The Way the Media can Attribute Responsibility for a Crisis Oxfam and the so-called Haiti Scandal (2010)

Master Thesis - MScCrisis and Security Management Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs Universiteit Leiden/ Leiden University

Words: 16926



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Chapter 1: Introduction

Oxfam is an international NGO which was founded in 1943 with the ambition to end global poverty and inequality. Today, they are one of the major actors inside both the development as well as the humanitarian sector with programmes that are reaching more than 90 countries and a worldwide workforce of 10000 staff and 40000 volunteers. The nature of Oxfam's work is strongly defined by their values such as Empowerment, Accountability and Inclusiveness. In addition, they claim that all their work is rooted in a vision of complete gender justice. Given their strong foundation in those values, it has been all the more shocking when the British newspaper The Times first published an article on the 9th of February 2018, claiming that senior Oxfam staff members had sexually exploited women and may as well have abused under-age girls while in Haiti during the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake. Also part of those first revelations was the fact that those same employees had been allowed to resign and to work elsewhere in the sector. Additionally, Oxfam was also accused of having failed to conduct an investigation at the time when the alleged abuse took place. Consequently, between August 2011 and February 2018, no real measures or consequences were adopted, which further increased the public outrage when the case was finally revealed in 2018. While being under a high amount of pressure and public exposure, Oxfam needed to explain its actions and put in place new policies to avoid future wrongdoings. Thus, what the media quickly titled the Haiti Scandal or the Oxfam Sex Scandal, created a shock for the entire aid community which eventually led donors, peers and partners coming together to commit to real change.

1. The Haiti Scandal

The immediate consequence for Oxfam when the *The Times* first revealed the *Haiti scandal* on February 9th, 2018, was that they lost seven thousand regular donors adding up to £14 million, in addition to another £20 million loss in government funding. Furthermore, Oxfam also lost the support of highly influential celebrities that were representing Oxfam as so-called *brand ambassadors*. (Scurlock, Dolsak, Prakash, 2019) Those celebrities include the British actress *Minnie Driver* who has resigned from her long time commitment as Oxfam Ambassador as well as archbishop Desmond Tutu, a well known human rights activist and a key figure from

the anti apartheid movement in South Africa. This decrease in donations led to a situation in which once again the people who need help most suffer the strongest consequences since ultimately a decrease in donations means that Oxfam's capacity to continue their work is being restrained. This has also been pointed out by an Oxfam spokesperson saying that: "We are devastated that the appalling behaviour of some former staff in Haiti, and shortcomings in how we dealt with that eight years ago, means we now have less money to provide clean water, food and other support to people who need it." Then, later in June 2018 those fears became a reality when Oxfam publicly announced that they are forced to make £16 million program cuts in order to be able to compensate for the losses in donations. (Scurlock, Dolsak, Prakash, 2019)

2. Research Question

While the 2010 Haiti earthquake was the reason why Oxfam was present in Haiti in the first place, this disaster as such does not represent the main concern of this paper and neither does the sexual abuse as such which was committed. Indeed, the fact that senior Oxfam employees had been involved in sexual misconduct is undeniable and has also been acknowledged by Oxfam. Indeed, the then executive director Winnie Byanyima declared that what happened in Haiti ''is a stain on Oxfam that will shame us for years' and that '' it is painfully clear that Oxfam is not immune from sexual and other forms of abuse that stem from the abuse of power'. In addition, according to the United Nations and in particular their *Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian affairs*, the rate of sexual and gender-based violence increases in the case of a large scale emergency or crisis, making that today one in five women who live through a humanitarian crisis have experienced sexual violence.(UNOCHA, 2019) Thus, those problems have existed for a while and the UN continues to stress out that there needs to be international commitment in order to implement legal frameworks that bring sexual abuse perpetrators to justice.

The main concern and interest that this research has, is to analyze the way the media and UK newspapers in particular portrayed Oxfam and the events that took place in Haiti in 2010. However, it remains important to clarify that the *Haiti Scandal* as such started on the 9th of February 2018 when *The Times* first broke the story. My newspaper analysis thus starts on the 9th of February 2018, which corresponds to the period during which wide-ranging consequences took place for Oxfam. By choosing news articles that have been published in the first week after the first publication, thus between the 9th and 16th of February 2018, this study will reveal the entire spectrum of information which Oxfam stakeholders were exposed to.

From there, I will be able to assess the level of responsibility that has been attributed to Oxfam through the media. Furthermore, taking into account that donors, both public and private are the main stakeholders of Oxfam, and that the media, in this case UK newspapers have the ability to influence the attribution of responsibility, this research aims to find out how the media framed the *Haiti Scandal*. In addition, part of that ambition is to assess the impact that a potential reputational crisis has on an NGO even as powerful and resourceful as Oxfam. Specifically, my research aims at answering the following question: *How did the media frame the so-called Haiti Scandal, and did it have an impact on Oxfam's reputation?*

3. Reading Guide

In order to give an answer on the above-mentioned research question, this thesis will be proceeding in the following way. As part of the introduction, this thesis will start by giving background information on what the role of NGOs inside a global governance structure is and explain why reputation plays such an important role for NGOs. Since this research aims to find out how the media framed the *Haiti Scandal* an what the impact of those frames were on the reputation of Oxfam, my theoretical framework is based upon theories related to reputation management, media framing, the attribution of responsibility theory as well the Situational crisis communication theory by Timothy Coombs. The methodology used to analyze the frames, consists of a newspaper article content analysis. I manually assessed the meaning of all the chosen articles before categorizing them according to four different frames which I created previously. Once I collected my data, I analyzed and compared each frame to one another as well as investigated any potential differences in the framing of my three newspapers being *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*. Once my analysis is done, I will be able to concretely tell how the media framed the *Haiti Scandal* and will furthermore be able to imply the impact that this framing had on the reputation of Oxfam.

4. NGOs as actors on the global scene

Undoubtedly, NGOs, through the influence they have on public policy at the local, national and international level, have become a major player in international relations as well as a dominant actor in the development field. (Tortajada, 2016) Nowadays, NGOs take fully part in the global policy cycle and their contribution leads to increases in pluralism, to giving a voice to those that have been marginalized for a long time as well as to picking up critical issues which no other actor would dare to touch. (Forman & Segaar, 2006) Precisely, NGOs play the increasingly important role of negotiators, especially when it comes to advocacy work related to the environment, peace and human rights. Additionally, NGOs are known for challenging and questioning the effectiveness, accountability and legitimacy of government institutions as well as of private actors. (Tortajda, 2016). Indeed, this is one of the reasons why NGOs have become so powerful because they offer an alternative system to the development programs of national states and thus are able to attract large numbers of followers. (A.Islam 2016) According to the *United Nations development programme*, eight International NGO's namely, World Vision International, Oxfam International, Save the Children International, Plan International, MSF, Care international, Caritas international and ActionAid international, had a combined revenue of more than 11.7 billion dollar in 2011, representing an increase of 40 percent since 2005.

However, for them to remain in that position, there is a strong need for them to practice what they preach. Indeed, Forman and Segaar (2006), have pointed out the fact that because NGOs are often organized as network coalitions, they tend to lack a clear hierarchy as well as clear organizational and governance mechanisms. This, on the other hand can lead to weaknesses involving issues of accountability, equity and sustainability. (Forman and Segaar,2006) Furthermore, one of the reasons why the number of NGOs has increased in the last two decades is because they are by nature very issue-oriented which provides them with a rather fluid constituency and supporter base as well as little accountability or oversight mechanisms. (Forman and Segaar,2006) Consequently, as soon as one issue or goal has been achieved, those networks tend to dissolve themselves giving place to new goals and new coalitions. Considering, that the number of issues which are of concern for NGOs, ranging from environment, to security to public health have increased over the years, an increase in the number of non-governmental actors has been the logical consequence. Unfortunately, the increase in non-governmental actors has however been accompanied by an increase in various abuse scandals. (Fremont-Smith and Kosaras,2003)

Indeed, it was throughout the 1990s that the first articles about NGO wrongdoings began to emerge, this mainly in the US and in Europe.(A. Islam, 2016) Those potential problems inside the sector have also been pointed out by the *World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (WANGO)*, which released a Code of Ethics and Conduct for NGOs stressing the following: 'NGOs have the responsibility to be transparent, honest, accountable and ethical, to give out accurate information, and to not manipulate situations for the personal benefit of their boards and staff....NGOs are to have a system of proper governance. They must be careful to treat all public monies with utmost seriousness as a public trust and not to misuse public money for selfish purposes....In short, NGOs have the responsibility to dedicate themselves for the sake of others and to do so according to the highest code of ethical conduct.'' (WANGO 2004)

5. NGOs and the need for a good reputation

Considering that a bad reputation results in a decrease in financial donations, NGOs are increasingly depended on donors and are more than ever vulnerable to the demands of the latter. (Reith, 2010) This makes of donors the main stakeholders of an NGO, and the degree to which an NGO meets the expectations of its donors is crucial. (Wartick, 1992) In other words, the expectations that stakeholders have, correspond to the reputation that an NGO has, and a failure to meet those expectations creates an expectation gap (Reichart, 2003) which will eventually lead to a decrease in donations and thus a danger to the existence of an NGO.

Furthermore, this reputation develops through the information that stakeholders pick-up about NGOs. (Fombrun and van Riel,2004) While second hand, word of mouth information is a source of information that should not be neglected, most of the information that stakeholders receive about an NGO comes from the news media which makes of media coverage an important aspect of reputation management. (Carroll, 2004; Carroll and McCombs, 2003; Meijer, 2004) The way the media reports on a crisis is by using certain frames which then affect stakeholders perception of the crisis and makes them decide what level of blame or responsibility they attribute to the organization. According to Gamson and Modigliani (1987) a frame can be defined as being a "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection between them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (p.143)

Chapter 2: Literature review

The fact that Oxfam suffered from a decrease in donations and reputation after *The Times* first revealed the *Haiti Scandal* is not a secret and has been acknowledged by Oxfam itself. This study goes one step further and claims that this decrease in donations is a result of the way UK newspapers framed the scandal between the 9th of February and 16th of February 2018. Indeed, to the best knowledge of the researcher, no media content analysis has yet been conducted about the involvement of Oxfam employees in the *Haiti Scandal*. The importance in doing so lies in the fact that the frames used by the media must be considered as starting point for any study that wishes to analyse the *Haiti Scandal*.

1. Previous studies on the *Haiti Scandal*

As a matter of fact, there are several researchers that have already studied the Oxfam *Haiti Scandal*. Those studies are worth mentioning because they give further explanations on what happened in Haiti, and they allow me to emphasize the gap in literature that this study aims to fill. According to Khan (2018), the events that took place in Haiti are very concerning, and are to a certain extent also ironic because Oxfam has been considered for many years as being one of the thriving forces in the sector for good governance, ethics and human rights. His reasoning is further supported by the fact that Oxfam's policy and practice branch has published more then 577 publications that dictate a good governance in addition to 455 publications relating to human rights. (Khan, 2018) Despite those publications, Khan argues that the issue is not purely about sexual misconduct and the removal of people responsible for those actions, but rather about malfunctioning systems of accountability and governance. Because of this, there is a strong need for effective structures that allow for monitoring, evaluation as well as accountability.

Continuing with looking into issues related to accountability, Domenico Carolei from the London School of Economics uses the term 'Financial accountability' to explain the relation between Oxfam and its donors. He claims that donors exercise 'considerable leverage and ability to call NGOs to account because of their financial power.' (Carolei, 2018) He further explains that big donors are the ones that dictate the directions in which projects are being implemented by withdrawing their funding in case their expectations are not met. Also, according to Carolei, scandals involving charities create low-stakeholder trust which then results in a decline in donations. (Carolei, 2018)

Next, there has been a number of studies that have looked into the crisis communication of Oxfam. This has been done by Danyi (2019) who analysed the crisis response of Oxfam before concluding that the crisis was not handled effectively, and that the issues at hand were not addressed by Oxfam. Other studies such as the one by Abrache (2019), studied how Oxfam communicated on Social Media during the Haiti crisis. By using the Social Mediated Crisis Communication Model (SMCC), this study focused on social media in general and Instagram in particular. Similar to the results of Danyi (2019), Abrache (2019) found that a clear crisis strategy of Oxfam was missing and that instead they were using both characteristics of Apology and blaming individuals in order to distance themselves from the crisis.

There are however important aspects which are missing in those studies, thus the reason for this study to further clarify what the Haiti Scandal was about. Indeed, studies such as the one conducted by Carolei (2018) have claimed that donors hold significant leverage over Oxfam, considering that they can stop donating if their expectations are not met, however those studies have not illustrated to what extend donors expectation actually changed because of the *Haiti Scandal*. Other studies which have analysed the crisis communication strategy of Oxfam (Danyi, 2019; Abrache,2019) concluded that Oxfam did not successfully manage the crisis. However, again they did not analyse the reputational threat that Oxfam was exposed to in the first place, which is the main indicator of what crisis response is the most accurate to use. Thus, in both cases, in order to understand changes in the expectation of stakeholders as well as measuring the reputational threat, a media content analyses deems itself as crucial.

2. History of Scandals inside the sector

Next, the reason why it is important to point to the fact that various research projects have already signalled NGO misconduct is because it shows a change in perception in which NGOs are losing their moral high ground. (Cullen, 2004) Indeed, NGOs were born out of an inherent dislike towards the status quo and with a constant strive of wanting to change things for the better. (Cullen,2004) Seeing NGOs fall into the same kind of patterns of corruption and misconduct than those actors which they previously condemned is thus very damaging to their integrity and reputation. Hence, because of those previous cases of misconduct, donors and all other stakeholders are already sceptical about the role of NGOs and as a result are more easily influenced by media reports that publish new cases of misconduct.

Those studies (Keating, 2017; Gibelman, 2001; Gibelman, Gelman, 2004; Cullen, 2004) which have analysed questionable NGO activities do not specifically refer to sexual misconduct but to other abuses such as cases of fraud within NGOs that were pointed out by Gibelman (2004). Part of the findings were that in each case involving fraud, an NGO or a "pseudo" NGO was created with the sole intent of "ripping off" unsuspicious individuals or institutions who trusted that their money was being used for religious, humanitarian, or charitable purposes.(Gibelman, 2004)

Cases of fraud and malpractice have also been noticed within United Nations humanitarian missions, such as when they were involved in the cover up of a multibillion-dollar fraud which initially was planned to feed the hungry mouths of Iraqi children, known as the 'Traqi-oil-for-food program'. (Miller, 2004) Far from only being accused of financial fraud, the United Nations and specifically their Peacekeeping missions have been accused for many years of not dealing with issues related to sexual misconduct of their soldiers. Freedman (2018) for instance recently published an article in *The European Journal of International law* in which she pointed to the fact that throughout the entire history of UN peacekeeping, sexual abuse has been committed by the same people whose duty was to restore peace and protect local populations. She further claims that its both the frequency as well as the gravity of those crimes that point to the 'systemic weaknesses in laws, frameworks and practices of peacekeeping. '' (Freedman, 2018)

Thus, as a matter of fact, sexual abuse has been studied quite substantially inside UN missions (Neudorfer, 2014; Freedman, 2018; Karim and Beardsley, 2015), however, it has not been studied widely in the NGO sector. While sexual abuse and exploitation represents a catastrophic failure of protection and a decrease in reputation within society for both an NGO and an UN mission, there remains one fundamental difference between both instances when dealing with cases of sexual abuse. Indeed, when the UN is involved in sexual misconduct, the public can very well denounce it and publicly express their concerns, however they can not have a direct impact since they do not contribute financially to UN missions. This is not the case with NGOs. Indeed, if an NGO loses the trust of the public, the donations will decrease, and they will not be able to continue their work.

3. Reputation inside Private and Public Actors

Next, reviewing relevant literature about reputation and reputation management in relation to private and public actors is important because NGO's as such are being theorized in the literature as being private actors that offer an alternative to the delivery of governmental services and policies while remaining politically independent and neutral. (Frumkin,2002) However, compared to private actors, NGOs are not seeking financial profit in their work nor are they trying to get elected in a way public actors would do. (Thrandardottir, 2015)

Looking at public actors, such as states, Brewster (2009) argues that states value their reputation because they are dependent on cooperating with other states and in order for that cooperation to be mutually beneficial, they need a good reputation. He further illustrates this point by using the international relations theory of "Prisoner's Dilemma", using two states. In any given situation, both states can choose to collaborate or to defect. Ideally, both states choose to collaborate which would be beneficial for both, however, one of the states could be tempted to defect which would give all the benefits to that state and none to the other.

Alternatively, both states could opt to defect each other which would leave both states without any benefits. If played during more than one round, reputation will become very important because it represents an indicator of how a state is likely to behave during future scenarios. If a state is known for defecting others who cooperate, then the former state will have a bad reputation which will lead the other states to not integrate him in future cooperation opportunities. (Brewster, 2009)

Next to public actors, there has also been a variety of studies that have analysed the role of reputation for private actors. Fombrun and Low (2011) for instance looked at the impact of both a negative and positive reputation for private companies. Some of the examples they use with a negative reputation include, Citigroup, BP and Toyota who all suffered from significant decreases in their stock prices, profits as well as market share as a result from events that damaged their reputation in the eyes of their stakeholders. (Fombrun and Low, 2011) On the other hand, they also analysed cases in which a positive reputation led to financial profits as well as an improved public perception of their products. Parts of those findings mainly relate to companies such as Ford, Tata and Apple. Generally, they argue that even though reputations are intangible, they are nevertheless measurable, quantifiable and thus manageable. As a result, if a company is not able to manage its reputation, damage is most likely to occur. If, however, a company properly manages its reputation, that same reputation will become an economic

return in the form of past investments and once permanently established it will act as a magnet for attracting stakeholder resources while strengthening a company's competitive strategic position. (Fombrun and Low, 2011)

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework consists of three different parts which will provide the foundation needed to answer my research question: *How did the media frame the so-called Haiti Scandal and did it have an impact on the reputation of Oxfam?*

The first part discusses the concept of reputation and the related notions of reputation management and reputational capital. The second part is looking at the media and the frames which were used to report about the *Haiti Scandal*. The third part introduces the *attribution theory* as well as the *Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)* of *Timothy Coombs*. While the first part of *reputation* represents the very essence of what this research aims to find out, the second part of *media framing* represents the means through which I will be able assess any potential changes in reputation. The third part acts as a connector between Oxfam, the media and stakeholders by acknowledging that stakeholders will receive information from the media before attributing various levels of responsibility towards Oxfam. Depending on how much responsibility stakeholders attribute to Oxfam, they will adapt the ways which they previously looked at and worked together with Oxfam.

1. Managing reputational capital

According to Wartick (1992), a reputation is an 'aggregate evaluation stakeholders make about how well an organization is meeting stakeholder expectations based on its past behaviours''. (Wartick, 1992) The term stakeholder on the other hand refers to 'any person or group that is able to make a claim on an organisation's attention, resources or output or who may be affected by the organization" (Lewis, 2001) The importance of reputation has long been recognized inside the field of crisis management which led researchers such as Fombrun (2004) to use the notion of reputational capital. Reputational capital represents an organisations 'stock of perceptual and social assets, the quality of the relationship it has established with stakeholders and the regard in which the company and brand is held".(Fombrun and van Riel, 2004) NGOs collect a certain amount of reputational capital over a certain timeframe, however when a crisis occurs, reputation will be damaged and reputational capital will decrease. Nevertheless, a favourable pre-crisis reputation can limit the damage of the crisis because an organization can count on more reputational capital and will be able to rebound more quickly from a crisis as opposed to an organization which had a negative or a neutral pre-crisis reputation. (Coombs, 2007) Indeed, a positive reputation can serve as 'social insurance' (Coombs, 2006) or 'reservoir of goodwill' (Jones, 2000) which enables a moderation of the 14

reputational damage inflicted by the crisis and encourages "stakeholders to give the organization the benefit of the doubt". (Scurlock,2019) However, this will not be the case if a crisis challenges the very foundation of an organisation's principles and values. In this particular case, the media can create considerable damage on organisations even though prior reputation was strong and positive. (Scurlock, 2019)

2. Reputation of NGOs studied similarly to private companies

Similar to the private sector, the reputation of NGOs is also strongly connected to the availability of resources. In the case of private companies, a positive reputation leads to an increase in demand and thus economic profit. In the case of NGOs, a positive reputation has a direct impact on the allocation of funds by their donors because it helps donors to decide which organization is reliable and trustworthy. Because NGOs do not solely depend on consumer demand such as companies, the links between reputation and availability of resources becomes much more multifaceted in the case of an NGO considering that they need to maintain a high number of different sources of funding. However, due to the similarities in terms of dependence on financial assets, this study will analyse the impact on the reputation of Oxfam in a similar way as it is being done for private companies. This has further been supported by the recommendation of the centre for corporate reputation of the Oxford University which states that non-profit organizations and for-profit companies should be analysed on an equal basis in order to understand the impact that reputations have for all of these organisations.(Olegario, 2017)

One of the theories that is concerned with the reputation of private companies, is the *resource-based theory* in which reputation is being considered a key asset of a company. (Grant 1991) If the reputation is good, it becomes a ''sustainable competitive advantage'' according to Dollinger (1997) because a company is able to create loyalty and support from its stakeholders. In order to further illustrate one can take the example of a company that is socially responsible, in which case it faces less internal and external complaints and lawsuits and is further able to recover much quicker when going through a crisis period. Following the research that has been done by Bykova (2018), top executives surveys have proven that for a various scope of managers, reputation was amongst the most important factors for the overall performance of a firm. (Hall,1992) Hence, to summarize, the resource-based theory acknowledges the reputation as a crucial asset, responsible for creating economic benefits,

putting in place stronger prevention and resilience qualities while also creating better relations with long term stakeholders.

Nevertheless, independent of how good a reputation is, the media will always be able to create considerable damage to an organization. Hence, for that reason it is important to theorize the role that the media plays when a crisis occurs, especially their role in framing crisis events.

3. Media shaping public opinion

As stated earlier the media and the frames that they use, represent the means through which I am able to analyse the reputation of Oxfam and the impact of the *Haiti Scandal*. Generally, there exists three ways through which stakeholders get a hold on information. This happens firs through media reporting, secondly through interacting directly with an organization and thirdly through second-hand information such as word of mouth for example. However, for the purpose of answering my research question, the theoretical foundation will be dedicated to the news media and their ability to frame events in a certain way. Indeed, when an organization faces a crisis, its stakeholders seek explanations so that they can make sense of the events. (Coombs, 2004) Consequently, people evaluate the cause of the event as well as the organizational responsibility based on the media coverage of the crisis. Given that the majority of stakeholders experiences a crisis through the lens and words of the media, it is crucial to look at how the media frames a crisis, the causes behind that crisis as well as the actor responsible for it because those frames will influence the way people perceive certain organizations. (Coombs, 2006)

When it comes to measuring the effects of media, framing has imposed itself as the most popular model. (Price, Tewksbury & Powers, 1997) According to Gamson and Modigliani (1987), a frame is a ''central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue.'' Furthermore, frames are being used as cognitive filters which impact the meaning of events in our own social worlds by focusing on the ''retelling, intertextuality, and by extension, entextualization'' such as ''the extraction of meaning from one discourse and consequent insertion of that meaning into another discourse.'' (Catenaccio, Cotter, DeSmedt, 2011) When facing the framing effect, people will adapt their views and take into account those newly selected information which will then lead them to form new opinions and make judgements. (Druckman, 2001)

3.1 Episodic and Thematic frames

There are two broad frames whose effects have proven to be able to have an influence on the attribution of responsibility. Those are frames in an episodic and thematic format. (Iyengar,1991) While episodic frames refer to concrete illustrations that put the emphasize on detailed case studies, thematic frames refer to the wider-angle or bigger picture by putting the events into a historical and environmental context. Furthermore, when a certain genre of crises takes place inside a specific organizational sector, the media naturally tends to move from reporting the specifics of an incident to the environmental, situational or contextual factors.(Mason,2014) According to Scheufele (1999), framing goes even further then emphasizing attributes of a crisis by creating an entire new perspective or ''framework of interpretation''. (Scheufele,1999) Part of this new framework of interpretation, is the fact that frames have the ability to attribute different levels of responsibility towards organizations or other actors.

4. Attribution of responsibility Theory

The extent to which the reputation of Oxfam will be damaged will depend on the degree of responsibility that donors attribute to Oxfam. One theory that is concerned with the attribution of responsibility is the *attribution theory*, according to which people look for causes of events before making attributions of responsibility, especially if those events have a negative and unexpected connotation. (Weiner, 1985,1986,2006) When an attribution of responsibility takes place, there are two main emotions that a person develops namely, *anger* and *sympathy*. Depending on how strong a person develops those emotions, they will have an impact on his motivations to take concrete actions. Consequently, if a person or organization is being held responsible for something it has done, *anger* will be inflicted upon stakeholders and will be dictating their reaction. On the other hand, if a person or organization is not being hold responsible for an event, then its stakeholders' reactions will rather be dictated by *sympathy*. (Weiner, 2006)

4.1 Assessing a reputational threat

Furthermore, every crisis has its corresponding crisis response and thanks to the *attribution theory*, crisis managers will know what the expected level of reputational threat is that their organization is facing. One theory that has recognized this is the *Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)* of *Timothy Coombs*. Indeed, the SCCT is able to predict the level of threat to a reputation for a specific crisis while at the same time offering crisis response strategies that are supposed to protect reputational assets. The way stakeholders

assess crisis responsibility when a crisis takes place, is by asking questions such as: Did the crisis result from situational factors? Could the organization control the events? Depending on the assessment stakeholders make, affective and behavioural consequences for an organization will occur because the threat to the reputation of an organisation will increase as the attribution of crisis responsibility of stakeholders intensifies.(Coombs, 1998)

5. Situational Crisis Communication Theory

Generally, when a crisis occurs, it is possible to divide the public into two distinct groups. On the one hand those that are directly affected by the crisis, also called victims, and on the other hand those that are not affected directly, called non-victims. According to Carroll and McCombs (2003), the audience group of non-victims typically obtain the information about an organization through second-hand experiences that are offered to them by the news media. Additionally, those non-victim groups are characterized as having rather weak attitudes towards the organization in question which results in a high degree of susceptibility to the portrayal that the media offers about the organization. (Coombs,2003) Depending on how strong the influence of the media is, the non-victim category might be incited to behaviours such as stopping to buy certain products or services or changing their patterns of donating.(Coombs & Holladay, 2002) Because of this influence, the SCCT states that the way the news media frame a crisis is a decisive factor that affects the perceptions of stakeholders towards a crisis and which eventually will lead them into attributing blame or organizational responsibility.

Based on SCCT research, Coombs (2007) identified three crisis types which are categorically being used to assess the expected reputational threat level that certain crisis events pose to organizations. The key behind the establishment of those crisis types is based on questions related to if and which external actor caused the crisis, whether the crisis resulted from accidental or intentional actions caused by members of the organization and whether the crisis was the result of a technical or human error. Based on those three crisis types, and whether stakeholders see the events as being an accident, sabotage or criminal negligence, stakeholders attribute varying levels of crisis responsibility to an organization. Thus, the three crisis types or clusters are: the victim cluster, the accidental cluster and the intentional cluster.

The Victim cluster:

The victim cluster represents very low levels of attributions of crisis responsibility. Examples include cases of natural catastrophes, rumours and product tampering, which even though representing a crisis, do not pose high levels of reputation damage to an organization and the latter can be seen as a victim. (Coombs, 2004)

Accidental cluster:

The accidental cluster represents relatively low attributions of crisis responsibility. Examples include technical errors, technical error product harm and stakeholder challenges. Similar to the victim cluster, the accidental cluster also inflicts low levels of crisis responsibility to the organization, and the events are being considered as being out of control of the organization.

The intentional / preventable cluster:

The intentional cluster represents very strong attributions of crisis responsibility. Examples include, human-error accident, human-error product harm. The intentional cluster inflicts the highest level of crisis responsibility to the organization and the crisis is being considered as being the fault of the organization.

5.1 Crisis History and stakeholder relation history

Furthermore, the SCCT states that the level of threat is also indirectly defined by two intensifying factors, which are being referred to as ''stakeholder knowledge banks''. Those are: prior crisis history and stakeholder relationship history. (Coombs, 2004) Crisis history looks into the fact if an organization experienced similar crisis events in the past. Following the reasoning of *Attribution Theory*, a history of crisis is an indicator for the persistence and ongoing nature of problems inherent to an organization which need to be addressed urgently. (Kelley and Michela, 1980) On the other hand, the relationship history, shows the extent to which an organization has treated its stakeholders in a good or bad manner. The prior relationship reputation is disadvantageous if an organization is known for treating its stakeholders poorly which is also a sign that an organization has little consideration and sympathy for their stakeholders, on a permanent basis and not just during times of crises. Both, a history of crisis as well as a bad relationship will intensify attributions of responsibility and thus represent a reputational threat.

5.2 Reacting according to the reputational threat

Finally, according to SCCT, each of the three crisis types engender a specific and predictable degree of crisis responsibility and inhabits attributions of organizational responsibility for the crisis at hand. Now, when a crisis threatens the reputation of an organization, its crisis managers can anticipate how much crisis responsibility stakeholders will associate with the organization before reacting in the appropriate manner. The more stakeholders believe an organization is responsible for the crisis, the more their attitudes towards that organization will decrease and the more an organization will have to put efforts into managing the crisis.

Chapter 4: Methodology

1. Overall purpose of research design

As stated earlier, the aim of this study is to answer the following Research Question: *How did the media frame the so-called Haiti Scandal, and did it have an impact on Oxfam's reputation?* When the Haiti Scandal was revealed, people and stakeholders more in particular started evaluating the causes for the scandal as well as the organizational responsibility based on the media coverage of the crisis. Even though stakeholders are indirect victims of the scandal (Coombs,2004)), meaning that they have been affected indirectly by the sexual misconduct, they nevertheless can feel let down by Oxfam which will make them rethink their engagement. The extent to which this will happen, strongly depends on the way the media framed the scandal. A frame acts as a cognitive filter, which focuses on the retelling, on the intertextuality and by extension the entextualization during which it extracts the meaning of one discourse before inserting that meaning into another discourse. Those cognitive filters, depending on the frequency and strength in the way they have been deployed, impact the reputation of Oxfam.

2. Research strategy

This research is following a qualitative methodology by applying a media content analyses on three major UK newspapers. Those newspapers are, *The Times, The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*. By conducting a qualitative methodology rather than a purely quantitative analysis, I am able to conduct an analysis on a much deeper level, resulting in a much more dynamic understanding of the phenomenon that I wish to study. Indeed, this is because assessing the meaning behind the media framing of the Haiti Scandal necessitates a very subjective understanding of the different frames as well as the ability to justify and interpret why different units belong to a specific frame and not another. However, once I have assigned each unit to its belonging frame, I am able to visualize my results in a numerical manner such as in a table or chart which corresponds to quantitative research. In my case, this quantitative data will serve as an overview, which will facilitate the understanding of the repartition of my qualitative data along the different frames. Furthermore, since each frame is unique and not interchangeable, I will be able to clearly answer my Research Question by interpreting the way the different frames and their corresponding meaning, have been used by the newspapers.

The four categories that I created correspond to the frames which were used by the media to report on the *Haiti Scandal* and thus they can be found throughout all the articles. For the purpose of this study, I will limit myself to three major UK newspapers, namely, *The Guardian, The Times* and *The Daily Mail*. This choice is due to the high circulation and popularity of those newspapers in addition to also representing both the (elite) left (*The Guardian*) and right-wing (*The Times*) as well as the 'popular-wing' (*The Daily Mail*) ideologies. Additionally, *The Daily Mail* has one of the highest circulations of all the newspapers in the UK. Consequently, by choosing those three newspapers, I am able to generate information which the largest spectrum of society and thus Oxfam stakeholders have been exposed to. Before, giving further explanations on the way I coded the different articles it deems itself as necessary to first explain the procedure through which I gathered my sample of newspaper articles. Once the sample has been defined, I am then able to illustrate how I constructed and defined my categories.

3. News article sample

In order to obtain my sample of newspaper articles, I conducted a research on the *Factiva database* within the time period of the first week after the first publication, thus between the 09/02/2018 and the 16/02/2018. This allows me to capture the day by day coverage of the crisis before identifying specific frames that were used by the newspapers. Specifically, I have done the following:

Inside *Factiva Database*, I used the following keywords to gather my sample: Oxfam and sex* and Haiti. (sex* = showing every word containing the word sex. E.g. sexual abuse, sex scandal...)

I manually assessed all the articles that *The Guardian*, *The Times and The Daily Mail* published in the period between the 9th of February 2018 and the 16th of February 2018. *Annex 1* has a list with all the articles that I used for coding.

4. Results

Name of the Newspaper	Number of articles in the chosen period
The Times	36
The Guardian	30
The Daily Mail (Daily Mail UK & Mail	34
Online)	

Total of articles: 100

5. Operationalization of the categories

As stated inside the theoretical framework, the newspaper articles represent the means through which I am able to assess the level of responsibility which the media and thus its readers attributed to Oxfam. Inside those articles, the selected newspapers have chosen specific ways to report on the Haiti Scandal. Those ways have been categorized along four different frames, each attributing a different level of responsibility towards Oxfam. Those articles were the main source of information which Oxfam donors had access to in the week following the first revelations. While consuming that information, donors were exposed to four distinct frames with each of them influencing them in their own specific way.

Furthermore, in my theoretical framework I identified two main emotions which people develop when they are exposed to information that relates to the *attribution of responsibility*. Those two emotions are *sympathy* and *anger*. Sympathy will make its appearance when people read about an organization that is being wrongfully accused or has become the victim of uncontrollable circumstances, thus corresponding to the Victim and Accidental Cluster of Timothy Coombs. In both cases, people will see the organization as not solely responsible. Anger, on the contrary, will be the dominant emotion in cases where people read about human and organizational errors which make it clear that the organization is responsible for the crisis, thus representing the *Intentional / Preventable Cluster* of Coombs.

Taking this into account, the frames which I created and thus were used by the newspapers are constructed according to the following logic: Two of the frames provoke feelings of inside donors whereas the other two frames provoke feelings of sympathy. It remains important Oxfam and thus are both very damaging to the reputation of Oxfam. As for the two *sympathy* frames, they also both attribute the same level of responsibility towards Oxfam, which in this case is significantly less damaging to the reputation then the two anger frames. Even though the *sympathy* frames evoke some form of sympathy within donors, they nevertheless do not justify or glorify any activities which Oxfam allegedly took part in Haiti. Combined, those four categories will not only give a perception of how much responsibility the media and thus its readers attributed to Oxfam, but they will also precisely name all the flaws and problems that were at the core of the *Haiti Scandal*.

Finally, determining which frame and emotion was used the most gives crisis managers the possibility to see the impact that the crisis had on their reputation. In this case, Oxfam crisis managers are able to see the event through the lenses of their donors and will be capable of reacting in the appropriate manner such as theorised earlier.

6. Origin of the categories

Three out of four categories have been taken from a research paper of Kuipers (2008), in which she analysed different patterns of blame management by Scandinavian states in the wake of the 2004 Asian Tsunami disaster. Considering that this research was aimed at analysing the allocation of responsibility for a negative event, the categories Kuipers (2008) used are also relevant for this study. Those three categories are: *Constructing Severity*, being the fact of depicting events as violations of specific core public values; *Constructing Agency* being the fact of depicting events as operational incidents or as symptoms of endemic problems and *Constructing Responsibility* being the fact of depicting the events as caused by a single actor or by 'many hands'. (Kuipers,2008)

Even though those three categories are accurate, they are not yet able to give the full scope of what the newspapers published about the *Haiti Scandal*. For that reason, I added a fourth category with the name of *Constructing Perspective*, a frame that acknowledges good actions from the past as well as current apologies and regrets from Oxfam. Hence, the way through which this frame constructs *perspective* is by stating both sides of the story, not only the one side that damages the reputation of Oxfam but also the other side that shows how sorry Oxfam is as an organization that this could happen.

As for the emotions that each category provokes inside donors, the *constructing severity* and *constructing agency frame* provoke emotions of angriness inside donors and make that donors attribute high levels of responsibility to Oxfam. Furthermore, donors feel disappointed and deceived by Oxfam and will most definitely rethink any current and future engagement with Oxfam. As for the *constructing responsibility* and *constructing Perspective frame*, they both provoke feelings of sympathy, which in this case corresponds to frames that are less in attack mode and which create less attribution of responsibility to Oxfam. Furthermore, donors will feel pity with Oxfam and might not yet take any harsh changes in their current and future engagement with Oxfam.

7. Descriptions and Definitions of the four frames

Constructing Severity frame

The constructing severity frame belongs to the category of episodic frames which has been defined inside my theoretical framework as being a frame that refers to concrete illustrations, emphasizing detailed case studies while being highly influential in attributing responsibility. This specific frame of constructing severity depicts an event as a violation of core public values such as issues relating to security, integrity and social justice. (Kuipers, 2008) Those violations have the potential to trigger highly sensible political and societal debates that result in attributions on blame and responsibility. In addition, when mentioning those violations, timing plays an important role and specific contexts have the ability to make certain events more salient. (McGraw, 1991) To illustrate the last point, one has to put the Haiti Scandal into the broader context and consider that the allegations were being made in the middle of the #metoo era in which problems related to gender based violence have become polemized in every aspect of our lifes.

Constructing Agency Frame

The *constructing agency* frame belongs to the category of *thematic frames* which was previously defined as a frame that refers to the wider-angle or bigger picture of events by emphasizing the historical and environmental context. Specifically, the *constructing agency* frame depicts an event as being an operational incident or as being a symptom of endemic problems. By using this frame, the events are being placed in a broader time perspective in 25

order to be able to concentrate on some powerful underlying causes.(Kuipers, 2008) Those causes range from flaws in laws and regulations to management decisions that impact safety practices to cultures that tolerate wrong behaviour. (Kuipers, 2008)

Constructing Responsibility Frame

The constructing responsibility frame is twofold. On the one hand it depicts the events as being caused by a single actor, and on the other hand it mentions other NGOs then Oxfam, which also face allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation. Firstly, by blaming a single actor inside of a network of many different actors, this frame does not recognize any organizational wrongdoings but rather focuses on the 'black sheep' amongst an otherwise intact organization. Hence, in the case of Oxfam, the fact that a single person is being held responsible for the events that took place in Haiti is less damaging to the reputation since Oxfam as such is being taken out of the cross-fire. Secondly, mentioning other NGOs or UN missions, shows to the reader that Oxfam is not the only actor who is facing issues of sexual misconduct and that indeed it is a problem inherent to the sector and even to the society in which we live in.

Constructing Perspective Frame

The *constructing Perspective* frame is concerned with apologies, signs of regret as well as the will to change from the side of Oxfam. Additionally, this frame also mentions the presence of a crisis-free past and an intact past relation with stakeholders. When donors are being exposed to this frame, they are reminded of all the good things Oxfam did in the past and thus they will see the current crisis as an unfortunate mistake from which Oxfam will be able to resurrect. Also part of this frame are apologies as well as the acceptance of wrongdoings. Indeed, the fact that newspapers mention those forms of remorse will reduce the damage to the reputation of Oxfam. This is due to the fact that newspaper articles are limited in terms of space, and if a newspaper decides to mention the view of Oxfam, then it is a clear sign that they report both sides of the story and not just the one that is attacking and damaging to the reputation of Oxfam.

8. Coding

Now that my four categories have been defined and that I can rely on four distinct, non-interchangeable categories, I am able to proceed to code the articles and thus obtain the information that is needed to answer my research question. The first thing that needed to be done was to read the entire 100 articles that my three newspapers published in the chosen period. After having done so, I faced the necessity to limit my coding to a restricted number of paragraphs. This has been summarized inside my first coding rule:

1) Only those paragraphs that contain at least twice my initial keywords (Oxfam, sex*, Haiti) have been selected. Inside those paragraphs, I will extract and code its different sentences. The unit of analysis thus is sentences inside the chosen paragraphs, and the categories will be identified as many as they appear in a chosen paragraph. Doing so, I avoid having an overload of coded units, but I also guarantee that the chosen paragraphs directly relate to my case.

After having further downsized my sample to only those specific paragraphs that are needed to be able to answer my Research Question, I eventually ended up with a total number of 529 sentences, hereafter referred to as units. Since this research is of a qualitative nature, each unit has a specific meaning which belongs to one of my four categories. When determining to which category each unit belongs, I strictly followed the definition and meaning of each category. As a result, those units that I regrouped under the Constructing Severity Frame, refer to violations of core public values, related to security, integrity and social justice while being able to trigger highly sensible debates inside the society. Consequently, every time a unit mentions Oxfam as having caused those violations, that unit will belong to the Constructing Severity Frame and will be coded accordingly. Similarly, if a unit refers to the root causes of a problem in order to give a bigger picture of the events while also putting them into a historical and environmental context, then that unit belongs to the Constructing Agency frame. Indeed, this regroups all the units that insist on flaws in regulations and laws which govern the work of Oxfam. Furthermore, all the units that mention organizational structures, management structures as well as cultures that tolerate bad behavior will also be part of the Constructing Agency Frame.

Next, all the units which used the names of specific persons while attributing high levels of responsibility towards them as single actors, belong to the *Constructing Responsibility* frame. Additionally, units that clearly state the name of other NGOs or UN missions in relation to sexual misconduct in Haiti or elsewhere are also part of the *Constructing Responsibility* frame. Finally, all the units that specifically mention the good work that Oxfam has done over the years despite the *Haiti Scandal*, belong to the *Constructing Perspective* frame. This includes units that mention the fact that Oxfam is sorry and ashamed for what happened in Haiti as well as those units that mention some of the measures that have been announced by Oxfam to avoid future cases of sexual misconduct.

Thus, while analyzing my chosen paragraphs, I coded the units as many as they appeared. Those sentences which did not match with any of my four frames have not been coded. The table in Annex 2 gives an overview of all the units categorized according to the frame to which they belong. In this table, you will find in the left column the name of the frame and in the right column the matching units. Please note, that inside that table, I did not write the entire sentences, since that would have taken too much space and time. Instead, I only wrote the most important part of each sentence which also corresponds to the part which made me decide on their belonging to that specific category. Additionally, in brackets after each unit, you can find the name of the newspaper as well as the date of publication of that unit. Further clarifications are provided in *Annex3* which has a sample of a PDF documents in which I coded the articles in different colors. This has been done in the following way: Severity: Pink, Agency: Blue, Responsibility: Green, Perspective: Purple. Having done so for each article helped me to be able to copy each unit into the table of *Annex2*. It is indeed *Annex 2* that is of greater value to the outside reader as well as more comprehensive than Annex3 which consists of a pdf document of more than 200 pages. Lastly, Annex4, illustrates a similar method, in which I coded the articles in an Excel sheet, having each unit in a cell before connecting the unit with the right category.

In order to optimize the accuracy of my coding, I introduced one additional rule:

2) The category *Constructing severity* does not include personal details or sufferings related to abuses that have taken place between co-workers or inside Charity shops in Britain. The focus is on abuse by aid workers towards children or women in countries where Oxfam is conducting aid work.

9. Limits

The method that was described above, is the result of a number of choices and limitations which I had to make in order to provide the best possible outcome of my analysis. First of all, by choosing to analyze newspaper articles that have been published only in the first week after the revelations of the *Haiti Scandal*, I must acknowledge the fact that the media continued to frame the *Haiti Scandal* in the weeks and even months afterwards. This Media framing that took place over a long period of time thus would have added new and different aspects to the analyses. However, for the purpose of my research this was not necessary. Indeed, by choosing the first week, my media frame analysis is in conformity with the decrease in donations, which also mainly took place in that first week.

Next, as explained earlier I had to make choices in terms of paragraph selection, mainly because I had to guarantee that the chosen paragraphs are purely concerned with the *Haiti Scandal* but also to avoid receiving an overload of data. However, I have to acknowledge the fact that there might have been paragraphs which did not contain at least two of my initial keywords *(criterium for the selection)*, but nevertheless contained sentences which would have corresponded to one of the four frames. Nevertheless, having coded over 500 units, is a significant amount of data and thus is considered as being representative.

Furthermore, even though my research is concerned with the frames that were used by newspapers, it is necessary to specify that all three newspapers used a high amount of quotes both from stakeholders as well as from Oxfam itself, thus technically speaking those are not the words of the newspapers. However, since using them represents a choice that the newspapers made, those quotes are nevertheless considered deriving from the newspapers themselves.

Finally, each of the four frames contain different aspects inside. Consequently, it would have been possible to create more frames then just the four. However, using more frames would have made my results and debates less clear. In addition, I am convinced that the way the four frames have been constructed, makes that each frame is comprehensive, unique and not interchangeable.

Chapter 5: Analysis

Chapter five consists of the Analysis and is structured in the following way. First, I introduce what the reputation of Oxfam was prior to February 2018. This is important because this study aims at finding out if the media framing has caused any changes to the reputation of Oxfam, thus the reputation of Oxfam before the media started with the framing of *the Haiti Scandal* is very important. Next, in the results section, I provide the exact number of Units coded as well as their repartition along the four different frames. After summarizing them in a table, I start discussing each of the frames one after another by giving a meaning to the different units that have been categorized under it. For further in-depth clarifications, a second results section, looking at each newspaper separately, follows after the frame discussion. In that section, I provide the number of frames used by each newspaper, before discussing those results with the aim of finding any differences in the way each newspaper framed the *Haiti Scandal*.

1. Oxfam reputation prior to February 2018

Analysing the impact that the media frames had on the reputation of Oxfam means analysing a change that took place which was triggered by a specific event. This event was the *Haiti Scandal*, which through media reporting created a change to the reputation of Oxfam.

Consequently, the reputation that Oxfam has today is different from the one it had prior to February 2018. Thus, if the goal of this research is to measure this change, then the starting point has to be the reputation that Oxfam was enjoying prior to February 2018.

First of all, following the words of Andrew Hind, who was the chief executive of the charity Commission between 2004 and 2010, Oxfam was widely admired around the world for over seventy years which let to their ''deserved reputation as a global leader in civil society.'' (Hind 2018) This has been further confirmed by Dyan Mazurana from the Massachusetts Tufts University (2018) who said that ''Oxfam is best practice. It is widely viewed by other international NGOs as having the best safeguarding unit and the best safeguarding policies and practices in place'' among the entire NGO sector.

Furthermore, also before the earthquake took place in Haiti, Oxfam was considered as being one of the most successful and most respected actors in the sector which has been acknowledged by *The Foreign Policy* journal who published a list in 2008 entitled: *The World's Most Powerful Development NGOs*. On that list Oxfam is being portrayed in the

following way: a "widely recognized brand and a reputation for results....much of Oxfam's influence can be felt not only on the ground in poor countries where people depend on its charity to survive, but also in rich countries, where it helps drive the public's perception of development. "(Foreign Policy Journal, 2008)

Additionally, the Geneva-based journal *The Global Journal* published their annual TOP 100 NGOs special issue in which Oxfam ranked third in 2013. This one of a kind ranking recognizes the increasing global influence of NGOs and acts as a source of information for policymakers, business, academics and non-profit leaders. 450 NGOs had been considered for this ranking in 2013 based on three key criterium: impact, innovation and sustainability. The following has been said about Oxfam at the time: ''In many ways, Oxfam encapsulates in one organization the various functions of a modern NGO. It engages in humanitarian work, assisting those immediately affected by conflict and natural disasters. It implements development programs, seeking to lift communities out of poverty with long-term sustainable solutions....it undertakes in-depth and rigorous research into best practices and structural challenges. And it does all those things effectively and to the highest standards''. (*The Global Journal*, 2013)

As a matter of fact, when Oxfam first started its aid work in Haiti, they did have a code of conduct for its staff in place as well as a policy on *Protection of Sexual abuse and exploitation (PSAE)*. Thus, precautions, even though not enough to prevent the scandal, had been in place and agreed upon by all Oxfam staff in Haiti. (Hind, 2019) Finally, it has also been shown that Oxfam was highly respected and trusted within the UK government prior to February 2018. Probes are given by statements of the international development secretary Rory Stewart who recognized that 'Oxfam is an important British Institution that saves lives in some of the worlds toughest places.' This was again confirmed by other spokespersons inside the government that acknowledge the fact that 'Oxfam plays a crucial role in saving lives and reducing poverty which makes of them an important British institution.' Taking all together, those statements as well as rankings, then it is indeed possible to say that the reputation of Oxfam was good prior to the *Haiti Scandal*, thus representing a 'sustainable competitive advantage'. (Dollinger,1997)

2. Results according to the frames

In total I coded 529 sentences.

Total appearances of each frame:

Constructing Severity: 205 units (39%)

Constructing Agency: 162 units (31%)

Constructing Responsibility: 112 units (22%)

Constructing Perspective: 50 units (8%)

Frame	Number of belonging Units
Constructing Severity	205 (39%)
Constructing Agency	162 (31%)
Constructing Responsibility	112 (22%)
Constructing Perspective	50 (8%)

Table 1: Units per frame

3. Findings and Discussion of each frame

With 205 mentions, the *Constructing Severity* frame has been deployed by far the most both in total as well as within each newspaper. The second most used frame has been the *Constructing Agency* frame with 166 mentions followed by the *Constructing Responsibility* frame with 113 mentions and the *Constructing Perspective* frame with 50 mentions

Constructing Severity

The *Constructing Severity* frame has been mentioned 205 times which means that there were 205 units, across the three newspapers, whose main concern has been identified as belonging to the *Constructing Severity* frame. Indeed, all those units emphasize the violation of core public values that result in a high degree of attribution of responsibility to Oxfam. In addition, while analyzing all those units that are considered highly sensitive inside our society, I realized that there are three aspects, which combined, construct the level of severity.

The first aspect is one that insists on concrete details about the sexual abuse, the second aspect emphasizes the amount of money that Oxfam has received in the past or is about to lose because of the *Haiti Scandal* and the third aspect is concerned with famous celebrities or institutional donors and their reactions to the *Haiti Scandal*.

Giving detailed descriptions about the actions, Oxfam staff allegedly took part in Haiti has been very dominant throughout all the newspapers. In a way this is not surprising, since one of the main roles of a newspaper is to expose specific cases to its audiences. The way this has been done in the case of the *Haiti Scandal* has been very precise, sharp and to the point. Unsurprisingly, the violations of core public values were depicted in the form of sexual misconduct and sexual abuse towards women and even children. Additionally, this abuse has been put into the context that prevailed in Haiti in 2010. A few hundred thousand people died, millions lost their house, there was no access to electricity nor food nor any form of hygiene. The Haitian government was completely swamped by those events and was consequently grateful for every foreign aid worker who made the trip to Haiti. However, the Haitian government quickly realized that "folks come to Haiti pretending that they're here to help but.... they are exploiting the locals" (Times 13/02)

Oxfam found itself in the crossfire and quite shockingly, the allegation did not stop at "paying prostitutes for sex" but it also came out that "some of the girls were said to be aged under 16." (Daily Mail, 16/02) The details that emerged continued saying that not only were the girls underaged, but in addition they were forced to take part in events such as "sex parties", "orgies", and "young meat barbecues" (Times,09/02) that Oxfam staff organized inside their "£1.200-a-month" villa known as the "eagle's nest" (Times, 14/02) Those details also created strong effects of visualization such as when it has been described that the girls were running around wearing only Oxfam T-shirts. Furthermore, all those abuses point to extremely severe problems of abuse of power which was taking place in Haiti. Indeed, Oxfam aid workers took advantage of desperate women and children and made their aid dependent on sexual favors. Indeed, headquartered in Haiti at a villa with a "25ft swimming pool and a charming sun terrace" (Daily Mail,13/02) Oxfam went on to coerce women into sex in exchange for aid.

Another very important aspect of the *Constructing Severity* frame has been the fact of giving concrete indications about the donations which Oxfam receives. Indeed, all the newspapers regularly published the concrete amounts of donations that Oxfam receives from public institutions, both on a national and EU level. When doing so, they always mention the fact that

part of that money derives from taxpayer money. Already as such, taxes are a highly sensitive topic in our society, and if people then read in the newspapers that their tax money contributed to paying for a villa inside which sex parties with underage earthquake survivors took place, then the outrage becomes very loud. In addition, considering that those mentions of donations are concerned with very high sums of money such as "£300 million a year in British government funds and public donations allowed" (Times, 09/02), then people are further being pushed into thinking that Oxfam receives far too much money and that this money should be spent differently. On the other hand, the fact that major institutional donors have cancelled their donations to Oxfam presents an incentive for people to also start questioning their own donations.

The third aspect of the *Constructing Severity* frame has a similar impact as the previous one, in the sense that it also encouraged people to question whether they should continue supporting Oxfam. The way it has been done in this case, is by using celebrities and famous companies who exert a high level of influence over ordinary supporters. Two celebrities have been particularly popular inside the three newspapers, those are Desmond Tutu, a South African human rights activist who was one of the key figures in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, as well as Minnie Driver a highly respected actor in the UK who has been acting as an Oxfam Ambassador for many years. Both are famous within the Oxfam donor community, one because of his experience and expertise in the same line of work then Oxfam, and the other because of being famous in the same country in which Oxfam GB is located. Both have been referred to on various occasions as being "high profile celebrities" who stepped down from their roles as Oxfam Ambassadors. What this also shows is that the system through which Oxfam uses Ambassadors to increase their reach, is a clear asset in good times, however, that same system will become a liability in times of crisis. Indeed, by being exposed to the disappointment of those very influential Ambassadors, people will start to believe that abandoning Oxfam is the natural thing to do.

Constructing Agency

Next, there has been 166 mentions of the *Constructing Agency* frame, which was previously defined as being a frame that refers to the wider-angle or bigger picture of events while putting an emphasize on the historical and environmental context. This makes of the constructing agency frame the second most used frame throughout all the newspapers. Overall, this frame has been very powerful in criticizing Oxfam as an organization as such and not purely in relation to Haiti which causes high attribution of responsibility. Consequently, this frame gives explanations as to why the events in Haiti could happen in the first place. In addition, as theorized earlier the *Constructing Agency* frame has been identified as a *thematic frame*, thus able to put things into their environmental and historical context.

According to the *Constructing Agency* frame, Oxfam failed on numerous levels and not just in Haiti but for many years. Indeed, one of the things that newspapers have stated repeatedly is the problem of transparency inside the organization. The main concern here is that Oxfam, not only gave some of the sexual predators that were involved in Haiti a dignified exit, but they also failed to warn other NGOs about those people. This came particularly clear with Roland Van Hauwermeiren, who was authorized to resign before joining another NGO called *Action Against Hunger* in Bangladesh. At the same time, Oxfam also knew that Van Hauwermeiren was a sexual predator even before putting him in charge in Haiti, this included earlier missions in Tchad as well as Liberia.

This is not a unique case which is why throughout the articles one can read about a "culture of sexual abuse" as well as a "culture of cover-up" (Times 13/02) This culture is also why Oxfam did not properly investigate what happened in Haiti, nor did they contact the police. They started reacting only when the Times first broke the story, which has thus been judged by all the newspapers as a failure on a very "deep level". Also part of that culture is the fact that predatory pedophiles have become way too comfortable inside the aid sector. The reason behind this is the artificial power that they think they gained when entering the field. As a result, they think that they can do whatever they want. This is a huge problem and needs to be rooted out once and for all especially when one believes what *the Daily Mail* reported on the topic: "predatory paedophiles were now targeting charities in order to 'access children' in the developing world" (Daily Mail, 14/02)

Furthermore, one message that comes out of the articles is the fact that Oxfam is not different from all the big corrupt and greedy corporations in the world, even though they pretend being on the 'moral high ground' vis-a-vis those same corporations. Thus, it is really the structure of Oxfam that is being criticized by saying that "Oxfam has clearly grown too big for the present leadership" and that indeed Oxfam "is not just a charity but a large multinational corporation" (Times 16/02). If Oxfam Stakeholders are exposed to information which create a link between Oxfam and the corporate world, then the level of receptiveness of stakeholders will be extra sensitive. This is mainly because their support for Oxfam in the first place, lies in the fact that they have always seen Oxfam as an actor fighting against corporations and standing strong for the poor and disadvantaged. Additionally, this further begs the question of what priorities Oxfam was following at the time. According to the news reports, one of the main priorities of Oxfam has been their reputation and not the well-being of the victims, thus another characteristic that is usually attributed to big corporations.

Additionally, the *Constructing Agency* frame uses a historical context which goes back all the way to colonial times in order to show that what happened to Oxfam is an example of abuse of power between rich developed nations and poor developing nations. Indeed, "the idea of sex as a transaction used by utterly desperate black women. This is colonialism at work" (Guardian, 14/02) Thus using the colonial history is a reminder as to how sensitive *aid work* is in the first place and that the balance between "here to help" and "here to have a good time" is very fine. Furthermore, the overall abuse of power is two-fold, not only from rich towards poor nations, but also from men towards women. Changing this must start in the headquarters of Oxfam especially considering that "Leadership of Oxfam in the UK is all white, and men outnumber women". (Guardian, 14/02)

Constructing Agency

113 units corresponded to the *Constructing Responsibility* frame, which is quite a significant number, positioning the *Constructing Responsibility* frame as the third most used frame throughout all the articles. As a reminder, the *Constructing Responsibility* frame attributes significantly less responsibility to Oxfam compared to the *severity* and *agency* frames. Thus, when exposed to this frame readers develop feelings of sympathy rather than angriness. The *Constructing Responsibility* frame has been described previously as mentioning other NGOs or UN missions in relation to sexual misconduct as well as mentioning single actors inside Oxfam responsible for the abuse. Consequently, the sympathy that Stakeholders develop is limited in

the sense that it only develops because all the other organizations are also bad and not because Oxfam is good. Similarly, blaming single persons also creates a rather short-lived sympathy because over time people realize that Oxfam was nevertheless responsible for those people and their actions. Nevertheless, in both cases, Oxfam is being portrayed in a light that is significantly brighter as the one deployed by the previous two frames.

Some of the names that have been used on a regular basis by all three newspapers are: Roland Van Hauwermeiren, the Oxfam country director of Haiti at the time, Penny Lawrence, Oxfam's deputy chief executive at the time, Mark Goldring, the director of Oxfam GB at the time, and Barbara Stocking a former chief executive of Oxfam GB. The name that keeps coming back however is Roland Van Hauwermeiren to the point that he has become the face of the *Haiti Scandal*. He was directly involved in inviting girls to the Oxfam villa, has a preference for "orgies and lesbians" (Daily Mail, 16/02) and he organized the "young meat barbecues" where he paid young girls for sex. In addition to all of that, he has built an impressive, in the most negative sense possible, track record over the years of abusing women and children while working as an aid worker. Those abuses range from Tchad to Liberia all the way to Haiti and include other NGOs for which he worked for such as *Merlin (now called Save the children)*.

After reading about all these things Van Hauwermeiren has done in the past and present gives stakeholders the impression that all the horrendous things they have been reading about were not caused by Oxfam, but rather caused by a single, sick and dangerous person. While feelings of anger will prevail, the pressure nevertheless will be taken of the shoulders of Oxfam. In this case Oxfam will actually be seen as the victim of Van Hauwermeiren, thus leading to low attribution of responsibility for Oxfam as such. (Coombs,2004) As for the other people that are being named, they did not participate in any sexual misconduct, however because of their senior positions they should have been aware of what was going on. Thus, because of the failure of doing their jobs, they have also entered the media crossfire and again, while they are being portrayed as responsible, some of the spotlight goes away from Oxfam itself.

A similar effect is also caused by the fact that newspapers mention other NGOs, institutions or UN missions in relation to sexual abuse. As said in the introduction, sexual abuse has been linked to UN peacekeeping missions for decades. Consequently, when people read about things that UN soldiers did over the year and then go on and compare this to Oxfam, then indeed Oxfam employees look like saints. Surely, some of the things the newspapers

mentioned in relation to UN peacekeeping are disgraceful and horrifying to the highest extent possible. Some examples include that "only one in ten rapes by UN staff was reported" and that in the Central African Republic UN soldiers "made girls to have sex with dogs" (Guardian, 14/02) While there are fundamental differences in the nature of the work of UN peacekeepers and Oxfam aid workers, the average person, when reading about, will not make a difference between an UN mission and Oxfam's mission which is why Oxfam will be seen as comparatively innocent. However, the newspapers also pointed to other NGOs whose work is rather similar to Oxfam. Those NGOs include *Save the Children, Médecins sans frontiers, British red cross and Cristian aid.* In each of those cases, NGOs have been mentioned as having been involved in sexual abuse while working in the field. Thus, in a single year "more than 120 workers across a range of leading charities had been accused of sexual abuse. (Guardian, 11/02)

What all these examples prove is that there is an underlying problem inside the aid sector and that Oxfam is not the only one struggling with issues of sexual abuse and exploitation. This has become quite visible in all the newspapers, which is why this frame has indeed a less damaging impact on Oxfam then the *severity* and *agency* frames. However, what the *constructing responsibility* frame does, is that it puts donors in a very delicate situation in which, even though they feel betrayed by Oxfam, they nevertheless continue to support them due to the lack of alternative, trustworthy organizations.

Constructing Perspective

Even though the *Constructing Perspective* frame has been used the least with 50 mentions, it nevertheless represents an important part of the media framing because as its name suggests it brings a broader perspective into the picture. Because of doing so, the *Constructing Perspective* frame was found to be the least damaging to the reputation of Oxfam. Inside, it regroups examples of past good actions of Oxfam as well as apologies, regrets and announcements from Oxfam that they are committed to changing things. While the *Constructing Responsibility* frame was capable of provoking some form of sympathy inside donors, the *Constructing Perspective* frame is capable of creating real sympathy for Oxfam within donors and thus is able to protect the reputation of Oxfam while acting as a ''social insurance.'' (Coombs,2006)

The way perspective has been constructed is through acknowledging that despite this crisis, Oxfam has been doing great work for many years. Indeed, the newspapers identified Oxfam as being "one of Britain's most brilliant and internationally respected charities". Furthermore, when reading about this, stakeholders are being reminded that Oxfam has been actively saving lives since 1942 which also includes the time period between 2010, when the abuse in Haiti took place, and February 2018 when the *Haiti Scandal* was revealed. E.g. "The excellent work" of "hundreds of Oxfam staff who have done no wrong" (Times,16/02) Indeed, the *Constructing Perspective* frame recognizes that the events that took place in Haiti were committed by a few so-called "bad apples" (Times,16/02) This further shows that those few bad people should not be representative for the work of an entire organization. Indeed, we live in a society in which we must acknowledge that there are all kinds of people. This also includes a certain percentage of sexual predators which participate in daily life, everywhere in the world. Thus, the aid sector is no exception to this and logically also regroups a certain number of sexual predators just as any other sector as well.

Despite all that, it is also being reported that Oxfam nevertheless acknowledged their wrongdoings and that they are extremely sorry, ashamed and deeply regret what happened in Haiti. Reading about the former Oxfam International director, Winnie Byanyima, who is originally from Uganda, saying that she is deeply ashamed of what she called "privileged men abusing people they were supposed to help", will tell readers that Oxfam is indeed really sorry and that they are not only saying that to protect their reputation. Furthermore, the previous lack of transparency has turned into an overall acceptance of charges as well as an apology towards, donors, governments and supporters all over the world.

Finally, the fact that newspapers mentioned the measures which Oxfam plans on implementing, proves that the newspapers care about Oxfam to the extent to use valuable article space, to point out that Oxfam is committed to change after the *Haiti Scandal*. From the Oxfam perspective this seems only fair because indeed they mentioned a broad range of measures which in return should also be published in the newspapers so that stakeholders will know about them. Those mentions include "doubling the budget of its safeguarding team, setting up a global database of accredited referees to ensure sex offenders cannot reoffend at other charities, and improving the organization's whistleblowing mechanism". (Guardian, 16/02)

4. Results according to Newspaper

	Constructing Severity	Constructing Agency	Constructing Responsibility	Constructing Perspective	Total number of Coded Units per newspaper
The Guardian	42	37	40	20	139
The Times	94	57	37	12	201
The Daily Mail	69	68	35	17	189
Total number	205	162	112	50	
Total percentage	39%	31%	22%	8%	

Table 2: Repartition of articles per newspaper:

5. Discussion on frames used by each newspaper

Overall, each newspaper published quite a high number of news articles related to the *Haiti Scandal* especially considering that my chosen timeframe has only been one week. However, there are significant differences between the three newspapers which are worth mentioning to further contribute to answering my research question. My news article analysis has shown that *The Times*, with 201 coded units inside its 36 articles, has made the most usage of the four frames. *The Guardian*, with 139 coded units inside its 30 articles has used the frames second most before The *Daily Mail*, on the third position with 189 units coded inside 34 articles. At first, the fact that *The Times* used the four frames the most is hardly surprising because on the one hand, the newspaper published the highest number of articles in the chosen timeframe and on the other hand it was *The Times*, that first investigated the *Haiti Scandal*, before then breaking the story on the 9th of February 2019.

The Times

One of the most striking things when looking at the framing deployed by *The Times*, is that it categorized 94 units under the *Constructing Severity* frame, thus 25 times more often than the *The Daily Mail* which has been the second most user of the *severity* frame with 69 mentions. One of the reasons why the *severity* frame has been used that often by *The Times* compared to the other newspapers is because *The Times* published an already quite extensive range of information as early as the 9th of February. (6 articles on the 9th, 13 articles on the 10th)

Indeed, while other newspapers were still at the 'gathering information' phase, *The Times* had already published concrete details such as that some of the "girls were underaged" and that there had been sex parties hosted under the name of "Young meat barbecues". Those highly sensitive information have thus already been published at a moment where most of Oxfam's stakeholders had barely heard of the *Haiti Scandal*, thus making "sex parties with underage girls" the first bit of information which stakeholders were exposed to. Also, part of the very first publication was the fact that those sex parties were made possible thanks to taxpayer money. Hence, from a public relations point of view the fact of leaving stakeholders with these kind of information on a Friday is highly effective. Indeed, publishing on a Friday makes that people have all weekend to reflect on the information, while Oxfam will not be able to react to it for two days. Thus, the *Haiti Scandal* had been launched.

Having used the sensitivity frame that much means that *The Times* chose indeed to insist on a frame that has been defined as being highly influential in attributing responsibility to Oxfam. On the other side of the extreme, *The Times* has also been the newspaper that has made the least usage of the *Perspective* frame which has been defined as being a frame that attributes the lowest level responsibility to Oxfam. While they did mention the previous good work of Oxfam, this information would have hardly influenced any readers, next to all the details of the sexual abuse as well organizational incompetence such as lack of transparency, all regrouped under a culture that tolerates bad behavior (*constructing agency*).

All in all, it has become clear that *The Times*, earlier defined as being an "elite right-wring" newspaper, was really insisting on the *Constructing Severity* frame, thus creating significant damage to the reputation of Oxfam. As a matter of fact, it makes perfectly sense that they publish details about the events that took place in Haiti considering that it is their job. However, the way they did it, by using strong and captivating language, while using very little

elements from the *responsibility* and *perspective* frame, can be considered as a choice as well as a strategy which they deliberately chose to take.

The Daily Mail

Looking at the way *The Daily Mail* framed the *Haiti Scandal*, the most striking thing is that it scored high for both the severity and as well as, with 68 units the highest of the three newspapers, for the agency frame. Indeed, inside the latter, The Daily Mail mentioned as early as the 10th of February, that there was a "pedophile-ring" operating inside Oxfam in Haiti which took advantage of the artificial power they had over children and women. Additionally, The Daily Mail scored high on each aspect of the agency frame, such as mentioning lack of transparency, mismanagement as well as the internal structures of Oxfam. Inside the severity frame, The Daily Mail made the most usage of celebrities, from Desmond Tutu to Minnie Driver but also other celebrities which have not been mentioned by the other newspapers, this includes, on various occasions, Tallia Storm, a reality TV star from the UK. In addition, inside the severity frame, The Daily Mail used very particular information which no other newspaper used. This includes concrete details about the Oxfam villa in Haiti which "at £1.200-a-month" had a "25ft swimming pool and a charming sun terrace". This is precisely the kind of additional information where one must question it's necessity of being published, because firstly it does not directly relate to the abuse scandal and secondly it is designed specifically to get into the heads of readers by playing around the notion of 'privileged aid workers helping poor Haitians'.

Nevertheless, with 17 units categorized under the *perspective* frame, one must acknowledge that there has been the will inside the editorial offices of *The Daily Mail* to provide a two-sided story at least to a certain extent. Indeed, on a few occasions, they quoted Oxfam speak persons saying that Oxfam had not been engaged in a cover-up of the allegation it faced.

All in all, the way The Daily Mail framed the *Haiti Scandal* can be described as "balanced". Indeed, there were no such extremes as within *The Times* and in three out of four frames, *the Daily Mail* has been positioned in the middle, thus in between both elite newspapers. However, the fact that it had the most mentions of the *agency frame* is nevertheless prove that there was a will to show that indeed there were deeper problems which caused the *Haiti Scandal*. Two other characteristics of the *Daily Mail* were that it used additional information which did not directly relate to the abuse scandal as well as the fact that it showed a particular interest in

using celebrities to support their arguments. Indeed, that last point is a strategy that tabloid or popular newspaper, to which *The Daily Mail* belongs, like to deploy. Using celebrities, the newspaper is aware of the high influence that this has on ordinary *Daily Mail* readers and thus they know how effective the use of this frame is in attributing responsibility towards Oxfam.

The Guardian

Looking at the way *The Guardian* has framed the Haiti Scandal, the thing that is the most striking is that on the one hand it has the lowest amount of units corresponding to both the *Severity* as well as *Agency* frame while on the other hand, it has the highest amount of units categorized under the *Responsibility* and *Perspective* frame. Indeed, the Guardian has used the severity frame 42 times which corresponds to 27 times less than *The Daily Mail* and even 52 times less than *The Times*. Nevertheless, *The Guardian* used each of the three aspects of the *severity* frame, just in a less repetitive manner. The same is true for the *agency* frame in which The Guardian also scored 20 units less than *the Times* which was mainly due to the fact that The Guardian reported less on specific persons that were allowed to resign before joining another NGO, but rather insisted and named the problem behind this, namely a failure in the "vetting procedure". Thus, by using that expression, there was no need to repeat many times that indeed people were allowed to move around in the sector despite the fact of having been convicted of sexual abuse.

Having 40 units categorized under the *responsibility frame* on the other hand, is mainly due to the fact that the Guardian really insisted on the problems of sexual abuse inside the aid sector and more in particular inside UN missions. By doing so, the *Haiti Scandal* moves to the background, giving space to UN soldiers, who after all paid "girls to have sex with dogs", which people will judge much worse than what Oxfam staff did in Haiti. Furthermore, the way the Guardian constructed *perspective* was through various mentions of apologies as well as by mentioning the hundreds of good workers who are ashamed because of a few people who did not live up to the high standards and values of Oxfam.

All in all, *The Guardian*, having been defined as being an "elite left-wing" newspaper had a clear tendency in its framing of the *Haiti Scandal*, characterized by the prevalence of both frames that attribute a low level of responsibility towards Oxfam, which is further being confirmed by a rather modest usage of both frames that attribute a high level of responsibility. It remains important to say that *The Guardian*, did not in any way downplay the events that

took place in Haiti as well the involvement of Oxfam staff in it. However, what is true is that there was a clear tendency for less repetitive framing as well as the tendency of putting the *Haiti Scandal* into the broader context of an abusive aid sector in general, with a slight tendency of insisting on abuse inside UN missions.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research aimed at answering the following question: How did the media frame the so-called Haiti Scandal and did it have an impact on the reputation of Oxfam? The media content analysis has shown that the newspapers used four frames when reporting about the Haiti Scandal. It is crucial to understand the meaning of each of those frames because they affect the perception that stakeholders have of the crisis. Indeed, after first hearing about the Haiti Scandal, Oxfam stakeholders turned to the media and started seeking further information so that they could make sense of the events that took place in Haiti. On the other hand, the way stakeholders perceived Oxfam determined how good or bad their reputation now is. With donors being the main stakeholders of Oxfam, reputation becomes existential considering that Oxfam is strongly connected to the availability of resources and that a bad reputation will result in a decrease in donations which will then threaten the existence of Oxfam.

When trying to assess the impact that the media frames had on the reputation of Oxfam, the most important thing to find out was the level of responsibility that was attributed to Oxfam through the media. Consequently, the extent to which the reputation of Oxfam will be damaged depends on the level of responsibility that stakeholder will attribute to Oxfam and the more this attribution of responsibility increases, the more the reputation of Oxfam will be under threat.

What came out of the newspaper analysis, was that the overall level of responsibility which the three newspapers and thus Oxfam stakeholder attributed to Oxfam was quite high. This was due to the dominance of both the *Constructing Severity* and *Constructing Agency* frames which together represent more than two third of all the frames used. Both frames attribute high levels of responsibility to Oxfam, mainly through depicting the *Haiti Scandal* as being caused by human and organizational errors. The *severity* frame for instance really insisted on detailed descriptions of the sexual abuse that took place in Haiti while further playing around aspects which lead to highly sensitive discussions in our society. The *agency* frame, on the other hand really insisted on the underlying causes of the *Haiti Scandal*. Those causes have been described on numerous occasions as being related to a lack of transparency inside Oxfam as well as problems related to their culture, management and organizational structure. After stakeholders have learned about those underlying, deeper reasons behind the *Haiti Scandal*, they will not only blame the actual sexual predators, but they will also start blaming Oxfam as

such, from the highest ranked director all the way down to volunteers. This will provoke emotions inside stakeholders such as anger and deception and it will make them rethink their engagement with Oxfam.

Based on those two frames, the *Haiti Scandal* has clearly been depicted as a *preventable* and *intentional* crisis, attributing high levels of responsibility to Oxfam. (Coombs,2004)

However, this outcome has been balanced and influenced by two other frames which the newspapers also used on a regular basis. Those two frames are the *Constructing Responsibility* frame and the *Constructing Perspective* frame which both attribute significant less responsibility to Oxfam. Having been the third most popular frame, the *Constructing Responsibility* frame was insisting on the fact that numerous other NGOs but also UN missions also face the same and even worse problems of sexual abuse when they conduct aid work in the field. Furthermore, the *responsibility* frame portrayed the Haiti Scandal as having been caused by single actors. Doing so reduces the level of responsibility of Oxfam and makes that those single actors are considered responsible for the crisis. In addition, stakeholders will perceive Oxfam as being the victim of those same single actors, which will create low levels of attribution of responsibility. (Coombs,2004)

While the *responsibility* frame has been described as provoking some form of *sympathy*, the *perspective* frame was found to create real, long-lasting *sympathy* within Oxfam stakeholder. The way this has been achieved was by reminding stakeholders of all the good work that has been conducted by Oxfam over the decades. Additionally, this frame also managed to show a two-sided story, which, despite having been used 'only' fifty times, played an important role. That two-sided story consisted of showing that Oxfam is sorry and ashamed for what happened in Haiti and that they are ready to make changes to avoid future abuse scandals. Consequently, by providing a two-sided story, the *perspective* frame portrayed the *Haiti Scandal* as having been an *accident*, thus attributing low levels of responsibility to Oxfam.

Furthermore, the choice of using two elite newspapers, both left-wing (*The Guardian*) and right-wing (*The Times*) as well as one popular tabloid (*The Daily Mail*), let to very interesting findings which indeed point to fundamental differences in the framing strategy deployed by each newspaper. Firstly, *The Times*, by insisting mainly on the *severity* and *agency* frames demonstrated a clear tendency of attributing high levels of responsibility to Oxfam. *The Daily Mail*, even though through different means, then *The Times*, also attributed a high level of responsibility to Oxfam. Indeed, while *The Times* really insisted on giving concrete details

about the sexual abuse in a repetitive, direct and sharp manner, *The Daily Mail* relied on a strategy which is rather prominent inside tabloids. This consisted of using deceived celebrities which in return influence ordinary people in adapting their attitudes to those of the celebrities. Additionally, The Daily Mail also used very detailed descriptions which did not directly relate to the abuse scandal, but which because of their sensitivity, were very influential in attributing responsibility to Oxfam. Finally, *The Guardian* on the contrary had a clear tendency of attributing less responsibility to Oxfam then the other two newspapers and can thus be considered having been the least damaging to the reputation of Oxfam.

Finally, taken all together, the newspaper content analyses has proven that my three chosen newspapers attributed high levels of responsibility to Oxfam for what happened in Haiti. However, the fact that Oxfam is still operating its aid programs in 2020, proves that the damage to their reputation has not been as bad as the high level of attributed responsibility would have suggested. This is due to two things. Firstly, when framing the *Haiti Scandal*, the newspapers did not only use frames which are damaging to the reputation of Oxfam, but they also relied on two frames which attributed less responsibility to Oxfam, thus less damaging their reputation. On the other hand, it has been stated that the reputation of Oxfam was good prior to the *Haiti Scandal*, thus their reputation acted as a "social insurance" (Coombs,2006) or "reservoir of goodwill" (Jones,2000) making that stakeholders gave them "the benefit of the doubt", especially considering that the *Haiti Scandal* challenged the very core foundation of Oxfam's principles and values. Nevertheless, the dominance of both the *severity* and *agency* frames shows that the *Haiti Scandal* did and still does represent a threat to the reputation of Oxfam, which rightfully led various changes inside Oxfam to avoid future cases of sexual abuse.

Limitations

One of the limitations that this research faced, is the fact that *reputation* as such is a very abstract concept which remains very difficult to measure. For that reason, I had to be careful to not state any change in reputation as a fact. However, the way I avoided making any false claims was by clearly stating that the reputation of Oxfam is linked to the level of responsibility which stakeholders attribute to it. Since the level of responsibility which newspapers attributed to Oxfam was measurable, I was able to predict the threat that this represented to the reputation of Oxfam.

Furthermore, next to newspapers there were a number of other media outlets also concerned with the Haiti Scandal. This mainly includes TV channels and by extension their videos which they put on YouTube after having broadcasted them. However, analyzing newspaper deemed itself as the most efficient method mainly because it was a newspaper (*The Times*) which first broke the story.

Directions for future research

First, by providing a detailed description of how three major UK newspapers have framed the *Haiti Scandal* as well as the resulting level of responsibility which has been attributed to Oxfam, this study can be used for information purposes as well as a guide for Oxfam crisis managers. Indeed, since the level of responsibility defines the reputational threat to Oxfam, Oxfam crisis managers will be able to react according to that reputational threat.

As a matter of fact, those four frames can also be used for similar studies which aim at finding out how much responsibility the media and thus their stakeholders attribute to an organization. The frames are thus adaptable to different contexts helping different NGOs to assess the reputational threat that they are facing.

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ANNEX 1:

The Times

Oxfam 'has grown too big and needs reform'

The Times, 16 February 2018, 430 words, (English)

Safety of shop volunteers is part of inquiry

The Times, 16 February 2018, 238 words, (English)

Oxfam will appoint rights experts to investigate sex claims

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 16 February 2018, 378 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal: 'saddened' Tutu quits as ambassador

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 16 February 2018, 725 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal: manager fired after Haiti was rehired

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 16 February 2018, 636 words, (English)

Don't use scandal to shut charities, warns UN

The Times, 15 February 2018, 595 words, (English)

Former chief executive 'is ducking responsibility'

The Times, 15 February 2018, 651 words, (English)

Shamed aid chief 'hurt' by Oxfam sex scandal

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 15 February 2018, 581 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal: Slum project in danger as John Lewis threatens to pull out

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 15 February 2018, 668 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal: Penny Mordaunt to meet crime agency over Haiti aid workers

thetimes.co.uk, 18:00, 14 February 2018, 1082 words, (English)

in Oxfam sex scandal: Charity boss is part of problem and must go, says Nigel Evans

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 14 February 2018, 562 words, (English)

Oxfam allegations are an urgent call for reform

thetimes.co.uk, 01:01, 14 February 2018, 772 words, (English)

a Aid scandal: 'I interrupted male colleague on sofa with woman in his care but there was no investigation'

thetimes.co.uk, 18:00, 14 February 2018, 464 words, (English)

Charity sex scandal: UN staff 'responsible for 60,000 rapes in a decade'

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 14 February 2018, 377 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal: Shamed chief picked up girls in war- torn Liberia

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 14 February 2018, 999 words, (English)

a A pub worth jumping over the moon to see

The Times, 14 February 2018, 717 words, (English)

Ministers warn grants at risk after sex allegations

thetimes.co.uk, 01:01, 14 February 2018, 501 words, (English)

Executive quits as Oxfam faces losing £30m from government

The Times, 13 February 2018, 951 words, (English)

© Oxfam sex scandal: Charity chief Mark Goldring knew of allegations

thetimes.co.uk, 18:00, 13 February 2018, 1450 words, (English)

Haiti sex scandal: Shoppers say row will stop them spending in Oxfam

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 13 February 2018, 371 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal Q&A: What did the government know?

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 13 February 2018, 319 words, (English)

Wealthy charities need tougher watchdogs

thetimes.co.uk, 10:00, 13 February 2018, 885 words, (English)

Oxfam and its handling of events in Haiti

The Times, 13 February 2018, 517 words, (English)

Haiti sex scandal: Oxfam ignored warnings on staff

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 12 February 2018, 1163 words, (English)

☐ Haiti sex scandal: What now for Oxfam's funding?

thetimes.co.uk, 18:00, 12 February 2018, 338 words, (English)

Oxfam's deputy chief Penny Lawrence quits amid Haiti scandal

thetimes.co.uk, 18:00, 12 February 2018, 597 words, (English)

Oxfam trust chief Caroline Thomson tells of shame

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 12 February 2018, 709 words, (English)

© Oxfam among charities reeling as 120 workers accused of sexual abuse in last year alone

sundaytimes.co.uk, 19:00, 11 February 2018, 1216 words, (English)

a Aid charities lose the moral high ground

sundaytimes.co.uk, 13:00, 11 February 2018, 641 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal: boss was 'let off the hook for sake of Haiti mission'

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 10 February 2018, 772 words, (English)

Oxfam sex scandal: Haitians shocked at role played by staff

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 10 February 2018, 317 words, (English)

Description Opaque Transparency

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 10 February 2018, 688 words, (English)

Oxfam in Haiti: 'It was like a Caligula orgy with prostitutes in Oxfam T-shirts'

thetimes.co.uk, 13:00, 9 February 2018, 1349 words, (English)

Top Oxfam staff paid Haiti survivors for sex

The Times, 9 February 2018, 785 words, (English)

Oxfam's Shame

The Times, 9 February 2018, 655 words, (English)

Oxfam staff paid Haiti survivors for sex

The Times, 9 February 2018, 570 words, (English)

The Daily Mail

Desmond Tutu becomes latest Oxfam ambassador to quit in wake of Haiti scandal as charity admits it REHIRED worker who was sacked over sexual...

Mail Online, 08:38, 16 February 2018, 2714 words, (English)

™ 'It's not like we murdered babies in their cots': Oxfam's UK chief insists sex scandal has been blown 'out of proportion' as charity pulls...

Mail Online, 22:05, 16 February 2018, 2526 words, (English)

CHARITY TO FACE TWO SEX ABUSE PROBES BY MPS AND WATCHDOG

Daily Mail, 16 February 2018, 689 words, (English)

F_m

saying she is 'shocked and disappointed...

Mail Online, 21:57, 16 February 2018, 941 words, (English)

Tallia Storm flashes her taut midriff in red co-ords as she joins glamorous Amber Le Bon at Richard Malone LFW show... after quitting Oxfam...

Mail Online, 19:28, 16 February 2018, 424 words, (English)

EXCLUSIVE: Top UNICEF children's rights campaigner - who led UK's anti-smacking campaign - is jailed for rape of boy, 13, in latest charity...

Mail Online, 16:20, 16 February 2018, 1326 words, (English)

™ Médecins Sans Frontières fired 19 employees in past year over sex abuse it reveals in wake of Oxfam sex scandal

Mail Online, 11:23, 15 February 2018, 2257 words, (English)

© Charity Commission launches investigation into Oxfam abuse scandal as MPs begin separate probe

Mail Online, 00:56, 16 February 2018, 610 words, (English)

OXFAM: MINISTER CALLS IN POLICE

Daily Mail, 15 February 2018, 885 words, (English)

Thanks for telling him how most of us are feeling!': This Morning viewers praise Eamonn Holmes for his tough grilling of Oxfam fundraiser...

Mail Online, 09:07, 14 February 2018, 1751 words, (English)

and now the Oxfam backlash: Major firms review donations as the Duke of Edinburgh Award threatens to remove teenagers from charity shops...

Mail Online, 11:38, 14 February 2018, 1235 words, (English)

Aid Secretary Penny Mordaunt calls in the police to see if any Oxfam staff can be prosecuted for treating disaster victims in Haiti and Chad as prostitutes

Mail Online, 23:40, 14 February 2018, 951 words, (English)

OXFAM AND WATCHDOGS THAT FAILED TO BARK

Daily Mail, 14 February 2018, 637 words, (English)

OXFAM: NOW THE BACKLASH

Daily Mail, 14 February 2018, 1203 words, (English)

© Oxfam bosses refused to ban staff from having sex with prostitutes because it would 'infringe on their civil liberties'

Mail Online, 23:32, 14 February 2018, 806 words, (English)

Stephen Fry blasts Oxfam and urges it to get 'its house in order' after Minnie Driver became the <u>first to abandon the charity over sex abuse...</u>

Mail Online, 22:25, 14 February 2018, 758 words, (English)

© Oxfam did not ban staff from using prostitutes while they worked in disaster zones because it would have infringed their 'civil liberties'

Mail Online, 18:38, 14 February 2018, 448 words, (English)

■ JANET STREET PORTER: Oxfam bosses who conned the public and betrayed the desperate should now find out first-hand what it is to be in need

Mail Online, 17:28, 14 February 2018, 983 words, (English)

Minnie Driver QUITS as Oxfam celebrity ambassador and blasts the charity for 'abhorrent mistakes' over sex abuse scandal and aid workers...

Mail Online, 12:46, 14 February 2018, 938 words, (English)

a Abuse rife in BRITISH Oxfam shops: 123 cases of alleged sexual harassment and NO criminal record checks for 23,000 volunteers. Shocking...

Mail Online, 11:02, 13 February 2018, 2605 words, (English)

© Oxfam workers could be prosecuted in the UK for sex crimes, former UN chief says as the charity is hit by new claims staff in Chad held 'sex parties attended by prostitutes'

Mail Online, 09:33, 13 February 2018, 1920 words, (English)

SCANDAL RISKS LOSS OF £48M EU CASH

Daily Mail, 13 February 2018, 589 words, (English)

Former British foreign aid chief is quizzed over his part in alleged 'cover-up' of Oxfam sex abuse

Mail Online, 08:59, 13 February 2018, 421 words, (English)

lnside Oxfam's 'Caligula orgy villa': Luxury £1,200-a-month mansion known as 'the whorehouse' where aid workers cavorted with half-naked...

Mail Online, 09:49, 13 February 2018, 1290 words, (English)

Oxfam's deputy chief executive QUITS over prostitute scandal after charity bosses are hauled into Whitehall to explain why they should keep...

Mail Online, 16:01, 12 February 2018, 2542 words, (English)

□ Oxfam aid workers suspected of having sex with underage prostitutes in Haiti must be named, says International Development Secretary Penny Mordaunt

Mail Online, 23:57, 12 February 2018, 1060 words, (English)

© Oxfam risks losing £48m of EU cash as Innocent Smoothies threatens to cut ties with the charity over abuse scandal

Mail Online, 00:33, 13 February 2018, 659 words, (English)

THE SHAMING OF OXFAM

Daily Mail, 12 February 2018, 1096 words, (English)

PAUL BRACCHI: Oxfam is the charity that's betrayed its humbled High Street roots... thanks to the revelations of sleaze and sexual...

Mail Online, 18:28, 12 February 2018, 1273 words, (English)

Aid Secretary Penny Mordaunt warns Oxfam must show 'moral leadership' over Haiti sex claims ahead of crunch meeting TOMORROW on whether charity can keep government fu...

Mail Online, 13:48, 11 February 2018, 904 words, (English)

© Oxfam boss apologises saying he is 'deeply ashamed' of charity's behaviour as watchdog reveals it wasn't given 'full details' about use of...

Mail Online, 00:16, 12 February 2018, 1550 words, (English)

The grabbed her hips, pulled her hair and forced his thumb into her mouth in a sexual way':

Murdered MP Jo Cox 's husband was reported to police over sex assault claim in Harvard bar - nine months before his wife's death

Mail Online, 23:54, 10 February 2018, 1123 words, (English)

© Oxfam aid workers' 'Caligula-style orgy' with prostitutes after earthquake

Irish Daily Mail, 10 February 2018, 778 words, (English)

Oxfam 'covered up' sex parties 'like a Caligula orgy' where charity workers cavorted with young prostitutes who may even have been under-age...

Mail Online, 13:26, 9 February 2018, 807 words, (English)

The Guardian

☐ Oxfam chief accuses critics of 'gunning' for charity over Haiti sex scandal claims

The Guardian, 20:34, 16 February 2018, 1004 words, (English)

Oxfam scandal must force aid sector to finally address its own power

The Guardian, 11:53, 16 February 2018, 696 words, (English)

Oxfam International boss vows to root out wrongdoing at charity

The Guardian, 13:09, 16 February 2018, 455 words, (English)

The Guardian view on Oxfam: time to learn, not destroy

The Guardian, 15:58, 15 February 2018, 745 words, (English)

Oxfam sacked Haiti boss last year over claims of bad behaviour

The Guardian, 15:58, 15 February 2018, 546 words, (English)

Oxfam scandal: Penny Mordaunt to meet National Crime Agency

The Guardian, 15:58, 15 February 2018, 370 words, (English)

Minnie Driver cuts ties with Oxfam over sex scandal

The Guardian, 15:58, 15 February 2018, 716 words, (English)

NGO crimes go far beyond Oxfam

The Guardian, 19:21, 15 February 2018, 611 words, (English)

material #MeToo strikes aid sector as sexual exploitation allegations proliferate

The Guardian, 15:58, 15 February 2018, 895 words, (English)

Desmond Tutu resigns as Oxfam ambassador over 'immorality' claims

The Guardian, 17:46, 15 February 2018, 598 words, (English)

Unless charities like Oxfam rediscover their moral core, they won't survive

The Guardian, 18:23, 14 February 2018, 965 words, (English)

UN staff say they were urged to support official accused of sexual misconduct

The Guardian, 16:27, 14 February 2018, 704 words, (English)

They lead the life of small gods' - how aid agency failings end in exploitation

The Guardian, 10:49, 14 February 2018, 872 words, (English)

The Oxfam scandal shows colonialism is alive and well

The Guardian, 13:40, 14 February 2018, 1153 words, (English)

The Oxfam sex story is horrific. So is the war on foreign aid

The Guardian, 07:00, 13 February 2018, 1025 words, (English)

Oxfam scandal: ministers have 'serious questions to answer', say Labour - as it happened

The Guardian, 18:55, 13 February 2018, 4536 words, (English)

The Guardian view on the Charity Commission : guarantor of public generosity

The Guardian, 23:00, 13 February 2018, 585 words, (English)

™ Monday briefing: Oxfam pleads for charity amid sex scandal

The Guardian, 07:36, 12 February 2018, 1497 words, (English)

© Oxfam's deputy CEO quits amid charity sexual abuse scandal - politics live

The Guardian, 15:46, 12 February 2018, 3653 words, (English)

□ Deal 'close' on power sharing in Northern Ireland – as it happened

The Guardian, 19:22, 12 February 2018, 5431 words, (English)

Morning mail: Australia's extinction crisis

The Guardian, 21:16, 12 February 2018, 1260 words, (English)

1 We fear what's next': Oxfam reels from prostitution scandal

The Guardian, 08:14, 12 February 2018, 1113 words, (English)

The Oxfam row is no reason to cut foreign aid

The Guardian, 12:12, 12 February 2018, 864 words, (English)

Oxfam warned it could lose European funding over scandal

The Guardian, 20:33, 12 February 2018, 372 words, (English)

© Oxfam hit by cancelled donations as shop volunteers tell of shock

The Guardian, 23:01, 12 February 2018, 758 words, (English)

As a former aid worker, I'm not shocked by the Oxfam revelations

The Guardian, 20:04, 12 February 2018, 798 words, (English)

© Oxfam told to show 'moral leadership' or lose government funds

The Guardian, 20:33, 11 February 2018, 800 words, (English)

Oxfam faces losing funding as crisis grows over abuse claims

The Guardian, 21:33, 11 February 2018, 1292 words, (English)

© Oxfam: fresh claims that staff used prostitutes in Chad

The Guardian, 12:49, 11 February 2018, 1106 words, (English)

Charities watchdog demands answers from Oxfam over Haiti scandal

The Guardian, 16:57, 10 February 2018, 1009 words, (English)

Annex 2:

Frame	Coded Sentences
Constructing Severity	
Mentions of monetary donations	"A Times investigation has found that Oxfam, which receives £300 million a year in British government funds and public donations allowed(The Times, 9th of February), "Oxfam should be stripped of its government funding over the Haiti sex scandal(The Times, 10th of February), Oxfam's deputy chief executive has resigned and the charity was put on notice that it could lose more than £30 million of government funding unless it proves it is tackling the sex scandal" and "About £108 million comes through donations and legaciesThirty-nine per cent of the public think the government should now suspend giving money to Oxfam" (both The Times, 13th of February), "Oxfam is one of Britain's top-five charities in terms of incomewith £31,7 million coming from the British government out of £176 million provided by governments and public bodies" (<i>The Times</i> , 13th of February), "more than 1.270 people cancelled monthly donations to Oxfam between Saturday and Monday" and "The department for international Development and the European Commission, which between them donate more than £60 million each year to Oxfam, have since said they are reviewing whether to continue giving" and "Oxfam is facing a backlash from multi million-pound donors (all The Times, 15th February), "Oxfam could lose £29 m in European funding of its handling of sexual misconduct by senior staff in Haiti and Chad" (The Guardian, 12th of February), "It is likely that some of their victims were reliant on the aid Oxfam provided, with donations collected on street corners and jumble sales in Britain" (The Guardian, 15th of February) "The department for international development, which hands it well over £30 million of taxpayers' money a year." (The Daily Mail, 12th of February), "Mr Goldring's salary is £125,248Oxfam, incidentally, receives £300 million a year from public donations and British
	government funds- and by implication taxpayers" (The Daily Mail, 12th of

February), "Oxfam's British arm received £29,3 million from the European Commission in the 2016/2017 financial year, from a total budget of £408,6 million. (The Daily Mail, 13th of February)

Mentions of Celebrities

"Andrew MacLeod, the former chef of operations for the UN's Emergency Coordination Centre, said that "predatory paedophiles" were now targeting charities in order to "access children" ", (The Times, 12th of February), "The World Bank also threatened to end its support of Oxfam....The One Foundation, which has worked with Oxfam to provide clean water during humanitarian emergencies, is also in urgent discussions with the charity" and "The retailer (John Lewis) told The Times that it was "deeply concerned" about the sexual abuse scandal engulfing the charity" (15th of February), "The Archbishop (Desmond Tutu) is deeply disappointed by allegations of immorality and possible criminality involving humanitarian workers linked to the charity" and "Bosé, who is a popular singer in Spain and Latin America said: "I cannot be complicit to such disgusting affair" and "The Times has also learnt that the owners of Highclere Castle, where Downton Abbey was filmed....are threatening to withdraw their support." and "Archbishop Desmond Tutu resigned as an Oxfam ambassador yesterday". (all in The Times, 16th of February), "Archbishop Desmond Tutu has resigned as an Ambassador for Oxfam, saying he is deeply disappointed about the charity's sex scandal" (The Guardian, 15th of February), "Minnie Driver has become the first celebrity patron of Oxfam to step down in the wake of the sexual misconduct scandal". (The Guardian, 15th of Feburary) " James Daunt, managing director of Waterstones, said the allegations were 'reprehensible and beyond comprehension", "Oxfam was facing a devastating backlash from sponsors, celebrities and donors last night over it's sex abuse scandal". (The Daily Mail, 14th of February) "Actress Minnie Driver has become the first high profile celebrity ambassador to withdraw her support for Oxfam". (The Daily Mail, 16th of February) "This comes after Tallia Storm a UK singer who has worked with Oxfam since 2016, said she felt shocked and disappointed" and "She became the latest celebrity to cut ties with Oxfam in the wake of its sex abuse scandal on Friday. (The Daily Mail, 16th of February)

"When news of the allegations emerged, Minnie Driver quit her role as an Oxfam global ambassador citing the 'abhorrent mistakes' "and "The 19-year-old Celebs Go Dating star, who has worked with Oxfam since 2016, said she felt shocked". (both The Daily Mail, 16th of February) "Minnie Driver quit her role as an Oxfam global ambassador" (The Daily Mail, 16th of February) "The retailer (John Lewis) told the times that it was deeply concerned about the sex abuse scandal engulfing the charity" and "Archbishop Desmond Tutu quit his roe as an Oxfam ambassador amid a sex scandal". (The Daily Mail, 16th of February)

Concrete details about the sexual abuse that took place in Haiti

: "They had concerns that some of the prostitutes were under age", "footage from a night there that was 'like a fullon Caligula orgy', with girls wearing Oxfam Tshirts", "inquiry into sexual exploitation, the downloading of pornography, bullying and intimidation" (The Times, 9th of February) "They were throwing big parties with prostitutes....These men used to talk about holding 'young meat barbecues' "(The Times, 9th of February) "The allegations have absolutely no place in society", "behaviour of senior Oxfam staff in Haiti had been "evil masquerading as good" (The Times, 10th of February) "The use of prostitutes by Oxfam staff in Haiti was described....as shocking, sickening and depressing" (The Times, 10th of February) "Clearly though what happened in Haiti is heartbreaking" (The Times, 10th of February) "Senior Oxfam field staff paid locals to take part in sex parties....was profoundly shocking" (The Times, 11th of February) "Bullying, harassing and exposing himself", "complete betrayal of both the people Oxfam were there to help" (The Times, 13th of February) "folks come to Haiti pretending that they're here to help but....they are exploiting the locals", nothing more undignified and dishonest than a sexual predator who uses his position....extremely serious violation of human dignity", "A woman was coerced into having sex in return for aid" (The Times, 13th of February) "not be ruled out that some of the prostitutes were under age". "(The Times, 14th of February) "horrors may be straws in the wind" (The Times, 14th of February) "An isolated villa known as Eagle's Nest" (The Times 14th of February) "President Moise of Haiti said that the conduct of some Oxfam staff....was a violation of basic human decency" (The Times, 14th of February) "They would invite the women for parties. We knew they weren't just friends but something

else", "employees in Haiti paid for sex" (The Guardian, 11th of February) "Staff in Haiti had been using prostitutes for sex parties", "growing crisis over claims of sexual misconduct" (The Guardian, 11th of February) "There had been more than 120 cases of sexual abuse....with the highest number at Oxfam", "Oxfam workers were accused of paying survivors....for sex" (The Guardian, 11th of February) "Women being coerced to have sex in a humanitarian response", "senior colleague had paid women for sex" (The guardian, 12th of February) "serious violation of human dignity" (The Guardian, 13th of February) "embroiled in an aid worker sex scandal in relation to Haiti", "nothing more shameful than a sexual predator....to exploit the vulnerable....a violation of basic human decency" (the Guardian, 13th of February) "The failure here is stark" (The guardian 14th of February), "The sexual abuse of women and girls by certain men who worked for Oxfam is clearly despicable" (The Guardian, 14th of February) "Oxfam employees who, it has now emerged, spent their time off procuring young, possibly underage, girls and women for sex....sex parties said to be of Caligulan proportions", "The debauchery of the Haiti sex parties is outrageous" (The Guardian, 15th of February) "misconduct related to inappropriate sexual behaviour, bullying, harassment and the intimidation of staff", "employees organised a full-on Caligula orgy filled with girls dressed in Oxfam T-shirts", "One of Britain's biggest charities were accused of paying survivors of the Haiti earthquake for sex" (The Daily Mail, 9th of February), "Oxfam is facing a mounting outcry over allegations of sexual misconduct and how they were dealt with" (the Daily Mail, 11th of February) "What a terrible betrayal of Oxfam's noble ideals- and those dedicated old ladies" (Mail Online, 12 of February) "Aid workers suspected of having sex with underage prostitutes in Haiti must be named so they can be prosecuted" (Mail Online, 12th of February) "These girls were wearing Oxfam T-shirts, running around half-naked, it was like a full-on Caligula orgy. It was crazy. At one party there were at least five girls and two of them had Oxfam white t-shirts on", "Boasting a 25ft swimming pool and a charming sun terrace, this is the luxury apartment block in Haiti where Oxfam aid workers cavorted with young prostitutes at a sex party likened to a 'Caligula orgy' " (Daily Mail, 13th of February) "Oxfam staff could be prosecuted for sex crimes in the UK" (Daily Mail, 13th of February)

"Prostitution is illegal in Haiti, as is having sex with someone under the age of 18", "The aid workers who are suspected of having sex with underage prostitutes....must be named", "woman coerced to have sex in a humanitarian response....woman had been coerced in exchange for aid...", "She also revealed that Oxfam staff had faced allegations of trading aid for sex, attempted rape, sexual exploitation, sexual coercion and abuse" (Daily Mail, 13th of February) "Now in the wake of the Oxfam scandal and claims that some aid workers may have had sex with underage girls" (Daily Mail, 14th of February) "Prostitution is a crime in Haiti, but it was not entirely clear what other crimes Oxfam officials may have committed" (Daily Mail, 14th of February), "staff paid for sex and exchanged aid for services from disaster victims in Haiti" (Daily Mail 14th of February) "This is where those Oxfam sex parties took place. They happened on more than one occasion and they weren't very subtle about it.", " a leaked Oxfam report into the sex scandal details how workers stationed at a £1.200-a-month villa in Port au Prince, threw sex parties with local prostitutes....some of the girls were said to be aged under 16." "They had used sex workers while delivering aid to earthquake victims in Haiti"

Constructing Agency

"A confidential report by the charity said there had been a 'culture of impunity' among some staff in Haiti", "one of the men allowed to resign without disciplinary action" (The Times, 9th of February) "Oxfam insiders concerned at the charity's lack of transparency" (The Times, 9th of February) "It demonstrates how weak a regulator the charity commission was at the time", "failure to investigate Oxfam for covering up the use of prostitutes" (The Times, 10th of February) Roland van Hauwermeiren....was allowed a 'dignified' departure", "These are symptoms of skewed priorities and serious mismanagement at one of the world's best-known humanitarian organisation", "in none of these cases did the new employer receive warnings from Oxfam", "not only allowed to resign without censure but was subsequently hired by another charity" (The Times, 10th of February) "Instead of being sacked, the Belgian aid worker was allowed to resign without disciplinary action" (The Times, 10th of February) "went on to work for other charities" (The Times, 11th of February) "Oxfam did not give the Charity Commission full details", "Penny Mordaunt

threatened to withdraw funding from Oxfam and 'any other organisation that has safeguarding issues" (The Times, 11th of February) "After being dismissed by Oxfam the man was able to work for the Catholic aid agency", "Oxfam were warned about Roland in Chad. He and his cohorts hid behind a weak code of conduct, which only stated that staff should not bring the organisation into disrepute", "if moral leadership at the top of the organisation isn't there", "worried about Mr Van Hauwermeiren....yet still gave him the job....the recruitment identified some weaknesses in his management" "Oxfam knew of concerns about the conduct of two men" (The Times, 12th of February) "Yesterday the charity admitted that it needed to be more transparent" (The Times, 13th of February) "management knew about the alleged abuses", "failure to report allegations to police....represented a culture of cover-up" (The Times, 13th of February) "Those in senior leadership positions knew....and did not adequately respond to that", "concerns that it may not have fully and frankly disclosed" (The Times, 13th of February) "corporate culture where senior employees thought they could get away with", (The Times, 14th of February) "Oxfam did not alert new employer to misconduct" (The Times, 14th of February) "five of the seven men dismissed over the scandal in Haiti secured new jobs in other NGOs", "Oxfam had admitted that two months after sacking an aid worker involved in Haiti....rehired him" (The Times, 16th of February) "Oxfam has clearly grown too big for the present leadership to be able to manage its affairs. It is time to recognise that it is not just a charity but a large multinational corporation and should be restructured for its own good" (The Times, 16th of February) "charity covered up an inquiry into whether its staff used sex workers in Haiti" (The Guardian, 10th of February) "confidential Oxfam report had referred to a 'culture of impunity' among aid worker in Haiti", "Oxfam did not tell other aid agencies about the behaviour of staff" (The Guardian, 11th of February) "staff have raised concerns about the effectiveness of the aid organisation's vetting procedures" (The Guardian, 11th of February) "The charity allowed staff members to resign from the organisation and seek new jobs elsewhere" (The Guardian, 11 February) "warned senior management of a culture of sexual abuse in some offices around the world, and asked for more resources to tackle the issue" (The Guardian, 12th of February) "charity ignored

prior warnings about some of the staff at the centre of the Haiti sexual abuse scandal", "allegations....were raised before he moved to Haiti" (The Guardian, 12th of February) "The commission accuses Oxfam of being less than open" (the Guardian, 13th of February), "the idea of sex as a transaction used by utterly desperate black women. This is colonialism at work", "Oxfam's safeguarding has apparently primarily involved safeguarding its own reputation", "Leadership of Oxfam in the UK is all white, and men outnumber women", "Men forced out of Oxfam in Haiti have gone on to other senior jobs", "Behind the sex parties and scandals in Haiti lies a culture of secrecy and lack of diversity" (The Guardian, 14th of February) "mix of negligence and complacency", "to fail to prevent the four men who were sacked and the three required to resign from working in the sector again" (The Guardian, 15th of February) "claims it failed to warn other agencies about staff who quietly resigned after being caught using prostitutes" (Daily Mail, 10th of February) "watchdog revealed it wasn't given full details about the use of prostitutes" (Daily Mail, 12th of February) "predatory paedophiles were now targeting charities in order to 'access children' in the developing world", "Oxfam has been accused of covering up claims", "He warned that a paedophile ring might have been operating in the aftermath of....the earthquake", "using prostitutes....as part of a deep-seated 'culture of entitlement' ", "Oxfam staff allegedly committed sex offences in Chad in 2006 and later in Haiti", "Oxfam has been accused of covering up claims", "Something, perhaps, for Oxfam to consider after its hush-hush internal inquiry into events in Haiti in 2011", "There is so much opportunity for abuse and so little to stop it that jobs in international aid actively attract sexual predators who benefit from the artificial power the aid industry confers upon them." (Daily Mail, 14th February) "Culture of sexual abuse involving aid workers had not been taken seriously by the charity's bosses", "demand that they step up and do more, so that we have absolute assurance that the moral leadership, the system, the culture and the transparency is in place", "failed to adequately respond to past allegations", "when she raised allegations of sexual misconduct and assault with senior executives they ignored her", "Oxfam allowed Roland van Hauwermeiren....to resign", "Last night an Oxfam spokesman admitted that the guidance from 2006 was outdated", "fearing that sacking him would highlight allegations of child

prostitution and harm Oxfam's reputation." (Daily Mail, 14th of February) "aware of past claims of sexual abuse....in Asia", "Oxfam were too bothered about 'reputational risk'" "It was not just the processes and procedures of that organisation that were lacking but moral leadership", "charity hushed up sex abuse allegations to spare its reputation" (Daily Mail, 15th of February) "Oxfam admitted rehiring one of the workers sacked over the Haiti Sex scandal" (Daily Mail, 16th of February), "Culture of sexual abuse involving aid workers not been taken seriously by the charity's bosses", "faces a storm over its handling of a sex scandal in Haiti" (Daily Mail, 15th of February) "Oxfam stands accused of concealing the findings of an inquiry", (Daily Mail, 16th of February) "Action Against Hunger received no information regarding any inappropriate or unethical behaviour by Roland van Hauwermeiren while he was with Oxfam in Haiti", "as it emerged a worker sacked over sexual misconduct allegations in Haiti was later re-hired in Ethiopia." (Daily Mail, 16th of February)

Constructing Responsibility

"The report said that Mr Van Hauwermeiren, 68, admitted using prostitutes at the villa rented for him by Oxfam with charitable funds" (The Times, 9th of February) "Oxfam is not alone in being implicated in the scandal in Haiti. United Nations peacekeeping missions in the country ended last year after being tarnished by reports of a child sex ring and the spread of cholera" (The Times, 9th of February) Barbara Stocking, the then head of Oxfam offered Roland van Hauwermeiren...a dignified exit" (The Times, 10th of February) "Some of those (Save the Children and other prominent charities) displayed little interest in or concern about the issues associated with sexual harassment and abuse" (The Times, 11th of February) "Save the Children said all 31 cases of alleged had taken place abroad and 16 people had been dismissed as a result", "An unreserved apology is now required from Barbara Stocking, the then chief executive" (The Times, 12th of February) "She cited instances of aid workers and peacekeepers offering vulnerable girls money, food, soap for sex", "The UN has documented several cases of peacekeepers in Haiti and Sri Lanka making underage girls pregnant.", "Roland van Hauwermeiren, was forced to resign....after admitting that prostitutes had visited his Oxfam villa" (The Times, 13th of February)

"Penny Lawrence....resigned saying she was ashamed that this happened on my watch", "Unlikely....that Oxfam was the only one" (The Times, 14th of February) "After an investigation into his conduct in Haiti, the Belgian admitted the use of prostitutes" (The Times, 14th of February) "Only one in ten rapes and assaults by UN staff was reported....the UN has wrestled for many years with the issue of sexual exploitation and abuse" (The Times, 14th of February) "In the UK there are issues of sexual abuse in Parliament....What we have to recognize is the everyday nature of sexual abuse and exploitation across the world, and the failure of institutions to support women and girls who have been abused", (The Times, 14th of February) "Penny Lawrence, Oxfam's deputy chief executive, resigned on Monday" (The Times, 15th of February) "Penny Lawrence, who was responsible for the mission in Haiti in 2011, has resigned. Mark Goldring, the chief executive, faces growing demands for him to step down.", "Mr van Hauwermeiren admitted using prostitutes" (The Times, 15th of February) "The demand by some MPs that the chief executive of Oxfam must resign", (The Times, 16th of February) Roland van Hauwermeiren...admitted using prostitutes at the villa rented for him" (The Guardian, 10th of February) "Oxfam's crisis threatened to spill across the charity sector on Sunday with reports that more than 120 workers across a range of leading charities had been accused of sexual abuse in the past year alone." (The Guardian, 11th of February) "There has been in my view, not just a cover-up with Oxfam, there is a denial, a culture of denial in the aid sector about the exploitation and sexual abuse that has taken place historically for decades" (the guardian, 11th of February) "it will be impossible to hold back all the information emerging from other aid organisations on the opaque and damaging cultures that have allowed potential criminal activity and sexual exploitation", "We've all worked with people who've worked in Ethiopia, DRC, Haiti, Malawi, Thailand etc who've seen similar things across the entire sector" (The Guardian, 12th of February) "As programme director at the time, i am ashamed that this happened on my watch and i take full responsibility" (The Guardian, 13th of February) "In the space of a week, a story that started out as a report on predatory behaviour by some Oxfam staff in Haiti has transmuted into a crisis of trust, an attack on aid, and a threat to humanitarian action." (The Guardian, 13th of February) The Government must order a full inquiry into illegal sexual behaviour, not just within Oxfam, but across the aid sector, the Liberal Democrats have said", "all these organisations are suspect. If this is a serious attempt to root out harassment and sexual misconduct....then why stop there? Why not the army, why not Parliament?" "For the past couple of years, reports about predatory UN peacekeepers have been coming in, particularly in the Central African Republic....The tales are horrific: girls made to have sex with dogs", "Médecins sans frontière acted on 24 cases of sexual harassment or abuse last year and fired 19 employees" (The Guardian, 14th of February) "The letter comes amid a growing crisis over claims of sexual misconduct across charities and aid agencies." (The Guardian, 14th of February) "the use of sex workers on missions is commonplace, often known to the workers agency and brushed under the carpet", "In the wake of the Oxfam scandal, the Guardian interviewed aid workers who all said that sexual exploitation is rife in the sector" (The Guardian, 15th of February) "Indeed, NGOs that work in often fragile and unstable environments can become targets for abusers", "Miller reported concern about van Hauwermeiren behavior again four years later, in 2008, when working for the Swedish government's aid department", "Roland van Hauwermeiren agreed to leave his job", "Van hauwermeiren was forced out of Liberia role with charity Merlin over sex worker allegations", (The Guardian, 15th of February) "The year before, 114 soldiers had been sent home for raping women and girls, some as young as 11.", (The Guardian, 15th of February) "The former senior Oxfam official accused of being at the centre of a sexual misconduct ring while working in Haiti", (The Guardian, 15th of February) "Disgraced Roland van Hauwermeiren, 68, admitted to having sex with vulnerable prostitutes at his Oxfam villa in the poverty- stricken country of haiti" (Daily Mail, 12th of February) "that the man in charge of its haiti operations, Roland van Hauwermeiren, had used his organisational skills to set up what were described, disgustingly, as 'young meat barbecues" (Daily Mail, 12th of February) "The UN said last year there were 120 cases involving 300 people- and that is just the tip of the iceberg. The culture of denial (of sexual abuse) in the aid sector.", "not just a cover-up with Oxfam, there is a culture of denial in the aid sector about the exploitation and sexual abuse that has taken place historically for decades." "Other charities have also been caught up in the scandal. Save the Children

reported 31 incidents in the past 12 months....Workers for the British Red Cross and Christian Aid were also reported. All four charities receive millions of pounds from Dfid", (Daily Mail, 12th of February) "people knew in Dfid about wider problems of sex abuse in the aid sector", "if this is happening in Haiti, it's happening all over the world" (Daily Mail, 13th of February) "Van hauwermeiren was head of oxfam in Chad at the time of the alleged sex parties", "Van Hauwermeiren resigned from oxfam in 2011, after admitting that prostitutes had visited his villa" (Daily Mail, 13th of February) "The manual also said that incidents of sexual exploitation and abuse by aid workers took place in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Nepal in 2001" (Daily Mail, 14th of February) "Yesterday Miss Mordaunt told global aid bosses that revelations around the handling of sex allegations at Oxfam should be a wake-up call to the charity sector." (Daily Mail, 14th of February) "Roland....used prostitutes during an aid operation in earthquake-hit Haiti." (Daily Mail, 16th February) "She added that he (Van Hauwermeiren) loves orgies and loves lesbians", "Roland Van Hauwermeiren was in an Oxfam vehicle when he spotted her in the street while eight months pregnant and told her: 'I find you very sexy, how can i help you?" (Daily Mail, 16th of February)

Constructing Perspective

"This is a terrible story, but it's important that one of Britain's most brilliant and internationally respected charities is not damaged by the actions of a few individuals. I have seen the lifesaving work of Oxfam, most recently in Yemen, where more than 50000 people are alive today because of their work" (The Times, 10th of February) "The charity said it was appalled that serious sexual misconduct had happened in Haiti but denied that there had been a cover-up" (The Times, 13th of February) "She said that mark Goldring...had made a full and unqualified apology-to me, and to the people of Britain and Haiti- for the appalling behaviour of some of their staff in Haiti in 2011", (the Times, 13th February) "The behaviours which have been highlighted in recent media reports are utterly shameful, completely outside our values and should never be tolerated. We have unequivocally apologized for the things that happened in our name" (The Times, 14th of February) "Oxfam will launch an independent commission into its culture and practices....Women's rights experts will be given access to

staff, records and partner agencies to investigate past and present claims of sexual exploitation, the charity said", Winnie Byanyima, director of Oxfam international, admitted that she did not know the scale of the problem but would appoint a panel to improve safeguarding and deliver justice for victims. She could not guarantee that Oxfam's payroll was free of sex offenders but vowed to 'build a new culture that doesn't tolerate that behaviour" (The Times, 16th of February) "Just because a few bad apples let the side down does not mean that the whole organisation is corrupt. Since its foundation in 1942 Oxfam and its volunteer have saved innumerable lives, and continue to do so....The excellent work that Oxfam's many volunteers have done over the decades speaks for itself" (The Times, 16th of February) "We acknowledge that hundreds of Oxfam staff have done no wrong and work tirelessly for the people that they serve, but the handling by the senior team about this investigation and their openness wit us and the charity commission showed a lack of judgment." (The Guardian, 10th of February) "Winnie Byanyima, who became executive director of Oxfam International in 2013, said she was saddened by what took place in Haiti and that it could not happen under systems and rules put in place since. I feel deeply, deeply hurt...What happened in Haiti was a few privileged men abusing the very people they were supposed to protect....it breaks my heart", Goldring said that if funding was cut...Oxfam would carry on delivering as best we can because that's what the people of Yemen, Syria, Congo and indeed Haiti need and deserve" (The Guardian, 11th of February) "Oxfam said it now had a dedicated safeguarding team, a confidential whistleblowing hotline and safeguarding contact point within countries, and a code of conduct that stipulated: "I will also not exchange money, offers of employment, employment, goods or services for sex or sexual favours" (The Guardian, 11th of February) "Oxfam are still doing a lot of work to help support poverty" (The Guardian, 12th of February) "The vast majority of people at oxfam are very dedicated and get on with their work and would be the first to raise questions about behaviour like this", "Caroline Thompson, the chair of Oxfam's trustees, drafted a statement restating that the behaviours in haiti was completely outside our values and should never be tolerated", "For example, he said, the charity did not report it to the Haitian police because it was concerned that could rebound adversely on the women involved" (

The Guardian, 12th of February) "Oxfam has issued an unreserved apology to the government, donors, supporters and the people of Haiti over its handling of incidents in the earthquake-hit country" (The Guardian, 13th of February) "There are many good people in NGOs who understand the complexities of being in the field", "But it must not be allowed to overshadow the courage and compassion of thousands of aid workers, nor the value of aid itself" (The Guardian, 15th of February) "Byanyima apologised for the scandal", "According to the BBC, changes at Oxfam will include doubling the budget of its safeguarding team, setting up a global database of accredited referees to ensure sex offenders cannot reoffend at other charities, and improving the organization's whistleblowing mechanism". (The Guardian, 16 February 2018) "An Oxfam spokesman said: 'This was not a cover-up. Oxfam treats any allegations of misconduct extremely seriously. As soon as we became aware of the allegations in Haiti in 2011 we launched an internal investigation" (Daily Mail, 9th of February) "An oxfam spokesman said: This was not a cover-up. Oxfam treats any allegations of misconduct extremely seriously. As soon as we became aware of the allegations in Haiti in 2011 we launched an internal investigation", "Oxfam chief executive Mark Goldring apologised today and said he was deeply ashamed of Oxfam's behaviour" "Yesterday, Oxfam said it was ashamed by what had happened in Haiti" (Daily Mail, 12th of February) "This comes as the head of Oxfam issued an impassioned apology as she admitted she cannot guarantee there are no sex offenders working for the organisation", "In taking these actions I am very aware that there are hundreds of good, brave and compassionate people working for Oxfam around the world. They have been poorly served by Oxfam's leadership team too"

ANNEX 3:

News

Executive quits as Oxfam faces losing £30m from government

million of government funding unless it proves it is tackling a sex scandal.

Sean O'Neill; Henry Zeffman

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951 words 13 February 2018 The Times T 2; National 8,9 English

Oxfam's deputy chief executive has resigned and the charity was put on notice that it could lose more than

The charity made a "full and unqualified apology" over revelations about senior staff using prostitutes in Haiti in a meeting with Penny Mordaunt, the international development secretary. As the meeting broke up, Penny Law-rence, the charity's second most senior executive, quit.

Ms Lawrence, who has had a 30-year career in the humanitarian sector, was Oxfam's director of international programmes at the time the charity investigated the allegations. She was instrumental in approving the deal to allow the country director, Roland van Hauwermeiren, to resign without sanction after he admitted having prostitutes visit his home in 2011. The country had been struck by a powerful earthquake the year before.

Her departure came hours after The Times revealed that Oxfam officials had been aware of concerns over Mr Van Hauwermeiren's conduct in Chad before he was recruited for the top job in Haiti. Ms Lawrence said she took "full responsibility".

The Charity Commission said it had launched a statutory inquiry into Oxfam amid concerns that it may not have "fully and frankly disclosed" all details about the allegations in Haiti in 2011.

Ms Mordaunt told the BBC's Andrew Marr Show on Sunday that the government would not give funding to any charity that did not display "moral leadership". At yesterday's meeting Ms Mordaunt made continued funding conditional on the charity mending its ways.

She said that Mark Goldring, Oxfam's chief executive, and Caroline Thomson, the chairwoman of the trustees, had "made a full and unqualified apology — to me, and to the people of Britain and Haiti — for the appalling behaviour of some of their staff in Haiti in 2011, and for the wider failings of their organisation's response to it."

The charity, she added, "assured" her that it was co-operating with the authorities in Haiti and elsewhere. "But assurances are not enough", she said. "So I have asked them to confirm to the Department for International Development by the end of the week precisely how they will handle any forthcoming allegations around safeguarding — historic or live — in a way in which the public can have confidence.

"I told Oxfam they must now demonstrate the moral leadership necessary to address this scandal, rebuild the trust of the British public, their staff and the people they aim to help."

Oxfam receives £300 million a year in government funds and public donations, about £32 million of which is UK government funding. About £108 million comes through donations and legacies, according to its annual report for 2016-17. Thirty-nine per cent of the public think the government should now suspend giving money to Oxfam, the pollster YouGov found.

Ms Lawrence, whose annual salary is believed to have been more than £100,000, said: "Over the last few days we have become aware that concerns were raised about the behaviour of staff in Chad as well as Haiti

A Times investigation, published last week, revealed how seven Oxfam staff in Haiti had resigned or been sacked by the charity in 2011 but it had covered up serious sexual misconduct including the use of prostitutes. A confidential report said it could not be ruled out that some of the prostitutes were under age. Roland van Hauwermeiren, the country director, was allowed a "phased and dignified" resignation despite admitting using prostitutes.

What was Oxfam's reaction?

The charity said it was appalled that serious sexual misconduct had happened in Haiti but denied that there had been a cover-up. Dame Barbara Stocking, the former chief executive, told the BBC's Newsnight that the charity had been transparent. The Charity Commission expressed concern that it had not received the full facts of the case from Oxfam. Yesterday the charity admitted that it needed to be more transparent.

What did the government know?

Oxfam gave a limited account of what happened to the Charity Commission and the Department for International Development. Andrew Mitchell, who was then international development secretary, told LBC yesterday that the information given to civil servants was not escalated to MPs. "I was not aware of it," he said. Priti Patel, also a former Dfid secretary, said that civil servants knew of abuse issues but failed to act. "The scandal is within the industry. People know about this," she said.

How big is Oxfam?

Oxfam is one of Britain's top-five charities in terms of income. Its total income was more than £409 million last year, with £31.7 million coming from the British government out of £176 million provided by governments and public bodies, including the EU and the UN. A further £108 million came from donations and legacies and £91 million from sales in its shops.

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ANNEX 4:



