem" of safeguarding against wrongdoing. Even further, the Commission implies that if Oxfam had enacted said safeguarding infrastructure, as they were planning but failed to do before 2018, then these positions would have helped prevent the Haiti episode from taking place, hitting the news, and causing the reputational damage that it did to Oxfam and the humanitarian world more broadly (p. 92). The irony is that on the same page of the final report, the Commission chastises Oxfam's organizational response as reactive and the organization did not plan enough time to be strategic enough in their prevention efforts of sexual exploitation, abuse, and harassment (SEAH). This

document analysis supports previous findings that many British aid actors espouse an understanding of organizational culture that is functional in approach (Level One: organizations have cultures or Level Two: organizations are culture) and can accordingly be ‘fixed’ with technical prescriptions that, as a result, largely fail to address the deeper and underlying issues from a semiotic approach. This lack of a developed and conscious understanding of organizational culture, as represented in my proposed developmental model, is problematic if HNGOs, and the humanitarian world more broadly, are to effectively respond to this and future systemic challenges.

The Language of Culture used by the Charity Commission

From the beginning of the inquiry findings, it is already clear that the Charity Commission is focusing on the action plan “to address weaknesses...in its safeguarding governance charity” (p. 8). In their report, the Commission makes nearly ten times more references to policy and policies than values. Despite having a remit (Charity Commission 2018) to focus on the “leadership and culture” of the safeguarding functions at Oxfam, the number of references to organizational culture and culture change are in the single figures while reporting and reported are in the triple digits. Notably, the first designated subsection to culture in the inquiry report doesn’t come until page 96 of a 142-page document. While the Commission appears to espouse the need for “culture change” and addressing leadership issues, similarly, the focus of the report – and by association, their emphasis in their regulatory role – appears to be overwhelmingly technical and technocratic in their proposal of recommendations and key findings. This suggests a Level One and Level Two understanding of organizational culture that largely emphasizes surface-level and rational changes as opposed to the more advanced conceptualizations that would exhibit a fuller consciousness of different cultural realities and underlying dynamics at play in the pursuit of systems solutions.

What is noticeably missing from the framing of the Commission’s work and ultimately their final inquiry report is a real contestation of power. Despite making limited references to “abuse of power,”

this represents a major gap in the analytical depth of the report because the humanitarian system is suffused with unequal power relations and warrants much deeper explanation and understanding. Running parallel to my four-phase developmental model, previously presented in Chapter 3, is the reality that certain institutional decisions are made to either push towards/against power – “When people manage to see the institutionalized power enshrouding them, name it, and commence contesting it – or when they stumble into challenges to the order – institutionalized power fights back more or less automatically.” (Jupilee & Caporoso, p. 40) Across the array of actors in the British aid sector and humanitarian system, power is constantly contested and manifested during and after organizational wrongdoing. This is especially poignant as how we understand a culture clearly influences why we espouse certain “solutions” or “approaches” to a whole host of institutional decisions – from choosing how to ‘tackle’ the problem to the internal safeguarding infrastructure within an HNGO to who is ultimately hired into positions of authority either at the senior leadership or board levels of these institutions at the heart of humanitarian aid today.

The Commission’s Claims on Organizational Culture

To categorize sections of the report under four distinct categories, I conducted analysis at the sentence level to examine the approach from the Charity Commission in its final Statutory Inquiry report to review the leadership and culture around Oxfam amidst the Haiti scandal. As discussed previously, these four types from Cameron and Quinn’s Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument are not exhaustive of the possible conceptualizations that exist; however, they accurately reflect the breadth and depth of focus and values for organizations today.

Clan. In the preliminary discussion of their inquiry’s scope, the Commission outlines one of its aims to examine Oxfam’s governance (including leadership and culture) with four different areas of emphasis, including their “responsibility to provide a safe environment for its beneficiaries, staff, and other charity workers in the delivery of its overseas programmes and generally” (p. 11). This clear Clan

cultural focus on sensitivity and concern for people across Oxfam's operation by the Commission acknowledges one of the hallmarks of HNGOs today; as a workplace that "emphasizes the long-term benefit of human resource development" (Cameron & Quinn, p. 75) and organization that is responsive to the world's most vulnerable people as well as its employees who work to achieve its mission. In its first summary finding around "early warnings and the extent of the problem," the Commission acknowledges issues around the Oxfam presence in Haiti with "high turnover of management and a stressful environment [that] contributed to lack of unity in the teams. Addressing concerns about staff wellbeing amongst the 550 staff was assessed as a major ongoing challenge" (p. 20). Ultimately, the Commission continues by citing the risk posed by the "lack of leadership and operational staff due to high staff turnover" among other factors including the monitoring responsibilities left with the executive. In this instance, we can see the interconnectedness of these culture types as the Clan approach here prioritizes the Hierarchy lens as well as it assigns monitoring responsibilities to senior leaders in this instance. Finally, "on 12 February 2018, the former Director of International Programme resigned from her current post, ending her statement by saying, 'I am desperately sorry for the harm and distress that this has caused to Oxfam's supporters, the wider development sector and, most of all, the vulnerable people who trusted us'" (p. 56). This captures the essence of the Clan culture type giving focus to the organization's impact on its people and the central principle of humanitarianism to *do no harm*.

Hierarchy. As the most prominent culture type identified throughout the report, it's especially necessary to examine examples of how the Commission understood the underlying problems at Oxfam through this conceptualization. To begin, in their summary finding around the initial resignations of Oxfam senior officials, a key point made in the Inquiry Report involves the lack of consistency in disciplinary processes. As the culture type values procedures and process improvement, it is understandably highlighted as an area of concern: "Ultimately, the result of the decisions and different

approach led to unequal treatment of other staff and meant that Oxfam GB did not apply its disciplinary processes, policies, and procedures consistently, and there do not appear to be sufficient reasons for doing so. This was mismanagement in the administration of the charity” (p. 38). As one of the most significant results of the Inquiry, given the remit and accountability mechanisms from the Charity Commission, the report warned the action “exposed the charity to...risk [about] senior staff [being] treated more leniently.” They continued citing the potential for the “approach could have jeopardized the handling of other disciplinary cases both at the time and been seen as setting a precedent or problem for dealing with future incidents” (p. 38).

Furthermore, when discussing the organizational response from Oxfam to the scandal, “[they] recognised that it needed to bolster its organisational culture, including by taking a stronger stance on the need to embed Oxfam’s code of conduct and not be tolerant of weak controls in emergency situations” (p. 80). From here, the hierarchy culture type is clearly preferred as the Commission carries on citing example after example involving a lack of the requisite controls, policies, and procedures necessary to have prevented such organizational wrongdoing in the first place.

Perhaps most clearly, when the inquiry cites a 2017 decision by Oxfam to undergo an externally led review of its “culture, HR policies and practice,” it continues to explain the two central theme outcomes plainly via its interim report: “...a pattern where document procedures, policies and practices are not consistently followed, through what appears to be a lack of accountability and a culture where the organisation’s mission and values are not sufficiently embedded in the day to day actions and behaviours within the organisation to reinforce the expected ways of working in line with the code of conduct” (p. 96). When given the opportunity to speak directly to the organizational culture of this HNGO, the hierarchical reality of policies and procedures rings loudly in the report’s description.

Market. In the preliminary discussion of their inquiry’s scope, the Commission outlines one of the aims of examining Oxfam’s governance (including leadership and culture) with four different areas

of emphasis, including as the HNGO sought to maintain “its reputation as a major aid charity which can be entrusted with international, governmental and public support and the confidence of its beneficiaries, staff, and volunteers” (p. 11). This clear market focus on reputation management by the Charity Commission acknowledges one of the many facets of a modern HNGO but also presents a challenge (or contradiction) for regulatory actors when many critics of the British aid sector highlight Oxfam’s failings as just that – trying to protect its reputation, no matter the cost or the method when found originally to be lacking transparency in 2004 as a registered U.K. charity. Another facet of the inquiry report, when acknowledging the 2011 Code of Conduct for employees, singles out their agreement that they should “seek to ensure that my sexual conduct does not bring Oxfam GB into ill-repute” (p. 25). After Oxfam staff were “aware of the Country Director’s use of prostitutes at his Oxfam GB residence, senior members of staff at Oxfam GB HQ...were informed” and several, as outlined in the inquiry report, recorded that while his activities were “discreet,” they agreed that “he had to leave Oxfam GB, either by resigning and leaving immediately or up to two months later.” The solution would be later considered by the Head of Internal Audit to be “the best option to manage our reputational risk” (p. 33). When the Inquiry Report outlines Oxfam’s disclosure and external reporting of the 2011 allegations and incidents in Section XI, Commissioners point out the requirements from DFID as recipients of nearly 21M pounds in direct income during the 2017/2018 financial year. “[Oxfam] had to make sure that their decision would not result in them being subject to any legal challenge or putting the charity, its reputation, assets or beneficiaries at undue risk” (p. 67).

Adhocracy. Overall, it is notable that throughout this report, when the Commission discusses *risk*, it is almost exclusively from a mitigation perspective, whether about reputation or financial security, and never in the spirit of innovation or growth. This supports the overwhelming presence of control and managing mechanisms through the hierarchy culture type which is the dominant conceptualization discussed throughout. The Commission established that Oxfam GB’s management had

intended to commission a strategic safeguarding review in 2015 and that they had informed TAFG, the trustee sub-committee of the Council, of its intent. Whilst the Council minutes in March 2015 record that “the trustees were *absolutely committed* to supporting an even more robust approach” on safeguarding, a strategic review did not take place in 2015” (p. 89). As the Commission detailed Oxfam’s organization, management, and resourcing of safeguarding, notably, it acknowledged the shortcomings of the pre-Haiti operation: ‘...the safeguarding team was not fulfilling its intended purpose or potential in and before 2017. During its regulatory engagement in 2017, the Commission found that Oxfam GB’s organizational approach to safeguarding and the limited resources of the safeguarding team meant that it was almost exclusively occupied in undertaking reactive safeguarding case work with very little time dedicated to proactive strategic, thematic, or preventative work” (p. 92). Notably, in the conclusions of the report, the Commission offers a poignant reminder for not only those who manage and work at HNGOs, but those of us who study and research them as well: “Charities must never lose sight of why they exist and must demonstrate how their charitable purpose drives everything they do, and most especially how they respond when things go wrong” (p. 134).

The Independent Commission on Sexual Misconduct, Accountability & Culture

In the week after the February 2018 Times of London report, Oxfam announced in a statement that it would create an independent commission to review itself, with a focus on its practices and culture (Reuters, 2018). Different from the British charity regulator, the Independent Commission on Sexual Misconduct, Accountability, and Culture membership comprises “a group of international experts from business, government, and civil society” who were charged “to look into all aspects of Oxfam’s culture, policies, and practices related to safeguarding” (Independent Commission on Sexual Abuse, Exploitation, and Culture, 2019). As the Commission’s website (2019) suggests, “with a commitment and a keen focus on implementation, Oxfam has the potential to become a voice of leadership in the wider sector.” As such, with the broader membership here from outside both the United Kingdom and the

humanitarian aid sector, the IC report is especially poignant to examine more closely as it made sense of the Oxfam scandal, considers organizational culture from its own distinct posture, and offers its own recommendations for change.

The Remit of the 2019 Independent Commission (IC) Report

In their final 74-page report released in June 2019, “Committing to change, protecting people. Toward a more accountable Oxfam,” the IC members not only outlined the results of their year-long inquiry but offered specific recommendations for culture change, as outlined in their original remit. This document analysis supports previous findings acknowledged by way of the Charity Commission’s final inquiry report but builds on the level of understanding of organizational culture among British aid actors. In short, this collective of professional experts comprising the Independent Commission, while they conceptualize much through the hierarchy culture type offered by Cameron and Quinn, they expand the level of consciousness around organizational culture to recognize and offer practical recommendations around the largely unrecognized dynamics of power within and across the humanitarian world. Accordingly, the perspectives offered in this IC report tend to also be functional in approach (Level One: organizations have cultures or Level Two: organizations are culture) but offer several semiotic examples of Level Three: culture makes sense of reality and Level Four: culture is reality). By simply expanding the discussion from the relatively narrow focus offered by the Charity Commission, the IC seems to be varied in its understanding of organizational culture but ably informed on the reality of the many forms, abuses, and dynamics of power that continue to manifest themselves as organizational wrongdoing today.

The Language of Culture from the Independent Commission (IC)

In their final inquiry report, several relevant findings are important to consider as the humanitarian world beyond the United Kingdom considers organizational wrongdoing like the Oxfam scandal and its implications. Quite different from the Charity Commission, the IC begins its report, “...at

the heart of the issue is how power is managed and trust earned and kept” (IC, p. 3). First, the IC established a significant focus on the functional aspects of responding to wrongdoing. Whilst “change” appears prominently throughout the report, the prevalence of “policy” and “policies” among other transactional artifacts of culture are notable. This again reflects a Level One and Level Two understanding of organizational culture. An important distinction is the perspectives of professionals from across sectors and industries beyond the British humanitarian and development space. Comparatively to the statutory inquiry report brought forth by civil servants at the Charity Commission, this collective of individuals, in theory, should be able to cast a wider net for their scope as they’re not beholden to a relatively narrow remit like the Charity Law of the United Kingdom. This will set the stage for the forthcoming conclusions, alongside specific recommendations for practice, as we consider this Oxfam case further into Chapter 5.

The Independent Commission’s Claims on Organizational Culture

The final IC Report shows very similar ideas to the Charity Commission’s understanding of certain culture types. Notably, the overwhelming culture type that IC members referred to was *hierarchy culture* as they considered the various behaviors within and around Oxfam. When moving beyond diagnosing the culture and into recommending changes accordingly, the consensus from commissioners again resorted to identifying with *hierarchy culture* elements as the direction for a changed Oxfam. The one noticeable exception is the inclusion of several often misunderstood or even forgotten organizational dynamics like power, colonialism, misogyny and more. Like the analysis conducted after the Charity Commission’s Final Inquiry Report, the four culture types are utilized here to better understand how this Independent Commission conceptualizes organizational culture around Oxfam. Various examples of relevant passages typify the cultural distinctiveness throughout the final report below.

Clan. From the title of the IC's report alone, "Committing to Change, Protecting People," there is a clear thread that aligns with a clan culture type often valuing commitment and sensitivity to people across the ranks as signs of success. Similarly, in the framing of the IC's work, their references to the "tremendous will" and "commitment to reform" (p. 3) represent the consensus that is typically prized in a clan culture approach to behaviors and norms at an HNGO like Oxfam. An interesting finding comes when the IC makes governance structure reform recommendations that seemingly acknowledge the preexisting clan culture approach driven by consensus, oftentimes with a large group of people such as the Oxfam board, and acknowledges the need for "a smaller, more independent board empowered to drive change" (p. 39) perhaps to move towards a more adhocracy-driven approach that is focused dynamically on a future of creativity and innovation.

Hierarchy. When the IC begins the Executive Summary by referring to the "important steps" Oxfam has taken since the scandal became public in February 2018, a striking note is already made. The first examples of achievements mentioned by the IC include "new...policies, a standard operating procedure, and an...agreement" (p. 3) for the safeguarding infrastructure across the Oxfam confederation. This typifies a hierarchy culture approach to prioritizing certain changes necessary after organizational wrongdoing occurs. Further on in the report, the IC cites a 2018 Humanitarian Quality Assurance Initiative (HQAI) audit to acknowledge Oxfam's weak accountability systems, namely how they managed complaints mechanisms and documented feedback. They continue by stating the "organizational culture around complaints is variable" across the Oxfam confederation and citing concerns for proper processes and efficiency which are hallmarks of the hierarchy culture type. In Part Four of the IC's Recommendations to "operationalize zero tolerance," they adopt a hierarchy lens to embedding this aspect of culture change across Oxfam including developing disciplinary standards and guidelines, establishing disciplinary action committees, and amending the code of conduct. Additionally, the IC recommends support of Oxfam partners by "develop[ing] a prioritized and structured plan to

evaluate, benchmark, and build partners' capacity in safeguarding prevention and response systems..." (p. 45) which seemingly focuses the lens of culture change on policy fixes as a solution. Broadly speaking, it is quite notable throughout the document that whenever the IC refers to culture, how many times it is often followed by policies and procedures, a classic hallmark of this hierarchy type. Unlike its counterparts at the Charity Commission, the IC then goes further and does aim to operationalize the needed actions around power imbalances, inequity, and abuse, that most understanding culture predominately through hierarchy would cease to understand or actualize (p. 10).

Market. In one of its many recommendations, the IC suggests on page 45 to amend the employee code of conduct policy to add: "I recognize that as an Oxfam staff member, I am representing the organization at all times, whether or not I am undertaking official Oxfam duties, including outside of working hours. I commit to protecting the best interests and needs of the communities I serve and of my colleagues, *in the interests of the organization and its reputation*, by adhering to the highest standards of conduct." This reputational focus is a key tenet of a market culture type. In this instance, it's an interesting shift from a market approach to operationalizing another hierarchy tactic. The IC continues with another recommendation to focus accountability on "program participants – not donors, the media, or its organizational reputation" (p. 45) as the driving force for Oxfam's safeguarding system in the field. The question here is how an HNGO effectively in practice balances the reputational risk concerns, given the overwhelming focus from the hierarchy culture type, with the reality of needing to protect people and programs.

Adhocracy. Quite like the Charity Commission's approach to their own inquiry report, the references to *risk* in this context is almost exclusively related to reputational hazards or physical danger in the forms of abuse and exploitation that were at the heart of the Oxfam scandal. This is quite different from any kind of language used by the IC to discuss any sort of dynamic or entrepreneurial nature of the organizational culture as it relates to safeguarding. Again, this is a clear sign of the

overwhelming presence of control and managing mechanisms through the hierarchy culture type which is the dominant conceptualization discussed throughout these recommendations.

The Presence of Power Named by the Independent Commission (IC)

As previously discussed, a clear and obvious distinction between the two after-action reports is where references to power are named in both documents, the Charity Commission simply leaves it there whereas the IC expounds considerably further and frames it as such key to the root causes and pursuit of solutions. From the dozens of power references throughout the document ranging from types of abuse to the different dynamics to the hidden structures and forms, the scope of understanding is already broadened for those aiming to wrap their heads around the notion of how culture and wrongdoing are interconnected. This observation begins to offer clearer evidence as to the importance of a fully conscious understanding of organizational culture to deliver effective policy results for ultimately successful safeguarding efforts across the HNGO sector. The IC plainly outlines the operating reality in which organizational wrongdoing takes place today: “Sexual exploitation and abuse are about power and control. They are egregious manipulations of power, trust, and vulnerabilities to reap monetary, social, political, or sexual benefit from the sexual exploitation of another. The challenge is societal and confronts all actors in the sector. Recognizing that sexual exploitation and abuse take place at all levels, the challenge that Oxfam faces is fundamentally rooted in how formal and informal power is managed and trust earned and kept in all of its relationships” (p. 12).

By locating the power dynamics of the sector within the broader societal contexts, practitioners and policymakers alike can see firsthand the necessity of placing these dynamics up close for conscious examination as they are at the foundation of our institutional lives today. The research conducted by the IC takes it a step further: “...demonstrat[ing] that sexual exploitation and abuse in Oxfam are symptoms of several power abuses, manifested in varying degrees as elitism, racism, colonial behavior, sexism, and patriarchy, all of which have given rise to cases of toxic work environments in which safeguarding is

compromised, policies and procedures cannot be implemented robustly, and accountability thus falters. For this reason, Oxfam systems and processes are important but not sufficient.

Ultimately, the clear choice by actors across the British aid sector and the humanitarian system is to not whether they keep strengthening the safeguarding infrastructure, which has largely blossomed since the Oxfam scandal became public in 2018, but also broaden its framing of the challenge beyond the rational notions of “tackling SEAH” to digging deep into the irrational myriad of root causes at the heart of the IC’s report here. As they rightly point out on page 24, “...the crisis also opened up a space for more sincere dialogue around power and accountability in the organization, which can lead to positive organizational change” (Independent Commission on Sexual Abuse, Exploitation, and Culture, 2019). In the final chapter, this exact aim will underpin a series of conclusions, implications, and recommendations for consideration by practitioners and policymakers alike.

CHAPTER FIVE

FROM NAMING TO CLAIMING A NEW HUMANITARIAN REALITY

In this concluding chapter, I will ask the question *so what?* or *what now?* as we consider more than five years of efforts across the British aid sector and wider humanitarian world to make sense of wrongdoing and safeguard itself from the deeper and more conscious scrutiny needed for system-shifting change. Here, we have seen that the sector's post-Haiti institutional responses around change are largely technical which appears to be deflecting from the fully conscious cultural understanding necessary for transforming the humanitarian world. The pressing challenge of the moment for the sector, as described by Mitchell et. al (2020) is that "a lack of critical self-awareness and an underemphasis on assessing outcomes limit the ability of organizations to learn and improve over time" (p. 36). This final chapter will incorporate a discussion of this and related findings as it pertains to the various implications for aid actors and the future of HNGOs at the forefront of these challenges. Additionally, recommendations for practitioners and policymakers will be explained. Ultimately, if we return to the start of this study and its central rationale after an ongoing cycle of organizational wrongdoing and public outcry for change that follows, the policy implications are plainly at the feet of oversight and regulatory actors like Parliament and the Charity Commission in the evolving humanitarian future. However, other dynamics and actors within and across the system are important to consider for the success of these efforts.

Summary of results

Beginning with the three key moments identified and analyzed in Chapter 3, the empirical support for a more conscious understanding of organizational culture is clear, especially if the sector is to move beyond the cycle of scandal and reactive response. From the immediate reactions of actors to the February 2018 news reports in the Times of London about the Oxfam scandal to the British Government's Safeguarding Summit in October 2018 to just a few years later in the Parliamentary

Debate in November 2020, there is a consistent thread throughout each moment that exhibits the fierce urgency to “tackle” the problem of SEAH with primarily technical fixes. This was all too often done at the expense of giving needed attention to recognizing the broader, mostly unconscious, and invisible cultural dynamics at play within HNGOs. Members of Parliament and other government officials pronounced consistent calls for culture change in the aftermath of the Times reporting, often with little detail or concrete explanation for achieving such. The public interruption onstage at the Safeguarding Summit between a whistleblowing former employee in the sector and the UK Government’s Secretary of State for International Development was a visual display of the competing conceptualizations of culture at work across the sector; on the one hand an underdeveloped understanding insisting on technical fixes and those more consciously aware views on the need for deep cultural awareness as a foundation for a changed future.

Finally, in the first real test of the safeguarding infrastructure built for a post-Haiti context for HNGOs, the Parliamentary Debate of 2020 contained largely the same underdeveloped understandings with the occasional “naming and claiming” of the full reality of what was happening and yet noticeably absent of any deeper policy reforms to achieve concrete systems change. While the issues of colonialism, sexism, and racism, among others, have been widely mentioned by British aid actors, the policy work of consciously understanding, diagnosing, and changing the cultural dynamics around HNGOs remains largely incomplete. In this vein, it is poignant to acknowledge the IDC in Parliament as a uniquely positioned actor for this organizational consciousness-raising campaign necessary for the rest of the British aid sector.

As we move to the document analysis of key after-action reports produced by the sector in the aftermath of the Oxfam scandal, the framework of Cameron & Quinn is essential to understanding how these actors consider the challenges at hand and *what* they see should come next. The prevailing culture type acknowledged and preferred in both reports was *hierarchy* as both entities considered the various

behaviors within and around Oxfam at the time of 2011 and those preferred in the future. This finding is particularly interesting because hierarchy was overwhelmingly dominant in the text of these inquiry and commission reports, and when actors shifted to how to change the culture, they stayed in the same type. Attributes and behaviors like control, monitoring, and a focus on internal stability are at the heart of this culture type and not only maintain the status quo but further reinforce itself into the future. In light of this dominant culture type, practitioners and policymakers alike should be able to see the connecting thread of hierarchy amidst the underlying currents of racism, sexism, misogyny, and heteronormativity despite how much they might be able to be seen up close. In the social context that is the humanitarian world in 2023, reflecting on the use and forms of power throughout its ranks, it remains highly questionable if this is the best approach by regulators and others to prescribe the most effective and equitable changes needed for a more conscious understanding of both invisible and visible dynamics to culture across HNGOs today.

Implications for the study of HNGOs

Several critical elements have emerged, in light of this study, and warrant a deeper examination of this intersection of humanitarian and organizational behavior as research continues within the world of HNGOs. First, as we considered the relevant literature in Chapter 2 around organizational wrongdoing, both broadly and specific to the humanitarian system, the study has innovated by looking at the responses, not just the problem or scandal itself, or what antecedents caused the wrongdoing. Within the context of humanitarian scholarship, this study provides a distinct analysis of certain responses to the Haiti scandal while considering the organizational development implications for the sector and system at large. Additionally, it also offers practitioners and policymakers a very recent and prominent case to understand *how* we conceptualize organizational culture as a critically important exercise for HNGOs like Oxfam to maintain their legitimacy, effectiveness, and value in the eyes of the many publics surrounding them today. Ultimately, as the study's findings support, all too often we

espouse a different culture than what really exists and the dangers of this are significant considering today's increasingly power-sensitive and justice-focused operating environment for HNGOs. Given this unique perspective, it is worth noting that additional scholarship is necessary to provide a deeper and more conscious understanding of this organizational phenomenon at the heart of this study. Moving forward, additional research would be warranted beyond the British aid actors identified here and consider the understanding of HNGO board members, and executives, among others, as it relates to building on the four-phase developmental model into the future. In short, while this study sits in both literatures of humanitarianism and organizational behavior, it aims to build a more conscious bridge of understanding between both scholarly areas amidst our increasingly interconnected and interdependent world of both practice and policy.

Summary of current response

With every prominent HNGO in the system, nearly overnight after the Haiti scandal broke in the news, creating senior-level and board positions in safeguarding, and national government agencies like DFID/FCDO exponentially increasing their spending on safeguarding and prevention, it was clear that the primary responses by British aid actors have focused transactionally and predominantly a resource-dependent reaction (Beaton, LePere-Schloop, and Smith, 2021b) to “tackle” the problem of sexual exploitation, abuse, and harassment (SEAH). Whilst this has created and strengthened the much-needed infrastructure for reporting wrongdoing in these HNGOs, many for the first time, it is also clear that this is not the only way to solve the problem. In fact, this study begs the question of whether the sector's response is not only the right answer but if it's asking the right question even in the first place. Rather than just *how do we tackle abuse in the aid sector?* how could HNGOs and relevant actors, with a fuller consciousness of the cultural dynamics at work move beyond naming into claiming a new humanitarian reality centered around the all too often invisible and unnamed forces at play?

Since the Haiti scandal reported in 2018, the last five years have shown a series of ongoing events involving HNGOs and related international organizations that have been plagued with wrongdoing within and across the ranks of their employees and people affected, largely, by emergencies and conflict. From the Ebola crisis response implicating nearly every major HNGO to ongoing claims surrounding UN agencies and the World Health Organization (WHO), the work of safeguarding understandably remains at the forefront of most agendas and talking points, largely with continued calls for culture change. The crux of the matter, as supported empirically by this study, is for these institutions to discern whether the breadth and depth of dynamics at play are sufficiently and consciously named as they seek to change the organizational cultures they claim to understand while wrongdoing continues. Amidst the very few exceptions of fully conscious understanding found in this study, it is important to single out the ongoing work of the Select Committee on International Development (the IDC) and other activist collectives who have largely played important, but the often understated, role of conveners; whether it be around public hearings or witness testimonies from those with professional expertise or lived experience involving safeguarding and related topics.

Recommendations for the Charity Commission

Unfortunately, the full scope of organizational dynamics at play within HNGOs today, alongside the thousands of other registered British charities, remain insufficiently “named and claimed” by policymakers and regulators, largely at the Charity Commission. As the British regulator of charity organizations, there is surely a legitimate purpose and rationale for ensuring proper registration and legal frameworks are followed across the United Kingdom. However, in recent events including the Oxfam scandal and related inquiries, the Commission has doubled down on its remit focusing on the activity and behavior of charity *trustees* as compared to the entirety of an organization. Understandably, this creates a vacuum for effective regulation and subsequently perpetuates these suboptimal attempts at understanding and changing the cultures of these organizations that are investigated and scrutinized

only after wrongdoing is found. However, if the remit is trustee-driven, then perhaps this is where the recommendations are to begin for consideration by the Charity Commission.

Just like any effective trustee of a corporation or charity would want to spend time across the organization, whether it be speaking to employees or in the field, a trustee of an HNGO should be consciously aware up and down the organizational chart as well as physically aware of the extent of the institutional enterprise to do their job well. To be adequately informed as to what ongoing shifts and resources are needed across the HNGO, these trustees should be at the forefront of acquiring a sufficiently conscious cultural understanding of the organizations under their care. We know culture is inherently a dynamic phenomenon and this is undoubtedly the case in the life of a modern humanitarian NGO in this complex and challenging world of 2023. As a result, my recommendation to the Charity Commission would focus on embedding training and regulatory resources around organizational culture consciousness for trustees across the network of British charities, including HNGOs. With these efforts, the aim would be to enhance the Commission's remit for regulating trustee performance and effectiveness while also striving to name the often-invisible institutional threads at the heart of wrongdoing.

Conceptually speaking, the ongoing debate and dialogue across the UK charity sector around the remit and effectiveness of the Charity Commission, is notable enough to acknowledge from the beginning of these recommendations because it speaks to the central tenet of HNGO accountability today – if the national regulator has no absolute authority, then who does? Various actors have delivered proposals for change within the broader regulatory framework of the UK (Carolei, 2022) including calls for an international ombudsperson (Hilhorst et al., 2021), varying legislative changes in the UK Charity Law (Picton & Sigafos, 2021) and more. The Charity Commission sees itself “as a risk-based regulator focused on charity governance...[that] prioritizes involvement to address the highest risk of harm, for example where there are concerns that trustees have not addressed reported bullying

or harassment that is widespread and systemic within a charity, or there are concerns about governance issues or potential mismanagement” (Charity Commission, 2023). As the nation’s regulator of these multi-million-pound HNGOs among other British charities, seemingly focuses on (the highest) risk (of harm), it would seem fair to assume that considering the breadth and depth of issues ‘underneath the surface’ of these organizations that manifest abuse, bullying, and harassment, it would not only be wise and prudent but necessary to achieve its remit. There is significant value in acknowledging and consciously understanding the inter/intra organizational reality of a systemic challenge like safeguarding within the context of British humanitarian aid and foreign policy. Notable developments alongside policy and procedures have transpired since various publics have learned of the Haiti scandal. However, more is needed if the system is to effectively meet this adaptive challenge with something other than the myriad of technical solutions that have been promulgated by HNGOs and those that keep them accountable.

Understandably, any recommendations for change in the dissertation are presumably likely to receive opposition from the Commission, which has been historically strapped for the human & financial resources necessary to not only fulfill its remit from the Charity Act but the role of a modern regulator who understands the significance of a fully conscious approach to organizational development as it relates to HNGOs today. However, here too, lies an important distinctive across the British charity sector while some of the biggest humanitarian brands are registered in the UK alongside some of the smallest of community-based organizations while the Commission attempts to reach both ends of this ever-growing span of resources and reputational reach. As various proposals for international Ombud people have been discussed, the Commission should resolve the ongoing questions of application and relevance for some of these global aid agencies, while British in registration, are operating daily in some of the most far-reaching and complex environments and adding to the regulatory complexity for even trustees to be able to fully achieve their respective roles.

Recommendations for the British aid sector (and general public)

As the title of this dissertation suggests, the recurring theme of moving *towards a more conscious understanding* implies that the British aid sector and broader humanitarian system need the requisite organizational development interventions and resources to deepen and expand knowledge of the cultural realities across so many HNGOs. With a fuller awareness of system dynamics coupled with the prospect of a regulatory mandate to ensure robust maintenance and understanding of culture; this could begin to strengthen a proactive public policy approach which would be a considerable change in HNGO accountability from the Charity Commission. The implementation of this would be wisely rooted in an approach like the Tavistock Institute for Human Relations, aptly founded in 19th century United Kingdom. In practice, this recommendation would take shape by way of a structure like the HQAI (Humanitarian Quality Assurance Initiative) team of external assessors. Every 5 years, each registered HNGO (charity) across England & Wales would be required to undergo a cultural consciousness audit from external practitioners. After each audit, the HNGO would be responsible for responding in written form with an action plan of external perspectives to help facilitate corrective change. As it currently stands, the HQAI intervention has been cited as a gold standard within the sector for improving its response to the safeguarding challenges in the post-Haiti reality for HNGO scrutiny. However, this HQAI (and CHS Standard) approach has notably been void of any cultural understanding. Overall, the British aid sector could maximize this opportunity to implement this recommendation into its accountability practices involving HQAI, the Charity Commission, and other entities charged with regulating and overseeing HNGOs.

One of the most basic recommendations that can be offered from this research has to do with the power of language. The words we use in organizational life, whether about HNGOs or other entities, matter greatly. From the initial responses noted previously from various British aid actors to the after-action reports that were published on the Haiti episode and the ongoing initiatives, gatherings, and

communications across the sector; a broadening and diversification of language to effectively capture the complexity of culture in organizations, especially those in humanitarianism, is not only wise but necessary. Beyond the calls for “culture to change” that flooded the Twittersphere and British airwaves after the Haiti episode broke in the news, a deepening of public understanding around related dynamics of authority, power, race, and more is critical to fully capture the nuances that make HNGO cultures distinctive today.

Similarly, as the sector hopefully broadens its language around culture in these HNGOs, it would be wise to deepen its understanding of culture. Beyond the often-stated technical prescriptions offered post-Haiti, the creation of the safeguarding positions, policies, and procedures was much needed but could be strengthened even further by a cultural reeducation of sorts across HNGOs and the broader world of humanitarian actors who are responsible for overseeing and holding them accountable to various publics. Just as cultures are not as prescriptive as often portrayed in the business books offered in the popular press, effective leadership is much more nuanced to achieve within a complex adaptive system like humanitarianism today. Especially among the actors across humanitarian aid and emergency response, like the Charity Commission and Parliament in the United Kingdom, it would be advantageous to fully grasp and understand the spectrum of dynamics, elements, and factors at play in the cultural milieu of these organizations.

On a related note, for the broader British aid sector, the earlier discussion in Chapter 2 around competing values is significant and an important reality within and across organizational life. However, the seemingly disparate conceptualizations of culture that are represented through the proposed four-phase developmental model in Chapter 3 are just a practical example of how actors should approach these HNGOs. Culture is complex and the process of changing it is even less prescriptive than popular literature often espouses. Amidst the many efforts that are ongoing across the HNGO world at the moment from the Pledge for Change and the RINGO Project to the Humanitarian Quality Assurance

Initiative (HQAI) and the Core Humanitarian Standard (CHS) Alliance, a collective Level Four understanding of culture is critical to achieving congruence and not outright conflict as it currently stands, especially between the Charity Commission and the collective moments for systems change across humanitarianism and international development.

On another practical front, senior leaders across the HNGO sector with responsibilities in Human Resources should focus two-fold on their roles within this systems change and cultural consciousness project in the humanitarian world. First, as Lamothe et al. (2022) suggest “HR officials need to expand their understanding beyond investigation methods and reporting rules (p. 366). We know that this deepening of understanding culture won’t come overnight or expect to change if the same dominant profiles occupy positions of board and executive leadership in these HNGOs. All of this, as the sector has reexamined its origin stories it has recognized its roots in colonialism. With that recognition, the lack of considerable movement in diversifying the ranks of senior leadership is remarkable. Expanding the recruitment profiles of senior leadership positions would conceivably help expand the understanding of how cultural dynamics manifest themselves, invisibly and visibly, and subsequently need to change to evolve into the future.

Opening HNGOs to their critics

While the critique of HNGOs, especially those in humanitarian and development circles, is not a new phenomenon, both the scholarly and practical focus on the cultural dynamics of these institutions is largely underdeveloped and is a considerable opportunity to explore further for the sake of better policy and practice. The timely questions related to this study involve the interrogation of their culture but also the myriad forms of power at work within and across HNGO operations. Unsurprisingly, in the case of most prominent HNGO brands, their well-intentioned efforts, positive mission statements, charitable aims, and more, are just some of the factors leading many to find them closed to sufficient regulation and oversight needed today. As Mitchell et.al. (2020) argue, the organizational culture of many of these

aid agencies are closed and don't deal well with their critics and poses significant implications for HNGO effectiveness in the long run, if they are to consciously name and claim the competing cultural realities of the work. However, the real need exists beyond the level of opening these institutions to critique and moving into operationalizing the critical review and recommendations into sustainable systems change across humanitarianism today. Ultimately, this is where the study ends. After considering all the after-action reports, inquiries, reviews, and ongoing initiatives, more work is needed to determine when and how HNGOs, their overseers, regulators, and supporters, change their operating models, board seats, strategic plans, among other artifacts considering a more conscious cultural understanding of what beliefs and behaviors should drive their work into the future.

Aid agencies like Oxfam can be doing more by not just prescribing technical fixes here to safeguard itself away from scrutiny, and yet this continues to be the pattern for HNGOs across the sector. Instead, it would be strategic to leverage the unique context of time and current social movements that are calling for these HNGOs to refit themselves for purpose from the inside out. Whilst the subject of this dissertation focuses on how the British aid sector, as a case for the global humanitarian system, makes sense of wrongdoing within HNGOs through how it conceptualizes organizational culture, it is important to recognize this scandal began in 2011 and wasn't widely known until press reports came out in 2018. In today's humanitarian landscape, continuing to evolve and respond to a COVID-triggered series of ongoing shifts and challenges, the idea of wrongdoing is not just in the field but even more so in the everyday behaviors and leadership that make up the notion of organizational cultures in humanitarianism. As the systemic debates in the sector linger today, ranging the gamut of localization to devolving power from the Global North and more, the decades-long understanding of flying into the humanitarian hotspots of the day to distribute aid and bring relief has shifted in these pandemic times as the sector has been forced to quarantine itself into new conceptualizations of humanitarian aid to keep itself relevant in the years and decades ahead.

Meanwhile, the movements around #AidToo have moved beyond sexual exploitation, harassment, and abuse to encompass even more episodes that have centered on racism, bullying, and other behaviors from across the myriad of HNGOs. Accordingly, it is important to acknowledge while some in the sector have focused almost exclusively on PSEAH (preventing sexual exploitation, abuse, and harassment) in the safeguarding progress post-Haiti, there are still relevant and timely considerations here for all areas of organizational wrongdoing moving forward. If it's not abuse and harassment it could be bullying or corruption. In this the increasingly volatile and complex environments around humanitarian aid and emergency response, HNGOs could leverage the current evolving global and social context and reexamine everything from its culture to values to senior leadership to mission and purpose (Lamothe et. al, 2023). Considering the earlier discussions around how we can conceptualize the culture of these organizations, the sector could benefit from incorporating other perspectives and philosophies beyond the historically held focus on transactional fixes and technocratic solutions as the world becomes even more complex and in need of adaptive leadership to thrive. Additionally, while creating the safeguarding infrastructure that widely didn't exist pre-Haiti in effective detail is important, it is critical to ensure that the deepening of cultural understanding and broadening of organizational language is coupled with these developments across the sector. If not, the former would just be an exercise in appeasing technocratic desires and missing the opportunity to adaptively respond to a changing and complexified humanitarian world.

It is important to acknowledge that we are already beginning to see these movements across the world of HNGOs from Mercy Corps to Oxfam to World Vision and more impact how things are done in these aid agencies that are looked to for help in times of crisis and conflict. Similarly, it is important to note that parallel developments around geography and power are taking place across the sector. Even pre-COVID, organizations like Oxfam and other HNGOs, had relocated their operating headquarters from a Global North capital to the Global South. However, similarly to the safeguarding developments that

flooded the sector post-Haiti, a critical perspective would seemingly question if these physical moves that espouse shared power are embodied representations of truly equitable HNGOs today. In response to the power imbalance of the aid system, a recipient-centered aid system requires diverse and inclusive aid staff that can minimize gender discrimination and thus reduce sexual abuse. International development scholars have demonstrated that “a critical mass of racial/ethnic diversity improves performance” and “genuine inclusiveness creates greater opportunities to motivate change” (Phillips, 2019). But aid organizations currently lag in promoting diversity and inclusiveness. Of the leading 500 aid organizations in the UK, two-thirds of the trustees are male, and more than half of the boards are white (Worden & Saez, 2021). Lack of diversity and inclusiveness weakens the effectiveness of governance and aid delivery while embedding itself throughout the culture of the organizations in play.

Looking Ahead

Returning to a lens of institutional analysis, the words of Jupilee and Caparoso (2022) are especially poignant as we look ahead to the future of HNGOs, British aid, and the broader humanitarian world at this critical time in global history:

We now survey some applications featuring institutions not as dependent variables but as preexisting and causally intervening variables. The less common approach within this explanatory structure treats institutions as tools that add to or multiply their wielders' power. This looks like structural power, but here the institutional status quo remains unchanged, with existing institutions merely being deployed rather than reworked. The rarity of this treatment among self-identifying institutionalists puzzles us (p. 40).

In essence, these institutional nuances might appear to be overly academic on the surface but drive directly to the core of the British aid sector's ongoing response and the reaction of the humanitarian world after the Oxfam episode in Haiti. One might very well argue that as the sector has focused its reaction on building a sweeping safeguarding infrastructure of policies, procedures, and positional

leadership roles, it has only contributed to deploying resources rather than reworking the deeper and more systemic issues in which sexual exploitation, abuse, harassment, and other forms of wrongdoing are simply a symptom of, rather than an isolated phenomenon in today's humanitarian world. However, as the authors note, this reworking of structural power is, to a certain degree, rare, but no less significant in the ongoing evolution of the British aid sector and humanitarian assistance globally. With continued organizational wrongdoing coming to public light, the cycle of investigative news reports and public statements from actors calling for "changing the culture" are simply a prime example of the elementary understanding of the organizational phenomenon that shapes nearly every facet of work within and across these HNGOs. From the requisite after-action reports and Parliamentary proceedings, we know that culture is often mentioned in the same breath after misconduct and wrongdoing, but in all but a very few cases is the understanding developed beyond the fact that 'organizations have cultures.' Instead, considering a fuller and richer conceptualization would help actors move further along in their understanding of how the cultures at work with NGOs are more foreboding, subconscious, and complex than most of us often consider. Unfortunately, after considering the litany of safeguarding structures and strategies implemented in the aftermath of the Oxfam scandal, it appears that "the problem" is being "tackled" but ultimately a whole new institutional landscape has been deployed, albeit via existing actors, to appease regulators, overseers, and other publics who are ultimately the wielders of true accountability. In the end, after 5 years in a post-Haiti operating context for HNGOs, the verdict is still out if the system is effectively safeguarding against SEAH or just really safeguarding against the full-fledged and conscious scrutiny necessary for these institutions of humanitarianism to live the reality of power-balanced equity and justice they espouse to create in this increasingly fragile world of ours.

REFERENCES

- 2021 Edelman Trust Barometer UK findings. Edelman. (2021, February 22). Retrieved August 12, 2021, from <https://www.edelman.co.uk/edelman-trust-barometer-2021-uk-findings>
- Abrahams, J. (2018, October 19). Commitments and chaos at London's #Aidtoo summit. <https://www.devex.com/news/commitments-and-chaos-at-london-s-aidtoo-summit-93697>
- Aizenman, N. (2020, July 15). *Doctors without borders responds to charges of 'racism' from its staff*. NPR. Retrieved August 24, 2020, from <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2020/07/15/864544382/doctors-without-borders-responds-to-charges-of-racism-from-its-staff>
- Alexander, J., & Parker, B. (2020, September 9). Change in the humanitarian sector, in numbers. Retrieved February 5, 2021, from <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/maps-and-graphics/2020/09/09/25-years-of-humanitarian-data>
- Aly, H. (2022, November 8). Policymakers and racial justice activists came together to discuss decolonising aid. here's what happened... The New Humanitarian. Retrieved November 24, 2022, from <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/the-wrap/2022/08/11/Decolonising-aid-racial-justice-humanitarian-reform>
- Ashforth, B. E., & Lange, D. (2016). Beware of organizational saints: how a moral self-concept may foster immoral behavior. *Organizational wrongdoing: key perspectives and new directions*, 305-336.
- Ashforth, B.E., Anand, V., and Joshi, M. 2004. "Business as usual: The acceptance and perpetuation of corruption in organizations," *Academy of Management Executive* 18(2): 39-53.

- Barnett, M. N. (2013). Humanitarian governance. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16, 379-398.
- BBC. (2018, February 11). Penny Mordaunt: Oxfam failed in its “moral leadership.”
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p05xt4vp>
- Baughan, E. (2021). *Saving the children: Humanitarianism, internationalism, and empire (Vol. 19)*. University of California Press.
- Beagles, J. E. (2022). Institutional logics and the multiorganizational governance arrangements of humanitarian INGOs. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 33(1), 131-155.
- Beaton, E. E., LePere-Schloop, M., & Smith, R. (2021). “Whatever it takes”: Sexual harassment in the context of resource dependence. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 31(4), 617-633.
- Becker, H. S. (1963). *Outsiders*.
- Black, D. 1993. *The Social Structure of Right and Wrong*. Bingley, UK: Emerald.
- Bloodgood, E. (2019). Primary Data on NGOs. *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*, 209-19.
- Boulding, K. E. (1958). Evidences for an administrative science: A review of the Administrative Science Quarterly, volumes 1 and 2. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1-22.
- Brekhus, W. (1998). A sociology of the unmarked: Redirecting our focus. *Sociological Theory*, 16(1), 34-51.
- Brief, A.P., Betram, R. T., and Dukerich, J.M. 2001. "Collective corruption in the corporate world: Toward a process model" in M.E. Turner (ed.), *Groups at Work: Advances in Theory and Research*: 471-499. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum and Associates.
- Carolei, D. (2022). An International Ombudsman to make non-governmental organizations more accountable? Too good to be true.... *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 35(4),

867-886.

Charity Commission for England and Wales. (2019, June 11). *A statement of the results of an Inquiry into Oxfam (registered charity number 202918)*. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/807945/Statement_of_the_Results_of_an_Inquiry_Oxfam.pdf

Cooper, G. (2021). # AidToo: Social media spaces and the transformation of the reporting of aid scandals in 2018. *Journalism Practice*, 15(6), 747-766.

Coyne, C. J. (2013). *Doing bad by doing good: Why humanitarian action fails*. Stanford University Press.

Deloffre, M. Z. (2022). The Sphere Project: imagining better humanitarian action through reflective accountability institutions and practices. *Imagining Pathways for Global Cooperation*, 147-169.

Deloffre, M. Z., & Schmitz, H. P. (2019). International NGO legitimacy: Challenges and responses. *Routledge handbook of NGOs and international relations*, 606-620.

Delva, J. G. (2018, February 16). Exclusive - Haiti president says many aid organizations hid misconduct. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-oxfam-haiti-exclusive-idUKKCN1G02H1>

Dodds, P. (2021, April 15). *Oxfam faces new misconduct allegations in Iraq*. The New Humanitarian. Retrieved April 27, 2021, from <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2021/4/15/exclusive-whistleblowers-detail-new-oxfam-misconduct-allegations-in-iraq>

Dowden, O. (2021, May 15). *We won't allow Britain's history to be cancelled*. The Telegraph. Retrieved May 30, 2021, from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/05/15/wont-allow-britains-history-cancelled/>

Dromi, S. M. (2020). *Above the fray: The red cross and the making of the humanitarian NGO*

sector.

Egger, C., & Schopper, D. (2022). Organizations Involved in Humanitarian Action: Introducing a New Dataset. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(2).

Engelke, M. (2019). *How to think like an anthropologist*. Princeton University Press.

Fassin, D. (2011). *Humanitarian reason: a moral history of the present*. University of California Press.

Flummerfelt, R., & Peyton, N. (2020, September 29). *Exclusive: More than 50 women accuse aid workers of sexual abuse in Congo ebola crisis*. Reuters. Retrieved October 1, 2020, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/congo-ebola-sexcrimes-idUSL5N2GK4EE>

Flummerfelt, R., & Peyton, N. (2020, September 29). *Power, poverty, and aid: The mix that fuelled sex abuse claims in Congo*. The New Humanitarian. Retrieved October 1, 2020, from <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2020/09/29/Power-poverty-aid-sex-abuse-claims-Congo-Ebola-response>

Gibelman, M., & Gelman, S. R. (2004). A loss of credibility: Patterns of wrongdoing among nongovernmental organizations. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 15, 355-381.

Gillespie, E. M., Mirabella, R. M., & Eikenberry, A. M. (2019). #Metoo/#Aidtoo and creating an intersectional feminist NPO/NGO Sector. *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, 10(4), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1515/npf-2019-0019>

Giorgi, S., Lockwood, C., & Glynn, M. A. (2015). The many faces of culture: Making sense of 30 years of research on culture in organization studies. *Academy of Management Annals*, 9(1), 1-54.

Goncharenko, G. (2021). *In the spotlight: rethinking NGO accountability in the# MeToo era*. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 102308.

- Greenwood, R., Raynard, M., Kodeih, F., Micelotta, E. R., & Lounsbury, M. (2011). Institutional complexity and organizational responses. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 5(1), 317–371.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19416520.2011.590299>
- Greer, C., & McLaughlin, E. (2017). Theorizing institutional scandal and the regulatory state. *Theoretical criminology*, 21(2), 112-132.
- Greve, H. R., & Teh, D. (2016). Consequences of organizational misconduct: Too much and too little punishment. In *Organizational wrongdoing: Key perspectives and new directions* (pp. 370-403). Cambridge University Press.
- Greve, H. R., Palmer, D., & Pozner, J. E. (2010). Organizations gone wild: The causes, processes, and consequences of organizational misconduct. *Academy of Management Annals*, 4(1), 53-107.
- Hargrave, R. (2023, March 16). *Report reveals three in 10 large charities have all-white boards*. Third Sector. Retrieved March 20, 2023, from <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/report-reveals-three-10-large-charities-all-white-boards/management/article/1816585>
- Heyse, L. (2016). *Choosing the lesser evil: Understanding decision making in humanitarian aid NGOs*.
- Hilhorst, D., & Jansen, B. J. (2010). Humanitarian space as arena: a perspective on the everyday politics of aid. *Development and change*, 41(6), 1117-1139.
- Hilhorst, D., & Schmiemann, N. (2002). Humanitarian principles and organisational culture: Everyday practice in Médecins Sans Frontières-Holland. *Development in Practice*, 12(3-4), 490-500.
- Hilhorst, D., Melis, S., Mena, R., & van Voorst, R. (2021). Accountability in humanitarian action. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 40(4), 363-389.
- Hofstede, G. (1983). The cultural relativity of organizational practices and theories. *Journal of*

- International Business Studies, 75–89.
- Hor, A. J. (2022). The everyday emotional lives of aid workers: how humanitarian anxiety gets in the way of meaningful local participation. *International Theory*, 14(2), 358-387.
- Howard, L. W. (1998). Validating the competing values model as a representation of organizational cultures. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 6(3), 231–250.
- Howard-Grenville, J. A. (2006). Inside the “black box”: How organizational culture and subcultures inform interpretations and actions on environmental issues. *Organization and Environment*, 19(1), 46–73. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026605285739>
- Howard-Grenville, J., Bertels, S., & Boren, B. (2015). What regulators need to know about organizational culture. <https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/4708-howard-grenvillebertelsboren-ppr-researchpaper0620>
- Independent Commission on Sexual Misconduct, Accountability, and Culture. (2019, June 1). *Committing to change, protecting people: Oxfam*. Retrieved February 11, 2021, from https://www-cdn.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/oxfam_ic_final_report-en.pdf
- Ingram, G., & Lord, K. M. (2019). Global development disrupted: Findings from a survey of 93 leaders. In *Global development disrupted: Findings from a survey of 93 leaders*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-41714-6_42635
- Jupille, J. H., & Caporaso, J. A. (2022). *Theories of institutions*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, J., Pettit, S., Harris, I., & Beresford, A. (2018). Towards a better understanding of humanitarian supply chain integration. *The Palgrave handbook of humanitarian logistics and supply chain management*, 249-277.
- Krause, M. (2014). *The good project: Humanitarian relief NGOs and the fragmentation of reason*. University of Chicago Press.
- Kwan, P., & Walker, A. (2004). Validating the competing values model as a representation of

- organizational culture through inter-institutional comparisons. *Organizational Analysis*, 12(1), 21–37. <https://doi.org/10.1108/eb028984>
- Lamond, D. (2003). The value of Quinn’s competing values model in an Australian context. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 18(1–2), 46–59. <https://doi.org/10.1108/02683940310459583>
- Lamothe, M., LePere-Schloop, M., Lim, S., Yeo, J., Beaton, E. E., Brower, R., ... & Yoo, E. (2022, October). Sexual Misconduct: Policies to Improve Institutional Accountability and Reduce Individual Burdens. In *Nonprofit Policy Forum (Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 361-370)*. De Gruyter.
- Lamothe, M., Ter-Mkrtchyan, A., Ruddle, T. B., & Kuyon, K. (2023). Examining the efficacy of accountability systems in preventing nonprofit misconduct: A look beyond financial fraud. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(1), 106-129.
- Lewis, D. (2003). NGOs, organizational culture, and institutional sustainability. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 590(1), 212-226.
- Lund, D. B. (2003). Organizational culture and job satisfaction. *Journal of Business & Industrial Marketing*, 18(3), 219–236. <https://doi.org/10.13703/j.0255-2930.2016.10.007>
- McDonnell, D., & Rutherford, A. C. (2018). The determinants of charity misconduct. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 47(1), 107-125.
- McGuinness, A. (2018, February 19). Theresa May hits out at 'horrific' behaviour of Oxfam staff over sex scandal. *Sky News*. Retrieved March 2, 2022, from <https://news.sky.com/story/long-way-to-go-for-oxfam-to-restore-public-trust-in-wake-of-scandal-11257690>.
- Mednick, S., & Craze, J. (2022, November 29). *Exclusive: Alleged sex abuse by aid workers unchecked for years in UN-run South Sudan Camp*. The New Humanitarian. Retrieved November 29, 2022, from

<https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/2022/09/22/exclusive-alleged-sex-abuse-aid-workers-unchecked-years-un-run-south-sudan-camp>

Meyerson, D., & Martin, J. (1987). Cultural change: An integration of three different views.

Journal of Management Studies, 24(6), 623–647. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.1987.tb00466.x>

Mitchell, G. E., Schmitz, H. P., & Bruno-van Vijfeijken, T. (2020). *Between power and irrelevance:*

The future of transnational NGOs. Oxford University Press, USA.

Morgan, G. (1986). *Images of organization*. Sage.

O'Neill, S. (2018, February 9). *Oxfam in Haiti: 'It was like a Caligula orgy with prostitutes in*

Oxfam T-shirts'. The Times. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/oxfam-in-haiti-it-was-like-a-caligula-orgy-with-prostitutes-in-oxfam-t-shirts-p32wlk0rp>

O'Neill, S. (2021, April 2). *Oxfam rocked by new sex claims against aid workers*. The Times.

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/oxfam-rocked-by-new-sex-claims-against-aid-workers-hv5jvhs0x>

Obrecht, A., & Swithern, S. (2022, September 7). *2022 the state of the Humanitarian System*

(SOHS). ALNAP. Retrieved November 14, 2022, from

<https://www.alnap.org/help-library/2022-the-state-of-the-humanitarian-system-sohs-%E2%80%93-full-report-0>

Oxfam sex scandal: Director promises justice for victims. (2018, February 16). BBC. Retrieved

July 15, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-43080330>.

Pache, A. C., & Santos, F. M. (2010). *Inside the hybrid organization: An organizational level view of responses to conflicting institutional demands*.

Palmer, D. (2012). *Normal organizational wrongdoing: A critical analysis of theories of misconduct in and by organizations*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

- Palmer, D. A. (2013). *The new perspective on organizational wrongdoing*. California Management Review, 56(1), 5-23.
- Palmer, D., Greenwood, R., & Smith-Crowe, K. (Eds.). (2016). *Organizational wrongdoing: Key perspectives and new directions*.
- Pardy, M., & Alexeyeff, K. (2023). Response to a scandal: Sex work, race, and the development sector in Haiti. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 25(1), 76-100.
- Parveen, N. (2021, April 20). *Amnesty International has culture of white privilege, report finds*. The Guardian. Retrieved April 24, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/20/amnesty-international-has-culture-of-white-privilege-report-finds>
- Phillips, S. D. (2019, December). Putting humpty together again: How reputation regulation fails the charitable sector. *In Nonprofit Policy Forum (Vol. 10, No. 4)*. De Gruyter.
- Picton, J., & Sigafos, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Debates in charity law*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Pierson, P. (2004). *Politics in time: History, institutions, and social analysis*. Princeton University Press.
- Prakash, A. (2019, December). Nonprofit governance, public policy, and the Oxfam scandal: An introduction. *In Nonprofit Policy Forum (Vol. 10, No. 4)*. De Gruyter.
- Quinn, R. E., & Cameron, K. (1983). Organizational life cycles and shifting criteria of effectiveness: Some preliminary evidence. *Management Science*, 29(1), 33–51. <https://doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.29.1.33>
- Quinn, R. E., & Rohrbaugh, J. (1983). A spatial model of effectiveness criteria: Towards a competing values approach to organizational analysis. *Management Science*, 29(3), 363–377.
- Purkis, A. (2018, August 28). *Andrew Purkis: How could leading charities 'give people power'?* Civil Society. Retrieved February 12, 2022, from

<https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/voices/andrew-purkis-how-are-leading-charities-to-give-people-power.html>

Riley, C. L. (2020). Powerful men, failing upwards: The aid industry and the 'Me Too' movement.

Journal of Humanitarian Affairs, 2(3), 49-55.

Robertson, N., & Masters, J. (2018, February 16). UN chief calls for culture change after Oxfam allegations. CNN. Retrieved March 8, 2022, from

<https://edition.cnn.com/2018/02/16/europe/oxfam-haiti-independent-commission-intl/index.html>.

Saez, P., Konyndyk, J., & Worden, R. (2021). *Effective Humanitarian Governance*. CGD Policy Paper 232.

Schein, E. H. (2010). *Organizational culture and leadership*. Jossey-Bass.

Schmitz, H. P., & Mitchell, G. E. (2022). Understanding the Limits of Transnational NGO Power: Forms, Norms, and the Architecture. *International Studies Review*, 24(3).

Schuller, M., & Morales, P. (Eds.). (2012). *Tectonic shifts: Haiti since the earthquake* (Vol. 43). Kumarian Press.

Searle, J. (2009). *Making the Social World: the Structure of Human Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sims, R. R., & Brinkmann, J. (2003). Enron ethics (or: culture matters more than codes). *Journal of Business Ethics*, 45, 243-256.

Sousa-Poza, A., Nystrom, H., & Wiebe, H. (2001). A cross-cultural study of the differing effects of corporate culture on TQM in three countries. *International Journal of Quality and Reliability Management*, 18(7), 744–761. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EUM0000000005778>

Stroup, S. S. (2017). *Borders among activists: international NGOs in the United States, Britain, and France*. Cornell University Press.

- Stroup, S. S., & Wong, W. (2013). Come together? Different pathways to international NGO centralization. *International Studies Review*, *15*(2), 163-184.
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review*, *51*(2), 273–286.
- Trice, H. M., & Beyer, J. M. (1984). Studying organizational cultures through rites and ceremonials. *Academy of Management Review*, *9*(4), 653–669.
<https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1984.4277391>
- van Bommel, K., & Spicer, A. (2017). Critical management studies and paradox. In *The Oxford Handbook of Organizational Paradox*.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198754428.013.6>
- van Wessel, M., Kontinen, T., & Bawole, J. N. (2023). *Reimagining Civil Society Collaborations in Development: Starting from the South*.
- Vijfeijken, T. B. V. (2019, November). “Culture is what you see when compliance is not in the room”: Organizational culture as an explanatory factor in analyzing recent INGO scandals. *In Nonprofit Policy Forum (Vol. 10, No. 4)*. De Gruyter.
- Walkup, M. (1997). Policy dysfunction in humanitarian organizations: The role of coping strategies, institutions, and organizational culture. *Journal of refugee studies*, *10*(1), 37-60.
- Watkins, S. C., Swidler, A., & Hannan, T. (2012). Outsourcing social transformation: Development NGOs as organizations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *38*, 285-315.
- Wilkins, A. L., & Ouchi, W. G. (1983). Efficient cultures: Exploring the relationship between culture and organizational performance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *28*(3), 468–481.
- Willmott, H. (1993). Strength is ignorance; Slavery is freedom: Managing culture in modern organizations. *Journal of Management Studies*, *30*(4), 515–552.
- Yu, T., & Wu, N. (2009). A review of study on the competing values framework. *International*

Journal of Business and Management, 4(7).

APPENDIX A

Methodology

What originally began as dissertation research plans to conduct a humanitarian ethnography inside an international NGO changed overnight with COVID-19 pandemic restrictions bringing the sector and globe to a screeching halt in Spring 2020. Little did I know the extent to which my research would be emergent in nearly every facet of the scope of the dissertation in the making. As different actors took their respective turns at getting public scrutiny across the British aid sector and new episodes of wrongdoing came to light, the essential elements of the original dissertation remain intact, albeit with a different, and more time-tested perspective on the systems issues at play across this research environment.

In August 2020, as one of the few places on the planet that were receiving flights from the United States, I boarded a London-bound plane. where I would await the pending reopening of the Oxfam Special Collections Archives at Oxford's historic Bodleian Library. As a practitioner in the sector and organisational studies scholar, I had been equally familiar and fascinated with the case of Oxfam in Haiti from several years back; not for the unfortunate content of the news that had unfolded but for the complex case on culture and leadership that presented considerable questions to answer and tensions to resolve for the humanitarian world. What originally was to be a month-long exploration 'across the pond' would emerge into a longer one for me thanks to backordered plastic sneeze guards for the library delaying my move from the London home base to Oxford.

After several weeks in both the Bodleian Archives/Library and National Archives, an expansive photo collection would end up in a growing iPhone album of mine with images from Charity Commission reports, newspaper clippings, parliamentary proceedings, internal Oxfam memos and much, much more. With a research focus already established on the Haiti Inquiry, my attention shifted to another similar episode in the history of Oxfam, the Charity Commission, and the British aid sector – back in the

late 1980s and early 1990s. It was the height of the anti-apartheid movement when international actors and organizations were steeped in the heated political campaigning and debate stemming from South Africa's changing landscape. Oxfam was now at the center of the debate by way of British media as it received a public complaint for "political activity" that prompted the Charity Commission to launch a statutory inquiry into the aid agency. With each archival document reviewed, it was apparent that there were similar themes between the two episodes of wrongdoing that resulted in a deep level of scrutiny and subsequent accountability by the public, regulators, and other relevant actors across the sector. Comparing these two inquiries would provide some historical context for examining the evolution of the British aid sector today and serve as a case for the broader international humanitarian system with ongoing existential challenges around purpose and legitimacy persisting in the third decade of the 21st century.

As the archival pursuits continued, a collection of actors from the late 1980s and early 1990s appeared as prospective interview participants of interest. One of them, Lord Frank Judd, former Chief Executive of Oxfam Great Britain during the time of the statutory inquiry, U.K. Foreign Office minister, and eventual member of the House of Lords, was chief among those central actors in the history of the NGO. After learning that Mr. Judd was still active and working in Parliament as a peer at the age of 86 and following all the requisite protocols for contacting a Lord, I drafted an email and requested a preliminary conversation. Much to my surprise, I had spent more time reviewing the message and editing than the time it took to receive a reply less than 30 minutes later:

"Andrew, it would be my pleasure to speak with you. Your research sounds very interesting. Unfortunately, I have quite a busy legislative calendar right now with 3 of my bills under consideration at the moment. Might you be able to come back in a few months? Look forward to speaking to you."

I obliged and thanked him quickly for his consideration. I would soon be leaving the U.K. to return to the U.S. for the holidays. Once I returned to London just a few months later, I was surprised to pull up my Twitter feed and learn by way of BBC Breaking News:

“Lord Frank Judd, dead at the age of 86.”

Ultimately, the timely news alert was symbolic of an unexpected and unfolding experience that was finding a new research environment at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. What was incredibly insightful and valuable to my own understanding of the British aid sector vis a vis archival visits over the course of nearly a full year, ended up going on background to help inform my study but will be utilized in future research efforts around NGOs, the Charity Commission, and the humanitarian system.

Data Collection Procedures

As you can see, the data collection efforts for this dissertation were a rich process of learning. It emerged, in the end, with even additional sources of knowledge that helped shape the direction of the research as the environment continued to evolve and certain methods became more critical. This section will discuss the various platforms and programs utilized to conduct this research and some of the challenges experienced in the data collection process.

Whilst the formal procedures were originally focused on archival analysis only to later turn to document analysis, the process of engaging the research environment within the U.K. during such a continually consequential and evolving period of history has broadened my methods and research activity. In no way was this a formal plan to establish, but the sheer process of consuming news from various platforms, as I have often done on a regular basis since I was a child, helped shape the trajectory of the research effort and ultimately influence the dissertation’s aim to produce practical and relevant recommendations for strengthening the sector. Before landing in London during 2020, I had already begun following the proceedings of the Select Committee on International Development (IDC) via their website, watching their latest evidence sessions via livestream, and closely following the Twitter

accounts of the Chair, Sarah Champion, and other members of Parliament vested in the #UKaid sector. Whilst still quarantining in a San Diego Airbnb, I realized my own shifting conceptualizations of research and data collection during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, that has in turn, expanded my understanding of what practical and timely research efforts can entail. Additionally, in reflection I've sensed a deepened appreciation for policy-relevant research that is rigorous in scope and style, presented clearly and concisely to ensure it's approachable and relevant to practitioners and policymakers alike. Although my initial research proposal ambitiously aimed to deliver a sprawling set of outputs, I can now look back and see how each experience within this unique research environment of the British aid sector and the subsequent various data collection efforts helped positively inform the eventual outcome of this dissertation.

As the essence of my emerging research questions focused on how actors and organizations 'make sense' of episodes of wrongdoing, I felt it particularly important to analyze the requisite 'artifacts' of the organization that would evidence the views on 'how things are done' in HNGOs across the British aid sector. What began as an examination of archival documents shifted into analyzing various other documents and public remarks. From perspectives shared on social media to formal positions delivered in-person during evidence sessions and official proceedings of Parliament, in the time that has followed the Haiti episode become public knowledge, there have been continual streams of data that are timely in this research environment. Each of these contributed unique research value with a greater breadth and depth for understanding the shifting contexts around British aid and unfolding safeguarding developments that are continuing as the public sphere continues to respond.

To capture the full breadth and depth of individual experiences and organizational histories, archival analysis and interviews will be the most effective methods for data collection in this dissertation. The archival analysis will provide the necessary historical context for better understanding the conceptualizations of culture at play, not only within Oxfam but also from the Charity Commission

and Parliament. Semi-structured interviews with participants from across the UK aid sector will focus on various conceptualizations of culture within and across Oxfam in this period. A series of Freedom of Information (FOI) requests were filed with the National Archives in July and October 2020 and unfortunately never were fulfilled for access to certain Charity Commission materials. Nonetheless, despite this unsuccessful effort, the process contributed value to the overall study here.

Document Analysis

The initial archival analysis component of this data collection began in September 2020 at the U.K. National Archives, housed in Kew, England. It continued in October and November of that year in the Oxfam Special Collections, at Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford, and ultimately, while it didn't contribute to the final dissertation, informed the direction and eventual research questions at hand. Following appropriate protocol at both archival locations, photos of relevant documents were taken with an iPhone and stored for future analysis, backed up on iCloud and a MacBook Air.

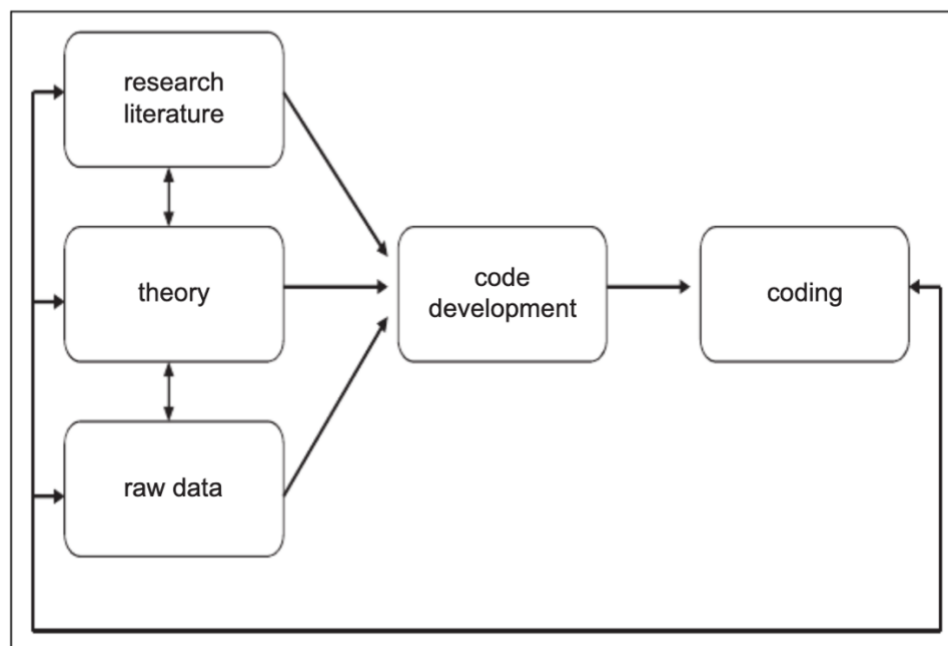


Figure 1. Circular process of coding.

The document analysis involving the after-action reports and requisite press releases, social media posts, and other relevant items incorporated a variety of analytical approaches through the evolution of the study. Ultimately, because of this emerging design that produced even more connections and themes through ongoing events adding to the research environment, the work of DeCuir-Guinby and colleagues (2010) became most relevant as the circular nature of the coding process became apparent. From the central theoretical framework of Cameron & Quinn's Competing Values to their requisite Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (OCAI) to the myriad of relevant documents examined, ultimately resulting in those analyzed in Chapters 3 & 4, the circular coding scheme centered around organizational culture and the respective culture types. Ranging from hierarchy to market to clan to adhocracy, the various behaviors described in the OCAI and the Competing Values Framework formed the coding scheme for analyzing the after-action reports from the Charity Commission and the Independent Commission on Sexual Misconduct, Accountability, and Culture. Additionally, it is important to note that the proposed four-phase development model for consciously understanding organizational culture in HNGOs was not only rooted in Cameron & Quinn's work but used to expand the theoretical application for humanitarian practitioners and policymakers alike. Each of the initial responses, Parliamentary speeches, and Safeguarding Summit proceedings were coded against the four phases to developmentally analyze the espoused and lived understandings of culture from British aid actors identified in this study.

Interviews

After an onslaught of interview requests emailed to a myriad of Members of Parliament (MPs) in the House of Commons, I was unsuccessful at securing any research interviews across the Select Committee on International Development or Parliament more broadly. However, of significant note, I conducted two informational conversations with members of Parliament staff supporting the work of the Chair, Sarah Champion MP, and the entire Select Committee. These conversations shed additional

light on the Committee's work, to date, across the sector ranging from ending sexual exploitation to examining 'the culture of the aid sector' and ending racism in humanitarian work. The knowledge acquired from these two Zoom conversations helped to understand the environment better as a researcher, even when approaching document analysis of committee proceedings. While the efforts to interview MPs were not successful for the purposes of this research, these contacts communicated their openness and willingness to pursue a potential Parliamentary briefing with MPs which I hope to achieve as an entire research agenda around the British aid sector has emerged from this dissertation experience.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted and recorded, with the written consent of four stakeholders with professional responsibilities engaging with the British aid sector and the global humanitarian system more broadly. Given the context of the data collection continuing into the COVID-19 pandemic, the compounding travel and physical meeting challenges resulted in the interviews being conducted on the sidelines of this humanitarian conference in Summer 2022, one of the first gatherings since lockdowns started to ease across the globe. Considering the research topic and questions involving potentially deeply personal responses, I found it important to do whatever possible to engage interview participants in a neutral space where they could be more likely to contribute authentically and valuably; free of any need to speak without filters or fear of their competing opinions or perspectives from others such as employers or national governments.

The interviews ranged from 22 minutes to 41 minutes in length and were conducted at various places on the 'sidelines' of this humanitarian conference. The list of prospective interview participants was diverse and reflective of the various entities and employers engaging within and around the humanitarian world. After initially reviewing the attendee and participant list throughout the lead-up to the conference event, a series of interview invitations were distributed via email with only a small sample of replies. Once a participant expressed willingness to participate, I sent a preliminary scheduling

email to secure a time to conduct the interview on the conference sidelines. Having worked in the humanitarian sector previously, I was familiar with the typical profile of conference participant and the subsequent realities of working loosely with a schedule and sense of time. Accordingly, I followed up with each participant to set a location and a loose time frame for which we would have our interview conversation. Ultimately, each interview was recorded on my iPhone and MacBook Air, to ensure quality sound and uploaded to Otter for transcription purposes. As mentioned previously, while the interviews contributed valuable context to the emerging design of this dissertation, the transcripts were left for future research projects on this topic.

Qualitative standards for research quality

At the foundation of this study is a goal of producing quality research that is deemed credible and trustworthy by stakeholders across the UK aid sector and beyond. Accordingly, several measures were undertaken to ensure qualitative research standards were met throughout the research process. First, a considerable amount of time was spent in the setting, with the researcher living in England, initially for several months in 2020 only to return in 2021 for an extended period of time and subsequently moved for a full-time teaching position. For several reasons, this allowed me to be fully immersed in the environment and effectively achieve heightened credibility with participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). From contacting prospective interview participants to conducting the actual conversations that provided valuable empirical support to this dissertation, I communicated with them as a UK-based researcher and made a deliberate effort to ensure they understood that I was immersed in the ongoing discussions and proceedings happening within the #UKaid sector. Attending and live-tweeting evidence sessions of the IDC, participating in relevant convenings of researchers and practitioners and reading the requisite collection of reports and inquiry findings were just some of the actions taken to help support not just the credibility of the research but the preparedness of myself as a researcher.

Similarly, by virtue of my location, I was fortunate to be able to attend several webinars, conferences, and virtual lectures comfortably and easily to hear commentary and the latest perspectives from a variety of British aid and humanitarian system stakeholders ranging from the Chief Executives of Oxfam and Save the Children UK to UN officials to private sector individuals engaging safeguarding and wrongdoing from across the world. Emerging questions and initial findings were shared with colleagues, peers, and supervisors throughout this research endeavor; from recalibrating data collection plans to debriefing findings for the purposes of making sure the analysis was properly grounded in the data (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Each of these actions helped to focus credibility and trustworthiness at the center of this pursuit of producing quality research that was reflective of sound scholarship and practical value to the world of humanitarian practice.

Since the research is designed around just one HNGO, as a case for the UK aid sector, dependability and transferability are additional key measures of research quality within this dissertation. With research questions that are broadly applicable to the entire sector yet specific to the contexts of the Haiti episode involving Oxfam GB, soliciting feedback from those who are familiar and those strangers to the setting was critical (Maxwell, 2012). Through regular engagement with colleagues both 'in' the sector and outside; I elicited a steady stream of feedback ranging from the timeliness of the topic, considering the ongoing safeguarding reform efforts across the sector, to the serious nature of the research as well, as it engages some of the worst behavior possible from humanity. This ensured that emergent findings were balanced with feedback from those internal and external to the research. As ongoing efforts with safeguarding reform continue across the British aid sector and more organizational wrongdoing came to light over the course of this research process, the emergent findings were analyzed through the lenses of other HNGO contexts to gauge transferability from the Oxfam Haiti scandal.

Through a case study approach to this study, several quality measures were utilized to strengthen the validity and reliability of the research. First, by utilizing multiple evidence sources,

including archival documents, press reports, and interviews, construct validity is emphasized. Given the historical scope of developments since 2018, “a context that potentially includes events over a period of time...means collecting a variety of relevant data and hence relying on multiple sources” (Yin, 2017, p. 127). Additionally, internal validity will be ensured through pattern matching and explanation building in order to address any rival explanations to the emergent findings. Finally, through the development of a case study protocol and maintaining a chain of evidence throughout the research process, reliability is emphasized to strengthen the quality of the study. This allows the reader “to follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to the ultimate case study findings” (Yin, 2017, p. 134).

As further events would transpire in the weeks and months to follow, this dissertation research continued to emerge as this Oxfam case unfolded further, with new episodes of wrongdoing coming to light as British aid actors attempted to make sense of these events from their respective conceptualizations of organizational culture. From The New Humanitarian’s 2021 expose breaking a ‘sex scandal’ in the Ebola response, implicating not just Oxfam but nearly every prominent NGO, to the release of parliamentary inquiries on racism and abuse in the sector still ongoing – even after the initial visit to examine an emerging dissertation topic in 2020, the relevance of the research only became clearer as time has passed. The implications became more widespread and systemic than I realized before. Widespread consensus shows that the Haiti scandal could have happened to any of the world’s most notable NGO brand names; however, the Oxfam moment, nonetheless, has proven to influence ongoing action and need for research. While the sector has responded with calls for culture change and a technocratic focus on safeguarding replete with new positions, policies and procedures for reporting wrongdoing, a series of questions worth exploring examine the underlying cultural dynamics inside these organizations as deeper systemic issues around authority, power, and representation persist across the world of humanitarian aid and international development.

Whatever ideas I had about what these evidence session transcripts, reports, and other documents would uncover pales compared to the extent of research agendas discovered as a part of this data collection and analysis process. The sheer breadth and depth of perspectives, especially within the witness lists comprising the various evidence sessions of the IDC Inquiries, are representative of the actors beyond the Charity Commission and the appropriate Parliamentary stakeholders, but also the convening power to gather NGOs, civil society, academia, and more. With dozens of expert witnesses convened across the scope of the various inquiries in recent years, it's a virtual who's who of different perspectives on NGO culture and how the humanitarian system should and could exist more equitably today. Ultimately, this wealth of research resources warrants additional deeper examination for a better understanding of not only the world of HNGOs, but Parliament, the Charity Commission, and all those at the intersection of humanitarian policy, international development, and societal change.

APPENDIX B

Positionality

I am a queer, Christian, white cisgender male expatriate practitioner-scholar, American citizen currently living in the United Kingdom. Any one of these paradoxical identities would be reason enough to be confused personally or have a series of questions begging to be answered by an external observer. Given this emerging career of mine as a researcher in a field that is riddled with diverse and competing ideas around nearly every facet of organizational life, it is poignant that I finish this Ph.D. with even more questions than I had when I began. I see how my different identities have contributed greatly to this reality as each and every layer of this research experience has intersected with some new version of my continually evolving self; amidst moving to a new city, experiencing a once-in-a-generation pandemic compounding with crises of racial injustice, climate emergency, emigrating to a new country, coming out, learning an entirely new system of higher education; each one of these episodes in my own doctoral pursuit. In the words of a friend speaking to me in 2020, *"You've done your own personal Ph.D.!"* and that statement couldn't ring truer as I continue reflecting on my positionality as a researcher with an insatiable curiosity with new questions always emerging.

Each one of these identities, work experiences, and life narratives have shaped my efforts which have resulted in this dissertation. After starting work in the humanitarian sector nearly a decade ago, I was reminded by my father of a conversation that I had with him when I was graduating from high school. In one of those very heartfelt and sentimental moments, my Dad asked me across the kitchen counter in our home outside Boston, Massachusetts, *"...you're about to go off to college and then find a job – do you know what kind of places you want to work for?"* As he tells me, I didn't hesitate with my reply saying, *"I think I'd like to work for World Vision."* Fast forward to later that fall in 2005 during a similar conversation with my new freshman advisor as I started my first term at university. *"...what do you want to do with a Political Science degree?"* I said, *"I think I'd like to work for an international NGO."*

His retort caught me off guard at first but helped me realize a bit further where I was best to be within the Academy and study, first as an undergraduate. *“Interesting...Our graduates typically do one of two things – run for political office or teach political science.”* All this to say, after reflecting on my own academic goals that didn’t involve professional campaigns or teaching at the time, I was in contact with the Academic Registrar the week after to change my major. Four years later, I would graduate with a B.A. in Organizational Communication, funny enough, having served for three years on student government, including a final term as the elected Student Body President on-campus. In retrospect, as I consider this dissertation; it makes that much more sense as both disciplines and series of unexpected circumstances have influenced where I am today as a scholar-practitioner; how I see group dynamics, organizational culture, and the various pursuits of leadership, from successful and adaptive to transactional and toxic, in all the contexts that I’ve experienced.

That answer I gave my Dad as a graduating high school senior became a reality when I began work on the Global Human Resources Team (known as People & Culture) at World Vision International (WVI). In a whirlwind of experiences that brought me across five continents in nearly five years of professional service to the INGO, I got an intercontinental ticket to the inner workings of such a massive entity in the humanitarian world. From walking the halls of the UN Headquarters in Manhattan to seeing development projects up close in the outskirts of Santiago and Phnom Penh to staffing an employee town hall with the CEO in Los Angeles to training managers in Bangkok, the relatively short tenure with WVI was packed full by the sheer number of cultures and contexts that I interfaced with; nothing short of a dream for this international organization studies scholar. After another career experience of an organizational restructuring that ultimately left me redundant, I left WVI in October 2016 and began an unexpected sabbatical in my 7th year of post-collegiate working life. Ultimately, it was two separate short-term assignments that would shape my understanding most profoundly and vividly: deploying to Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, for three months as an Acting Country HR Director and moving to

Phnom Penh, Cambodia, for the Summer of 2017 where I served as an in-house Organizational Development Consultant. In this latter assignment, I discovered, for the first time, the practical needs that can be supported by sound research from organizational and cultural lenses, and just a few weeks later, after returning to California, I applied to this Ph.D. program.

As I started my doctoral studies and began imagining what directions that my dissertation and future career would evolve as a scholar-practitioner, many of the memories and faces from these formative years emerged in my mind. When I would recall the various sessions and learning spaces with HR practitioners and managers from across the globe, I would think about the practical needs and issues they would face daily in their capacity as humanitarians and developmental professionals. These experiences would be enhanced by subsequent years spent coaching and collaborating with humanitarian leaders from various NGOs, UN agencies, and other international organizations from all over.

I would be remiss if I didn't acknowledge that this came with certain faults and biases, but nonetheless, has formed a vibrant foundation that I appreciate now in my career as educator, researcher, consultant, and coach. At the same time, I claim my identity as an external critical reviewer of the sector, given that I no longer have a formal employment relationship with an INGO or humanitarian entity. This has uniquely shaped my own questions, including those in this dissertation, because I feel an extra ability and responsibility to consider more broadly the institutional landscape at play, not only across the UK as a major humanitarian player in the world, but the international system of aid today. At the heart of this dissertation is acknowledging the power relationships, that the system often names and identifies but fails to move on to another action of changing or challenging the very existence of it that perpetuates the problems plaguing humanitarianism in 2023. As such, my positionality as a critical researcher is manifested in my current employment in academia and not a humanitarian NGO. Within the scope of my doctoral coursework, I was introduced to the work of

Alvesson, Spicer, and other qualitative scholars from the subfields of critical management and organizational studies. As a result, when presented with the opportunity to complete doctoral seminars at Lund University, albeit after a significant pandemic delay, I jumped at the chance to learn from these senior scholars and consider my research environment of humanitarianism today from a series of critical lenses. When I discovered that there was very little critical research about these institutions, I sensed that this was the space in which I wanted to utilize my professional and scholarly experiences to begin my career as an academic researcher. What has since evolved is a fledgling research agenda for at least the next decade to come, if I so choose and of course, dependent on this ever shifting and uncertain world of ours as the humanitarian system reconciles with the existential challenges of its own.

My Christian faith has long provided inspiration for how I've chosen to approach my career and see the world in which I live. Especially after that conversation with my Dad in 2005 about future employers, I was drawn to WVI after becoming familiar with their initiatives like child sponsorship and its 30 Hour Famine, which tangibly provided a faith link to humanitarian aid as a young child and teenager. As problematic as I now realize some of that early engagement might have been, I can see how my present-day expressions of spirituality have evolved and are informed by social justice issues and influenced by my vocation as an educator. Nonetheless, the idea of "faith-based NGOs" is all too often limited to those origin stories of the American Christian evangelical movement and I will continue to strive towards a fully inclusive and ecumenical posture when examining the full breadth and depth of those actors from a whole host of religious faiths.

Similarly, my identity as a queer man has shaped my desire to pose unorthodox approaches and questions to my research as a practitioner-scholar working in humanitarian and development spaces, especially from an underrepresented population. As this dissertation has been centered on issues of culture and systems leadership, you can't effectively have a robust discussion without addressing the underlying dynamics of heteronormativity, that dominate thinking and spaces across today's

humanitarian system and often manifest themselves as rationale against changing the institutional status quo. Undoubtedly, in a world of organizational binaries and easily categorizable culture types, for example, the temptation to think in limited ways is pervasive, especially across decades of sectors operating in certain ways with specific philosophies and approaches. Nonetheless, as I continue as an early career researcher after this dissertation is published, I aspire to explore up unto the edge of preconceived boundaries of knowledge and practice in the pursuit of reconceptualizing how HNGOs and other actors respond to our world's most pressing and adaptive challenges, can most effectively enact social change.

Initial

IRB-2021-371 - Competing Conceptualizations of Culture: The Oxfam Case in a Changing U.K. Aid Sector

[View](#) [PDF](#) [Delete](#)

PI: Andrew Henck **Current Analyst:** Bridget Meschen **Decision:** Approved **Policy:** Post-2018 Rule
Review Type: Expedited **Review Board:** USD IRB

- Approvals**
- Task History
- Letters
- Attachments

Research Team

Name	Role	Result	Date
Andrew Henck	Principal Investigator	Certified	09-08-2021 1:32 AM

Org Approvers

Name	Organization	Result	Date
Ian Martin, Maya Kalyanpur, Marcus Lam, Kristopher Hall	Sch of Leadership & Ed Science	Completed by Marcus Lam	09-08-2021 10:27 AM