Children, youth and humanitarian assistance: how the British Red Cross Society and Oxfam engaged young people in Britain and its empire with international development projects in the 1950s and 1960s

Marie-Luise Ermisch

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Department of History and Classical Studies
Faculty of Arts
McGill University, Montreal

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To my parents, Hardo and Friederike Ermisch, who bestowed upon me a love of reading, learning and exploration, and who also taught me how to endure.

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<u>Abstract</u>

This dissertation examines how non-state actors taught international development issues to children and youth in Britain and West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, as the field of international development was first emerging in its modern form. This thesis includes detailed case studies of the educational work of the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) and Oxfam, while also highlighting relevant United Nations (UN) initiatives from that period. Both the BRCS and Oxfam are established actors in the field of humanitarian assistance today and, over time, have greatly influenced the way people in Britain look at and engage with the developing world. Examining how the BRCS and Oxfam taught young people about international development issues and practice in the 1950s and 1960s provides insight into the very foundation of how the field was first constructed and thought about, allowing us to reflect on how it continues to impact education and the public imagination today.

Just as the British government was coming to terms with its shifting postwar and post-colonial responsibilities in the 1950s and 1960s, through international aid and assistance, and participation in the UN and other intergovernmental organizations, so too were British school children, alongside those in the empire, taught to understand and participate in this new world order, often with the help of NGO conceptual frameworks of international poverty and development. Much was perceived to be at stake within these educational initiatives – not only increased international awareness and action, and the establishment of a strong fundraising base in Britain, but also the saving of lives in developing nations and the establishment of peace through "international friendship" and assistance. For these reasons NGOs such as the BRCS and Oxfam strategically appealed to the idealism of children and youth through their educational programs and campaigns, inspiring thousands of children and youth to fundraise, volunteer overseas, build international friendship networks, and campaign for a better world, as they saw it. Through their work, then, NGOs encouraged children and youth towards global citizenship within the context of Britain's changing status as a global power.

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Précis

Cette thèse examine comment des acteurs non étatiques ont éduqué la jeunesse britannique et ouest africaine sur les enjeux reliés au développement international au cours des années 1950 et 1960, alors que le domaine commençait à émerger sous sa forme moderne. Plus précisément, cette thèse présente des études de cas détaillées sur les programmes éducatifs de la Croix-Rouge britannique (CRB) et d'Oxfam, tout en soulignant certaines initiatives pertinentes des Nations Unies (ONU) au cours de la même période. Autant la CRB qu'Oxfam sont des acteurs qui sont bien établis aujourd'hui dans le domaine de l'assistance humanitaire, ayant eu, au cours de ces années, une influence importante sur la façon dont le peuple britannique perçoit et interagit avec le monde en développement. Étudier comment la CRB et Oxfam ont enseigné aux jeunes les enjeux et pratiques liés au développement international au cours des années 1950 et 1960 nous donne un aperçu de la manière dont les fondations de ce domaine furent pensées et se sont développées à leurs débuts, nous permettant ainsi de réfléchir à la manière par laquelle cela continue aujourd'hui d'avoir un impact sur l'éducation et l'imaginaire collectif.

Au cours des années 1950 et 1960, suivant la fin de la guerre et de la période coloniale, le gouvernement britannique fait face à son nouveau rôle au sein de l'ordre mondial à travers l'aide et l'assistance internationales ainsi que par sa participation à l'ONU et d'autres organisations intergouvernementales. Au même moment, on enseigne aux écoliers britanniques, autant qu'à ceux de l'empire, à comprendre et participer à ce nouvel ordre mondial à travers les cadres conceptuels des ONG pour le développement et la pauvreté internationale. L'impression était que l'enjeu derrière ces programmes éducatifs était de première importance. Non seulement afin de créer une action et une conscience internationale plus développée, ainsi que pour l'établissement d'une forte base pour la levée de fond en Grande-Bretagne, mais également afin de sauver des vies dans les pays en développement et d'établir la paix à travers « l'amitié internationale » et assistance. Pour ces raisons, des ONG telles que la CRB et Oxfam ont fait le choix stratégique au sein de leurs programmes et campagnes éducatifs de faire appel à l'idéalisme des enfants et des jeunes, amenant des milliers d'entres eux à lever des fonds, se porter volontaires à l'étranger, construire des réseaux d'amitiés internationales et faire campagne pour un monde meilleur. Dans le contexte où le statut de puissance mondiale de la Grande-Bretagne était en plein changement, le travail de ces ONG contribuera à amener les enfants et les jeunes à se tourner vers la citoyenneté mondiale.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations Used

Library and Archive Abbreviations

BRCS   British Red Cross Society Archives

Cadbury   Cadbury Research Library (University of Birmingham)

LORC   League of Red Cross Societies (now International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Archives)

SOAS   School of Oriental and African Studies Library

WCC   World Council of Churches Library

Other Acroynms

AGC   Advisory Group on Citizenship

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

BCC   British Council of Churches

BRCS   British Red Cross Society

CDC   Colonial Development Corporation (changed to Commonwealth Development Corporation in 1963)

CND   Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

CEWC   Council for Education in World Citizenship (independent unit of the UNA-UK)

CIIR   Catholic Institute for International Relations (formerly Sword of the Spirit)

DES   Department of Education and Science

EU   European Union

FAO   Food and Agricultural Organization

FFHC   Freedom From Hunger Campaign

ICRC   International Committee of the Red Cross

IGO   intergovernmental organization

IHL   International Humanitarian Law

IPPF   International Planned Parenthood Federation

ISMUN   International Student Movement of the United Nations

IFRC   International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

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IYC	International Year of Cooperation
JRC	Junior Red Cross
LEA	Local Education Authority
LORC	League of Red Cross Societies
MOD	Ministry of Overseas Development
NGO	nongovernment organization
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
SCF	Save the Children Fund
SCIU	Save the Children International Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
UNA-UK	United Nations Association (United Kingdom)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNV	United Nations Volunteer program
VCOAD	Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WCC	World Council of Churches
WRY	World Refugee Year
YAH	Youth Against Hunger

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Preface – International Development: Why So Popular?

International development has captured the imagination of the western world, including Britain, with superstars such as Bono, Coldplay and Annie Lennox voluntarily acting as ambassadors for the world's poor. The media brings poverty and suffering into British homes, facilitating intimate familiarity. As such, the image of the starving African child or, conversely, the happy African child who has been fed and schooled, is one that most people in Britain are acquainted with. And one that countless people want to engage with – many people living in Britain, young and old alike, take time to volunteer abroad, and even pay to volunteer, through a plethora of organizations such as Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), Volunteer Abroad, and Global Vision International (GVI). Young people dream of illustrious careers in international development with nongovernmental or intergovernmental organizations such as the Red Cross, Oxfam or the United Nations (UN). Prestigious institutions, such as the London School of Economics (LSE), King's College London, and the University of Oxford, among many others, cater to these desires by offering specialized courses and programs in international development. Other people take to the field as qualified doctors, nurses, engineers or teachers to simultaneously save people and see the world. For those not inspired to make a career out of helping others in exotic places, Oxfam and the Red Cross, among many other charities, are still recognizable household names, with their charity shops and street fundraisers a common sight throughout the United Kingdom. International development permeates British culture; it offers a respectable career.

Yet this was not always so. In the 1950s and 1960s international development was not something you studied (university departments or institutes of international development studies did not yet exist) and, if you wanted a job with international adventure, you entered the Colonial Service, joined the army or became a missionary. Compared to today, prior to the 1950s international poverty was something that was little thought about, unless in imperial terms, and the average person was infrequently exposed to the concept because of limited media interest and resources, and a lack of international travel opportunities. In addition to this, while the Save the Children Fund was the first organization to exploit the "fundraising potential in starving children" in 1919, according to human rights journalist and historian Caroline Moorehead, the

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visual element of international development campaigns, so crucial to swaying hearts and minds, had yet to become commonplace.[1]

For my dissertation research, I had the pleasure of interviewing several people who were among the first to make careers for themselves in international development in its modern form, the trailblazers so to speak. From our oral history interviews it seemed that they lived and breathed their work in the 1960s, that it became a real vocation, indeed a calling, even if they had simply stumbled into it at first. For many people today it still is a vocational career, with large demands placed on many employed in the sector, but now international development work is much more established, professionalized and competitive. It has become respectable over the past sixty odd years – so respectable, in fact, that getting a job in the field now is like a personal coup. Currently many international development studies graduates find it hard to establish a career in their chosen field since the competition is fierce and the available positions in established organizations, like the Red Cross, Oxfam and UN, so few. In contrast, most of those I spoke to who worked for Oxfam in the 1960s simply fell into it through personal connections or sheer coincidence.

When Maggie Jackson (née Chirnside), abandoned her career as a primary school teacher in favor of becoming Oxfam's first Primary Schools Organiser in 1963, her parents were not very impressed initially. Having lived through the Depression, they felt charity work was not a secure career. According to Chirnside, this was not unusual back then – "nobody knew it as a career. Charity was really people who stood with boxes collecting money outside the station or something."[2] So what drew Chirnside to such a seemingly unstable position? Not altruism or adventure, although she did think the job description sounded interesting – primarily it was the need for a job, one that did not involve straight-up teaching. Four years of teaching in London had left her feeling disenchanted with her profession. The person who hired Chirnside was Bill Jackson, Oxfam's Education Officer and Chirnside's future husband. Jackson went on to become Oxfam's Field Director in West Africa from 1968 to 1970 and would later work for the UN

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[1] Caroline Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross* (London: Harper Collins, 1998), 288. This is not to say that SCF was the first organization to use photographs of children for fundraising purposes. Doctor Barnardo, one of the most famous philanthropists of Victorian England, used photographs of street children to raise money for and awareness of their plight in the late 1800s. Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).
[2] Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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Volunteers (UNV) program in Geneva. Like Chirnside's parents, Jackson's father, a clergyman in Northern Ireland, was also initially concerned by his son's choice of employment in 1962. First, his father did not even know what Oxfam was, and second, after Jackson had explained the organization to him, his father asked, "Would you not do something a bit more secure, like the law for example?" Like Chirnside, Jackson ascribes his father's hesitation to his having lived through two world wars and a lot of insecurity. In response to his father's question, Jackson remembers saying, "No, I think, dad, it's of its time. I think there is a future to be had in international cooperation."[3] Later, when Jackson and Chirnside became engaged, Chirnside's parents were worried once again. As Chirnside recalls, her parents did not feel that Jackson had a proper job; for them, "charity was what... vicar's wives did...; it wasn't really a job for a man with a family."[4] In effect, it was something women did with their spare time.

What Chirnside's parents believed was in some ways true in the 1960s. According to Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor (née Elphinstone-Fyffe), who also both worked for Oxfam's Education Department in the 1960s, it was a well known fact that Oxfam employees stayed with the organization for a few years and then, especially if they got married and had children, they moved on to something with better long term career prospects. According to the Taylors, this was primarily because, at that time, Oxfam did not have a career structure through which you could progress, and its salaries were notoriously low, as was thought reasonable for a charity worker. As Richard Taylor put it, Oxfam "was not seen as being a career organization. You got in, you worked extremely hard, you put a lot in, got a lot out, but you certainly did not put any money in the bank."[5] Taylor was aware of this when he started working for Oxfam in 1965 as the first Regional Education Officer for Central London (hired by Jackson, his good friend from university, who felt he would be great at the job) – Taylor thought he would work for Oxfam for a few years (it was seen as a very young, "with-it" organization at the time) and then, as his civil servant father encouraged him to do, he would "get a real job." But Taylor, like many Oxfam employees, "got completely sucked into development" and stuck with it – he went on to work for Oxfam for ten years. By the time he decided to leave Oxfam, a long term, respectable career in

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[3] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[4] Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[5] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch, 5 July 2012 and 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

international development could be extended beyond local charity organizations to international NGOs or government and UN bodies. Taylor could thus proceed to get a "real job" first at World University Service (WUS) in Geneva as their International General Secretary, and later at the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Similarly, after the Jacksons returned from West Africa in 1970 with two young boys and new-born twins in tow, Bill sought work elsewhere and, through his experience at Oxfam, proceeded by fifteen years directing Ireland's state-sponsored Agency for Personal Service Overseas (APSO), he went on to be Chief of External Relations at UNV in 1989.

As the above demonstrates, employment in international development was little understood in the 1960s and was deemed unstable. It was also thought of in varied terms – Chirnside used the word charity, whereas Jackson called it international cooperation. At the time, for many people charity "smacked of little old ladies and coffee mornings," something Oxfam hugely relied on yet was not limited to, but an image that a young person nevertheless did not necessarily want to tie his or her career to.[6] International cooperation, on the other hand, was a loose term that emphasized world peace through international governance, a concept at the heart of all UN work, and again, something Oxfam went beyond with its grassroots priorities. The decreased usage of terms such as charity and international cooperation in describing the field reflects how international development has changed since the 1960s, how its emphasis has shifted over time. While the current Oxfam certainly is a charity that works towards international cooperation, it is primarily known as an international development NGO that empowers people the world over against poverty.[7]

The respectable, established and professionalized field of international development, however, remains hard to define. According to former Oxfam employee, historian and international consultant Maggie Black (who, after five years at Oxfam, went on to work for UNICEF in 1977), development is a nebulous catch-all phrase, a label for a very broad field that maybe should not even have one, as it obscures the details.[8] In other words, as historian Johannes

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[6] Richard Taylor. Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch, 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[7] Oxfam International. Accessed 2 June 2014 <http://www.oxfam.org/>
[8] Black also worked for the *New Internationalist* between 1976 and 1979, first as editor and then as a regular contributor. At that time the *New Internationalist* was considered to be a radical development magazine. It was

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Paulmann put it, the historical usage of humanitarian discourse, by aid agencies, governments, recipients of aid and academics, including terms like international development, international cooperation, and charity, should be investigated to understand how the framing of humanitarian action affected the policies and norms that have emerged at particular times.[9] When I set out to write this dissertation, I wanted to study "international development," to understand its complexities, its historical evolution, and provide an explanation for its successes and failures. But on my way to studying this supposed comprehensive field, the archives led me to think critically about children, education, economics, health, organisational dynamics, and so forth. I should have been prepared for this – scholars and practitioners have written numerous books and articles trying to encapsulate the field's meaning and methodology, defining and representing development as freedom,[10] business, [11] humanitarianism,[12] a hegemonic American imperial globality,[13] even as a "sexy" endeavor.[14] And yet, despite, or perhaps because of these tensions in interpreting the field, students passionately keep flocking to international development programs and careers, wanting to make a difference, wanting an adventurous career, wanting to work in an international setting, wanting to learn the jargon, wanting something they cannot quite define.

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launched in 1973 with the financial backing of Oxfam and Christian Aid. Personal communication with Maggie Black, 27 October 2011 and 21 September 2014.

[9] Johannes Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 4, no. 2 (2013): 215.

[10] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001).

[11] Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa* (London: Penguin Group, 2009); Jacqueline Novogratz, *The Blue Sweater: Bridging the Gap Between Rich and Poor in an Interconnected World* (New York: Rodale Books, 2009); Paul Polak, *Out of Poverty: What Works When Traditional Approaches Fail* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2008); C.K. Prahalad, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publishing, 2005).

[12] Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011).

[13] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 2 ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); ———, "Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-Globalisation Social Movements," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2004); ———, "Cultural Politics and Biological Diversity: State, Captial and Social Movements in the Pacific Coast of Colombia," in *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest*, ed. Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn (London: Rutgers University Press, 1997); ———, "Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements," *Social Text*, no. 31/32 (1992).

[14] John Cameron and Anna Haanstra, "Development Made Sexy: How it Happened and What it Means," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 8 (2008).

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At the heart of my dissertation are questions about how this shift came about – how did international development establish itself so firmly in the imagination of young people and the public in general? Why is it currently such a popular field of study in the social sciences at the university level? How did careers in international development, once relatively obscure and thought insecure, become prestigious and much sought after? How has the landscape of international development changed since the 1950s? Central to these questions is education. Three of the four aforementioned Education Department employees, Elphinstone-Fyffe, Chirnside and Taylor, all stumbled into the job haphazardly – their education had not directly primed them for it. Only Jackson had been actively pursuing a career in the realm of international cooperation, having been exposed to development issues at the university level (at Trinity College, Dublin), primarily through his active association with World Refugee Year (1959) and the student movement of the UN. Yet all of them quickly became convinced that ending international poverty truly was a cause worth advocating for which, as this thesis will argue, made them effective in their jobs of pioneering curricular development education in the 1960s. By bringing development issues directly into the classroom, Oxfam's Education Department, alongside other NGOs designing international development classroom aids, secured the place of international development within the imagination of young people in Britain, creating a lasting generational impact felt to this day. In part thanks to the efforts of Oxfam and other NGOs, including the British Red Cross Society (BRCS), the study of international development themes became mandatory when citizenship education became a statutory subject in English secondary schools in 2002.[15]

When I asked Chirnside what kind of organization she thought Oxfam was when she applied to work there in the early 1960s, she recounted her first memory of charitable aid. Her public school in Wembley, Middlesex, in the 1940s and early 1950s, facilitated a charity collection in support of children in need. Every week each student had to donate two pence, with one going towards the BRCS, the other into a general charity collection. One day each year the money in the general collection was divided into twelve parts and the students came together to vote on which charities it should go to. One student from each level, ranging from seven to

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[15] For more on the specific educational requirements, see Advisory Group on Citizenship, "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools," (London: DfEE/QCA, 1998).

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eighteen year olds, had to speak for five minutes in front of his or her class about various child-oriented charities, such as the Sunshine Home for Blind Babies, Lord Robert's Workshop, and the Pestalozzi Children's Villages. The school children were thus actively engaged in not only donating to charity, but also thinking about different charitable organizations that worked with children. Yet despite this democratic approach to fundraising, it was the BRCS which received the bulk of the money by automatically being assigned half of it, demonstrating the BRCS's prominence within the British charitable imagination and its penetration of schools, at least in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. Whether her school had a BRCS Junior program Chirnside did not say, but in retrospect she felt that, "Having grown up with that in my school, I thought I sort of knew what Oxfam was... I probably classed it with the Red Cross." [16]

The BRCS has a much longer history than Oxfam. The Red Cross movement was founded in Switzerland in 1863 with the aim of humanizing war, with the BRCS founded seven years later, in 1870. In 1919 the Red Cross broadened its mandate to include peacetime objectives. As a result, in 1924 children and youth were officially incorporated into the BRCS through its Junior program, one that was primarily orchestrated through extracurricular school activities. Because of this program Chirnside was one of many British children exposed to the BRCS's domestic and international activities. With one of its Junior mandates being "fostering international friendship," the BRCS's work with children in some ways represents a forerunner to the international development education initiatives that emerged out of the 1960s, with Oxfam in the lead. Oxfam too was founded with the aim of humanizing war – it was founded in 1942 as part of a network of British Famine Relief Committees advocating for the assistance of civilian victims of war-induced hunger, particularly in Greece. With the end of the war and their cause, and the restoration of Europe well under way, other Famine Relief Committees gradually shut down in the late 1940s. Oxfam, then known as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief , however, broadened its mandate in 1949 to include "[t]he relief of suffering arising as a result of wars or of other causes in any part of the world" and as such was permanently established.[17] Ten years later, in 1959, Oxfam started targeting children in schools through educational initiatives.

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[16] Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[17] Maggie Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years* (Oxford: Oxfam and Oxford University Press, 1992), 37. Until 1965 Oxfam was officially known as the Oxfam Committee for Famine Relief, although it was

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Through their educational material, the BRCS and Oxfam appealed to the idealism of children and youth, thereby provoking them into action and encouraging them towards global citizenship within a post-imperial world and a changing landscape of international responsibility. The 1960s witnessed a shift in how children and youth were approached by such NGOs – the energy stemming out of that decade, when the novel ideas of international development coincided with decolonization, changing ideas of youth, evolving communication technology, and shifts towards participatory methods of education, helped cement international development in schools and the public imagination. This dissertation will examine the BRCS Junior program in the 1950s as a forerunner to Oxfam's educational program in the 1960s, elucidating how both were related to the larger international development movement, impacted it and perpetuated it in Britain.

While international development issues engage scholars, governments, practitioners, the public, and even children, and it has been recognized as a respectable and professional industry to work in, the sector is not necessarily better defined or understood now than it was in the 1950s and 1960s. What has also not changed is that our world is still characterized by extreme inequality and poverty, with many arguing that these have only increased over the past decades.[18] As a result, scholars and practitioners have pointed to the necessity of change within international development practice, stating that it is too ineffective, inefficient, bureaucratic, corrupt, imperial, and even naive. A historical examination of international development is therefore necessary to evaluate the field's strengths and weaknesses, to understand the origins of development thought and practice, and its political, ideological and practical underpinnings.[19] Such historical understandings will facilitate the search for more productive and effective ways forward, and could perhaps even lead to the abandonment of the paradigm, which some scholars,

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popularly referred to as Oxfam, its telegraphic signature, before then. Throughout this dissertation I will refer to the organization as Oxfam.

[18] For a detailed analysis of twentieth-century trends in global inequality by a leading World Bank economist, see Branko Milanovic, *Worlds Apart : Measuring International and Global Inequality* (Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press, 2008). See also Nancy Birdsall, "Rising Inequality in the New Global Economy," (Washington: Center for Global Development, n.d.).

[19] See C.A. Bayly et al., eds., *History, Historians and Development Policy: A Necessary Dialogue* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

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such as William Easterly, Arturo Escobar and Dambisa Moyo, have called for.[20] By examining NGO educational programs and their relationship with children and youth on the home-front, I contribute to this dialogue, allowing a critical analysis of why we have come to think about international development problems, solutions, and organizations in the way we do.

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[20] William Easterly, *The Tyranny of Experts : Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); ———, *The White Man's Burden* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006); Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*; ———, "Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-Globalisation Social Movements."; ———, "Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements."; Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa*. See also Larry Krotz, *The Uncertain Business of Doing Good: Outsiders in Africa* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008).

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__Introduction__

Scholars and practitioners alike have a difficult time defining international development and humanitarian aid.[1] As historian Johannes Paulmann, economist Amartya Sen, and political scientist Michael Barnett have demonstrated, among others, both international development and humanitarian aid are malleable concepts that cover a broad range of activities over space and time.[2] Because of this very malleability, alongside the contested nature of both these endeavors, these concepts have captured the public imagination and are often uncritically bandied about by the general public, the media, scholars, politicians, government officials, nongovernmental organization (NGO) workers, and others.

In light of this, this dissertation provides a detailed examination of how non-state actors taught international development issues to children and youth in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, as the modern field of development was first emerging. Specifically, what follows are detailed case studies of the educational work of the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) and Oxfam. Both these organizations are established actors in the field of humanitarian assistance and have greatly influenced the way people in Britain look at and engage with the developing world. Founded in 1870, the BRCS is among Britain's oldest internationally-operating charities, whereas Oxfam, founded in 1942, rapidly became and remains a leader in the field of international development. Examining how the BRCS and Oxfam taught young people about international development issues and practice provides insight into the very foundation of how the field was first constructed and thought about, allowing us to reflect on how it continues to impact education and the public imagination today.

Just as the British government was seeking to come to terms with its shifting postwar and post-colonial responsibilities, through international aid and assistance, and participation in the United Nations (UN) and other intergovernmental organizations, so too were British school

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[1] See for example Escobar, "Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-Globalisation Social Movements."; Krotz, *The Uncertain Business of Doing Good: Outsiders in Africa*; Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century."; Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

[2] As I am referencing his language in particular, see Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century," 215. See also Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*; Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, 4 ed. (London: Zed Books, 2014); Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

children taught to understand and participate in this new world order, often with the help of NGO conceptual frameworks of international poverty and development. Much was at stake within these educational initiatives – not only increased international awareness and action, as well as the establishment of a strong fundraising base in Britain, but also the saving of lives in developing nations and the establishment of peace through "international friendship" and cooperation. For this reason, NGOs such as the BRCS and Oxfam strategically appealed to the idealism of children and youth, evoking shock, anger, sympathy and hope through their educational programs and campaigns. As a result, they inspired thousands of children and youth to fundraise, volunteer overseas, build "international friendship" networks, and campaign for a better world, thus encouraging them towards global citizenship within the context of Britain's changing status as a global power.

International development has yet to be adequately historicized. However, what is critical to our analysis of international development thought and practice, both historically and in the present, is understanding where the impulse to help others in faraway lands comes from, and how this impulse was initially framed. For many people, their understanding of the developing world stems from their childhood, from school, the media, their surroundings. My thesis contributes to existing scholarship by bringing together the history of international development and the history of children and youth, demonstrating how NGOs such as the BRCS and Oxfam worked with young people, teaching them how to think about and act towards the world beyond the British Isles. Within the world of international relations, British children were far from passive. Just as Tamara Myers has argued in the case of young Canadians in the 1960s and 1970s, I too demonstrate how British children and youth actively contributed to international development and a sense of global community with the help of NGOs.[3] As such, my historical examination of the educational work of the BRCS and Oxfam, alongside their relationship with children at the home front, sheds light on the foundation of international development in the West, and its continuous emotional appeal and impact on education, culture, politics, and the public imagination.

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[3] Tamara Myers, "Local Action and Global Imagining: Youth, International Development, and the Walkathon Phenomenon in Sixties' and Seventies' Canada," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (2014).

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What follows in this introductory chapter is a cursory examination of some of the challenges inherent to historicizing international development, followed by a short overview of international development from a British perspective in the 1950s and 1960s. I then provide a brief history of the BRCS (and the International Red Cross) and Oxfam, alongside their individual historiographies, so as to provide an understanding of what kind of traditions these organizations were coming from and to contextualize their different approaches to aid. As political scientist Steven Heydemann and historian David C. Hammack have remarked, in order to understand the organization of philanthropy and civil society groups, particularly those operating internationally, one cannot detach them from their national places of origin and the forces that shaped them.[4] This discussion is followed by an examination of how scholars have approached the histories of young people in Britain and Africa and how this relates to international development education. I then provide a brief overview of the methodology I employed in writing this dissertation, which included both archival and oral history research. Finally, to conclude, I provide an outline of the dissertation chapters which detail how the BRCS and Oxfam introduced children and youth to international development issues, both at home and abroad, in 1950s and 1960s Britain.

Historicizing International Development

In recent years historians, alongside scholars in other disciplines such as development studies, economics and political science, have started to actively engage with the history of international development and humanitarian aid. Some, such as international development scholar Gilbert Rist and political scientist Michael Barnett, have pointed to United States President Harry S. Truman's 1949 inaugural presidential speech as marking the beginning of the modern era of international development. In this speech Truman said, "For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people [the world's poor]."[5] Truman was not just speaking to Americans in this speech; he was speaking to the western world. For Rist, this speech established a new terminology of progress that allowed development

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[4] Steven Heydemann and David C. Hammack, "Philanthropic Projectsion: Sending Institutional Logics Abroad," in *Globalization, Philanthropy and Civil Society: Projecting Institutional Logics Abroad*, ed. Steven Heydemann and David C. Hammack (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), 5.
[5] Harry S. Truman, "Inaugural Address," http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13282.

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to become a collective global enterprise; to Barnett it signalled the postwar intertwining of development, modernization and the protection of national security interests abroad.[6]

Yet international development is too broad a term for one single historical narrative. Not only is the term difficult to define, allowing it to cover a multitude of actors, actions, and discourses, but important aspects of modern development, and humanitarian action broadly speaking, have historical roots and precedents from before 1949 – within empire, missionary work, global politics, and international advocacy networks, to name a few. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), for example, currently one of the world's most influential humanitarian actors, was founded in 1863. Both Rist and Barnett are aware of this and have situated Truman's proclamation in broader historical narratives, with Rist even reaching all the way back to antiquity. But neither scholar is a historian, a common occurrence for a field with such broad, popular appeal. Many development and humanitarian organizations, for example, have published official histories that are often celebratory and lack rigorous historical analysis.[7] In other cases economists and practitioners, most famously William Easterly and Jeffrey Sachs, have written popular accounts in support of or against contemporary development practice, drawing heavily on history to support their findings.[8] In addition to this, the historians who have investigated different aspects of humanitarian practice, according to historian Johannes Paulmann, have not adequately historically situated the discourses and language that legitimized the field. For this reason he has argued "that neither the history of humanitarian organizations, nor aid as a function of political economy, nor the evolution of global humanitarian governance

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[6] Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*: 101; Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*: 76.

[7] See, for example, Dick Bird, *Never the Same Again: A History of VSO* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1998); Mark Luetchford and Peter Burns, *Waging the War on Want: 50 Years of Campaigning Against World Poverty* (London: War on Want, 2003); Daphne A. Reid and Patrick F. Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994* (Geneva, Switzerland: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1997); Emily Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 1995).

[8] Easterly, *The White Man's Burden*; ———, *The Tyranny of Experts : Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor*; Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin Books, 2011).

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provides a satisfactory historical explanation for the development of humanitarian aid during the twentieth century."[9]

It is true that the categories identified by Paulmann have dominated the field of historical inquiry into humanitarianism, although it has been in no way limited to them. Some scholars have looked at specific organizations,[10] others at the rise of global humanitarian governance and the politics of aid,[11] others still at specific aspects of aid (human rights, famine/nutrition, religion, the media),[12] while others have focused on aid within specific national contexts.[13] Many

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[9] Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century," 215. Similarly Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard have argued that, in the case of NGOs, historians have tended to treat them "in generic terms, not exploring their varied ideologies, organizational forms, and relations to state mechanisms." Randall M. Packard and Frederick Cooper, *International Development and the Social Sciences : Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 29.

[10] Recently Save the Children (SCF) has received much scholarly attention. See Emily Baughan, "'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain," *Historical Research* 86, no. 231 (2013); Ellen Boucher, "Cultivating Internationalism: Save the Children Fund, Public Opinion and the Meaning of Child Relief, 1919–24," in *Brave New World: Imperial and Democratic Nation-Building in Britain between the Wars*, ed. Laura Beers and Geraint Thomas (London: Institute for Historical Research, 2011); Linda Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action: Eglantyne Jebb and Save the Children, 1876-1928* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009); Dominique Marshall, "The Rights of African Children, the Save the Children Fund and Public Opinion in Europe and Ethiopia: The Centre of Child Welfare of Addis Ababa, Spring 1936" (paper presented at the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg, 2003); Ann Nehlin, *Exporting Visions and Saving Children - the Swedish Save the Children Fund* (Linkoping, Sweden: Linkoping University, 2009); Patricia Sellick, "Responding to Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Case Study of Save the Children Fund (1919-1999)" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Bradford, 2001). For recent work on Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), see Jordanna Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). For an official history of VSO, see Bird, *Never the Same Again: A History of VSO*. For scholarship on the Red Cross and Oxfam, please see below.

[11] Maggie Black, *Children First: The Story of UNICEF, Past and Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle Against Poverty in Asia* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2010); Volker Heins, *Nongovernmental Organizations in International Society: Struggles Over Recognition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); A. G. Hopkins, ed. *Global History: Interactions Between the Universal and the Local* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Akira Iriye, "A Century of NGOs," *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 3 (1999); ———, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998); Samuel Moyn, "The Political Origins of Global Justice," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* (forthcoming); ———, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

[12] Peter Gatrell, *Free World? The Campaign to Save the World's Refugees, 1956-1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Eric Greitens, "Children First: Ideas and the Dynamics of Aid in Western Voluntary Assistance Programs for War-Affected Children Abroad" (Doctoral Thesis, Oxford, 2000); Matthew Hilton, "International Aid and Development NGOs in Britain and Human Rights since 1945," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 3, no. 3 (2012); Dominique Marshall, "Roles and Meanings of Children's Rights in the History of Universal Human Rights, 1900-1989," in *Research Workshop on the Impact of the Universalism of Human Rights in the 20th-Century in the English-Speaking World* (McMaster

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of these themes and approaches, of course, overlap. Through these studies scholars have explored what humanitarian aid and international development are, how we define them, and how they have evolved over time.[14] Yet what is significant here, especially in light of Paulmann's findings, is that scholars are increasingly situating their research within broader historical contexts and frameworks in order to identify why those involved in the field thought and acted in the way they did. Such historical interventions are important considering today's heated debates about the effectiveness of development norms and practice.[15] In the case of

University, Hamilton, Canada2012); ———, "Humanitarian Sympathy for Children in Times of War and the History of Children's Rights, 1919-1959," in *Children and War: A Historical Anthology*, ed. James Marten and Robert Coles (New York: New York University Press, 2002); ———, "The Construction of Children as an Object of International Relations: The Declaration of Children's Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of League of Nations, 1900-1924," *International Journal of Chlidren's Rights* 7, no. 2 (1999); Hilde Nielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie, eds., *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

[13] For work on Britain see Anna Bocking Welch, "Imperial Legacies and Internationalist Discourses: British Involvement in the United Nations Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 1960–70," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 5 (2012); Nick Crowson, Matthew Hilton, and James McKay, eds., *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Matthew Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs Shaped Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Matthew Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Andrew Jones, "British Humanitarian NGOs and the Disaster Relief Industry, 1942-1985" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014). For recent work on Canada, see Matthew James Bunch, "All Roads Lead to Rome: Canada, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, and the Rise of NGOs, 1960-1980" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2007); Ruth Compton-Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-86,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013); ———, "Ironic Interventions: CUSO Volunteers in India's Family Planning Campaign, 1960s-1970s," *Histoire sociale/Social history* 43, no. 86 (2010); Dominique Marshall with Julia Sterparn, "Oxfam Aid to Canada's First Nations, 1962–1975: Eating Lynx, Starving for Jobs, and Flying a Talking Bird," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 22, no. 2 (2012); Myers, "Local Action and Global Imagining: Youth, International Development, and the Walkathon Phenomenon in Sixties' and Seventies' Canada."; ———, "Blistered and Bleeding, Tired and Determined: Visual Representations of Children and Youth in the Miles for Millions Walkathon," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 22, no. 1 (2011). For recent work on Ireland, see Kevin O'Sullivan, "Humanitarian Encounters: Biafra, NGOs and Imaginings of the Third World in Britain and Ireland, 1967-70," *Journal of Genocide Research* 16, no. 2-3 (2014); ———, *Ireland, Africa and the End of Empire: Small State Identity in the Cold War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

[14] For useful, sweeping histories of aid, see Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*; Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century."; Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. See also Bayly et al., *History, Historians and Development Policy: A Necessary Dialogue*.

[15] Much has been written about contemporary international development norms and practice. For a sampling of current debates, see Christopher J. Coyne, *Doing Bad by Doing Good: Why Humanitarian Action Fails* (Stanford: Standford University Press, 2013); Easterly, *The Tyranny of Experts : Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor*; ———, *The White Man's Burden*; Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*; Jonathan Glennie, *The Trouble With Aid: Why Less Could Mean More for Africa* (London: Zed Books, 2008); Krotz, *The Uncertain Business of Doing Good: Outsiders in Africa*; Gerald M. Meier and

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twentieth-century Britain, for example, historians have shown particular interest in how the empire, decolonization, and the rise of new internationalist thinking have influenced modern conceptions of humanitarian aid and international development both in the field and on the home front. Through such studies historians offer important reminders that humanitarian and development norms and practice stem from particular sets of historical circumstance that need to be considered when evaluating the state of the field today.

International Development in the 1950s and 1960s from a British Perspective

In 1950s Britain the concept of international development quickly caught on, first among its technocrats, later with the public. The concept of international development was particularly poignant given Britain's waning empire and the push for peace and international cooperation by intergovernmental organizations following the Second World War. International development gave the British government a new vocabulary with which to frame its relationship with the world, particularly with its former colonies – it allowed Britain to renegotiate its post-imperial responsibilities and maintain ties to its former possessions. Yet despite the apparent novelty of the concept, the roots of development practice had been firmly established during Britain's colonial period, with the rhetoric of international development signalling a shift in how Britain engaged with its former empire, not a new departure.

For example, British colonial policy in Africa changed after the Second World War. While historian John Flint has argued that the late 1930s saw the Colonial Office prioritizing the eventual democratization of its African colonies through increased social service expenditure, particularly in education,[16] the end of the war led to an emphasis on independence (as opposed to responsible self-government) and financial self-sufficiency. Within the East African context, for example, historian Aldwin Roes highlights how this shift was driven by British rather than

Joseph E. Stiglitz, eds., *Frontiers of Development Economics: The Future in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa*; Novogratz, *The Blue Sweater: Bridging the Gap Between Rich and Poor in an Interconnected World*; Polak, *Out of Poverty: What Works When Traditional Approaches Fail*; Prahalad, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*; Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*; Ian Smillie and Larry Minear, *The Charity of Nations: Humanitarian Action in a Calculating World* (Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, Inc., 2004); Ian Smillie, *The Alms Bazaar: Alturism Under Fire - Non-Profit Organizations and International Development* (Rugby, UK: Practical Action, 1995).

[16] John Flint, "Planned Decolonization and Its Failure in British Africa," *African Affairs* 82, no. 328 (1983). For case studies in colonial welfare policy see James Midgely and David Piachaud, eds., *Colonialism and Welfare: Social Policy and the British Imperial Legacy* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2011).

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African political and economic priorities. According to Roes, the war had drained British financial reserves, forcing the British government to decrease its investments in colonial development. In contrast to this, however, after the war Britain also had to cultivate its Commonwealth relationships and demonstrate its commitment to economic, political and social progress, as well as self-determination.[17] In this environment, the World Bank was invited to perform a general survey of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda to assess their economic health and make recommendations to strengthen their economic wellbeing, to develop them. Roes argues that the East African World Bank missions and recommendations "were embedded in the history of a particular vision on economic development (export-led, capitalist, agricultural, and open to global capital and commodity markets), which was rooted in colonial experience and embraced and disseminated by the World Bank."[18] Through its 1950s surveys, the World Bank, according to Roes, shared the Colonial Office's emphasis on financial self-sufficiency which, with the fall of commodity prices mid-decade, meant financial austerity and the cutting of social service expenditures. Economic progress was to come with a social price tag, a situation comparable to the structural adjustment programs of the 1980s. According to historian Nicholas J. White, this economic progress fit nicely with British government and business interests in strengthening the sterling area and maintaining British influence in the region, which was particularly important within the Cold War context.[19]

With the advent of independence, in Africa starting with Ghana in 1957, Britain had to again adapt its policies. Imperial policy became foreign policy, with aid and the language of international development convenient tools. Historian Jim Tomlinson highlights these shifts, arguing that before 1958 aid policy was primarily grounded in the 1929 Colonial Development and Welfare Act, the primary aim of which was to strengthen the sterling area. With independence, this aid was mostly cut off. Following 1958, a lack of private investment in the

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[17] These were the values of the United Nations, as defined against the values embodied by the fascist Axis Powers of the Second World War.

[18] Aldwin Roes, "World Bank Survey Missions and the Politics of Decolonization in British East Africa, 1957-1963," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 42, no. 1 (2009): 27. For a case study of postwar colonial policy in Tanzania, see Rohland Schuknecht, *British Colonial Development Policy after the Second World War* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2008). Like Roes, Schuknecht also sheds light on the colonial roots of later development work through an analysis of Britain's rural development initiatives in Sukumaland in Tanzania between 1945 and 1961.

[19] Nicholas J. White, "The Business and the Politics of Decolonization: The British Experience in the Twentieth Century," *The Economic History Review* 53, no. 3 (2000).

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former colonies, mounting US pressure, and the Cold War environment led to tied-aid, a policy which incurred large deficits in newly independent countries as raw materials flowed out and British manufactured goods flowed in.[20] While the British government also pursued other development models at this time, these too remained economically focused. In 1948, for example, the government established the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC, later the Commonwealth Development Corporation), a crown corporation which sought to develop the colonial export sector by supporting private enterprise in the colonies.[21] The British government also participated in the 1950 Colombo Plan, a multilateral initiative with Cold War motivations. Through the Colombo Plan Britain channeled financial assistance, physical capital, and technical expertise to Asian members of the Commonwealth. Like tied-aid and the CDC, the Colombo Plan was also economically-oriented, often at the expense of the social interests of the countries it was assisting.[22] In this manner the social services and safety nets of newly independent countries continued to be neglected as economies struggled, as Britain pursued international development initiatives that were grounded in British priorities and the imperial past.

In 1964 the newly inaugurated Labour government, under Harold Wilson, sought to prioritize and reconfigure Britain's foreign relations with its former colonies by creating the Ministry of Overseas Development (MOD). Within the Commonwealth, the Labour government not only perceived an opportunity to maintain global influence but, within this, Wilson also saw an arena in which to reduce world poverty, a pressing issue that was receiving more and more media attention internationally.[23] Wilson's creation of the MOD, according to Tomlinson, was to serve as an expression of "Britain's commitment to the development of the poorer countries that

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[20] Not all aid was tied as this was seen to hamper trade in some countries, such as India. Also, this model was not sustainable as British trading patterns were shifting in the 1960s, with demand for unsophisticated raw materials decreasing while those for manufactured goods were increasing. Jim Tomlinson, "The Decline of the Empire and the Economic 'Decline' of Britain," *Twentieth Century British History* 14, no. 3 (2003): 209, 14-15, 20.

[21] To read a contemporary evaluation of the CDC, see E. R. Wicker, "The Colonial Development Corporation (1948-54)," *The Review of Economic Studies* 23, no. 3 (1955). For a more recent evaluation of the CDC see Michael Havinden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850 - 1960* (London: Routledge, 1993), 283-98.

[22] For more on the Colombo Plan, see Jill Marie Sarah Campbell-Miller, "The Mind of Modernity: Canadian Bilateral Foreign Assistance to India, 1950-60" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2014); Daniel Oakman, *Facing Asia: A History of the Colombo Plan* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004). Little has been written on the Colombo Plan from a British perspective.

[23] See Jim Tomlinson, "The Commonwealth, the Balance of Payments and the Politics of International Poverty: British Aid Policy, 1958-1971," *Contemporary European History* 12, no. 4 (2003): 423. ———, "The Decline of the Empire and the Economic 'Decline' of Britain," passim.

made up the great bulk of its [Commonwealth] members."[24] Yet even at the MOD's inauguration British financial resources were dwindling, as was faith in the utility of the Commonwealth, making it hard to maintain this increased commitment to overseas aid.[25] With the fall of the Labour government in 1970, Edward Heath's Conservative government dissolved the MOD, assigning its work to the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), a functional wing of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As historian Barrie Ireton has shown, while Heath's government demonstrated a commitment to overseas aid in its 1970 party manifesto, *A Better Tomorrow*, it gave development concerns short shrift in reality in the face of domestic priorities.[26]

It was not only the British government, but also the British people, that had to adapt to Britain's changing position in the world and the end of empire. As historians Emily Baughan and Ellen Boucher have illustrated through their studies of the Save the Children Fund (SCF), people living in Britain had already been exposed to the concept of overseas assistance and international cooperation before the Second World War. As Boucher put it, the SCF articulated and cultivated an "explicitly internationalist social consciousness" among the British population in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, using the press to champion the cause of children throughout Europe to help rebuild and stabilize the war-torn continent.[27] Building on this, Baughan has demonstrated how the SCF also propagated an idea of imperial international responsibility within Britain during the interwar years, with the SCF casting the British Empire

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[24] ———, "The Commonwealth, the Balance of Payments and the Politics of International Poverty: British Aid Policy, 1958-1971," 424. For an overview of British aid policy during decolonization, see Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850 - 1960*. For a history of the British overseas aid, primarily after decolonization, see Barrie Ireton, *Britain's International Development Policies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[25] Barbara Castle was its first Minister, with her appointment lasting only one year. In 1965 she was promoted to the Ministry of Transportation. Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000*, 2 ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 297. See also Tomlinson, "The Decline of the Empire and the Economic 'Decline' of Britain," 214.

[26] Ireton, *Britain's International Development Policies*: 40. The apparent universal philanthropic motives behind the development of the MOD belie its complexity and the split between the Conservative and Labour Parties that its creation caused. After being dissolved by the Conservative government in 1970, the MOD once again became its own ministry in 1974 under the next Labour government. In 1979, under a Conservative government, it switched back to becoming a functional wing of the Overseas Development Administration. It was not until 1997 that the British government established the Department of International Development (DFID) as a separate department led by a cabinet minister.

[27] Boucher, "Cultivating Internationalism: Save the Children Fund, Public Opinion and the Meaning of Child Relief, 1919–24," 170.

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as a morally-motivated conduit for international cooperation.[28] This push towards internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s was not the sole preserve of organizations like the SCF – as Frank Trentmann has argued, "new internationalism" was a popular concept at the time, particularly in Europe. New internationalists promoted a re-imagining of the world as transnational and cooperative, urging people away from the national-orientations they felt had caused the First World War.[29]

After the Second World War, despite Britain's diminished world power, the interaction of the British public with the outside world was accelerated and expanded. According to historian Anna Bocking Welch, the 1960s saw an increased engagement with foreign places through civil society initiatives centered on international friendship, education, and philanthropy, all activities with roots in the fading empire. Through the expansion and reconfiguration of such undertakings, Bocking Welch has argued that "in the 1960s the moment of decolonization was also tied to a moment of opening up that encouraged forward-looking and future-oriented conceptions of Britain's place in the world."[30] Similarly historian Jordana Bailkin has demonstrated the "afterlife" of the empire within Britain, detailing how decolonization was experienced in the metropole "as a broadly social process, rather than as an exclusively diplomatic one."[31] In analysing domestic politics of migration and deportation, the experience of international students living in Britain, and the impetus behind young Britons volunteering overseas, Bailkin illustrates how imperial connections remained tangible to the British population even as the official bonds of empire were dissolving. By exposing the multiple ways in which the British public engaged with the empire, even assigning it an "afterlife" with decolonization, Bailkin and Bocking Welch disagree with historian Bernard Porter, who has

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[28] Baughan, "'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain." See also John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

[29] Frank Trentmann, "After the Nation-State: Citizenship, Empire and Global Coordination in the New Internationalism, 1914-1930," in *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880-1950*, ed. Philippa Levine Kevin Grant, Frank Trentmann (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

[30] Anna Bocking Welch, "The British Public in a Shrinking World: Civic Engagement with the Declining of Empire, 1960-1970" (Doctoral Thesis, University of York, 2012), 261.

[31] Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*: 237.

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claimed that those living in the metropole were little influenced in their daily lives by the empire and its eventual decline.[32]

From the late 1950s onwards, internationally-operating charities, now commonly referred to as NGOs, were primary conduits in teaching the metropolitan public about the world beyond the British Isles, especially the developing world.[33] In particular, Bocking Welch points to the Food and Agricultural Organization's (FAO) 1960-1965 Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC) as a catalyst through which British charities, such as Oxfam and Christian Aid, actively engaged British people in international philanthropy by exposing them to international poverty and development.[34] Such NGO involvement in raising awareness of international issues is not remarkable given the circumstances they were operating in. Within the context of Britain's official aid policy after the Second World War and in the lead-up to independence, as described above, NGOs were well placed to bring necessary social services to the poor in the colonies. Charities like the BRCS and SCF in particular, which already had an established international presence in the immediate postwar period, were able to assist in nation-building with an emphasis on social progress and human welfare at that time. The BRCS, for example, brought its own vision of an independent Africa to the continent through health, hygiene, and the power of voluntary service. While the British government sought to strengthen African markets and

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[32] Bocking Welch, "The British Public in a Shrinking World: Civic Engagement with the Declining of Empire, 1960-1970," 264. See Bernard Porter, "Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (2008); ———, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For historical counter-arguments, based in the colonial period, see Catherine Hall, "Culture and Identity in Imperial Britain," in *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives*, ed. Sarah Stockwell (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008); Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); John M. MacKenzie, ed. *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); ———, " 'In Touch with the Infinite': The BBC and the Empire, 1923-53," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); ———, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*; Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: the Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

[33] For a succinct overview of humanitarian, aid and development NGOs in Britain since 1949, see Clare Saunders, "British Humanitarian, Aid and Development NGOs, 1949-Present," in *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945*, ed. Nick Crowson, Matthew Hilton, and James McKay (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[34] Bocking Welch, "Imperial Legacies and Internationalist Discourses: British Involvement in the United Nations Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 1960–70."; ———, "The British Public in a Shrinking World: Civic Engagement with the Declining of Empire, 1960-1970."

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investments, NGOs had the freedom to emphasize the human side of development, to emphasize social over economic progress.

By the 1960s a host of other organizations had joined the fight against poverty and suffering overseas. The end of the Second World War had made international development an increasingly pressing collective enterprise, according to Rist and Barnett, with many relief agencies born out of the war evolving into permanent humanitarian organizations, such as Oxfam, Christian Aid, and UNICEF.[35] These organizations, particularly Oxfam and Christian Aid, often operated through networks on the ground that had been established during imperial times, such as those of missionaries and even the Colonial Service. By the 1950s, drawing on their field experience and international networks, British NGOs started educating the British public about and raising their awareness to the troubles of the developing world, both within the Commonwealth and beyond. In part this was necessary to establish a solid fundraising base in Britain to pay for their humanitarian work, but these public information initiatives were also motivated by the pressing moral imperative of saving the lives of the poor in developing nations. These public information campaigns were accelerated by the 1960s, particularly through the FFHC.

By the late 1960s, many NGO workers became increasingly disgruntled by government cuts in aid and the feeling that the British government was not adequately addressing the roots of poverty. In addition to this, with Lester B. Pearson's unfavorable 1969 analysis of the previous twenty years of development assistance,[36] alongside the ending of the UN's first Development Decade in 1970 with lacklustre results, many people concerned about development issues started to put increased pressure on the government to adopt a more holistic and generous approach to

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[35] Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*: 105-31; Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*: 69-92. For a history of UNICEF, see Black, *Children First: The Story of UNICEF, Past and Present*. At the time of their founding, all of these organizations were known by other names. Oxfam, founded in 1942, was officially called the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief until 1965. Christian Aid was initially founded in 1945 as Christian Reconstruction in Europe. Shortly after its founding, this agency became part of the British Council of Churches (BCC) as the Interchurch Aid and Refugee Service. In 1964 it was renamed as Christian Aid. UNICEF was created in 1946 as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. It was made permanent in 1953 by the UN General Assembly, at which time its name was shortened to the United Nations Children's Fund. Today it is commonly referred to as UNICEF.
[36] Lester B. Pearson, *Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1969). See also Maggie Black, *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development* (Oxford: New Internationalist, 2007), 20-21.

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international poverty. For example, in order to circumvent the political restrictions of British Charity Law in their public information work, Oxfam and Christian Aid led other charities to join together as the World Development Movement in 1970, a non-charitable body mandated with giving development charities a political voice.[37] As before, public awareness campaigns continued to play an important role within such initiatives, as overseas aid became increasingly politicized.[38] Despite these and other efforts to advocate for the end of poverty, however, historian Andrew Jones has argued that humanitarian NGOs have actually become part of a "disaster relief industry" since the 1960s, primarily propagating an apolitical view of development and relief issues in order to maintain their relevance in an increasingly crowded humanitarian market place.[39]

Within this complicated web of initiatives and actors that sought to promote economic and social development overseas, children and youth in Britain played an increasingly important role, prompted by NGOs to consider the world beyond the British Isles. In the 1950s, before the popularization of development through the FFHC, the BRCS Junior program provided one channel through which young people gained access to the outside world, within the framework of the Red Cross Junior mandate of "international friendship." By the 1960s, however, the BRCS program became dated, as organizations such as Oxfam catered directly to young people's increased sense of independence and global consciousness through innovative educational initiatives. In analysing how the BRCS and Oxfam exposed young people in Britain to development issues, I am not providing another institutional history of the variety that Paulmann has warned against, one that creates a dichotomy between the Western donor and the backward recipient or which emphasizes the professional over the volunteer.[40] Instead, this dissertation contextualizes the BRCS and Oxfam's strategic targeting of young people in Britain, offering insights into why children and youth were taught to think about the developing world and how this was done. Yet even with this research agenda a brief institutional history cannot be escaped,

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[37] The World Development Movement evolved out of Action for Development, which had been formed in 1969. Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*: 3, 260-62.

[38] Saunders, "British Humanitarian, Aid and Development NGOs, 1949-Present," 44-49.

[39] Jones, "British Humanitarian NGOs and the Disaster Relief Industry, 1942-1985."

[40] Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century," 219.

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as the educational work stemming from the BRCS and Oxfam can only be understood within the context of these organizations' past and the forces that shaped them.

The International Red Cross and the British Red Cross Society: History and Historiography

In 1863 the International Red Cross was born out of the desire to provide humanitarian assistance to soldiers during war, yet today it is equally well-known for its international work in times of peace. Over time, the Red Cross movement grew to include the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the League of Red Cross Societies (LORC), and numerous National Red Cross Societies, including the BRCS. Then as now each of these bodies functioned separately, according to its mandate, but they often also collaborated as the International Red Cross, especially in times of disaster.[41]

In 1862 the Swiss businessman Henry Dunant published *A Memory of Solferino* in response to the suffering he had witnessed in 1859 when touring the battlefields of Solferino, Italy during the Second Italian War of Independence. In his book Dunant asks, "Would it not be possible... to form relief societies for the purpose of having care given to the wounded in wartime" based on "some international principle, sanctioned by a Convention inviolate in character, which, once agreed upon and ratified, might constitute the basis" for these voluntary societies?[42] According to human rights journalist Caroline Moorehead's history of the Red Cross, Dunant's well-timed plea for a more humane approach to war fell on receptive ears and thus the movement was officially founded in 1863 in Geneva, Switzerland in the presence of the delegates of sixteen states.[43] The movement's primary aim was to establish national relief

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[41] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*, 5 ed. (London: The British Red Cross Society, 1966), 14. This cooperation is not always easy. For a historical analysis of the tensions inherent to the birth of LORC, see John F. Hutchinson, "'Custodians of the Sacred Fire': the ICRC and the Postwar Reorganisation of the International Red Cross," in *International health organisations and movements, 1918-1939*, ed. Charles Webster and Charles Rosenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). See also David P. Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 35-38.

[42] Henry Dunant, *A Memory of Solferino* (Geneva, Switzerland: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1986), 115, 26.

[43] Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*: 21-22; Neville Wylie, "Review article - The Sound of Silence: The History of the International Committee of the Red Cross as Past and Present," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 13, no. 4 (2002): 188, 99-200.

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societies based on voluntary service to assist army medical authorities in ameliorating the conditions of those wounded in war. To gain more international recognition for this new initiative, the Swiss government hosted a diplomatic conference in 1864. This conference concluded with the signing of the first Geneva Convention by twelve states, effectively turning the founding principles of the Red Cross into international law. The Geneva Convention, which has since evolved into four treaties and three additional protocols, provides the legal framework of the International Red Cross and is argued to be a pioneering example of human rights treaties and international law.[44]

The ICRC stems directly from the original Committee of Five (or Permanent International Committee) of the Red Cross that was formed in 1863. By the 1960s, the ICRC had grown into an experienced Swiss-based and operated private NGO that received its internationally recognized status through the Geneva Conventions.[45] Its mandate was to provide relief for victims of war (including both soldiers and civilians) according to international humanitarian law, to develop and diffuse the Geneva Conventions, and to officially recognize newly-formed National Societies.[46] Yet while the ICRC recognized new National Societies, its liaison with them was not always easy or effective.[47] As a result it was largely absent from the

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[44]Angela Bennett, *The Geneva Convention: The Hidden Origins of the Red Cross* (Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2005), xi; Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 18. Ironically, Neville Wylie argues that, because the ICRC operates within the International Humanitarian Law framework, it cannot take a broader human rights-based approach to its humanitarian endeavors. Wylie, "Review article - The Sound of Silence: The History of the International Committee of the Red Cross as Past and Present," 200-01.

[45] David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights and the International Committee of the Red Cross," *Human Rights Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1990): 265. There is some debate as to whether the Red Cross (specifically the ICRC) can be considered an NGO because of its close affiliation with states and international humanitarian law. For example, political scientist Volker Heins classifies the ICRC as a QUANGO, a quasi-autonomous NGO. This is because the ICRC, while being largely independent of elected officials, depends on government funding and fulfills public functions. Because of this Heins believes that thinking of the ICRC as a regular NGO is misleading. Heins, *Nongovernmental Organizations in International Society: Struggles Over Recognition*: 25-26.

[46] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 14-17; Georges Willemin, Roger Heacock, and under the direction of Jaques Freymond, *The International Committee of the Red Cross*, International Organization and the Evolution of World Society (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1984), 199.

[47] A good case study for the potential difficulties in ICRC-National Society relationships is the German Red Cross Society during the Second World War. See Jean-Claude Favez, *The Red Cross and the Holocaust*, trans. John and Beryl Fletcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 41-50; Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*: 411-70.

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daily realities of most National Societies (especially those in nations at peace),[48] which is why it does not feature in this dissertation. To this day, while the International Red Cross and its emblems are well known, the ICRC itself remains surprisingly opaque – it is the work of the National Societies, and hence indirectly LORC (now the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, IFRC), that people are most familiar with.

With the end of the First World War, many Red Cross leaders believed that a new reality of peaceful democracy would set in. To make the Red Cross relevant to such a world, the leader of the American Red Cross, Henry P. Davidson, proposed the formation of a Red Cross federation to coordinate the work of the National Societies. Despite internal controversy over this, as the ICRC feared losing its prominence within the movement, LORC was formed in 1919 with five initial National Society members (France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States).[49] By 1966, it had a membership of over 100.[50] LORC provided the movement with an international governing body (as opposed to the mono-national ICRC) and a mandate based on moral solidarity rather than international humanitarian law, as well as on peacetime instead of war. Thus LORC's first chair, the English Sir David Henderson, helped broaden the focus of National Red Cross Societies beyond war to also include the alleviation of suffering caused by famine, disease and poverty.[51] By 1966 LORC effectively acted as a liaison, coordinator, and

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[48] Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 36. During the 1950s and 1960s, the ICRC also experienced a diminished scope of action because of difficulties in financing. The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) was arguably a positive turning point in the organization's financial life, allowing it to expand its reach. The ICRC's financial position may have contributed to its distance from many of the National Societies, despite the fact that National Societies were providing it with the bulk of its money between 1948 and 1967. Willemin, Heacock, and under the direction of Jaques Freymond, *The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 81-82.

[49] Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 35-37. For more on LORC's formation, see John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1996), 279-345; ———, "'Custodians of the Sacred Fire': the ICRC and the Postwar Reorganisation of the International Red Cross."

[50] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 18.

[51] At the time of its founding LORC was regarded by many as the humanitarian arm of the League of Nations. According to the official minutes from the 1919 Cannes Medical Conference, LORC was to be "a central organization which shall stimulate and co-ordinate the voluntary efforts of the people of the world through their respective Red Cross Societies; which shall assist in promoting the development of sound measures for public health and sanitation, the welfare of children and mothers, the education and training of nurses, the control of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, malaria, and other infectious and preventable diseases; and which shall endeavor to spread the light of science and the warmth of human sympathy into every corner of the world and shall invoke on behalf of the broadest humanity not alone the results of science but the daily efforts of men and women of every country, every religion, and every race." As cited in Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International*

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point of information exchange for the different National Societies. For example, LORC's Junior Red Cross (JRC) Bureau served as a node for information collection, analysis and distribution, providing assistance in the organization of Junior Divisions, and keeping National Junior Divisions in touch with each other, other children's organizations, and educational movements.[52] While it was the ICRC that officially recognized National Societies, it was LORC that provided them with guidance and advice.[53] Yet LORC's inception did not simplify the Red Cross movement. As political scientist and ICRC specialist David P. Forsythe put it, "the Red Cross Movement was to have two heads, which sometimes did not speak to each other, at least not in friendly and cooperative tones, as well as many arms in the form of the growing number of National Societies."[54]

National Societies may make up LORC and be accountable to it, but they also have responsibilities to their national governments. National Societies can only be formed through the fulfillment of stringent ICRC requirements, the most important being that country's ratification of the Geneva Conventions and the Society's official recognition by its government. Thus, despite the International Red Cross' nongovernment status, independence, neutrality and universal humanitarianism, National Societies have always been born out of the legal actions of governments and therefore, it can be argued, have the moral imperative to support the state, its laws, and its citizens.[55] This was as true in the 1960s as it is now. Forsythe terms National Societies as quasi-governmental entities, with some even becoming nationalized into governmental structures and policies or acting as government auxiliaries.[56]

Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994: 38-39. See also Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*: 258-65, 74-84.

[52] See diagram in Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*: 64.

[53] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 17-19.

[54] Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 37. For more on LORC's initial inception, see Hutchinson, "'Custodians of the Sacred Fire': the ICRC and the Postwar Reorganisation of the International Red Cross." For more on how the ICRC and LORC formed the International Red Cross, through a workable agreement in 1928, see André Durand, *From Sarajevo to Hiroshima* (Geneva: Henry Dunant Institute, 1984), 174-94.

[55] Jodi Burkett, "Re-defining British Morality: 'Britishness' and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1958–68," *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 201.

[56] Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 126-27. John F. Hutchinson, for example, argues that the National Societies became militarized and nationalized by the late nineteenth century. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*.

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For example, the structure of the BRCS in the mid-twentieth century is a reflection of Great Britain's geopolitics. The BRCS was founded in 1870 with its primary purpose being "furnishing aid to the sick and wounded in time of war..."[57] In the immediate aftermath of the First World War, however, the BRCS, alongside LORC, broadened its mandate to "include the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."[58] Hence the stage was set for the BRCS to become a humanitarian actor both at home and abroad, and during peacetime and war. In Britain, Red Cross activities broadened beyond war relief to include disaster relief (both at home and abroad), fundraising, caring for the sick, disabled and elderly, mobile medical dispensaries and first aid posts, blood transfusion services, youth programs and so on.[59] Considering that many of these activities were initiated before the advent of Britain's welfare state, the BRCS was providing invaluable services to the people of Britain. By the 1950s these initiatives were financed through annual subscriptions and contributions, private legacies, special appeals, investments, the supplies department (e.g. the sale of uniforms), and Red Cross charity shops.[60]

The increased scope of operation in 1919 allowed the BRCS to establish branches throughout the Empire, especially from the 1930s onwards when the London headquarters made it a policy to establish a branch in every colony and protectorate.[61] In 1955, for example, the British Red Cross had branches in forty colonial territories, ranging from British Honduras to the

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[57] Royal Charter of Incorporation, 1908, BCRS Acc 2176/1. The Royal Charter gave the Red Cross a single legal entity, hence 1908 was important for the BRCS. The BRCS was founded before this, however. On August 4, 1870 the National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War was formed in Britain on the outbreak of the Franco-Russian War. In the early days, it was common for National Societies to have various names, even if they were operating under the Red Cross emblem. In 1898 the Central British Red Cross Committee was formed at the insistence of the British government with the purpose of coordinating volunteer medical services during the South African Wars (1899-1902). It was only in 1905 that these bodies were amalgamated into the BRCS as it is known today. See also Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*: 10-15; British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 19-26; Pauline Samuelson, "The Red Cross in Britain," in *I owe my life...* ed. Pauline Samuelson (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 1995).
[58] Supplemental Charter, 1919, BRCS Archives ACC 2176/3. The broadening of the BRCS mandate in 1919 had to be discussed with the Order of Saint John, as they already had a peacetime mandate for public first aid provision and so on. Mr. Ridsdale, "Appendix II: Memorandum by Mr. Ridsdale" of the BRCS "Executive Meeting Minutes" (6 March 1919), p. 5, BRCS Archives, RCB 2/5.
[59] Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*: 30-31.
[60] See, for example, E. de Stein and F.H.D. Pritchard, "Financial Report and Statements of Account" in "The British Red Cross Society Report for the Year 1953," (London: BRCS, 1954), p. 74-89 , BRCS, Acc 69 (7).
[61] At the start of the First World War, BRCS branches were formed in Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and South Africa. Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*: 20.

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Gold Coast (now Ghana) to Hong Kong, providing the BRCS with a coherent international network.[62] Through this the BRCS had a firm foundation for carrying out humanitarian initiatives in the developing world at the onset of the so-called development era in the 1950s, as the aftermath of Second World War, the start of the Cold War, and the move towards decolonisation forced Europe and North America to re-evaluate their relationship with the world's poor. While some of its efforts focused on emergency relief in the colonies, the BRCS, through its London headquarters, primarily sought to further human welfare in a more permanent way in its possessions by fostering civic responsibility through education and health initiatives, as it was also doing in Britain. In the colonies this kind of work was especially important as health services were less developed there than in Britain.[63] With decolonization, colonial BRCS branches became independent alongside their countries, with the London office working hard to ensure their recognition from the ICRC as well as their longevity.[64] This not only demonstrates the BRCS's close alignment with British government policies, but also shows that during the twentieth century the BRCS was never operating in isolation – by being part of the International Red Cross and establishing its own imperial networks, the BRCS was at the centre of an incredible movement of personnel, volunteers, resources and good intentions.

Yet despite the movement's far reach and long history, it remains relatively obscure, to use Forsythe's word, within academia.[65] This is surprising, as the Red Cross structure and international scope provides a fruitful field of study that can be applied to local, national and international frameworks.[66] In *Champions of Charity* (1996), one of the first unauthorized

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[62] "British Red Cross Society Annual Report, 1955" (London, 1956), p. 10-12. BRCS Archives RCC 29/32. ICRC activity in Asia and Africa was constrained in the 1950s and 1960s because of the Cold War and the ICRC's need to respect imperial boundaries. To read about the evolution and expansion of ICRC activities between the 1950s and 1980s see Willemin, Heacock, and under the direction of Jaques Freymond, *The International Committee of the Red Cross*: Chapter 1.

[63] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 35.

[64] After Ghanaian independence in 1957, for example, the Gold Coast Red Cross Society became the Ghana Red Cross Society with the passing of the Ghana Red Cross Society Act in 1959 by the Ghanaian government. Ghana Red Cross Society, "Strategic Plan, 2011-2015," (Accra, Ghana: Ghana Red Cross Society, 2011), 4.

[65] Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 1.

[66] Allen Warren says the same thing about the Scouting and Guiding Movements. He writes, "Scouting and Guiding can be researched at every level; they are simultaneously highly local, national, international organizations. What is true of one part of the globe is totally different in another - even within the same country, let alone continent. Yet they have an ethos and self-conscious identity that can emphasize common values over recognized diversity and difference." Allen Warren, "Foreward: Understanding Scouting and Guiding After A Hundred Years," in

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histories of the Red Cross to be published, historian John F. Hutchinson claims that historians and the general public have taken the Red Cross for granted and have therefore not critically engaged with it. According to Hutchinson, this image has been carefully promoted by the Red Cross itself in order to protect its reputation and ability to function. For researchers, this has primarily been done by the ICRC in terms of restricted archival access through, as Hutchinson aptly calls it, "courteous stonewalling," something I also experienced in 2012.[67] Critical histories of the Red Cross remain sparse and those that do exist focus mostly on its military connections and organizational aspects and tensions.[68] Political scientists, such as David P. Forsythe and Volker Heins, have also written on the Red Cross, focusing primarily on the ICRC and its relationship with international humanitarian law, international governance, emergency relief, neutrality and organizational dynamics. [69] Despite these books, however, the International Red

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Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scount Movement's First Century, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), xi-xii.

[67] Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*: 3, 4. LORC did not have a centralized archive until the mid-1990s, which corresponds loosely to the ICRC archive being made more available to researchers. In my own experience in 2011 and 2012, while gaining access to the ICRC was difficult, access to the BRCS and LORC archives was easy, even if their contents were only attainable through discussion with an archivist, thus giving the archivist full control over the material accessed. Given the archivists' knowledge of the archival holdings, however, I felt this was often more effective than using catalogues. In sum, archival access, at least to me, illuminated the different characters of the various bodies of the International Red Cross (ICRC, LORC, BRCS).

[68] Hutchinson presents two categories into which uncritical histories primarily fall: "laudatory and didactic biographies of Henry Dunant, and self-serving institutional histories written to describe and record the charitable work of the Red Cross in this or that war or disaster." Ibid., 2. See also: Eugene D. Fryer, "Book Review: *International Committee of the Red Cross*, by Georges Willemin and Roger Heacock and *Voluntary Hostages of the SS,* by Drago Arsenijevic," *Human Rights Quarterly* 7(1985). Examples of scholarly works on the history of the ICRC include Rainer Baudendistel, *Between Bombs and Good Intentions: The Red Cross and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1936* (New York: Berghahm Books, 2006); John F. Hutchinson, "The Nagler Case: A Revealing Moment in Red Cross History," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 9(1992); ———, "The Junior Red Cross goes to Healthland," *American Journal of Public Health* 87, no. 11 (1997); ———, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*; ———, "'Custodians of the Sacred Fire': the ICRC and the Postwar Reorganisation of the International Red Cross."; Dominique D. Junod, *The Imperiled Red Cross and the Palestine-Eretz-Yisrael Conflict 1945-1952* (London: Kegan Paul International, for the Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies, 1996). See also Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*. Moorehead, a human rights journalist, offers a broad understanding of the ICRC and the International Red Cross as a whole as it surveys over 130 years of Red Cross history and features stories of key Red Cross personalities, as well as organizational dynamics and developments.

[69] David P. Forsythe and Barbara Ann J. Rieffer-Flanagan, *The International Committee of the Red Cross: A Neutral Humanitarian Actor*, ed. Thomas G. Weiss, Routledge Global Institutions (London: Routledge, 2007); Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*; ———, "Human Rights and the International Committee of the Red Cross."; Heins, *Nongovernmental Organizations in International Society: Struggles Over Recognition*; Willemin, Heacock, and under the direction of Jaques Freymond, *The International Committee of the Red Cross*.

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Cross as a whole remains ambiguous, with few people understanding its complexity or the fact that there is a difference between the ICRC, LORC and National Societies. As most scholarship focuses on the ICRC and its engagement with international humanitarian law and various humanitarian crises, less is written on LORC and the National Societies. In the case of the BRCS, the most recent publications about it are celebratory and patriotic as it was the BRCS itself that produced them in commemoration of its 125th birthday in 1995. One of the books is a collection of personalized essays and memoirs which fondly charts the history of the BRCS, while the other is a pictorial history of the organization.[70] Similarly LORC published its own expansive pictorial history in 1997 to commemorate its 75 year anniversary.[71] It was this book that led to the centralization of LORC's archives and the hiring of its first archivist, Grant Mitchell, thus making LORC's archives accessible only as of October 1997.[72]

Despite its importance in influencing young minds throughout the world since the end of the First World War, the Red Cross Junior program is only now starting to receive scholarly attention.[73] While Hutchinson starts his book by describing his own experience as a Red Cross Junior in Canada mid-century, he only refers to the Juniors once more in its 355 pages, calling the Junior Red Cross a propaganda agency for school-aged children – a quite successful one according to his own experience.[74] That said, his book does conclude in 1921, a time before the Juniors were fully established within the movement. Hutchinson did go on to publish an article on the American Junior Red Cross in the 1920s, where he argues that the American Red Cross Junior health program during the interwar years came to reflect American conservatism and its associated citizenship values.[75] More recently, in 2013 and 2014 respectively, historians Julia

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[70] Pauline Samuelson, ed. *I owe my life...* (London: Bloomsbury Publishign Plc., 1995); Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*. Both these publications reference the BRCS Juniors. See also the celebratory biography of Angela Limerick – she was deeply involved with the BRCS for over sixty years. Donald Lindsay, *A Form of Gratitude: The Life of Angela Limerick* (Chiddinglye, UK: Chid Press, 1992).
[71] The anniversary took place in 1994. Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*.
[72] Personal Communication with Grant Mitchell (IFRC Archivist), 7 October 2014.
[73] By the end of the 1950s, for example, Daphne A. Reid and Patrick F. Gilbo estimate that there were approximately 45 million Red Cross Juniors throughout the world. Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*: 186.
[74] Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*: 1, 321.
[75] Hutchinson argues that through its health initiatives, the postwar Junior program placated young Americans by engaging them in practical health and citizenship activities, thus steering them away from potentially radical activities. ———, "The Junior Red Cross goes to Healthland," passim.

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Irwin and Sarah Glassford's work on the Junior Red Cross has also emphasized the interplay between citizenship and Red Cross values. While Irwin focuses on the American Junior program during the First World War and the immediate postwar years, and Glassford on the Canadian Juniors during the Second World War, both argue that the JRC contributed to fostering a liberal, cosmopolitan outlook among its young members. Despite being domesticated to both national contexts during times of war and extreme nationalism, JRC participation resulted in young people being encouraged to pursue humanitarian service in a broad sense. As Glassford put it, the Canadian Junior Red Cross leadership tried to transcend nationalism without denying patriotic influences.[76]

Not surprisingly, the official BRCS publications take a less critical view of the Juniors. The BRCS pictorial history, *The Red Cross Story*, for example, summarizes the ample achievements of BRCS youth and Juniors since the First World War, highlighting that their role within the BRCS and the community as a whole will only "increase in importance into the next century..."[77] LORC's official history also stresses the importance of the Red Cross Juniors to the International Red Cross – the contributions of the Juniors throughout the world are consistently woven into the narrative of LORC, especially in terms of the organization's future, community welfare initiatives, and Junior-to-Junior fundraising for international emergency relief.

Considering the importance of the JRC to the International Red Cross, it is necessary for historians to further contribute to the dialogue already started by Hutchinson, Irwin and Glassford, and even the official Red Cross publications. This dissertation aims to do this by providing two further national case studies – those of Britain and Ghana – and by also situating them within the international organizational dynamics of both the BRCS and LORC. Within this framework, I highlight how the JRC's mandate of international friendship and understanding was appropriated to the British and Ghanaian contexts within the 1950s, particularly within the context of decolonization. In contrast to Irwin and Glassford, however, I demonstrate how the

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[76] Sarah Glassford, "Practical Patriotism: How the Canadian Junior Red Cross and its Child Members Met the Challenge of the Second World War," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 7, no. 2 (2014): 224. See also Julia Irwin, "Teaching "Americanism with a World Perspective": The Junior Red Cross in the U.S. Schools from 1917 to the 1920s," *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (2013).

[77] Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*: 66-67. For another example, see also Lois Dowler, "Young Coronation Visitors," in *I owe my life...* ed. Pauline Samuelson (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 1995).

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BRCS Junior program became a vehicle for national and civic pride and service. In addition to this, while participation in the BRCS Juniors was extracurricular, this case study also provides an early example of international development education and engagement among Britain's young and its imperial subjects before it became popularized in the 1960s by the UN and organizations such as Oxfam.

Oxfam: History and Historiography

The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (Oxfam) was founded in October 1942 as part of Britain's National Committee for Famine Relief network.[78] Like the International Red Cross, Oxfam was born out of war and, once peace was achieved, it too eventually expanded into humanitarian peacetime operations, carving out a permanent place for itself on the world stage.[79] Not only that – Oxfam's effective humanitarian culture and initiatives prompted like-minded people to found Oxfam affiliates in other parts of the world, starting with Oxfam Canada in 1963. In 1995 these different branches came together as Oxfam International, an international confederation headquartered in Oxford, with a current membership of seventeen organizations active in more than ninety countries.[80] To this day the original Oxfam is still going strong – according to historian Andrew Jones, Oxfam is currently Britain's largest aid agency as measured by income generated, having raised £385.5 million in 2012 for development initiatives, emergency relief and political advocacy.[81]

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[78] Throughout this thesis "Oxfam" will refer to Britain's Oxfam (as opposed to, for example, Oxfam International or Oxfam Canada). Also, although the Oxfam Committee for Famine Relief would not officially be known as OXFAM (the acronym stemming from its telegraphic signature) until 1965, I will refer to the organization as Oxfam throughout this dissertation. For a detailed history of Oxfam, including its origins, see Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*; Ben Whitaker, *A Bridge of People* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1983). For an analysis of the changing nature of Oxfam's humanitarian culture see Babu M Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Wales, 1998). For an autobiography of one of Oxfam's earliest staff members, see Bernard Llewellyn, "Traveller in the Third World: The Memoirs of an Itinerant Do-Gooder, 1940-1982," (Private Archive, 1987).

[79] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 37.

[80] The seventeen member organizations are located in Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Quebec, Spain and the United States. Oxfam International, "About us," http://www.oxfam.org/. See also Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 294-95.

[81] According to Jones' review of the 2012 annual reports of Britain's top aid agencies, in terms of income generated Oxfam is followed by Save the Children (£283.7 million) and then the British Red Cross Society (£200.1 million). Jones, "British Humanitarian NGOs and the Disaster Relief Industry, 1942-1985," 1.

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Yet at the time of its founding, no one knew the impact Oxfam would come to have, much less that it would become a permanent fixture on Britain's charitable landscape. As previously stated, Oxfam was founded in response to war. At the height of the Battle of Britain, during the Second World War, Winston Churchill proclaimed that Britain would maintain a strict blockade of not only Germany, but all its allied and occupied territories. When news of a terrible famine in Greece (1941-1944) reached Britain, however, concerned citizens of prominence came together to mount a national campaign against the government blockade, despite the treasonous implications of these activities.[82] They believed that civilian victims of war should be considered politically neutral and thus assisted.[83] For this reason, on May 29, 1942, the National Committee for Famine Relief was established under the leadership of the Bishop of Chichester, George Bell.[84] The approach of the Famine Relief Committee was fivefold – lobby the government, design a controlled relief plan (in collaboration with other agencies and nutritional health experts), collect and disseminate information, raise money for the eventuality of relief, and establish a nation-wide network of famine relief committees. The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief was but one of many. Yet even from the outset Oxfam distinguished itself – under the leadership of Cecil Jackson Cole, Oxfam raised over £12,700 for the Greek Red Cross in 1943, an astonishing feat considering the wartime conditions and the fact that people were neither familiar with Greece's predicament nor the Committee.[85]

Eventually, in the face of both public and diplomatic pressure (particularly from the US), as well as the turning tide of war, the British government partially lifted the ban in January 1944, allowing a limited amount of relief supplies to get through to Greece.[86] A little more than a year later, with the end of the war in Europe, relief came to the European continent through the

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[82] The 1940s famine in Greece was the worst famine to hit a European country in modern times. For more on this, see Richard Clogg, ed. *Bearing Gifts to Greeks: Humanitarian Aid to Greece in the 1940s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[83] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 1-2. See also Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 39-40.

[84] Bishop Bell's papers are housed in the Lambeth Palace Archives in London. Bishop Bell was expected to become the Archbishop of Canterbury until he publically opposed total war. Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 10. Despite Bell's leadership, both Black and Mary Jo Clogg assign the National Famine Committee's success to the efforts of Edith Pye, a Quaker in her late sixties. Ibid., 9; Mary Jo Clogg, "Quakers and Greeks in the 1940s," in *Bearing Gifts to Greeks: Humanitarian Aid to Greece in the 1940s*, ed. Richard Clogg (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 169-73.

[85] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 14-16.

[86] Ibid., 18.

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United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which collaborated with organizations such as Save the Children and the Red Cross. Within this environment of peacetime and reconstruction, Famine Relief Committees throughout Britain felt their efforts to be redundant and, as such, they gradually ceased their operations. In Oxford, however, feelings ran differently – galvanized by their wartime successes, members of Oxfam expanded their mandate beyond famine relief in February 1945 "to the relief of suffering in consequence of war."[87] This led to the hiring of Oxfam's first paid staff member in 1946, Robert Castle, who organized publicity and helped run Oxfam's clothes collection depot.[88] During these immediate postwar years Oxfam once again operated under the ethos of humanitarian neutrality, controversially soliciting aid (both money and goods) for both Britain's allies and former enemies. In 1949 Oxfam's leadership expanded its mandate even further, this time broadening its scope for "[t]he relief of suffering arising as a result of wars or of other causes in any part of the world."[89]

By 1949, then, the features which would allow Oxfam's longevity were firmly established. For one, as political scientist Babu M. Rahman has pointed out, from the beginning Oxfam members were motivated by a moral duty to provide relief through their provision of money, goods or time.[90] As Rahman put it, this "moral duty" was one of universal compassion and humanitarian concern; it was not religious nor was it oriented towards a national political framework. Despite Oxfam's religious origins – with its Quaker and Church of England connections – it has always remained staunchly secular, just as many of its staff and members have also always remained critical of the British government's foreign policy. Second, Oxfam has always operated in concert with others – starting with other famine relief committees, Oxford city officials and the Greek Red Cross during the Second World War, and then gradually expanding its networks alongside its work. These characteristics, of Oxfam being a secular donor body working in collaboration with others to relieve suffering, would remain central to its organizational identity even to this day.

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[87] Unknown source, as cited by ibid., 20.
[88] Castle was hired on a part-time basis. Ibid., 29-30.
[89] Ibid., 37; Whitaker, *A Bridge of People*: 18.
[90] Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 42. See also Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 37.

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In the 1950s, under the leadership of Howard Leslie Kirkley, Oxfam focused on emergency relief.[91] Oxfam's major appeals that decade centered on victims of the Palestinian situation (1949), the Korean War (1950), the famine in Bihar (1951), the east coast floods in Britain (1953), the Ionian Island earthquake (1953), the Hungarian uprising (1956), the Algerian War of Independence (1957) and so forth.[92] In addition to these, Oxfam also supported victims of the violence in Kenya (Mau Mau, starting in 1954), as well as those of South Africa's apartheid policies (starting in 1956).[93] In several of these relief situations, Oxfam had ongoing involvement that extended beyond the year indicated through grant-aided projects to other organizations.[94] Originally created in response to the crisis in Greece, Oxfam's emphasis on emergency relief served as a likely continuation of its origins.[95] That said, Oxfam was not operationally involved with the direct provision of aid relief at this time. As Rahman has argued, it served as the conduit for the practical expression of Britain's public concern for suffering overseas through the channeling of funds.[96]

The 1960s saw the expansion of the organization and its work. In taking a lead role in the UN's FFHC (1960-1965), Oxfam became increasingly concerned with long-term development and the root causes of poverty, although it never abandoned its emergency relief work.[97] As a reflection of this, the organization officially adopted its telegraphic signature, Oxfam, as its name in 1965.[98] Through this the organization now possessed flexibility in terms of its branding as its name, Oxfam, could be imbued with more diverse meanings than the "Oxford Committee for Famine Relief" could. Oxfam also continued with innovative fundraising, according to historians

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[91] Kirkley was appointed in 1951 by Jackson-Cole as Oxfam's General Secretary. The position was later re-designated as Director General. Kirkley remained with Oxfam until 1974, at which time he was replaced by Brian Walker.

[92] Whitaker, *A Bridge of People*: 18-19.

[93] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 75.

[94] Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 45. Considering the nature of many of these emergency appeals, Black has identified Oxfam's work at that time as being refugee-oriented, culminating with Oxfam's active participation in the UN's Refugee Year in 1959. Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 41-62.

[95] Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 44.

[96] Ibid., 46-47.

[97] For a graphic representation comparing the types of aid that Oxfam gave in 1960 and 1970, see Peter Gill, *Drops in the Ocean* (London: MacDonald Unit 75, 1970), 13.

[98] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 35; Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 41; Whitaker, *A Bridge of People*: 18.

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Matthew Hilton, Nicholas J. Crowson, Jean-François Mouhot, and James McKay, making speculative advertising investments in the 1960s which demonstrated "how high volumes of expenditure on publicity images and branding could lead to high returns in voluntary income."[99] This increased fundraising capacity, already evident by the late 1950s, allowed Oxfam to expand as an organization (both in terms of mandate and staff), improve its aid distribution interface, and develop increased field expertise.[100] For this reason Jimmy Betts (brother of Labour MP Barbara Castle) was appointed as Oxfam's first Field Director in 1961 and stationed in southern Africa – "a move which had far-reaching implications" in terms of Oxfam's operation, according to Black, as it allowed Oxfam staff to be directly involved in aid distribution.[101]

It was not only overseas that Oxfam's work expanded – in 1959 Oxfam hired its first Schools Organiser, Stella Dyer, to promote Oxfam's work in schools during the UN's World Refugee Year through classroom appeals and competitions.[102] Under the auspices of the FFHC the education program expanded and quickly became an integral aspect of Oxfam's work. Because the education staff did not support direct fundraising appeals in schools, and often encouraged political involvement through their work (which was at odds with British Charity Law), serious tensions arose in the organization by the late 1960s between those supporting advocacy and education for development and those who felt Oxfam's sole purpose was fundraising for overseas aid.[103] Yet this did not stop Oxfam from continuing to perform effectively – Oxfam's education, fundraising and overseas aid work continued to expand throughout the 1960s, securing its place as Britain's foremost development agency for decades to come.

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[99] Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*: 183. For a graphic representation of Oxfam's income from 1958 to 2008, see ibid., 184. Also see the chart created by Gill, detailing Oxfam's income and its various components from 1960 to 1970. Gill, *Drops in the Ocean*: 10.

[100] Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 47.

[101] For more on Betts, see Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 76-79. See Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 49. To read a personal account of an Oxfam staff member traveling in the field, see Llewellyn, "Traveller in the Third World: The Memoirs of an Itinerant Do-Gooder, 1940-1982."

[102] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 102.

[103] For more on these tensions and debates within the organization, see ibid., 153-76; Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994," 53-55, 58-67; Whitaker, *A Bridge of People*: 24-31. For an account of how these tensions played out in the 1970s, see ibid., 166-83.

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Despite Oxfam's importance in British and global development work, it has been little examined by historians. On the one hand this is because NGOs and modern development and relief initiatives have only recently come to the attention of historians, on the other it is also because, at best, researchers have had restricted access to Oxfam's archives in recent years. Historian, former Oxfam employee and development consultant Maggie Black's widely cited *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam the first 50 years* (1992) remains Oxfam's only comprehensive organizational history. While it is an official history, published in recognition of Oxfam's 50th anniversary, Black takes a critical view of Oxfam's past by situating it within a richly textured historical analysis of the changing nature of internationalism and British public perceptions of the global south. Ultimately Black credits Oxfam with being a major contributor to many of today's accepted humanitarian practices and norms.[104]

This does not mean that Black's is the only work from which to glean Oxfam's past – contemporary publications also provide important insights into the organization's past. For example, based on investigative journalism and an eight-week tour of Oxfam projects around the world, journalist Peter Gill produced a detailed account of Oxfam's field operations in the 1960s. In many ways Gill captured the evolution of the organization during that decade, siding with its more radical members who supported political advocacy for real change. The very publication of his book, *Drops in the Ocean: The work of Oxfam, 1960-1970* (1970), is a testament to Oxfam's increasing prominence at the time – it was Oxfam's popularity and the fact that it had so rapidly become a household word that motivated Gill to examine whether its popular support was deserved.[105] Similarly, in 1983 Ben Whitaker, a Labour MP known for his contributions to civil liberties in Britain and abroad, published a critical account of the field of international development.[106] Using Oxfam's work as a lens, focusing primarily on its 1970s and early 1980s international field work, domestic fundraising and political campaigning, Whitaker's book seems

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[104] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*.

[105] To research this book, Gill traveled to Botswana, Ghana, India, Niger; Peru and Senegal. The field work he discusses relates to agriculture, disaster relief, education, family planning, health, irrigation, and refugees. Gill, *Drops in the Ocean*. Oxfam also published an authorized account of its history and work in 1965, likely to increase public confidence in its work and the necessity of its projects. Mervyn Jones, *Two Ears of Corn - Oxfam in Action* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965). Similarly, Oxfam published its own history in 1964 - T.R. Milford et al., *the OXFAM story* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1964).

[106] Geoffrey Robertson, "Obituary: Whitaker," The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jun/15/ben-whitaker.

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to be a response to both Britain's austerity under Margaret Thatcher and increased public distrust of international charitable work. Whitaker's aim is clear: to convince his readers that more must be done for the poor in the developing world and that Oxfam, with its grassroots approach to development, was an appropriate channel for such assistance.[107] These contemporary analyses of Oxfam's work can be complemented by the autobiographies and memoirs of former Oxfam employees, such as Bernard Llewellyn, who was central to Oxfam's development and, by detailing his experiences, provides critical accounts of Oxfam's work and his contributions to it.[108]

While the aforementioned books contain positive accounts of Oxfam's early work and members (particularly Edith Pye and Kirkley), what is striking about Oxfam's history is that there are no glorified or mythologized accounts of its origins and early leadership, unlike with the Red Cross's Henry Dunant, the Boy Scout's Robert Baden-Powell or SCF's Eglantyne Jebb.[109] Perhaps this is a reflection of Oxfam's untraditional composition – as Black put it, "incipient Oxfam groups were uncharacteristic of traditional blue-chip charitable committees.

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[107] Whitaker draws on case studies from Cambodia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Haiti, India, Peru, Somalia, and Zimbabwe. The field work he discusses relates to cooperatives, disability, gender, health, human rights, irrigation, legal aid, refugees, and the ethics of aid. Whitaker also reviews Oxfam's expenditure and income strategies, as well as its advertising and educational campaigns in Britain. Whitaker, *A Bridge of People*.

[108] Llewellyn, "Traveller in the Third World: The Memoirs of an Itinerant Do-Gooder, 1940-1982."; Robin Palmer, *A House in Zambia : Recollections of the ANC and Oxfam at 250 Zambezi Road, Lusaka, 1967-97* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2008). Llewellyn originally joined Oxfam as a Grants and Information Officer in 1958. According to Black, Llewellyn's appointment was central to shaping Oxfam's overseas aid program. In 1964 he became Oxfam's first field director in Asia. He worked for Oxfam until his retirement in 1982. Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 59-60. See also ———, "Obituary: Bernard Llewellyn," The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2008/jun/24/1. For a collection of memoirs on Oxfam's work in southern Africa in the 1980s and 1990s, and its connections with the African National Congress in exile, see Palmer, *A House in Zambia : Recollections of the ANC and Oxfam at 250 Zambezi Road, Lusaka, 1967-97*.

[109] For romanticized accounts of Dunant's life, see Martin Gumpert, *Dunant: The Story of the Red Cross* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939); Bennett, *The Geneva Convention: The Hidden Origins of the Red Cross*. For a romanticized account of Baden-Powell's life, see William Hillcourt and with Olave Baden-Powell, *Baden-Powell: Two Lives of a Hero* (London: Putnam, 1964). For an analytical account of how Baden-Powell should be remembered, see Allen Warren, "Baden-Powell: Two Lives of a Hero, or Two Heroic Lives?," in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (Manchester Manchester University Press, 2000). For romanticized accounts of Jebb's life, see E. Fuller, *The Right of the Children* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1951); Francesca Wilson, *Rebel Daughter of a Country House* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1967); R. Symonds, *Far Above Rubies: The Women Uncommemorated by the Church of England* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1993).For a rigorous historical account of Jebb, see Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action: Eglantyne Jebb and Save the Children, 1876-1928*.

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They were mainly ordinary folk, often professional and working people."[110] Similarly, in its first decades Oxfam also seemed to be a self-reflective organization, even when this created internal controversy – its staff members were continuously critical of their work. This capacity for self-analysis is evident in the writings of Black, Gill, Llewellyn, Rahman, and Whitaker, as well as Oxfam's own publications.[111]

Given Oxfam's central role within the evolution of the field of international development, what are academic historians writing about Oxfam? Those few who have written about Oxfam are highly critical of its work and primarily focus on its relations with government, both in Britain and abroad. A good starting point is Hilton, Crowson, Mouhot, and McKay's *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain* (2013), which provides a succinct overview of Oxfam, while also weaving its story into the book's theoretical framework, reaffirming Black's opinion of Oxfam's centrality to the field of international development in Britain.[112] Taking a more critical view of Oxfam in his recent analysis of the history of human rights and NGOs, Matthew Hilton argues that organizations such as Oxfam tend to overemphasize their role in the origins

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[110] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 60.

[111] While Oxfam has produced publicity material from its very beginnings, the Public Information Department and the Education Department, the main producers of such material, only became soundly established in the 1960s. In addition to this, it was not until 1974 that education and public information became recognized as an organizational cost. This explains why the majority of the publications listed below stem from the mid-1970s onwards. For examples of early publications, see C.P. Snow, *The State of Siege* (Oxford: Oxfam, 1970); Elizabeth Stamp, ed. *Growing Out of Poverty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Arnold Pacey, ed. *Sanitation in Developing Countries* (Old Woking, UK: Unwin Brothers Ltd., 1978). Stamp's 1977 edited collection showcases the views of a spectrum of international development specialists on agricultural topics. Pacey's 1978 collection originates from a conference attended by sanitation experts hailing from around the world, held in July 1977 at Pembroke College, Oxford. The book and conference were co-sponsored by Oxfam and the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene, and were motivated by increasing interest in the public health of developing countries at that time. For more recent publications, see Fenella Porter, Ines Smyth, and Caroline Sweetman, eds., *Gender Works : Oxfam Experience in Policy and Practice* (Oxford: Oxfam GB, 1999); John Rowley and Frances Rubin, *Effective Consultation in Development and Humanitarian Programmes* (Oxford: Oxfam GB, 2006); David Wilson, Kirsty Wilson, and Claire Harvey, eds., *Small Farmers, Big Change: Scaling Up Impact in Smallholder Agriculture* (Oxford: Practical Action Publishing Ltd. in association with Oxfam GB, 2011). Wilson, Wilson and Harvey's 2011 collection originates from a workshop facilitated by Oxfam at the end of the initial pilot phase of Oxfam's Global Agricultural Scale Up Initiatives. Historically Oxfam has also been involved with the publication of magazines and journals. In 1973, for example, Oxfam and Christian Aid financially backed the *New Internationalist*, an independent radical monthly magazine about "THE PEOPLE THE IDEAS THE ACTION IN THE FIGHT FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT" which is still being published today (Masthead, *New Internationalist*, March 1973). See also Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 205-06. As a reflection of the changing vocabulary of international development, the masthead today reads "The people, the ideas, the action in the fight for global justice" (Masthead, *New Internationalist*, January/February 2010). Oxfam also has its own scholarly journal – since 1993 Oxfam has been publishing *Gender and Development*, demonstrating the centrality of gender to its current work.

[112] Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*.

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and implementation of human rights, and that much humanitarian work, including the pursuit of human rights, actually originates from official aid organizations, such as the UN, as a tool of international diplomacy.[113] Andrew Jones's analysis of the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) is also, in many ways, the history of Oxfam, particularly as Oxfam was one of its founding members in 1963. In his insightful doctoral dissertation, Jones highlights how outside pressures – such as the media, donor fatigue, and the British government, among others – have shaped development and relief work, forcing British NGOs to prioritize some forms of humanitarian work over others. This, in turn, inadvertently served to commodify and depoliticise global inequality and suffering.[114] Similarly Michael Jennings has detailed Oxfam's ill-fated collaboration with Julius Kambarage Nyerere's government in Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s. Jennings brings to light how Oxfam's support of the *Ujamaa* collective farming initiative implicated Oxfam in authoritarian government policies at the expense of Tanzania's peasantry.[115] The work of Hilton, Jones and Jennings, therefore, highlights that the historicization of humanitarian work, in particular that of self-appointed grassroots champions such as Oxfam, is necessary for a balanced evaluation of the contemporary development practices which they helped shape. They also demonstrate the importance of government-NGO interaction and how national and international contexts influence NGO evolution and the establishment of norms.

Historical analyses of Oxfam's work have also emerged from other disciplines. Donald Harrison's oft-cited doctoral work on Oxfam's role in the rise of development education in England in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, contributes to debates about how interactions between the government and the charity sector have shaped the way students are taught about the developing world in schools. In his thesis Harrison charts the evolution of Oxfam's Education Department, while also detailing its collaboration with other development NGOs and the government.[116] Considering current debates about how and why global education should be taught, particularly in the context of the British government making Citizenship Education

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[113] Hilton, "International Aid and Development NGOs in Britain and Human Rights since 1945."

[114] Jones, "British Humanitarian NGOs and the Disaster Relief Industry, 1942-1985," 280-81.

[115] Micheal Jennings, *Surrogates of the State: NGOs, Development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania* (Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, Inc., 2008); ———, "'Almost an Oxfam in Itself': OXFAM Ujamaa and Development in Tanzania," *African Affairs* 101(2002).

[116] Donald Geoffrey Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979" (Doctoral Thesis, University of London, 2008). See also Don Harrison, "Antipoverty: England's First Development Education Organisation (1971-1974)," *International Journal of Development Education* 1, no. 1 (2008).

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mandatory in England in 2002, Harrison's historical intervention within the study of education is timely. In a different vein, Babu M. Rahman uses political science methodology to analyze Oxfam's changing humanitarian culture between 1942 and 1994. His thesis serves as an important reminder that organizations founded on universalized moral assumptions (such as human compassion) can experience institutional changes, both drastic and subtle, in their pursuit of seemingly unchanging goals (such as the alleviation of suffering). Reaching a conclusion similar to Jones, Rahman argues that environmental factors – such as British Charity Law, international law, and changing national normative contexts – shape humanitarian concern and action.[117]

Much work remains to be done on the history of Oxfam. Anna Bocking Welch in her work on the FFHC, Peter Gatrell in his book on World Refugee Year, Samuel Moyn in his history of human rights, and James Vernon in his modern account of hunger, for example, barely mention Oxfam's work, if at all.[118] Oxfam needs to be better woven into these important histories. In historically situating and analyzing Oxfam's education work in the 1960s, this dissertation therefore provides a necessary intervention. First, a close examination of Oxfam's Education Department highlights tensions within the organization as it evolved from an emergency relief to an international development organization throughout the 1960s. While these changes could be felt throughout the organization as a whole, it was the staff of the Education Department that had to critically adapt their work as they presented Oxfam's work to their young (and impressionable) audiences. Second, by building on previous studies, in particular that of Harrison, and in contrasting Oxfam's education work with that of the BRCS, my research emphasizes how organizations such as Oxfam contributed to and fostered the rise of a critical global consciousness among British children and youth.[119]

Particularly within the context of decolonization and the Cold War, the British population young and old had to redefine their place in the world, which many did with the assistance of

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[117] Rahman, "Constructing Humanitarianism: An Investigation into Oxfam's Changing Humanitarian Culture, 1942-1994."

[118] Bocking Welch, "Imperial Legacies and Internationalist Discourses: British Involvement in the United Nations Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 1960–70."; ———, "The British Public in a Shrinking World: Civic Engagement with the Declining of Empire, 1960-1970."; Gatrell, *Free World? The Campaign to Save the World's Refugees, 1956-1963*; Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*; Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History*.

[119] For similar arguments in the Canadian context, see Myers, "Local Action and Global Imagining: Youth, International Development, and the Walkathon Phenomenon in Sixties' and Seventies' Canada."

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Oxfam. Oxfam was particularly successful in reaching out to young people, encouraging a cosmopolitan form of citizenship which looked beyond Britain's borders. Oxfam's innovative pedagogical approaches to teaching about the developing world capitalized on the changing lived experience of young people in the 1960s, an experience characterized by increased independence and political engagement. Keeping this in mind, it is therefore necessary to situate the educational work of Oxfam and the BRCS in the broader history of children and youth, in Britain and internationally, as the efforts of these organizations to engage young people with the wider world were embedded in the particular historical circumstances of young people in the 1950s and 1960s which, in turn, had their roots in earlier times.

Children and Youth

In her work on the Canadian Red Cross Juniors, Glassford demonstrates how the Junior leadership attempted to depoliticize its young members in order to preserve the idea that innocent children would contribute to a peaceful postwar future.[120] Such tensions between the perceived innocence of childhood and young people as political actors are evident in the work of other historians as well, particularly those researching organizations that worked with children. At the international level, for example, Dominique Marshall details how child welfare was integrated into the work of the League of Nations in the 1920s. Following the First World War, she argues, government representatives at the League decided to cast children as universal symbols of peace and international cooperation, as neutral objects around which to construct a new peace.[121] This decision was made after much debate, in part because of young people's active involvement in the war, including through the Red Cross.[122] Tom Buchanan provides another example of such

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[120] Glassford, "Practical Patriotism: How the Canadian Junior Red Cross and its Child Members Met the Challenge of the Second World War," 223.

[121] Marshall makes clear that not all League of Nations members were in support of casting children as the harbingers of peace. Britain, for example, was initially against this, fearing it would offer voluntary associations such as the SCF new lobby platforms on child welfare issues. However, with international opinion emphasizing the importance of children to peace and international cooperation, Britain was forced to support the League's child welfare initiatives. Marshall, "The Construction of Children as an Object of International Relations: The Declaration of Children's Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of League of Nations, 1900-1924." See also ———, "Humanitarian Sympathy for Children in Times of War and the History of Children's Rights, 1919-1959."

[122] James Marten, ed. *Children and War: A Historical Anthology* (New York: New York Press, 2002). For work on children and the First World War, see the chapters by Aaron J. Cohen and Guillaume de Syon. For English children's participation in the Second World War, see Berry Mayall and Virginia Morrow, *You Can Help Your Country: English*

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tensions in his account of how the British Labour Movement collaborated with the Basque Children's Committee during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) in the evacuation of children from war-impacted areas. Upon the arrival of these refugees in Britain, however, it soon became evident that some of the youngsters had been implicated in regional politics and were thus politically charged. As Buchanan points out, this raises questions not only about the assumed nature of childhood but the evacuation of children from war zones. In contrasting adults' ideas about young people against the reality of young people's behavior, Marshall and Buchanan draw attention to historian Hugh Cunningham's important distinction between children and childhood – children are human beings with a lived experience, whereas childhood is a set of shifting ideas, often defined by those exercising power over young people.[123] The juxtaposition of the educational programs of the BRCS and Oxfam in this dissertation contributes to these discussions by tracing shifts in attitudes towards children and youth throughout the 1950s and 1960s and how these shifts contributed (or not) to the rise of a critical global consciousness among school-aged youngsters.

Within the British context, childhood became increasingly mediated by the state in the late-nineteenth century. Harry Hendrick states that between "1880 and 1914 childhood was in very large measure legally, legislatively, socially, medically, psychologically, educationally and politically institutionalized" in England.[124] Thus, from the 1870s onwards, English policies shifted from a concern over a child's soul and his or her link to the labour needs of the state, to a more complex practice of welfare that provided children with a new social and political identity,[125] including a right to childhood.[126] This increased interference of the state in family

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Children's Work During the Second World War (London: Institute of Education, University of London, 2011). For how the Canadian Red Cross involved children in the Second World War, see Glassford, "Practical Patriotism: How the Canadian Junior Red Cross and its Child Members Met the Challenge of the Second World War," 220.

[123] Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 1995), 1. See also ———, "Histories of Childhood," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (October 1998). For more on political constructions of childhood, see Karen Dubinsky, "Babies Without Borders: Rescue, Kidnap, and the Symbolic Child," *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007).

[124] Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 14.

[125] Ibid., 41. Starting in the 1750s, European schools became functions of the state/nation, rather than the church. As a result, education focused on creating good citizens rather than Christians. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*: 122-23, 34. See also Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014).For related debates on children and childhood within Latin American context, see Tobias Hecht, ed. *Minor Omissions: Children*

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affairs at the turn of the century resulted from an environment of intense international competition and the dominance of social Darwinist thought, as well as an increasing number of Britons gaining the right to vote through the nineteenth-century's Reform Acts and the 1928 Equal Franchise Act. The changes in the electoral system in particular pushed the state to becoming increasingly invested in producing responsible citizens. Within this context, historians have explored how the British government continuously redefined the identity of children throughout the twentieth century. For example, tensions about the political and economic agency of young people in Britain, as well as their civic responsibility, can be seen in debates about the raising of the school leaving age mid-twentieth century,[127] what kind of history should be taught in schools,[128] and the lowering of the legal voting age in 1969.[129] Through such government regulation of what it deemed childhood to be, it is therefore not surprising that, in the 1960s, the Charity Commission strictly regulated how charities such as the BRCS and Oxfam approached young people within schools.

Historians have shown that in addition to government policy, youth movements and clubs have also played an integral part in shaping the way childhood was and is experienced, and that these were often a reflection of their time.[130] In the British context, the Boy Scouts and Girl

in Latin American History and Society (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). In particular, see Donna J. Guy's chapter, "The State, the Family, and Marginal Children in Latin America."

[126] Marshall, "The Construction of Children as an Object of International Relations: The Declaration of Children's Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of League of Nations, 1900-1924."

[127] It was raised from fifteen to sixteen in 1964, taking effect in 1970/71. Gary McCulloch, Steven Cowan, and Tom Woodin, "The British Conservative Government and the Raising of the School Leaving Age, 1959–1964," *Journal of Education Policy* 27, no. 4 (2012). See also Bill Osgerby, "From the Roaring Twenties to the Swinging Sixties: Continuity and Change in British Youth Culture, 1929-59," in *What Difference Did the War Make*, ed. Brian Brivati and Harriet Jones (London: Leicester University Press, 1993).

[128] David Cannadine, Jenny Keating, and Nicola Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England* (Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[129] Catherine Ellis, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s," *Twentieth Century British History* 16, no. 4 (2005); ———, "Strangers, Citizens, Subjects: Britain's 1969 Representation of the People Act," in *Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting* (Victoria2013); Abigail Wills, "Deliquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England, 1950-1970," *Past & Present* 187(2005).

[130] Springhall and Wilkinson both discuss the Boys' Brigade, the Boy Scouts and woodcraft groups. In addition to this, Springhall also discusses the Church Lads' Brigade and Cadet Corps. John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1977); ———, "Lord Meath, Youth, and Empire," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 4 (1970); Paul Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements, 1908-30," *Journal of Contemporary History* 4, no. 2 (1969). See also Ellis, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s."; Mark Freeman, "From 'Character-Training' to 'Personal Growth': the Early History of Outward Bound 1941–1965," *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (2010). For youth movements and organizations in different national and temporal contexts, see Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth*

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Guides in particular have drawn much scholarly attention. Founded in 1908 and 1910, respectively, the Scouting and Guiding movements have since become worldwide phenomena, with millions of young people annually swearing to do their duty for God and country around the world. Like the Red Cross, what makes Scouting and Guiding such fruitful categories of analysis is, as Allen Warren put it in his foreword to *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (2009), the fact that they can be studied at the local, national and international levels.[131] Tammy Proctor, the movements' most prolific historian (although her work focuses primarily on the Guides), holds that the Scouts and Guides were continuously able to adapt to changing circumstances and social norms and, for this reason, have maintained their ongoing popularity. In addition to this, Proctor has argued that "Scouting has played a major role in the formation of civil society and the socialization of generations of youth in countries around the world."[132] Proctor is not the only one to have ascribed such importance to these movements. In fact, the notion of civic responsibility and citizenship, and how this relates to identity, is at the heart of most historical Scouting and Guiding scholarship, particularly that which discusses empire.[133] These findings demonstrate that the socialization aspects of instructive activities for young people offer important insights into adults' expectations for children and youth. More

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(London: Chatto Windus, 2007). In this sweeping survey, Savage explores the history of youth in Germany, Britain and the US between 1875 and 1945.

[131] Warren, "Foreward: Understanding Scouting and Guiding After A Hundred Years," xi.

[132] Tammy M. Proctor, "Introduction: Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective," in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

[133] Kristine Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada and India" (Doctoral Thesis, York University, 2010); ———, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 1 (2009); Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor, eds., *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009); Jennifer M. Dueck, "A Muslim Jamboree: Scouting and Youth Culture in Lebanon under the French Mandate," *French Historical Studies* 30, no. 3 (2007); Sarah Mills, "'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no. 1 (2013); ———, "Be Prepared: Communism and the Politics of Scouting in 1950s Britain," *Contemporary British History* 25, no. 3 (2011); ———, "Scouting for girls? Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain," *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 4 (2011); Timothy Parsons, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya," in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009); ———, "No More English than the Postal System: The Kenya Boy Scout Movement and the Transfer of Power," *Africa Today* 51, no. 3 (2005); Allen Warren, "Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides, and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

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importantly, however, the work done on the Scouts and Guides also highlights how the lived experience of such activities was not uniform. As Kristine Alexander has argued, for example, in the case of Guiding in India and Canada in the interwar years, citizenship training directives originating from Britain were sometimes adapted to local contexts in subversive ways, both by the leadership and members.[134]

In their study of children and youth, in particular within schools or organized leisure, historians have also used young people to reflect ruptures, continuities and needs within society. As Paul Wilkinson observed in his 1969 study on English youth movements (1908-1930), "successful English youth movements were... carefully designed attempts to respond to the[...] needs and demands [of young people], to harness their energies for great causes approved by their adult leaders - imperial defence, national defence, international co-operation, national efficiency, and so on."[135] Youth movements, therefore, reflected the needs of the times.[136] In line with Wilkinson's argument, Proctor and Alexander have demonstrated that in the interwar years the Scouting and Guiding movements distanced themselves from their Edwardian and militaristic origins to embrace an imperially-flavored internationalism, illustrating how the First World War ideologically and practically impacted the British worldview.[137] In the postwar and post-imperial world, the movements experienced further shifts. In his detailed social and cultural history of Britain from 1951 to 1970, for example, Brian Harrison notes that in the 1960s Scouting and Guiding "was falling out of fashion with teenagers, as well as upsetting self-consciously

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[134] Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada and India."; ———, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s." Throughout her doctoral dissertation, Alexander highlights how Guide groups in India and French Canada challenged the movement's official worldview and as such were labelled as "'political,' troublesome and disobedient" by the metropolitan leadership. ———, "The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada and India," 185-87.

[135] Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements, 1908-30," 22.

[136] The USSR's Communist Youth League (the Komsomol) and Germany's Hitler Youth are primary examples of this within the European context. For a discussion of the Komsomol in its early years see Matthias Neumann, *The Communist Youth League and the Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1917-1932* (New York: Routledge, 2011). For a discussion on Hitler Youth, see Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth*.

[137] Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s."; ———, "The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada and India."; Tammy M. Proctor, "'A Separate Path': Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 3 (2000); ———, *On My Honour: Guides and Scounts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002).

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progressive opinion with its residual echoes of empire..., with its stress on the need for unquestioning obedience, and even with its valuation of childhood for its own sake."[138] Harrison only remarks upon this in passing to emphasize that the 1960s was indeed a decade of change – one which prompted the Scouting leadership to conduct a survey to allow the movement to successfully adapt to the new social climate.[139]

  While Harrison's discussion of young people in the 1960s is fleeting, other historians have gone into great detail on the changing perceptions and lived experiences of young people in the late 1950s and 1960s. Indeed, historian John Springhall has remarked that in the late 1950s "the concept of adolescence ultimately 'came of age' in modern British society," implying not only new ways of thinking about youth (and thus separating the adolescent from the child), but also new ways of being a youth.[140] In particular, early scholarly works on 1950s and 1960s young people focused on youth cultures, consumerism, and moral panics within a postwar framework. Later works built on this, in addition to also providing accounts of youth in relation to citizenship, political engagement, juvenile delinquency, and efforts to control the young.[141]

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[138] Brian Harrison, *Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom, 1951-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 486.

[139] Ibid., 486-87.

[140] John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1986), 192.

[141] For examples of earlier works on 1960s youth, see Anthony Bicat, "Fifties Children: Sixties People," in *The Age of Affluence, 1951-1964*, ed. Vernon Bogdanor and Robert Skidelsky (London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1970); Paul Rock and Stanley Cohen, "The Teddy Boy," in *The Age of Affluence, 1951-1964*, ed. Vernon Bogdanor and Robert Skidelsky (London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1970); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture : Meaning of Style* (Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, 1979). Wilkinson's 1969 article on youth movements, for example, was published as part of series of essays entitled 'Generations in Conflict.' This demonstrates that by the end of the 1960s scholars were trying to understand 'the youth question.' Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements, 1908-30." Springhall builds on Wilkinson's work with Springhall, "Lord Meath, Youth, and Empire."; ———, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940*. For more recent work on British youth mid-century, see Mark Donnelly, *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005); Ellis, "Strangers, Citizens, Subjects: Britain's 1969 Representation of the People Act."; Catherine Ellis and Matthew Redding, "Not Playing Games: The Young Liberals and Anti-Apartheid Campaigns, 1968–70," *Journal of Liberal History* 74, no. Spring (2012); Ellis, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s."; ———, "The Younger Generation: The Labour Party and the 1959 Youth Commission," *Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 2 (2002); Freeman, "From 'Character-Training' to 'Personal Growth': the Early History of Outward Bound 1941–1965."; Jon Garland et al., "Youth Culture, Popular Music and the End of 'Consensus' in Post-War Britain," *Contemporary British History* 26, no. 3 (2012); Adrian Horn, *Juke Box Britain: Americanisation and Youth Culture, 1945-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); McCulloch, Cowan, and Woodin, "The British Conservative Government and the Raising of the School Leaving Age, 1959–1964."; Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain Since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998); ———, "From the Roaring Twenties to the Swinging Sixties: Continuity and Change in British Youth Culture, 1929-59."; John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta-Rap, 1830-1996* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Wills, "Deliquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England, 1950-1970."

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Much current scholarship is using a post-imperial framework to examine how Britain's young engaged with and related to the wider world in the 1950s and 1960s. In 2013, Anna Bocking Welch succinctly outlined current research trends through her own exploratory work on the 1965 Youth against Hunger Campaign. She argues that, with the end of empire, there was no consensus on how young people in Britain were to see or engage with the wider world. As such, the 1960s saw debates on whether young people should reconnect with the former empire in novel, albeit imperial, ways (by providing "imperial services" abroad, for example) or whether they should connect with the world without the baggage of the imperial past, to start anew, so to speak.[142] Jordanna Bailkin has asked similar questions in her work on Voluntary Service Overseas (founded in 1958), as has Georgina Brewis in her investigation on student volunteering, and Catherine Ellis through her analysis of the Young Liberals' anti-apartheid campaigns in the late 1960s.[143] This dissertation seeks to contribute to this discussion by elucidating how the BRCS and Oxfam sought to engage British children with the wider world.

This trend of examining young people within a postwar, post-imperial transnational context is not reserved to historians of Britain, as demonstrated by *Diplomatic History*'s 2014 special forum on "Transnational Generations: Organizing Youth in the Cold War West, 1945-1980." The papers in this special issue cover topics pertaining to North America, the Soviet Union, Europe, Asia and Africa and, as Paula S. Fass states in her concluding remarks, bring the history of childhood and international affairs together in novel ways. The articles remind researchers, she writes, that "[c]hildren and youth are never the soft clay they are often portrayed as being, and their roles in larger international games of power and influence need to be much more carefully evaluated."[144] Christina Norwig's article on the postwar integration of Europe, for example, demonstrates how adult leadership used the symbolic power of youth to rebrand the continent and distance it from its recent violent and nationalistic past. At the same time, however, Norwig remarks that many young people adopted this same rhetoric to support their

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[142] Anna Bocking Welch, "Youth Against Hunger: Voluntary Action and Internationalism in 1965," in *Voluntary Action History Society Fifth International Conference* (University of Huddersfield2013).

[143] Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*; Georgina Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Ellis and Redding, "Not Playing Games: The Young Liberals and Anti-Apartheid Campaigns, 1968–70."

[144] Paula S. Fass, "Intersecting Agendas: Children in History and Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (2014): 297.

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own claims of legitimacy and political action, particularly as they felt suspicious of adult claims for youth after the political instrumentalization of youth during the Second World War.[145] Similarly, within the realm of international development, Tamara Myers elucidates how young Canadians were both metaphors and agents of international development thought and praxis in the 1960s and 1970s through their participation in the Miles for Millions, a country-wide sponsored walk phenomenon. As Myers has argued, while adults saw the children as representing the active, young and liberal Canadian character, the youngsters themselves (for the most part) imagined themselves as part of a transnational community, a community which could be served through awareness- and fundraising initiatives.[146] Such historical expositions, including those found in this dissertation, expand existing scholarship beyond the well-documented student activism of 1968, demonstrating a wider range of the political implications of young people (both in terms of age and activities) in the 1950s and 1960s and how they actively re-imagined their postwar and post-imperial world.[147]

Scholars have also examined how concepts and movements stemming from the West have directly impacted children and youth in the developing world, particularly Africa. By the 1930s, for example, the BRCS Junior program was operating in many of Britain's African colonies. As will be discussed through a case study of the BRCS in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in the 1950s and 1960s, BRCS Juniors were deeply implicated in nation-building and, in the lead-up to independence, were cast as model citizens by virtue of their Red Cross values and skills by both BRCS and government authorities. BRCS Juniors thus embodied a positive vision of an African future and were drawn into developing their nations through voluntary public health initiatives. In contrast to this, Dominique Marshall's work on the Save the Children International Union (SCIU), an international NGO, highlights the difficulty in realizing the League of Nations' sanctioned Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1923) in an African

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[145] Christina Norwig, "A First European Generation? The Myth of Youth and European Integration in the Fifties," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (2014): 251, 60.

[146] Myers, "Local Action and Global Imagining: Youth, International Development, and the Walkathon Phenomenon in Sixties' and Seventies' Canada." See also ———, "Blistered and Bleeding, Tired and Determined: Visual Representations of Children and Youth in the Miles for Millions Walkathon."

[147] For more on 1968 see Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring, eds., *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2013); Richard Ivan Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968," *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009); Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the 'Long 1960s' in Greece* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013). See also Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980*.

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context in the 1930s, a time when empires remained strong. According to Marshall this difficulty arose because the colonial context of many African countries automatically negated the rights of the African child, while a limited sympathy in Europe for black children outside of emergency contexts made fundraising difficult. Through a case study of the SCIU's "centre for development" in Ethiopia, Marshall showcases one of the earliest NGO attempts to utilize a children's rights framework to further national development.[148]

Imported youth movements also contributed to national development in Africa, both before and after independence. Timothy Parsons and Thomas Burgess, for example, highlight how the Boy Scout Movement in Kenya and the Young Pioneers in Zanzibar, respectively, were manipulated by local authorities in order to inculcate African children and youth with specific visions of citizenship and nation-building. In colonial Kenya in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, Kenyan Boy Scouts were taught to embody an imperial citizenship that was loyal to the metropole. In contrast, the Young Pioneers of independent Zanzibar were trained to maximize their utility to the revolutionary government of the 1960s and 1970s.[149] Through their research Parsons and Burgess cast light on how young Africans drew on both traditional and external forms of legitimacy in order to obtain inclusion, citizenship, and social promotion within a changing world mid-twentieth century.[150]

As evidenced by Parsons and Burgess, in recent years scholars have increasingly sought to historicize African children and youth, particularly youth, in order to reclaim a sense of agency for them out of adult-centered historical narratives.[151] Central to recent studies are questions of how generational dynamics were impacted by the advent of colonialism and

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[148] Marshall, "The Rights of African Children, the Save the Children Fund and Public Opinion in Europe and Ethiopia: The Centre of Child Welfare of Addis Ababa, Spring 1936," passim. See also ———, "The Construction of Children as an Object of International Relations: The Declaration of Children's Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of League of Nations, 1900-1924."; ———, "Roles and Meanings of Children's Rights in the History of Universal Human Rights, 1900-1989."

[149] Thomas Burgess, "The Young Pioneers and the Rituals of Citizenship in Revolutionary Zanzibar," *Africa Today* 51, no. 3 (2005); Parsons, "No More English than the Postal System: The Kenya Boy Scout Movement and the Transfer of Power."

[150] Thomas Burgess, "Introduction to Youth and Citizenship in East Africa," *Africa Today* 51, no. 3 (2005): xxi.

[151] See also Jon Abbink and Ineke van Kessel, eds., *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa*, African Dynamics (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Alcinda Honwana and Filip De Boeck, eds., *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Postcolonial Africa.* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2005); Andrew Burton and Hélène Charton-Bigot, eds., *Generations Past: Youth in East African History* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010). See also *Africa Today*'s special issue, "Youth and Citizenship in East Africa," edited by Thomas Burgess (*Africa Today* 51.3, Spring 2005), as well as *Politique Africaine*'s issue on "Enfants, jeunes et politique" (*Politique Africaine* 2.80, 2000).

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decolonization, how useful the analytical social category of youth is within the African context, and how children and youth have contributed to African history and development. Considering Africa's predominantly young age demographic throughout the twentieth century, these studies are highly relevant. Social anthropologist Jon Abbink believes that this intervention is necessary as, until recently, many studies of African youth have been oversimplified and coloured by Afro-pessimism. According to Abbink, with youth representing the future, and the future of sub-Saharan Africa interpreted by many as bleak, scholars, development practitioners and journalists have cast children and youth as the harbingers of misfortune, locked into roles of perpetrators or victims of postcolonial violence.[152] Like Abbink, historian Frederick Cooper also warns scholars to not take this negative postcolonial narrative as a given, as Africa's history is coloured with moments of alternative possibility, uncertainty, and hope that need to be unearthed and analysed.[153] Cooper's idea of historical possibility is evidenced in Monica Eileen Patterson's anthropological and historical examination of childhood in apartheid South Africa. There she emphasizes "young people as social actors with their own ideas, motives, and worldviews that impact their communities and the people around them."[154] As such, Patterson explores children as historical agents who are differentiated by their experiences, demonstrating that they are more than "merely 'pre-adults' waiting to be filled by the teachings of their elders and their experiences in the future."[155] She urges other historians to do likewise, as in her view a more nuanced historical understanding of childhood and young people's lived experiences can contribute to a more positive integration of young Africans into their national futures.[156]

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[152] Jon Abbink, "Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal," in *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa*, ed. Jon Abbink and Ineke van Kessel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1-2; Mamadou Diouf, "Engaging Postcolonial Cultures: African Youth and Public Space," *African Studies Review* 46, no. 2 (2003): 4-5. See also Honwana and Boeck, *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Postcolonial Africa.* For contemporary writings, see Ishmael Beah, *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2013); Romeo Dallaire, *They Fight Like Soldiers, They Die Like Children: The Global Quest to Eradicate the Use of Child Soldiers* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2011); Emma Guest, *Children of AIDS: Africa's Orphan Crisis* (London: Pluto Press, 2003); Stephen Lewis, *Race Against Time: Searching for Hope in AIDS-Ravaged Africa* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2005).
[153] Frederick Cooper, "Possibility and Constraint: African Independence in Historical Perspective," *The Journal of African History* 49, no. 02 (2008): 170, 93-94. See also ———, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
[154] Monica Eileen Patterson, "Constructions of Childhood in Apartheid's Last Decades" (Doctoral Thesis, University of Michigan, 2009), 3.
[155] Ibid., 2.
[156] Ibid., 216.

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Considering the importance historians are ascribing to children and youth, both in Britain and Africa, this dissertation offers valuable insights into this growing field of inquiry. In locating young people within the history of international development and NGOs, this dissertation contributes to discussions of young people's increased engagement with the wider world in the 1950s and 1960s and, in relation to this, the different notions of citizenship which BRCS and Oxfam employees tried to convey to their program participants. Ultimately, by investigating how the BRCS and Oxfam taught British children and youth to think about the developing world, the chapters which follow probe not only our understandings of how we think and write about the developing world, but also children and youth.

Methodology: Archival and Oral Sources

As previously mentioned, this thesis examines how the BRCS and Oxfam worked with young people in the 1950s and 1960s, teaching them about their international responsibilities, particularly in the realm of international development. My dissertation focuses first on the BRCS because it is one of Britain's oldest NGOs, with its educational work with children and youth stemming from the mid-1920s. For this reason it is representative of charities that were contributing to the international awareness of young people before international humanitarian issues became popularized in the 1960s. What is striking about the BRCS's work with young people in particular is its international dimension – from the 1930s onwards, the BRCS was directly linked to Britain's empire and its children. As a result, I have included a case study of the Gold Coast/Ghana to highlight how the BRCS facilitated young people's direct participation in developing their colonies and, later, their independent nations. In addition to this, the Junior Red Cross has been little written about, particularly within the British context, making it an important case study to bring to light.

To contrast with the BRCS Junior program, I chose Oxfam for its innovative educational programs and popularity in the 1960s. By the late 1960s Oxfam was a known game-changer, a heavy-weight in the world of international development with "radical" and "pioneering" ideas that shaped contemporary approaches to development issues.[157] Founded 35 years apart, the

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[157] In 1967 Kenneth H. Everington (Christian Aid Area Secretary), for example, claimed that Oxfam and Christian Aid were "pioneers" in regards to sponsored walks which served as both a fundraising and educational tool for

educational programs of the BRCS and Oxfam in juxtaposition reflect not only an evolution in attitudes towards humanitarian issues and international development, but also changes in how children and youth were seen and engaged with.

However, as demonstrated above, neither the BRCS nor Oxfam operated in isolation. Both organizations were constantly influenced by other NGOs, as well as governments, intergovernmental organizations, and other actors, both domestically and internationally. For this reason my work not only draws on archival research performed at the BRCS Archives in London and the Oxfam Archives in Oxford, but also those of the International Federation of Red Cross Societies (IFRC, formerly LORC), ICRC, UN, and World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva, as well as the archives of War on Want, the SCF, Barbara Castle (the first minster of the MOD), and the International Planned Parenthood Federation in Britain. In addition to the organizational documents and correspondence gleaned at these archives, digital newspaper archives, particularly those of *The Guardian* and *The Times*, have served to complement my findings.

For the two chapters on Oxfam, I also had to rely heavily on oral history interviews (see Appendix 1 for a list of the primary interviewees).[158] As Oxfam was one of the most important organizations of its kind at the time, and still is, historians of international development, charity, and NGOs are eager to delve into its archives to historically analyze Oxfam's impact. Yet while I was researching this dissertation, Oxfam's archives were inaccessible to the public; it is only as of July 2014 that limited access has been granted to researchers. In 2012 Oxfam transferred its archives to the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford, where material will be released in phases, with the last release foreseen for June 2017.[159] Before this transfer the archives were not available for public access due to Oxfam's limited resources. However, through a lucky set of circumstances I was able to access a limited amount of Oxfam's 1960s educational archival material in 2012. The two chapters on Oxfam are based on this material and are complemented

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international development. That said, many of the organizations I have looked at, including the BRCS, Christian Aid, SCF and War on Want, refer to themselves as pioneers in the field of development. Given the apparent novelty of the field, this is not surprising. Kenneth H. Everington (Christian Aid Area Secretary) to Angela Shears (Christian Aid "Youth Against Hunger" Campaign Secretary), Official Correspondence (28 March 1967), p. 2, SOAS CA/I/22/3.

[158] See Appendix 1 for a list of my primary interviewees from Oxfam; see the Bibliography for a complete list of everyone I interviewed for this dissertation.

[159] Personal communication with Antonia Hassan (Archivist, Oxfam), 21 May 2013.

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by the oral history interviews I conducted with ten former Oxfam staff members and program participants between 2012 and 2014. In addition to this, traces of Oxfam's history can also be found in the archives of other organizations, such as Christian Aid and Save the Children, particularly in correspondence and conference reports. These are also integrated into my work.

Oral history is an exciting yet challenging source to work with. The memories of my interviewees were certainly shaped by their career trajectories after their time with Oxfam. Many had illustrious careers in the field of international development, or were married to people who did, which influenced the way their memories are shaped.[160] Maggie Black, Bill Jackson and Richard Taylor, for example, all went on to work for the UN.[161] Such careers led most of my interviewees, including their wives by association, to be quite critical of the field of international development. For this reason, our conversations were simultaneously filled with both analysis and memory, informed not only by the past but also hindsight, contemporary development discourse, and Oxfam's current situation. This was especially true for Black, who has authored several books on international development, including Oxfam's official history, two histories of UNICEF, and a critical guide to international development.[162] Black's experiences informed her writing and, in turn, her authorial voice and analysis now also inform her personal narrative and memories. Such invariable framing of memory is common to everyone, especially for stories and experiences retold often, as certain conventions, frameworks and themes are adopted by the speaker (or writer) to establish the narrative and allow it to connect with the audience in a meaningful way. Once such a narrative is established, details deemed irrelevant or disruptive are often forgotten or silenced.[163]

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[160] In fact, Oxfam appears to have been a breeding ground for romance in the 1960s. Of the three married couples I interviewed – the Harpers, Jacksons and Taylors – all of them met at Oxfam. Ann Harper, Maggie Jackson and Sally Taylor stopped working, or worked at a reduced capacity, once they had children. All three of them, however, were important in supporting their husband's work as Field Directors and proved to be interesting and useful informants about life abroad (Ann Harper in East Africa and Asia, Maggie Jackson in West Africa, and Sally Taylor in India). That said, Sally Taylor worked as Oxfam's Field Secretary while living in India. This demonstrates that, in the 1960s, international humanitarian work often involved families, or at least married couples.

[161] Black worked for UNICEF, Jackson for UNV, and Taylor for the UNHCR.

[162] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*; ———, *Children First: The Story of UNICEF, Past and Present*; ———, *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development*.

[163] This was affirmed by Bill Jackson, a born story-teller. Several of his memories, which he shared with historian Dominique Marshall and myself during separate oral history interviews approximately two years apart, were structured in similar ways and reflected the same details. For more on this, see Mary Chamberlain and Paul

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In some circumstances, collective interviewing can mitigate the challenges posed by oral history. Taylor, for example, worked on and off for Oxfam's Education Department in various capacities between 1965 and 1975. While this made him an excellent interviewee, as he had a wealth of information to share, his many years in the Education Department did lead to a conflation of memories and experiences without an obvious timeline, a common occurrence in the process of remembering. However, I interviewed Taylor at the same time as his wife, Sally Taylor (née Elphinstone-Fyffe), and her insights often provided temporal points of reference that helped orient Taylor's responses. Overall, simultaneously interviewing two people with intimately related memories proved advantageous in the case of the Taylors, as Elphinstone-Fyffe often interjected with an "Are you sure?" (directed at her husband) which would lead to discussion, correction, reflection, and debate between the two of them. This dynamic allowed for a more complex reflection of the past, highlighted some of the key debates at the heart of my questions, emphasized the processes inherent to memory, and reaffirmed that oral history should be complemented by archival material and other oral history interviews.[164]

Another methodological challenge was locating the voice of children and youth within the archives. In general, the institutional archives I frequented provided ample evidence of how adults thought about young people and how this influenced the way their programs were constructed. The limited traces of how young people participated in and responded to these programs, such as international friendship albums, essay competition entries, and participant feedback, were heavily mediated by the institutions themselves. For this reason, as much as my work is about young people, its analysis is primarily grounded in the institutional dynamics of the BRCS and Oxfam. Despite these gaps within the archival narrative, however, by placing young people at the heart of my investigation, my dissertation reveals the centrality of children and youth, both in Britain and abroad, to international development thought and practice.

Thompson, eds., *Narrative and Genre* (London: Routledge, 1998); Nigel Hunt and Ian Robbins, "Telling Stories of the War: Ageing Veterins Coping With Their Memories Through Narrative," *Oral History* 26, no. 2 (1998).

[164] For debates on collective interviewing and memory, see Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates," *Oral History* 32, no. 2 (2004); Graham Smith, "Beyond Individual/Collective Memory: Women's Transactive Memories of Food, Family and Conflict," *Oral History* 35, no. 2 (2007). For a comprehensive overview of oral history theory, see Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010). For a recent book that makes effective use of oral history in ways similar to my own, see Gildea, Mark, and Warring, *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt*.

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<u>**Chapter Outline**</u>

In this thesis, I illustrate how the BRCS and Oxfam taught British children and youth about international development issues in the 1950s and 1960s, when the field of international development was first emerging. In Chapter One, I provide the historical context within which these NGOs were operating. Here I identify how some major international stimuli, such as the aftermath of the Second World War, decolonization and the increasing leadership of the UN, influenced internationally-operating NGOs in their educational work with children and youth. Within this international context, however, the BRCS and Oxfam had to contend with the changing views and lived experiences of young people in Britain, as the 1950s and 1960s ushered in increased prosperity, independence, opportunity, international awareness, and scope for political action for young and old alike.

Chapters Two and Three focus on the Junior program of the BRCS in the 1950s and early 1960s. In many ways the BRCS Junior program in the 1950s serves as a forerunner of the international development education initiatives that emerged in the 1960s. The BRCS Junior program was an extracurricular activity that taught young people, between the ages of five and eighteen, how to protect life and health, serve the sick and suffering, and engage in international friendship and understanding. In focusing on the international aspects of this program, I highlight how BRCS Juniors throughout the British Empire were engaged in international development and humanitarian assistance. Chapter Two focuses on how Juniors in the British Isles (primarily England) gained an international understanding of the world that was directly tied to the International Red Cross and Britain through the active exchange of objects, people and ideas. Chapter Three examines how the BRCS worked with Juniors in Britain's African colonies. Using the Gold Coast BRCS Branch (in what is now Ghana) as a case study, I highlight how the BRCS Junior program was adapted to its environmental circumstances, allowing its young members to actively contribute to national health and the development of their country, particularly as independence neared. In addition to this, Chapters Two and Three also emphasize that the BRCS was never operating in isolation. Despite the domestication of its work, the BRCS was part of an international network of national Red Cross Societies that was directed by LORC and the ICRC from Geneva, Switzerland.

By discussing Oxfam's educational work with children and youth in the 1960s, Chapters Four and Five demonstrate how young people in Britain were taught about development issues at

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a time when these first became popularized by charities, the government, the media and international organizations. Starting in 1959, Oxfam's education staff employed novel approaches to educate and engage young people in the problems of the developing world within a cosmopolitan citizenship framework. Chapter Four features some of the primary and secondary school classroom aids produced by Oxfam staff in the 1960s. In discussing how these were developed, this chapter highlights the challenges faced by charities that advocated for the end of international poverty in schools. In the case of Oxfam, both the Charity Commission and members of Oxfam staff were highly critical of the Education Department's work which, in turn, influenced how the classroom aids were designed and what kind of narrative of the developing world they provided. Chapter Five, on the other hand, focuses on how Oxfam engaged young people, particularly youth, outside of the classroom. In discussing Oxfam's 1965 Stowe Conference and its 1966 field trip to Algeria (which had approximately 800 participants), this chapter demonstrates how the staff of Oxfam's Education Department imparted a sense of urgency and advocacy to their young participants, how Oxfam mobilized the supposed energy and idealism of young people as a resource in the fight against international poverty. Stowe and the Algeria trip, Operation Oasis, are both examples of how Oxfam innovatively engaged young people. As such, they reveal why Oxfam was successful in its extracurricular work with youth, demonstrating why other organizations, such as the BRCS, had to conceptually adapt their junior programs in order to maintain their relevance in the 1960s.

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Chapter 1- Context: Now and Then

In August 2002 the Labour Government, under Tony Blair, made Citizenship Education a statutory subject in state secondary schools throughout England. This British government initiative was based on the findings of *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy*, a government-sponsored report published in 1998.[1] The 83-page report was authored by the Advisory Group on Citizenship (AGC), which was chaired by Bernard Crick, a prominent political theorist who had been a leading advocate for political educational programming since the 1970s.[2] The recommendations of the report, commonly referred to as the Crick Report, were supported by all political parties and were broadly adopted, thus bringing the teaching of Citizenship Education, in terms of "social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy," into the classrooms of pupils in England between the ages of 11 to 16.[3] The Report made the importance of this new mandatory subject clear: "citizenship and the teaching of democracy, construed in a broad sense [...] is so important both for schools and the life of the nation that there must be a statutory requirement on schools to ensure that it is part of the entitlement of all pupils."[4] The Report's main focus was on providing students with knowledge of domestic political, economic and social concerns, such as the British parliamentary, judicial and taxation systems, but it also contained a strong international element, signalling the government's support of global education within English classrooms.

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[1] A second report was published in 2000 entitled *Citizenship for 16-19 Year Olds in Education and Training*. This report was authored by the Advisory Group to the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, which was also chaired by Crick. The 1998 Crick Report, however, is considered to the more influential of the two as it led to the 1999 Citizenship Order which made Citizenship Education mandatory in state secondary schools in England. Derek Heater, *Citizenship in Britain: A History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2006), 214-16.

[2] Ben Kisby, *The Labour Party and Citizenship Education: Policy Networks and the Introduction of Citizenship Lessons in Schools* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 1. See also B. Crick and A. Porter, eds., *Political Education and Political Literacy* (London: Longman, 1978).

[3] Citizenship education is promoted through relevant subjects, such as English and history. It is usually not a class onto itself. Advisory Group on Citizenship, "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools," 11. Note that Citizenship Education is only a mandatory subject in England. It is, however, often incorporated into school curriculums in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with the subject adapted to the regional context within each of the four nations. Rhys Andrews and Andrew Mycock, "Citizenship Education in the UK: Devolution, diversity and Divergence," *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* 3, no. 1 (2007): 76, 78.

[4] Advisory Group on Citizenship, "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools," 7.

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While the Crick Report was primarily the work of the fifteen-member AGC, the content reflects wider community participation and consultation.[5] The length of the acknowledgements at the end of the report is striking, and includes the names of individuals, schools, universities, local authorities, government agencies, and organizations which contributed to the Report's proposed framework. Among the many nongovernment organizations (NGOs) recognized are Amnesty International, the British Red Cross Society (BRCS), the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWEC), Oxfam, Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), and Save the Children's Education Unit.[6] Given the nature of the work of the aforementioned participating NGOs, during the consultation process they doubtlessly emphasized that knowledge of global governance, international relations, international development, humanitarian relief and/or human rights was critical for effective citizenship at the local, national, and international level. While the Report conceptualized citizenship within the framework of the British nation-state,[7] whereas many of these NGOs adhere to a more cosmopolitan view of citizenship, the authors did accommodate NGO concerns. Indeed, among the Report's broad learning outcomes were a "belief in human dignity and equality" and the "courage to defend a point of view," key motivating factors within humanitarian work.[8] In addition to these, the Report clearly stated that the study of the United Nations (UN) Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child should be incorporated into the curriculum, and that students should "know about the world as a global community..."[9] As stipulated by the Report, the terms related to "global community" that students should become familiar with as they progress through the four stages of Citizenship Education are: "poverty, famine, disease, charity, aid, human rights,"[10] "overseas aid,

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[5] The AGC consisted of a patron (Betty Boothroyd), the chair (Bernard Crick), fifteen members, three observers, and three representatives from the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). Ibid., 5.

[6] Notably absent (for the purposes of this dissertation) are Christian Aid, the British Council of Churches (BCC) and War on Want. Ibid., 80-83.

[7] In response to official concerns about terrorism following the 2005 London bombings, a review panel was commissioned to review how ethnic, religious and cultural diversity might be addressed in the English school curriculum. The resultant Ajebo Report proposed that Citizenship Education should include lessons on identity and diversity within the United Kingdom. Audrey Osler, "Citizenship Education and the Ajegbo Report: Re-imagining a Cosmopolitan Nation," *London Review of Education* 6, no. 1 (2008): 22.

[8] Advisory Group on Citizenship, "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools," 44.

[9] Ibid., 48.

[10] Ibid.

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development, sustainable development, international trade, charity, human rights,"[11] and "stewardship, interdependence, ethical trading, peace-making and peacekeeping."[12] Finally the Report stated that students should also be familiar with contemporary British relations with the European Union (EU) and the Commonwealth, as well as have knowledge of the work of various UN agencies and "major NGOs."[13] In addition to "cultivat[ing] awareness and concern for world affairs and global issues,"[14] alongside a host of domestic concerns, the Report emphasized active citizenship and learning through community engagement and service. In being taught the meaning of "voluntary service, volunteer, charity, protest, [and] petition" while also learning about the voluntary bodies active in their local communities, students should also be encouraged by teachers to volunteer and be politically active in their daily life as a form of active citizenship.[15]

These learning priorities, alongside the acknowledgment of NGOs in the consultation process, and the encouragement of voluntary action for effective citizenship, demonstrate the potential for the collaboration of government, educational authorities, and NGOs within education. Indeed, the Report's authors "recognise the great potential value offered by... voluntary organisations and others in contributing to this learning..."[16] At the same time, however, schools were vaguely warned that they "should not be reliant on what pressure groups and campaigning bodies can provide; however worthy, these groups do not mirror the priorities of the educational curriculum."[17] This is contradictory, bearing in mind that teachers were called to arm students with the concepts of "protest" and "petition." Considering the fact that some of the consulted NGOs, such as Amnesty International and Oxfam, were pressure groups and campaigning bodies makes this distinction problematic. These tensions point to the debates inherent to writing such a report and the choices the authors had to make. They also discount the historic contributions of NGOs towards bringing the concepts of overseas aid, development, human rights and charity into the classroom precisely because they were pressure groups

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[11] Ibid., 50.

[12] Ibid., 52. It is noteworthy that the terms "charity" and "human rights" were deemed important enough to be included twice as a learning outcome.

[13] Ibid., 50, 52.

[14] Ibid., 40.

[15] Ibid., 48.

[16] Ibid., 27.

[17] Ibid., 30.

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concerned with making children and youth aware of Britain's international responsibilities. In addition to this, while the Report recognized the importance of global responsibility within citizenship, and therefore encouraged its incorporation into the English National Curriculum, global educators today still feel that the status of global education remains marginal in British schools, secondary to national citizenship education at best.[18]

In recent interviews, Bill Jackson and Richard Taylor, who both worked for Oxfam's Education Department in the 1960s, expressed pleasure at seeing their educational priorities finally codified in Citizenship Education in 2002, even if only marginally. In both cases their sentiments were probably based on the recognition that the international elements in the Crick Report were built on the foundations that they, through Oxfam, had laid.[19] Speaking with Jackson and Taylor also made clear that this tension between education and activism is not new. The Charity Commission, the government body regulating English and Welsh charities, has policed the work of voluntary agencies since the mid-nineteenth century, ensuring that charitable work does not venture into the political realm. While it is debatable whether charity, altruism, and, in this case, education, can be apolitical, the Charity Commission certainly tried to make NGOs in the 1960s adhere to strict expectations of what they were allowed to bring into the classroom and why, putting restrictions on how NGO educators could approach students.[20] That is not to say that NGOs were not welcome in schools – since the 1920s the BRCS, for example, had been actively promoting the Junior Red Cross in schools as an extracurricular activity, imparting to Britain's young the importance of the protection of life and health, service to the sick and suffering, and international friendship and understanding. With the BRCS's royal patronage, their Junior program was sanctioned by the Establishment and was seen as a contribution towards good citizenship.

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[18] Harriet Marshall, "Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring the Perspectives of Global NGO Workers in England," *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education* 1, no. 2 (2005): 79, 86-89. See also Osler, "Citizenship Education and the Ajegbo Report: Re-imagining a Cosmopolitan Nation."; Jon Tonge, Andrew Mycock, and Bob Jeffery, "Does Citizenship Education Make Young People Better-Engaged Citizens?," *Political Studies* 60, no. 3 (2012).

[19] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch, 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch, 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom. See also Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979."

[20] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch, 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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Yet even organizations with more suspect credentials and shorter histories than the BRCS were invited directly into the classroom by the British government and asked to influence the school curriculum, particularly in the 1960s. At that time, for example, Britain's Ministry of Overseas Development (MOD) and the Department of Education and Science (DES) both encouraged NGOs to promote "global understanding" among young people. As Donald Harrison pointed out in his doctoral work on the history of development education, the MOD supported NGOs in furthering international "development education" (which focused on international aid and trade issues), while the DES encouraged "education for international understanding" (which focused on global governance issues). According to Harrison, these disparate approaches highlight a lack of coordination within the promotion of "global understanding" education not only within the government, but also among NGOs at the time.[21] Both approaches, however, reflected the belief that the education of people in global issues from a young age would contribute to world peace and global stability, a relevant concern following the Second World War. This is not to say that such global educational initiatives and internationalist ideas did not exist in Britain before the Second World War – indeed, following the First World War the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation promoted similar scholastic goals throughout Europe.[22] But the aftermath of the Second World War, decolonization, the Cold War, heightened awareness of international poverty, and an increasing number of NGOs and UN bodies (such as the FAO and UNESCO) promoting global education made such educational initiatives all the more prominent and accessible and, for the first time, according to historian Johannes Paulmann, truly international.[23]

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[21] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 90-91, 272. In terms of the kind of education they promote, this distinction between the two government departments remains true today according to Harriet Marshall. Marshall, "Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring the Perspectives of Global NGO Workers in England," 79.

[22] In 1946 the role of the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was taken over by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*: 44. See also Philippa Levine, Kevin Grant, and Frank Trentmann, eds., *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, C. 1880-1950* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007). In particular see Frank Trentmann's chapter, "After the Nation-State: Citizenship, Empire and Global Coordination in the New Internationalism, 1914-1930". See also Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s."

[23] Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century," 227.

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While this dissertation is primarily about how children and youth were taught about developing countries in the 1950s and 1960s, this chapter provides insight into the historical context from which such educational initiatives emerged. First this chapter briefly examines the early years of modern development, demonstrating how the field evolved from a restricted, economically-focused enterprise in the 1950s, to one with much broader human appeal by the 1960s. In consideration of some of the major international stimuli that influenced the evolution of the field in Britain during those decades, the next section illustrates how the study of modern development thought and practice facilitates the integration of postwar and post-imperial histories, histories that, according to historian Jordanna Bailkin, are often unnaturally separated.[24] Following this, within the context of Britain, this chapter goes on to elucidate how and why young people were incorporated into the international development movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Through these discussions, this chapter establishes the contextual foundation for the rest of this dissertation.

The Early Years of Modern Development: the 1950s

In Western Europe and North America, the end of the Second World War saw a renewed emphasis on the promotion of "international friendship" and "international understanding," especially among youth, in order to prevent another such global disaster from reoccurring. Within the British context, both public and private institutions latched onto this concept, as demonstrated by the NGO-government educational collaboration mentioned above, alongside various other domestic and international initiatives.[25] This resurrected and reformulated faith in the power of "international friendship" to end all wars arose at the same time as a strong belief in science and technology to end world poverty. In the Fourth Point of his influential 1949 inaugural speech, United States President Harry S. Truman commanded that

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[24] Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*: 2.

[25] See Marshall, "The Construction of Children as an Object of International Relations: The Declaration of Children's Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of League of Nations, 1900-1924."; ———, "The Cold War, Canada, and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child," in *Canada and the Early Cold War. 1943-1957*, ed. Greg Donaghy (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1998); ———, "Reconstruction Politics, the Canadian Welfare State and the Ambiguity of Children's Rights, 1940-1950," in *Uncertain Horizons. Canadians and their World in 1945*, ed. Greg Donaghy (Ottawa: 1996); Norwig, "A First European Generation? The Myth of Youth and European Integration in the Fifties."

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> ... we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

> More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

> For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people.[26]

While the "we" in this citation refers to the people of the United States, many contemporaries absorbed it as a universal "we," assigning the responsibility of alleviating international poverty to all developed nations. Gilbert Rist, an influential international development theorist, ascribes the birth of modern "development" to Truman's inaugural address. More specifically, Rist credits Truman with the terminological innovation of "underdevelopment," which implies that all countries should be equal, that they should develop in the same way, and that this development could be assisted. In this manner Truman made development synonymous with linear economic progress, with development becoming the only possible solution for the better use of the world's resources, both natural and human.[27] In a world of shifting global responsibilities, such new terminology allowed Britain to refocus its role in the world, providing the British government with a new vocabulary to renegotiate its post-imperial responsibilities and maintain ties to its former possessions. While the American President may have taken the first steps towards establishing and popularizing the modern development paradigm, it did not take long before people in Britain took the idea and adapted it to their own national framework.[28]

In 1952 Britain's Association for World Peace (now War on Want), headed by the left-wing publisher Victor Gollancz, published a 96 page tract entitled *War on Want: A Plan for World Development*. In great detail and no uncertain terms, this booklet outlines the "crisis by starvation" faced by the world and how Britain should respond, reiterating Truman's sentiments. "Why declare war on world poverty?" the authors ask. Because of the moral duty of the wealthy

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[26] Truman, "Inaugural Address".

[27] Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*: 72-76.

[28] Rist has argued that Truman's "Point Four simply imposed a new standard whereby the United States stood at the top: namely Gross Domestic Product" (rather than notions of primacy linked to "civilization"). Ibid., 76.

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to assist the poor, the necessity of global economic stability and the fact that hunger threatens peace. "It is right to stress these aspects of the matter, since they wipe out the idea that we are proposing an exercise in condescending charity from the rich to the poor," the authors continue. "We propose in the truest sense a plan for world mutual aid in which the people of under-developed countries, as individuals and as communities, may whole-heartedly join without any feeling of inferiority." [29] The rest of the booklet outlines the necessary government action required by Britain to facilitate the end of want – through existing colonial mechanisms and increased intergovernmental cooperation – as historic circumstance had now provided Britain with the necessary "capital, technical manpower, and know-how" to provide assistance. [30] Harold Wilson, a prominent Labour MP and future prime minister, had chaired the committee that had produced the booklet and a year later, in 1953, he published an expanded version of it entitled *The War on World Poverty*. [31] Here too he emphasizes a top-down approach to international poverty and advocates for the creation of a World Development Authority, a UN entity to muster the resources and power to wage "an all-out crusade for world development," a total war. [32] According to Wilson, much to his surprise, the British government had been amongst those vetoing its creation when the idea was presented to the UN. [33] This led Wilson to conclude that "[a] great deal of fine work is being done, by thousands of public-spirited men and women, in the war against world poverty, but measured against the needs, and the power of the enemy, it is so far no more than a limited campaign, a few border incidents, a phoney war." [34] Noteworthy in this militaristic characterization of the "war against world poverty" is Wilson's allusion to the

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[29] Association for World Peace, *War on Want: A Plan for World Development* (London1952), 9-12. SOAS, War on Want Box 232.

[30] Ibid., 69. SOAS, War on Want Box 232.

[31] In 1946 Clement Attlee appointed Harold Wilson to lead the British team at a Commission of the FAO in Washington for three months. In their biographies of Wilson, Ben Pimlot and Philip Ziegler both credit this experience as introducing Wilson to the problems of the developing world, for which he maintained a lifelong concern. Ben Pimlott, *Harold Wilson* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), 98; Philip Ziegler, *Wilson: The Authorised Life of Lord Wilson of Rievaulx* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993), 52.

[32] Harold Wilson, *The War on World Poverty: An Appeal to the Conscience of Mankind* (London: Victor Gollancz Inc., 1953), 23.

[33] Ibid., 164-65.

[34] Ibid. In 1960 the International Development Association was established, as an affiliate of the World Bank, in order to promote economic development in less developed countries through flexible loans. International Bank for Deconstruction and Development, Press Release No. 621 – International Development Association (Washington, USA, 1 February 1960), World Bank, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/IDA/Resources/timeline-1960-February.pdf.

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British experience of the Second World War, an allusion which, given his readership, made his plea all the more urgent and persuasive.

Given the technocratic language and economic focus of the early advocates of development in the 1950s, it is not surprising that Wilson characterized the war on poverty as a phoney war, as it was limited to experts and those in power which, in turn, restricted its reach and effectiveness.[35] It was not the total war he wanted to see. The language of many of the publications concerning world poverty was inaccessible to the general public, even if it was dramatic, as it focused on how science, technology, and government could solve the problem, not the average person. Also, in the 1950s media coverage of development and relief issues, particularly framed as such, was sparse.[36] According to Oxfam, it was not until the Congo crisis (1960-1964), South Africa's Sharpeville massacre (1960) and the Skopje earthquake (1963) that humanitarian concerns within a modern framework really gained the British public's interest more broadly.[37] But even with this, the majority of people living in Britain did not possess a critical literacy of development and relief issues, as an imperial worldview had dominated most people's schooling up until the 1960s.[38] It was only in the late 1950s and early 1960s that the global trends of "people to people"[39] and scientific development effectively came together to form the foundation of the integrated field we are now familiar with, as first embodied by the UN's historic Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC, 1960-65) and also, to a lesser extent, by the UN World Refugee Year (1959). With rationing ending in Britain in 1954, reconstruction well underway, and wages and employment rates improving, by the late 1950s many people in Britain could start thinking more generously about those deemed less fortunate than themselves.

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[35] For a discussion of Britain's official aid policy in the 1950s, see Ireton, *Britain's International Development Policies*. For a detailed discussion of Canadian bilateral foreign assistance to India in the 1950s, which also draws on the British context, see Campbell-Miller, "The Mind of Modernity: Canadian Bilateral Foreign Assistance to India, 1950-60."

[36] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 105.

[37] Interview of Maggie Black by Marie-Luise Ermisch, 19 June 2012, Oxford, United Kingdom.

[38] See MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*.

[39] "Linking Towns through Friendship: People to People." *1965 International Co-operation Year Newsletter* (UK-ICY Secretariat, 1964), p. 5, Wellcome Library, IPPF A13/35. See also John Lockwood, "The Call for Volunteer Service Overseas," *Social Service Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1963).

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International Development Gains Public Momentum: the 1960s

Launched on the 1st of July, 1960 by Binay Ranjan Sen, Director-General of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the FFHC sought to permanently eradicate international hunger and malnutrition through a multifaceted program premised on assisting poor countries achieve self-sufficiency in food production.[40] This cosmopolitan vision of hunger and its solutions were made possible with the rise of nutritional science in the 1930s. As historian James Vernon has argued, once scientifically measurable, the notion of hunger became universalised. In his words, the "discovery of malnutrition transformed the social problem of the hungry into a much larger nutritional problem for society: that is to say, hunger was no longer seen as the particular preserve of the poor, for all society now shared the problem of maintaining and improving nutritional health."[41] Perhaps for this reason the FFHC was inclusive – drawing on like-minded individuals, voluntary organizations, businesses and governments from over one hundred countries – in order to achieve its goal through education, research and fundraising.[42] Britain was one of the FFHC's biggest contributors, raising over seven million pounds during the campaign's five years, with much of this money stemming from the efforts of voluntary agencies.[43] As historian Anna Bocking Welch has demonstrated, when the FFHC came to Britain, the campaign produced a fervour of activity throughout the early 1960s, with ordinary Britons holding whist drives, jumble sales, sponsored walks, hunger lunches and concerts in support of distant suffering strangers, strangers who were people just like them.[44] The money raised was sent abroad through various channels to support scientifically-based solutions to hunger, such as agricultural training centres, agricultural equipment distribution, milk distribution and so forth.

Former Oxfam employee, development consultant and historian Maggie Black has argued that, in aligning themselves with the FFHC's goals, voluntary bodies such as Oxfam were able to redefine themselves as development crusaders. In this way they moved their mandates

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[40] FAO, "The Freedom from Hunger Campaign: In Brief," (n.d.), SOAS CA/I/3/3.

[41] Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History*: 158.

[42] FAO, "What Every Non-Governmental Organization Should Know About The Freedom from Hunger Campaign," (May 1960), p. 1, SOAS CA/I/3/3 .

[43] Bocking Welch, "The British Public in a Shrinking World: Civic Engagement with the Declining of Empire, 1960-1970."

[44] According to Bocking Welch, these philanthropic initiatives originated from imperial traditions that had been redirected within the changing global context. Ibid., 171, 206-09.

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beyond postwar reconstruction to stake a permanent claim in the emerging field of international development that went beyond the FFHC's lifespan.[45] Oxfam was especially successful, according to Black, because "[d]uring the Campaign's key period, 1960-65, [it] became the main vehicle whereby the new crusade on behalf of the poor overseas took root in British hearts and minds."[46] In addition to this, the success of the FFHC triggered the emergence of other organizations focused on development work,[47] foreshadowing the rapid expansion of the field. For established organizations such as the BRCS, whose international mandate focused on humanitarian relief rather than development, and which was connected to its own international networks, in this case the League of Red Cross Societies (LORC) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), this meant a narrowing of their outreach capacity. The energy associated with the new international development organizations, particularly Oxfam, overshadowed the BRCS, so active and useful in the Second World War, making it appear conservative and traditional. The Red Cross headquarters in Geneva were aware of this, sparking internal reform in the 1960s to help keep the organization relevant.

At the heart of the FFHC was the idea that informed dialogue about the causes of hunger and poverty could trigger action which would eradicate such suffering.[48] British participant organizations thus saw education as a critical component of the FFHC. Increased public awareness was necessary, according to a 1960 brochure, to "awaken the conscience of the world to the continuing problems of hunger and malnutrition in many lands… and to create… a body of aroused and informed public opinion ready to demand and support the measures needed to speed up the present unsatisfactory rate of progress."[49] In addition to their own experience and expertise, NGOs in Britain readily absorbed the FFHC's rhetoric and strategy, seeking out innovative ways to influence public opinion. In the 1960s they too believed that modern advances in science and technology could solve the pressing issue of world hunger if only more

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[45] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 70. See also Saunders, "British Humanitarian, Aid and Development NGOs, 1949-Present."

[46] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*. See also Jennings, *Surrogates of the State: NGOs, Development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania*: 117.

[47] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[48] According to Gatrell, this emphasis on dialogue-inspired action had clear echoes of the UN's World Refugee Year (1959-1960). Gatrell, *Free World? The Campaign to Save the World's Refugees, 1956-1963*: 227.

[49] FAO, "What Every Non-Governmental Organization Should Know About The Freedom from Hunger Campaign," (May 1960), p. 1. SOAS CA/I/3/3.

people sought informed solutions.[50] The British FFH Education Advisory Group, chaired by Doctor Leslie Farrer Brown of the Nuffield Foundation, singled out schools as necessary target areas to secure this knowledge for posterity, an idea which NGOs developed and built into their programs. To underscore the importance of this goal, in 1962 the Group published the first ever British "Teacher's Guide" to international development. The guide outlined how teachers could incorporate facts about world poverty and hunger into their various subjects. It sold 25 000 copies within its first year, demonstrating active interest on the part of teachers for this kind of educational innovation.[51]

The end of the first phase of the FFHC campaign corresponded with the UN-designated International Year of Cooperation (IYC, 1965), which was adopted in recognition of the UN's 20th anniversary and the mid-point of the first UN Development Decade (1960-1969).[52] Not only was the IYC to serve as a reminder to governments to cooperate with each other, but it was also "to inform the public in various parts of the world," through government and NGO initiatives, "about the scope of United Nations activities in political, economic, social and humanitarian fields"[53] and to "create an atmosphere for solving the problems more easily and lessening the conflict which was afflicting the world."[54] Just as the FFHC had done, the IYC reinforced the idea that those living in Britain could provide assistance to people affected by international poverty because their country possessed the technical prowess necessary to help. Prince Philip, Britain's IYC patron, effectively summed up this commitment, including the necessity of linking people and science to combat hunger, disease and poverty, in anticipation of the IYC in 1964:

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[50] According to an FFHC brochure, "The Campaign, in its information and education aspects, seeks to work not by slogan-making, but by giving people the opportunity to reach their own understanding of the problem of hunger and decide on their own response to it." FAO, "The Freedom from Hunger Campaign in brief" (n.d, c.1960), p. 4, SOAS, CA/I/3/3. See also, Saunders, "British Humanitarian, Aid and Development NGOs, 1949-Present."

[51] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 72.

[52] The resolution to designate 1965 as the IYC was passed by the General Assembly on November 21, 1963. See Preparatory Committee on the International Co-operation Year, "Agenda item 24: Report of the Preparatory Committee on the International Co-operation Year," in *Annexes*, ed. U.N. General Assembly (New York: UN General Assembly Official Records, 1963); U.N. General Assembly, "Report of the Preparatory Committee on the International Co-operation Year," (21 November 1963); ———, "Report of the Committee for the International Co-operation Year," in *Official Records of the General Assembly: Twenty-First Session: Plenary Meetings* (New York: United Nations, 1966); U.N. Office of Public Information, *Yearbook of the United Nations 1965* (New York: United Nations, 1967), 86-87.

[53] ———, *Yearbook of the United Nations 1965*: 87.

[54] Preparatory Committee on the International Co-operation Year, "Agenda item 24: Report of the Preparatory Committee on the International Co-operation Year," 1.

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"In the twentieth year of the United Nations Organisation the advance of all branches of science and technology holds out a bright prospect for all mankind... Only the divisions and mistrust between men and nations are holding up the rate of progress which we all know to be perfectly possible."[55] These divisions had to be overcome through international friendship and cooperation and, in the words of Prince Philip, "a bonfire of prejudice."[56]

NGOs with an international mandate again saw themselves as leaders in this movement, in stoking the fire against prejudice. Central to their efforts during the IYC were programs focused on scientific and medical research in world health, volunteer service overseas, the expansion of the teaching of international cooperation within schools, community development (particularly in those areas that were multi-racial), cultural exhibitions, town-twinning, and collaboration with British women and youth groups in IYC initiatives.[57] Ultimately, after numerous conferences, seminars, rallies and exhibitions, the hanging of countless UN flags, the sending off of international volunteers to exotic locales, the twinning of British towns with those abroad, the organization of dances and other social events, the British IYC Committee deemed the year a success upon its conclusion. "Uppermost in many people's minds has been the value of educational work," wrote Susan Rhodes, the IYC Local Groups Secretary, in 1966 – work centered on conferences, as well as art and essay competitions, as recommended by the UN.[58] In this manner the IYC contributed to bringing international cooperation and development issues into British homes, schools, public spaces and minds, with national NGOs acting as the program's domestic facilitators.

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[55] Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, "A Message from the Patron," *1965 International Co-operation Year Newsletter* (UK-ICY Secretariat, 1964), p. 1. Wellcome Library, IPPF A13/35.

[56] Ibid.

[57] "PLAN FOR BRITAIN: working groups to cover areas of co-operation," *1965 International Co-operation Year Newsletter* (UK-ICY Secretariat, 1966), p. 5. Wellcome Library, IPPF A13/35. Town-twinning has a tradition in Britain (particularly with Europe), starting in 1920 with the twinning of Poix-du-Nord in France and Keighley in West Yorkshire. According to historian Richard Weight, town-twinning accelerated in the 1970s and was responsible for an increased number of British schools visiting the European continent. Richard Weight, *Patriots* (London: Macmillan, 2002), 488-89.

[58] Susan Rhodes, "A pattern of practicality in 100 towns," *1965 International Co-operation Year Newsletter* (UK-ICY Secretariat, 1966), p. 7. Wellcome Library, IPPF A13/35.

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International Development: Linking Postwar and Post-Imperial Historical Frameworks

The discourse surrounding international development in the 1960s not only united science and people, but now, for historians, also links the postwar and post-imperial periods. Jordanna Bailkin has argued that British postwar and post-imperial histories are "two fields that have long been juxtaposed, but rarely integrated."[59] In her recent book, *The Afterlife of Empire* (2012), she seeks to remedy this by elucidating how the welfare state and decolonization were naturally intertwined in the 1950s and 1960s, highlighting how decolonization profoundly transformed British society at home.[60] My own work supports Bailkin's view of this unnatural separation of the histories of postwar and post-imperial Britain, as the international development movement was shaped by both. First, the postwar problem of refugees and rehabilitation, particularly in central Europe, sparked international concern and assistance; this concern gradually spread to new crises, especially when it seemed that colonialism (as in India and Pakistan after partition) or Communism (as with Korean refugees in Hong Kong) were at fault.[61] Throughout these human emergencies, historic responsibility and Cold War dynamics, alongside moral conviction, sustained the motivation to help refugees once postwar Europe had been stabilized. Second, as previously mentioned, the aftermath of the Second World War prompted an increased emphasis on international understanding and cooperation. This produced an ethos which was incorporated into the language of post-imperial Britain's "new" responsibility for the fate of developing nations. As Black put it, the developing world was recast from being primitive to being poor – the lens used to look at the colonies had changed from a cultural to an economic one.[62] Related to this was the increased use of statistics and science to make international comparisons, first by the League of Nations and later the UN and other international bodies.[63] With the world

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[59] Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*: 2, passim.

[60] Ibid., passim.

[61] See Interview of Maggie Black by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Oxford, United Kingdom; Gatrell, *Free World? The Campaign to Save the World's Refugees, 1956-1963*.

[62] Interview of Maggie Black by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Oxford, United Kingdom

[63] For example, the Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite statistic currently used to rank a country's level of human development. It was developed in 1990. For more on health, statistics and development, see Iris Borowy, *Coming to Terms with World Health: The League of Nations Health Organisation 1921-1946* (New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2009); Mark Harrison, *Disease and the Modern World, 1500 to Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005); Atsuko Naono, "Burmese Health Officers in the Transformation of Public Health in Colonial Burma in the 1920s and 1930s," in *Public Health in the British Empire: Intermediaries, Subordinates, and the Practice of Public Health, 1950-1960*, ed. Ryan Johnson and Amna Khalid (New York:

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becoming measurable, in scientific terms, new international norms and standards emerged which, in turn, fed into new international responsibilities for governments the world over. Britain's decline as a global power after the war was directly responsible for it having to align itself with these newly emerging global norms and practices.

Little did I realize that I would find solid evidence of this postwar/post-imperial connection on a hiking trip in Scotland one summer's day in 2012. I, a resident of Canada, was hiking with my South African friend, Mary Carman, whom I had met during my year at Goodenough College, an international graduate student residence in London founded in 1930 "to create a collegiate setting that would enhance international understanding" among future leaders of the Dominions and, after the Second World War, the Commonwealth.[64] Even a strenuous hike up Britain's highest mountain did not grant respite from my year of research – the monument on Ben Nevis's peak served as a striking reminder of the intimate relationship between the Second World War and international development. The cairn had originally been erected in 1949 to commemorate "the fallen of all races on V.J. Day" and, in their memory, "from this mountain memorial the affectionate hand of friendship is extended to the youth of every nation in the world" (see Image 1.1).[65] Another plaque had been added to "Britain's Highest War Memorial" in 1965, reaffirming the sentiments of the initial message (see Image 1.2). It reads,

> A tribute to the fallen of all nations from the youth associated with the World Federation of United Nations Associations and the International Student Movement of the United Nations who in this year 1965, designated by the 113 member nations of the UN as International Co-operation Year are determined in the words of the charter 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind.'[66]

While the emphasis on both plaques is peace, peace at the time was widely equated with shared prosperity, food for all, and development. The reference to the UN and its IYC should therefore not go unheeded, as peace, economic and human development and international cooperation

Routledge, 2012); Paul Weindling, "Introduction: Constructing International Health Between the Wars," in *International health organisations and movements, 1918-1939*, ed. Charles Webster and Charles Rosenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[64] Goodenough College, "History," http://www.goodenough.ac.uk/history.

[65] The original 'cairn of remembrance' was erected by members of the Vicar Street Bible Class, Dudley, United Kingdom.

[66] War Monument, Ben Nevis (close to the town of Fort William, Scotland).

Image 1.1: Plaque in commemoration of the fallen of the Second World War on "Britain's Highest War Memorial" on Ben Nevis. Source: Marie-Luise Ermisch

Image 1.2: Plaque in commemoration of the United Nations' Year of International Cooperation (1965) on "Britain's Highest War Memorial" on Ben Nevis. Source: Marie-Luise Ermisch.

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were entangled concepts central to both. It was not a coincidence that members of the World Federation of United Nations Associations and the International Student Movement of the UN symbolically decided to cement their message to this particular monument to the Second World War and reaffirm the original creators' commitment to international friendship.

Children, Youth and International Development

Youth is also central to both elements of the Ben Nevis monument, as it was youth who had erected it and who, through the monument, extended their "affectionate hand of friendship... to the youth of every nation..." The commemorative texts specifically recognise the responsibilities of youth in never allowing another war to happen through international friendship and cooperation. Standing at approximately 1,344 metres above sea level the monument makes a powerful statement. Its location and plaques symbolize the vitality of youth and youth's (supposed) strong commitment to peace, as it was only with the strength, energy and enthusiasm of youth that such a monument was built in an isolated location that was and is only reachable through a strenuous hike. At least that is what I believe the creators of the cairn had in mind when they erected it in that location.

Image 1.3: The cairn on Ben Nevis in its isolated surroundings. Source: Marie-Luise Ermisch.

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Image 1.4: The "youthful" author near the peak of Ben Nevis. The view attests to the strenuous nature of the hike.
Source: Marie-Luise Ermisch.

The sentiments of this monument were also evident in the FFHC. In 1964 the Geneva-based World Council of Churches (WCC) sent out a circular designed to stimulate their FFHC partners to think of creative ways with which to incorporate youth into their FFHC initiatives. London-based Christian Aid, in whose archives I found this circular, was one of these partners. The circular stated that,

> The older generations of our time have grown up in circumstances stressing the differences and dissimilarities between races, creeds, nations and classes. But to young people new horizons have been opened by the revolutions in technology and communications which have followed the second world war [sic], and by the achievement of political equality by previously subject peoples... Youth has always been idealistic but too often in the past this idealism has been exploited for war and other destructive ends. That a 'moral substitute for war' is being provided as a rallying force for young people by the Freedom from Hunger Campaign is borne out by activity reports received by FAO from Campaign partners all over the

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world... It is clear that we have only just begun to tap the immense potential of young peoples' imagination and energy.[67]

Unlike Harold Wilson who had declared a "war on want" alongside other members of Britain's Association for World Peace in 1952, the WCC here calls for "a moral substitute for war," even if it is employing language similar to the Association for World Peace in terms of technological capability. But more than a decade after the Association for World Peace's publication of *War on Want: A Plan for World Development*, the emphasis of the WCC is different – it is people-to-people development rather than economic, a position closer to today's western approaches to development. In particular, the WCC focuses on young people (clearly distinguished from the older, tainted generation), as it is only the young who can approach the world without prejudice, or so the WCC leadership believed. This use of generational language emphasizes a split between the old and the new, reinforcing the idea that youth represents change and a fresh start. As such, in the circular the WCC defines youth as possessing malleable idealism and energy, both of which could easily be exploited and channeled into fruitful initiatives. This vulnerable idealism and energy therefore needed to be constructively guided by adults into morally sound objectives, such as feeding the world's poor. In the minds of the authors, it was adults, through intergovernmental, government and NGO initiatives, that gave meaning to the idealism of young people.

Curiously, this created a paradox – youth were looked to for leadership in the new, more peaceful imagining of the world and its future, yet it was the older generation, the adults, who were responsible for moulding this leadership. Historian Christina Norwig has made similar observations about the role of young people within the postwar process of European integration, demonstrating how adult leaders utilized the "myth of youth" to cast young people as the architects of a new post-national European community.[68] According to Norwig, the cultural construct of "youth" was important within adults' reimagining of the postwar and post-imperial

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[67]Committee for Specialised Assistance to Social Projects (SASP), "Panel for Agriculture and Rural Development, Circular FFHC/40." World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland (3 June 1964), 2, SOAS, CA/I/21/1. See also Raymond Lloyd, "Young World Mobilization Appeal: October 1965-March 1966: Suggestions for Action by Educators and Youth Officers." Presented at UNESCO's *International Conference on Youth* held in Grenoble, France from 23 August to 1 September 1964, p. 5-6, SOAS, CA/I/21/1.

[68] Norwig credits Marc Roseman with coining the term "myth of youth." Norwig, "A First European Generation? The Myth of Youth and European Integration in the Fifties."

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world, as Europe's leadership saw both historical continuity and necessary social change within this generational category. The idealism, energy, enthusiasm, common identity, lack of serious responsibilities (allowing freedom of action), and readiness to make sacrifices for the nation were all positive attributes ascribed to youth by adults that could readily be tapped through the establishment of adult-led programs that incorporated, engaged, and appealed to young people.[69] That said, in reality many young people were weary of this role and even rebelled against it, remembering where adult-led programs, such as the Hitler Youth, had led young people during the Second World War. In that case it was passivity and discipline that had been fostered, rather than political activism and change.[70]

In addition to this imagining of youth, another reason why the FFHC campaign specifically targeted young people was because, following the Second World War, there were, simply put, more young people in the world. The period after the war was clearly linked to a younger population as Europe experienced a postwar baby boom, and advances in medicine decreased infant mortality rates and increased the average life expectancy the world over. Given the sheer numbers of young people, many organizations classified this demographic group (including both children and adolescents) as a resource needing to be capitalized on (as well as controlled). This idea was shared by many internationally operating NGOs in Britain, particularly the BRCS, Oxfam, and Christian Aid, alongside other nationally-oriented organizations. Within this context of an overwhelmingly young population, *The London Times* ran an article optimistically decreeing, "YOUTH TODAY 'NOT IRRESPONSIBLE'" in September 1960. The author went on to cite the National Council of Social Service as stating that "there are about three million young people in [voluntary organizations] in Britain today, and their ages range from eight to 21."[71] According to the article, therefore, children and youth were engaged in acts of civic responsibility through voluntary service. That said, the participation of young Britons in organized activities and community service was part of a tradition of initiatives and movements targeting young people stemming from the late nineteenth century and is not unique to the postwar environment. Programs such as the Boys' Brigade, Boy Scouts, Girl

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[69] Ibid., 253.
[70] Ibid., 259.
[71] "Youth Today 'Not Irresponsible'." *Times* [London, England] 8 Sept. 1960: 3. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. Accessed 14 July 2014.

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Guides, Junior Red Cross, Woodcraft Movements, Young Conservatives, Young Liberals, and Outward Bound were all founded long before the 1960s. Historians of these schemes, such as John Springhall and Tammy Proctor among many others, have demonstrated that since the late 1880s such programs were intended to mould youngsters into responsible people and citizens and to provide outlets for their youthful energy.[72] As Kristine Alexander emphasizes in her work on the Girl Guides in the interwar years in Britain, Canada and India, the longevity of such organizations depended on their ability to adapt to new social and political circumstances and needs.[73] In many ways, the FFHC and other international development initiatives, such as Oxfam's educational and youth work, can be seen as a continuation of these programs, or even a manifestation of their evolution in addressing new societal concerns. The FFHC certainly served as a catalyst in terms of bringing developing world issues into classrooms and public spaces.

By the 1960s, the nature of existing youth programs was changing, reflecting changes within the lived experience of young people. As young people increasingly challenged the mores and norms of their elders, gained increased spending power, and became more visible and assertive in public spaces, the very energy and unpredictability of youth cast as a resource by FFHC members also came to be perceived as a menace by many. Social commentators in particular wrote about the generation gap, juvenile delinquency, substance abuse, and political apathy. Some even went as far as categorizing youth as a threatening species separate from adults.[74] To explain this phenomenon, this pronounced categorization of youth versus adult in the late 1950s and 1960s, sociologist Stanley Cohen and historian Bill Osgerby have argued that

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[72] See, among others, Lynn Cook, "Differential Social and Political Influences on Girls and Boys Through Education Out of Doors in the United Kingdom," *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 1, no. 2 (2001); Ellis and Redding, "Not Playing Games: The Young Liberals and Anti-Apartheid Campaigns, 1968–70."; Ellis, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s."; Freeman, "From 'Character-Training' to 'Personal Growth': the Early History of Outward Bound 1941–1965."; Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914*; Tammy M. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009); ———, *On My Honour: Guides and Scounts in Interwar Britain*; Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940*; Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements, 1908-30."

[73] Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada and India."; ———, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s."

[74] See for example, "Teenagers Not a 'Race Apart' But All Too Like Adults." *The Guardian* [London, England] 5 January 1961: 2. Accessed 24 July 2014. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/184752740?accountid=12339>; Amory. "The Young Today." *Times* [London, England] 6 Mar. 1969: 9. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 24 July 2014.

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during the postwar period young people increasingly became the scapegoat for or symbolic representation of wider anxieties about societal transformation.[75]

In line with all of this, less than a year after proclaiming young people as being responsible, *The Times* painted a slightly different picture – "With the present increase in teenage crime... the cry goes up for improved modern clubs where today's new-rich so-called 'problem generation' can be induced to spend more of their leisure under sympathetic and skilled guidance."[76] Within this social climate, the 1960s saw a growth in youth programs, organized by charities and other entities, which attempted to keep youth away from juvenile delinquency and imbue them with good morals and the qualities of responsible citizens. Yet participation in these kinds of initiatives has led some historians, such as Catherine Ellis, to conclude that generation gap concerns were overstated.[77] Even contemporaries were arguing against this idea – Professor Lauwerys at the 1961 North of England Education Conference, for example, suggested that adults were exaggerating the threat of teenagers and that "young people were growing more in favour of organisations which offered specialist knowledge of subjects and adventurous activities and left leadership in the hands of young people themselves, with adults retreating into the role of friendly advisor."[78] In other words, young people still wanted to be engaged, just in different terms.[79]

Some organizations, such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, had to reform in the 1960s in order to keep themselves relevant.[80] As Proctor wrote on the Girl Guides, "The challenge in the post-World War II world would be to balance the competing values of independence and discipline in an age of television, mass consumption, and educational change."[81] The BRCS Junior program had to undergo similar considerations, with LORC initiating these necessary

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[75] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, 3 ed. (London: Routledge, 2002); Osgerby, *Youth in Britain Since 1945*.

[76] The author in this article is referring to young people between the ages of 15 to 21. "Training Youth Leaders." *Times* [London, England] 20 March 1961: 15. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. Accessed 14 July 2014.

[77] Ellis, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s," 444.

[78] "Teenagers Not a 'Race Apart' But All Too Like Adults." *The Guardian* [London, England] 5 January 1961: 2. Accessed 24 July 2014. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/184752740?accountid=12339>

[79] See also Alec Dickson, *A Chance to Serve* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1976). Dickson was the founder of Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) in 1958 and later Community Service Volunteers (CSV) in 1962.

[80] Harrison, *Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom, 1951-1970*: 486-87; Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*: 101-24.

[81] ———, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*: 116.

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changes from Geneva for the international Junior Red Cross program as a whole. Despite this pressure to adapt to the "new" character of young people, some new initiatives in Britain, such as the Duke of Edinburgh Award, founded in 1956, sought to emulate earlier traditional models of youth programs through their emphasis on character training and gendered virtues.[82] Considering the royal founder of this award scheme, Prince Philip, this emphasis on traditionalism should not be surprising. Despite this, however, the scheme did have modern appeal through its emphasis on adventure and outdoor activity, as well as Prince Philip's charisma and youthful persona. On the other hand, many initiatives arose at this time that fostered, channeled or controlled the much-feared radicalism of young people – some programs stemming from young people themselves, others run by adults. As Georgina Brewis has argued, "it was the 1950s that marked the beginning of a new wave of student social action on a range of international issues including apartheid and anti-racism, refugee students, and the anti-nuclear movement."[83] And it was not just university students who were engaging in political issues and becoming radicalized – school-aged children and youth were also brought into the fold. Just as Tamara Myers has shown in her work on children and sponsored walks in 1960s and 1970s Canada, minors were integral to the growth of a critical global consciousness.[84] In the case of Britain, historian Kevin Jeffreys points to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) as one of the first social movements to attract young people, stating that, in the 1950s, "[t]he most distinctive feature of CND was its ability to attract adolescents and young adults at a time when youth in most Western societies remained on the fringes of political involvement."[85]

Not long after, international development issues came to occupy the minds of young people by way of organizations such as Oxfam, Christian Aid, and War on Want. In 1965, after Oxfam's first international development conference for youth, Oxfam's Deputy Director Henry Fletcher optimistically recorded that some of the facilitators "went so far as to say that [the conference] had demonstrated the possibility of making action for development the thing which

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[82] Cook, "Differential Social and Political Influences on Girls and Boys Through Education Out of Doors in the United Kingdom."

[83] Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980*: 165.

[84] Myers, "Local Action and Global Imagining: Youth, International Development, and the Walkathon Phenomenon in Sixties' and Seventies' Canada," 283.

[85] Kevin Jefferys, *Politics and the People: A History of British Democracy since 1918* (London: Atlantic Books, 2007), 142. For more on the CND, see Burkett, "Re-defining British Morality: 'Britishness' and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1958–68."

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is most likely to capture the imagination and loyalty of young people in this country."[86] In capturing the imagination and loyalty of young Britons to help alleviate international poverty, and encouraging them to think critically about these issues, Oxfam was inadvertently (at least that is how they wanted the government to see it) politicizing its young followers. For instance, Richard Taylor, who worked for Oxfam in the 1960s and 1970s, remembers that many Oxfam employees categorized the work of Oxfam's Education Department in the 1960s as radical and cutting edge, much to the chagrin of the more traditional Executive Council of the organization.[87] Similarly, the Young Liberals of the Liberal Party became increasingly radicalized over international issues throughout the 1960s, as was demonstrated by their creative protesting of the British tour of South Africa's all-white cricket team in 1970.[88]

Yet why does it seem that young people were more overtly politicized in the 1960s? And why should they have felt a responsibility for international development in particular? For one, in the minds of some people the Second World War had been fought for the young. For this reason it was felt that young people had the responsibility to work towards a just and peaceful world, as is reflected by the monument on Ben Nevis.[89] There was also a widely held belief that young people were more open to new ideas and could therefore serve as catalysts for positive change, as demonstrated by the WCC circular.[90] In a speech outlining "why young people have a special interest and responsibility for development" – given at UNESCO's 1964 International Conference on Youth in Grenoble, France – Raymond Lloyd, a British national working for the FFHC in Rome, concluded that increased population numbers (with youth representing "an unprecedented portion of the population"), increased insecurity (resulting from "fundamental economic and social changes taking place in the world today"), and conducive circumstances

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[86] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[87] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[88] Ellis and Redding, "Not Playing Games: The Young Liberals and Anti-Apartheid Campaigns, 1968–70."

[89] Raymond Lloyd, "Young World Mobilization Appeal: October 1965-March 1966: Suggestions for Action by Educators and Youth Officers." Presented at UNESCO's *International Conference on Youth* held in Grenoble, France from 23 August to 1 September 1964, p. 6, SOAS, CA/I/21/1. Also see Norwig, "A First European Generation? The Myth of Youth and European Integration in the Fifties."

[90] In his speech, Lloyd was outlining the UN's Young World Mobilization initiative, which in Britain manifested itself as Youth Against Hunger (YAH) in 1965. Raymond Lloyd, "Young World Mobilization Appeal: October 1965-March 1966: Suggestions for Action by Educators and Youth Officers." Presented at UNESCO's *International Conference on Youth* held in Grenoble, France from 23 August to 1 September 1964, p. 5-6, SOAS, CA/I/21/1.

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(including better education, political independence, and new technologies)[91] all made international development a pressing issue for young people to deal with. Just like Truman before him in 1949, Lloyd grandiosely stated: "For the first time in world history, freedom from hunger and want, disease and ignorance, is within our grasp." He continued,

> The late President Kennedy, speaking at the World Food Congress of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign held in Washington in June 1963, said we had the know-how to wipe out world poverty. If only we had the will, we could do this within the lifetime of our generation. The challenge of world development will face most young people most of our lives, and it will be the biggest public problem of our lives: if not faced now, it must be faced in 1970 or 1980 or 1990.[92]

Lloyd's speech clearly presented world poverty as a generational challenge. It is within the lifetime of *this* generation that world development problems can and should be solved. It is this generation that has the resources and therefore the responsibility. In this manner he provides a clear distinction between pre- and postwar youth. In order to secure their own future, Lloyd felt that young people had to do something; they had the tools to do so after all. In addition to this, young people also had the knowledge – by the mid-1960s charities and the media in Britain were regularly informing people about developing world issues, academics were taking an active interest in the field (the Overseas Development Institute, for example, was founded in 1960), and overseas volunteers were returning from their posts and speaking of their experiences.

      Lloyd's framing of the problem, his talk of "responsibility," allowed world hunger to be seen as a moral cause. This is important – as Lloyd was representing the FAO and the FFHC, both UN entities, he was advocating for a government-supported movement through his Young World Mobilization Appeal. On the other hand, however, Lloyd was also asking young people to solve "the biggest public problem of [their] lives" through their "openness... to new ideas." In this way he was also opening the door to radicalization and disagreement with government

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[91] In Lloyd's words, "Thanks to modern technological change, to the ferment of new ideas, to political independence, young people are much better equipped and better trained than their parents to introduce new methods and techniques of development." Raymond Lloyd, "Young World Mobilization Appeal: October 1965-March 1966: Suggestions for Action by Educators and Youth Officers." Presented at UNESCO's *International Conference on Youth* held in Grenoble, France from 23 August to 1 September 1964, p. 6, SOAS, CA/I/21/1.

[92] Raymond Lloyd, "Young World Mobilization Appeal: October 1965-March 1966: Suggestions for Action by Educators and Youth Officers." Presented at UNESCO's *International Conference on Youth* held in Grenoble, France from 23 August to 1 September 1964, p. 6, SOAS, CA/I/21/1.

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policy. Particularly in Britain, whose government had to adapt its foreign policy to decolonization at that time, this invitation to young people to have a critical global consciousness proved challenging. And this created yet another paradox – British NGOs, encouraged by the UN (of which Britain was a member) to develop their youth outreach and awareness of international hunger, were increasingly scrutinized by the Charity Commission for teaching young people to be politically informed and engaged. Oxfam as an organization in particular was aware of this, which led to major internal tensions.

Many NGOs working in Britain took their cues from the UN in working with children and youth in their international development campaigns. Oxfam, for example, hired its first Schools Organiser in 1959 because of the UN's World Refugee Year, and it expanded its youth work in part because of the FAO's Young World Mobilization Appeal in the mid-1960s. In Britain, the NGOs collaborating on UN initiatives quickly became the face of development and disaster relief as they made the UN directives their own, particularly among young people, with Oxfam at the lead.[93] Yet before the UN, before Oxfam, before "international development" was popularized as a field and area of expertise, the BRCS had been advocating its own form of grassroots development in the colonies and for the involvement of young people therein.

Founded in 1870, with its Junior program stemming from the mid-1920s, the BRCS structurally mirrored the empire, with branches in many of the colonies by the late 1930s. Within this colonial framework, the BRCS Junior program articulated an uncritical idea of international friendship and assistance, alongside its other concerns of health and hygiene. In the 1950s, reflecting its roots in the interwar years and its experience of the Second World War, the BRCS Junior program promoted international understanding and friendship by emphasizing voluntary and collective action, alongside a patriotic community spirit. In this sense the BRCS provided children and youth with an extracurricular program that focused on disciplined and practical action to fulfill their motto of serving God, Queen and country. In line with this, the energy of the BRCS Juniors in Britain was harnessed to provide humanitarian assistance and development support throughout the colonies and Commonwealth in the form of disaster relief kits, the donation of medical supplies and first aid kits, international volunteering, international friendship albums and so forth. At the same time, BRCS Juniors in the colonies were trained to support

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[93] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 70.

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their country's medical infrastructure through first aid delivery and other forms of community service. Through this work, the BRCS was directly contributing to grassroots development work in the colonies before it was popularized as such. With the advent of decolonization, while the BRCS tried to maintain a good relationship with its former colonial branches, its international work became more focused on disaster relief, mirroring the work of its parent organization, the ICRC. While the BRCS is seen as a conservative organization focused on humanitarian relief within its international work, its work with young people in the first half of the twentieth century was pioneering, involving children and youth in issues that had yet to be popularized, radicalized and institutionalized (by the government). In many ways, the BRCS Junior program of the 1950s, in the activities it promoted, was the childlike predecessor of what was to come.

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Chapter 2 – The British Red Cross Juniors at Home: Providing International Friendship and Assistance

In 1963 the International Red Cross celebrated its centenary anniversary.[1] In honour of this occasion, the Yugoslav Red Cross Society, with the assistance of the League of Red Cross Societies (LORC) Junior Red Cross Bureau, organized an international essay competition for Red Cross Juniors between the ages of 15 and 20, with the prize being a two-week trip to Yugoslavia.[2] The topic: "Youth's Contribution to the Red Cross." After the careful review of 188 official entries from over 20 countries by a Yugoslav Red Cross Society committee, six winners, hailing from Belgium, India, Ghana, Nigeria, Poland and the United Kingdom, were announced.[3] The winning essays addressed the three guiding principles of the Junior Red Cross (the protection of life and health, service to the sick and suffering, and international friendship and understanding), emphasizing how these contributed to the Red Cross's fundamental principles of voluntary service and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world. In her winning essay, fifteen-year old Hilary Whitehouse of Staffordshire, Great Britain,[4] for example, demonstrated that British Juniors practically engaged with these principles through first aid, home nursing, mothercraft, blood donation, hospital visits, knitting blankets for refugees, assembling disaster relief kits and creating and sending out international friendship albums, thus translating Red

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[1] The 1963 centenary celebrations commemorate the international conference which inaugurated the International Red Cross. Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*: 1-22; Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*: 6-7.

[2] Letter from Maude E. Jones (Director, BRCS Juniors) to Charles-André Schusselé (Director, LORC Junior Red Cross Bureau), 5 August 1964, LORC A0855/1 – 26/5/15. For a brief account Hilary Whitehouse 's trip to Yugoslavia, see Hilary Whitehouse, "A Memorable Prize," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Christmas 1964), 4-5, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/166.

[3] The winners were Patrick Ruymen (Belgium), John Clement Easmon (Ghana), Sunanda Roy (India), Augusta Philomena Omamov (Nigeria), Gražina Kozak (Poland), and Hilary Whitehouse (UK). The six runners-up came from Belgium, Canada, India, Italy, Lebanon, and Nigeria. It is interesting to note that of the six winners, two thirds came from the Commonwealth. Letter written on behalf of Mara Rupena-Osolnik (Secretary General, Yugoslav Red Cross Society) to Charles-André Schusselé (Director, LORC Junior Red Cross Bureau), 20 March1964, LORC, A0855/1 – 26/5/15. See also LORC "Yugoslavia – A repercussion from the Red Cross Centenary," *Junior Red Cross Newsletter* (July – September 1964), p.7. Submissions could be made in English, French, Russian or Spanish. Letter written from Mara Rupena-Osolnik (Secretary General, Yugoslav Red Cross Society) to Charles-André Schusselé (Director, LORC Junior Red Cross Bureau), 17 December 1963, LORC A0855/1 – 26/5/15.

[4] Letter from Maude E. Jones (Director, BRCS Juniors) to Olga Milosevi (Secretary-General, Yugoslav Red Cross Society), 19 June 1963, LORC A0855/1 – 26/5/15.

Cross values into both national and international civic responsibilities.[5] Most of these activities, albeit adapted to the author's domestic context, were reiterated by the other winning submissions. As this centenary essay competition demonstrates, in 1963 the British Red Cross Society's (BRCS) Juniors were embedded in an established global movement that was motivated by voluntary service, the promotion of health, and the alleviation of suffering around the globe.

Very little has been written on the BRCS and the Red Cross Juniors.[6] Considering that the British Junior program was active for 56 years in its original form (from 1924 to 1980) and that, in its heyday, Junior membership greatly outnumbered that of adults, this is surprising. Mid-century Juniors were an integral part of the movement, and not only in numbers. For many, Juniors signified the future of the movement, the future of humanity even, and thus young BRCS members were given special training and directives with that future in mind. Within the British context the Junior Red Cross is interesting to study as membership included young people from all over the empire. Examining the British Junior program in the context of the 1950s and 1960s is therefore significant as it reflects British attitudes towards decolonization, internationalism, children and youth, and citizenship. Of course these attitudes were framed by the principles of the International Red Cross, but the BRCS's national appropriation of the Red Cross makes this all the more interesting. Despite the movement's international nature, the BRCS and its work with its Juniors remained inherently "British."

This chapter focuses on the international elements of the BRCS Junior program, arguing that its international friendship initiatives contributed to fostering a sense of internationally-oriented, nationally-based citizenship among young people in Britain. While international friendship constituted but one of the three Junior guiding principles, as outlined above, it was central to the program. The BRCS headquarters in London thus emphasized international friendship in the Junior agenda throughout the 1950s and 1960s as Britain was seeking to adjust to its role in a changing world. Much, of course, can and should be written about the Juniors'

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[5] Hilary Whitehouse, "Youth's Contribution to the Red Cross," (Winning Submission to 1963 Yugoslav Red Cross Society Essay Competition), p. 1-3, LORC, A0855/1 – 26/5/15/Winners. See this file for all the winning contributions.

[6] Regarding the Junior Red Cross, the most notable exceptions are Glassford, "Practical Patriotism: How the Canadian Junior Red Cross and its Child Members Met the Challenge of the Second World War."; Hutchinson, "The Junior Red Cross goes to Healthland."; Irwin, "Teaching "Americanism with a World Perspective": The Junior Red Cross in the U.S. Schools from 1917 to the 1920s."

domestic work, but it was the Juniors' engagements at the international level which elucidate how thousands of British children and youth were taught to think about and respond to people in other countries, particularly those in need of assistance. Essentially the BRCS was able to mobilize and channel the energies of children and youth in the name of service to promote Britain, alongside Red Cross values, throughout the world. Based primarily on research completed at the BRCS Archives in London, England and the LORC Archives in Geneva, Switzerland, this chapter showcases the rich and varied texts and artifacts left behind by Red Cross Juniors and their mentors, and highlights some of the challenges of studying children and youth through institutional archives.

This chapter will first outline the origins and organization of the Junior Red Cross (JRC), specifically in Britain, and briefly explain how it was connected to LORC, the Red Cross's international governing body, in the 1950s. Using Queen Elizabeth's Coronation as a case study, the next section explores how British nationalism was deeply imbedded in the BRCS and its Junior program. The three sections that follow focus on specific aspects of the Junior international friendship program, specifically on the exchange of objects, friendship albums, and people. In analysing these different methods for fostering international friendship and service, these sections not only reinforce the idea of the national and international duality inherent to the work of British Juniors, but also demonstrate how multifaceted this program actually was, and how Juniors responded to it. The chapter concludes by briefly highlighting how, by the end of the 1960s, the leaders of the JRC, including those of the BRCS, decided that they needed to change their approach to children and youth in order to maintain Junior membership in the face of an increasing number of other charities targeting the same demographic groups.

The British Red Cross Juniors: Origins and Organization

The Junior Red Cross became an integral part of the International Red Cross network and flow of resources by the mid-twentieth century in many countries, with an emphasis on children-to-children communication and assistance. While children and youth had participated in Red Cross activities before, it was not until the First World War that the first Junior Sections were formed (in Australia and Canada) in order to help with street collections, knitting, preparing bandages

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and so on. This was done in support of their National Societies.[7] In Britain, the BRCS held an experimental run of the Junior Red Cross between 1923 and 1924. Satisfied with the results, as interest had been demonstrated by students, teachers, Education Authorities, and Medical Officers throughout Britain, BRCS leaders decided to permanently incorporate Red Cross Juniors into its structure. As the 1924 BRCS Annual Report states,

> Two considerations led to this decision: In the first place, the covenants now undertaken by every Red Cross Society of standing contain certain obligations which cannot be discharged fully by limiting their work to adults; in the second place, the marked modern tendency to educate and to mould the civic sense of the young demands the Red Cross should establish itself early in the affection of the child if it would later have the aid of the citizen...

> The objects of the Junior Red Cross, now defined, are: Health; Help to the Sick and Suffering Children; A Chain of Service linking Children of all Lands. Its spirit is epitomized in the motto chosen for British Juniors, 'Serve one Another.'[8]

This statement not only reflects that BRCS leaders believed young people to be essential to fulfilling the Red Cross mandate by 1924, but also that they believed Red Cross values led to good citizenship and therefore needed to be taught at a young age. Such considerations were not unusual at that time as the interwar period in Europe was rife with youth movements which sought to mobilize young people for national and international ends, such as the Communist Youth League in Russia (founded in 1917) or the Hitler Youth in Germany (founded in 1933).[9] In pursuing this "modern tendency to educate" young people about their civic duties, BRCS officials collaborated with leaders of already established youth organizations with similar aims, such as the British Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, in order to ensure that their activities were

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[7] It was only in 1937 that the ICRC put its first request directly to Red Cross Juniors by asking them to assist children in war-torn Spain during the Spanish Civil War (1936-9). British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 40.

[8] BRCS, "Report of the British Red Cross Society for the Year 1924 Together with a Statement of Accounts," (1924), p. 18. BRCS Archives RCC 29/1.

[9] See, for example Kenny Cupers, "Governing Through Nature: Camps and Youth Movements in Interwar Germany and the United States," *Cultural Geographies* 15, no. 2 (2008); Kater, *Hitler Youth*; Neumann, *The Communist Youth League and the Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1917-1932*.

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streamlined, inclusive, and each occupying their own niche.[10] Sarah Mills' work on the British

Scouting movement makes clear that, at its inception, the BRCS Junior program fit into a

tradition of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British youth movements that sought to

foster patriotism, morality and good citizenship through activities grounded in conservative

philosophies.[11] Just as the Scouts defined good citizenship as doing one's duty to oneself, others,

the monarch, and God through the Scout Promise,[12] so Juniors were taught to "Serve one

another," including "God, Queen and Country," as well as the sick and suffering.[13] "Serve one

another" was the motto of Red Cross Juniors the world over, but its appeal to the British tradition

of service and charity is unmistakeable. And while general "service" became an integral part of

Junior activities, such as their work with the elderly, sick and disabled, the statement above

explicitly specifies that the Junior objective was children serving and assisting other children

throughout the world. Thus, since the foundation of its Junior program in the 1920s, the BRCS

envisioned multiple levels of responsibility for its participants, none of which were to the

individual him or herself. It was only through service to others that one could achieve personal

fulfillment.

   Through the foundation of the JRC the BRCS not only recognized children and youth as

agents able to assist each other, as well as future adult recruits, but also as a discrete category to

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[10] For example, Guides were allowed to wear Red Cross badges with their uniforms. BRCS, "Report of the British Red Cross Society for the Year 1924 Together with a Statement of Accounts," (1924), p. 19-20. BRCS Archives RCC 29/1.The British Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were founded in 1908 and 1909 respectively. For more on the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Britain, see Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada and India."; Block and Proctor, *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*; Mills, "'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education."; Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scounts in Interwar Britain*; ———, "(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 45 (1998).

[11] See Mills, "'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education."; ———, "Be Prepared: Communism and the Politics of Scouting in 1950s Britain."; ———, "Scouting for girls? Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain." For more on youth movements in Britain in the twentieth century, see David Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c. 1920-c.1970* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). For examples of interwar youth movements in other national contexts, see Cupers, "Governing Through Nature: Camps and Youth Movements in Interwar Germany and the United States."; Kater, *Hitler Youth*; Susan B. Whitney, *Mobilizing Youth: Communists and Catholics in Interwar France* (London: Duke University Press, 2009).

[12] Mills, "Be Prepared: Communism and the Politics of Scouting in 1950s Britain," 431, 32.

[13] British Red Cross Society, "Junior Red Cross Promise," *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London: BRCS, 1962), p. 12, LORC Archives 00019560; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London: BRCS, 1962), p. 12, LORC Archives 00019560; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 5th ed. (London: BRCS, 1972), p. 14, LORC Archives 00019560.

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be worked with in anticipation of their future adulthood and the citizenship that this implied.[14] It appears that from the start the Junior program was based on the dichotomy that children could be taught, whereas adults could not. BRCS staff deemed young people to be vessels that could be filled with Red Cross values which would enable them, when they came of age, to contribute to the nation in responsible ways.[15] Considering that the Representation of the People Act of 1918 granted voting rights to all men over the age of 21 (and the conditional vote to women over the age of 30), citizenship and character training were becoming more important than ever by the early 1920s. This was also evident with the British government's push towards universal education, which originated with the Elementary Education Act of 1870 and gained increasing headway throughout the twentieth century. State concern over national efficiency and national welfare, for example, prompted the 1918 Education Act. This Act made schooling compulsory in England and Wales until the age of 14, demonstrating increased government involvement in shaping its citizens.[16] Within this "modern" context, as the BRCS called it, this emphasis on exemplary citizenship and the future, as well as societal rejuvenation, remained the backbone of the British Junior program throughout the interwar period, during the Second World War, and well into the 1960s. This sentiment was reinforced and even more clearly articulated 39 years after the program's foundation in the introduction of the 1963 BRCS *Junior Red Cross – Organisation and Activities Handbook*: "The true success of Junior Red Cross work can only show in the future, when the young people of today become responsible citizens of tomorrow, in whose hands lie not only the destiny of the Red Cross, but also of the country."[17]

From the outset, the Junior program was aimed at young people between the ages of five and eighteen and consisted of Links, Cadets and Red Cross Junior Classes. Links could only be formed by organized groups of children and youth, such as schools or clubs, which made the

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[14] BRCS, "Report of the British Red Cross Society for the Year 1926 Together with a Statement of Accounts," (1926), p. 16. BRCS Archives RCC 29/3.

[15] These Red Cross values were based on the fundamental principles of the International Red Cross: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, universality.

[16] Scotland had its own 1918 Education Act. In England, before this Act, historians Cannadine, Keating and Sheldon estimate that 50 percent of children left school at 12 or 13. Cannadine, Keating, and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*: 62-64.

[17] BRCS, *Junior Red Cross – Organization and Activities Handbook*, 2nd edition (London: BRCS, 1963), p. 3. LORC Archives 00012919.

recruitment of large numbers of children and youth relatively easy.[18] The downside to this, however, was that BRCS programs thus favored children and youth with access to education or spare time for extracurricular activities. Within the colonies this distinction would have been especially striking as many children did not have access to schools. Despite efforts towards universal education in Britain, British Juniors also faced restrictions on membership based on access to time and money. The majority of BRCS Juniors likely came from the middle classes, as these youngsters could afford the costs associated with BRCS membership (such as the uniform) and had the leisure time to commit to its voluntary charitable initiatives.[19] That said, while no records in terms of class and membership exist, it would be fair to say that the BRCS Juniors did represent a cross-section of British society, with membership ranging from working class to royalty.

By utilizing already formed groups of children and infusing existing programs and organizations with health, service, and international friendship initiatives, the Junior Links were meant to augment, not compete with them. Cadet Units, on the other hand, were Junior Units attached to Senior Red Cross Detachments where young people received additional instruction and experience to what was provided in Links. Ideally Cadet Units were to serve as a direct recruiting pool for Senior Detachments. Finally, Red Cross Junior Classes on First Aid, Home Nursing and Health were on offer for any groups that requested them, such as the Girl Guides or participants of the Duke of Edinburgh Award and so on. These were based on established Junior manuals and systems of certification.[20]

The ultimate success of the Junior program, however, depended on local initiatives and County Branches, some of which had leaders skeptical of the utility of the integration of young people into the BRCS. As the 1926 Annual Report put it,

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[18] Special allowances were made for individuals who did not belong to any organized groups. For many NGOs working with youth, incorporating young people not within the school system proved challenging in the 1950s and 1960s.

[19] In his analysis of popular politics in twentieth century Britain, Kevin Jeffreys argues that in the 1950s "the classes maintained separate identities through cultural differences - in speech, manners and patterns of leisure," despite increased affluence and spending. Charitable involvement was and is a form of leisure, one historically favored by the middle classes. Jefferys, *Politics and the People: A History of British Democracy since 1918*: 125.

[20] BRCS, "Report of the British Red Cross Society for the Year 1924 Together with a Statement of Accounts," (1924), p. 19-20. BRCS Archives RCC 29/1.

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many are slow to grasp the larger importance of the [Junior] movement as part of any ordered scheme of participation by the Red Cross in the cycle of work for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering; or see how the public interest upon which the strength of societies depend, can be secured through work with the young. [21]

Despite these early doubters, Junior membership eventually surpassed adult membership. By 1963, the year of the Red Cross centenary and 40 years after the initial Junior trial run in Britain, for example, the BRCS (including Overseas Branches) had a total of 100,857 Junior members as compared to 69,177 adult members.[22] One reason for this large differential in membership numbers is likely accounted for by the fact that, unlike with adults, the BRCS's Junior recruitment strategy focused on young people already organized in groups until the late 1960s. According to Oscar Zuluaga, the Senior Advisor to LORC's Volunteering Department in 2012 and long time Red Cross member, in many countries National Societies actually worked in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education on the Junior program in its early days. It was only in the mid- to late-1960s that LORC really pushed National Societies to expand their programs beyond schools.[23]

From the outset, British Juniors operated both domestically and internationally. According to the *Junior Journal*, the official BRCS mouthpiece for its younger members, Junior activities within Britain focused on health education (both for and by Juniors, including classes, pageants, displays/exhibitions, accident-scene re-enactments and first aid competitions), emergency assistance (especially first aid), hygiene (including bed-making and cleanliness), mothercraft, holidays for disabled children, camping trips, fundraising (to address both local and international needs), arts and crafts (usually for fundraising or gifting), visits to (including animation) hospitals, nurseries, children's homes, senior citizens homes and the disabled, and general community service. At the global level, Juniors in Britain participated in international travel and volunteering, hosting international visitors, gift and art exchanges, written correspondence, fundraising, the assembling of disaster relief kits or general relief parcels, and

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[21] BRCS, "Report of the British Red Cross Society for the Year 1926 Together with a Statement of Accounts," (1926), p. 16. BRCS Archives RCC 29/3.

[22] Of these 100,857 Junior members, 18,515 were members of Overseas Branches. Of the 69,177 adult members, 13,739 were members of Overseas Branches. BRCS, "Annual Report for the Year 1963" (BRCS, London, 1964), p.58.

[23] Interview of Oscar Zuluaga (IFRC Volunteering Department, Senior Advisor) by Marie-Luise Ermisch. Oral History Interview. 10 August 2012, IFRC Headquarters, Geneva, Switzerland.

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providing assistance to refugees upon arrival in the United Kingdom.[24] Many of these internationally-focused activities will be discussed in more detail below.

British Juniors within the International Red Cross and at Home

Being a Red Cross Junior was characterized by international group membership, a membership demarcated by possession of the Red Cross badge and/or uniform,[25] the desire to serve, Red Cross knowledge (such as first aid, good health and hygiene practices, the Geneva Conventions and their underlying principles, as well as the history of the International Red Cross) and knowledge of Red Cross rituals (such as "The Junior Red Cross Song"). By being a BRCS Junior, you were not only connected with Juniors in Great Britain, but also those in the British Empire and the world beyond. *The Proudest Badge*, written for British Juniors by the BRCS, makes this act of belonging to a global movement abundantly clear in its first (1953) and fifth (1966) editions (and presumably those in between): "You know that if you met a boy or girl who could not speak your language – and both of you were wearing the badge of the Red Cross – *that badge would speak for you*. It would say: 'You and I *believe* in the same things. We are doing the same kind of work. We have the same aims.'"[26] Even reading *The Proudest Badge* itself was a sign of potential group membership, as it served to initiate British Juniors into Red Cross institutional knowledge and myth or, as Hutchinson calls it, into the movement's doctrines and dogma.[27] While the International Red Cross was a secular movement, it was this quasi-religious element, based on common values, that provided the moral force which allowed Red Cross

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[24] Descriptions of these activities can be found in *The British Red Cross Junior Journal,* which was published four times a year. The *Junior Journal* kept Juniors in touch with each other, as it contained Junior news from Britain, the colonies and dominions, and later Commonwealth, and highlighted great achievements, thus motivating those reading it to continually improve themselves and better serve the Red Cross. The examples above are taken from issues from 1950 to 1970. See BRCS Archives RCC 30/107-190.

[25] Link members only received badges, whereas Cadets wore uniforms with badges. BRCS, *Junior Red Cross – Organization and Activities Handbook*, 2nd edition (London: BRCS, 1963), p. 17-18, 22. LORC Archives 00012919.

[26] Emphasis mine, quotation taken from the 1966 edition. British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 41; ———, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*, 1 ed. (London: British Red Cross Society, 1953), 43. BRCS Archives Acc 453/56. The quote actually originates from a Junior Red Cross recruitment brochure. BRCS, "THE BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE JUNIOR RED CROSS." Recruitment brochure. (BRCS: London, n.d., early 1950s), BRCS Archives 2185/8. For more on LORC and the changing international environment in the late 1950s and 1960s, see also Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*: Chapter 8.

[27] Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*: 4.

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members the world over to look beyond their differences towards a common goal.[28] The above quotation makes clear that the BRCS not only expected Juniors to be ambassadors of the movement, but that they also embody it, live by it, incorporate it into their daily lives. This is why the Red Cross badge could speak for them when words could not. Being a BRCS Junior not only taught one first aid, hygiene, and international friendship skills, but it also shaped one's beliefs, values and aims. As the 1963 BRCS *Junior Handbook* states, "The objects of the Junior Red Cross are to *inspire* young people with the *spirit* of the Red Cross..."[29] a spirit originating one hundred years earlier from the venerated "Man in White" himself, Henry Dunant.[30] Instructors were told to impress on young people that by wearing the Junior badge, "the proudest badge," they came to personally symbolize hope to the sick and suffering.[31] Juniors thus became abstract individuals representing a universal whole, the whole being the International Red Cross. This was emphasized not only through the Juniors' shared historical and mythical origins of the movement, but it was also constantly reinforced through Red Cross rituals (such as the enrollment ceremony, inspections, parades, *et cetera*), examinations, the awarding of badges of merit and certificates, the wearing of uniforms and so on.[32] One such pedagogical tool, which reinforced the idea of belonging to a universal movement, and embodied its values, is the Junior Red Cross Song. This song was written and composed by Ralph Reader, and was performed publically for the first time in London's Royal Albert Hall in 1949 in honor of the British Junior Red Cross's twenty-fifth anniversary:

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[28] Ibid; David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 7.

[29] Emphasis mine. BRCS, *Junior Red Cross – Organization and Activities Handbook*, 2nd edition (London: BRCS, 1963), p. 3. LORC Archives 00012919.

[30] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 7-9. For example, "The Man in White also left [Italy], returning to his native city, Geneva, where the soldiers' name for him was not known and where his friends knew him only as Jean Henri Dunant" (9).

[31] "In teaching the history [of the Red Cross], great emphasis should be put on the Junior Badge, the centre of which is the Red Cross itself – that it is the proudest Badge a young person can wear, and the symbol of hope to sick and suffering people in every country..." BRCS, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London: BRCS, 1962), p. 13. LORC Archives 00019560; BRCS, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 5th ed. (London: BRCS, 1972), p. 14. LORC Archives 00019560.

[32] Sophie Wittemans has written on similar themes, in terms of citizenship and group membership, for the Scouting and Girl Guide movements. Sophie Wittemans, "The Double Concept of Citizen and Subject at the Heart of Guiding and Scouting," in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 56-71.

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Come let us pledge again. Each heart and hand

To thee, the flag we serve, friend in every land.

Come let us give anew. Each thought and mind

To be a light to shine over all mankind.

So may our emblem be proudly unfurled

To link the chain of youth for service through the world.

Oh, give us strength to prove. Sure and sublime,

To make the cause we serve. Shone over the Hills of Time.[33]

Service, light shining over mankind, the sublime, the hills of time, all these tropes are reminiscent of church hymns and reflect not only the western (Judeo-Christian) origins of the Red Cross, but also the all-encompassing moral commitment and expression that membership of the Junior Red Cross was supposed to evoke in one's life. [34]

An early 1950s Junior recruitment brochure promised even more than this, however (see Image 2.1). The cover depicts three youths – a girl and boy smartly dressed in BRCS Junior uniforms, carrying parcels under their arms and walking forwards with confidence and purpose; between them is a respectable, disabled young man in a suit, supported not only by two canes, but also by the strong arm of the male Red Cross Junior. He too smiles with confidence. While the Juniors are gazing assuredly beyond the brochure into the future, the disabled youth is smiling directly at the person examining the brochure, as if inviting the viewer to help him too. The caption reads, "THE BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE JUNIOR RED CROSS – the exciting life they lead... the fine work they do... for this country and the world..." The brochure then goes on to outline what else Junior membership promised: friendship with children from other countries, doing a "grown-up job," interesting and important work, happiness, adventure, training (much of which took place out-of-doors), courage (as "With Red Cross training behind you emergencies will not frighten you"), respect from your peers ("You will become the sort of person upon whom others can depend"), international travel, and the opportunity to have one's service and

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[33] "The Junior Red Cross Song," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (September to December 1949), p. 10-11, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/107-114.

[34] Forsythe aptly describes this Christian and secular duality within the ICRC, stating that "although it tries to present itself as a secular Good Samaritan," it has obvious Christian origins. Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 2. Despite its Judeo-Christian undertones, in the 1950s and 1960s National Red Cross Societies could choose between using the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion emblems for their work.

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gallantry recognized with badges.[35] The brochure was designed to appeal to young people's sense of adventure and idealism, as well as their need to belong, engage in meaningful collective work, increase their confidence, or simply to feed their curiosity. According to this brochure, the British JRC had something for everyone ("and... you see nobody is too young") – anyone could

Image 2.1 BRCS Junior Red Cross recruitment brochure from the early 1950s. Source: BRCS Archives 2185/8.

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[35] Everyone received the Membership Badge upon enrollment, but through additional training and service, Juniors could also be awarded the Special Service Cross, Junior Meritorious Service Badge, Proficiency Badge and the Grand Proficiency Badge. BRCS, "THE BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE JUNIOR RED CROSS." Recruitment brochure. (BRCS: London, n.d., early 1950s). BRCS Archives 2185/8.

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contribute in one way or another if their spirit was in the right place. A sample of the promised activities included knitting, building first aid huts, participating in realistic first aid training, visiting "crippled and invalid children," performing folk dances and puppet shows to fundraise and/or raise health awareness, talking to deaf and blind people through a special language, and international correspondence.[36]
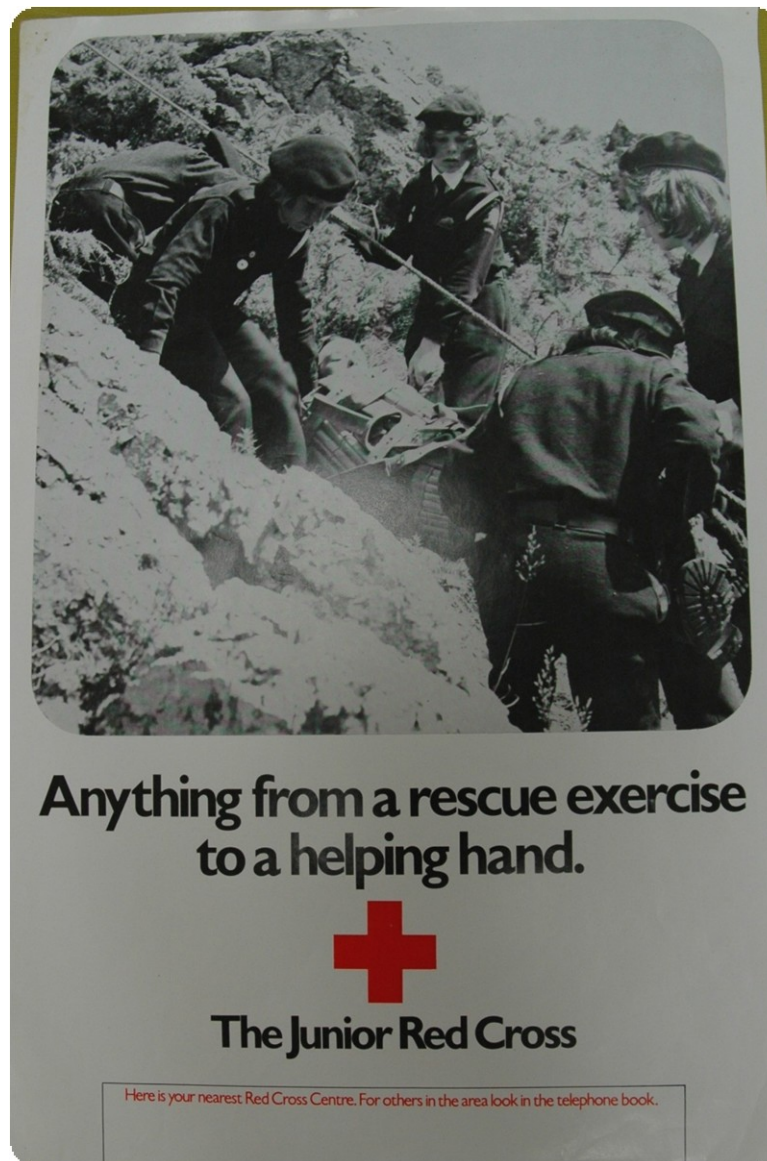
Image 2.2: BRCS Junior Red Cross recruitment poster from the early 1950s. Source: BRCS Archives 2185/19.

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[36] The "special language" refers to Juniors tracing letters and signs onto the hands of the deaf and blind people as a way of communicating with them. Visiting these people was seen as a form of community service. BRCS, "THE BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE JUNIOR RED CROSS." Recruitment brochure (BRCS: London, n.d., [early 1950s]). BRCS Archives 2185/8.

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Historians have debated as to whether people living in Britain maintained a mentality of collective responsibility following the Second World War (particularly in London), a mentality manifested in a new postwar "consensus" that came out of the shared war experience.[37] These debates aside, however, it was precisely this historically legitimized sense of collective civic duty (defined by the Red Cross voluntary spirit), combined with youthful attractions (such as adventure, outdoor recreation and group membership), that the BRCS was trying to capture in order to attract Junior members with this early 1950s brochure. This echo of the Second World War experience, in which the BRCS had played a central role, was also reiterated in an early 1950s Junior recruitment poster, the image of which is reminiscent of people assisting each other during the Blitz (see Image 2.2). The black and white poster shows male and female preteens in smart BRCS uniforms performing what looks like the complicated mountain rescue of an adult. Whether or not it is an exercise or a real rescue is unclear, but everyone in the image is serious, focused, and motivated. The caption reads: "Anything from a rescue exercise to a helping hand."[38] The BRCS made clear that the war being over did not mean that people were no longer in need of dramatic rescues or assistance and anyone, including the young, could help. The BRCS was open for shop both in peacetime and in war.

The fact that the BRCS was investing in brochures and posters aimed at young people shows they were seeking to expand their Junior membership. Membership drives for adults and Juniors, alongside fundraising, were a major concern for the BRCS in the 1950s as the organization was trying to publically reassert its peacetime image while expanding its work in

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[37] For these debates in the social, cultural and political realm, see Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War*, Revised ed. (London: Pimlico, 1994); Brian Brivati and Harriet Jones, eds., *What Difference Did the War Make?* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1993); Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Pimlico, 2003); David Edgerton, *Britain's War Machine: Weapons, Resources and Experts in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); ———, "When was the British national moment? 'Alone' and 'People's War' in history and historiography, 1940-2000," (McGill University2014); Steven Fielding, Peter Thompson, and Nick Tiratsoo, eds., *'England Arise!': The Labour Party and Popular Politics in 1940s Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Jose Harris, "Political Ideas and the Debate on State Welfare, 1940-45," in *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War*, ed. Harold L. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); Harriet Jones and Michael Kandiah, eds., *The Myth of Consensus: New Views on British History, 1945-64* (London: Macmillan Press, 1996); Rodney Lowe, "The Second World War, Consensus, and the Foundation of the Welfare State," *Twentieth Century British History* 1, no. 2 (1990); Sonya Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[38] British Red Cross, "Junior Red Cross Recruitment Poster," (London: BRCS, n.d.). BRCS Archives 2185/19.

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areas of domestic and international disaster relief, health, and community service.[39] Within this work, the BRCS promoted itself as not only providing invaluable services to those living in Britain, but also as being an essential part of British national life. As the Earl of Woolton, the BRCS's Vice-Chairman at the time, wrote in the BRCS's 1955 annual report,

> At this stage in the history of our own national society it is important for us to remember that, while the International Red Cross belongs to the world, the British Red Cross Society *belongs to the nation*. It follows that if its influence is to be widespread, it must become *an integral part of our national life* and not merely the preserve of a tiny fraction of the population.[40]

Hence young and old alike had to be enticed, through advertisements and word-of-mouth, to join the BRCS so that they too could contribute to the nation (including national prestige abroad) and perform necessary national duties through the Red Cross, even during peacetime. It was their responsibility after all. The fact that Red Cross membership was a voluntary and personal decision made persuasive advertisements and statements such as the above all the more important, especially for the young who were deemed to be the future of the BRCS and the nation.[41]

Once a young person decided to commit to serving the Red Cross, after having learned the organization's history and principles (from *The Proudest Badge*) and passed the pre-enrollment exam, he or she underwent an official enrollment ceremony.[42] By 1963, throughout the BRCS the recommended enrollment ceremony included:

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[39] Viscount Woolton, "Foreword" in *The British Red Cross Society: Report for the Year 1952* (BRCS: London, 1952), p. 13. BRCS Archives RCC 29/29.

[40] Emphasis mine. Viscount Woolton, "Foreword" in *The British Red Cross Society: Report for the Year 1955* (BRCS: London, 1955), p. 15. BRCS Archives RCC 29/32. Woolton reiterates this need for more members and funding in the 1956 Annual Report, stating that the British public relies on the BRCS. He writes, "...but [the British public has] no right to rely on us unless they support us, and the support that [the BRCS] need[s] is both an increase in membership and in regular income." Viscount Woolton, "Foreword" in *The British Red Cross Society: Report for the Year 1956* (BRCS: London, 1956), p. 14. BRCS Archives RCC 29/33.

[41] BRCS, *Junior Red Cross – Organization and Activities Handbook*, 2nd edition (London: BRCS, 1963), p. 26. LORC Archives 00012919.

[42] BRCS, *Junior Red Cross – Organization and Activities Handbook*, 2nd edition (London: BRCS, 1963), p. 26, LORC Archives 00012919; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London: BRCS, 1962), p. 6. LORC Archives 00019560; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 5th ed. (London: BRCS, 1972), p. 13-14. LORC Archives 00019560.

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(a) Parade

(b) Inspection by Visiting Officer

(c) Enrolment of new Junior members... On enrolment each new Junior members must repeat the Junior Red Cross Promise, which should have been learnt by heart, to the Visiting Officer who will present him or her with a Membership Badge and Enrolment Certificate, saying 'You are now a Junior member of the British Red Cross Society.'

(d) Talk by Visiting Officer, especially addressed to the newly enrolled members.

(e) Display or demonstration by the group, if possible depicting their activities under the titles of the three Aims of the Junior Red Cross.

(f) Junior Red Cross Song sung by the whole group.

(g) National Anthem.[43]

Through this performed ritual, British Juniors were actively initiated into the BRCS family with their new identity and affiliation publically declared through the Junior Red Cross Promise: "I, ..., as a Junior Member of the British Red Cross Society, promise to serve God, Queen and Country, and to join with others, all over the world, to help the sick and suffering."[44] The emphasis on the national is significant in this declaration. While the values declared are those of the International Red Cross, it is membership to the *British* Red Cross Society that is reinforced, alongside service to God, the Queen and Great Britain. The recommended ending to the ceremony reinforces this – the singing of the national anthem, "God Save the Queen" – which was likely reinforced by the hoisting of the Union Jack at the beginning of the ceremony when possible.[45] As this demonstrates, the International Red Cross espoused liberal values but

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[43] Leaders would adapt this ceremony to their local circumstances. BRCS, *Junior Red Cross – Organization and Activities Handbook*, 2nd edition (London: BRCS, 1963), p. 30. LORC Archives 00012919.

[44] British Red Cross Society, "Junior Red Cross Promise," *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London: BRCS, 1962), p. 12. LORC Archives 00019560; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 5th ed. (London: BRCS, 1972), p. 14. LORC Archives 00019560. J.P. Hoffmann states that (religious) rituals communicate, educate, socialize, separate and create boundaries, create sacred spaces, establish identities (individual and group) and a sense of belonging, build relationships, produce social order and bonds, organize, generate or sustain power and so on. These elements of ritual are all contained within the BRCS Junior enrollment ceremony. John P. Hoffmann, "Introduction: Improving Our Understanding of Religious Ritual," in *Understanding Religious Ritual: Theoretical Approaches and Innovations*, ed. John P. Hoffmann (London: Routledge, 2012), 3.

[45] Each BRCS Branch was entitled to two "dedicated" flags – the Union Jack and the Red Cross flag. After their dedication, these flags were "entrusted" to Branch representatives by the Commandant-in-Chief (in 1963 this was the Princess Royal). Upon handing it over, she would say, "May those who bear them, those who follow them and those who behold them, ever be mindful of the high service of which they are a sign." Thus it was not only the Red Cross flag, but also the Union Jack, that were imbued with Red Cross symbolism and values. BRCS, *Junior Red Cross – Organization and Activities Handbook*, 2nd edition (London: BRCS, 1963), p. 51, LORC Archives 00012919.

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the BRCS, alongside many other National Societies, pursued these through a traditional, nationalist framework. In other words, the transnational human rights the Red Cross sought to protect and promote were bounded by national borders and politics. While many Juniors joined the BRCS for seemingly frivolous reasons, such as outdoor adventure or wanting to look attractive in a uniform, a primary outcome the leadership of the BRCS sought to foster amongst its Juniors was patriotism and civic responsibility.[46]

British Nationalism Amongst the BRCS Juniors: Queen Elizabeth's Coronation

The fact that Queen Elizabeth features in the Red Cross promise is not surprising. The Queen was the first patron of the British Juniors from 1949 to 1952, and patron of the entire BRCS from 1952 to the present.[47] The Queen was not the only member of the royal family involved with the British Juniors.[48] Princess Alexandra took over British Junior patronage in 1952 and was actively involved with it until 1983 through royal inspections, attendance at Red Cross events, writing entries for the *Junior Journal,* and occasionally donning the BRCS uniform. Also, from the time of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award's foundation in 1956, the BRCS provided the first aid training necessary to advance through the process and promote the award.[49] These royal ties run throughout the BRCS's history and Queen Elizabeth's Coronation in June 1953 provides telling insights into the BRCS's relationship with the monarchy, and the nation, in the 1950s and

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[46] Interview of Lindsay Bickers and Avis Davis by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 8 September 2012, Fetcham, United Kingdom.

[47] By 1937 Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret were also active in the Guiding movement, as a Guide and Brownie respectively. As a result, Guides from around the Empire were represented at her 1947 wedding and 1953 coronation. See Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*: 83, 129; ———, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*: 33.

[48] Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*: 67. And they were not the only royals associated with the BRCS. Throughout most of the 1950s and 1960s there were five royals on the BRCS Council. For example, in 1953 there were six members of the royal family represented on the council – the Queen (patron and president), the Queen Mother (vice-president), the Queen's uncle, Prince Henry (chairman of the council), the Queen's aunt, Princess Mary (commandant-in-chief and member of council), Prince Henry's wife, Lady Alice (member of council), and the Queen's cousin, Princess Alexandra (patron of the Junior Red Cross). British Red Cross Society, "Report for the Year 1950," (London, 1950), p. 2, BRCS Archives RCC 29/27; ---, "Report for the Year 1953," (London, 1953), p. 2, BRCS Archives RCC 29/30; ---, "Annual Report for the Year 1963," (London, 1963), p. 4, 41, BRCS Archives RCC 29/40; ---, "Annual Report for the Year 1970," (London, 1970), p. 5, BRCS Archives RCC 29/47.

[49] British Red Cross Society, "Report for the Year 1956," (London, 1956), p. 17. BRCS Archives RCC 29/33; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London: BRCS, 1962), p. 11. LORC Archives 00019560; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 5th ed. (London: BRCS, 1972), p. 12. LORC Archives 00019560.

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1960s.[50] For this event, the BRCS Executive Committee invited and hosted 33 youth between the ages of 11 and 19 from the Commonwealth and colonies to witness the event and visit the United Kingdom (and its various Red Cross branches) for one month.[51] In a March 1953 *Junior Journal* article Barbara Coke, the then Director of the British JRC, stated that these Junior representatives were invited "as an expression of loyalty and affection for our Patron and President, Her Majesty the Queen..." She then proceeded to ask British Juniors to donate money towards the expense of hosting these visitors. Coke reasoned that in assuming the financial responsibility for the visitors, the Juniors of the British Isles could also partake in this "splendid plan" and thus strengthen international Red Cross solidarity, foster respect for the British monarch abroad, and demonstrate gratitude for the support the overseas BRCS Detachments and the National Societies of the dominions had provided the BRCS during the Second World War.[52] The Coronation therefore represents a moment when the BRCS, through Juniors from Britain, the colonies, and the Commonwealth, manifested and represented the voluntary and international spirit of the International Red Cross at a unique traditional British political and cultural spectacle. At the Coronation the Red Cross Juniors themselves became an imperial presence at an imperial occasion.[53] It was because of their dedication to service in relation to Britain and its monarchy

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[50] While I argue that the BRCS was inherently nationalistic, Sarah Glassford demonstrates how, during the Second World War, the leadership of the Canadian Red Cross Juniors deliberately depoliticized their program in order to remain true to LORC's peacetime internationalist agenda. Glassford, "Practical Patriotism: How the Canadian Junior Red Cross and its Child Members Met the Challenge of the Second World War." Similarly Julia Irwin explores how the American Red Cross balanced the teaching of nationalism and internationalism within its Junior program from 1917 to the 1920s. Irwin, "Teaching "Americanism with a World Perspective": The Junior Red Cross in the U.S. Schools from 1917 to the 1920s."

[51] "Editorial," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 2. BRCS Archives RCC 30/120; "Coronation Visit," in "Report for the Year 1953" (BRCS, London, 1953), p. 62, BRCS Archives RCC 29/30; Dowler, "Young Coronation Visitors," 107-08. For photos of each of the overseas visitors and a summary of Junior Red Cross activities in their countries, as well as a brief statement of their reaction to the Coronation ceremony, see "Family Album," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 11-17, BRCS Archives RCC 30/120.

[52] Barbara Coke writes, "...we are suggesting a voluntary contribution of not more than 10/- from each Cadet Unit or Link." That said, the fact that this plea was only published in March 1953, mere months before the scheduled arrival of the visitors, demonstrates that the BRCS was able to sponsor the visiting Juniors, regardless of British Junior contributions. Barbara Coke, "Coronation Year..." *British Red Cross Junior Journal* 1953, 10. BRCS Archives RCC 30/119. According to the next edition of the *Junior Journal*, the appeal to British Juniors was "met with a most generous response..." "Family Album," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 11-17, BRCS Archives RCC 30/120.

[53] David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

that these overseas Juniors were invited to attend the Coronation and celebrate the Queen, and it was this same spirit that motivated the voluntary financial contributions of young Britons from the metropole to support this visit. The BRCS's national orientation and geopolitical reflection also secured the 33 overseas visitors privileged seats for the Coronation procession in Parliament Square, as well as a meeting with the Princess Royal (Princess Mary) two days prior to the Coronation at Barnett Hill, the BRCS's national training centre.[54]

Attendance at the Coronation was not enough of a show of loyalty – the young visitors also had to make a public declaration. On the evening of the 2nd of June, the voice of eleven year old Alice Jones, a black girl from Sierra Leone, paid tribute to the Queen over the BBC in the name of BRCS Juniors, all 118,435 of them: "Your Majesty. – The Red Cross have brought me from Sierra Leone to see your Coronation, and I have brought a message from the other children who are not able to come. They wish you all happiness and long may you live to reign over us."[55] The archive is silent on whether this message was drafted by Alice herself or by BRCS staff in London or Sierra Leone. It is also silent on Alice's understanding of the Coronation and her presence in London for the event, as well as her reasons for Red Cross membership. The archive does, however, reflect how overwhelming and tiring such a journey could be – Alice actually fell asleep during the procession and had to be woken up when the Queen rode by in her golden carriage.[56] Despite these gaps in the archival narrative, however, the BBC message and Coronation visits do demonstrate that the BRCS believed it was important for young people to witness, learn and represent. The BRCS invested time and resources in bringing these 33 young people from all over the world to London so that they could see the pageantry of the Coronation,

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[54] British Red Cross Society, "Editorial" in *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 2, BRCS Archives RCC30/120;---, "Coronation Visit," in "Report for the Year 1953" (BRCS, London, 1953), p. 62, BRCS Archives RCC 29/30; Dowler, "Young Coronation Visitors," 107-08. Princess Mary had been actively involved with the Voluntary Aid Detachments since the First World War and the BRCS specifically since the 1920s.

[55] While the exactitude of these figures is questionable because of poor reporting on behalf of the overseas detachments, in 1953 the BRCS accounted for a total of 118,435 Juniors, with 42,996 of these being overseas. "Report for the Year 1953" (BRCS, London, 1953), inside back cover, BRCS Archives RCC 29/30. For Alice Jones' tribute, see "Under Royal Patronage," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 18, BRCS Archives RCC 30/120. The likely reason that Sierra Leone sent an 11 year old to London was that the BRCS in Sierra Leone was only active in primary schools at the time. "Family Album," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 14, BRCS Archives RCC 30/120.

[56] The only personal insight that can be gleaned from the archive in terms of Alice Jones' response to the Coronation is this brief statement: "I am going to tell them all about the Coronation when I get home. I was very excited, even though I went to sleep part of the time, but they woke me up when the gold coach came." "Family Album," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 14, BRCS Archives RCC 30/120.

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as well as be seen in their own imperial and Red Cross glory, and have their British and Red Cross loyalties reinforced. In many ways the Coronation also provided a good advertising opportunity for "the exciting lives" that Juniors led, as it supported the Junior mandate of international friendship in a very concrete way – through travel.

Travel was an integral part of fulfilling the Junior mandate of international friendship, as it facilitated the meeting of young people from different cultures. But within the BRCS, such encounters could even go beyond friendship, at least amongst the Juniors of the British Commonwealth and colonies. Using the Coronation visit as a case in point, while the archives are silent on what kinds of bonds the young people actually formed with each other, how long these lasted, and their impact on the individuals' lives, it can be assumed that a month together in Britain would certainly have fostered some feelings of togetherness and perhaps even friendship. And it was precisely this idea that the *Junior Journal* promoted in describing their two week sojourn at Barnett Hill:

> Whilst at Barnett Hill... 12 Juniors from the Commonwealth National Societies, 21 from our own Overseas Branches, one from each Region of England and Wales, one from the Isle of Man and Northern Ireland, and two from Scotland. *What a great family party!* Never, from the first day, did it seem anything else. As the days wore on the *family ties tightened*, we had our own jokes about each other, *our own family language*. The differences of race, of creed, of habit, were never barriers but rather sources of interest and great friendliness...[57]

In contrast to this statement, or perhaps complementing it, are the captions of the candid photographs accompanying "Family Album," the *Junior Journal* article that profiles each of the overseas visitors. These captions refer to the visitors by their country rather than their personal name. For example, "Scotland jokes with Sierra Leone!" and "The Gold Coast has a quick chat with Wales." The only image that offers a name is the one where the Princess Royal greets Oluyomi Barber from Nigeria. These photographs, where individuals are wearing their national dress or Red Cross uniform, alongside their captions, highlight the importance of the national

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[57] Emphasis mine. "Editorial" *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 2, BRCS Archives RCC 30/120. The annual report of that year also uses the language of family: "The Junior members came from all over the world and were different in race, dress and creed, and yet during their time in Britain they became a closely-knit family who will remember each other and be remembered with great affection by all who come in contact with them." "Coronation Visit," in "Report for the Year 1953" (BRCS, London, 1953), p. 62, BRCS Archives RCC 29/30.

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representation that was inherent to the visit. But this national individuality is only important within the context of the unity of the Commonwealth and the imperial "family," as it was only members of the Commonwealth and empire who were invited. This idea of a togetherness that was created through a shared British past and present is captured in a photograph of the children crowded around a piano, singing "Scottish, Irish and Welsh songs in perfect English."[58] Not only do this image and caption convey a sense of British patriotism, friendship, and moral rectitude (harking back to ideas of Victorian domesticity), but they also transmit a sense of continuity and naturalness. This image echoes the rhetoric of the 1953 edition of *The Proudest Badge*, which states, "England, 'the Mother of Nations,' has many 'children' beyond the seas, and therefore the British Red Cross Society has a very large Red Cross family of Overseas Branches,"[59] a family that could gather around a piano to sing patriotic songs in English, a family that could come together to celebrate their Queen, a family that could withstand decolonization as the Commonwealth.

International Friendship and Service through the Exchange of Things

International friendship did not stop with the Commonwealth and empire; it also extended to Juniors of other National Societies, as well as to people in need, both young and old. From its inception in 1924, the BRCS supported international friendship initiatives in many different forms, with the resourcefulness and willingness to participate depending on one's Link.[60] A wealth of material produced or collected by Juniors was exchanged with Juniors overseas, just as Juniors themselves traveled overseas. These acts of exchange, both of objects and people, are clearly outlined in LORC's booklet, *JUNIORS AT WORK: Junior Red Cross activities throughout the world*. While the 29 page booklet is undated, it presumably stems from the 1950s as Junior sections around the world were seeking to strengthen their membership. LORC's JRC

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[58] "Family Album," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (July 1953), p. 12, BRCS Archives RCC 30/120

[59] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 37. BRCS Archives Acc 453/56.

[60] The Scouting and Guiding movements also supported international friendship initiatives, particularly following war. As historian Tammy Proctor put it, "In the post-World War I and post-World War II periods, Guiding felt an acute need to reach out and create national bonds in the wake of the psychological and actual destruction of war." (126-127). In other words, international friendship was to reinforce the bonds of peace. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*: 125-46. See also Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada and India."; ———, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s."; Proctor, "'A Separate Path': Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa."

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Bureau produced this document to record Junior activities in different parts of the world in order to assist National Societies in developing their own Junior Red Cross programs. The booklet's content, which consists of lists of activities divided up according to the three Junior mandates (protection of health and life, service, international friendship, and miscellaneous), originate from the responses of the 45 (out of 72) Junior Sections that replied to LORC's inquiry.[61]

The anonymous authors, likely based at LORC, divided the section on international friendship into two categories: the exchange of objects and the exchange of persons. The exchange of objects included making and despatching gift boxes and health kits, participating in JRC international album and art programs, exchanging letters, greeting cards, music recorded in schools, national Junior Red Cross magazines (such as the *Junior Journal*) and stamps, making and sending out dolls in national costume and other handicrafts, organising international school art exhibitions (displaying pieces from different National Societies), participating in LORC's JRC International Exhibitions, providing gifts for consignment abroad, and producing exhibit folders illustrating everyday life in school. The exchange of persons included organising and/or attending events at International Study Centres (such as at the BRCS's Barnett Hill), participating in exchange visits with other Juniors or au pair holiday exchanges, hosting overseas Juniors, and participating in teacher exchanges. Within the miscellaneous section there is also evidence of international friendship through activities such as the adoption of foreign children and schools, while fundraising, classified as a service, was surely also used to support international friendship initiatives.[62]

While the BRCS likely did not pursue all these activities with its Juniors, evidence of many of them is scattered throughout the BRCS archives. The *Junior Journal* provides the most accessible narratives of the international exploits of British Juniors, yet there are also more subtle, concrete traces to be found. There are dolls for example; the BRCS archive has one doll each from Japan, Swaziland, the Iberian Peninsula, Greece, the Federal Republic of Germany,

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[61] As India and Pakistan are listed as having replied to LORC's inquiry about Junior activities, the booklet was certainly produced after 1947. While the Dominions (Australia, Canada, and New Zealand) also responded to the inquiry, the fact that no other former colonies are mentioned (such as Ghana, Uganda, or Nigeria) as having responded to LORC's inquiry makes me conclude that this investigation into Junior activities occurred before the onset of decolonization in Africa in the late 1950s. That said, only 45 out of 72 National Junior Sections replied. LORC, *Juniors at Work* (Geneva, Switzerland: LORC, n.d.), p. 3-4. LORC Archives A1007.
[62] LORC, *Juniors at Work* (Geneva, Switzerland: LORC, n.d.), p. 20-21, 24-25, 29. LORC Archives A1007.

and even a Red Cross uniform-clad doll from Britain, specifically Oxfordshire.[63] All of these dolls, with the exception of Japan and Britain, are dressed in what can be construed as their national attire. The archives also contain a wooden bow and arrow set from British Guiana, a straw mat from St. Lucia, a set of delicate miniature, decorative shoes from Hungary, a small, carved wooden box from Rumania, and a wall plaque containing dried flowers from Australia, amongst other objects.[64] Who these items were intended for and for what purpose is unclear from the records (perhaps they were meant for an exhibition or were part of an exchange between Links?), but their existence in the archives does provide lingering echoes of what could have been an active exchange of objects between British Juniors and the Juniors of the colonies, dominions, and other countries. Within the context of the Red Cross, these objects moved beyond being toys or decorative items, being transformed instead into tokens of international friendship meant to facilitate intercultural understanding and demonstrate national pride.[65] In sharing the world through objects, often toys, the children and youth of the Red Cross were intended to learn about each other and have their common humanity reinforced through the exchange of gifts.[66]

Yet not all things exchanged were meant as token gifts or objects to be exhibited. Many items sent abroad were intended for the use of people, both young and old, in need. Thus international friendship also came to be underscored by service, by assisting far-off strangers whom the BRCS defined as disadvantaged. The best example of this was Lady Angela

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[63] Sadly there is no additional information about these dolls available in the BRCS Archives. Japan, BRCS Archives Acc 783/5; Swaziland, BRCS Archives Acc 783/6; Iberian Peninsula, BRCS Archives Acc 783/10; Greece, BRCS Archives, 783/20; Federal Republic of Germany, BRCS Archives 783/21; and Britain, BRCS Archives Acc 1907/1.

[64] Again, additional information for these items is missing from the archival records. Bow and arrow set, BRCS Archives, Acc 783/7; place-mat from St. Lucia, BRCS Archives, Acc 783/2; Hungarian decorative shoes, BRCS Archives, Acc 783/16, wooden box from Rumania, BRCS Archives, Acc 783/15; and Australian wall plaque, BRCS Archives, Acc 783/19.

[65] For more on material culture and how objects can take on multiple meanings through exchanges and transactions, see Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[66] Eliza Riedi discusses similar exchange networks amongst children and youth within the British Empire in the early 1900s. Through her analysis of the Victoria League, which facilitated these exchanges, she argues that such programs served as a form of imperial promotion. While it is not entirely clear what different forms the exchanges took, Riedi does state that "letters, postcards, flags, and pressed flowers or the seeds of local plants were exchanged," and that this exchange scheme was "intended to broaden the children's horizons, to illuminate for them the history and geography of the empire, and to create personal links which, as the children grew older, might develop into a political leaning towards the preservation of imperial ties." Eliza Riedi, "Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League, 1901-1914," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002): 589.

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Limerick's Festival of Britain Appeal "for children, by children, to children" on May 1, 1951.[67] This was the BRCS's first nationwide appeal, as the appeal went beyond the BRCS Juniors to address the entire nation on this suitably national occasion. During a recent tour of the African Overseas Branches as the BRCS vice-chairperson, Limerick had observed that leper and disabled children were in dire straits because they were confined to bed without any stimulation or outlet for their minds. In a letter addressed to all the headmasters and mistresses of Britain, Limerick remarked,

> Those who are bedridden lie day in and day out staring at the ceiling – they have no books, no toys, no occupation. I have seen their faces light up when lent a pencil and given a scrap of paper. Those who have been fortunate enough to be provided with a little wool and a pair of knitting needles have turned out beautiful work, even when they are lying almost immovable in a plaster jacket as the result of [tuberculosis].
>
> Their lot could be made so much easier if each of our children at home would send something to meet their needs...[68]

The aim of this appeal was to persuade teachers to motivate their students to collect books, toys, craft materials and clothing for sick children in the colonies, items which the BRCS would distribute. The BRCS framed this as a "gesture of friendship," one made even more significant through its correlation with the Festival of Britain. The June 1951 *Junior Journal* encouraged Juniors to take leadership in this initiative, asking them to speak in their schools about the appeal. It also tried to evoke sympathy by emphasizing the common humanity of the British children with those in the colonies, while simultaneously using emotion-triggering imagery to motivate Juniors to participate: "Try to imagine what it must be like for a child to lie day in and day out looking at the ceiling with nothing to do..." If this was not enough, to the Juniors the *Journal* also emphasized that they would be helping the Red Cross as a whole, as the success of the appeal would "help our many Overseas Branches to extend their work, because we shall be

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[67] For more on Limerick's lifelong involvement with the International Red Cross, see Lindsay, *A Form of Gratitude: The Life of Angela Limerick*.

[68] Angela Limerick, as quoted in "An appeal to children, for children, by children," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (June 1953), p. 3, BRCS Archives, RCC 20/112.

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giving them the tools with which to do the job."[69] For those Juniors that truly believed in the work of the Red Cross and its values, this would indeed be a wonderful thing.

A little over a year later, by the time the September 1952 edition of the *Journal* went to press, over 1,610 schools in Britain and Northern Ireland had responded to the appeal, having sent 4,240 parcels and £820 in donations to the BRCS. Among the items sent overseas were dolls, stuffed animals, books, tricycles, and handicraft material, as well as at least one doll's house and pram.[70] The impact of this appeal was educational as well as material, although there is no evidence that the BRCS sent out informational material alongside Limerick's initial letter. In response to the appeal, a group of children in Kirk Muirhill, for instance, stated, "We now realise how lucky we are. When we are knitting or playing we never think of the children who cannot do these things." While it is unclear as to whether this statement was written by the children or their supervisor, it does reinforce that the children's sympathy was evoked. Another child, this one from East Kilbride, wrote, "I am giving you these toys because you cannot play in the sun. I am giving you a duck and a boat and a clown. My wee sister sent a carpet sweeper. I wish you a speedy recovery to be out playing in the sun again."[71] This statement shows the good intention of the child, but may also highlight the lack of proper pedagogical backing of the appeal, as some of these toys were sent to children with chronic illnesses from which they would not recover. While international friendship was thus demonstrated through this act of sending gifts overseas, international understanding, apart from charitable sympathy, was not necessarily part of the equation. That said, the instruction accompanying the appeal would have varied according to each teacher, thus making the appeal's pedagogical value classroom and teacher specific.

According to the *Junior Journal*, the gifts were well received, as was demonstrated by the letters it published. One anonymous letter referring to gifts distributed at the Gold Coast Hospital in Accra made this clear: "The children were very pleased with these presents, and the majority

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[69] "An appeal to children, for children, by children," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (June 1953), p. 3, BRCS Archives, RCC 20/112. See also British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 49-50.
[70] "4,000 Parcels and £800..." *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (September 1952), p. 14-15, BRCS Archives RCC 30/117. See also "Editorial," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (March 1952), p.2, BRCS Archives RCC 30/115; "The British Junior Red Cross - Junior Red Cross Appeal for Children" British Red Cross Society, "Report for the Year 1951," (London, 1951), p. 53. BRCS Archives Acc 69/7.
[71] "4,000 Parcels and £800..." *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (September 1952), p.15, BRCS Archives RCC 30/117.

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of them who can speak, told me that they wished to be readmitted to the hospital at the same month and day next year." But there was also an underlying political note in all these charitable activities focused on innocent children. In Swaziland, for example, the initiative reinforced the selflessness of British children, particularly because of the postwar rationing and austerity they were still experiencing: "The toys sent from the Juniors in Britain to the lepers and physically handicapped children have caused a great stir throughout Swaziland. The people are very touched by this thought, coming as it does from children who have had to put up with a great deal of hardship and upheaval themselves."[72] The appeal and distribution of gifts thus served as a propaganda tool, reaffirming the benevolence of empire, and perhaps even its selflessness, at a time when Britain was being forced to readjust its place in the world. This link between the benevolent colonial government and BRCS initiatives is clearest in Hong Kong, where the 13 cases of toys, books and stationary received were distributed in consultation with the Social Welfare Department of the Hong Kong Government.[73]

The 1951 Festival of Britain Appeal was an anomaly in terms of its reach, both in terms of donors and beneficiaries.[74] Most BRCS appeals solely targeted its Juniors (not all British youngsters) through its leadership networks, and causes advertised in the *Junior Journal*. It was then up to the Juniors to spread the word through their fundraising appeals. One interesting example of successful Junior fundraising for "important" overseas work can be found within the BRCS archival photograph collection (see Image 2.3). It houses a photograph depicting two primary school-aged boys in uniform, proudly displaying their BRCS Junior badges on their left arms, packaging up three black life-sized dolls in straw-filled cardboard boxes. The background story: in 1969 Leicestershire Juniors raised funds through a sponsored walk to send one doll each to the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Tonga and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands for mothercraft training,

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[72] Rationing did not end in Britain until 1954. "4,000 Parcels and £800…" *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (September 1952), p.15, BRCS Archives RCC 30/117.
[73] "Hong Kong Branch – British Red Cross Society, Annual Report – 1951" (Hong Kong, 1951), p. 4, BRCS Archives, RCB 28/1.
[74] The Festival of Britain Appeal even warranted being mentioned in the 1953 edition of *The Proudest Badge*. British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross:* 49-50.

Image 2.3: Two BRCS Juniors helping pack "teaching dolls" destined for the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Tonga and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Through a sponsored walk, Juniors in Leicestershire raised money for these dolls in 1969. Source: BRCS Archives, Acc 2962.

fulfilling a "special request."[75] In extending their hand in international friendship, these children practiced service by enabling mothers in far-off places to practice better motherhood through their pedagogically-oriented gift. At least this, if only in part, is what I believe motivated them.

There are countless other examples of Juniors sending useful items overseas. For example, in December 1953 and March 1954 Juniors were asked to send medical parcels, including sheets, dressing gowns, slippers and toys, amongst other things, to an under-funded Children's Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Korea that was taking in refugees from the Korean War (1950-1953). The December 1953 *Junior Journal* article published an excerpt from a letter by Sister Ella Jorden, a British Red Cross-trained nurse in Korea, who sought to engage the BRCS

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[75] The note on the back of the photograph does not state who made the request. Photograph (1970), BRCS Archives, Acc 2962.

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Junior network. She wrote, "At the children's [Tuberculosis] Sanitorium at Inchon things are very grim – 48 children in the wards, not enough mattresses, no warm clothing for the winter. I am wondering if Junior Links or the Cadets and others at home would be interested in the children and send them something."[76] If the emotions induced by this plea, alongside the accompanying picture of a sickly and destitute Korean child, did not move the Juniors, then perhaps the admonishment in the March 1954 issue would: "DON'T JUST TURN OVER THIS PAGE AND FORGET ABOUT THEM. THIS IS URGENT! *PLEASE* WILL YOU HELP?" Guilt, compassion, shock, anger, sadness – all of these emotions, coupled with a belief in the importance of health and service, were thought to motivate BRCS Juniors to help. And help they did. By the time the March 1954 issue went to press, 1,053 parcels had already been sent to Korea.[77]

Ten years later, in 1963, BRCS Juniors were still actively sending assistance overseas. When a hurricane hit Tobago in September of that year, "[t]wo thousand Disaster Relief Kits from the Juniors in the United Kingdom were amongst the first of the relief gifts to arrive in the stricken area..."[78] This was not the first time such kits were sent out to assist people impacted by natural disasters. Starting in 1959, with the destruction Hurricane Alix wreaked on Mauritius serving as an impetus, the assembling of disaster relief kits became a common Junior activity.[79] By 1963, these little white bags were commonplace, as confirmed by the December *Junior Journal* of that year: "...it does not matter where the disaster takes place. If children are amongst the victims, then Disaster Relief Kits, forming a special sort of relief work for children, are now expected to take their place with the emergency supplies which are despatched by the Red Cross."[80] According to headquarter specifications, the kits contained a wash flannel, soap, toothbrush, comb, hair ribbon, notebook, unbreakable toy, and so on, all stowed in a white, authorised calico draw-string bag with a Red Cross badge sewn onto it that read, "GIFT OF THE

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[76] "'Not even the basic needs'!" *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (December 1953), p.5, BRCS Archives RCC 30/122.
[77] "Urgent," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (March 1954), p. 11, BRCS Archives RCC 30/123.
[78] "Tobago Disaster," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (December 1963), p. 5, BRCS Archives RCC 30/162.
[79] A Little White Bag," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Summer 1960), p. 11, BRCS Archives RCC 30/149.
[80] "Tobago Disaster," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (December 1963), p. 5, BRCS Archives RCC 30/162.

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BRITISH JUNIOR RED CROSS."[81] These kits were meant for children, as the educational material and toy attest, and were intended to provide some comfort, joy even, and assistance in the affected child's time of need. This image was clearly conjured for British Juniors through the *Junior Journal* in its description of a child hurricane victim in Mauritius in 1960: "Some small, bewildered child was soon exploring the contents of her white bag with the red cross on it. The joy when he or she found the toy can be imagined, and even a highly coloured face-flannel is very welcome when everything has suddenly been blown away by a cyclone."[82]

The BRCS encouraged its Juniors to produce disaster relief kits as these could be stored and dispatched upon demand. This enabled the BRCS to not only react quickly to emergency situations, but also brought prestige to both the organization and the nation because of the label on each kit proclaiming it as a gift of the BRCS Juniors. The British Juniors, on the other hand, were made to feel like they were making a difference, that they were helping victims of natural disaster and war, that they were connected with distant lands and their terrible realities, that they were making an impact on the world through service. And all this was done from the comfort of their hometowns, as these kits were usually assembled in a cheerful, social environment by groups of Juniors.[83] Sometimes assembling these kits was even framed as an act of celebration by Link leaders, as was the case of the Links in Banff, Scotland the year of the centenary, 1963.[84] While producing the kits was made into a fun activity, it was through hearing stories of success, such as the one above about the child and its white bag of joy, which made British Juniors feel

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[81] Complete list of contents: 1 cake of soap, 1 toothbrush in a plastic tube holder, 1 wash flannel, 1 face towel, 1 comb, 1 unbreakable polythene mug, 1 plastic spoon, 2 men's size handkerchiefs, hair ribbon, rustless safety pins, small ball of string, 1 sharpened pencil, 1 notebook, 1 ball, 1 unbreakable toy. Authorized disaster relief bag with "Junior Red Cross Disaster Relief Kits Information Sheet" (n.d.), BRCS Archives, 1828/15. While the information sheet detailing the contents of the Disaster Relief Kits could stem from between the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, the content information it provides is corroborated by other, earlier sources. For example, see International Friendship Album, Knowle Link No. 5300, (c.1963), BRCS Archives Acc 2469/2. The contents of these relief kits are very similar to the boxes the American Junior Red Cross sent to BRCS Juniors after the Second World War. See American Friendship Box (n.d., c.1940s), BRCS Archives, 1909/1. See also American Junior Red Cross, "Gift Box Program" Information Sheet (1949), LORC Archives, 00019713.
[82] "A Little White Bag," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Summer 1960), p. 11-12, BRCS Archives RCC 30/149.
[83] For photographs highlighting the social aspect of disaster relief kits (albeit from the early 1970s), see: Photograph – "British Junior Red Cross Members Packing Disaster Relief Kits for Pakistani Refugees in India (29 September 1971), BRCS Archives, Ac 2962; Photograph - "Hampshire Branch Cadets pictured with 120 Disaster Relief Kits..." (23 May 1973), BRCS Archives, Ac 2962.
[84] "To celebrate the Centenary Year, [Banff] Links plan to do every thing [sic] by 100 and have started on 100 nappies, Disaster Relief Kits and knitted squares from each Link, as well as collecting 3d. pieces by the hundred." "Scottish News," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Summer 1963), p. 16. BRCS Archives, Rcc 30/160.

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like they had a personal impact on the lives of disaster victims. Yet what is interesting here is that the disaster kits were sent to unknown child victims abroad, and did not contain personalized messages from the British Juniors. Ultimately this person-to-person assistance was anonymous, thus raising the question of what international friendship actually meant. Through the Red Cross, it meant helping anyone, even strangers. And it was the Red Cross that would more often than not thank the Juniors for their assistance, not the person who had been helped.

The fact that it was the BRCS that did the thanking was especially useful when the gifts did not reach their intended recipients. The knitting of blankets for refugees and disaster victims, for example, was a very common activity of Juniors in the 1950s and 1960s.[85] In the words of one anonymous British youth from Knowle in 1963, knitting was important because "[t]hese woolly blankets are sent across the seas to the poor dark coloured refugees and they roll up in them to keep warm... We in the Red Cross also knit tiny colourful vests for the tiny dark children who run around without anything on and are cold and hungry."[86] In this concerned individual's imagination, the overseas stranger was dark, cold, and hungry and in need of assistance, assistance that considerate Juniors could provide. The warm-hearted spirit behind knitting could even make the malnourished feel better, as a picture in the autumn 1963 *Junior Journal* attests. The image depicts six babies at the Dagoretti Children's Centre in Kenya and the caption reads, "These children... are suffering varying degrees of malnutrition; but they are warmly clad in jumpers knitted by Red Cross Juniors in the United Kingdom."[87] Knitting was so common, in fact, that in September 1970 the Stores and Supply Department of the BRCS asked the Overseas Development Department to find an outlet for knitted products, as there were no disaster situations that required their immediate dispatch.[88] As a result, a total of 1,750 blankets were sent to the Red Cross Societies in Fiji (250), Hong Kong (1,000) and Mauritius (500).[89] To what end

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[85] See, for example, "Operation Blanket!" *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Summer 1960), p. 6, BRCS Archives RCC 30/149. Also, see Photograph – "Girls of Cadet Unit 5927, Berkshire Branch, challenged the boys in the Unit to knit a blanket..." (February 1972), BRCS Archives, Ac 2962.

[86] Friendship Album (Knowle, Britain, n.d., c.1963), BRCS Archives, Acc 1792/7.

[87] This example highlights the typical discrepancy within development work of how a donation does not always address the need. "Short Term Service Overseas," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1963), p. 7, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/161.

[88] Letter from M.E. Nares (Director of BRCS Overseas Development Department) to F. K. Li (Director of Hong Kong Red Cross), 11 September 1970, BRCS Archives, 793.

[89] Memorandum from Junior Red Cross Assistant Director to Wing Commandor Stevenson through M.E. Nares (17 September 1970), BRCS Archive, 793.

these blankets were used is not discussed in the correspondence, but disappointment can be imagined among at least some of the Juniors that their carefully knitted blankets may not have served a heroic purpose in a disaster situation.

The juxtaposition of examples of international exchange and international assistance above provides a striking reminder of the power relations inherent to the work of humanitarian organizations. While the BRCS appealed to its Juniors to help child-victims of disaster situations based on their shared status as children and common humanity, these children remained inherently *different* from the children and youth of the Junior Red Cross. They required assistance. Real friendship, as defined by the Red Cross, appeared to require the shared values that only Red Cross members could have, could embody. In light of this, BRCS Juniors were bound to children in foreign lands in two ways – through international service and/or friendship. One did not have to exclude the other, but when disaster struck in Britain, the colonies or elsewhere, it was usually not Red Cross victims that were discussed. Rather, the stories these disasters evoked were those of anonymous and universalized victims assisted by the selfless efforts of universalised Red Cross workers and volunteers, including Juniors.[90] And it was these young do-gooders, not the victims, who were part of the "chain of friendship that binds together all the Juniors of the world." Should the BRCS be criticized for fostering this duality of knowing and interacting with people within its international work? Given the large scope of its work, perhaps not, as fostering personal links between thousands of individuals is logistically impossible and unrealistic. As described below, by the 1960s the BRCS did initiate an international volunteering program. This program provided a limited number of BRCS Juniors with personal experiences with both overseas Juniors and those in need of assistance (refugees, orphans, children with disabilities, and so on), thus complicating this dichotomy of international friendships.

By the mid-1970s, this flurry of international relief provision through toy and clothing drives and gift exchanges was to be halted. At the 1975 European JRC Directors' Meeting in Spain, a BRCS representative highlighted the importance of exchange to the British JRC

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[90] Some, such as Seth Koven, have argued that victims of disaster or poverty, especially children, tend to be commodified by humanitarian organizations, particularly in their advertisements. It seems that the BRCS, at least through their Junior program, has been able to avoid this extreme, even if it did essentialize victimhood. Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*: 88-139.

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program, emphasizing the contributions British Juniors had made to international relief and the development of new Red Cross Societies, since 1924, through knitting blankets, assembling Disaster Relief Kits for children, and providing other useful material. The speaker went on to say, however, that due to dramatically increased freight costs (likely due to the 1973 OPEC crisis) and the greater availability of goods throughout the world, the BRCS was refocusing its relief policy on fundraising in order to buy relief supplies within the affected countries. Because of this, the speaker expressed concern over how this would impact BRCS Juniors, as the impersonal nature of fundraising "could possibly be considered by them to be a poor substitute for providing gifts in kind..."[91] To make fundraising exciting, and to maintain Junior involvement in emergency relief and development, the BRCS thus proposed a course on International Friendship and Understanding which would promote the role of the International Red Cross in world problems, the study of foreign countries, and the fundraising for specific programs, such as hearing aids in Antigua or kitchen utensils in Montserrat. The international friendship exchange aspect, in terms of small gifts and correspondence, was to be maintained, as this did not involve large quantities of material shipped abroad.

International Friendship Albums

But back to the 1950s and 1960s – with all this avid knitting and disaster relief kit assembling going on in Britain, alongside domestic tasks of first aid and service, it may come as a surprise that the most central aspect of the international friendship program has not yet been mentioned – international friendship albums. For those who could not travel this was the most common method for building international friendship and understanding, as mandated by LORC. This activity even had its own BRCS brochure, pleading with Juniors, "HELP TO BUILD International Understanding THROUGH International Correspondence." The brochure goes on to explain,

> There are over forty million members of the Junior Red Cross in sixty National Red Cross Societies, belonging to all races, colours and creeds, who are bound together in friendship and understanding by their common idea of service to others... Through the exchange of albums between groups of Juniors in different

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[91] BRCS, "A New Look at the Third Aim: International Friendship and Understanding," (Speech given by a BRCS representative at the 1975 European Directors' Meeting in Spain), p. 1, LORC Archives, 00019713.

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Societies children learn to appreciate ways of life in other lands and to share common interests and understand mutual problems. Every album that passes in this way from one country to another forges a new link in the chain of friendship that binds together all the Juniors of the world.[92]

The common humanity of the Red Cross Juniors is stressed here, as the brochure emphasizes the sharing of "common interests" and "mutual problems." While the children one was corresponding with lived in other countries and cultural contexts, they were essentially the same because the Red Cross bound them together in a self-evident natural friendship based on shared values. Just as group membership allowed the friendship, it also defined the friendship. The brochure clearly states that "[t]he correspondence is essentially a collective one, from group to group, and not from individual to individual... every communication should be addressed to the group as a whole," demonstrating the communication to be an institutionally prescribed activity with limited room for individuality. Yet despite the album being a group endeavor, the writers of the brochure also admonished Juniors that "[i]t is essential that an album should be personal and original," including drawings and paintings of the Juniors' own design.

The brochure then proceeded to provide a detailed description of how this international correspondence should occur, how these albums were to be constructed. According to the brochure, each album was to contain a letter of introduction, a contents list, an outline of JRC activities (to establish common ground), an introduction to home, school, and town, a description of the country's culture, history, flora and fauna, industries (agricultural and other), traditions and customs, a sample of the Juniors' handiwork (to break the monotony of too much text), and finally, a list of questions. The authors of the brochure placed much emphasis on high standards of presentation, likely to help facilitate the program, since no one wanted to receive and respond to an ugly, careless album. Samples of the ideal album are depicted in the brochure, highlighting how "loving care has been lavished on them and they are a joy to look at." The brochure is surprisingly frank about the necessity of standards – "[i]f there is no talent among members of the group, then postcards and magazine cuttings must be made to serve..."[93]

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[92] BRCS, "International Understanding builds International Friendship..." Brochure. (BRCS: London, n.d., early 1950s?). BRCS Archives 2185/9.
[93] BRCS, "International Understanding builds International Friendship..." Brochure). (BRCS: London, n.d. early 1950s?). BRCS Archives 2185/9.

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Junior Links wishing to participate in the album exchange were asked to contact their Red Cross Branch Headquarters and notify them of two or three countries they would like to do the exchange with. The Branch Headquarters then contacted the London Headquarters to make the necessary arrangements and provide a pairing. Such an initiative, in an age when international travel and television were less common than now, would have been exciting for children and youth alike, especially when the received album was indeed made with care. These albums allowed armchair travel, as Juniors in far-off lands shared something of themselves and their countries through drawings (in the forms of art, maps, and calligraphy), magazine clippings, postcards, travel brochures, written text (including poetry and folklore), crafts (embroidery, bead-work and origami), activities (instructions for games and riddles), pressed plants, and collections of stamps and coins. Images dominate most of these albums, likely because cutting and gluing was an age-appropriate task for younger participants, they presented an easy medium for cultural representation, they bypassed the communication challenges posed by the many languages represented in the International Red Cross, and they enhanced the albums' overall aesthetic appeal.

Once an album was received, or a new exchange envisioned, it was likely with pride, both personal and patriotic, that many Junior Links in Britain made their own, highlighting their own Red Cross work, as well as the history and traditions of Britain, by taping and pasting carefully chosen images, texts, and objects into photo albums. They would have likely created these albums in a classroom setting, among their peers and in collaboration with them, making the creation of their Link's album equally as important as the receiving and viewing of others.[94] Another BRCS brochure on international correspondence forcefully emphasizes just how much fun making these albums really could (and should!) be:

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[94] In her work on nineteenth-century scrapbooking in the United States, Ellen Gruber Garvey discusses how the act of scrapbooking was "imagined as an occasion for domestic sociability..." These scrapbooks were then used as a type of encyclopedia, "consulted by all when in need of poetry or information about foreign lands." Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Scissorizing and Scrapbooks: Nineteenth Century Reading, Remaking, and Recirculating," in *New Media, 1740-1915*, ed. Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree (Cambridge, Massachuesetts: The MIT Press, 2003), 219-20. For a brief description of friendship albums in nineteenth-century New England, see Catherine E. Kelly, *In the New England Fasion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 77-81.

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AND how you will enjoy preparing this album! You can all go out for a picnic and study birds, and pick flowers for pressing. You can bicycle over and visit the Wishing Well or old Norman Church a few miles away, and find out its history, and perhaps draw a picture of it. DON'T just write a catalogue of events; one letter from each member of the group describing their own appearance would be very dull[...] there is a huge amount of things you could tell them about... so many things they could not possibly all go into one album, and you must keep on making them.[95]

Friendship albums were not new to the twentieth century, just as they were not a Red Cross invention. According to historian and education specialist Todd S. Gernes, such albums likely originate from sixteenth-century Germany, gaining popularity in the nineteenth century as technological changes, specifically the availability of cheap print and photographic material, facilitated "the compiler's act of preservation" and sharing.[96] The Red Cross group approach to the creation of these albums is also not historically unique, as friendship albums served to reinforce relationships and shared memories. As literary scholar Karen J. Sanchez-Eppler put it, friendship albums are "[b]lank books in which many different hands inscribe single pages as a token of remembrance[...] captur[ing] a particular community, recording affectionate ties and the structure of relationships."[97] Yet what does differentiate the Red Cross albums from those described by Sanchez-Eppler and Gernes is the anonymity of the pages. Friendship albums are usually personalized, including identifiers (such as signatures and addresses) to signify the personal relationship between the creator of the page and the owner of the album, thus reinforcing their relationship.[98] In the case of the Red Cross, the albums were presented to one group by another, with identifying photographs or the names of individual Link members rarely included (see Table 2.1). The relationship was thus expressed through the exchange itself, not necessarily the album's content. However, this does not imply that the album's contents were meaningless. Because of the care that went into constructing such albums, Sanchez-Eppler argues that they need to be examined carefully, as the albums are powerful sources of cultural

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[95] BRCS, "International Correspondence." Brochure. (BRCS: London, n.d.). LORC Archives, 00019713.

[96] Todd S. Gernes, "Recasting the Culture of Ephemera," in *Popular Literacy: Studies in Cultural Practices and Poetics*, ed. John Trimbur (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 120-21.

[97] Sanchez-Eppler's work showcases an American friendship album made in 1824 by students at the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, USA, with particular input from one Chinese student, Wu Lan. Karen J. Sanchez-Eppler, "Copying and Conversion: A Connecticut Friendship Album from 'a Chinese Youth'," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2007): 301.

[98] Gernes, "Recasting the Culture of Ephemera," 121.

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production and reproduction, telling researchers much about the environment they were produced in. This corroborates Gernes' findings, as he argues that friendship albums and scrapbooks should be used to study cultural practice and production. As the creation of these albums includes both acts of cognition and communion, acts of personal reflection and choice of representation, they are important mediums of socio-cultural expression rather than the cluttered, chaotic, illegible assemblage of images and objects they may initially appear to be.[99]

The BRCS archives contains several friendship albums, including one each from the German Federal Republic (Bavaria), Hungary, Indonesia, Korea, Peru and the Solomon Islands, six from Japan, and two from Great Britain.[100] Yet their analysis proves tricky, as they provide a spotty record at best of International Red Cross activities and the children (and adults) behind making them, their origins and contents thus contributing equally to the researcher's fascination and frustration. Not only do these 14 albums originate from disparate regions of the globe (and are written in six languages),[101] but they were also produced within a 30 year timeframe (mid-1940s to the late-1970s), with several of them undated, by children of various ages (representing both primary and secondary schools).

In light of this, what do these JRC albums of international friendship tell us? Perhaps that there was indeed little artistic talent among the practical health and service-oriented Juniors of the Red Cross, as the albums are dominated by photographs, postcards, brochures and magazine cuttings. Or, due to their numbers in the BRCS archive, that Japanese albums were particularly

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[99] Ibid., 126-27, passim.

[100] Through personal correspondence, I have confirmed that the archives of the French, German and Japanese Red Cross do not possess any international friendship albums. The Australian Red Cross Archives has some, but which ones were not specified, and the Canadian Red Cross has at least one. The following are the access codes of the BRCS Archives for the albums: Friendship Album – Bayerisches Rote Kreutz (Aschaffenburg, Federal Republic of Germany, 1978), Acc 411/13; Friendship Album – Hungarian Red Cross (Budapest, Hungary, 1946), Acc 2226/1; Album (may not be friendship album) – Indonesian Red Cross (n.d., late 1970s?), Acc 982 (11)/3/2; Friendship Album – Korean Red Cross (Pusan [Busan], Korea, 1966), Acc 2963; Friendship Album – Crux Roja Juvenil Peruana (Lima, Peru, 1956), Acc 0397; Friendship Album – British Solomon Islands (Siota [?], British Solomon Islands, n.d. c.1971), Acc 982 (11)/2/29; Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (Fukushima City, Japan, 1978), Acc 411/3; Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (Yama-gun, Japan, 1961), Acc 1586/2/3; Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (n.d., mid to late 1960s?), Acc 1586/2/4; Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (Ota City, Japan, n.d., c.1970), Acc 1586/2/5; Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (Amori City, Japan, n.d. c.1960), Acc 2469/1; Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (Yokohama, Japan, 1962), Acc 2963; Friendship Album – British Red Cross (n.d., mid to late 1970s?); Friendship Album (Knowle, Britain, n.d., c.1963), Acc 1792/7.

[101] These languages are English, Hungarian, Japanese and Spanish. The German Friendship Album also contained German and French, but these were part of a brochure which also included an English translation.

sought after by young Britons, or that Japanese Juniors were exceptionally industrious (the Japanese albums included the most original art). Yet these would be superficial observations. Once having arrived at the London headquarters, these albums would have been dispatched to Links throughout the country, thus being lost to the central archives. The presence of these 14 albums in the BRCS archives is, in fact puzzling – why are these ones there and not others?

The fact that these albums were created according to specific instructions from LORC, the facilitator of the program, also negates the researcher's ability to find the elusive child's voice within this carefully constructed communication medium. Yet while the instructions and the way they were carried out highlight a certain uniformity within the JRC throughout the world, the difference in the albums is also striking. As Table 2.1 demonstrates, none of the

	Germany (1978)	Hungary (1946)	Indonesia (c.1975)	Japan (1978)	Japan (1961)	Japan (c.1965)	Japan (c.1970s)	Japan (c.1960)	Japan (1962)	Korea (1966)	Solomon Islands (c.1971)	Peru (1956)	UK (c.1975)	UK (c.1963)
Red Cross material (images, written description, pledge, etc.)	X	X	X		X (pledge only)	X (pledge only)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National history/ culture	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Names of students							X		X		X	X		
Photographs[102]	X	X	X	X			X	X	X			X	X	
Information about students' school						X	X	X	X		X	X		
Art made by students		X			X		X				X			
Fashion	X				X		X	X				X	X	
Flora and fauna	X			X	X		X	X	X		X (includes dried specimens)	X	X	
Food	X						X	X						
Postal stamps	X (includes coins)					X	X (include coins)	X	X	X		X	X	

Table 2. 1: Junior Red Cross International Friendship Albums (mid-1940s to late-1970s) – some elements of their content. Source: Marie-Luise Ermisch.

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[102] These are general photographs, with Red Cross students not necessarily identified.

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albums were identical, even if they were similar. The 1956 Peruvian album, for example, is literally bursting with information about Peru, including comic cut outs of its historic heroes (see Image 2.4), making the 1946 Hungarian album seem very reserved in comparison, as it only displays photographs of Red Cross activities in a very orderly manner. The unfinished c.1963 album from the Knowle Link in Britain is strikingly didactic in its detailed, handwritten discussions of Red Cross activities (first aid, home nursing, health and hygiene, knitting, blood donation, and so on, see Image 2.5). It also has three dramatic pages dedicated to fire safety, including a newspaper clipping about a 12 year old local hero (whether he is a Red Cross Junior is not specified) who "saved his younger brother and two baby sisters from death in their burning home..." [103] This reiteration of fire safety demonstrates that home fires were a real concern for Juniors in Knowle at that time. The British album stemming from the late 1970s, true to the BRCS's patriotic positioning and, perhaps in honour of its patronage, starts its album with a photograph of Queen Elizabeth (and one of her corgis). This is followed by a two-page spread depicting the extended royal family (including 21 family members), which is subsequently succeeded by yet more royalty by way of a page picturing the Queen busy at work beside another image of her with her husband and children (and yet another corgi). This focus on royalty as a way of introducing the album, when compared to the complete lack of royalty within the Knowle Link album, raises questions about the socio-economic background of the unknown children behind the production of these albums. It should be noted that the Queen and her family are not the only royals depicted in these albums – the Japanese Crown Prince also makes an appearance in the c.1960 Japanese album from Amori City.

The dominant theme in most of these 14 albums was the positive portrayal of the Juniors' home country, not their Red Cross activities. Two of the albums do not contain any reference to the Red Cross at all, whereas another two only make a token gesture towards it by citing the Japanese Junior Red Cross motto.[104] In total, five of the albums emphasize national culture,

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[103] News Chronicle Reporter "Mike Saves Babies from Burning." Article is pasted in Friendship Album (Knowle, Britain, n.d. c.1963), Acc 1792/7.

[104] "I, as a member of the Junior Red Cross, pledge to try my best to strengthen my health of body and mind to fit for better service for others, for our community, our country and all the world." Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (n.d, mid to late 1960s?), Acc 1586/2/4. In the 1961 album, the English translation of the JRC motto does not contain "for better service for... our country." Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (Yama-gun, Japan, 1961), Acc 1586/2/3.

Image 2.4: A page from the Peruvian Junior Red Cross Friendship Album (Lima, Peru, 1956). Source: BRCS Archives, Acc 0397.

history, and tradition, giving the Red Cross only a passing mention, if at all; seven discuss both the Red Cross and the national, albeit with discussion of the national dominating; one focuses on Red Cross activities balanced with a smidgeon of the national; and two focus solely on Red Cross activities.[105] While the BRCS produced the aforementioned brochure and instruction manual, the instructions ultimately stemmed from LORC and would have been distributed among JRC Sections in all countries. However, none of the albums of the BRCS archives followed the instructions of the brochure in their entirety, despite obvious institutional guidance. While the fact that the sharing of national culture, history and tradition, or information about the

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[105] Five emphasizing the national: Germany (1978), Japan (1961), Japan (c.1965), Japan (c.1970s), and Japan (1978). Two emphasizing the Red Cross: Hungary (1946) and Indonesia (1975+?). That said, the Indonesia album appears to showcase a broad spectrum of Junior activities in Indonesia, calling into question whether this is actually an international friendship album or simply a documentation of the work of the Indonesian JRC. Focus on the Red Cross with a small discussion of the national: Britain (1963?). Discussion of both the Red Cross and the national: Britain (c.1975), Japan (c.1960), Japan (1962), Korea (1966), Peru (1956), Solomon Islands (c.1971) and Britain (c.1975).

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Juniors' schools, consistently took precedence over Red Cross activities is not surprising, the fact that the Red Cross Junior program was repeatedly sidelined or neglected is, considering that these albums were intended for both the sharing of one's country and culture, and to highlight how Red Cross values are applicable the world over. This likely demonstrates the personal reflection and choice of the child-creators, demonstrating what they wanted to share and what they felt was important and meaningful to them. Within a limited capacity, it shows some form of self-expression. In light of this, it seems that the children and youth creating these albums were more concerned with sharing their differences than similarities, differences reflected in their national pride. That said, in considering that these albums were produced within a Red Cross framework, the albums need to be viewed as cultural hybrids, representing elements of both the International Red Cross and the national at the same time. Considering the BRCS Junior Promise, where Juniors pledged to serve God, Queen, and country, this forced reflection on Britain's positive national attributes, rather than a critical assessment of it, should not come as a surprise. That said, through this international exchange of albums, Juniors were also forced to

Image 2.5: Cover of the Red Cross Friendship Album produced by Knowle Link 5300 in the mid-1960s. Source: BRCS Archives, Acc 1792/7.

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situate themselves in the world and reflect on countries and children that were both strikingly similar and different from them. Within the Red Cross framework, therefore, nationalism and international awareness coexisted.

While these albums provided a fascinating insight into different cultures, the program ran into some problems. For one, this international correspondence could sometimes result in disappointment. A report on the 1960 Meeting of European JRC Directors, for example, emphasizes the general disappointment with the album exchange: "In the international sphere Junior Red Cross activity has a certain amount of attractiveness, but it must be admitted that the results of the exchange of albums and art programmes have not been as successful as one might have wished them to be, for want of visible results."[106] In many cases Juniors sent albums abroad, with none coming back in return or arriving with an extreme delay. The 1978 album from Fukushima, Japan, for example, concluded with a note of apology: "We are very sorry that we couldn't send you this album soon. Three years ago we received your album..."[107] By the time this Japanese album reached the Juniors of the Widderington Cadet Unit in Northumberland, Great Britain, for whom it was intended, many of the Juniors who had contributed to the British album that had initiated the exchange would have already moved on to adult units or abandoned the program, never experiencing "true" international friendship through the album exchange. The "norms of reciprocity" the JRC had tried to foster had failed.[108]

Another challenge within this program was that the creation of such albums, like participation in Red Cross programs in general, favored children and youth who had the resources to make the books – who not only had time to spare for extracurricular Red Cross activities, but who could also read and write and afford the dues which paid for the necessary paper, tape, glue, magazines, photographs and other items necessary to make such an album. The social positioning of these youngsters certainly would have influenced the way they presented themselves, their schools, countries and Red Cross work within the albums. In terms of the BRCS, this form of inclusion and exclusion was especially significant in the colonies, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, as it allowed children with access to education (and likely

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[106] Het Nederlandsche Roode Kruis, "Report on the Meeting of European Junior Red Cross Directors, 24-29, October 1960), p. 7, LORC Archives, 00012908.

[107] Friendship Album – Japanese Red Cross (Fukushima City, Japan, 1978), Acc 411/3.

[108] Hirokazu Miyazaki, "Gifts and Exchange," in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Cultural Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 250.

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money) to participate in Red Cross programs.[109] In some ways, then, the BRCS served to maintain old hierarchies and class distinctions or create new ones rather than bringing all children and youth together under the banner of Red Cross values. I emphasize this divide within the colonies, as access to Western-style education, the system into which the Red Cross frequently inserted itself, was and is more difficult to come by in the (former) colonies than in Britain. This is not to say that similar problems did not also exist in Britain or other "Western" National Societies. [110] Generally speaking, these kinds of social distinctions were evident in most JRC activities, not only the production of international friendship albums. This proved especially true in the limited participation available to Juniors in Red Cross International Study Centres and exchange programs.[111]

International Friendship and Service Through Travel

International travel among BRCS Juniors primarily manifested itself in two ways – participation in Red Cross study visits or international volunteering, although other trips, as demonstrated by the 1953 Coronation visits and Hilary Whitehouse's 1965 prize trip to Yugoslavia, also contributed to the Red Cross's international spirit. The BRCS's international travel programs allowed BRCS Juniors to witness firsthand the work of other Junior Societies, meet Juniors from other countries, engage with other cultures, and serve as British ambassadors abroad. These programs served to reinforce the JRC mandate of fostering international friendship and goodwill and maintaining world peace.

International Study Centres were by far the most common form of travel available to BRCS Juniors. While British participation in such initiatives could prove very international and

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[109] For how the Scouting Movement promoted Western middle class values of childhood in the former colonies of the Middle East during the interwar years, see Keith David Watenpaugh, "Scouting in the Interwar Arab Middle East: Youth, Colonialism and the Problems of Middle-Class Modernity," in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

[110] For a discussion on how financial and class differences manifested themselves in the British Scouting and Guiding uniforms, and the broader implications of this, see Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*: 33-63; ———, "(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39."

[111] The European Directors of the JRC recognized this problem: "The organisation of international Study Centres and international exchange programmes are admittedly most valuable, but this has the snag of its being restricted only to a select few... " Het Nederlandsche Roode Kruis, "Report on the Meeting of European Junior Red Cross Directors, 24-29, October 1960), p. 7, LORC Archives, 00012908.

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involve, for example, BRCS Juniors from the Bahamas, Bermuda and Britain traveling to the United States for one month of Red Cross training, more often than not such travel was focused on European destinations with BRCS participation dominated by Juniors living in Britain.[112] Study sessions most often took place in the summer months, when school children were on holiday, and occurred all over Europe.[113] In 1955 for example, small groups of British Junior representatives traveled to Ireland and Yugoslavia for International Study Sessions, as well as to Germany to visit the Hessen Branch of the JRC, followed by a week of leadership training organized by the American Red Cross.[114] As another example, in July 1963 two Junior "delegates" flew to Ireland to attend the Irish Red Cross Society Residential Course of Teachers, four other young Britons represented the BRCS in Germany at the American Junior Red Cross Leadership Centre, and three Scots traveled to Norway for the Oslo District Junior Red Cross Summer Camp.[115] Days at these camps generally started early, with the solemn hoisting of the host country's national flag (in the case of American study centres in Germany, it was the American flag that was raised), followed by first aid drills, disaster simulations, classes on leadership, health and hygiene, cultural performances, outdoor activities, the making of crafts and general fellowship. Reports of these trips often filled *Junior Journal* pages in its fall and winter editions, allowing Juniors not lucky enough to serve as national JRC ambassadors themselves to travel vicariously through their colleagues. Not surprisingly these trips were described with fondness, one that extended beyond the necessity of a positive institutional report. As Marion Greig wrote of her visit to Norway in 1963, "the memory of Häøya will always remain, and I know that there are fifty dear friends who, like me, will always remember."[116]

Yet young people in Britain also served as hosts, both in their homes and at Barnett Hill, the BRCS Study Centre. Visitors came from Austria, Belgium, the Democratic Republic of

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[112] "Operation Vista," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Christmas 1962), p. 4-5, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/158; BRCS, "Annual Report for the Year 1962," (1962), p. 20, BRCS Archives RCC 29/39.

[113] It appears that traveling to visit other Red Cross Juniors and Study Sessions increased steadily throughout the 1950s and 1960s as British prosperity increased and the BRCS and LORC placed more emphasis on youth-oriented activities.

[114] "This Year's Study centres," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (December 1955), p. 8-9, BRCS Archives RCC 30/130.

[115] Marion Greig, "Our Visit to Norway," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1963), p. 3-4, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/161, "Visit to Germany" and "Exchanging Ideas with Ireland," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1963), p. 4-5, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/161.

[116] Marion Greig, "Our Visit to Norway," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1963), p.4, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/161

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Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and so on to study the BRCS and exchange information about their own Junior Societies.[117] Some even came to Britain from further afield. In 1954, for example, Ruth Spurling from Australia and Prem Sahni from India traveled to Britain on funds awarded to them by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) through LORC.[118] International study sessions, whether at home or abroad, represented a reciprocal relationship, one of mutual exchange where Juniors of different nationalities could learn from each other. Youth were invited to these sessions as "delegates" or "ambassadors" of their National Societies, traveling with the purpose of teaching, learning, representing and networking. Yet travel opportunities could not be granted to all. These international sessions remained primarily a European and North American affair, with participation of nations from other parts of the world limited. Despite LORC and UNESCO's collaboration to provide funds for those who could otherwise not afford to go, these opportunities were limited. For example, of the six winners of the 1963 Yugoslav Red Cross essay contest, it appears that the Ghanaian and Nigerian winners could not claim their prize trip to Yugoslavia because their National Societies could not cover their travel costs, despite Adria Airways offering them free return airfare from Algiers to Belgrade as a "modest contribution to the great humanitarian task the Red Cross is performing in order to develop international friendship and strengthen peace in the world."[119]

By the early 1960s, travel in other guises started to coexist with international study sessions in the BRCS – specifically, international volunteering. International volunteering in

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[117] BRCS, "Report for the Year 1954," (1954), p. 53, BRCS Archives RCC 29/31; BRCS, "Report for the Year 1956," (1956), p. 30, BRCS Archives RCC 29/33; "This is happening in... Finland" *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1962), 10-11, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/157; BRCS, "Annual Report for the Year 1968" (1968), p. 8, BRCS Archives, RCC 29/45. For example, in 1960 the BRCS hosted 44 delegates at Barnett Hill from ten countries (including Canadian and American representatives alongside those from Europe) for ten days. Through this retreat, BRCS Juniors "help[ed] the international visitors to understand the working of the British Red Cross and [...] learn[ed] about the other National Societies represented." After the session at Barnett Hill concluded, the overseas visitors participated in home-stays in order to "gain first-hand experience of the British way of life." BRCS, "Annual Report for the Year 1960" (1960), p. 23, BRCS Archives, RCC 29/37.
[118] These kinds of scholarships were just one way in which LORC and UNESCO collaborated to address problems surrounding youth and education. BRCS, "Report for the Year 1954," (1954), p. 53, BRCS Archives RCC 29/31; "What of Tomorrow?" *The Red Cross World* (July – September 1958), p. 32, BRCS Archives, Acc 0150/31. See also Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*: 187.
[119] Letter from Mara Rupena-Osolnik (Director of Yugoslav Red Cross) to Charles-André Schusselé (Director, LORC Junior Red Cross Bureau), 05.06.1964, LORC Archives, A0855/1 (26/5/15).

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Britain, in the form in which it is known today, finds its roots in the late 1950s. The most prominent British organization in this regard is Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), founded in 1958 by Alec and Moira Dickson. According to historian Jordanna Bailkin, VSO was intended to "preserve the spirit of imperial adventure, while also forging new types of post-imperial relationships" by sending young, elite Britons overseas to not only engage with the young elites of newly independent countries in Africa and Asia, but also to serve.[120] In sending these youth overseas, VSO celebrated their youth and amateurism, channeling this towards building international friendships and understanding.[121] By the early 1960s, the appeal of internationally volunteering youth had also penetrated the International Red Cross, specifically the BRCS. In April 1962 three British Juniors traveled to East Africa as part of an international volunteering pilot scheme, each using the experience as a gap year between secondary school and university. In contrast to the VSO program, which favored male volunteers, the BRCS's first Junior volunteers were young females of school-leaving age. Susan Neligan was sent to the Dagoretti Children's Centre in Kenya, a soon-to-be independent British colony (1963), whereas Jennifer Allen and Catherine Worrall were stationed in recently independent Tanzania (1961) to work at the Muyenzi refugee camp, providing assistance to refugees from Rwanda and Burundi. Central to all three volunteers' experience was the teaching of health, hygiene and first aid, with Neligan, not surprisingly, even teaching the children at Dagoretti to knit.[122] This initial scheme proved a success, opening the way for more BRCS Juniors to volunteer overseas for several months at a

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[120] Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*: 57. As Georgina Brewis has argued, VSO was but one of many international volunteering initiatives in the 1950s, both in Britain and globally. While VSO preceded it and is now Britain's most prominent international volunteering organization, the American Peace Corps quickly became the world's leading organization in this domain in the 1960s. It was established in 1961 by the American government. Peace Corps volunteers were those most frequently mentioned in my interviews with Oxfam employees who worked in Africa and India in the 1960 and 1970s (such as Bill Jackson, Malcolm Harper and Richard Taylor). Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980*: Chapter 10. In 1961 the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) was founded. For a recently published history of CUSO, see Compton-Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-86,*.

[121] Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*: 19, 94. For an official history of VSO, see Bird, *Never the Same Again: A History of VSO*. To read a contemporary account of international volunteering, and the foundation of VSO, see Dickson, *A Chance to Serve*; David Wainwright, *The Volunteers: The story of Overseas Voluntary Service* (London: Macdonald, 1965). Unlike Bailkin's reading, these sources do not provide an elitist view of the VSO.

[122] "Volunteers to East Africa," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1962), p. 7-8, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/157. These were not the only volunteers to be sent abroad that year, although it seems they may have been the youngest. The BRCS also sent two male medical students to help with famine relief in Cyprus and Kenya, one young woman to work with the JRC in British Honduras, and an occupational therapist to work in Tanzania. BRCS, "Annual Report for the Year 1962," (1962), p. 17, 20, BRCS Archives RCC 29/39.

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time in places like the Bahamas, British Guyana, British Honduras, Kenya, Singapore, the Solomon Islands and Tanzania.[123] Only some of these places were colonies at the time the volunteers were sent there, but all were part of the British Commonwealth. This highlights that, even with decolonization, the BRCS was still able to use its imperial networks to facilitate the placement of British volunteers and sustain its ties with former colonies and their Red Cross Societies. Because of these networks the BRCS was able to pioneer a comprehensive international volunteering program within the Junior International Red Cross, a movement previously defined by domestically-oriented volunteer initiatives.

The brief accounts volunteers provided in the *Junior Journal* of their experiences, alongside the continuation of the program, proved its success in the eyes of BRCS staff. Writing of her experience in Kenya, Neligan, for example, expresses extreme gratitude for this life-changing experience: "I am having a wonderful opportunity to see all sorts of aspects of life in Kenya today... I do not think I will ever be able to thank the Red Cross enough for this experience they have made possible for me. It is the kind of experience that can alter the whole course of one's life."[124] Hilary Mapstone, who volunteered at the Dagoretti Children's Centre one year after Neligan, wrote something similar: "I am having the time of my life here... I really am terribly grateful to the Red Cross for giving me this wonderful opportunity – and I hope that I am at least partly worth the colossal expense!"[125] While limited archival evidence of these overseas volunteer placements survives, this last statement suggests that the BRCS, at least in part, financed these trips.[126] This would have proved both an enabling and limiting factor for the program – enabling in terms of assisting volunteers who might otherwise not have been able to afford to go, limiting in terms of how many volunteers could be sent overseas according to available resources. And not many British Juniors went – according to LORC's monthly publication, *PANORAMA*, only three "boys" and eight "girls" were sent abroad through the

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[123] "Short Term Service Overseas," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1963), p. 6-7, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/161; LORC, "Overseas Service for British Youth" *PANORAMA* (October 1965), p. 17, BRCS Archives, Acc 0151/23.
[124] "Volunteers to East Africa," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1962), p. 8, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/157.
[125] "Short Term Service Overseas," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Autumn 1963), p. 7, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/161.
[126] By at least the late 1960s, the BRCS was working in collaboration with VSO in sending volunteers overseas. Of the ten volunteers sent overseas in 1968, four were recruited from VSO. BRCS, "Annual Report for the Year 1968," (1968), p. 7, BRCS Archives RCC 29/45.

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BRCS in 1964 from a total of 78,729 Juniors in the British Isles.[127] And of these limited placements, unfortunately not all proved a success. For example, in 1964 Uganda Red Cross staff strongly recommended that nursing volunteer Nigel Wickes (who, incidentally, was not a trained nurse) be immediately recalled by BRCS headquarters, which he was.[128] In letters to Joan Whittington, the BRCS's Director of the Overseas Development Department, not only did field officer Helen I. Jones express that Wickes was taking an unsafe amount of medical responsibility and authority upon himself in his work with refugees in north-eastern Uganda, but the director of the Uganda Red Cross, Iris Kigundu, also wrote that she was "terribly perturbed by Wickes," the last straw being what she interpreted as his deliberate destruction of "the Austin just so we should buy him a Landrover..."[129] In the minds of Jones, Kigundu and Whittington, this rogue volunteer posed a threat to both the refugees he was supposed to assist, as well as the reputation of the Red Cross, the values of which he was supposed to embody and represent through his service. Sadly Wickes' voice is lost to the archive, making available only a one-sided account of events.

The importance of the volunteer experience, however, went beyond those who were sent abroad, as they brought the narrative of their experience home. This narrative, unlike that produced by attending an international study centre, was based on presenting the 'other,' in this case the people of the transitioning empire, as needing Red Cross volunteers to assist them. As education specialist Luke Desforges has noted in his work on student travellers, this fixing of difference is often linked with the interests of Western, in this case British, power.[130] The act of volunteering thus served not only to assist those deemed as needing intervention, but also

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[127] LORC, "Overseas Service for British Youth" *PANORAMA* (October 1965), p. 17, BRCS Archives, Acc 0151/23; BRCS, "Annual Report for the Year 1964," (1964), p. 54, BRCS Archives RCC 29/41.

[128] The letter states, "When Nigel returned from Uganda, he decided he would like to take his general Nursing Training." While Wickes' age is never specified, he was likely in this late teens or early twenties, as the letter continues, "I feel sorry for the boy, as he wants to work, but he will never get on while he is still at home. He has an 'adoring Mother', and he is the only child. It really is a tragedy, as she is an exceptionally nice women... but she ruins Nigel." Letter from the Branch Director of the BRCS Weeke Branch to Joan Whittington (Director of the BRCS Overseas Development Department), 9 August 1965, BRCS Archives, 76/58 (2).

[129] Confidential letter from Helen I. Jones (Uganda Red Cross Field Officer) to Joan Whittington (Director of the BRCS Overseas Development Department), June 1964, BRCS Archives, 76/58 (2); Letter from Iris Kigungu (Director of the Uganda Red Cross) to Joan Whittington (Director of the BRCS Overseas Development Department), 9 July 1964, BRCS Archives, 76/58 (2).

[130] Luke Desforges, "'Checking Out the Planet': Global Representations/Local Identities and Youth Travel," in *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*, ed. Tracey Skelton and Gill Valentine (London: Routledge, 1998), 176.

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reinforced the imperial hierarchies present under the empire – it was young Britons helping the exotic other. Power dynamics were inherent to this program, as it was not a two-way exchange based on equal opportunity. The volunteer accounts depicted in the *Junior Journal* demonstrate fondness for their work abroad and the adventures this entailed, yet despite the apparent gratitude for the opportunity to help others, each narrative is infused with a certain authority (often socio-medical) that explains the volunteer's presence in Kenya, Tanzania or some other distant locale. It was because of their Red Cross training and values that they were there, alongside their privileged position in the world as young Britons who could afford to take a gap year to help the underprivileged. Desforges argues that this act of travel is an educational middle class activity, one which later provides the traveller (in this case the volunteer) with the social and cultural capital to gain "entry to privileges of work, housing and lifestyle that go with that class status," highlighting that international volunteering, regardless of intention, came with material benefits once back in Britain.[131] Certainly many of the volunteers would have travelled abroad with intentions of doing good in the world and positively assisting the decolonization process, but ultimately such volunteer programs needed to be based on power inequalities to thrive in order to create the dynamic of volunteer and beneficiary. While luckily not all BRCS Junior volunteers acted as pompously as the aforementioned Wickes, the overt privilege and authority evident in his behavior was an underlying factor that enabled such an international volunteer program to even exist in the first place. For these reasons and others, by the 1970s international volunteer initiatives came increasingly under fire as young Britons identified them as a form of neo-colonial exploitation and Western privilege.[132]

It should be noted that travel did not only have to foster international relationships. For example, nineteen lucky BRCS Juniors partook in a Mediterranean cruise organized by the Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organizations in July 1965, the purpose of which was for "young people to learn about each other's organisations in a holiday atmosphere..." With eighteen organizations represented, this voyage demonstrates Scottish efforts to integrate the burgeoning number of voluntary youth organizations of the 1960s and to

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[131] Ibid., 177.

[132] Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980*: Chapter 10. See also Compton-Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-86,*; ———, "Ironic Interventions: CUSO Volunteers in India's Family Planning Campaign, 1960s-1970s."

make youth aware of each other's efforts in different spheres of Scottish national life. "A shining white ship, blue sea and sky, and 750 young people going up a gang-plank... a dream?" asked Ann Mennie in her *Junior Journal* account of the trip.[133] While boarding the MS Devonia and traveling to Portugal, Morocco and Gibraltar may have indeed seemed like a dream to Mennie, such floating educational tours, organized under the auspices of charities, were not uncommon in the 1960s. Indeed, roughly eight months later, as discussed in Chapter 5, approximately 800 British secondary school-aged youth would board that exact same ship to travel to Algeria for Oxfam's Operation Oasis.

Conclusion

The International Red Cross, including the BRCS, had recognized the power of children and youth within its work by the 1920s. By the 1950s and 1960s, the international work of the BRCS Juniors served two purposes – the building of international friendship networks and the provision of international relief and assistance. In terms of international friendship, through BRCS Junior participation in international programs and exchanges, such as international study visits and the exchange of friendship albums and gifts, British Juniors became part of an alternate youth community that was mediated by the International Red Cross, a community based on Red Cross ideals and carried out by the exchange of objects and people. In this way the JRC resembled the 1968 youth movements in Europe as described by Richard Ivan Jobs, as these too were defined by international exchanges and transnational cooperation.[134] Yet unlike these radical movements, however, the JRC was of a conservative nature, by way of its institutional associations, and it did not necessarily give its participants a voice, notwithstanding its liberal humanitarian ideals. Despite the large community of young people associated with it, through its government connections and affiliations Red Cross Juniors around the world generally reinforced the status quo rather than changed it. As Hutchinson wrote of the American Red Cross Juniors during the interwar period:

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[133] Ann Mennie, "We sailed away to the Sun," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Spring 1966), p.3-4, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/171.
[134] Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968," 378.

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the peacetime Junior Red Cross was to become a vehicle for teaching children the appropriate objects - and, more important, the appropriate limits - of human feeling and social obligation. Individual acts of compassion, sympathy, and commiseration with the plight of other children were to be discouraged while collective action through 'group channels' was strongly encouraged, so long as such action was innocuous and uncontroversial."[135]

In Britain, through the Red Cross Junior Promise, Juniors devoted themselves to the service of God, Queen and country. Despite being part of an international community, the BRCS Juniors still celebrated its Queen, maintained close ties to the colonies and Commonwealth, and served as British representatives at international events. As such, the BRCS trained its Juniors to become responsible international citizens within a national framework. The BRCS Juniors' work in providing international relief and assistance also contributed to this form of internationally-oriented national citizenship, as it was through their privileged status as British Juniors that such assistance could be offered and dispersed through, primarily, British imperial networks.[136] This was as true for the thousands of disaster relief kits, knitted items, and donated toys and clothing sent overseas, as it was for the Juniors who started volunteering abroad in the 1960s.

As this chapter has demonstrated, staff at both the BRCS and LORC headquarters invested much in its Junior programs as they saw children and youth as an important resource that needed to be tapped, whose energy needed to be incorporated into the International Red Cross. But rather than giving these youngsters full rein over their activities, the BRCS and LORC carefully guided them in their work, in their "vocation" even, treating them as vessels to be filled with Red Cross values. As was written in the *Junior Journal* in the autumn of 1950,

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[135] Hutchinson, "The Junior Red Cross goes to Healthland," 1822.

[136] In her work on the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), Jodi Burkett reaches similar conclusions. She argues the CND in the early 1960s put forward an image of "Britishness that was internationally progressive but domestically conservative" (185). This image held that the British nation was a global moral leader because of British "Christian morality, hard work, moderation, hardiness and willingness to sacrifice," all characteristics also inherent to the work of the BRCS and the values the organisation was teaching its Juniors (205). By referencing Sonya Rose's work on national identity and citizenship in Britain during the Second World War, Burkett rightly points out that these historically legitimized characteristics of Britishness, which the Red Cross also promoted, "fit more easily into a description of the 1940s than the 'swinging sixties'," the decade she is actually describing in her work (205). The same thing can be said for the BRCS – it was a traditional, conservative society that drew on and fostered similar ideals of Britishness despite its liberal agenda. The war needed to be over for approximately twenty years before it could move beyond these ideals. Burkett, "Re-defining British Morality: 'Britishness' and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1958–68."; Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939-1945*; Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 2.

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> the Junior Red Cross is not an organisation created purely to amuse and keep occupied its own members. It is an organisation that trains its members' vision to turn outwards towards other people and it thus satisfies something deep within all of us – the desire to help others less fortunate than ourselves. Membership of the Junior Red Cross, is, for all the fun and enjoyment attached to it, more a 'vocation' than a mere pastime.[137]

As such, the BRCS and LORC treated its children and youth as both objects and actors within the international realm.[138] The BRCS instilled values and a charitable work ethic in them, within an institutional framework, allowing Juniors to appropriately serve Britain in the present and, more importantly, in the future. Children and youth were thus treated as a category discrete from adults, so that their agency within society could be shaped and harnessed for the good of the nation. Indeed, the BRCS Juniors were treated as adults-in-training. Through the BRCS Juniors were not taught to think critically, but rather to provide helpful assistance with a cheerful, patriotic heart.

By the late 1960s the JRC was changing, both in Britain and abroad. In certain ways it was maturing in order to better capture the spirit of the times. Nowhere is this process better symbolized than in LORC changing the name of its *Junior Red Cross Newsletter* to *Youth* in 1967.[139] In light of this changing environment, the JRC had to make itself more competitive as other NGOs and charitable organizations were emerging in the 1950s and 1960s which targeted children and youth, but especially youth, with their activities. Those born during the postwar baby boom had grown into teenagers by the mid-1950s and 1960s and their youthful energies, interests, problems and concerns needed to be addressed beyond the collecting of toys, assembling of disaster relief kits, knitting of blankets, and cutting and pasting of friendship albums.[140] The 1960s represent a shift in how children, but more especially youth, were thought

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[137] "The Activities of The Junior Red Cross," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (September to December 1950), p. 15, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/107-114.

[138] Marshall, "The Construction of Children as an Object of International Relations: The Declaration of Children's Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of League of Nations, 1900-1924," passim.

[139] The Director of the LORC's JRC, C.A. Schusselé, explained this change in name: "The time has come to adapt the publication to our modern world as well as to the conditions in which Red Cross work evolves... As the new name 'Youth' implies, we shall continue ever more to show that the Red Cross can count on the enthusiasm and energy of the young. It is they after all who pledge its future." C.A. Schusselé, "Foreword" *Youth* 21.1 (1967), inside cover. LORC Library.

[140] Henrik Beer (LORC Secretary General), "International Friendship and Understanding," (Article draft for the Yugoslav Red Cross, 1967), p. 2, LORC Archives, 00019711.

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and spoken about, and also in how youth themselves engaged with the world. While not necessarily engaged in traditional politics, by the mid-1950s youth were starting to make their voices heard through alternative lifestyle choices, pressure groups, protest movements, and activist charities.[141] As a result of this, the BRCS Junior program had to adapt to include youth as critical social actors with voices that needed to be heard in order to maintain their engagement. In other words, it had to insert itself into this new "active" political culture.[142] The dynamics of the 1960s therefore seemed to resolve what Reid and Gilbo have highlighted as the JRC's main problem in the 1950s, namely "whether National Society leaders trusted their Juniors sufficiently to allow them their own dynamic - including the freedom to make mistakes - or whether the sections should be kept under control, largely a breeding ground for future adult members..."[143]

The BRCS, a trailblazer of sorts in the 1950s because of its long history in Britain and its imperial connections, had to reshape itself in order to maintain its relevance and appeal both domestically and internationally. More than ever in the 1960s, as LORC had forecast in 1958, the JRC had to "bear in mind that children – and even more... adolescents – need a wide horizon, beauty, real human contacts which go beneath the surface, they also long for security, happiness, an ideal: the Junior Red Cross can and must place these within their reach."[144] It seemed that other organizations, such as Oxfam, were overtaking the BRCS in terms of their appeal to youth within the realm of humanitarian assistance, and in the provision of a broader horizon, human contacts and, most importantly, a critical, deeper understanding of the world.

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[141] According to political historian Kevin Jefferys, the CND was one of the first such movements to really attract youth involvement, as up until then youth had been on the fringes of political involvement. Jefferys, *Politics and the People: A History of British Democracy since 1918*: 141-42. To see how university student action became politicized in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, see Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980*: Chapters 9 and 10.

[142] Jefferys, *Politics and the People: A History of British Democracy since 1918*: 160.The JRC Advisory Committee at LORC was aware of this shift. In the provisional agenda for its 1968 meeting, it specifically states that youth voices and opinions needed to be more actively incorporated into the JRC, as youth the world over were expressing both active and passive discontent with conditions facing them in their countries. The agenda states and asks, "Basically, young people are challenging their societies to find a more human, modern, and honest approach to problems. As an organisation with a youth programme, the Red Cross must take up this challenge. But what is our responsibility and how can we meet it?..." Junior Red Cross Advisory Committee, "Provisional Agenda, General Report," p. 3-4, LORC Archives, A0820-1. See also C.A. Schusselé "Memorandum – Outline of future League Junior Red Cross Activities" (addressed to LORC's Secretary General, 1 February 1967), LORC Archives, 00086481.

[143] Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*: 188.

[144] "What of Tomorrow?" *The Red Cross World* (July – September 1958), p. 32, BRCS Archives, Acc 0150/31.

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At the same time the BRCS also had to transition from being a colonial to a postcolonial society, as many of its Overseas Branches became independent because of decolonization. In the 1930s the BRCS headquarters in London actively started establishing its presence in the colonies through Overseas Branches. These branches acted as auxiliaries to the colonial governments, providing social welfare initiatives according to the Red Cross mandate and perceived needs on the ground. As in Britain, the BRCS Juniors in the colonies played an important role in these endeavors, in some way even more so than in Britain because of a greater need of health service provision.[145] With decolonization, BRCS leaders in London and the colonies saw overseas Juniors as future leaders of their independent countries by the nature of their Red Cross skills, skills felt to lend themselves to the building of healthy nations. Thus, by the 1950s and 1960s, while Juniors in Britain and the colonies were part of the same program, that of the BRCS, in many ways those in the colonies were already more maturely engaged than their counterparts in the British Isles.

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[145] Naono, "Burmese Health Officers in the Transformation of Public Health in Colonial Burma in the 1920s and 1930s," 119.

Chapter 3 – The Building Blocks of Development: The British Red Cross Juniors in Africa

The Red Cross badge is a powerful emblem, recognized around the world as a symbol of emergency assistance, humanitarian aid, first aid, health, neutrality, voluntary service and more. People wearing these badges, both young and old alike, are supposed to embody these values. In the 1950s and 1960s, the universality of the Red Cross was impressed upon British Red Cross Juniors, both in Britain and the colonies, by their adult leaders and through *The Proudest Badge*, their authorized history book: "You know that if you met a boy or girl who could not speak your language – and both of you were wearing the badge of the Red Cross – that badge would speak for you. It would say: 'You and I believe in the same things. We are doing the same kind of work. We have the same aims.'"[1]

Nevertheless, in 1969 Anne Sopper, the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) Field Officer in Fiji, received a shipment of 218 BRCS badges from the Botswana Red Cross Society, by way of the BRCS London headquarters.[2] The Botswana Red Cross Society no longer had any use for these badges, which had been purchased several years previously, as they had a crown on them, the symbol of the British monarch from whom Botswana had gained independence in September 1966.[3] For Batswana Red Cross members, these badges no longer spoke for them or to them – Botswana's national allegiance had shifted with independence and, as a result, it had gained its own independent Red Cross Society, the Botswana Red Cross. The symbol of the Red Cross would endure in Botswana, but that of the British crown would not.

As this chapter will demonstrate, despite the relatively easy disposal of these inappropriate BRCS badges, the BRCS, which had brought the International Red Cross to Britain's colonies, did have a lasting impact in Botswana and Britain's other former possessions, especially through the training offered to its overseas Juniors in the 1950s and 1960s. Through its

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[1] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 41.
[2] Letter from M.E. Nares (Director of BRCS Overseas Development Department) to A. Sopper (BRCS Hong Kong Detachment), 29 October 1969, BRCS Archives, 76/6; Memorandum from Miss Hall (BRCS Supplies Department) to Anne Clutterbuck (BRCS Overseas Development Department), 1 October 1969, BRCS Archives, 76/6; Note from Anne Clutterbuck (BRCS Overseas Development Department) to Miss Hall (BRCS Supplies Department), 24 September 1969, BRCS Archives 76/6.
[3] Letter from Marjorie (Botswana Red Cross Society) to Anne Clutterbuck (BRCS Overseas Development Department), 7 October 1969, BRCS Archives, 76/6.

Junior program, the BRCS provided young people living in Africa with skills in first aid, health and hygiene, home nursing, mothercraft and international friendship, skills the BRCS leadership felt these youngsters did not already possess. These skills the Juniors were then expected to transmit to their communities and rural areas in their vicinities. By the time independence came to many sub-Saharan countries, the BRCS Juniors had enough national recognition to be invited to participate in official independence celebrations throughout the continent, symbolizing the Red Cross's transition from a colonial to a post-colonial institution. In Ghana, the first African country to receive independence in March 1957, Juniors worked alongside adult Red Cross officers and members in administrating first aid during the celebrations.[4] In Tanzania, "dignified" and "proud" Juniors "staged an impressive display" during the Independence Day Youth Rally in Dar-es-Salaam in December 1961, forming a huge Red Cross with placards while marching to military music under Tanzania's new flag.[5] Likewise, during Kenya's Independence Day Youth Rally and Parade in Nairobi in December 1963, 60 Juniors marched beside two Red Cross floats representing "Friendship Round the World" and "Serve One Another."[6] The fact that one of these floats briefly got stuck in the mud apparently did nothing to detract from the Juniors' excitement. While national allegiances were thus symbolically shifted and redefined, the youngsters' commitment to the three guiding principles of the Junior Red Cross, or at least to participation in Red Cross activities, did not.[7]

Despite the BRCS Juniors' visible presence at the independence celebrations, the presence of the BRCS in Britain's possessions did not greatly predate decolonization. It was only in the mid-twentieth century that the BRCS pushed towards a more active presence in its colonies – from the 1930s onwards the London headquarters sought to establish a branch in every colony and protectorate.[8] This coincided with a re-examining of colonial health initiatives in the 1920s and 1930s by the Colonial Office and the League of Nations, amongst other

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[4] BRCS Gold Coast Detachment Report written for the Principal Medical Officer, "Report on First Aid Duties Undertaken by the Red Cross – Independence Celebrations, 2nd-7th March 1957," (n.d.), BRCS Archives, 76/24.
[5] BRCS, "Tanganyika," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Spring 1962), p. 17, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/155.
[6] BRCS, "KENYA," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Spring 1964), p. 18, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/163.
[7] For an example of this commitment, see John Clement Easmon, "The Youth's Contribution to the Red Cross," (Winning Submission to 1963 Yugoslav Red Cross Society Essay Competition), p. 2-3, LORC A0855/1 – 26/5/15/Winners.
[8] At the start of the First World War, BRCS branches were formed in Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and South Africa. Wood, *The Red Cross Story: A Pictorial History of 125 Years of the British Red Cross*: 20.

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agencies, which laid bare the need for increased intervention and outreach, providing the BRCS with a perfect opportunity to expand its influence.[9] By 1953, the BRCS had 100 overseas detachments, representing 22,413 adult members and associates, and 42,996 Juniors.[10] The first edition (1953) of *The Proudest Badge* reflects how the BRCS wanted its Juniors to understand this arrangement. It reads, "England, 'the Mother of Nations,' has many 'children' beyond the seas, and therefore the British Red Cross Society has a very large Red Cross family of Overseas Branches."[11] Just as Britannia was benevolent, maternal and caring, so too was the BRCS. However, as decolonization gained momentum and these "children" matured and gained independence, this language had to be modified to reflect the newly independent National Societies and their evolved relationship with the BRCS. In 1966, for example, only 57 overseas detachments remained, representing only 11,817 adult personnel, members and associates, and 14,269 Juniors.[12] That same year the fifth edition of *The Proudest Badge* was released, revealing an altered terminology which accommodated this new reality of dwindling overseas membership and the BRCS's changing relationship with independent Red Cross Societies within the Commonwealth. Instead of using emotionally evocative terms and emphasizing the "Mother of Nations" and its "children," the book now employed more technically-oriented language to explain the shifting BRCS geography and the autonomy of new National Red Cross Societies within the shrinking official BRCS network. The book, for example, described how the Overseas Branches Department of the London BRCS headquarters had changed its name to the Overseas Development Department, "in order to reflect the changed status of former British Red Cross

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[9] Stephen Addae, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine in a Developing Country: Ghana 1880-1960* (Durham: Durham Academic Press, 1997), 32; Naono, "Burmese Health Officers in the Transformation of Public Health in Colonial Burma in the 1920s and 1930s," 119; Randall Packard, "Visions of Postwar Health and Development and their Impact on Public Health Interventions in the Developing World," in *International Development and the Social Sciences*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 95. For the Colonial Office, increased "development" initiatives in the colonies, starting in the 1920s, originated from an increased sense of responsibility towards the welfare of the indigenous populations in the colonies. According to historian and physician Stephen Addae, this was because indigenous health became increasingly equated with economic value in the minds of the colonial administration. Addae, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine in a Developing Country: Ghana 1880-1960*: 32.

[10] BRCS, "The British Red Cross Society Annual Report for the Year 1953," inside back cover, BRCS Archives RCC 29/30.

[11] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 37. BRCS Archives Acc 453/56.

[12] BRCS, "British Red Cross Society Annual Report for the Year 1966," p. 53, BRCS Archives RCC 29/43. According to the BRCS Annual Reports, the BRCS reached its zenith of overseas detachments in 1960 with 212 of them. BRCS, "British Red Cross Society Annual Report for the Year 1960," p. 54, BRCS Archives RCC 29/37.

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Society Branches and to enable them to preserve their unique connexions with the parent Society."[13] It was through this changed language and organizational landscape that the BRCS tried to fashion itself into a postcolonial organization. Despite the overseas societies' recently acquired autonomy, the BRCS authors of both the 1964 Annual Report and the 1966 edition of *The Proudest Badge* claimed that a "special relationship... exists between [newly independent societies] and the mother society,"[14] a special relationship originating out of the British imperial legacy which had facilitated BRCS work over the preceding decades.

Through an examination of the BRCS Junior program in Britain's African possessions, this chapter charts some of these organizational changes, demonstrating how the BRCS headquarters in London navigated the waters of decolonization. Due to the structure of the International Red Cross, the BRCS staff in London adopted a liberal approach to the end of empire, one which supported the development of social welfare services in the colonies through African efforts, as well as the independence of the Overseas Branches. Starting in the 1950s many African BRCS Overseas Branches transitioned from being colonial to postcolonial organizations, from being part of the BRCS to being independent. During this period of intense change and uncertainty, BRCS staff in both London and the colonies put increasing emphasis on the Junior programs as they saw the Red Cross's future, Africa's future even, in these children and youth. This was not only because of the Juniors' significant impact on membership numbers, but also because BRCS leaders identified them as better able to embody Red Cross values than African adults, values necessary for successful nation-building and independence. To Red Cross officials, Red Cross Juniors were the leaders of tomorrow. In retrospect, this emphasis on child and youth membership appears to have been a wise policy that remains in effect today. In Ghana, for example, 60 per cent of Ghana Red Cross membership in 2011 was categorized as "youth."[15]

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[13] BRCS, "Branches in British Overseas Territories," *British Red Cross Society Annual Report for the Year 1964*, p. 17, BRCS Archives RCC 29/41. See also, British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross* (5th ed), 35.

[14] BRCS, "Branches in British Overseas Territories," *British Red Cross Society Annual Report for the Year 1964*, p. 17, BRCS Archives RCC 29/41; British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 35.

[15] The age-range encompassed by the Ghana Red Cross definition of "youth" was not provided in the report. Ghana Red Cross Society, "Strategic Plan, 2011-2015," 4. However, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies' (formerly LORC) "Youth Policy," as adopted in 2011 by the General Assembly, uses the terms "youth" and "young people" to cover people in the age range of 5 to 30 years of age. The policy states that "[t]his includes children (5 to 11 years old), adolescents (12 to 17 years old), and young adults (18 to 30 years old). National Societies are guided reasonably by this range in adopting their own definitions according to local laws,

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As discussed in the Introduction, despite the richness of its archives and its importance within British society and the British Empire, academic histories of the BRCS remain sparse. Within the realm of international development, this is not surprising as most people characterize the BRCS as either a local or humanitarian relief charity, not an organization focused on long-term overseas development initiatives. For historians working on charities active in the 1950s and 1960s, Christian Aid, Oxfam, Save the Children (SCF) and War on Want were more commonly associated with projects focused on international poverty alleviation, education, agriculture, and health. Yet the BRCS also fits into this narrative of international development through its colonial health and education interventions. That said, it seems that in recent years some scholars have noted this connection and are starting to integrate the history of the BRCS with the narratives of these other humanitarian/development organizations. Andrew Thompson's current research, for example, focuses on how the BRCS was transformed from a local charity to an international aid agency in the postwar period through the efforts of women like Joan Whittington and Lady Angela Limerick.[16] Within this framework, however, Thompson's work continues to focus on the BRCS's international humanitarian relief initiatives, rather than the more permanent social welfare projects which the BRCS brought to the colonies, particularly through its Junior program. In addition to this, it is only recently that historians have identified the marginalization of African children and youth within African historiography, spurring increased academic interest in young people's contributions to Africa's history.[17] This marginalization, in part, stems from the methodological challenges inherent to researching the history of children and youth in general and to the African context in particular.

In this chapter, I will first highlight some of these challenges – those of studying the BRCS within a development framework and of studying African children and youth. Following

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social norms and cultural contexts." International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, "Youth Policy" handout (Geneva, Switzerland, 2012).

[16] Andrew Thompson, "A Story Untold," *Red Cross Life* 2013.

[17] See, for example, Abbink and Kessel, *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa*; Abbink, "Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal."; Thomas Burgess, "Imagined Generations: Constructing Youth in Revolutionary Zanzibar," in *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa*, ed. Jon Abbink and Ineke van Kessel (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Burton and Charton-Bigot, *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*; Honwana and Boeck, *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Postcolonial Africa*; Parsons, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya."; ———, "No More English than the Postal System: The Kenya Boy Scout Movement and the Transfer of Power."; Patterson, "Constructions of Childhood in Apartheid's Last Decades." For a discussion on this, see the Introduction.

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this, the chapter then showcases the work of BRCS Juniors overseas before decolonization, specifically in the 1950s, drawing on sources pertaining primarily to West Africa. To deepen this discussion, and to highlight how the BRCS Juniors were implicated in the transition to independence, I then present a case study of the Gold Coast (now Ghana). Despite decolonization, the BRCS still sought to maintain its influence in its former overseas societies. This I demonstrate through the BRCS's implementation of the League of Red Cross Societies' (LORC) Five Year Plan (1965-1970), a plan intended to strengthen the Junior Red Cross programs of newly independent Red Cross Societies around the world. This discussion also touches on the interplay between the different visions of internationalism of LORC and the BRCS within the postcolonial environment. Finally, the chapter concludes by emphasizing the BRCS's role within international development midcentury and the BRCS Junior's contribution to this.

Methodological Challenges

Studying the BRCS, particularly as its organizational landscape was changing with decolonization, is fruitful but challenging. For one, the BRCS was embedded in two international structures – the International Red Cross and the British Empire. As part of the International Red Cross, the BRCS was responsible to LORC and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), both based in Switzerland, in terms of its activities and mandate. Yet the Red Cross structure also made it responsible to the British government and the people of its empire, resulting in a vast network of Overseas Branches by the 1950s, the likes of which were not duplicated by other National Red Cross Societies. The internationalism inherent to the BRCS during its colonial days, with its different levels of operation (local, national, and international), and the variety of its programs and courses, makes it hard to establish a coherent global narrative.[18] In this chapter I therefore focus on sub-Saharan Africa because of its centrality to the British Empire in the 1950s and 1960s and to contemporary discussions of development. In particular, both the BRCS and LORC archives compelled me to investigate the Gold Coast, which is now Ghana, as a variety of material regarding the BRCS Gold Coast Juniors has

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[18] Allen Warren and Eduard Vallory discuss similar issues for the Scouting and Guiding Movements in their respective chapters in Block and Proctor, *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*.

survived, providing insight into BRCS involvement in that colony during its journey towards independence. That said, every Overseas Branch of the BRCS had its singularities, and the Gold Coast Branch was no exception. While it provides a case study of BRCS initiatives and policies within a colonial setting, the successes and failures of the BRCS in the Gold Coast can merely serve as a template of analysis for other colonies, as each colony had its own dynamics and absorbed the BRCS in different ways.

While the BRCS had a variety of overseas programs, the study of which allows insights into colonial welfare and medicine, early non-religious and non-governmental "development" work, and the work of, primarily, British women overseas, my research focuses on the BRCS Junior program. The BRCS adapted the ideals of LORC's Junior Red Cross Program (JRC), concerning primarily health and voluntarism, to suit the colonial contexts the BRCS was operating in.[19] For this research I had to rely primarily on the institutional archives of the BRCS and LORC, archives which do not feature the voices of the child, youth or African program participants. Because of this, this chapter focuses on how people in the upper echelons of the International Red Cross, both in Britain, Switzerland and abroad, thought about the program and its participants. For this reason this chapter is itself an institutional history, tracing the agendas of the BRCS and LORC rather than the children's engagement with the program. Given the lack of archival sources, the best way to access the former children of the BRCS in the future would be through extensive oral history interviews.

Because of these gaps in the archival narrative, many questions remain unanswered. For example, identifying race relations and participation in BRCS overseas Junior initiatives is difficult. While the *Junior Journal*, the official mouthpiece for the BRCS Juniors, regularly showcased the activities and achievements of Juniors of a variety of racial backgrounds in its overseas section, this may not necessarily have reflected the dominant reality on the ground, especially in settler societies. In Southern Rhodesia, for example, both Junior and adult units were generally racially segregated throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[20] While the International

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[19] The ideals of the International Red Cross were interpreted as universalised because modern health knowledge was based on science. As historian Paul Weindling has written on international health during the interwar years, "[t]he universalism of science found natural affinity with internationalist ideas." Weindling, "Introduction: Constructing International Health Between the Wars," 4.

[20] Interview of Lindsay Elizabeth Bickers and Avis Davis by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 8 September 2012, Fetcham, United Kingdom. Bickers was born in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia in 1943 and was part of the Junior Red Cross

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Red Cross professed to be impartial to race, religion and politics, the people who implemented Red Cross initiatives on the ground did not necessarily share this impartiality, especially in settings where racism was structurally supported by the government. As Timothy H. Parsons has written about the Girl Guide Movement in Kenya in the first half of the twentieth century, indigenous participation in such movements was not always welcome because such participation could be seen to promote racial equality and foster African autonomy.[21] Given the emphasis on the necessary "Africanization" of the BRCS's African Branches as independence drew closer, a lack of African participation during the colonial period, at least within Branch leadership, becomes evident in at least some of the Overseas Branches.[22]

Another question that remains unanswered is how different conceptions of childhood came into play within the BRCS's overseas Junior program. Junior participants ranged in age from five to eighteen, an age range associated with school attendance. Traditionally the BRCS Junior program consisted of Links, groups of children and youth which carried out Red Cross activities through their schools or clubs. In addition to this, the BRCS Junior program also had Cadet Units composed of older Juniors who were attached to Senior Red Cross Detachments and assisted them in their work. Considering the young age demographic of mid-twentieth century sub-Saharan Africa, and the continent's many different cultural contexts, how did Africans view the Junior program? This ties in directly with perceptions and definitions of childhood and youth, especially in relation to age and its associated responsibilities. Thinking about this question within the African context becomes all the more complex as the BRCS recruited Juniors through western-style schools, schools which defined them as children by way of their education and dependence on adults. This education, however, also provided these youngsters with the "authority" of modernity in preparation for independence.

Part of the Junior program, particularly for Juniors in secondary school, was the voluntary provision of health education and services in rural areas. Within these rural settings,

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for a short time while attending primary school there. Avis Davis lived in Southern Rhodesia from 1965 to 1967 and was actively involved with the BRCS during that time. In Britain, both before and after her sojourn in Southern Rhodesia, Avis was a Junior Link leader.

[21] Parsons, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya," 143-56.

[22] This is especially emphasized in the case of Uganda, a British protectorate. See BRCS Archives, 76/58 (2). For example, the 1962 annual report of the Uganda Red Cross states, "The exodus of so many expatriates has forced the local population to accept positions of responsibility in all our divisions and of the fifteen divisions only one has a European Director now." Uganda Red Cross, "Annual Report, 1962," p. 1, BRCS Archives, 76/58 (2).

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were these Juniors perceived as "juniors" or adults by the villagers? Unfortunately the sources do not shed much light on how age and generation characterized these interactions, inhibiting an investigation of the intersection of age, culture, global discourse, and responsibility. In Britain's African colonies, Juniors were often given more adult-like responsibilities than their British counterparts, especially in health service provision, due to the lack of such services on the ground. In some ways these additional duties of African Juniors may have aligned better with African cultural conceptions of responsibility for these age groups than the Junior program as practiced in Britain would have. This, however, does not negate the intergenerational tensions that the realization of Red Cross activities may have exacerbated. This idea of responsibility, especially the responsibility of young people to their elders, also raises questions about how voluntarism, a central tenet of the International Red Cross, is perceived and adapted across African cultural contexts. While the voluntary spirit is often cast as a universal human impulse, it has deep cultural implications which need to be recognized.

Related to such discussions of responsibility are also BRCS perceptions of the Juniors – BRCS officials often overtly compared African Red Cross Juniors with adult members, claiming that the Juniors would ensure Red Cross longevity in the colonies and later independent nations, not the adults. Partly this was due to the fact that Juniors were simply younger and could thus serve the Red Cross longer. However, there were also ideological reasons for this, as many BRCS officials saw Juniors as empty vessels which could be filled with Red Cross values from an early age, unlike their adult counterparts who were seen to be locked into negative behavioral patterns. Rather than focusing on Juniors as future adult BRCS recruits, as was the case in Britain, in the colonies within the context of decolonization Juniors, especially those of colour, were cast as the country's future.[23] Florence Thomas, a BRCS field officer briefly stationed in Uganda after independence to help strengthen the Uganda Red Cross, summed this belief up well in a confidential report which she submitted to the BRCS headquarters in March 1966:

> In my opinion the main hope for the Red Cross in Uganda lies with the Youths and Juniors. It is very hard
> to in[s]till into the minds of adults out here, the meaning of voluntary service. The more Red Cross Links

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[23] See also Het Nederlandsche Roode Kruis, "Report on the Meeting of European Junior Red Cross Directors – Zeist, 24-29 October 1960," p. 9, LORC Archives, 00012908.

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there are in schools, the more hope there is that in the future, the people will realise they must do 'something for nothing' to help their own people who are in need of assistance...[24]

Such generationally-divisive attitudes are emphasized by Red Cross staff and volunteers throughout the BRCS and LORC archives, thus supporting the vision of history that anthro-historian Monica Eileen Patterson has cautioned against, the idea that young people merely exist to be trained as future adults.[25] Yet upon further consideration, Thomas' statement also highlights the agency of young people – the idea that they can and will contribute to the nation, albeit with the proper (Red Cross) training.

 This chapter will now examine this tension by investigating the realization of Junior activities in Britain's colonies, particularly in West Africa. While my analysis is institutionally grounded, it will nevertheless allow us to move beyond adult-centered narratives of decolonization to demonstrate how young people, young Africans, contributed to the building of their nations through voluntary activities in the realm of health. Within these discussions, however, I must be careful, especially when discussing Africa more broadly, as the peoples within each African colony would have had their own conceptions of childhood and youth, and engagement with BRCS programs, limiting the researcher's ability to draw conclusions on a continental scale.

The BRCS Overseas Juniors Before Decolonization in Africa

Every Red Cross Junior knows that there is a Branch of the British Red Cross Society in nearly every Colony of the British Empire... The Juniors of these Colonial Branches, then, belong, like you, to the British Red Cross Society; their rules and their promise are the same as yours, your training is their training, and their aims and objects and their activities are the same as yours - carried out in the different surroundings and conditions imposed by nature of the countries in which they live... [26]

As this statement, found in the December 1953 edition of the *British Red Cross Junior Journal* emphasizes, Juniors throughout the British Empire shared not only the bond of the Red Cross, but precisely that of the *British* Red Cross. At least that is what BRCS staff tried to facilitate and

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[24] Florence Thomas (BRCS Officer), "Confidential Report on Uganda Red Cross Society" (March 1966), p. 1, BRCS Archives, 76/58 (2).
[25] Patterson, "Constructions of Childhood in Apartheid's Last Decades," 2.
[26] "Overseas Supplement," *The British Red Cross Junior Journal* (December 1953), p. 17, BRCS Archives RCC30/122.

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wanted the Juniors to believe. It was a special imperial bond, one regularly reinforced by the flow of gifts, monetary donations, educational materials, visitors, and personnel from the metropole to the colonies and vice versa. Yet while the above article stresses the "sameness" of BRCS Juniors, a valid truth considering that most BRCS directives, training, and educational material originated from the London headquarters, it also allows for difference in recognizing how environment could influence Junior activities. With "service" at the core of the BRCS Junior program, service in relation to health, hygiene, and international friendship, the terms of service had to constantly be negotiated according to perceived local needs throughout Britain and its empire. The 1953 edition of *The Proudest Badge* recognized this. In describing the work of the BRCS Overseas Branches, the text explains that,

> The work of the Overseas Branches falls under the same clearly-defined headings as our own; but because their medical and social services are sometimes not so highly developed as those in Great Britain, there is a great opportunity for the Red Cross to act as pioneers, and to extend the work of first aid, nursing and welfare. Sometimes too the Red Cross is called upon to supplement and to 'fill gaps' in other ways.[27]

Not only does *The Proudest Badge* thus highlight the BRCS's contributions to social welfare in the colonies for its young readership, but it also emphasizes the fact that BRCS work complemented that of the colonial governments. In this way the BRCS acted as a government auxiliary not only in Britain, but even more so in the colonies where colonial government resources and infrastructure were sparser.[28] The Gold Coast provides a telling example – according to E. Akwei, Chair of the Gold Coast BRCS Branch in 1957, the Gold Coast Branch was specifically established in 1932 to fill a service gap when the government's Medical Department "was required to wind up its maternity and child welfare services" during a "financial slump."[29] This kind of "fill-gap" service by nongovernmental entities was not unusual.

While the British government's commitment to imperial development was evidenced through the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940, 1945 and 1959, and the creation of

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[27] BRCS, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross,* 1st ed. (BRCS: London, 1953), p. 36, BRCS Archives Acc 453/56

[28] Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 126-27; Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850 - 1960*: 253, 55, 57, 307, 16, 17.

[29] Letter from E. Akwei (Chairman of the Gold Coast Branch of the BRCS) to the Gold Coast Minister of Health (21 January 1957), p. 1, BRCS Archives Acc 76/24 (2).

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the Colonial Development Corporation (commonly referred to as the CDC) in 1948, these initiatives primarily focused on the development of the colonial export sector (such as agricultural and livestock expansion, and the infrastructure associated with this), thus neglecting any substantive expansion and improvement of necessary social services in the colonies.[30] As colonial servant Alec Dickson observed upon arriving in Accra, Gold Coast in 1948, according to his wife Mora Dickson, "Social Welfare, Community Development, Fundamental Education, these titles or the approach for which they all stood were almost unheard of in the African territories at this period, and those who advocated it were considered to be eccentric cranks."[31] This apparent attitude towards change from within the government necessitated the efforts of NGOs like the BRCS. Thus it was the lack of health care provision that allowed the BRCS to firmly establish itself in the colonies through maternal and child welfare clinics, general health clinics (where medicine was also distributed), blood transfusion services, first aid provision, classes in first aid, nursing, health, hygiene, and mothercraft, and voluntary health and community initiatives. Such efforts would have been encouraged by the British government, as the increased circulation of comparative health statistics by organizations such as the League of Nations, and later the United Nations, revealed a gap between the "touted benevolence" of European rule (i.e. Great Britain) in the colonies and "the realities of colonial neglect of indigenous health," according to historian Atsuko Naono.[32] With BRCS Overseas Detachments

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[30] For an overview of British aid policy during the period of decolonization, see Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850 - 1960*: 12-22; Roes, "World Bank Survey Missions and the Politics of Decolonization in British East Africa, 1957-1963."; Schuknecht, *British Colonial Development Policy after the Second World War*; Tomlinson, "The Commonwealth, the Balance of Payments and the Politics of International Poverty: British Aid Policy, 1958-1971." To read a contemporary evaluation of the CDC, see Wicker, "The Colonial Development Corporation (1948-54)." For a more recent evaluation of the CDC see Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850 - 1960*: 283-98. Through the 1950 Colombo Plan, the British government also channeled financial assistance to newly independent Asian members of the Commonwealth. Many in Britain saw the Colombo Plan as a potential template for imperial and post-imperial government assistance. The Colombo Plan thus, in certain ways, marks a transition from imperial to international development policy within the British government. That said, the Colombo Plan was a multilateral initiative that sought to promote regional development, and thus stability, in Asia during the Cold War. For more on the Colombo Plan, see Campbell-Miller, "The Mind of Modernity: Canadian Bilateral Foreign Assistance to India, 1950-60."; Oakman, *Facing Asia: A History of the Colombo Plan*.

[31] Alec and Mora Dickson would go on to found Voluntary Service Overseas in 1958. Dickson, *A Chance to Serve*: 38.

[32] Naono, "Burmese Health Officers in the Transformation of Public Health in Colonial Burma in the 1920s and 1930s," 119. See also Harrison, *Disease and the Modern World, 1500 to Present Day*: 145; Weindling, "Introduction: Constructing International Health Between the Wars," 3.

acting as so-called "pioneers" within the nascent field of public health in many of the colonies, overseas Juniors too had a greater impetus to provide active service in their communities in order to address this need. For this reason, BRCS leadership felt there was a real need for the Juniors' knowledge, skills, and medical supplies they fundraised for and donated. This perceived necessity, based on limited colonial health service provision, allowed overseas Juniors more responsibility within direct health provision than Juniors in Britain, where the National Health Service provided a more comprehensive health coverage by the 1950s. Thus, while BRCS Juniors throughout the British Empire shared many similarities, in terms of their training and ethos, their local realities could be quite different, just as the *Junior Journal* had pointed out.[33]

Angela Limerick's official travel diaries from her tours of West Africa (1954, 1961), Eastern and Southern Africa (1958), and Asia and the Middle East (1957), which she took in her capacity as Vice-Chairman of the BRCS (1946-1963), provide a window into the work of overseas Juniors, both in terms of her enforcing BRCS standards, as well as her admiration of their pioneering efforts in community health service provision.[34] A close examination of her 1954 West Africa diary provides concrete examples of this. The official diary is 42 typed pages long and starts and ends at the London airport. The diary details a 38 day whirlwind of engagements that took her to BRCS Overseas Detachments in the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria from January 24 to March 2. Most of her entries chronicle visits to medical facilities (such as hospitals, Red Cross clinics, and leper colonies), schools, and BRCS headquarters, participation at BRCS rallies and events, and attendance at official engagements with colonial government officials and traditional chiefs.

Limerick's accounts are peppered with personal insights and anecdotes, from remarking on "the palatial chicken houses" of the CDC's "ill-fated Chicken Scheme" in the Gambia (seen just after running over and killing a dog, "which was rather unpleasant"), to recording a Gold

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[33] This observation is interesting as Alec Dickson founded Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) in part because he felt that the educated youth in developing countries needed to be encouraged, by young Britons, to develop "a keener sense of service... and a deeper sense of responsibility towards the less privileged and less advanced communities." Dickson, *A Chance to Serve*: 93.

[34] Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19; Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (23 January to 19 February 1961), BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/34; Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to Eastern and Southern Africa (4 October to 5 November 1958), BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/30; Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to Asia and the Middle East (12 October to 15 November 1957), BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/29 . For an authorized biography of Limerick, see Lindsay, *A Form of Gratitude: The Life of Angela Limerick*.

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Coast adult emergency assistance demonstration where one of the props, a grass hut, accidentally caught fire, thus rendering "the dragging out of the 'casualties' a most realistic affair" in response to which "the large audience were highly delighted and shrieked with joy."[35] Despite her good intentions and obvious love of the African people, the diaries also highlight an innate racism underlying the work of Limerick and many of the Europeans she interacted with. This racism led to generalized and patronising observations of whole groups of people, most often African children, mothers and doctors. In Nigeria, for example, she recorded Professor Josh Jolly as saying "that the Nigerians make quite intelligent doctors but they have a streak of irresponsibility which it is difficult to eradicate."[36] I have incorporated more of these remarks into what follows, showing us something about the attitudes of people whose life's work it was to serve those in need overseas in the 1950s and 1960s.

During this particular West Africa trip in 1954, Limerick references ten direct encounters with BRCS Juniors. While each interaction was unique, they were all marked by the official nature of Limerick's visit by way of enrollments, inspections, rallies, presentations or displays. The nature of the ritualized group activities over which Limerick presided served a dual purpose for the BRCS – they reinforced a sense of belonging and importance among the young participants while also offering Limerick an opportunity for official surveillance and the reinforcement of her BRCS authority (as a representative of the London headquarters).[37]

In Nigeria, for example, Limerick presided over an enrollment ceremony at the School of Saint Theresa and an Anglican Girls' School, with the ceremony bringing BRCS membership up

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[35] Angela Limerick, Diary entries for Monday, 25 January, 1954 and Saturday, 20 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 2, 32, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19. The CDC's Gambia Poultry Farm was developed in 1948 with the intent of producing an output of 20 million eggs and 1,000,000 lbs of dressed chicken per annum for the British market. While this large-scale poultry farm was designed to be self-sufficient, this aspect of the plan failed, resulting in the starvation of approximately half the flock of chickens. Many of the surviving chickens were plagued by illness, resulting in decreased egg-laying capacity and meat that was unfit for consumption. The scheme was abandoned in early 1951, with the CDC having lost over £800,000 on it. Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850 - 1960*: 292.

[36] Angela Limerick, Diary entries for Friday, 5 February, 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 15, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

[37] Historian Thomas Burgess observed similar trends in the rituals associated with the Young Pioneers of revolutionary Zanzibar, particularly in Pioneer parades. Burgess, "The Young Pioneers and the Rituals of Citizenship in Revolutionary Zanzibar," 12, 18.

to approximately 40 children per Link out of a total of 200 children per school.[38] Several weeks later, in the Gold Coast, just before the straw hut started "blazing merrily away," Limerick inspected 500 Juniors who then paraded past her with "an innate sense of rhythm." Once the procession was over, "there followed a first class Junior display of First Aid, Nursing, Mothercraft etc." which even included "the bathing of a real baby in the middle of the field!"[39] In Sierra Leone Limerick too presided over a Junior Red Cross Rally, with 500 Juniors in attendance, most of whom were primary school students. This particular rally included a first aid demonstration headed by Alice Jones, the 11-year old Sierra Leonean who had traveled to London for the Coronation in 1953 under the auspices of the BRCS, as described in Chapter 2.[40] While uniformity in Britain's vast, geographic empire could not be guaranteed, it was at least symbolically upheld by such official visits, and the inspections, rallies and demonstrations they entailed. While these events were certainly also meant to entertain, Limerick, within her capacity as Vice-Chairman of the BRCS, was primarily there to ensure that everything was as it should be, that everything was up to appropriate BRCS standards, burning straw huts aside.

But what impressed Limerick more than any rally or demonstration was the Junior community outreach she observed during her tour. In Takoradi, in the western Gold Coast, she visited Sekondi School where she was treated to yet another first aid demonstration, after which she received a detailed report on their Juniors' activities. Both of these were worthy of detailed comments in her diary. First, the first aid demonstration not only led her to conclude that "African children are quite obviously born actors," but also impressed upon her "how well the children had been taught to improvise: - e.g., they made stretchers from stems of bamboos slipped through the sleeves of their shirts, and they dealt with the sort of casualties they were most likely to meet, such as snake bite." Second, after the demonstration she "was handed a delightful report describing the activities of the Links." These activities included fundraising for drugs and dressings so the Juniors could provide first aid treatment in a neighbouring village, sweeping and cleaning that same village (and "especially dealing with the stagnant water pools

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[38] Angela Limerick, Diary entries for Friday, 5 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 14, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

[39] Angela Limerick, Diary entries for Saturday, 20 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 32, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

[40] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Saturday, 30 January 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 8, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

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where mosquitoes breed"), helping "the illiterates at the Post Office and the Railway Station," and, finally, "mosquito-hunting" (likely as a form of malaria prevention).[41]

Four days later, Limerick visited the Prempeh Boys' Secondary School in Kumasi, the largest such school in the Gold Coast at that time with 440 pupils. There, two things drew her attention. First, the school's physical hideousness, of which she remarked that "[i]t is another of those Maxwell Fry-Jane Drew atrocities which looks like a rather indifferent biscuit factory..." But secondly, and more importantly, the headmaster took Limerick to a nearby village where "the members of the Red Cross Link (composed of young gentlemen of about 17-19) were doing their stuff." The boys' community outreach consisted of providing first aid treatment in five neighbouring villages twice a week, during which they treated approximately thirty patients per visit. Upon her arrival, Limerick observed "[a] queue of children... lined up waiting to receive treatment for their sores and cuts." Yet in witnessing this "excellent piece of work," Limerick also remarked upon the lack of appropriate first aid supplies: "it rather made my hair stand on end to see the type of injuries [the boys] were attacking with razor blades, or rather blunt scissors! However, the victims seemed quite impervious to pain and if anything to enjoy the operations, in which they took an intelligent interest!"[42]

While these anecdotes represent BRCS Junior achievements, they also highlight that Limerick was privy to flaws within BRCS overseas activities. As demonstrated above, for example, there was a lack of adequate medical and first aid supplies for Juniors to work with. Sometimes, as at the Sekondi School in the Gold Coast, students would improvise with available material or fundraise in order to purchase the necessary supplies, but this was not always possible. This financial problem could be further aggravated by bad management. Within another colonial context for example, in Sierra Leone, Mr. Campbell, the former secretary of that country's JRC program, was "awaiting trial for appropriating Red Cross Funds" which he had obtained through forged signatures and a false Red Cross appeal.[43] This likely contributed to Limerick's overall dismay at the lack of adult BRCS activity in Sierra Leone. In her diary she

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[41] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Saturday, 22 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 34-35, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

[42] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Friday, 26 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 40, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

[43] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Saturday, 30 January 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 7, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

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stated it outright, emphasizing the importance of the Juniors to BRCS longevity in that colony: "It was very encouraging to see this good muster of juniors [at the Rally] and I think that the real hope for the Sierra Leone Branch rests with them."[44] Her articulation of this hope presumably stretched beyond hope for the Sierra Leone Branch to also encompass the country, the continent even, a continent Limerick felt was in need of Red Cross values and services.

Through her observations of the "wonderful" work the Red Cross was carrying out in Africa, it is clear that Limerick believed the BRCS was teaching African people to take care of each other – Juniors to take care of their communities, mothers to take care of their children, lepers to take care of one another, and so on – something they had not known how to do before, at least not as effectively. In her mind such care, firmly rooted in the voluntary spirit and teachings of the Red Cross, helped Africans move their communities, and thus their colonies, away from the "desperate social conditions" that had characterized them before, conditions defined by ill-health, malnutrition, parental neglect, and general ignorance and individualism.[45] While she does not state it outright, Limerick's observations show that she believed the BRCS was responsible for channeling the previously dormant energy of African people into practical, community-oriented health initiatives. While some feared the organization and training of young Africans would evoke dangerous nationalist sentiments among them,[46] Limerick felt their organization and training was important precisely because such sentiments of loyalty needed to be fostered and channeled in productive ways that benefited the nation. Not once in her 1954 diary does she express any fear of the dangerous potential of youth. If anything, she is concerned that their potential was not being used.

Thus, in reference to Jon Abbink and Ineke van Kessel's dichotomy of vanguards or vandals in describing young Africans, it could be said that Limerick saw the "vandal" not as someone who actively sabotaged, but rather someone who did nothing, who did not contribute to the community.[47] For her, participation in BRCS activities was grounded in actions, actions that

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[44] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Saturday, 30 January 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 8, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

[45] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Monday, October 6, 1958 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to Africa (4 October to 5 November 1958), p. 62, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/30.

[46] For examples of fear of the potential of youth, if trained, see: Dickson, *A Chance to Serve*: 45; Parsons, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya," 143.

[47] Abbink and Kessel, *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa*, passim.

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provided visible results. Through these actions, of both Juniors and adults, there came a clear "before" and "after" the arrival of the BRCS, the "after" evidenced through visibly increased communal collaboration and better health. Applied Red Cross knowledge came to serve as a form of social control (controlling against inaction or the wrong action), as the BRCS trained people to apply their knowledge towards the improvement of their communities and their nation. Limerick stated the impact of the Red Cross outright during a visit to Kenya in 1958: "The contrast of 'before' and 'after' Red Cross help which has been given (through and by the Africans themselves) is really dramatic..."[48] While this statement refers to Kenya, I do believe these sentiments regarding the BRCS work in the colonies held true for most, if not all, of Limerick's long career with the Red Cross.

Despite setbacks in funding and outreach, the staff at the BRCS headquarters in London attached great importance to strengthening the overseas Junior Red Cross, because they saw these Juniors as not only integral to the BRCS's societal rejuvenation overseas, but also as important vehicles for spreading Red Cross values within their communities, and as necessary actors supplementing the colonial governments' limited health care programs. In many cases BRCS representatives felt it was only through the colonies' children and youth that Red Cross values could be embedded within colonial subjects in a sustainable way. As colonies moved towards independence, the knowledge imparted to children and youth became ever more important as it became increasingly framed in terms of nation-building and good citizenship. In this manner the BRCS provided space for children and youth to directly influence their new nation, an undertaking otherwise often reserved for adult men.[49] In the 1950s and 1960s the presence of the BRCS in the colonies can therefore be viewed as a liberal response to the end of empire, a response that employed Red Cross values to establish healthy communities and nations, a response that allowed former colonial subjects to construct their own future, albeit according to an approved Western agenda.

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[48] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Monday, October 6, 1958 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to Africa (4 October to 5 November 1958), p. 4, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/30.
[49] Parsons has reached similar conclusions in his discussion of the Girl Guide Movement in Kenya. Parsons, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya," 156.

Towards Decolonization and Nation-Building: A Case Study of the Gold Coast Branch of the BRCS

While Limerick's diaries chronicle an active BRCS throughout the colonies, they also highlight that some overseas branches were more effective than others, as her juxtaposition of the Sierra Leonean and Gold Coast work demonstrated. Much of this presumably had to do with effective leadership, but perhaps also history – the Gold Coast Branch was, in fact, one of the BRCS's oldest colonial branches. It was established in 1932, evolving out of the Gold Coast-based League for Maternal and Child Welfare (founded in 1929) in direct response to a government request and out of the concern of local physicians.[50] Rather than being imposed by the BRCS from London, the Gold Coast Branch emerged out of a particular local situation. According to historian K. David Patterson, government spending cuts resulting from the Depression had threatened to close government-funded Infant Welfare Centres. In making the BRCS responsible for these centres, through the establishment of the Gold Coast Overseas Branch, those concerned with infant and maternal health had new channels available to them to successfully raise enough money from private donors and civic organizations "to hire European nurses to keep the Sekondi and Cape Coast Infant Welfare Centres open," in addition to contributing "to new buildings at the Maternity Hospital, an X-ray machine for Kumasi, supplies for four leper colonies, an asylum for derelicts near Tamale, and a car for midwives and health visitors at the Princess Marie Louise Hospital in Accra."[51] Patterson does not specify over what time span these funds were raised, nor does he state whether donations came from within the Gold Coast or elsewhere. What is clear, however, is that from the beginning the Gold Coast Branch of the BRCS had a national reach and, as Patterson put it, it "continued over the years to contribute to the welfare of the sick, notably lepers, the insane, and the disabled."[52] In its maternal and child welfare centres alone, the Gold Coast Branch served thousands of children and women each year. According to figures found in the *Gold Coast Government Report of Medical and Sanitary Department*, as cited by historian and physician Stephen Addae, in 1933 maternal and welfare centres served

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[50] Ghana Red Cross, "Fact Sheet" (n.d, c.1970s), BRCS Archives, Acc 982 (11) 1/1; Letter from E. Akwei (Chairman of the Gold Coast Branch of the BRCS) to the Gold Coast Minister of Health (21 January 1957), p. 1, BRCS Archives Acc 76/24 (2).
[51] K. David Patterson, *Health in Colonial Ghana: Disease, Medicine, and Socio-Economic Change* (Waltham: Crossroads Press, 1981), 24.
[52] Ibid.

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74,160 children and 18,873 pregnant women, with these figures steadily increasing during and after the Second World War. In 1951, for example, the clinics served 173,887 children and 61,739 pregnant women. These numbers do not refer solely to Red Cross clinics, although a large percentage of these figures is likely attributable to them.[53] This kind of civil society medical intervention is significant considering that, according to the *British Red Cross Quarterly Review,* the Gold Coast only had one doctor per 50,000 people in 1951.[54] From the outset, such outreach work was supported by Red Cross Juniors as the Gold Coast Branch had a Junior division right from the beginning.[55] In many ways, then, through its effective leadership and social welfare initiatives, it seems that by the 1940s and 1950s the Gold Coast Branch served as a model for other overseas branches, as well as for representing BRCS overseas work at home, in Britain.

Image 3. 1: BRCS Gold Coast Branch Diorama (c. late 1940s). Source: BRCS Archives, 287/14/6.

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[53] Addae, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine in a Developing Country: Ghana 1880-1960*: 234-35.
[54] According to J.V.C. Wyllie, there was one practising public doctor per 90,000 people, in addition to 25 private practitioners and a dozen or so doctors attached to mines and medical missions. J.V.C. Wyllie, "Gold Coast Galanty Show," *The British Red Cross Society Quarterly Review* 38.3 (July 1951), 110-111.
[55] J.S. Buadoo, "The Gold Coast Branch of the British Red Cross Society," *Junior Red Cross Magazine: Gold Coast* (March 1950), p. 11, LORC Archives, 00016726.

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This act of representation is physically exemplified by a detailed three-dimensional diorama depicting a mobile BRCS maternal and child welfare clinic visiting a presumably remote village in the Gold Coast (see Image 3.1).[56] In the model, smartly dressed Red Cross nurses and volunteers are providing health care to women and children from a BRCS service vehicle, while two uniformed BRCS Juniors are demonstrating first aid to a small audience sitting in the shade of colourful parasols. The display is housed in a white wooden case, with the front covered in glass. It is 72 centimetres wide, 43 centimetres high and 36.2 centimetres deep and it even has a light built into it, though the electrical cord has become dangerously frayed with the passage of time. According to the BRCS archival catalogue, this model was likely made in Britain in the late 1940s as part of a set of small display cases that were exhibited throughout the United Kingdom in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

The fact that the designers of the exhibition chose a mobile maternal and child welfare clinic and Junior first aid demonstration to represent the BRCS's overseas initiatives demonstrates the centrality of such work to the Gold Coast Branch. What is striking about this diorama, however, is its portrayal of race relations – there are no white people present in this model of BRCS work. While the scene represents the work of the BRCS, it highlights how black people, presumably Gold Coast residents, contributed to national, even imperial, health through the clinic. An anonymously written account penned just after Ghanaian independence in 1957 emphasizes this: "There were mobile clinics for the rural areas, and these were manned entirely by African trained staff. This service, pioneered by the Red Cross and maintained by them for several years is now being taken over by the Government."[57] The structure of the BRCS, and the International Red Cross in general, necessitated such local participation, as Red Cross work depended on volunteers, young and old alike. This is likely why the creators of the model wanted to advance the idea of the centrality of indigenous participation in Red Cross initiatives within the colonies. People of European descent could have also accurately figured in this model, had the creators so desired: while the Gold Coast was a non-settler colony with active indigenous Red Cross participation, its Executive Committee in the early 1950s was also populated by people of European origin even if, according to Patterson, "distinguished Africans held

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[56] BRCS, Display Case/Diorama (n.d., c. late 1940s), BRCS Archives, Acc 287/14/6.
[57] This account was likely written by a BRCS staff member of the Gold Coast BRCS Branch. Anonymous, "British Red Cross Society – Gold Coast Branch 1932-1957," (4 November 1957), BCRS Archives, Acc 76/24 (2).

majorities on all committees."[58] In many of the colonies, BRCS Overseas Branches were staffed by people of European background, especially in the upper echelons, and these staff members were dependent on the orders of the BRCS London headquarters, as symbolized by Limerick's official tours. Therefore, while the diorama illustrates African adults and youth helping other Africans, it sheds little light on what was happening behind the scenes, particularly in terms of the BRCS's colonial implications.

On March 6, 1957 the Gold Coast became Britain's first African colony to become independent. The foundation of this independence, however, was laid years earlier. In February 1951, residents of the Gold Coast elected their first national assembly under adult franchise, with Kwame Nkrumah becoming the government's first prime minister.[59] Under this new self-government, the Gold Coast experienced unprecedented growth and increased investment in public infrastructure, such as in health and education. In the field of health, Nkrumah's government prioritized Medical Field Units, which focused on the provision of preventative medicine in rural areas, alongside the gathering of statistical data on rural health and endemic diseases, in addition to increasing the number of health centres and dressing stations throughout the country. According to Addae, by 1960 Ghana boasted 23 health centres, with another 23 under construction.[60] Similarly, in the field of education, the new government introduced free and expanded primary school education in 1952.[61] With such new social welfare policies in place, alongside the colony's healthy economic performance, the years of self-government before independence held great promise, a promise to which the BRCS contributed.

According to the 1951 BRCS Gold Coast Branch Annual Report, the Gold Coast Junior program consisted of 145 primary school Links and 15 secondary school Youth Detachments,

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[58] Patterson, *Health in Colonial Ghana: Disease, Medicine, and Socio-Economic Change*.

[59] Initially Nkrumah's title was "leader of government business," but in 1952 he received permission from the British government to change this to "prime minister." Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2005), 95-102.

[60] Addae, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine in a Developing Country: Ghana 1880-1960*: 35.

[61] Primary education did not become compulsory until 1961. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*: 100; C. K. Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana* (London: Frank and Cass Company Limited, 1971), 177-78. For more contemporary analyses on education in the Gold Coast/Ghana, see Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1965); John Wilson, *Education and Changing West African Culture* (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1963); A. W. Wood, *Informal Education and Development in Africa* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974). The main issue discussed in these texts is how to best address unemployment among primary school leavers.

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bringing colonial Junior membership to 3,270, with more local level interest allegedly being shown in the program on a regular basis.[62] For these young Gold Coast residents, the majority of whom would have been African, participation in BRCS initiatives was framed within national health terms. Just as with the BRCS in Britain, this Overseas Branch operated within a nationalistic framework, acting as a government auxiliary in the colony in terms of health services. In the euphoric lead-up to independence, during which time the Gold Coast transitioned from a colonial government to self-government to independence, the Gold Coast Overseas Branch unabashedly supported the shifting government structures, and BRCS Gold Coast staff encouraged their Juniors to do the same. In their eyes, this would translate into government-Red Cross collaboration that would contribute to the building of a bright and healthy national future. D.E.F. Nash, the Accra-based Director of the Gold Coast Junior Red Cross in 1950, makes this unquestionably clear on the eve of the Gold Coast's first election under adult franchise. In an open letter in the *Junior Red Cross Magazine: Gold Coast*, she challenges her Juniors to actively help the country transition smoothly:

> In these days, when the Gold Coast is working towards self-government and everyone is doing a great deal of thinking and writing and talking and often arguing about the best way to govern a country, it is more important than ever that our motto 'SERVE ONE ANOTHER' should be translated into practice. Government means that a vast organisation of people of experience, and technically qualified people, work hard in ministries and offices to plan the life of the people to keep it running smoothly and prosperously and happily, but their work is wasted if the people themselves ignore each other or are unkind to each other or quarrel. Any Link member or Youth Detachment member who goes about helping other people (just for the sake of helping, not for reward of any kind) no matter who they are, what their tribe or race or politics, is helping to make a feeling of friendliness and goodwill without which good Government cannot work smoothly.[63]

Here Nash encourages Gold Coast Juniors towards responsible citizenship, towards positively contributing to their nation. In contrast to those who merely think, write, talk and argue about how to govern a country, she challenges Juniors to be active agents responsible for propelling the

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[62] Organising Secretary of the Gold Coast Red Cross, "Annual Report for the Year 1951," (Accra, 20 March 1952), p. 2, BRCS Archives, Acc 0287-33.

[63] D.E.F. Nash, "From Miss Nash," *Junior Red Cross Magazine: Gold Coast* (March 1950), p. 3-4, LORC Archives, 00016726.

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country towards good governance. In writing this letter, Nash wanted her young readers to feel that they had a direct role to play within the development of their country through the technical skills and tools given to them by the Red Cross. In addition to this, however, Nash's seemingly simple appeal is also a call against racial or "tribal" retribution within this uncertain time of transition. While Nash's ethnic background is not specified, it is clear that she wants an independent Ghana free from hostilities, and that she feels adhering to Red Cross values is one way to achieve this.

While Nash emphasizes the need for service, friendliness and goodwill to facilitate decolonization, and her vision of an all-inclusive democratic government, another article in the same issue highlights some of the more practical approaches to community service that Gold Coast Juniors were already engaged in that also contributed to this national well-being: "Almost all the Links and Detachments have been working in various ways to help develop proper sanitation conditions in the villages by organising Health Weeks, building incinerators, improving and maintaining water supplies and bathing and dressing the village children, who are often left uncared for by their ignorant parents."[64] In this way Gold Coast Juniors helped spread awareness of health and sanitation to rural areas near their schools where government services did not reach.

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[64] J.S. Buadoo, "The Gold Coast Branch of the British Red Cross Society," *Junior Red Cross Magazine: Gold Coast* (March 1950), p. 11, LORC Archives, 00016726. The idea of the "negligent mother," or negligent parenting in general, is common throughout modern history, often referring to working mothers or significantly marginalized and impoverished parents. Within the African context, the BRCS felt it necessary to emphasize mothercraft classes to assist African mothers in adapting to their "modernizing" environment on the one hand, and to reinforce "civilized" British gender norms and cultural practices on the other. "Good mothering," in the eyes of many Britons, was symptomatic of a responsible and advanced civilization. Much has been written on this topic. For some examples, see Juanita De Barros, "'A Laudable Experiment': Infant Welfare Work and Medical Intermediaries in Early Twentieth-Century Barbados," in *Public Health in the British Empire: Intermediaries, Subordinates, and the Practice of Public Health, 1950-1960*, ed. Ryan Johnson and Amna Khalid (New York: Routledge, 2012); Baughan, "'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain," 134-35; Barbara Bush, "Gender and Empire: The Twentieth Century," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford, GBR: Oxford University Press, UK, 2007); Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Steven Feierman, "Struggles for Control: The Social Roots of Health and Healing in Modern Africa," *African Studies Review* 28, no. 2/3 (1985); Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo and Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Women, Work and Domestic Virtue in Uganda, 1900-2003*, Eastern African Studies (Oxford: James Currey, 2006). For a contemporary discussion that refutes this idea of parental neglect in Africa (particularly within the Ugandan context), see Hebe Welbourn, "Child Welfare in Mengo District, Uganda," *The Journal of Tropic Pediatrics*, no. June (1956); ———, "Bottle Feeding: A Problem of Modern Civilization," *The Journal of Tropic Pediatrics*, no. March (1958); ———, *A First Book of Child Care for African Parents* (London: Mills and Boon, 1966).

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But the Junior program went beyond tangible, practical initiatives to the spreading of ideas – teaching was also central to Junior community outreach. According to Addae, well into the 1950s most Africans, particularly those in rural areas, "remained totally ignorant of the linkage between the endemic diseases from which they suffered on the one hand, and the insanitary conditions under which they lived and the polluted water they walked in and drank, on the other." [65] The Red Cross catered to this need of educational outreach through instruction on health, hygiene, disease prevention, home nursing, nutrition and mothercraft. In addition to these classes, both formal and informal, the BRCS Gold Coast Branch, with support from the government, also ran a museum of health and sanitation in Accra, starting in the 1930s. [66]

Yet not all Gold Coast residents had access to this museum or BRCS classes and therefore Red Cross representatives, such as the Juniors, had to go into "ignorant" communities to instruct their inhabitants on preventative health care. Limerick observed this during her 1954 West Africa tour. On February 24, in describing her visit to two Cape Coast villages where Juniors from the Adisadel and Wesley Secondary Schools were carrying out their work, she wrote,

> It was interesting to see the elderly women sitting there, listening to every word of a lecture delivered by the 17-year-old girl on food value, telling them what they should eat and how they should cook it! It was all very practical and useful, explaining that if they could not afford to buy fats they should pick up the palm oil kernels, how to make the best use of ground nuts, cassava, etc.[67]

Whether the elderly women felt this information was as practical and useful as Limerick did, and whether they incorporated it into their daily lives thereafter, is not discussed and was likely never tracked. Despite this, this image of a 17 year old girl teaching her elders is telling. It shows that in some ways Juniors exercised authority over adults living in rural areas, a power originating from the Gold Coast government's lack of service provision and the Junior's knowledge of Red Cross teachings and practices. While this authority was couched in the seemingly selfless Junior motto of "serve one another," it still contributed to reinforcing certain societal inequalities,

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[65] Addae, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine in a Developing Country: Ghana 1880-1960*: 147.
[66] According to Addae, the museum played an important educational role well into the 1950s. Ibid.
[67] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Wednesday, 24 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 37, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

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enforcing an uneven dichotomy between the educated BRCS Juniors and the "ignorant" villagers. The very act of Juniors entering these areas to serve characterized rural inhabitants as needing services and information, thus designating them as disadvantaged, and their lifestyle choices as flawed.[68] Conversely, historians Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens and Catherine LeGrand have argued that initiatives that brought people from urban and rural areas together served to positively reinforce a sense of national unity, so important within the context of decolonization. Writing within the context of Jamaica in the 1940s and 1950s, Fitzpatrick-Behrens and LeGrand have demonstrated that, rather than reinforcing inequality, such community initiatives could foster empathy, solidarity, and the idea of national collective progress.[69] With this in mind, how Junior participants perceived these interactions is unclear – likely their responses embodied an uneven mixture of empathy, solidarity and superiority.

In addition to this, in a country in which the wisdom of one's elders was revered, Red Cross knowledge reversed this idea of authority, as educated youngsters "preached" and enacted the good news of health and hygiene.[70] This knowledge empowered them to act as the supposed vanguard of the new "modern" nation that was just around the corner. Whether this act of teaching one's elders reversed the traditional subordination of young people in the Gold Coast is unclear, as it was the BRCS Junior adult leadership in the Gold Coast who encouraged these voluntary activities, and there was a real need for increased health services in rural areas, a need expressed by the supposedly "ignorant" villagers themselves.[71] Despite this expressed need, however, the fact that it was young people transmitting the desired medical knowledge may have been contentious for the recipients of that information. Similarly, questions of age, generation,

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[68] Juanita de Barros has made similar arguments for the British Caribbean in the early twentieth century. In her work she demonstrates how British physicians in Barbados cast local mothers as ignorant and indifferent to their children's welfare in order to establish a need for the services of doctors, nurses and midwives. Barros, "'A Laudable Experiment': Infant Welfare Work and Medical Intermediaries in Early Twentieth-Century Barbados," 106.

[69] Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens and Catherine LeGrand, "Canadian and US Catholic Promotion of Co-operatives in Central America and the Caribbean: Social and Political Implications," in *Towards a Global History of Consumer Co-operation* (Swedish Labour Institute and Archive, Stockholm, Sweden2012).

[70] As one *Junior Red Cross Magazine* contributor put it in relation to the "crusade" against tuberculosis in the Gold Coast, "The Junior Red Cross can help in this… by setting aside special days in the year to preach about this disease. We can appeal to our local Pastor. We can appeal to our local Chief to use his influence." F.S. Williams, "Tuberculosis," *Junior Red Cross Magazine: Gold Coast* (March 1950), p. 7, LORC Archives, 00016726.

[71] Mamadou Diouf, "Urban Youth and Senegalses Politics: Dakar 1988-1994," *Public Culture* 8, no. 2 (1996): 225; Packard, "Visions of Postwar Health and Development and their Impact on Public Health Interventions in the Developing World," 96.

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and authority get further complicated when considering the urban and rural divide, that symbolic divide between modernity and tradition, which was further exacerbated by limited western-style educational access for rural areas. What can be said with certainty, however, is that the Gold Coast Juniors' specialized "modern" knowledge, which was located in a recognized global movement, gave them the analytical and practical tools with which to become active contributors to the nation in the name of national health.[72] Junior efforts, through their teachings, village clean-ups, building of pit latrines and incinerators, mosquito-hunting and so forth, contributed to a long-term, community-oriented preventative vision of health, more so than one of immediate relief or individual cure.[73] This was precisely why BRCS staff, both in London and Accra, believed that the colony's children and youth had an active role to play within the development of the Gold Coast, as such an approach was certain to have a lasting impact.

This development was not limited to assisting the needy and ignorant in rural areas. As Red Cross supporter J.S. Buadoo remarked in 1950 in the Gold Coast's *Junior Red Cross Magazine*, "the most remarkable thing about the Juniors is that their education in First Aid and Hygiene helps them to interpret the slogan, 'CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME.'"[74] Buadoo goes on to explain that this was not only tied to general tidiness and good hygiene, but also helpfulness, friendliness and good cheer. Yet it was not only the children's habits the BRCS wanted to affect – the organization also sought to impact family and community members who had not been fortunate enough to have learned Red Cross values. Although discussing a different geographical context, the European Junior Red Cross Directors described this diffusion of knowledge and values accurately at a conference in 1960. The final conference report stated that "[t]he Junior Red Cross provides a good form of Public Relations bringing the Red Cross ideas and activities to the knowledge of the parents, families and eventually the community through

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[72] Burgess, "Introduction to Youth and Citizenship in East Africa," xi-xii, xv-xvi; Murray Last, "Towards a Political History of Youth in Muslim Northern Nigeria, 1750-2000," in *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa*, ed. Jon Abbink and Ineke van Kessel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 46.

[73] This corresponded with a general shift in LORC policy in the 1950s towards an emphasis on structural change through long term initiatives which prioritized self-help. In this way LORC sought to alleviate inequality by tackling the causes of suffering and distress, not only its symptoms. Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*: 187.

[74] J.S. Buadoo, "The Gold Coast Branch of the British Red Cross Society," *Junior Red Cross Magazine: Gold Coast* (March 1950), p. 11, LORC Archives, 00016726.

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the children."[75] The BRCS, and by proxy the government, as well as the International Red Cross as a whole, thus cast Juniors as a public relations vehicle with which to broadcast Red Cross values, the value of health, hygiene and the voluntary spirit, into people's personal lives and spaces in order to create cohesive, healthy communities. With this in mind, the BRCS had to reach out to as many children in the colonies as possible, in order to have the greatest possible impact.

Gold Coast government representatives were aware of this and actively sought to tap into the BRCS network in order to advance the country's infrastructure, as was directly evidenced during Limerick's 1954 West Africa tour. On February 20th, Limerick met with Gold Coast government representatives from the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development.[76] At this meeting the Director, Mr. Gardiner, alongside other members of his team, impressed upon Limerick that they were "very anxious to start Junior Red Cross groups amongst the illiterate children" as "such a very small proportion of the children go to school and are therefore eligible as Links." [77] When considering this meeting it must be remembered that the Gold Coast had obtained self-government three years prior, in February 1951, leading to free and expanded primary school education in 1952. Despite the good intentions behind this policy, however, it proved too unwieldy to implement successfully due to insufficient financial resources and trained teachers.[78] Interestingly, the official curriculum incorporated teachings related to health, the kind of instruction the Red Cross also emphasized – according to historian C. K. Graham the teaching of hygiene received special attention on the syllabus, as did the teaching of nutrition and child-welfare for girls.[79] Perhaps this was why the government was seeking BRCS assistance – to help spread its curriculum beyond schools at minimal cost, in

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[75] Het Nederlandsche Roode Kruis, "Report on the Meeting of European Junior Red Cross Directors – Zeist, 24-29 October 1960," p. 9, LORC Archives, 00012908.

[76] The Department of Social Welfare and Development was established by Nkrumah's government shortly after his election. Alec Dickson's experiences in the Gold Coast directly influenced him in his foundation of Voluntary Service Overseas. Dickson, *A Chance to Serve*: 38-47.

[77] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Saturday, 20 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 31, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.

[78] Primary education did not become compulsory until 1961. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*: 100; Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana*: 177-78. See also Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana*; Wilson, *Education and Changing West African Culture*; Wood, *Informal Education and Development in Africa*.

[79] Despite this, Graham does not make any reference to the BRCS and its activities within schools in his book. Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana*: 179.

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addition to teaching preventative health measures to the Gold Coast's young. Reflecting upon this request, Limerick wrote, "Personally I would much sooner see the Red Cross Branch here pioneering some really useful Health and Hygiene work designed to be <u>preventative</u> rather than running a number of [Women and Child Welfare] Clinics without any supervision, which should anyhow be the responsibility of the Government."[80] That said, while the idea of working with children outside of schools appealed to Limerick, she was hesitant to give it her blessing as the Gold Coast Branch chair, Dr. Eddey, had only been informally approached on the issue.[81] Thus ultimate authority, at least in this matter, lay not with the representative from the London headquarters but with the local chairman.

While this conversation emphasized the capacity for potential cooperation between colonial governments and BRCS overseas branches, it also underscores that only children with access to formal education were privileged enough to participate in BRCS activities. This was deeply problematic, as the Gold Coast officials pointed out, because the BRCS only reached a very limited number of children through its school-oriented structure. While schools and other pre-existing programs had the infrastructure to support the Junior program, the BRCS's emphasis on working within these structures reinforced social hierarchies by providing economically and socially advantaged children with the tools to assist those less fortunate, thus contributing to an already unequal power dynamic, even if their community engagement did often cultivate empathy. Just imagine the scene – children and youth in smart BRCS uniforms distributing clothes and toys donated by British Juniors to impoverished or disabled children within their communities – this would certainly have reinforced power imbalances at a young age. Alongside this, the voluntary spirit cultivated in Juniors was also a sign of this privilege, as children from poorer households, particularly those who attended day schools, may not have had the time or energy to volunteer.[82] This kind of social division within the Junior Red Cross would have been more pronounced in Africa than in Britain, given the limited nature of educational access, particularly beyond primary school and in rural areas.

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[80] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Saturday, 20 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 31, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.
[81] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Saturday, 20 February 1954 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (24 January to 2 March 1954), p. 31, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/19.
[82] Meredeth Turshen, *Privatizing Health Services in Africa* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 91.

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This problem of unequal access to Junior membership went beyond the Gold Coast, beyond Ghana, and came to be increasingly articulated with decolonization. Despite the setbacks which Limerick and others observed, government officials and Red Cross staff across Africa saw the Junior Red Cross as serving an important national function through health education and volunteerism. As a result of this, with more and more countries gaining independence, the upper echelons of the International Red Cross in Geneva gave this dilemma of Junior membership more attention, perhaps because of the early efforts of people like Limerick and Gardiner. Thirteen years after Limerick's meeting with the Gold Coast government officials, in 1967, Charles-André Schusselé, the director of LORC's Junior Red Cross Bureau, emphasized this need to consciously change the program's structure in a memorandum addressed to LORC's Secretary General:

> A number of African and Asian nations have now acceded to independence, a new searching of hearts has become necessary. In some of these countries illiteracy is sometimes as much as 90%. This means that the Junior Red Cross has not been able to remain an educative organisation working with the schools, but has extended outside the school, and this brings up the question of leadership for non-school going youth. The whole question has only been superficially dealt with so far...[83]

Schusselé's statement demonstrates that LORC's staff in Geneva were responding to the realities of newly independent nations in terms of their policy development, signalling a new awareness of African circumstances, an awareness that had not been necessary when most African Red Cross branches had been the responsibility of imperial Red Cross headquarters, such as the BRCS headquarters in London. That is not to say that the BRCS no longer influenced its former Overseas Branches after independence. Rather, the ascendency of independent National Red Cross Societies to LORC signaled LORC's broadening of global responsibility and awareness (as LORC was now directly responsible for new geographical areas),[84] one to which the BRCS had to adjust in order to maintain its imperial connections. One way in which it did this was by

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[83] Memorandum on "Outline of future League Junior Red Cross Activities," from Charles-André Schusselé (Director, LORC Junior Red Cross Bureau) to LORC's Secretary General (Geneva, Switzerland, 2 February 1967), p. 2, LORC Archives, 00086481.
[84] A similar trend can be observed in the United Nations (UN) during the 1960s, a decade in which many newly independent nations obtained UN membership and thus a voice in the General Assembly.

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sending out international consultants, in the form of BRCS field officers, to newly independent National Societies.

By the time the Gold Coast became Ghana, with its independence in March 1957, it seems the heyday of Junior activities, as described above, had passed, at least according to the assessment of Miss Clapham, the senior BRCS Field Officer sent to Ghana in May 1957 by the London headquarters. Her mission was to oversee the proper development of the Ghana Red Cross Society so that it could obtain official recognition from both the Ghanaian government and the ICRC. Despite her best efforts, her final report, written in 1958, was received with a "What a depressing report" by at least one BRCS official in London.[85] Clapham's report actually contradicts some of the accomplishments that Limerick and the *Junior Red Cross Magazine* had reported on three years prior, or at least demonstrates that some of these successes were short-lived or misrepresented. In regards to the Ghanaian Juniors, for example, much lauded by Limerick, Clapham observed that the program had suffered a great deal because of an inactive Junior Red Cross Director who had failed to attend any meetings for the past two years and that attempts to salvage it had foundered because of this lack of leadership.[86] Clapham's assessment of the rest of the Ghana Red Cross was not more positive: "It is not easy to feel very optimistic about the Ghana Red Cross Society...," especially in consideration of their poor financial position and lack of competent field officers. While she does not shed much light on the Society's failings in the years immediately preceding independence, she does lament that the new Secretary-General, Justice Nil Amaa Ollennu, was too busy to provide adequate leadership, that there was a lack of both European and African blood donors, and that the Africanization of Ghana's medical staff had left the Society with only one qualified instructor.[87] On top of this, she also deplores that

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[85] Memorandum from Joan Whittington (Director of BRCS Overseas Branches Department) to Secretary-General (IRRA) (29 April 1958), BCRS Archives, Acc 76/24 (2).

[86] Miss Clapham (BRCS Field Officer), "Setting-Up of Ghana Red Cross Society," (n.d., c.1957), p. 4, 7-8, BCRS Archives, Acc 76/24 (2).

[87] In 1853 the British government set up a scholarship for West Africans to study medicine in Britain in order to increase African participation in public health provision. The Gold Coast was central to this initiative as the British government felt its strategic location necessitated a healthy population. Despite the scholarship resulting in the training of many prominent West African physicians, at the turn of twentieth century British authorities maintained that African doctors had inferior capabilities because of their race. For this reason the West African Medical Staff, particularly in the Gold Coast, was staffed primarily by Europeans. Ryan Johnson, "*Mantsemei*, Interpreters, and the Successful Eradiction of Plague," in *Public Health in the British Empire: Intermediaries,*

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> [t]he British Red Cross Health Education officers have trained a great many people in hygiene, First Aid and Child Care, but this has benefitted Ghana as a whole rather more than the Ghana Red Cross Society whose great need is training for membership and voluntary work, as opposed to training as a useful addition to a person's knowledge as a teacher or a Government servant.[88]

This critique demonstrates how difficult it could be to balance Red Cross and national objectives. While Clapham regrets that the health education initiatives did not increase societal membership, the fact that people were being trained in hygiene, first aid and child care was ultimately a good thing, fitting with the overall Red Cross mandate. However, Clapham was well aware that if people kept the information to themselves, the voluntary spirit of the Red Cross would not be able to regenerate itself. The organization would therefore cease to exist and would stop contributing to the nation. In this manner national health was inextricably tied to the health of the National Red Cross Society and was the reason why Red Cross training had to benefit the Society first and foremost. The longevity of National Societies was also tied to the recruitment of children into the Junior program. In her report, a dismayed Clapham describes how BRCS Health Education Officers had encouraged a number of teachers to start Junior Links in their schools, only for their attempts to fail because of a lack of local Branch support.[89] Despite all of these problems, however, the Ghana Red Cross Society was officially recognized by the Ghanaian government in 1959 through the passing of the Ghana Red Cross Society Act and it has remained active ever since. In its 2011 "Strategic Plan, 2011-2015," for example, the Ghana Red Cross boasted 56,000 volunteers and a presence in 63 per cent of the country.[90]

In vying for this official government recognition, the Ghana Red Cross emphasized the importance of its work with Ghana's younger generation, the future social capital of the nation. As we have already seen, before independence the BRCS actively promoted Junior work in the colonies, with Limerick praising the Gold Coast's successful Junior community-outreach

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Subordinates, and the Practice of Public Health, 1950-1960, ed. Ryan Johnson and Amna Khalid (New York: Routledge, 2012), 135-39.

[88] Miss Clapham (BRCS Field Officer), "Setting-Up of Ghana Red Cross Society," (n.d., c.1958), p. 3, BRCS Archives, Acc 76/24 (2).

[89] Miss Clapham (BRCS Field Officer), "Setting-Up of Ghana Red Cross Society," (n.d., c.1958), p. 3-4, BRCS Archives, Acc 76/24 (2).

[90] The Ghana Red Cross is headquartered in Accra and has Secretariats in all ten regions of Ghana, with a presence in 86 out of its 138 districts. Ghana Red Cross Society, "Strategic Plan, 2011-2015," 4.

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initiatives in 1954. Pride in this outstanding history of Gold Coast Junior accomplishments was reiterated in an anonymous report written for the BRCS, presumably by a Ghana Red Cross member, just after independence: "Junior Links in the rural areas have visited villages and townships, where medical and hospital aid is not available, and have done much to encourage better standards of health and hygiene. Juniors, trained in first aid, have also assisted in treating wounds, [...] and sores when visiting the villages."[91] Despite Clapham's negative assessment of the Gold Coast Juniors immediately before independence, this post-independence report draws on the active history of the Gold Coast Juniors, commending them for their community service. BRCS officials interpreted this as Juniors playing an important role in nation-building, as Juniors promoted the idea, and indeed the reality, of the healthy citizen. In this way African youth, in this case Ghanaians, were cast as active participants of development through the knowledge they acquired from the BRCS, and later their own National Red Cross Societies, and through the practice of volunteerism inherent to its activities. This direct participation in social service provision in the 1950s is significant, as oftentimes children and youth are characterized as simple beneficiaries by NGOs, rather than development participants. This is especially noteworthy during the 1950s, a decade known for top-down approaches to development, suggesting a parallel narrative of self-help and community development initiatives. Both these grassroots approaches would become firmly established within international development thought and practice by the 1970s.[92]

Ghanaian Red Cross representatives sought to capitalize on the efforts of their Juniors in order to secure government recognition. With the independence of Ghana in March 1957, the Chairman of the Ghana Red Cross Executive Committee, Dr. E. Akwei, wrote to the Ghanaian Ministry of Health in January of that same year to explain the necessity of government support in his Society's application for LORC membership. In his brief letter, one of the things Akwei emphasized was the importance of the Junior Red Cross to the future of an independent Ghana. Akwei wrote, "Through its Junior Red Cross Organisation [the Ghana Red Cross] also maintains links of Junior Red Cross Workers throughout the schools and is thus able to inculcate the spirit

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[91] Anonymous, "British Red Cross Society – Gold Coast Branch 1932-1957," (4 November 1957), BRCS Archives, Acc 76/24 (2).
[92] Iriye argues that there was a distinctive growth within civil society initiatives the world over in the 1970s, contributing to an increased sense of global community and reflecting changing state-society relations. Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*: 126-56.

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of voluntary work among the future leaders of the country from an early age."[93] In this way Akwei linked the Red Cross with nation-building, not only because of its already extensive network, but also because the Junior Red Cross instilled in children and youth the qualities he perceived necessary for good citizenship and hence a bright national future. These qualities were found not only in the Red Cross's emphasis on volunteering and service, but also through the Junior Red Cross mandate of promoting health and hygiene, serving the sick, and fostering international friendship. In using the word "inculcate" Akwei also signalled recognition of the doctrinal nature of the International Red Cross and the necessity of teaching children to fully embody Red Cross values, which would translate into national values. With his letter Akwei thus reinforces historian John Hutchinson's argument that the Junior Red Cross was a propaganda-agency for school-aged children – in Akwei's view, a socialization tool necessary for building a healthy future for Ghana.[94] In this manner the development of an independent Ghana was to happen through local efforts, especially efforts stemming from those who would grow to be Ghana's future adults and citizens, supported by the Ghana Red Cross. Akwei's letter thus emphasizes that, in certain ways, the International Red Cross fostered nation-building, and, in his view, one he hoped the government shared, that the well-being and participation of children and youth was integral to the national project in order to create sustainable change. Whether Akwei's letter swayed the government is uncertain but the government did indeed recognize the Ghana Red Cross Society in 1959.

With independence, the nature of the work of the Ghana Red Cross Juniors did not seem to change much – in the 1960s the Ghanaian Junior Program continued to focus on contributing to national health through health education and community outreach. Surprisingly, evidence of this comes to us through the Yugoslav Red Cross, which hosted a worldwide Junior essay contest on the theme "Youth's Contribution to the Red Cross" in 1963. One of the winners was seventeen year old John Clement Easmon, a student at the prestigious Achimota School in Accra. While his voice was heavily mediated by the contest and his presumed desire to win, his entry remains important as it is one of the few, if not the only, Ghanaian Junior voices from the 1960s that survives in the archives. He wrote,

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[93] Letter from E. Akwei (Chairman of the Gold Coast Branch of the BRCS) to the Gold Coast Minister of Health (21 January 1957), p. 1-2, BRCS Archives Acc 76/24 (2).
[94] Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*: 1, 321.

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In my country, school children carry out the Red Cross activities everywhere doing practical work even in isolated communities where the people are usually, ignorant about health science. In villages, youths take upon themselves the responsibility of nursing small boys and girls who are poor and can not [sic] pay to go to hospitals. Some of us students devote two or three hours advising on health problems and teaching the work of the Red Cross. We go to the extent of presenting free gifts such as food, clothing and medical supplies to poor villagers.

The villagers are taught food hygiene and preservation of food. The women are taught good feeding and how to take good care of their babies. We devote our time to dressing their saves [sic] and advising them to boil their drinking-water to kill disease spreading bacteria...

The life of the Red Cross depends on the youths because it is the youth who support the society. These youths serve almost as doctors in remote villages...[95]

While the Ghana Red Cross itself may not have likened its Juniors to doctors, this excerpt demonstrates how Easmon perceived his status within rural communities, a status gained by the juxtaposition of his knowledge and the villagers' ignorance of good health practices and Red Cross teachings, a status gained by not being a villager himself. Yet in an environment with a weak public health system, perhaps Easmon likening himself to a doctor should not be read as a remark of proud insolence but rather as a sign of respect as he took the time to go into the villages to take care of his elders, their children, and thus the nation.[96] For him, it was a form of humanitarian self-expression, couched in the terms of the Red Cross. However, with such self-identification Easmon underscores the authority with which Juniors continued to go into villages after independence in the name of a healthier Ghana, in the name of nation-building, development and collective progress.[97] Not only did the Ghana Red Cross support and encourage such activities through its Junior program throughout the 1960s, but it seems the movement as a whole supported this view of Red Cross work in the newly independent countries, as evidenced not only by Easmon winning the essay contest (chosen out of 188 entries), but also by LORC's

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[95] John Clement Easmon, "The Youth's Contribution to the Red Cross," (Winning Submission to 1963 Yugoslav Red Cross Society Essay Competition), p. 2-3, LORC A0855/1 – 26/5/15/Winners.
[96] Abbink, "Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal," 24.
[97] For more examples of the post-independence work of the Juniors of the Ghana Red Cross Society, see LORC Archives, 00016726 for Ghana Red Cross Newsletters from 1961, 1962 and 1965.

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Five Year Plan which aimed to support the Juniors of the National Red Cross Societies from 1965-1970.

Post-Independence: A Five Year Plan

With independence African Red Cross Societies now had direct access to an international Red Cross governing body that superseded the BRCS headquarters in London – LORC in Geneva. Despite this, however, the BRCS, which was also responsible to LORC, wanted to maintain its "special relationships" with its former overseas branches and, as such, BRCS staff co-opted LORC directives in order to channel much of its assistance to Commonwealth countries in Africa and Asia. In this way, many of the BRCS's overseas activities in the 1960s reflect a continuation of the imperial order, in accordance with the geopolitics of the time, as the British government sought to redefine and maintain its international influence in a post-imperial world.[98] One example of the efforts of the British government was Prime Minister Harold Wilson's creation of the Ministry of Overseas Development in 1964, with Barbara Castle at its helm. Within a world of limited imperial authority, this Ministry legitimized foreign involvement within the terms of the emerging field of international development. As mentioned previously, the BRCS also signaled this shift in policy by renaming its Overseas Branches Department to the Overseas Development Department.

More importantly, however, the British government sought to maintain its influence with the former colonies through the Commonwealth. Although it had existed before, the modern Commonwealth was formally constituted in 1949 through the London Declaration and India's accession as a member, with its membership expanding steadily as more and more countries gained independence throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[99] The special ties that Britain tried to maintain with these countries were manifested economically, politically and culturally. While the

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[98] For discussions on the end of empire, see D. George Boyce, *Decolonisaion and the Britsh Empire, 1775-1997* (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1999), 70-122; Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The Twentieth Century*, vol. IV, The Oxford History of the British Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); L.J. Butler, *Britain and Empire: Adjusting to a Post-Imperial World* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2002); John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Allen Lane, 2012); ———, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Harrison, *Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom, 1951-1970*; Martin Lynn, ed. *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival* (Houndsmill: MacMillan, 2006).

[99] Krishnan Srinivasan, *The Rise, Decline and Future of the British Commonwealth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 11.

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BRCS did not have a comparable "Commonwealth" body for its overseas branches, it did appropriate LORC's directives to ensure that its connections with these countries would also be fostered, including plans that targeted Red Cross Juniors. Much of its overseas assistance not earmarked for humanitarian disasters was therefore sent to former colonies.

Like the BRCS, LORC too felt the need to provide support to Juniors to ensure the active spreading of Red Cross values, particularly in newly independent countries. According to Daphne A. Reid and Patrick F. Gilbo, the authors of LORC's official history, despite the sizeable force of the Junior Red Cross internationally, it lacked a clearly defined role in the 1950s. They even cited Schusselé, the Director of LORC's Junior Bureau, as admitting in 1957 "that of the 69 National Societies with Junior Sections, he had virtually no contact with 21 of them," demonstrating a lack of international coordination and vision.[100] This recognition, especially in the face of increasing LORC membership because of decolonization, led to a re-evaluation of the role of young people within the International Red Cross as a whole. In part this was discussed at the XIXth International Conference of the Red Cross, held in New Delhi, India in 1957, a conference which increasingly recognized the voice of newly independent countries. The increased presence of National Societies from developing countries pushed the International Red Cross towards resolutions to fight inequality, prejudice, discrimination, and racism, particularly in the medical-social field. In relation to this, conference participants also debated the role of Juniors within the International Red Cross, notably in how they could contribute to the above resolutions.[101] The XIXth International Conference thus demonstrated that decolonization and the increased membership representation of National Societies from the global south, with their overwhelming realities of inequality and poverty, forced LORC to re-evaluate the work of the International Red Cross, including the role of its youngest members. Yet change was slow in the Red Cross and despite the debates and resolutions to increase the influence of the JRC program in 1957, it was not until 1963 that a real turning point in JRC policy was reached. This turning point came in the shape of the JRC Five Year Plan.

The JRC Five Year Plan came out of the World Conference of Educators which took place in Lausanne from August 19 to 23, 1963 and was part of LORC's overall Red Cross

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[100] Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994*: 186, 88.
[101] Ibid., 183.

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Development Program. The World Conference of Educators was a seminal conference which moved the JRC beyond the initiatives set out by the first Educators Conference held in 1925. The conference was well attended – there were 130 participants from 43 Red Cross Societies (stemming from either their Junior Sections or the Ministry of Education of their respective countries), including four representatives from Great Britain, one from Ghana and Nigeria each, and two observers from Uganda. There were also representatives from various international organizations, such as the International Bureau of Education, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, and the World Health Organization (WHO), amongst others.[102] One of the major outcomes of this conference was the opening up of the JRC structure to operating outside of organized educational settings, allowing it to adopt a more flexible program which recognized the circumstances of postwar and post-colonial children and youth. The seven recommendations generated by conference participants ultimately reinforced the importance of the JRC at the local, national and international levels, the necessity of government collaboration in Red Cross youth initiatives, and the need to systematically modernize the JRC program to allow young people to fulfill their civic and social responsibilities.[103] As Goetz Fehr, the Chairman of LORC's JRC Advisory Committee, said in his inaugural address, "...the children and youth of the entire world are waiting, ready to follow if you show them the road to a happy future."[104] While this might have proved a slight exaggeration, Fehr's enthusiasm does highlight the conviction held by most conference participants that the International Red Cross, through education, had the potential to make a positive impact on the future of the world.

Some National Societies of newly independent countries felt they needed assistance in guiding their children and youth down this road. Ali Chellaï of Morocco outlined this need clearly at the conference:

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[102] "Introduction" and "List of Participants," Red Cross World Conference of Educators, Lausanne, August 1963 (Geneva, 1964), p. 20, 177-187, LORC Archives 00019725.
[103] "Recommendations," from the Red Cross World Conference of Educators, Lausanne, August 1963 (Geneva, 1964), p. 158-163, LORC Archives 00019725.
[104] Goetz Fehr, "The Basis and Development of the Junior Red Cross" (Inaugural Address), at the Red Cross World Conference of Educators, Lausanne, August 1963 (Geneva, 1964), p. 39, LORC Archives 00019725.

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> Many young Societies at present facing a great number of problems try to direct their organisation's activities to meet local and national needs. It is with this in view that they should be helped and their young people taught to 'serve'. Activity of this sort can be of an informational nature, by supplying study grants, sending experts or qualified personnel to examine and carry out a given project, also the consignment of useful documentation. An example of this type of assistance is the First Aid manual produced by the British Red Cross Society in a language other than English for use by another National Society.[105]

LORC codified this appeal as the Five Year Plan, intending it to increase the vitality of the JRC in newly independent countries and increase their capacity to train " not only... good neighbours and citizens but... world citizens."[106] This Plan, which was in operation from 1965 to 1970, was designed not only to help new Societies strengthen their Junior activities, but to also foster a culture of international understanding, mutual aid, and technical assistance within the International Red Cross.[107] The Plan was launched in 1965 within the framework of the World Red Cross theme – "Red Cross Youth – Tomorrow's Strength Today" – the first such theme to feature youth directly, [108] which was likely timed to correspond with the United Nations' Year of International Cooperation (1965), which also emphasized the power of youth internationally. For

LORC's Five Year Plan, each year was structured around a particular theme – health education, first aid, accident prevention and health care, leadership training at the international level, and international understanding (see Table 3.1).

YEAR	THEME
1	Health Education
2	First Aid
3	Home Nursing, Mother and Child Care, Accident Prevention, Water Safety
4	Leadership training at the international level
5	International Understanding

Table 3.1: The League of Red Cross Societies' Five Year Plan. Source: "5 Year Plan," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (June 1965), p. 9, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/168.

In Britain, Juniors and adults alike were called to support the initiative much like they had been called on in the past to support their Overseas Societies. Among the suggestions for Health Education-themed donations for the first

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[105] Ali Chellaï, "Suitable Means to Encourage Young People in New National Societies to 'Serve,'" at the Red Cross World Conference of Educators, Lausanne, August 1963 (Geneva, 1964), p. 39, LORC Archives 00019725.

[106] Goetz Fehr, "The Basis and Development of the Junior Red Cross" (Inaugural Address), at the Red Cross World Conference of Educators, Lausanne, August 1963 (Geneva, 1964), p. 35, LORC Archives 00019725.

[107] Junior Red Cross (LORC), "Health Education, International Friendship and Mutual Aid", (28 April 1965), p. 2-3, LORC Archives 00019725.

[108] "World Red Cross Theme for 1965," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (Spring 1965), p. 8, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/167.

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year of the Plan, for example, the authors of the *Junior Journal* listed health kits (containing soap, flannels, towels, toothbrush, etc.), school garden equipment, stationary kits (containing a pencil, exercise book, ruler, paints, etc.) and, of course, knitted blankets.[109] While some of these items have an evident link with health education, others, such as the knitted blankets, are not as obvious. Nowhere in the *Junior Journal* is there an explanation of what health education meant for the overseas children in need of those items. Instead, the *Junior Journal* included detailed instructions for sewing one's own First Aid Kit in the hopes that "every Unit, Link and group of young people in the adult Red Cross will make up at least one of these during 1965, to support the second year's theme of the 'Five Year Plan.'"[110] By the end of 1966, over 300 of these kits had been sent overseas.[111] In this manner the *Junior Journal* emphasized a practical rather than analytical approach to the problems the Overseas Societies were facing. That said, the actual implementation of the Plan depended on individual Link and Cadet Unit Leaders, as well as BRCS Junior initiative, thus allowing for a multitude of approaches. Also, perhaps it was assumed that the BRCS Juniors did not need to learn about overseas Red Cross Juniors in great detail as the BRCS Juniors were already part of a tradition of assisting Overseas Societies, albeit a tradition based on imperial domination. As we have seen, since the 1930s the BRCS involved Juniors in its work with its colonial branches, in terms of fundraising, donating toys, books and clothes, international volunteering, communicating through international friendship albums, and even international travel opportunities. The authors of the *Junior Journal* were aware of this tradition, highlighting how LORC's Five Year Plan was but a continuation of already existing BRCS activities: "These projects will be familiar to our Society as they are similar to those we have been carrying out for some time to assist the Overseas Branches... The [5 Year Plan]

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[109] "5 Year Plan," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (June 1965), p. 9, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/168. In the third year of the Five Year Plan, BRCS Juniors were encouraged to make Baby Bags, made of either pink or blue cotton. These were to contain 2 cotton cot sheets, 4 lightweight Turkish towelling nappies, 2 cotton shifts and 6 curved nappy pins. Again, the *Junior Journal* provided no additional information about maternal and child health in the colonies, nor did the article address how these items would help new mothers and Red Cross Societies beyond being mere gifts. "Baby Bags," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (Spring 1967), p. 10, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/175. The Summer 1967 *Junior Journal* includes an amendment to the measurements of the cotton shifts requested for the Baby Bags. "'Baby Bags' As Gifts for Overseas," *British Red Cross Junior Journal* (Summer 1967), p.18, BRCS Archives RCC 30/176.
[110] "First Aid Training Kit," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (June 1965), p. 10-11, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/168.
[111] British Red Cross Society, "Annual Report for the Year 1966," (London, 1967), p. 18, BRCS Archives, RCC 29/44.

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projects will then be distributed to our Overseas Branches and also to any developing National Society, which would like to receive them."[112]

While LORC intended for the Plan to assist Societies in any newly independent country, the BRCS continued to channel most of its efforts to its own Overseas Branches or those of the Commonwealth. By the spring of 1966 this was already evident as most of the far-flung recipients of BRCS Junior efforts had some kind of imperial tie to Britain – Antigua, Bechuanaland, British Honduras, Brunei, Cyprus, Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Gambia, Grenada, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kenya, Mauritius, Saint Helena, the Solomon Islands, Tanzania, Tonga, and Uganda. The only two countries listed that did not have direct connections to the British Empire were Liberia and Nepal (Brigade of the Gurkhas aside).[113] Alongside this list, the *Junior Journal* published a letter from Thomas Sinn, the Hong Kong Youth and Juniors Branch Officer, thanking BRCS Juniors for the 1,300 knitted blankets and 22 First Aid Kits they had sent. According to Sinn the First Aid Kits were particularly helpful as "[w]e have now here altogether thirty-two Junior Links, most of which have never had any such First Aid equipment before although they have learnt some First Aid..."[114] The Five Year Plan was thus fulfilling a real need, as confirmed by the letter. It should be noted, however, that BRCS participation in the Plan did not only involve Juniors living in the British Isles. BRCS Juniors in the colonies too were participating as much as possible, creating a network of assistance throughout the empire and Commonwealth. In 1968, for example, Juniors in Bermuda knitted blankets and created Baby Bags to support Junior programs less fortunate than theirs.[115]

Whether the emphasis the BRCS placed on its pre-existing imperial networks for the distribution of the development gifts was because of logistical ease, personal connections or ideology is uncertain. Likely, amongst BRCS staff, a mix of attitudes towards decolonization and the BRCS's role in the process was represented. However, the fact that the BRCS was able to

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[112] "5 Year Plan," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (June 1965), p. 9, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/168.

[113] "World Red Cross Day Projects 1965," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (Spring 1966), p. 12-13, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/171. For a list of countries assisted by May 1968, see "The Five Year Plan," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (Summer 1968), p. 10-11, BRCS Archives RCC 30/179. For a graph detailing the total number of items sent overseas from May 1965 to May 1969, see "The Five Year Plan," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (Summer 1969), 10-11, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/184.

[114] Thomas Sinn, as quoted in "World Red Cross Day Projects 1965," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (Spring 1966), p. 12-13, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/171.

[115] The Bermuda Juniors also assembled Disaster Relief Kits which were then sent to Britain to await deployment. "Friends Overseas," *British Red Cross Society Junior Journal* (Summer 1969), 18, BRCS Archives, RCC 30/184.

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adapt LORC's program of development assistance to its imperial structure with such ease reflects shared visions of global cooperation between the BRCS and LORC. Despite its humanitarian ideals and emphasis on equality, the International Red Cross's internationalism was not incompatible with the BRCS's imperial connections. If anything, the BRCS's existing networks facilitated the work of the Red Cross and served as a model of exchange. It does not seem coincidental that Chellaï of Morocco, a country with no formal ties to Britain, cited the BRCS as a primary example of a Society that facilitated international assistance and cooperation through its First Aid Manual translations.[116] The fact that the *Junior Journal* emphasized that the Five Year Plan development assistance would be channeled to Overseas Societies alongside newly independent Societies showed the BRCS's willingness to share its resources to strengthen the International Red Cross worldwide. The BRCS thus promoted an image of global assistance and responsibility. As Emily Baughan has recently illustrated through her work on the SCF during the interwar years, humanitarian language could serve to shore up rather than displace "deep-seated imaginings of British superiority and corresponding humanitarian responsibility," that humanitarian work could serve as an expression of the British "values, principles and state of civilization to which all humanity should aspire."[117] With this in mind, for BRCS officials Red Cross values became integrated with British values, both before and after decolonization, and served as a necessary prescription for what they felt was a better world. Just as the SCF constructed a neutral image of the child to garner widespread support, so too was the BRCS able to, with a stamp of approval from LORC, package health and the voluntary spirit as neutral necessities for the wellbeing of all.[118]

In practice, however, at least in the 1960s, the BRCS's assistance did not move far beyond its imperial connections, even with decolonization. As previously stated, in 1966 20 countries received assistance from the BRCS Juniors, eighteen of which shared some kind of imperial ties with Britain. This ratio did not change much throughout the duration of the Plan. Because of this, does the BRCS represent a form of international activity different from the International Red Cross, a difference based on its apparent British limits of assistance, a

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[116] Ali Chellaï, "Suitable Means to Encourage Young People in New National Societies to 'Serve,'" at the Red Cross World Conference of Educators, Lausanne, August 1963 (Geneva, 1964), p. 39, LORC Archives 00019725.
[117] Baughan, "'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain," 137.
[118] Ibid., 130.

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difference that caused tensions between Red Cross and British ideas and ideals? No. Given the fact that the International Red Cross is based on international law and foregrounds its work in government support and collaboration, the internationalism of the International Red Cross has always been divided by national boundaries and interests, even if Red Cross work is motivated by a universal humanitarian ideal. Given this emphasis on government recognition, which is intrinsically linked to the movement's principle of neutrality, LORC, by default, upholds a nation-based internationalism, one easily adopted by the BRCS and other National Societies. In this way LORC's official policy actually supported the BRCS's work in the British Empire, with the BRCS's structure and network resembling that of the International Red Cross, albeit on a smaller scale. Perhaps members of LORC's executive team even looked to the BRCS and its imperial structure as a model of effective aid distribution. Considering that, even in the 1960s, the Red Cross was operating in a context where modern approaches to international aid and development were still in their early years, with many fewer actors on the scene than today, there were limited working models of aid distribution to turn to. The predominant ones at that time would have been paradigms established through empire or religion (especially missionaries) or both, of which the British imperial model could have been seen as rather successful.[119] In addition to this, the British had also been deeply involved with LORC since its foundation in 1919. LORC's founding Director General, Sir David Henderson, was English, and, since then, many more Britons have staffed its ranks as executives, consultants and staff, including Limerick. These people, such as Henderson and Limerick, most certainly influenced the approach LORC took to its peacetime mandate of Red Cross work, raising questions about the location of Britishness within LORC's policies.[120]

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[119] Ruth Compton Brouwer has made a similar argument. In her work on Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) nursing volunteers in India in the 1960s, she states that despite CUSO's "secular orientation and its strong desire to disassociate itself from the taint of missions and colonialism, [it] found itself following in the footsteps of missionaries and working closely with an Indian Christian organization established by missionary physicians in the late colonial era." Such collaborations and use of existing networks simply made more logistical sense. Compton-Brouwer, "Ironic Interventions: CUSO Volunteers in India's Family Planning Campaign, 1960s-1970s," 280-81. Similarly Oxfam operated through British and French imperial networks (see Chapter 5).

[120] In the years following its foundation, LORC was accused of being too Anglo-Saxon in both its membership and ideals. While many accused LORC of being too heavily influenced by the Americans, Anglo-Saxon would have also referred to Great Britain, as well as its dominions (Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and South Africa were among LORC's first members). Hutchinson, "'Custodians of the Sacred Fire': the ICRC and the Postwar Reorganisation of the International Red Cross," 27, 30.

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The language the BRCS and LORC used to teach Juniors about the BRCS and the International Red Cross, respectively, also reflects this similarity. Just as the 1953 edition of the *Proudest Badge* stated that England was "the Mother of Nations" with "many 'children' beyond the seas," which, in turn, implied that the BRCS had "a very large Red Cross family of Overseas Branches," so too was the International Red Cross characterized by familial relationships.[121] *The Red Cross and my country*, first written for Juniors in sub-Saharan Africa in 1967, describes the "great big family" of the Red Cross: the father (ICRC), the mother (LORC) and the children (the National Societies). In this case the father dealt with serious matters, such as war, whereas the mother watched over the family, raising the Red Cross children, just as the BRCS raised her Overseas Societies.[122] The use of such language to teach young people was likely a pedagogical strategy, as it provided children with an image they could relate to. In addition to this, familial imagery would have also served to further the aim of the Red Cross, of both LORC and the BRCS, as "the function of the Junior Red Cross [was] mainly to train the 'heart' of the child" to embrace Red Cross values and the voluntary spirit.[123] If this was indeed the ultimate aim of Red Cross Societies, then the national framework and context within which these societies were operating would have been of little concern, as long as the broader humanitarian ideals of the Red Cross were upheld.[124] The International Red Cross, as such, was not meant to provide political commentary on government policy and, because of this, the BRCS was able to successfully use LORC's Five Year Plan to maintain Britain's imperial ties in a post-colonial world.

Conclusion

It is interesting to speculate how the International Red Cross would have manifested itself in Africa without the interference of imperial powers, without the BRCS. Given the Red Cross's international recognition and stature, the movement would surely have surfaced in Africa

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[121] British Red Cross Society, *The Proudest Badge: The Story of the Red Cross*: 37. BRCS Archives Acc 453/56.

[122] International Committee of the Red Cross, "The Red Cross and my country," 4th ed., (Geneva, 1976), p. 74-75, LORC Archives 00012923. (Originally published in 1967).

[123] Het Nederlandsche Roode Kruis, "Report on the Meeting of European Junior Red Cross Directors – Zeist, 24-29 October 1960," p. 5, LORC Archives, 00012908.

[124] Even if these ideals were not upheld, LORC or the ICRC could not necessarily intervene because of their commitment to political neutrality. This was especially the case in Nazi Germany (especially towards the end of the Second World War) and in Nigeria (during the Nigerian Civil War).

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regardless of imperialism. How would contemporary African Red Cross Societies be different? This we will never know. What is certain, however, is that just as children and youth were central to BRCS initiatives in Africa, young people would have also been integral to this imagined scenario.

Speculation aside, the historical reality is that the BRCS targeted African children and youth in schools, teaching them Red Cross knowledge, skills, and values through its overseas Junior Program. Given the emphasis on the voluntary spirit within the International Red Cross, instructors encouraged the students to move beyond the mere embodiment of these teachings (as represented by their own health) towards community outreach. In the eyes of BRCS officials, the knowledge provided by the JRC program served to empower young people, particularly secondary school students, giving them the tools to go into rural communities to share Red Cross knowledge and provide rudimentary medical services to "ignorant" villagers. Juniors, as defined by age and their social positioning as students, were thus using their leisure time to teach their elders about health, hygiene, nutrition, mothercraft and so on. Through this knowledge transmission in villages, Juniors served as a bridge between traditional and modern health practices in the colonies, bringing the "modern," as framed by the International Red Cross, to the villages. Perhaps the Juniors' youth and, in many cases, their status as Africans facilitated the transmission of these modern practices to adults who may have been wary of the ever increasing western intrusions into their lives. On the other hand, however, this reversal of generational roles, the reversal of the knowledgeable elder and ignorant youth, may have also caused tensions. Despite this, the fact that the JRC program continued after independence shows that its contributions to national development were valued by those Africans in power, as they harnessed the power of youth for the good of the nation. As contemporary educational specialists of the Gold Coast/Ghana of the 1950s and 1960s have noted, finding occupations for African school leavers was a primary concern, as there simply were not enough jobs.[125] Programs such as the JRC were therefore likely seen as important by both government and Red Cross officials as they facilitated a sense of voluntary service, duty, and community and national loyalty in young Africans who might otherwise have been idle, frustrated, and underemployed.

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[125] Dickson, *A Chance to Serve*; Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana*; Wood, *Informal Education and Development in Africa*. See also A. R. Thompson, *Education and Development in Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

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When the BRCS brought the Red Cross and its Junior program to Britain's colonies in sub-Saharan Africa it was readily absorbed and can be read as part of the imperial tradition of the medicalization of Africa. By the 1950s the BRCS Junior programs in Africa, while similar to that in Britain in terms of structure, mandate and instruction, had been adapted to their environmental circumstances. In the case of Juniors living in West Africa, this meant working towards malaria prevention (by "mosquito-hunting" and eliminating stagnant pools of water), the expulsion of snakes, the construction of pit latrines, and the provision of health services in remote villages, all things which likely did not concern Juniors living in the British Isles.[126] Of these, the Juniors' provision of health services in villages was likely their most important contribution to national health. It was Africans helping Africans, motivated by the voluntary spirit of the International Red Cross. With independence, new governments recognized these efforts by African youth, and indeed even sought them out, thus validating the work of the BRCS during colonial times and maintaining this colonial enterprise, albeit under a different name and leadership, after independence. Indeed, governments continued to seek out BRCS assistance even after independence, as Limerick remarked in 1961, during an official visit to Ghana: "I thought [Ghanaian officials] might be so anxious to assert their independence that they would ignore their earlier ties with the B.R.C.S. – but not at all, they paid glowing tributes to the help they had received and the advice they continued to hope to get."[127] Thus, through the successful efforts of African Juniors and the official recognition of the Red Cross Junior program, the BRCS had created a niche which encouraged the participation of African youth within the adult-male dominated process of nation-building during decolonization.[128] In the 1950s the BRCS used its international networks, gained through Britain's imperial connections, to channel people, knowledge, and assistance overseas to contribute to public health in the colonies. In the 1960s, through LORC's Five Year Plan, the BRCS continued to maintain these connections. In this manner the BRCS transitioned from a colonial to a postcolonial society, maintaining its overseas imperial connections by recasting them within the framework of international development.

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[126] J.A. Owusu, "Activities for Links," *Junior Red Cross Magazine: Gold Coast* (1:10), p. 12, LORC Archives, 00016726; Anonymous, "British Red Cross Society – Gold Coast Branch 1932-1957," (4 November 1957), BCRS Archives, Acc 76/24 (2).

[127] Angela Limerick, Diary entry for Tuesday, 7 February 1961 from Angela Limerick's Official Diary of Visit to West Africa (23 January to 19 February 1961), p. 36, BRCS Archives, Acc 1594/34.

[128] Parsons, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya," 156.

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Through both its Junior and adult sections, the BRCS played a significant role within the decolonization process of many African countries, placing the organization directly within the realm of early international development work as it augmented existing medical and social services. This connection with international development is compelling as the Red Cross is generally perceived as either a humanitarian organization specialised in disaster and war relief (through the work of the ICRC) or as a local organization providing domestic first aid and health services (through National Red Cross Societies).[129] In the 1950s and 1960s, however, the BRCS was well placed to provide international development-type assistance in the lead-up to decolonization because of its imperial network of personnel and expertise in services needed to make new countries function. This expertise was transmitted locally, especially to and by young people, in the hope that they would use this knowledge to build a strong national future based on health and voluntary service. As demonstrated above, the roots of this BRCS "development" work, facilitated through its Overseas Branches, are located in an older paradigm, that of empire.[130] With the advent of independence, however, newly formed National Red Cross Societies were quickly integrated into the emerging framework of modern development, with their projects not only receiving funding from the BRCS, but other British organizations as well, such as Oxfam and the SCF.

Currently many scholars of development are critical of NGOs working in the socio-medical field, arguing that NGO interference has weakened government initiatives in developing effective public health policies.[131] These critiques of contemporary NGO practices, however, should not be retroactively applied to the BRCS during the period of decolonization for two reasons. One, under colonial governance, colonial subjects had a limited voice with which to effectively ask for better health services – the BRCS thus served as a liaison between the people and government, even if it was limited in its effectiveness. Second, the colonial medical systems

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[129] In their survey of British NGOs since 1945, Matthew Hilton, Nicholas J. Crowson, Jean-François Mouhot and James McKay, state that "[u]nlike other NGOs, the Red Cross has also maintained its focus on emergency relief rather than long-term development work." Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*: 192.

[130] For a discussion of British colonial development policy after the Second World War, see Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies, 1850 - 1960*; Ireton, *Britain's International Development Policies*; Schuknecht, *British Colonial Development Policy after the Second World War*.

[131] Smillie, *The Alms Bazaar: Alturism Under Fire - Non-Profit Organizations and International Development*: 24; Turshen, *Privatizing Health Services in Africa*: 84-85.

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that independent governments inherited were not sufficient to cover existing needs, were often racially segregated, and did not have enough African medical staff. While many sub-Saharan countries in Africa continue to suffer from a lack of medical service provision due to ineffective governance, it can be argued that additional outside support, particularly from the British in the case of British colonies, was warranted to help newly independent countries transition into successful democracies with functional social services.

Development scholar and former UN-employee Meredith Turshen has argued, "Health is political in every sense of the word: it concerns government intervention to prevent illness, to protect the public from a noxious environment, to guard workers' health and safety, to keep children from harm, and to ensure peace and security."[132] The work of the BRCS through its Junior program in Britain's colonies, as supported and encouraged by the British government, was just that – political. First, the BRCS Junior program taught young people to take care of their own bodies, thus sustaining and even strengthening the future social capital of the colonies and later, independent countries. Second, in their community outreach, BRCS Juniors took a preventative approach to illness by teaching rural villagers about hygiene, health, nutrition, and child welfare, while also improving the villagers' living conditions through the building of pit latrines, garbage incinerators and so on. The necessity of such work highlighted a government service-gap and the need for the development of a more comprehensive public health system. In some cases the "pioneering" work of the BRCS, which was almost always supported by Juniors in some way, was taken over by governments at the time of independence.[133] This implies a symbiotic, or at least collaborative, relationship between governments and the BRCS. Third, the BRCS Junior program encouraged a community-oriented approach to national health, based on volunteerism, respect and friendship, especially in the lead-up to independence.[134] Such collaboration was to contribute to local and national peace and security, at least in the eyes of Red Cross supporters.

For the most part, officials at the BRCS headquarters in London and the colonies were aware of these implications, even seeking out government collaboration and support, and

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[132] ———, *Privatizing Health Services in Africa*: 114.
[133] For example, this was the case with the BRCS's mobile Maternal and Child Welfare Clinics.
[134] This emphasis on friendship could be complicated by the race-politics of individual colonies, such as in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia.

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encouraging their Juniors to be good citizens by actively practicing Red Cross values. Given the intense nationalism during the time of decolonization, alongside the euphoria surrounding independence, Red Cross ideas of health and the voluntary spirit became bound up with visions of independent national futures. These visions, based on health and civic participation, even extended into the realm of international politics: as Georges Willemin and Roger Heacock have argued, for some countries the signing of the Geneva Conventions and having a National Red Cross Society was an active demonstration of their desire to be part of the international community and, in return, to be recognised by it.[135] Yet despite these overarching political implications and uses of the International Red Cross, when stripped to the basics, Red Cross values concern fundamental universal health principles. For this very reason the International Red Cross was able to maintain its presence in the colonies after independence, demonstrating the International Red Cross's flexibility and universal application within changing political frameworks. In the case of Great Britain and its empire, the BRCS Overseas Branches fluidly went from being subordinate to London to being independent, even becoming symbols of that independence. For the Red Cross Juniors participating in the independence celebrations throughout sub-Saharan Africa, the key concepts of health, hygiene and the voluntary spirit as envisioned by LORC and promoted by the BRCS did not change, even if their Red Cross badges no longer bore the royal crown. Nor did the African Juniors' appreciation likely diminish upon receiving BRCS Junior care packages through LORC's Five Year Plan, a plan which facilitated the continuation of British children helping overseas children as initiated by Lady Angela Limerick in 1951 at the height of BRCS work within Britain's imperial possessions.

LORC's Five Year Plan, however, was not the only factor that maintained ties between Britain and the National Red Cross Societies of newly independent Commonwealth members. As previously mentioned, the plight of the developing world became popularized in Britain in the early 1960s through UN-initiatives, primarily the Freedom from Hunger Campaign (1960-1965), as well as increased travel opportunities, media representation, and the awareness-raising and fundraising campaigns of NGOs that had made international development their cause. In the

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[135] This was especially common between 1950 and 1955 when the US and USSR blocked certain states from obtaining UN membership (such as Austria, South Vietnam and the People's Republic of China). Willemin, Heacock, and under the direction of Jaques Freymond, *The International Committee of the Red Cross*: 168. John F. Hutchinson has argued similarly about LORC membership. Hutchinson, "'Custodians of the Sacred Fire': the ICRC and the Postwar Reorganisation of the International Red Cross," 27.

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early 1960s, for example, Red Cross Juniors in Knowle, England acknowledged having "a fund for the Oxfam, Famine Relief fund [sic] which helps the mal-neutricious [sic] children in Africa and India."[136] Some of the money collected for Oxfam by these Juniors may well have been channeled to National Red Cross Societies in newly independent countries in order to finance social welfare initiatives. These Societies, after all, had proven track records and established networks which went all the way back to the colonial period. At the time of Botswana's independence in 1966, for example, Oxfam was financially supporting Botswana Red Cross national pre-school feeding schemes.[137]

Oxfam not only financed such schemes in the developing world, however – its Education Department also taught school children in Britain about them through a variety of educational initiatives. In 1967, for example, Oxfam's Education Department published *Botswana (Bechuanaland): 'This Is a Hungry Year,'* a 48-page educational guide for secondary school teachers that detailed why and how Oxfam was contributing to famine relief in Botswana at that time.[138] In this way, just as the BRCS tried to teach "international friendship" to its Juniors during the colonial period and decolonization, Oxfam reached out to Britain's young to teach them Oxfam's idea of global responsibility within a post-imperial world.

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[136] The "Famine Relief fund" referred to here was likely related to Oxfam's FFHC campaign. International Friendship Album, Knowle Link No. 5300, (c.1963), BRCS Archives Acc 2469/2.

[137] At this time the Red Cross in Botswana was transitioning from being a BRCS Overseas Branch to being independent. "THE RED CROSS IN BOTSWANA." *Mafeking Mail and Botswana Guardian* (Botswana and South Africa), 17 March [c.1967], BRCS Archives, 76/6 (2); BRCS, "Annual Report"(Gaborone, Botswana, 6 April 1967), BRCS Archives, 76/6 (2).

[138] W. J. Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Botswana (Bechuanaland): 'This is a hungry year'*, ed. Oxfam Education Department, Longmans' Oxfam Series (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1967).

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Chapter 4 – Oxfam's Education Department in British Schools: "A Barnacle on the Organization's Arse"?

"So you think young people were instrumental to Oxfam's success?" I asked Richard Taylor, who had worked on and off for Oxfam's Education Department in the 1960s and 1970s, in 2012. "Very much so. Yes, I would say, definitely," was his response.[1] A little later during the interview, Taylor and his wife Sally Taylor, née Elphinstone-Fyffe,[2] who had also worked for the Education Department in the 1960s, went on to ruminate about how Oxfam's strategies, which targeted young people, and the 1960s fit together:

> **Taylor**: It was quite coincidental that this was the early 1960s when young people were so much in the public imagination and were pushing themselves forward.
>
> **Elphinstone-Fyffe:** I don't know if I would say coincidental, it was all part of the feeling of the time... Perhaps that is coincidental?
>
> **Taylor:** It certainly worked well together, no question about it. We never had the ability to appeal to young people again as we did in the earlier mid-1960s.

Young people, whether it was children in schools or youth in clubs – Oxfam's Education Department sought to appeal to them all, making Oxfam the international development NGO of 1960s Britain with the biggest clout in terms of education and youth activism. Oxfam's Fundraising Department also ensured that it was one of the best-funded development NGOs at the time, having raised Oxfam's first £1,000,000 in 1963 through the Hunger £Million Campaign, which even the Beatles had endorsed.[3] Such successful fundraising techniques

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[1] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[2] I shall be referring to Sally Taylor and Maggie Jackson by their maiden names (Elphinstone-Fyffe and Chirnside, respectively) throughout this chapter to avoid confusion with their husbands, Richard Taylor and Bill Jackson. These four individuals all contributed to the work of Oxfam's Education Department in the 1960s.

[3] According to *This is money*'s historic inflation calculator, today's equivalent of £1 million in 1963 is £18,281,300. "Historic inflation calculator: how the value of money has changed since 1900." *This is money*. Accessed 15 July 2014 < http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html> Black assigns Hunger £Million great importance, writing that the campaign inspired "an

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directly translated into Oxfam being the NGO with the biggest education budget by mid-decade. Yet this was not without controversy within the organization itself, as some Oxfam employees felt the organization should pursue fundraising initiatives for overseas projects, pure and simple, rather than education. For those people, the education of children and youth did not seem directly and practically related to assisting people in underdeveloped societies and was hence construed as low on the spectrum of Oxfam's priorities. According to Taylor, Tony Barrett, a fundraiser at Oxfam, espoused this view eloquently one day, reporting to Taylor that some staff members regarded the Education Department as "a barnacle on the arse of the organization." As Taylor recalls, "It was said quite seriously and it illustrates the divergence that had taken place in the 60s and continued to do so for several years."[4]

This chapter explores this statement by investigating the work of Oxfam's Education Department in the early 1960s, when it was still in its infancy. First I outline the relevant concepts and definitions within global education which provided me with a framework for the writing of this chapter. Then I briefly explore how international topics were approached in schools prior to the 1960s to demonstrate what Oxfam's educational team was responding to. Within the framework of contemporary global education discourse, I then analyze two educational aids that the Education Department produced for schools in the 1960s – a learning chart for primary schools and a textbook series for secondary schools – to motivate young people to think about international development issues. However, as the last section of this chapter attests, internal organizational tensions and Britain's Charity Law impacted the way the educational material could be framed, limiting the staff's ability to fully explore the limits of international education and push the boundaries of traditional British thinking. Consequently, the work of Oxfam's Education Department broadened the thinking of young people in Britain beyond the borders of the Empire and the Commonwealth, and the government's overseas aid policies, while reinforcing a traditional humanitarian narrative based on a universalized moral responsibility.

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extraordinary surge of activity" and that it became a "matter[...] of national preoccupation" during its final month. Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 82.
[4] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom. Barrett joined Oxfam c.1968 as a fundraiser. According to Taylor, Barrett became a firm supporter of education, political and campaigning work. Personal communication with Richard Taylor, 17 July 2014.

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Global Education? Cosmopolitan Citizenship? Development Education? Some Context and Definitions

Education scholar and practitioner Donald Harrison's in-depth doctoral research on Oxfam and the rise of development education in England charts the transition from "education for international understanding" to "education for development" between 1959 and 1979, a shift from postwar education focused on global politics to postcolonial education focused on the Third World and related aid, trade and development issues. Harrison was motivated to pursue this line of research after a long career in development education, during which he worked for a variety of organizations, including Oxfam. As a self-professed activist within the development and global education movement, Harrison wanted to understand how public and professional educational attitudes could be influenced for curricular change.[5] In his work, Harrison credits Oxfam's Education Department with four innovations in the 1960s: the classroom aids it produced focused on the realities of the poorest people in the world (contrasting with previous work that focused on global diplomacy), it emphasized active learning for change which, in turn, necessitated active pedagogical strategies, and it targeted "young people of all classes and abilities, in and out of school."[6] The innovations identified by Harrison contributed to the pedagogical foundations of today's field of global education, of which development education can be classified as a sub-category, as well as education for cosmopolitan citizenship.[7]

UNESCO, through its 1995 "Declaration and Integrated Framework on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy," has provided guidelines for how cosmopolitan citizens should be educated according to the UN's vision of the world.[8] In 2003, British education specialists Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey identified key characteristics of the educated cosmopolitan citizen according to this framework:

- accepting personal responsibility and recognising the importance of civic commitment;
- working collaboratively to solve problems and achieve a just, peaceful and democratic community;

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[5] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 23, 28.
[6] Ibid., 102.
[7] Laura Johnson, "Towards a Framework for Global Citizenship Education," Institute of Education, University of London, http://www.ioe.ac.uk/about/documents/about_overview/Johnson_l.pdf.
[8] UNESCO, *Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy* (Paris: UNESCO, 1995).

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- respecting diversity between people, according to gender, ethnicity and culture;
- recognising that their own worldview is shaped by personal and societal history and by cultural tradition;
- respecting the cultural heritage and protecting the environment;
- promoting solidarity and equity at national and international levels[9]

While UNESCO was not a recognized contributor to the 1998 Crick Report, the Report which led to Citizenship Education becoming a statutory subject in English state secondary schools, the characteristics identified by Hugh and Starkey are nevertheless evident within the government-mandated curriculum.[10] By promoting a cosmopolitan vision of citizenship alongside a national one, the government endorsed the idea that young people living in Britain have rights and responsibilities beyond British borders. The key issues these rights and responsibilities relate to, as identified by UNESCO Senior Programme Specialist Sobhi Tawil in 2013, are human rights, the environment, social and economic justice and inter-culturalism. These, in turn, are directly related to the fundamental principles of common humanity, universality in diversity, sustainable development, social justice and equal rights.[11] These concerns, albeit articulated differently and with less sophistication, first gained prominence through the UN and President Truman's call for international development in the late 1940s and 1950s, and were popularised in the United Kingdom by charities such as Oxfam in the 1960s and 1970s. Oxfam's Education Department in particular sought to provide young people with an understanding of and concern for development

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[9] Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, "Learning for Cosmopolitan Citizenship: Theoretical Debates and Young People's Experiences," *Educational Review* 55, no. 3 (2003): 246-47.

[10] Despite having been made statutory in England, citizenship education remains ill-defined and has sparked much debate among education scholars. For more, see Advisory Group on Citizenship, "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools."; Andrews and Mycock, "Citizenship Education in the UK: Devolution, diversity and Divergence."; Bernard Crick, "The Presuppositions of Citizenship Education," *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 33, no. 3 (1999); ———, ed. *Citizens: Towards a Citizenship Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); Bernard Crick and Andrew Lockyer, eds., *Active Citizenship: What Could it Achieve and How?* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2010); Ian Davies, Mark Evans, and Alan Reid, "Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of 'Global Education' and 'Citizenship Education'," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 53, no. 1 (2005); David Kerr, *Re-Examining Citizenship Education: The Case of England* (Slough, UK: National Foundation for Educational Research (nfer), 1999); Kisby, *The Labour Party and Citizenship Education: Policy Networks and the Introduction of Citizenship Lessons in Schools*; National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER), "Citizenship Education in School in Europe: United Kingdom (England, Wales, Northern Ireland)," (Brussels, Belgium: Education, Audiovisual & Cultural Executive Agency (EU), 2005); Osler, "Citizenship Education and the Ajegbo Report: Re-imagining a Cosmopolitan Nation."; Osler and Starkey, "Learning for Cosmopolitan Citizenship: Theoretical Debates and Young People's Experiences."

[11] See in particular Figure 2 in Sobhi Tawil, *Education for 'Global Citizenship': A framework for discussion*, ed. UNESCO, ERF working papers series, no. 7 (Paris: UNESCO Education Research and Foresight, 2013), 5.

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issues,[12] and was deemed so successful that even UNESCO collaborated with it on the production of British educational materials in the 1960s. Yet the advancing of development issues was not always easy and straightforward. While the aforementioned behaviors and fundamental principles are now more widely accepted within this age of globalisation, and even endorsed by the government, it was not without controversy that Oxfam's educational staff sought to promote them in the 1960s within British classrooms. Indeed, several members of Oxfam's educational staff were deemed as radical by both coworkers and representatives of the British government.

Maggie Black's official history of Oxfam, *A Cause for our Times* (1992),[13] and Harrison's 2008 doctoral dissertation have been instrumental in bringing these tensions to light. In charting Oxfam's first 50 years, Black provides a critical account of the organization's development and evolution. While the work of the Education Department was central to this, particularly in debates surrounding the organization's educational responsibilities to which she gives considerable mention, considering the wide scope of the book she was not able to provide a detailed analysis of its work. Harrison, on the other hand, provides a comprehensive overview of the Education Department from its inception in 1959 to 1979. Yet despite Harrison's acute observations, he provides almost no analysis of the Department's educational material itself. His primary focus is Oxfam's leadership in the growing number of NGO networks that emerged in the 1960s, most notably the Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC) and the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD), the interface between the charity sector and government in terms of education, and the rising internal tensions within Oxfam over the direction of the organization's work (informational at home versus practical abroad). What follows is, in some ways, a continuation of Harrison's work, providing an analysis of some of the educational material produced and the context in which it was created.

Central to my analysis is the concept of cosmopolitan/global citizenship, which I argue Oxfam's Department of Education was trying to promote. As education specialist Laura Johnson has demonstrated, cosmopolitan citizenship is a contested term with a wide range of

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[12] Interestingly this critical literacy of development issues was often at odds with the work of the department responsible for Oxfam's fundraising and appeals.
[13] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*.

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interpretations.[14] Like Tawil, my analysis refers to a moral cosmopolitanism rather than an economic or political one.[15] Moral cosmopolitanism, according to Johnson, is based on the premise that all humans belong to a single moral community and should therefore adhere to a universalized global or world ethic, the best-known example of which is the UN Declaration of Human Rights.[16] This moral approach to development within a global educational framework lends itself to what education scholar Vanessa Andreotti has identified as soft global citizenship education. According to Andreotti, soft global citizenship education is based on the concept of common humanity and the idea that all people are interconnected and want the same thing, assumptions which stem from normative principles for thought and action.[17] Yet while Andreotti presents soft global citizenship education in opposition to critical global citizenship education, I argue that these are not mutually exclusive. By applying her definitions, I argue that Oxfam's Education Department team did promote a critical development literacy based on social justice, camouflaging it in the "softer" language of morality. As we shall see, the 1960s environment that the Education Department was working in only allowed "soft" approaches to global education, and thus cosmopolitan citizenship education, with more critical approaches to international topics only emerging in the 1970s.[18] While innovation in global education, particularly development education, was rife in the 1960s, it took until the 1970s to gain a more overt, radicalized momentum.

Nowadays the field of global education is integrated into the national curriculums of the United Kingdom and is recognized as much broader than Harrison's two mid-century categories of "education for international understanding" and "education for development." According to Harriet Marshall, a specialist in international education in Britain, there are currently eight identifiable traditions which teachers and NGOs promote in the classroom which have evolved over the past 60 years due to the ever-changing political, technological, academic and

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[14] Johnson, "Towards a Framework for Global Citizenship Education".

[15] Tawil, *Education for 'Global Citizenship': A framework for discussion*: 3.

[16] Johnson, "Towards a Framework for Global Citizenship Education".

[17] See Table 1 for an in-depth comparison of soft and critical approaches to global citizenship education in Vanessa Andreotti, "Soft versus critical global citizenship education," *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review* 3(2006): 46-48.

[18] Tawil, *Education for 'Global Citizenship': A framework for discussion*: 5; Andreotti, "Soft versus critical global citizenship education," 46-48. Many scholars credit Paulo Freire, particularly his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (first published in English in 1970), as being one of the main influences of early approaches to critical development and global education. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Ramos (Middlesex: Penguin, 1970).

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international climate: world studies/future studies; human rights education; North-South linking; development education in the era of globalisation; global citizenship education; Christian global education; environmental and sustainable development education; and African, Southern and anti-racist global education.[19] Oxfam remains an active and influential contributor to the field, with its *A Curriculum for Global Citizenship* (1997/2002) being one of Britain's most cited global education tools in 2005, ranking high alongside those produced by the Development Education Association, Britain's Department for International Development, and Britain's Department for Education and Science.[20]

From Imperial Glory to Poverty Analysis: Shifting the Emphasis of Global Education

Oxfam was not the first to expose British students to the wider world in their schools. History, for example, gradually became recognized as a classroom subject in the late 1890s with the dawn of mandatory state education, and from the start was supposed to contain international components.[21] In 1905, for example, Britain's Board of Education published *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned with the Work of Public Elementary Schools*, recommending that public primary school teachers use history to provide students with a sense of their nation through the biographies of British heroes and heroines. Within these lessons, the Board advocated for a special focus on the British Empire, alongside national "triumphs" such as the discovery of America and the abolition of slavery.[22] For those students daydreaming during

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[19] Marshall, "Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring the Perspectives of Global NGO Workers in England," 78. Laura Johnson would also add peace education to this list. Johnson, "Towards a Framework for Global Citizenship Education".

[20] Marshall, "Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring the Perspectives of Global NGO Workers in England," 81; Oxfam, *A Curriculum for Global Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxfam, 1997; 2002). For more recent publications by Oxfam, see also ———, *Education for Global Citizenship: A Guide for Schools* (Oxford: Oxfam, 2006). Oxfam also published *Getting started with Global Citizenship: A Guide for New Teachers* in 2008 adapted for England, Wales and Scotland. The three guides are available at ———, "Global Citizenship Guides (Downloads)," Oxfam, http://www.oxfam.org.uk/education/global-citizenship/global-citizenship-guides.

[21] Cannadine, Keating, and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*: 18-19.

[22] Ibid., 23-25. The reference to and emphasis on the abolition of slavery is noteworthy as it is often identified as one of the first international humanitarian movements, highlighting Britain's commitment to a global morality. Keck and Sikkink, for example, identify abolitionism as an important precursor to modern transnational advocacy networks. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. See also Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*: 56-75; Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005).

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their lessons, based primarily on rote-learning, many likely would have at least paid attention to the maps of the British Empire featured in their geography and history lessons, maps that demonstrated Britain's power and might and the exotic, mysterious locales over which their nation exercised power and where heroic British explorers, such as David Livingston (I presume?), trod. The moral certainty and British superiority of the late 1880s framed the way these simple linear narratives of progress were taught and, according to historian John M. MacKenzie, they persisted in British textbooks until the 1950s and 1960s.[23] Yet imperial education could also be more personal and move beyond maps and textbooks. In the early twentieth century, for example, the Victoria League, a female imperial propaganda society, organized a colonial correspondence scheme with approximately one hundred British schools "through which letters, postcards, flags, and pressed flowers or seeds of local plants were exchanged."[24] Historian Eliza Riedi has argued that the Victoria League encouraged this pen-pal scheme to establish personal connections between British youngsters across the empire so that these links "might develop into a political leaning towards the preservation of imperial ties."[25] Similarly, as discussed previously, through the extracurricular activities the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) organized in schools between the 1920s and 1960s, the BRCS tried to instill national pride and international understanding in its Juniors by linking children and youth in British schools with those in the colonies and other countries through the exchange of people, objects, charity, and correspondence.[26]

From 1904 to 1958 Empire Day also provided a festive moment of imperial propaganda every 24th of May for school children. Reginald Brabazon, the seventh earl of Meath, instigated Empire Day in the British school system in order to, according to historian Jim English, "nurture

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[23] Cannadine, Keating, and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*: 10-11; MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 174-97, 257.

[24] Riedi, "Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League, 1901-1914," 589.

[25] Ibid. For descriptions of similar societies, see MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 148-72.

[26] While the BRCS was part of an international network through its membership of the International Red Cross, many of the BRCS's international activities, including those of its Junior Division, were based on its imperial network. The Boy Scout and Girl Guide also promoted international friendship, during the interwar years as well as after the Second World War. See Proctor, "'A Separate Path': Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa," 612, 17. For more on Girl Guides and "international friendship," see ———, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*: 125-46.

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a sense of collective identity and imperial responsibility among young empire citizens."[27] Patriotic music, parades, pageants, Union Jack waving and saluting, imperially-oriented school lessons, and organised games all marked the day for Britain's school children,[28] some of whom, as demonstrated by historian Andrew Thompson, felt it to be "among the most memorable experiences at school." [29] Some charities even felt they could capitalize on Britons', both young and old, heightened sense of imperial responsibilities on Empire Day. Historian Emily Baughn, for example, has demonstrated that the Save the Children Fund (SCF) had special Empire Day appeals which emphasized that Britain had a duty towards nations of lesser means and fortune, and that this duty could be expressed by donations to organizations such as itself.[30] These kinds of appeals also extended to children.[31] Yet as far as education went, both English and Thompson reflect that Empire Day did not necessarily expand children's knowledge of empire so much as simply celebrate it and make a show of it. To poignantly sum this up Thompson cites Elvy Morton of the small Caribbean island of Nevis, who said, in 1959, "We had the Union Jack, we flew the flag, we had Empire Day, 24th May. We had Prince Charles' birthday... We knew everything about England. And yet they know nothing about us."[32]

Maggie Black, born in Oxford in 1945 and who would later go on to work for Oxfam, UNICEF and as an international development consultant, corroborates Morton's statement on the superficiality of imperial, and hence international, education. For Queen Elizabeth's coronation

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[27] Jim English, "Empire Day in Britain, 1904-1958," *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 1 (2006): 248.

[28] Ibid., 249; Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 118-22. See also MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 231-35.

[29] Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*: 120. According to Jim English, the idea that Empire Day was restricted to school children is a misconception. As such, English argues that Empire Day was heavily contested in the interwar years, becoming overtly politicized by various political parties both in support and opposition to empire. English, "Empire Day in Britain, 1904-1958." For a contemporary account of Empire Day in Salford, United Kingdom in the early 1900s, see Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 142-43. For one in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1909 see Fred M. Agyemang, *A Century with Boys: The Story of Middle Boarding Schools in Ghana, 1867-1967* (Accra: Waterwille Publishing House, 1967), 67-68.

[30] Baughan, "'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain," 128.

[31] Ibid., 131.

[32] As cited in Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*: 122. The reference details for this citation are East Midlands Oral History Archive, Elvy Morton, Acc. 01042, Collection EM/038/A, Mantle Oral History Project. See also MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 194.

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in 1953, for example, Black recollects a school project she was assigned to celebrate "the Queen of the Commonwealth." For this project, she remembers that

> all the pictures I cut out of the *Illustrated London News*... were all pictures of people with feathers and great cloaks and spears and leopard skins and... necklaces... and garlands of flowers... Very exotic... And the pictures of everybody celebrating were like that... There wasn't any question of looking upon this in terms of the rich and the poor...

Similarly, when missionaries came to her school or Colonial Servants discussed their overseas experiences with her, she remembers them painting pictures of "brave, fearless... amazing warrior tribesmen, exotic princes... their strange rituals... It was like something... out of... Rudyard Kipling or Robert Louis Stevenson... It hadn't much changed, the imagery... certainly not of Africa."[33] She did concede that missionaries perhaps gave a slightly more nuanced picture, highlighting foreign illnesses such as leprosy as well as speaking of orphaned African babies, but, while this allowed some insight into imperial philanthropy, the students were not provided with an analysis beyond "these very exotic roles... or the poor child/orphan/little black girl... role." [34] As the aforementioned examples demonstrate, imperial education often tended to be superficial and one-sided, emphasizing difference, the exotic, and British imperial might and superiority, rather than contributing to a complex understanding of the different peoples who actually made up the empire and their distinctive ways of life, or the effects of imperialism and colonialism on everyday life in the colonized regions.

 Black's distaste for how her school introduced her to the wider world was also reflected by Maggie Jackson, née Chirnside. Chirnside was born in 1937 on the outskirts of London and she would go on to work as a primary school teacher and later, in the early 1960s, as Oxfam's first Primary Schools Organiser. Her view of international education was more broadly critical than Black's:

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[33] It is interesting that Black remarked on this, as Kipling co-authored a school history textbook with C.R.L. Fletcher, *A School History of England* (1911). For Kipling and Fletcher, according to MacKenzie, "the Empire constituted a grand climactic final act to history..." ———, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 182. Black details similar observations in Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 67-68.

[34] Interview of Maggie Black by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Oxford, United Kingdom. For more on imperial stereotyping within the media, see MacKenzie, " 'In Touch with the Infinite': The BBC and the Empire, 1923-53," 182-83.

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> When I was at school... we had very old... history and geography books and I don't think anybody talked very much about what was happening then. I seem to have done nothing much but learn about the Romans when I was doing history, I am sure I must have learned more than that. And geography was very much physical geography, you didn't learn very much about what it was like to be in a country where you could lose your whole crop and there could be a famine. Famine was something you read about in the Bible, as I remember. I don't think I ever connected it with present-day events. And we didn't... have reports on the news, like we have now, where they're talking about areas... being in a bad state or 'this is going to be the worst famine we've seen in East Africa...' I don't... remember anything like that...[35]

While lesson content certainly varied according to school and teacher, and her memory was influenced by her later work experiences, MacKenzie corroborates Chirnside's memory of old history and geography books and curricula: "Not only did the new school history and geography created in the 1890s survive the First World War, its resistance to change was so great that, in all essentials, it survived the Second too. School texts had a remarkable shelf life..."[36] It was only in the 1960s and 1970s, he argues, that the late nineteenth-century imperial and patriotic narratives in teaching these subjects were set aside.[37] Oxfam, and other educational NGOs, unquestionably contributed to this change.

Formal education aside, other forms of critical engagement with the colonies and developing world were also limited prior to the 1950s, which was why it may have taken so long to dislodge the visions of imperial writers such as Kipling and Stevenson from the public mind. According to MacKenzie, popular culture in Britain celebrated Britain's imperial glory and mostly conveyed a nineteenth century worldview of "Benevolent Britannia" to its twentieth-century audience.[38] In addition to this, immigration from the global south remained at comparatively low levels in the first half of the twentieth century, until the 1948 British

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[35] Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[36] MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 190.
[37] Ibid., 193.
[38] For more on this, see ———, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. This volume contains essays on late nineteenth/early twentieth-century music hall entertainment, youth movements, children's literature, the cinema, the media, and so on. Also see Hall, "Culture and Identity in Imperial Britain."; Hall and Rose, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*.

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Nationality Act, limiting the exposure of Britons to foreign-born people, especially those from beyond Europe.[39] Also, as Black reminds us in *A Cause for our Times*,

> Television had not yet penetrated the mysteries of the Third World; few people went abroad for their holidays, nor if they did were they likely to travel somewhere so exotic nor witness the workings of an Oxfam-type project at first hand. This was still an age of innocence as far as the average British view of distant foreign parts was concerned.[40]

While the radio and print media did provide occasional coverage of overseas humanitarian crises or poverty, such issues were usually expressed in imperial terms in the first half of the century, with little immediate relevance for those living in Britain.[41] Furthermore, the lack of images made it more difficult to draw people into directly caring for those abroad, to make them pay attention, to make them empathize. While Caroline Moorehead points to the SCF as the first organization to exploit the "fundraising potential in starving children" in 1919,[42] it took decades thereafter for the image of the suffering child to become the familiar symbol of famine, pestilence, catastrophe, poverty and economic crisis it is today.[43]

The aftermath of the Second World War would change this, as the British Empire gradually crumbled away and those living in the British Isles had to reconfigure their relationship with the rest of the world, including the former colonies. For one, the increased visibility of racial minorities in Britain from the Commonwealth after 1948, particularly from developing countries, favored the emergence of development and multicultural education,[44] as their presence necessitated teachings of understanding amidst difference, a theme implicitly central to

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[39] Eleanor Passmore and Andrew S. Thompson, "Multiculturalism, Decolonisation and Immigration: Integration Policy in Britain and France after the Second World War," in *Empire, migration and identity in the British world*, ed. Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thomson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 248-49.

[40] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 105.

[41] Through his examination of the BBC's treatment of Empire Day from 1923-1953 and the 1953 coronation, John M. MacKenzie argues that the media coverage of Empire that did exist was often celebratory in nature, either "because of political expediency or popular demand." MacKenzie, " 'In Touch with the Infinite': The BBC and the Empire, 1923-53," 171.

[42] Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*: 288. For more on children, photography and charity (particularly the SCF), see Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*.

[43] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 6.

[44] Yuri Ishii, "Teaching about International Responsibilities: A Comparative Analysis of the Political Construction of Development Education in Schools," *Comparative Education* 37, no. 3 (2001): 336.

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development lessons.[45] Harrison has identified the Commonwealth Institute as contributing to better informed understandings of the Commonwealth and its people through public talks, exhibitions, and educational material in the 1950s and 1960s, with many of its activities targeting schools. The government, which funded the Institute, regarded it as a tool to foster multiculturalism and tolerance within an increasingly racist society.[46] However, the Commonwealth Institute evolved out of the Imperial Institute, only being renamed in 1958, thus serving as a vehicle to reflect contemporary colonial concerns rather than a break in imperial thinking.[47] Oxfam's Education Department too responded to Britain's growing concerns about multiculturalism and integration, producing an educational textbook for teachers entitled *Eastern Caribbean: Poor island girl* (1969) which was meant to raise awareness of the economic, social and cultural realities of the Eastern Caribbean, linking these directly to West Indian immigrants in Britain.[48]

The Second World War also led to a renewed emphasis on "international friendship" and "international understanding," particularly among young people across borders, in order to ensure that another global war would not occur. Many of these initiatives were linked to the UN and as a result emphasized global diplomacy and governance. In the United Kingdom, for example, the Ministry of Education promoted the celebration of UN Days in schools in the hopes of encouraging a new way of looking at Britain's role in the world based on the postwar UN world order and Britain's new diplomatic and geopolitical role within it.[49] This was supported by the work of the United Nations Association (UNA-UK), which was especially active in the 1950s in promoting ideas of international friendship and understanding. Its program for young people reflected the UN's broad economic, social, cultural and political concerns, providing its participants with the tools necessary for international cooperation and thus peace.[50] The Council

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[45] For more on increased levels of racism in Britain after the Second World War, see Weight, *Patriots*: 138-41.

[46] The Institute's reach, however, was limited to motivated teachers and students living within the proximity of its exhibitions and institutes. Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 71-72.

[47] MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 143.

[48] Bill Jackson, "Longmans/Oxfam Series on relief, welfare and development overseas" (Memorandum), July 1966, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9; W. J. Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Eastern Caribbean: Poor island girl*, ed. Oxfam Education Department, Longman's Oxfam Series (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1969).

[49] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 68-70.

[50] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools..." (n.d.), p. 4. SOAS

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for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC), founded in 1939 and which became an independent arm of the UNA-UK, was also influential in promoting international understanding and tolerance among young people in and outside of schools, acting as a precursor to the NGOs of the 1960s which would specialize in development education and eventually surpass it in popularity.[51] CEWC certainly influenced the thinking of some of the people who would later work for its competitors – both Bill Jackson and Maggie Chirnside attended at least one CEWC annual Christmas Holiday Lecture as youths in the 1950s.[52] Despite these attempts at promoting new ways of international thinking, however, it seems the more traditional imperial educational frameworks within the classroom were hard to shake – a more concerted effort was needed and would come, in 1960, through the FFHC.

In addition to this, in much of the Western world it was felt that international peace needed more than the teachings of international cooperation, understanding and friendship – the suffering caused by international poverty and inequality also needed to be eradicated. Not only was it felt that this was a true gesture of international friendship towards poorer countries but, in Britain at least, it was also framed as a moral responsibility and duty. The impact of the war on geopolitics and technology allowed people to believe for the first time that the science and industrial progress of the Western world could serve to ease, and even eliminate, the suffering of developing countries, and this was seen as a prerequisite for world peace. American President Harry Truman launched this "international development crusade" with his 1949 inaugural speech, but key figures in the British government and charities quickly adopted this concept, a primary example being Harold Wilson, Britain's future prime minister.[53] Within this context it became possible for organisations such as Oxfam to permanently pursue international relief and development work, and to publicise their work's importance. Wilson's *The War on World Poverty: An Appeal to the Conscience of Mankind* (1953) was but one of many tracts published in the 1950s that urgently detailed how science and technology could avert the looming crisis of mass starvation in the developing world. War on Want, founded in 1951 by Victor Gollancz, with which Wilson was associated and through which *The War on World Poverty* was published,

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CA/I/12/3. For a review of UNA-UK's work from in the 1950s, see the organization's official history Frank Field, "60 Years of UNA-UK," (London: UNA-UK, 2006), 3-11.

[51] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 75-83.

[52] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[53] Wilson, *The War on World Poverty: An Appeal to the Conscience of Mankind*.

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was the organization most active in this public campaigning and awareness-raising process in the 1950s and its archives are full of informative, emotive publications from that period.[54]

Yet it was not until the UN orchestrated international campaigns, such as the 1959 World Refugee Year (WRY) and the 1960-1965 FFHC, that internationally-operating charities in Britain actively sought out British school children to teach them about what we would now call international development issues. Noteworthy here, however, is that the UN WRY was not an external phenomenon imposed on the UK – it actually originated in Britain as a public awareness campaign for the plight of refugees, a campaign which the UN adopted and amplified. As historian Peter Gatrell has demonstrated, by the late 1950s it became evident that the question of refugees that followed the Second World War would not go away as new crises – especially those sparked by imperialism/decolonization and the Cold War – produced more refugees. For WRY organizers, right from the beginning, public education and support appeared to be the most durable solution for such a large-scale problem. Within Britain, the campaign was framed in moral rather than political terms, allowing a return to the idea of benevolent Britannia in the midst of the violence of decolonization.[55]

The FFHC built on WRY strategies of public campaigning. In particular, organizers made scholastic education central to the FFHC mandate, a strategy readily adopted by British NGOs.[56] The timing of these UN campaigns corresponded with the increased overseas experience of organizations such as Oxfam, allowing their educational material to be shaped by their field work so that their experience and knowledge could be directly related to school children. In the case of Oxfam, its first Schools and Universities Organiser, Stella Dyer, was appointed in 1959 to coordinate school fundraising appeals and competitions in response to WRY. It was not until the FFHC, however, that teaching and education began in earnest. Jackson, who took over Dyer's role in July 1962, remembers that the FFHC put pressure on the various charities

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[54] For example, see *War on Want: A Plan for World Development* (London: Association for World Peace, 1953), SOAS, War on Want Box 232; Richard Acland, "A Time for Action" (pamphlet) (Birmingham: Birmingham and Midland Council for War on Want, n.d.), SOAS, War on Want Box 117; Harold Wilson, "Today They Die: The Case for World Cooperation" (London: National Peace Council, 1952), SOAS, War on Want Box 117; William Slater, "Hunger in an Angry World" (London: War on Want, 1968) – this booklet was coproduced by the FFHC UK Committee, SOAS, War on Want Box 117; Derek Walker, "The Ancient Enemies" (London: War on Want, 1961), SOAS, War on Want Box 117. For an authorized history of War on Want, see Luetchford and Burns, *Waging the War on Want: 50 Years of Campaigning Against World Poverty*.
[55] Gatrell, *Free World? The Campaign to Save the World's Refugees, 1956-1963*: 77-140.
[56] Ibid., 227.

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involved to produce their own educational material in line with FFHC principles and goals. As a result of this, and because of Oxfam's increased financial stability at this time, Oxfam's Education Department started producing classroom aids for primary and secondary schools.[57] By 1964 Oxfam had a full-fledged, albeit small, Education Department which included primary and secondary school teachers, national and regional educational organisers, and administrative staff – there were eight staff members in total working under the Education Officer. The Department was in touch with approximately 10 000 schools. [58]

Oxfam's Education Department: Bringing Development Education into Schools

Oxfam's Education Department was premised around the idea of effectively interpreting international development issues, and thus the work of Oxfam, to school children, beyond the offerings of the stagnant imperial curriculum or the "thoroughly sentimental, lady bountiful, or pie-in-the-sky-when-you-die" classroom approaches to international poverty that Oxfam staff had witnessed.[59] Oxfam's approach was more practical and the teaching aids it produced were "written from an 'aid' angle, but not from a 'hunger' or 'charity' one."[60] The Education Department team wanted to make development real, relatable and connected to what students were already learning. In other words, they wanted to take international development issues beyond exotic voyeurism and biblical floods to present-day realities. In doing so, however, the Education Department was also transmitting Oxfam's core values to students – it was projecting its vision of how the world should be.

Jackson, head of the Education Department between 1962 and 1966, was very specific about what he thought the Education Department should do in a report written for Oxfam's Executive Committee in March 1964, a report arguing for the expansion of his department:

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[57] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 83.
[58] Bill Jackson, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in this Country" (London, March 1964), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1; Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[59] Stella Dyer, Memorandum to Oxfam Staff (n.d., c.1960), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1; [Bill Jackson], "Document 4 – Some Difficulties" (n.d.), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.
[60] Bill Jackson, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in this Country" (London, March 1964), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

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> In making approaches to schools we have consistently followed the principle of not making direct appeals and not putting forward Oxfam itself with any degree of prominence. The policy has been to present relief and development situations as something which ought to be within the knowledge of every child, and as a challenge which has to be met by this young generation... Our function is mainly to stimulate thought and action, leaving it to the students themselves as to what they should, in fact, do.[61]

In the report, Jackson went on to list how this challenge needed to be approached: the production of specialised educational material, collaboration with like-minded organizations and teaching institutions, giving advice to teachers regarding how development corresponded with General Certificate for Education (GCE) examinations, making speakers available for schools, setting up centres for information dissemination, and connecting schools directly with Oxfam's overseas projects.[62]

At the heart of the Education Department's approach in the 1960s was the desire to make a long term behavioral impact among students – long term in a generational sense, as well as based on the fact that young people had their whole lives ahead of them. In retrospect, Jackson summed up his approach during one of our 2012 interviews:

> [I]f we really wanted to make an impact and a kind of, what should I call it, *a generational impact*, then you had to deal with school children where they were at. Where they are at is going into geography class or biology class or, you know, whatever the subject is, and trying to relate relief and development needs to those subjects so that if people were, in broad terms, studying Africa, you know that *they wouldn't just learn by rote* that cocoa is produced in the Ivory Coast, Ghana, *etcetera, etcetera*, you know, but they might actually learn something about the cocoa farmer or the conditions the cocoa farmer had to farm or hoped to sell his product or, you know, all the vagaries and vicissitudes which he would have to encounter in order to bring his crop even to fruition and get it to the market and sell it, *etcetera, etcetera*. *So this was relatable* to geography, relatable in some sense to history, relatable to biology.[63] (emphasis mine)

Working through schools not only allowed Oxfam access to children, a captive audience per se, but it also allowed the organization to express its values and field experience in real, concrete

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[61] Bill Jackson, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in this Country" (London, March 1964), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.
[62] Bill Jackson, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in this Country" (London, March 1964), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.
[63] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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terms, through subjects such as geography, history, biology and so forth.[64] In this manner the Education Department worked to make existing subject lessons less abstract, as Oxfam, through its field experience, was able to introduce a human element to international poverty issues to which the students could better connect. The production of this material was well timed, as Oxfam's presence in the classroom corresponded with changing pedagogical approaches in Britain – the 1960s saw a gradual shift away from rote learning towards more student participation and discussion in the classroom, an approach to which Oxfam's cause lent itself well.[65] Child-centered pedagogical approaches deemed "progressive" during the inter-war years, which focused on exploration, inquiry and informal learning, were becoming increasingly common.[66]

Through Oxfam primary school students were introduced to issues of developing countries through the framework of a common humanity, whereas secondary school students were provided with authoritative facts (also premised on ideas of common humanity), which Oxfam hoped would ideally lead to action, either in the present or the near future.[67] To fulfill his vision and produce the necessary educational material, and facilitate Oxfam's outreach in schools, Jackson needed teachers. This need, as previously mentioned, coincided with Oxfam's increased prosperity, and thus the Education Department was able to expand.

Oxfam in Primary Schools: the Thabo Wall Chart

In such a context it was that, in 1963, Jackson hired Maggie Chirnside, his future wife, as Oxfam's first primary school teacher. Chirnside, a qualified teacher with four years of work experience in London, in addition to being reasonably travelled, was ideal for the job. As Oxfam's Primary Schools Organiser, Chirnside's primary duties included designing materials for and corresponding with primary schools, as well as giving talks when requested. Backed by

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[64] See also O.G. Thomas, "INVOLVEMENT" *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 4, 1968, p. 689, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/2**.** Harriet Marshall terms Jackson's approach the "permeation model," where global education is integrated into various subjects. This is in contrast to the "separate theme model," where global education becomes a subject in and of itself. Marshall, "Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring the Perspectives of Global NGO Workers in England," 82.

[65] Personal email communication with Audrey Boliver, 29 June 2013.

[66] Cannadine, Keating, and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*: 119.

[67] O.G. Thomas, "INVOLVEMENT" *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 4, 1968, p. 689, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/2**.**

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Oxfam's experience in the field, Chirnside produced double-sided, one-page news sheets twice a term about current projects (which included photographs when possible), providing the children with up-to-date knowledge of foreign lands or concepts related to humanitarian work. According to a brochure advertising Oxfam's educational material in the mid-1960s, the news sheet "tells in simple language interesting stories of Oxfam projects overseas together with news of how primary schools in this country are helping."[68]

In order to draw the British children in, Chirnside took great care to relate the projects to them. She recalls that

> It might be digging a well for water, it might be helping families to have a goat... We seized on something... that Oxfam was doing with its money at that time... It might have been building a school, and explaining to them... that not everyone could go to school. It might be money going to a dispensary so they could go and... get their sore knees attended to. Things that were a bit outside their experience but... that they would understand what we were talking about, one hoped.[69]

While Oxfam's educational material encouraged children to think about the developing world, it did so through the lens of international poverty or relief (or an "aid angle," as Jackson called it), as Oxfam staff wanted students to understand their responsibility to help the world's poor and disadvantaged. Yet central to this approach was the philosophy that a direct link needed to be established between children at home and children overseas, a link that would foster understanding and empathy, a link that established a sense of community with the aim of humanitarian assistance. As Dyer put it in an early FFHC memorandum, students "must grasp that very different and remote people are, in fact, their neighbours, with all the privileges and demands which living in a community – if wide – gives."[70] As such, Oxfam's education team emphasized the shared humanity and childhood of overseas children within its material so that British children would feel an emotional pull and become concerned about, and perhaps even be motivated to assist, children that were just like them. For this reason the news sheets also included examples of what British children were already doing to help. The July 1965 "NEWS

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[68] Oxfam Education Department, "new primary school classroom aids from OXFAM" (Oxford, n.d., c. mid-1960s), CA/I/3/2.
[69] Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[70] Bill Jackson sent a copy of this memorandum to Gerald Furnivall (Education Officer, UK FFHC Education Department) in April 1964. Stella Dyer, Memorandum to Oxfam Staff (n.d.), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

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FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS," for example, featured the story of eight year old Christopher Davis of Sevenoaks who had set up an "Oxfam Shop" in his room where, over the previous two years, he had raised £25. The same news sheet also described the efforts of Timothy Lloyd of Fareham Hampshire – he raised funds for Oxfam by training water beetles to give shows at his school.[71] While the Education Department did not directly solicit funds from children, these stories were meant to motivate readers to also contribute to Oxfam's cause in whatever way they could in order to help their fellow children overseas.

According to MacKenzie's analysis of school textbooks, from the late 1800s to the 1960s the official teaching of imperial history and geography in schools focused on the biographies of British heroes or the showcasing of the uncivilized exotic "Other" in order to instill in children patriotic pride and stir their interests in those subjects.[72] In relation to this, Oxfam's use of these same subjects to link children with children as children demonstrates a shift in pedagogical approaches. Rather than instilling patriotic pride, Oxfam sought to instill a sense of personal, human connection. In our interview, Chirnside returned to the example of the well, stressing this point of connection:

> If it was a new well, or a well for the village, you would write something about 'when you get up in the morning... you go to the bathroom and your mummy washes your face or you wash your face and hands before you get dressed to go to school; these children might have to walk a mile to find some water to wash...' You would turn it around so there was something there that you could link it to if you could.

Chirnside thus emphasized the mundane, not the heroic, to engage children's interest in foreign countries and other ways of life. When teaching students about international poverty and relief, it was the boring details of daily life that had the most shock value, and as such Oxfam's educators hoped students would be endowed with a sense of responsibility and sympathy for the greater world, particularly the world's poorest. In some ways this strategy counteracted the images the fundraisers of Oxfam and other charities were publishing in newspapers - rather than exposing students to the common and sensationalised images of poverty and catastrophe, Chirnside and her colleagues in the Education Department encouraged pupils to think about the more subtle

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[71] Education Department of Oxfam, "NEWS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS" (Oxford, July 1965), SOAS, CA/I/3/2.

[72] MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*: 174-94.

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effects of poverty, beyond the starving, pot-bellied child.[73] And children were receptive to this, both emotionally and morally, according to Oxfam staff. As Owen G. Thomas, Education Officer from 1966 to 1970 and again from 1974 to 1981, wrote in 1968:

> Teaching about world poverty means looking for moral response. It is beginning to be generally realized now that moral education is not simply a matter of telling the children what is right and what is wrong but of teaching them to judge situations. Little children are good at this: they will volunteer information that something is 'fair' or 'not fair'... [I]t has been shown in many schools that the question of world poverty is one of several that children can react to with a value judgement; this is an encouraging sign for everyone.[74]

While at Oxfam, Chirnside also developed wall charts for seven to ten year olds which quickly proved popular.[75] Just like her letters, these teaching aids emphasized the shared humanity of overseas children, showcasing how children in Britain and, in this case, Africa, were alike in their differences. Unlike her letters, however, these wall charts featured a fictionalized character – Thabo – whom Jackson remembers as being from southern Africa, likely Lesotho. While perhaps based on a Lesotho child, the brochure advertising Oxfam's primary school classroom aids simply characterizes Thabo as "an African child." This introduction into the life of a child living in rural Africa was fairly generic, and was divided into three sections – "WHAT MAKES THABO GROW," "WHAT MAKES THABO'S VILLAGE GROW," AND "WHAT MAKES THABO'S COUNTRY GROW." As this material was designed for primary school students, it was primarily image-based, and was accompanied by notes for the teacher "to make these exciting and understandable exercises at the primary school level in health, social welfare,

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[73] Elphinstone-Fyffe, Jackson's secretary in the Education Department from 1964 to 1967, touched on this tension between Oxfam advertisements and educational material in our interview. According to her, the Education Department wanted to impart in children, "an awareness, I suppose, of their lives [of children in the developing world]. A lot of the advertising was, you know, pot-bellied starving children or the Chittagong cyclone or dreadful floods and this sort of thing. And perhaps it was more to teach [British school children] that children did in fact live like you, but in very difficult circumstances." Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. . 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[74] O.G. Thomas, "INVOLVEMENT" *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 4, 1968, p. 689, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/2
[75] Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. . 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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and national planning."[76] In the chart focusing on Thabo, for example, students learned through pictures what Thabo's daily diet consisted of – what foods he ate, their nutritional value, how his meals were prepared, and so forth. The village chart included images of the livestock, water well, and Thabo's school, whereas the country chart may have shown markets, export commodities, ports and so forth. Things familiar to children in Britain were thus shown within a different cultural and geographical context through the experience of a child.

Examining one of the wall charts – "WHAT MAKES THABO'S VILLAGE GROW" – allows for a better understanding of the design of this miniseries (see Image 4.1). The poster is
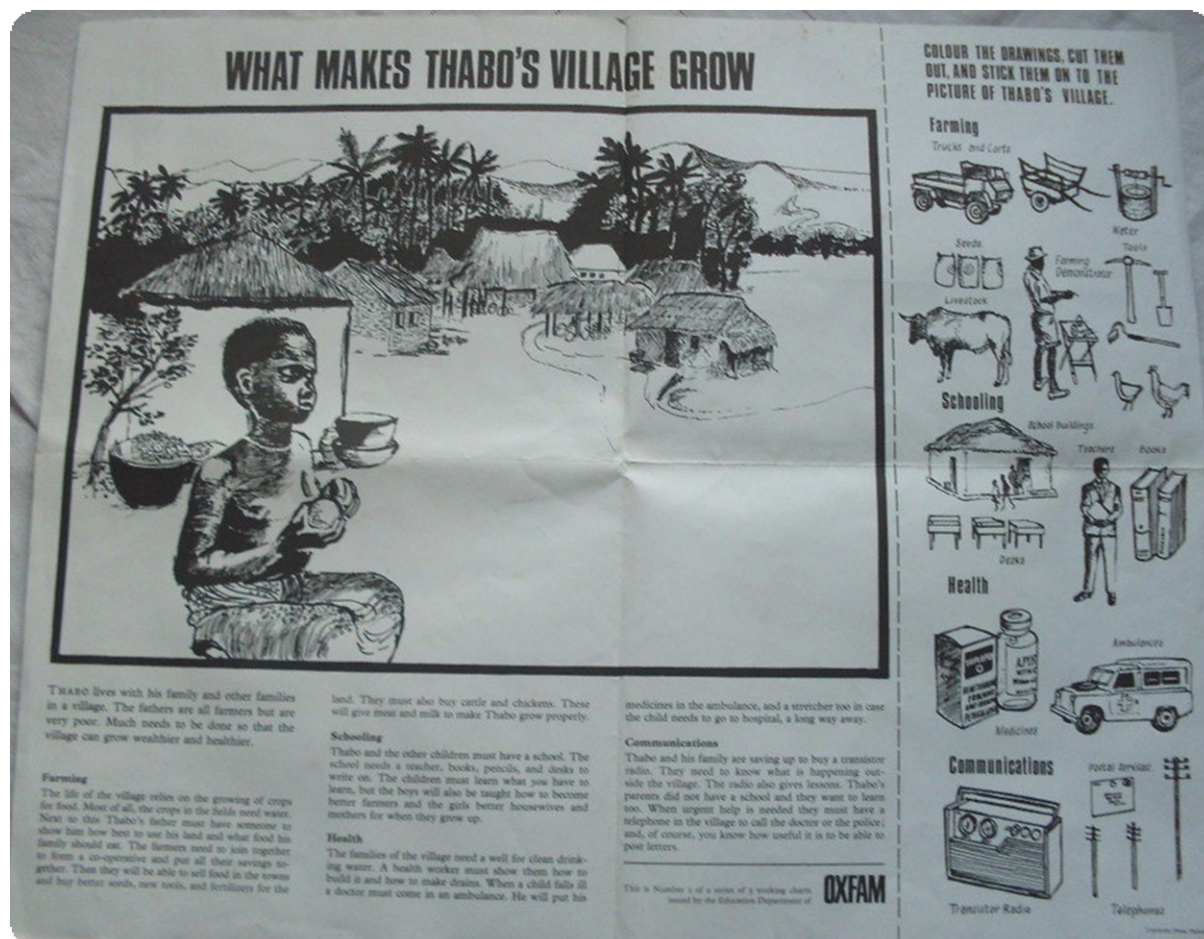

Image 4.1: Early Oxfam Educational Aid – "What makes Thabo's Village Grow" (c. mid-1960s). Source: eBay, Accessed 19 June 2014 <http://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/ Oxfam-School-Poster-Thabo-/22139594 7230>

[76] Oxfam Education Department, "new primary school classroom aids from OXFAM" (Oxford, n.d. c. mid-1960s), CA/I/3/2.

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20" by 25," black and white, and divided into three sections – an image of Thabo sitting in the foreground, the village and exotic plants behind him with a wide, empty space to his left; beside this, smaller images to be cut out and coloured by the students and used to complete the village scene; and underneath the images, complementary text discussing the village's farming, schooling, health, and communications. While not specified, this wall chart was likely meant to be a group activity, with students invited to colour and construct the finished poster together, transforming the chart into an interactive visual which students could relate to the educational text. The introductory paragraph reads, "Thabo lives with his family and other families in a village. The fathers are all farmers but very poor. Much needs to be done so the village can grow wealthier and healthier."[77] The text is constructed to emphasize the poverty of Thabo, the representative African child, and what is lacking to make his village prosper. As the children read the text together, they quickly learn that "what makes the village grow" is not the villagers themselves but an outside force that comes to teach and equip the village population. The section on farming, for example, states

> The life of the village relies on the growing of crops for food. Most of all, the crops in the field need water. Next to this Thabo's father *must* have someone to show him how best to use his land and what food his family should eat. The farmers *need* to join together to form a co-operative and put all their savings together. Then they will be able to sell food in the towns and buy better seeds, new tools, and fertilizers for the land. They *must* also buy cattle and chickens. These will give meat and milk to make Thabo grow properly.[78] (emphasis mine).

The poster takes a needs- and community-based approach to development, highlighting what the village needs to prosper – many African villages did, and still do, need better seeds, more livestock, better farming equipment, more knowledge, and so on. Yet while well-intentioned and informative, the text can also be read as patronizing and, depending on how the material was taught, could have perpetuated the idea of the ignorant African, not acknowledging the

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[77] Because I had restricted access to Oxfam's Archives during my research, as they are closed to the public, I could not access these wall charts directly. Once the archives are open to the public again, at Oxford's Bodleian Library, these posters should be accessible. "OXFAM SCHOOL POSTER 'THABO.'"eBay. Accessed 19 June 2014 < http://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/Oxfam-School-Poster-Thabo-/221395947230>
[78] "OXFAM SCHOOL POSTER 'THABO.'"eBay. Accessed 19 June 2014 < http://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/Oxfam-School-Poster-Thabo-/221395947230>

traditional knowledge already used to farm the land and feed the village inhabitants, or the structural problems that led to the village's poverty. With historical hindsight, the reference to farmers "needing" to form a cooperative in particular can be read with alarm – in the 1960s and 1970s Oxfam supported the Tanzanian government's *Ujamaa* scheme, a development initiative which turned draconian by the 1970s as the government forcefully relocated farmers into collectives, thus disempowering Tanzania's peasantry.[79] That said, while Oxfam employees misjudged the situation in Tanzania, cooperatives have indeed proven to be an effective mechanism of empowerment and poverty reduction when properly applied, demonstrating the complexity of the application of seemingly simple ideas for development.[80]

While the poster offers insights into Thabo's life and got primary school students thinking about what life in Thabo's village could be like – their thoughts likely laced with disbelief, sadness, sympathy, and curiosity – the strong, declarative language positioned the young pupils as knowing more about what Thabo's village needed than the villagers themselves, creating an unlikely power dynamic based in a seemingly passive colouring exercise. In addition to this, the poster does not state where the outside force of change will come from, that force necessary to make the village healthier and more productive, educated and connected. Perhaps another poster in this three-part series highlights this. But if it does not, the students would have been left asking themselves, how can Thabo be helped to grow properly? To be educated? To have clean drinking water? To have the same basic opportunities as us? Can Oxfam help? Can I help Oxfam help Thabo? The teaching aid was thus cleverly constructed as it left the children, with the weight of their new knowledge, asking themselves if they could do something. And often times they did, without Oxfam's Education Department directly prompting them – just think of Timothy Lloyd's trained beetles – in 1962/1963, for example, the Education Department raised approximately £154,000, a considerable sum back then.[81] The fact that the fundraising was

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[79] To read more on *Ujamaa* and Oxfam's involvement, see Jennings, *Surrogates of the State: NGOs, Development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania*; ———, "'Almost an Oxfam in Itself': OXFAM Ujamaa and Development in Tanzania."

[80] For more on the positive impact of cooperatives, see Hilary Ferguson and Thembela Kepe, "Agricultural Cooperatives and Social Empowerment of Women: A Ugandan Case Study," *Development in Practice* 21, no. 3 (2011); Wilson Majee and Ann Hoyt, "Cooperatives and Community Development: A Perspective on the Use of Cooperatives in Development," *Journal of Community Practice* 19, no. 1 (2011).

[81] This figure is rounded and includes money raised by both primary and secondary schools, as well as university students. Bill Jackson, "Oxfam's Educational Work: Some Thoughts on Handing Over a Department," (Oxford, UK, August 1966), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1. According to *This is money*'s historic inflation calculator, today's

unsolicited was important, as the Education Department was regarded by its staff as primarily educational, with direct fundraising cast as a distraction from genuine learning.[82] All of the former Education Department employees I interviewed were very definitive about this. As Chirnside stated, quite emphatically in our interview, "We were grateful for the money they sent us... but you never appealed for money from children. Ever."[83] As will be discussed below, the Education Department's adamant stance on fundraising caused tensions within Oxfam, as other staff members felt the Education Department should finance itself by overtly soliciting funds from children.

The fact that Chirnside, Jackson, Elphinstone-Fyffe, and Taylor all independently remembered the Thabo teaching aids in their interviews supports the idea that these were quite innovative for the time and popular with teachers.[84] Even as late as February 1970 teachers were still buying Thabo teaching aids – 14 of them were sold in London alone that month.[85] These teaching aids were so well received, in fact, that Oxfam's Education Department collaborated with UNESCO in the mid-1960s in producing similar aids featuring children in different countries, such as "Ali in Gaza" or "Krishna in India."[86] Later still, in the 1970s, these primary school teaching aids became even more elaborate and came to include items such as recipes and music records to allow active engagement and familiarization with other cultures without the necessity of travel.[87]

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equivalent of £154,000 is £2,725,384.20" Historic inflation calculator: how the value of money has changed since 1900." *This is money*. Accessed 19 June 2014 < http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html>

[82] This figure is rounded and includes money raised by both primary and secondary schools, as well as university students. Bill Jackson, "Oxfam's Educational Work: Some Thoughts on Handing Over a Department," (Oxford, UK, August 1966), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

[83] Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[84] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Interview of Maggie Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[85] "Sales of Material, February 1970," (n.d.), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/1.

[86] These may not be the exact names and locations used in the actual material, but they were the examples told to me by Jackson and Taylor during our interviews. Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[87] According to Taylor, these educational wallets were made in collaboration with instructors at teacher training colleges and featured countries from all over the world, such as Algeria, Bolivia, Botswana, and India. Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Oxfam Educational Wallet (n.d.), Private Archive, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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Longmans' Oxfam Series: Oxfam's Textbooks for Secondary Schools

In 1965, Jackson, through the Education Department, commissioned William John Hanson to jointly author a series of educational books for secondary school teachers commonly referred to as Longmans' Oxfam Series (Longmans, Green & Company Limited being the publisher). The twelve books, the first six published in 1967, the second in 1969, averaged 42 pages each and focused on a range of geographical areas (Africa, Asia and Latin America) and development issues, including war, natural disaster and poverty issues reflecting relief and development assistance. This breadth of coverage is demonstrated by their titles: *Ecuador: Learning by radio*, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, *Tibet: Refugees from the roof of the world*, *Botswana (Bechuanaland): 'This is a hungry year,'* *East Pakistan: In the wake of the cyclone*, *Korea: The aftermath of war*, *India: The Mysore harvest*, *Lesotho: A home in the mountains*, *Hong Kong: The overcrowded room*, *Algeria: Building the peace*, *Kenya: A school for Githae,* and *Eastern Caribbean: Poor island girl*. The books were aimed at teachers teaching secondary school students in their third year and above and could, according to the preface, "conveniently be used by pupils working for [Certificate of Secondary Education] examinations..."[88] The books were sold in sets of three and cost 13/6d, with Oxfam receiving royalties on sales.[89]

In the eyes of those who commissioned him, Hanson was well qualified to write these books, even if he likely had not traveled to the locations he wrote about – he was an experienced secondary school teacher, with three years' teaching experience in Libya, had already published books with Longmans, and later went on to be Senior Advisor for Curriculum Studies to Oxfordshire's Director of Education.[90] In writing these books, Hanson collaborated not only with Oxfam's Education Department, but he also had the support of Oxfam's relevant Field Secretaries, Field Committee members, the Information Department, and other relevant on-the-spot experts. The time and effort invested in this series is not surprising considering the impact they were meant to have – in October 1967, upon the publication of the first six books, Thomas,

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[88] W.J. Hanson, "Preface" of *Ecuador: Learning by Radio* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1967).
[89] O.G. Thomas, "Longmans/Oxfam Series on relief, welfare and development overseas," (Memorandum sent to all Departmental Heads and Regional Organisers), September 1967, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9.
[90] Letter from Bill Jackson (Oxford) to J.R.C. Yglesias (Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London), 6 October 1965, Oxfam Archives DEV 4/2/9; Philip Hawtin, "John Hanson" (obituary), Bodleian Library, last modified 18 January 2008. Accessed 19 June 2014 <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/external/cumnor/john-hanson-01.htm>

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the head of the Education Department, proclaimed their novelty in a memorandum circulated among Oxfam's Departmental Heads and Regional Organisers:

> The Longmans Oxfam Series is, so far as we know, the first attempt made in Britain to write social studies textbooks about relief, welfare and development. We are sure that they can play an important part in awakening teachers and pupils to the needs of the hungry half of the world.[91]

In the memorandum, Thomas also included a detailed description of how these books were designed:

> Each book is built round the story of a character, usually imaginary, who benefits from an Oxfam project. Each book includes a good deal of historical, geographical, photographic and literary material as well as ideas for school projects on developing countries. In each book we have stressed the role played by overseas aid projects in helping the people of the countries concerned.[92]

In *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, for example, students are introduced to Eni Nwapa. Quickly they learn that Eni was working towards his Sixth Form examinations, that he speaks English, wants to become an electrical engineer, and hopes to marry Ekwefi, a girl in his village. Despite being in distant Africa, Eni's hopes and desires are portrayed as similar to those of young people in Britain. As such, students are meant to identify with Eni. The end of the introductory segment, however, reveals that Eni is different in one respect. He is "a victim of leprosy," living in a leper settlement.[93] The rest of the book is crafted around Eni's story, using it as an entry point to introduce students to Nigeria, leprosy, and Oxfam (foreign aid). The variety of materials incorporated into this book is impressive. It includes not only maps, graphs, photographs, and educational text, but also a poem by the renowned Nigerian poet Christopher Ifekandu Okigbo,[94] an excerpt from Elspeth Huxley's *Four Guineas* (1954),[95] and a recipe

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[91] O.G. Thomas, "Longmans/Oxfam Series on relief, welfare and development overseas," (Memorandum sent to all Departmental Heads and Regional Organisers), September 1967, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9.

[92] O.G. Thomas, "Longmans/Oxfam Series on relief, welfare and development overseas," (Memorandum sent to all Departmental Heads and Regional Organisers), September 1967, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9.

[93] W. J. Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, ed. Oxfam Education Department, vol. 2, Longman's Oxfam Series (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1967), 13.

[94] Ibid. Okigbo is recognized as one of Africa's best postcolonial English-language poets, was a major contributor to twentieth-century modernist writing, and opened a publishing house (Citadel Press) with Chinua Achebe in 1967
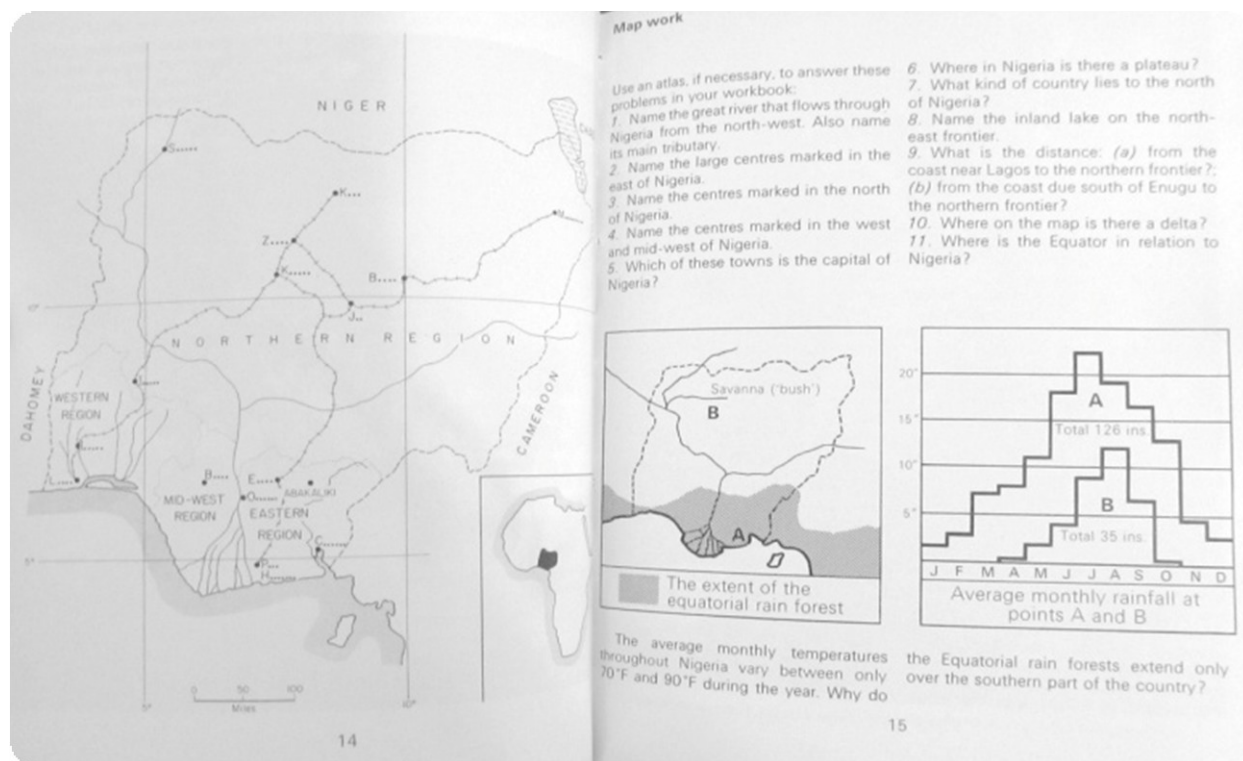
Image 4.2: Sample page from Longmans' Oxfam Series *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*. Source: W. J. Hanson, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, ed. Oxfam's Education Department, vol. 2, Longmans' Oxfam Series (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1964), 14-15.

for an Eastern Nigerian meal, mixed rice and beans.[96] It also contains a list of suggested readings (such as Chinua Achebe) and visual aids (such as short films). The book's text is also interdisciplinary in nature – it teaches pupils about Nigerian geography, history, economics, and culture, as well as the history, causes, prevention, and ongoing challenges of leprosy. To reinforce this information, engage the students, and get them to think critically, Hanson follows each text section with questions or activities, some of which are listed below:

with the aim of producing African-oriented children's books. Shortly after the founding of Citadel Press, Okigbo died fighting for Biafran independence, with his life and death gaining him a cult status among subsequent African writers. For more on his life, see Obi Nwakanma, *Christopher Okigbo, 1930-67: Thirsting for Sunlight* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2010).

[95] Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, 2: 33, 35. Huxley, a British national, was a prolific writer on Africa, having grown up in colonial Kenya in the early twentieth century.

[96] The recipe would likely be difficult for students to replicate as it calls for palm oil and does not specify the necessary ingredient measurements. Ibid., 35.

- "What other animals might there be in the African forest as well as those mentioned in the passage?" (13)
- "Eni would have to pay bride-price if he wanted to get married, because in Eastern Nigeria, as in many other countries, young men have to show that they are prepared for the responsibilities of marriage by giving presents (bride-price) to the family of the bride. Is this a good idea? Are there any disadvantages?" (13)
- "Has the traditional method of isolating lepers had any undesirable effects?" (18)
- "How would you persuade someone suffering from leprosy to go to be treated by a doctor? Imagine that the patient is afraid of being separated from his family and that he thinks the disease is incurable." (18).
- "Why do some people avoid lepers even after they have been cured?" (21)
- "*A group assignment*: Collect examples of the materials that Nigeria exports and arrange them in a suitable display." (28)
- "Find out what cassava, yams, plantains, and millet are like, and how they are cooked and eaten." (35)
- "What could be done in Nigeria to help people who have been ill with leprosy and are now cured?" (38)

Through such questions and assignments Hanson called on students to actively participate in the lesson and use their imagination and analytical skills to process what they were learning. Some, such as the bride price question, may have even forced the students out of their comfort zones and into heated debates. In this manner Hanson and Oxfam promoted student-centered teaching and learning which encouraged students to not only memorize, but also to think and do.

The final question in the book, a sentiment echoed throughout the entire series, is "Why ought we to help people who are in need or ill in other countries?"[97] This question highlights the unmentioned protagonists of Eni's story – British school children! By not asking, "Should we help?" the phrasing of the question implies that people living in Britain, or more broadly speaking people in affluent societies, have an unquestionable moral duty to help those in need in other countries. The book's preface, the same in every book in the series, is very clear about this: "We dare not think that, once given a sympathetic understanding of the problems, this generation will fail to remedy them."[98] The material is thus designed to evoke loyalties beyond the nation-state for one's fellow man, for far-reaching social justice. It is also premised on a generational divide, explaining why Oxfam's Education Department needed to target children – it is *this* generation, with *this* knowledge, that will solve the problems of the developing world.

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[97] Ibid., 38.
[98] Ibid., Preface.

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If the lesson was successful, the ethical commitment it evoked was likely translated into awareness raising campaigns or fundraising events in support of Oxfam. Why Oxfam? Because, as indicated by Thomas, Oxfam was central to Eni's story, central to making his life with leprosy liveable. Eni lives in Abakaliki, a Leper Centre that had received Oxfam funding in real life. Readers are introduced to Oxfam through the eyes of the Irish Sister Bernadette, a Medical Missionary of Mary, the order that had founded Abakaliki in 1946. The book describes her life at the Centre on a given day:

> Along her route there was a street of solidly built bungalows named 'Oxfam Street' and as Sister Bernadette walked on, she looked at the buildings which were put up with the money provided by Oxfam. They were well built and the surrounds were neatly kept. Some of the Centre's 630 patients lived there.[99]

Yet this was not all:

> Curing the disease was only half the battle, for patients must also be helped to lead a normal life again. Sister Bernadette came to Abakaliki in 1962 when an Oxfam grant had helped to convert an old building into a workshop. She opened the door of one building and was greeted by a wave of noise from people chattering at their looms. In this building the patients who were convalescing learned to use their diseased hands and feed again, and at the same time acquired a skill that would enable them to support themselves when they left.[100]

In addition to this, through a £15,000 grant Oxfam also partially sponsored five Norwegian families to train farmers in the area in order to increase their productivity and versatility. This was through the Norwegian Church Agricultural Project (NORCAP). According to Hanson, two of these Norwegian women ran a clinic which helped diagnose leprosy so that its victims could seek early treatment at Abakaliki, as happened with Eni's friend, Samuel.[101]

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[99] Ibid., 23.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., 25. According to *This is money*'s historic inflation calculator, today's equivalent of £15,000, based on the year 1967, is £243,792. "Historic inflation calculator: how the value of money has changed since 1900." *This is money*. Accessed 21 October 2014 < http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html>

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Image 4.3 Images of victims of leprosy from Longmans' Oxfam Series' *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*. Source: W. J. Hanson, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, ed. Oxfam's Education Department, vol. 2, Longmans' Oxfam Series (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1964), 17, 19.

Given the book's 40 pages, these three mentions of Oxfam are discreet. Yet a critical reading of the text reveals that Oxfam's involvement is central to the story. The fact that Oxfam-funding facilitated projects conceived and run by the Irish Medical Missionaries of Mary and the Church of Norway receives little mention, despite the fact that such international collaboration was integral to Oxfam's operational process and common to many development and relief organisations. Rather, the attention of the students is directed towards the fact that Oxfam-funding provided Eni with a second chance at life – it provided him with treatment, a community, and rehabilitative training. While Hanson makes clear that there are ongoing challenges in Nigeria in terms of the stigma of leprosy, the book accentuates that without Abakaliki Eni would have likely become disabled and an outcast. The photographs make this contrast clear (see Image 4.3) – the first picture of a leprosy victim we encounter in the book is an elderly Nigerian in a torn, dirty frock, with a grimace on his face and noticeable disfigurements. The caption reads: "An old Nigerian leprosy patient. Notice his ragged clothes,

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the stumps of his fingers, and his bandaged foot."[102] Turn the page and four happy, healthy and well-dressed children smile out at you, with one little girl, Nworie Nwafor, holding an abacus, symbolizing the positive future ahead of her.[103] The contrast in the pictures seems to say that the next generation of Nigerians to contract leprosy will be saved because of outside intervention, because of places like Abakaliki. The book concludes with Eni's gratitude and hope for the future:

> He was glad to be going back to his family, though he felt that he had left an important part of his life behind him at the Rehabilitation Centre. The care of the doctors and nurses, the training given him, and the interest shown by people from overseas by their gifts to the Leprosy Centre had been an important experience to Eni. Previously he had not realised that other people overseas were concerned to help Nigerians.[104]

The focus on relief, welfare and development in Longmans' Oxfam Series was certainly a step away from Chirnside and Black's school experiences of biblical floods and the exotic other. Yet despite Oxfam's broad and integrated approach, the books still advanced Oxfam's vision of the world, one centered on the problems of international poverty, development, and the need for outside intervention. As such, Oxfam staff designed the lessons to not only evoke understanding, but also shock, anger, sadness, and sympathy, emotions that could ultimately lead to action. Rather than focusing on the intricacies of the delivery of relief, welfare, and development programs – such as Oxfam's collaboration with Irish and Norwegian church organizations – the books focused on establishing a sense of commonality with the stories' protagonists, one which stretched beyond the borders of the British Commonwealth. As the preface to the series states,

> this is a series about human beings in human predicaments. Men, women, children in Asia, Africa and South America, within and without the British Commonwealth. Men and women as farmers, teachers, priests, refugees, immigrants, persecutors, and beggars; children as pupils, as victims of disease, as delinquents. Men, women and children who are half the world we live in...[105]

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[102] Ibid., 17.
[103] Ibid., 19.
[104] Ibid., 37.
[105] W.J. Hanson, "Preface" of *Ecuador: Learning by Radio* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1967).

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Students were familiar with teachers, if not priests, immigrants and beggars, and all could identify with children as pupils. Through this identification, the main point this series was getting across was that war, famine, and natural disaster were real situations, impacting real people, no matter how distant and 'other' they might have originally seemed to the lesson's participants.

Beyond this, not only was the subject matter of the books relatable on a human level, but it was also relatable to a series of traditional school subjects, as was Jackson's aim. In this manner, Oxfam's education team felt that they offered teachers a fresh, critical, interdisciplinary and participatory approach to teaching, providing opportunities to depart from traditional subject divisions and rote-learning techniques common to classrooms at the time.[106] Such pedagogical approaches were meant to make the subject matter come alive, to be more "visible, immediate, colourful, thrilling and accessible."[107] Harrison argues that this new dimension in pedagogical methodology – of interlinking disciplines and learning "about, with and from people" through participatory approaches – was used as a mechanism to motivate students to act, to move them beyond memorizing facts to critical thought and action.[108] As Jackson put it in 1966 – "In the jargon of educationalists, the emphasis in Oxfam's educational approach is 'affective', rather than 'cognitive'" – it was meant to stimulate action rather than pure academic thought.[109] In this manner innovation was once again at the heart of Oxfam's educational material, not only "awakening" educators and students to the problems of the global south but also to new approaches in pedagogy. Yet the subject matter and teaching methodology inherent to Oxfam's teaching aids did not appeal to all, attracting primarily "the more enthusiastic and progressive people, who are willing to try out new ideas and methods," as Judith Whyte, an Oxfam Schools Organiser, remarked in 1971. In her guide on how Oxfam Organisers could better approach schools, she discusses the priority in attracting such progressive teachers:

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[106] [Judith Whyte], "Oxfam Organisers and Schools" (Guide for Regional Organisers), 18 June 1971, p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9.

[107] In these words David Cannadine, Jenny Keating and Nicola Sheldon highlight how technological changes impacted the teaching of history in English schools. Cannadine, Keating, and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*: 11.

[108] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 9.

[109] Bill Jackson, "Oxfam's Educational Work: Some Thoughts on Handing over a Department," (Oxford, UK, August 1966), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

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> This is important, because world poverty is only gradually coming to be accepted as an academic subject to be taught in schools, whether in general studies, geography, religious instruction classes or whatever. These teachers are the individuals who, by introducing world poverty teaching into their schools, will set the pace for less adventurous colleagues.[110]

Despite some teachers showing no interest in their material, Oxfam's educational staff were not deterred. Through their efforts they felt they were fulfilling a public information service, as the preface of the series makes clear: "That our children should know how this poorer half of their world lives is their right and duty; something of that knowledge is in these dramatic narratives, interwoven with geographical, cultural, and historical background."[111] It is therefore clear that the education team felt that Britain's young had a "duty" to know about the plight of the developing world, so that they could be propelled to act against unjust suffering. Furthermore, words such as "duty" and "right" are commonly associated with the legal definition of citizenship.[112] Thus, without explicitly stating so, the designers of the material called upon pupils to expand their civic duties beyond their national borders to shoulder a global responsibility. In other words, Oxfam's education staff were urging students towards, what is now termed, cosmopolitan citizenship through their development-oriented educational material.[113] The conviction with which Oxfam's education staff worked towards these important goals in the 1960s is still evident to this day. During our interview in 2012, while emphasizing Oxfam's secular positioning, Jackson went as far as saying that his work was "evangelizing... preaching Oxfam and the values of Oxfam and the needs of both victims of emergency relief situations and the needs of people in developing countries for assistance."[114] Coming from a clergyman's son, such religious language may not be surprising, but it certainly attests to the importance that Jackson and most of his staff ascribed to what they were doing – they were out to convert teachers and students to a very, very important moral cause, one of salvation, one

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[110] [Judith Whyte], "Oxfam Organisers and Schools" (Guide for Regional Organisers), 18 June 1971, p. 4, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9.

[111] W.J. Hanson, "Preface" of *Ecuador: Learning by Radio* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1967).

[112] Osler and Starkey, "Learning for Cosmopolitan Citizenship: Theoretical Debates and Young People's Experiences," 243.

[113] Cosmopolitan citizenship education refers to citizenship education within a global context. Ibid., 244. See also Davies, Evans, and Reid, "Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of 'Global Education' and 'Citizenship Education'."

[114] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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which necessitated the crossing of national boundaries for a global cause and cross-cutting social justice.

According to Oxfam's correspondence with the publisher, Longmans was to publish and distribute 20,000 copies of each book in the series, with Oxfam receiving royalties.[115] Jackson hoped that sales would supersede the initial target, but he did concede, in a l965 letter to Longmans, that "20,000 copies of each seems to us to be fairly ambitious as a sales figure, but one can only hope that it might work out that way."[116] What happened to the books once published is uncertain. Most would have been sold to teachers; others given or sold to Local Education Authorities (LEAs), teachers' resource centres, teacher colleges or libraries. A few likely languished in Oxfam offices, unused. According to Harrison, however, the Longmans' Oxfam Series was published at a time when teachers were encouraged by the Ministry of Education, through the 1963 Newsom Report, to broaden their pedagogical horizons in order to increase their outreach and effectiveness.[117] The Newsom Report outlined pedagogical strategies for teachers to reach out to those students aged 11 and above who were prone to dropping out of school with no qualifications. Among other things, the Report recommended that these students be taught material relevant to their lives after leaving school, including contemporary matters, and that this should be done in an interactive and engaging manner, with films, records, projectors, radio and television.[118] Building on this, in 1967 the government's Department of Education published *Towards World History*, a pamphlet of recommendations for the future of teaching history in schools. According to historians David Cannadine, Jenny Keating and Nicola Sheldon, this pamphlet recommended a move away from British constitutional history towards global history, making history more relevant to students. The authors of the pamphlet wrote that students in the 1960s were "less insular than we were in the past, more internationally minded, more tolerant, more appreciative of the special qualities and attributes of different peoples and

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[115] Letter from Bill Jackson (Oxford) to J.R.C. Yglesias (Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London), 6 October 1965, Oxfam Archives DEV 4/2/9; O.G. Thomas, "Longmans/Oxfam Series on relief, welfare and development overseas," (Memorandum sent to all Departmental Heads and Regional Organisers), September 1967, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9.

[116] Letter from Bill Jackson (Oxford) to J.R.C. Yglesias (Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London), 6 October 1965, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9.

[117] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 107-08.

[118] Central Advisory Council for Education (England), "Half Our Future (Newsom Report)," ed. Ministry of Education (UK) (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1963); Cannadine, Keating, and Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*: 151-52.

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different races."[119] Given this push towards curricular change, which reflected Britain's changing position in the world, Oxfam was filling an identified need for new teaching aids and materials, a need which matched its organizational mandate. This likely made Oxfam's Longmans' series and other educational products popular or, at the very least, favored by some. In addition to this, as the British government had yet to impose the official National Curriculum, which it did in 1988 through the Education Reform Act, teachers were able to take liberties in terms of what and how they taught, personalizing the curriculum according to their interests – a fact which organizations like Oxfam capitalized on and catered to through their teaching aids.[120]

The Popularity of Oxfam's Education Material

Now, one can only speculate on the popularity and effectiveness of Oxfam's primary and secondary school teaching aids – there is no distinct record of their success or student and teacher reactions, at least not without full archival access. Some were likely more popular than others. As stated earlier, the Thabo material was still in demand in 1970 and the product, by the mid-1970s, had evolved to become an ever more complex set of teaching wallets, targeting both primary and secondary schools. Taylor equates this widened scope to the earlier material's success, success likely measured in numbers sold and student and teacher feedback.[121] In 2012, over 30 years after this second generation of teaching wallets had been designed, Taylor was still proud of his product and was eager to show it to me, even if he did feel they could have been better – in retrospect he felt that perhaps the amount of information contained in them was too daunting.[122] Yet while the amount of material may indeed have disheartened some teachers, its

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[119] As cited in ———, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*: 152-53.

[120] Richard Taylor. Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom. Until 1988, teachers and Local Education Authorities were responsible for determining school curriculums. McCulloch, Cowan, and Woodin, "The British Conservative Government and the Raising of the School Leaving Age, 1959–1964," 517.

[121] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[122] This educational wallet cost 75 pence in 1973, which is approximately equal to £7.92 now. "Historic inflation calculator: how the value of money has changed since 1900." *This is money*. Accessed 19 June 2014 < http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html>; Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom. The teaching wallet, "INDIA: Country and People," for example, aimed at students in grades 4 to 7, included instructions on how to use the wallet, 36 photographs and separate captions, a background paper on India for teachers, Indian statistics, two recipes, an example of a budget of a family living in Bisipara, a summary of

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diversity did allow them to choose which material they were most comfortable teaching, be it music, religion, medicine, or agriculture.[123] The Longmans' Oxfam Series also spawned new educational books to be conceived by Oxfam's staff, although nowhere near the variety as seen in educational wallets which became the focus of the Department in the 1970s. The 1980s, for example, saw a new set of topical books published, with titles such as *Farming for people or for profit?* and *Land, poverty and wealth*.[124] In the long run, however, educational wallets in particular, alongside wall-charts, dominated the formal educational material that Oxfam produced in the 1970s and 1980s, as these offered teachers more versatility, allowed students more direct engagement with the material, and were easier and cheaper to produce.[125]

Overall, however, the popularity of international development teachings aids in general was confirmed when, in October 1968, *The Times Educational Supplement* published a lengthy piece on available school aids produced by organizations such as Oxfam, Christian Aid, the Christian Education Movement, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, SCF, CEWEC, UNICEF, War on Want, and the Ministry of Overseas Development. As this list shows, NGOs (both secular and religious), intergovernmental organizations, and the British government were all working towards increasing international development awareness in the classroom. The piece, entitled "Timely Aids," was accompanied by three further articles on why and how children in Britain should be taught about international poverty, hunger and development. This four-page spread in such a well-regarded education publication demonstrates that, by 1968, education specialists felt that development education was necessary, and that the production of educational aids was firmly established within Britain's charitable sector.

Oxfam's work in India (1951-73), a record of Indian music, a map of India, the biography of a village Indian from Orissa State, and the list goes on. Oxfam Education Department, "INDIA: Country and People," (Oxfam teaching wallet) (Oxford: Oxfam, 1973), Private Archive, Vancouver, Canada

[123] Education expert Amanda McCorkindale has identified similar challenges in humanitarian education today – teachers easily feel overwhelmed by the different materials produced by various NGOs, especially as they (the teachers) lack expertise in those topic areas. In many cases, as a result of this, teachers choose not to engage with the material at all. Amanda McCorkindale, "Humanitarianism and Education: Exploring How Students Currently Learn About Humanitarian Topics, Is There Hope for the Future?," in *Humanitarianism: Past, Present, Future* (Humanitarian and Conflict Responde Institute (HCRI), University of Manchester2012).

[124] In addition to these, the titles of the Teaching about the Third World Series included *Where has all the food gone*, *World and wealth*, *Healthy, wealthy and wise* and *Population whose problem?* Oxfam Education Department (Oxford: Oxfam, n.d., 1980s).

[125] Richard Taylor, Personal communication, 22 September 2014.

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          "Timely Aids" confirms that Oxfam did indeed have the largest and most productive Education Department by far. According to the article, by October 1968 Oxfam boasted at least thirteen textbooks and five reference books for primary and secondary schools, several grammar school information booklets including "facts, figures, and graphs on subjects such as agriculture and the problem of malnutrition," free information sheets (including "four about the work of Oxfam; seven on general hunger problems; three on general development; three on health; one on refugees; five on various countries such as Vietnam and India"), up-to-date news sheets and bulletins (useful for fifth and sixth formers), write-ups of Oxfam projects in more than 60 countries (with each write-up including "background on the particular country, the costing of the project and why it was necessary"), sets of pictures, wall charts, 24 films, background reading lists and papers, non-examination syllabuses, and advice for how teachers of history, geography and science could incorporate all this material into their classes.[126] "Timely Aids," however, can be misleading. Oxfam's educational efforts did not begin and end with classroom aids. What the article does not mention is Oxfam's efforts to educate young people outside of the classroom, through lectures, conferences, concerts, rallies, sponsored walks, the radio, and even a trip to Algeria in 1966. As Jackson remarked in 2012, "Oxfam itself was inherently educational" – education marked everything the organization did and stood for.[127]

Tensions Over Education

As the above examples demonstrate, Thabo and Eni's stories were pedagogical tools that Oxfam's education staff conceived to convey the problems of the developing world, in tandem with Oxfam's values, to students. Backed by hard, authoritative facts, such as the country's imports and exports, per capita income, illiteracy rates, and so on, fiction and truth came together in the stories to provide a broad perspective of the developing world. According to historian Daniel T. Rodgers, stories and narratives can organize social action and can serve to translate

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[126] Peta Deschampneaufs, "TIMELY AIDS" *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 4, 1968, p. 688-689, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/2**.** See also Hal Mettrick, "HUNGER BROUGHT HOME," O.G. Thomas, "INVOLVEMENT," Neil Bartle, Kenneth Jones and T. Douglas Kershaw, "Learning for humanity's sake" *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 4, 1968, p. 687, 689-690, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/2.
[127] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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unbridgeable experiences and cross cultural, political and historical contexts.[128] Through the lives of Thabo and Eni, Oxfam developed the idea of a shared humanity in its teaching aids in order to access the students' hearts and minds, hoping to motivate the students to act – to have charity collections, participate in sponsored walks or organize awareness-raising events. Rodgers has argued that stories can put possibilities into motion, or at least frame them, and this, it seems, Oxfam's educational staff believed as well.[129] But what kind of frame did Oxfam's stories provide? An unsettling one, built around a discourse of unquestioned morality, charity, difference and development, argues education specialist Matthew W. Smith, one which ultimately disempowers the developing world as much as it seems to empower it.[130] Mike Calvert, Sheila Harding and Rob Unwin, on the other hand, support Oxfam's message, believing that the underlying narrative of a shared world where local actions can have an international impact is an important message to share with young people, one which will likely motivate them towards positive action, towards global citizenship.[131] While Smith, Calvert, Harding and Unwin are writing about educational material produced in the 1990s, their remarks are worth relating to the work of Oxfam's Education Department in the 1960s.

With their direct correlation with Oxfam, the stories of Thabo and Eni are not neutral – they stress the necessity of foreign aid in the development of the countries discussed, and demonstrate that Oxfam, as a development and relief organisation, is effective. Charity and a moral obligation to help the world's poor is thus at the heart of Oxfam's education material – a message with clear implications for action, reinforced by "neutral," authoritative facts. Yet these facts are assembled in such a way that they are not impartial. According to Smith, this structuring of the material is partly due to the fact that development education was riding the coattails of imperial education. He writes, "Notions of 'development' and philanthropy were intimately bound up in colonial ideology and practice, followed by the modernisation project in the second half of the 20th century. Thus, there are readymade 'spaces' and conceptual frameworks for them

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[128] Daniel T. Rodgers, "Bearing Tales: Networks and Narratives in Social Policy Transfer," *Journal of Global History* 9, no. 02 (2014): 310-11.
[129] Ibid., 313.
[130] Matthew W. Smith, "Teaching the 'Third World': Unsettling Discourses of Difference in the School Curriculum," *Oxford Review of Education* 25, no. 4 (1999): passim.
[131] Mike Calvert, Sheila Harding, and Rob Unwin, "Oxfam 'Developing Rights': Towards a Maximalist Conception of Citizenship," *Pastoral Care in Education* 16, no. 4 (1998): 25.

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in the curriculum."[132] While it is important to recognize the power structures inherent within the material, and their similarities with colonial educational frameworks, stigmatizing Oxfam's work as a form of neo-imperial discourse would be misleading, ignoring the tensions ingrained in the material's creation. The material contains both progressive and traditional elements, and these need to be acknowledged.

Oxfam's Education Department was founded in 1959 with Stella Dyer serving as its only Schools Organiser. For three years she was the Education Department and, as such, her impact was long lasting. Fifty years after she hired him, Jackson remembers Dyer with fondness and gratitude, communicating clearly his view of the influence she had not only on his life, but also on the organization through her forward-looking, big-picture thinking. He credits her with establishing an ethical foundation for the department, one based on knowledge rather than money-hungering:

> The whole ethos with the Education Department, as decreed by Stella [Dyer] at the outset, was that it was primarily educational. To her it was anathema to go into a school and say 'give us money.' What she wanted to do was to make children aware of the existence of the developing countries and the needs of their people and if they were aware enough then, you know, donations would follow. And they did. [133]

One of the reasons Dyer may have advocated this approach, according to Taylor, was that "there was this concern that we would treat schools as captive audiences and... that it was very easy to prey on young children's emotions... – show a lot of starving children and get them [the pupils] to cough up money." Should the students themselves have decided to fundraise, he continued, "as they very often did, then there were activities on hand."[134] This popularly assumed innocence and vulnerability of the child was one reason for not fundraising in the classroom, their non-economic status as school-children another. As pupils, particularly the younger ones, many

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[132] Smith, "Teaching the 'Third World': Unsettling Discourses of Difference in the School Curriculum," 493. Much of Oxfam's educational work in the 1960s also contains similarities to imperial missionary propaganda. See, for example, Nicholas Thomas, "Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in Early Twentieth -Century Evangelical Propaganda," in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Catherine Hall (New York: Routledge, 2000), 105-11; Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*.
[133] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[134] Richard Taylor. Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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people identified children and youth as dependents not expected to contribute to the family household income in a vital way.[135] An awareness of this lack of economic status and independence may have been partly responsible for why some charities differentiated between young people in and out of schools in terms of direct fundraising appeals – if students did not contribute to their own families, why should they contribute to others'? In addition to this, as the Education Department reached out to students of all social backgrounds, the education staff must have been aware that they were entering schools representing students from a variety of economic backgrounds, some of whom may have been poor themselves.[136]

Within the context of youth's increasing affluence in the 1960s, however, Dyer felt that if young people were not contributing to their own family economy, they should help provide for the basic needs of impoverished families, even those that were far away. Following this thought process, while Oxfam's education team did not make direct appeals to their "captive" school audiences, they did seek to tap into the energy and affluence of Britain's independent young people. It was for this reason that the Education Department's David Moore established Young Oxfam in the mid-1960s, integrating out-of-school youth into the organization. According to Black, this was done through the creation of a network of Young Oxfam groups (usually run for and by young people), the circulation of the "Young Oxfam Bulletin" (fondly known as YOB), and an assortment of sponsored activities, such as "non-stop knitting, distance hikes, [and] dance-ins." By 1966 (just one year after the program was initiated), YOB had a circulation of 15,000 and there were 100 groups throughout the country.[137] Young Oxfam was not to be contained and quickly caught on with youth in general, including impassioned secondary school students. Under Moore's guidance and his "infectious sense of fun," Young Oxfam quickly became an important, radicalized fundraising and awareness-raising arm of Oxfam, run by and for youth.[138] While the initial intention was to target "unattached" youth, according to Elphinstone-Fyffe, Young Oxfam also developed as an extracurricular activity in many

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[135] Stella Dyer, Memorandum to Oxfam Staff (n.d., c.1960), p. 1-2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

[136] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 102.That said, until the mid-1960s it was widely held that Britain's Welfare State had eradicated poverty at home. See Tanya Evans, "Stopping the Poor Getting Poorer: The Establishment and Professionalisation of Poverty NGOs, 1945-95," in *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945*, ed. Nick Crowson, Matthew Hilton, and James McKay (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[137] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 107.

[138] Ibid.

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secondary schools, usually at the initiative of one or more students.[139] Young Oxfam was very much a young people's organisation not constrained by the boundaries of the educational system, even if their youthful radicalism was curbed by the Charity Commission and sometimes Oxfam itself.[140]

Despite Young Oxfam's popularity, schools remained at the heart of the Education Department, with curriculum change becoming increasingly prioritized as the 1960s progressed.[141] Despite the careful reasoning which separated education from fundraising, it seems the Education Department was never far removed from making subtle financial appeals. After all, Oxfam's projects were at the heart of the material the Department designed and it was obvious that Oxfam's projects needed money. Even Dyer was aware of this. At the beginning of the FFHC, in approximately 1960, Dyer circulated a memorandum among Oxfam staff explaining how the Education Department could contribute to the campaign. In the memorandum she states that it was Oxfam's duty "to interpret the challenge of the international situation [to school children] in such a way that they can meet it positively and practically... providing a channel for their ideals and explosive emotional energy" beyond mere "[m]oney-raising events, collecting clothes, designing posters." She went on to add that, "The schools are in fact a very important part of Oxfam's staff – we find them good colleagues – juniors, seniors and teaching staff" – in the "effort to cure a situation where two-thirds of the world's population suffer from malnutrition." What was the defining factor in this collegial relationship? Fundraising. "How badly do we need money?" she asked. "Very badly indeed... every penny we can get," was her own response. The memorandum confirms what Taylor said – practically speaking Oxfam, through the Education Department, must create "knowledge and understanding first – money second." [142] Should students decide to fundraise, Oxfam would always be at hand.

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[139] Elphinstone-Fyffe, Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Bill Jackson, "Longmans/Oxfam Series on relief, welfare and development overseas" (Memorandum), July 1966, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/2/9; Oral History Interview of Linda Hisgett by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 14 March 2013, Birmingham, United Kingdom. For more on the contentious nature of Young Oxfam, see Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/3.

[140] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 108.

[141] Taylor, Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[142] Stella Dyer, Memorandum to Oxfam Staff (n.d., c.1960), p. 1-2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

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The discrepancy between Dyer's memorandum and Jackson's memory of her dislike for fundraising in the classroom can be explained institutionally. As her collaborator, colleague and heir to her position, Jackson likely had personal insights into Dyer's work and philosophies. Sometimes these had to be outwardly contradicted to justify the expense of the Education Department to the rest of the organization. Talk to Oxfam's 1960s educational staff and they will be certain to address the tensions between fundraising and education, particularly at the end of the decade when several people, including the very dynamic Thomas, resigned over the issue. Central to this controversy was how Oxfam should balance political activism (which addressed the roots of international poverty) with overseas aid and fundraising (a short term solution). In 1974 Oxfam's Council of Management relented and increased its financial support for education and public information campaigns, giving them greater prominence within the organization.[143]

One reason for this tension, as Jackson pointed out, was that as a registered charity, Oxfam had to primarily be a fundraising agency, something which the Charity Commission actively policed. Due to its charitable nature, Oxfam was responsible to its donors and therefore its management had to constantly consider Oxfam's bottom-line and income-to-expense ratio. Considering the competitive charitable environment it was operating in, as more and more organizations started making financial appeals for similar causes, Oxfam had to keep this ratio low in order to maintain the public's trust. Therefore, according to Jackson, it was not surprising that people, including Oxfam staff, repeatedly asked, "What are classroom aids, for a primary school or a secondary school in Britain doing, in immediate terms, for the hungry child in Uganda... or the farmer who needs some credit in... Bangladesh?"[144] It was a relevant question considering Oxfam's mandate of providing direct and practical solutions to international poverty issues. Within this framework the Education Department was seen as an organizational cost rather than as an investment.[145]

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[143] Thomas resigned in 1971. Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom. For more on this important controversy, see Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 108, 55-62.

[144] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[145] It was not until 1974 that Oxfam's Council of Management made education an organisational purpose, allocating five percent of its donated income towards educational activities and thus redefining education as an investment. Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 162.

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In 1964, in a document arguing for the expansion of the Education Department beyond the scope of the FFHC, Jackson recognized his Department's contested nature: "[The Education Department] will need more staff, a larger budget, and an acceptance by the [Executive] Committee that we do not expect to see direct results accruing to Oxfam from these activities."[146] This demonstrates that Jackson contended that measurement in direct results, in financial terms, would miss the point of the Education Department's impact. Two years later, upon handing over the industrious Department to Thomas in 1966, Jackson wrote a detailed reflection on Oxfam's educational work where he again emphasized the Education Department's intangible value. While he did indeed list annual sums of money raised under his leadership, sums which were quite large, he first emphasized the more abstract benefits of education:

> It would be uneconomic to try to sit down now and assess the number of school or classroom projects which have been undertaken. They have been very numerous indeed. In addition advice has been given in such a way that many theses have been written, many courses have been undertaken at colleges, many careers decided, many volunteer assignments undertaken, some employees found for Oxfam, and a sense of real purpose and awareness imparted to a very large number of young people. All these results obviously linked to the field of relief, welfare and development.[147]

Yet such intangible benefits were not recognized by everyone in the organization, creating a situation where the educational staff had to be financially defensive in their communications with other staff. This is one explanation for the apparent contradiction in Dyer's memorandum and the way the Education Department balanced education with fundraising. This likely also partially explains why Oxfam was at the heart of all the material produced by the Education Department and why tacit appeals for funds were woven into educational narratives. In order to be financed by Oxfam, the Education Department could not act as an independent entity; it had to conform to Oxfam's charitable needs and mandate.

Another problem for Oxfam in the 1960s was that, under the British government's legal definition of charity, Oxfam could not be overtly political. According to Matthew Hilton,

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[146] Bill Jackson, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in this Country" (London, March 1964), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.
[147] Bill Jackson, "Oxfam's Educational Work: Some Thoughts on Handing over a Department," (Oxford, UK, August 1966), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

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Nicholas J. Crowson, Jean François Mouhot and James McKay's *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain* (2012), until the law was updated in 2006, "charity" was comprised of four principal divisions originated in the seventeenth century: "trusts for the relief of poverty; trusts for the advancement of education; trusts for the advancement of religion; and trusts for other purposes beneficial to the community..."[148] Under the 1960 Charities Act, based on this seventeenth-century definition of charity, charities could not be overly political. This the Charity Commissioners took very seriously, which necessitated Oxfam taking it seriously as well. However, as Hilton, Crowson, Mouhot and McKay point out, "overly political" was hard to define, making it a running source of contention, with international development organizations in particular constantly pushing the boundaries in the 1960s and 1970s. For this reason the Charity Commission investigated Oxfam in the 1970s and 1990s.[149]

With this in mind, charity law also influenced the way Oxfam's Education Department could operate – while staff could promote international development themes within schools, thus advancing education, the material could not directly challenge the government stance on aid. Perhaps this is why Taylor, in our interview, said he sought curriculum change more than social change while he was Education Officer, despite the two being intimately related.[150] Within this hazy legal framework, the Education Department had to make sure not to become a legal liability while also raising awareness of important political issues in the classroom. While the education staff hoped there would be a political impact through their work, they could not tell students to campaign for government policy change or to write to their MPs or to go into great depth about the structural problems contributing to underdevelopment. Perhaps this was one reason why, rather than describing the politics of aid and the intricacies of delivering it, the focus of the

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[148] Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*: 1. Canada had different charity laws, and as such Oxfam Quebec and, albeit on a lesser basis Oxfam Canada, were able to be the more "radical" branches of Oxfam's international network. For more on Oxfam in Canada, see Dominique Marshall with Julia Sterparn, "Oxfam Aid to Canada's First Nations, 1962–1975: Eating Lynx, Starving for Jobs, and Flying a Talking Bird."; Myers, "Blistered and Bleeding, Tired and Determined: Visual Representations of Children and Youth in the Miles for Millions Walkathon." Dominique Marshall is currently working on a monograph on the early history of Oxfam in Canada.

[149] Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*: 2. For an overview of tensions in Oxfam in the 1970s between politics and public education, see Whitaker, *A Bridge of People*: 166-83.

[150] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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educational material was on simplified readings of the challenges people overseas faced because of poverty or disaster.

In addition to this, the late 1950s and 1960s were also a time of naive idealism in relation to international development, idealism based on the idea that the elimination of poverty would be straightforward and possible. International development was a new field, after all, and as such was established with pomp, enthusiasm and euphoria. According to Black, this idealism constrained critical thinking about possible solutions to international poverty, narrowing policy debates about how to approach it and, at a different level, how to present it in classrooms.[151] Whatever contributed to it, in 1970 Thomas criticized Oxfam's acquiescent approach, which he had helped develop, writing that "what our young people learn about development is of paramount importance. It is not just a question of making friends with people from other countries: this is very valuable, but ignores the national and international structures which control the pace and nature of development."[152] Establishing a sense of common humanity and tugging on students' heartstrings as they learned of children without schools or water wells or proper medical care were not enough for Thomas. Neither was playing second fiddle to Oxfam's fundraisers. Thomas wanted to evoke structural change, through education, and hence he resigned from Oxfam in 1971 to set up his own development education organization, Antipoverty, which tied learning of the developing world directly to practical action.[153] Once Oxfam's Council of Management assigned more importance to Oxfam's educational program in 1974 (and because of Antipoverty's financial struggles), Thomas came back.

It must also be recognized that Oxfam's educational employees have always held a spectrum of political views and opinions, ones not necessarily reflected in the educational material they produced. Thomas, for example, while Education Officer from 1966 to 1971, helped set up radicalized associations outside the charity network in order to facilitate greater

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[151] Personal communication with Maggie Black, 27 October 2011.

[152] Thomas's report on the First European Conference on Development Education, held in Sweden 1970, which he co-directed. As cited in Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 135.

[153] In the 1980s Thomas classified Antipoverty as England's first development education organisation. It folded because of lack of funding in 1974 and Thomas went back to work for Oxfam. While Thomas had his doubts about working for Oxfam, the fact that it was a large, established organisation made it easier to finance educational initiatives. Harrison, "Antipoverty: England's First Development Education Organisation (1971-1974)," 133-63; Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979."

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political impact.[154] One of these was the Haslemere Group, in which Moore also participated, alongside representatives from Christian Aid, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the Voluntary Committee for Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD) and others.[155] In 1968 the group published the *Haslemere Declaration*, a 19 page booklet outlining, in the signatories' view, how Britain related to the developing world and what its responsibilities were towards eradicating poverty. It stated that "we cannot continue to be merely polite, respectable and ineffective lobbyists for 'more and better aid' when we have lost all faith in the ability of our governments to respond realistically to the desperate human need of the poor world" and "we recognise the value and humanity of the world done by the overseas aid charities and the genuine motivation of many of those who contribute to them, but we refuse to accept this salving of consciences." [156] According to Black, the *Declaration*, priced at 1/-, sold out immediately.[157] In 1970, in a document draft entitled "Public Opinion and Voluntary Effort," the ODI classified the Haslemere Group as "quasi-revolutionary" in its approach.[158] This demonstrates that Thomas and Moore had to dampen their so-called "revolutionary" ideas in order to work in the classroom. Thomas resigned over this, whereas Moore and Taylor continued to work through Oxfam's more conservative structure.

Previous to this, Jackson also put his signature on a manifesto – the "Young Person's Manifesto on World Hunger" – in 1965.[159] This manifesto was initiated by the FAO under the FFHC and, once published, was widely reprinted and circulated. Although he attended as a representative of young people generally speaking, it was for his work with Oxfam that Jackson was invited as one of 44 youth leaders from around the world to discuss the role of youth within international development. As historian Matthew James Bunch put it in his doctoral dissertation

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[154] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 156.

[155] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[156] *The Haslemere Declaration* (The Haslemere Committee: London, 1968), p. 5. SOAS, CA/J/1. In one of our interviews Taylor spoke of the Haslemere Declaration, stating that he played a small role in its creation. That said, Taylor does not appear as one of the signatories on the document. This association, at least in retrospect, shows that he supported the Declaration and Moore and Thomas's association with it. Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. . 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[157] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 156.

[158] The ODI classified it as "quasi-revolutionary" as the Haselmere Group "wished to see development assistance not only put on a multilateral basis but treated as a monetary matter administered by the IMF, rather than as public investment by one nation in another." Overseas Development Institute, "Public Opinion and the Voluntary Effort," Draft chapter the June 1970 *ODI* Review," (London, 1970), p. 6, Cadbury, SCF A0071.

[159] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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on the FFHC, "The Manifesto illustrated the two faces of the youth movement in the 1960s; one was pragmatic and sincere in its desire to improve the condition of humanity, and the other was highly critical of existing systems and political structures."[160] For those operating within the confines of Oxfam's Education Department, the teaching of common humanity and evoking of moral responsibility within a critical, pedagogical framework, it was hoped, would allow students to move beyond the lesson on their own to fundraise in support of Oxfam's projects and, possibly more importantly, question precisely what more could be done. With this in mind, perhaps the final question of *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy* should not only be read as a plea for fundraising for Oxfam. Perhaps "Why ought we to help people who are in need or ill in other countries?" was a discrete way for the Education Department staff to ask students to think more deeply, to think critically, to question their actions and the structures that contributed to poverty abroad.[161] And perhaps, for this very reason, Taylor remembers that, "if... you talked to people in the Education Department and the younger members of staff... at that time, I think a lot of people would have regarded [the Education Department] actually as sort of the cutting edge of Oxfam. And I say that because it was raising the radical issues. Its analysis of poverty was quite a radical one."[162]

Conclusion

So what could be achieved through the Education Department, if not radical change? Change that was not construed as radical, but that was important nevertheless. Curriculum change for one, as Taylor remarked, and increased public awareness. As Hilton, Crowson, Mouhot and McKay noted, it was NGOs that really placed international development issues in the public imagination in the 1960s and 1970s through their informational campaigns.[163] Similarly, education scholars Ian Davies, Mark Evans and Alan Reid recommend Oxfam for its valuable work in promoting globally-oriented citizenship thinking among educators over the past decades,

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[160] Bunch, "All Roads Lead to Rome: Canada, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, and the Rise of NGOs, 1960-1980," 155.

[161] Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, 2: 38.

[162] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[163] Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*: 41.

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helping to move citizenship education beyond out-dated national models.[164] At a time when Britain was renegotiating its place in the world, with its empire rapidly diminishing and immigration on the rise, Oxfam's classroom aids prompted students to think differently about their place in the world and to have an international awareness that went beyond British borders, territories and the Commonwealth, as well as beyond the corridors of international governance. Primary school students were introduced to children abroad with needs similar to theirs in circumstances that did not allow those needs to be fulfilled. Material produced for secondary students was similar but more complex, providing longer, more nuanced stories constructed around empirical evidence. While so-called radical tracts, such as the *Haslemere Declaration,* were not allowed in the classroom according to the Charity Commission, Oxfam's education team repackaged their beliefs in more traditional forms. By emphasizing one's moral duty to help the poor, the material came across as depoliticized, even if it did contain a message of cosmopolitan citizenship simmering within, a form of citizenship that went beyond national borders and invited students to take on global responsibilities and become "citizens without frontiers."[165] In this way Oxfam's educational staff sought to establish a sense of global community among British students, which they hoped would translate into active global citizenship, one that did not necessarily have to be enacted through British government structures (since many of the educational team felt these to be ineffective) but became the responsibility of the individual.[166] Through this, Oxfam was instrumental in moving students away from a traditional imperial worldview with its associated power structures and hierarchies. Stemming from a time that emphasized international cooperation and understanding, this was not surprising, as it was believed that internationally-minded people, people who thought beyond their borders, would forestall another world war from happening.[167]

[164]Oxfam's contributions are noteworthy as, Davies, Evans and Reid ultimately argue, global citizenship education within the national curriculum does not yet exist (and they believe it should). See Table 3 in their article for a useful comparison of national and post-national models of society and education. Davies, Evans, and Reid, "Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of 'Global Education' and 'Citizenship Education'," 73-74, 75.

[165] Engin F. Islin, *Citizens without Frontiers* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

[166] Davies, Evans, and Reid, "Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of 'Global Education' and 'Citizenship Education'," 72.

[167] Robert Sylvester, "Further Mapping of the Territory of International Education in the 20th Century (1944-1969)," *Journal of Research in International Education* 2, no. 2 (2003): 191-92.

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Yet all of this is not to say that there were no power structures or imperial agendas within Oxfam's material itself. As noted earlier, this new way of looking at the developing world within schools was coming in on the coattails of imperial education. Related to this was the fact that the organizational constraints placed on the Education Department forced it to make Oxfam central to its material, thus perpetuating ideas of British superiority and contributing to international development's problematic donor-recipient dichotomy. This emphasis on outside assistance, and the need for it, produced simplistic, and some would argue misleading, images of developing countries, some of which persist to this day. As Oxfam employees were well aware, the countries described in Oxfam's educational material had national achievements to be celebrated, within the realms of health care, education, agriculture, government policy and culture. These, if mentioned, were usually glossed over in order to focus the teacher and students on the real issue at hand – poverty, want, and the need for outside intervention. Now, in cases of natural disaster or war, outside intervention is necessary to assist their victims. But when discussing long term development, examples of national and local achievement would have been valuable in providing British students with a deeper, more nuanced understanding of those countries. Yet Oxfam's teaching material for primary school students simply highlights how Thabo's village could only prosper with outside assistance, while the success stories in the first set of Longmans' Oxfam Series' development-oriented books were Nigeria's Abakaliki Centre run by Irish missionaries, Ecuador's Radio Schools set up by the European Peace Corps, and Botswana's Swaneng Hill School run by South African Patrick van Rensburg. And, of course, all of these were financed by Britain's Oxfam.[168]

That said, the material does not negate national successes and potential. Eni is representative of this. Despite having had leprosy, Eni still has hope for his future – to become an electrical engineer and marry the beautiful Ekwefi – a hope British students are meant to hold on to. More broadly speaking, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy* depicts a black man looking through a microscope on its cover, alluding to Nigeria's capacity for scientific research, includes a poem

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[168] Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy*, 2; ———, *Ecuador: Learning by radio*; ———, *Botswana (Bechuanaland): 'This is a hungry year'*. Incidentally, van Rensburg and the Swaneng Hill School appear in the archives of Oxfam, Christian Aid, and War on Want. These organizations, among other European funding agencies, saw the Swaneng Hill School as a model for African education and community development. In 1981 van Rensburg received the Right Livelihood Award. An examination of van Rensburg's work and publications would make an important contribution to the history of international development.

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by one of Nigeria's foremost poets, and highlights Nigeria's economy and widening educational system in its narration. The book does not, however, discuss the implications of Nigeria's colonial past, showcase how Nigerians themselves were working towards improving their country or include pictures of Nigeria's modern urban spaces. The inclusion of such information would have provided a more nuanced educational entry-point for teachers and students, allowing them to move beyond a relationship with the global south based on assistance or Britain's imperial legacy. With this in mind, Oxfam's educational material did indeed contribute to some unsettling discourses of difference,[169] although it did not exhibit the cultural chauvinism common to other international education research and material from that time.[170]

Yet within a set number of pages, what should one include and exclude? How can one convert countless local, regional, national and global narratives into educational material to be consumed by British school children? As Davies, Evans and Reid have remarked, the teaching of global issues tends to be fragmented – aside from the plethora of topics teachers can choose to teach, there are also many different angles in which the lesson can be approached.[171] In producing educational material there will always be limitations and therefore its creators (and even its intended recipients) must reflect on what narrative they are putting forward and why.

Despite this, however, the educational material Oxfam produced in the 1960s was innovative and, in many ways, served as a forerunner of its current rights-based approach to learning, an approach it officially adopted in 1994 and which is widespread within development education and practice today.[172] The 1960s material was premised on ideas of global social justice and equality, and that everyone had a duty (moral or otherwise) to work towards these, especially those in positions of privilege. But rights-based approaches to development were still in their infancy in the 1960s and the language of social justice had yet to be adopted as an alternative to the economically-focused and deterministic "development" language that came out of the 1950s. Yet while a rights-based approach to development is progressive, often

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[169] Smith, "Teaching the 'Third World': Unsettling Discourses of Difference in the School Curriculum."
[170] Sylvester, "Further Mapping of the Territory of International Education in the 20th Century (1944-1969)," 188. See also ———, "Mapping International Education: A Historical Survey 1893-1944," *Journal of Research in International Education* 1, no. 1 (2002); ———, "Framing the Map of International Education (1969-1998)," *Journal of Research in International Education* 4, no. 2 (2005).
[171] Davies, Evans, and Reid, "Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of 'Global Education' and 'Citizenship Education'," 77-78.
[172] Calvert, Harding, and Unwin, "Oxfam 'Developing Rights': Towards a Maximalist Conception of Citizenship," 22.

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emphasizing the empowerment of people at the grassroots level, by prescribing to a human rights framework in the 1990s Oxfam has become more conservative and less flexible than it was in the 1960s. The concept of human rights is linked to an international legal framework which, in turn, links Oxfam's work to structures of governance. As historian Matthew Hilton has argued, "human rights are not as universally coherent and accepted as NGOs would like to believe," thus making adherence to them deeply problematic and even dangerous for an organization's public persona, upon which it is financially dependent.[173] Within this human rights framework, the question about bride price as asked in *Nigeria: A boy and leprosy* would possibly not have been posed in such an open, non-judgemental manner. Nor would *Hong Kong: The overcrowded room* likely have been published in 1969. The focus of this Longmans' book was the promotion of family planning, a controversial policy which Oxfam started publically supporting in 1964.[174] The World Health Organization (WHO), on the other hand, took a much more conservative approach to the issue because of its Catholic members. When in 1965 it adopted measures in support of family planning, it only did so marginally – it agreed to advise governments on family planning upon request, but it refused to promote or endorse it.[175] These examples raise important questions about the current nature of Oxfam's educational initiatives and what it means to be progressive, while also emphasizing that the tensions inherent to Oxfam's education work in the 1960s remain with the organization to this day.

While Oxfam's Education Department did have to operate within the confines of British Charity Law in the1960s, unlike the BRCS the Department did not put forward an idea of international citizenship that was confined by government policy – it took a broader view, even if not always explicitly so.[176] As Harrison put it, for the Education Department "[t]his was more than learning about processes of development and under-development: it was also learning for

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[173] Hilton, "International Aid and Development NGOs in Britain and Human Rights since 1945," 466. See also Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*; Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

[174] W. J. Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Hong Kong: The overcrowded room*, ed. Oxfam Education Department, 12 vols., vol. 9, Longmans' Oxfam Series (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1969).

[175] International Planned Parenthood Federation, "News about International Planned Parenthood" (London, 22 June 1965), Wellcome Library, IPPF A13/102.

[176] Hilton has argued that initially NGOs took a needs-based approach to their work. However, as they gradually adopted a rights-based language and approach (including Oxfam) in the late 1970s and 1980s, NGOs tied themselves to government policies on aid, as well as legal frameworks stemming from official international organizations. Hilton, "International Aid and Development NGOs in Britain and Human Rights since 1945." See also Hilton et al., *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain: Charities, Civil Society and the Voluntary Sector since 1945*: 64.

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development as a universal human experience," one which transcended national borders.[177] These broader views of development, which were at odds with government policy, were reinforced in 1964 when Harold Wilson's Labour Government cut the overseas aid budget by £20,000 and again in 1970 when Edward Heath's Conservative government demoted the Ministry of Overseas Aid and Development to the Overseas Development Administration.[178]

By showcasing the needs of the poor in its material, the Education Department continuously urged British children and youth to practice compassion, generosity and solidarity with those afflicted by adversity overseas, within a cosmopolitan citizenship framework. As of the mid-1960s the Department also provided outlets for unattached-youth and impassioned secondary school students to do more with the information they gained, which led to many radicalized Young Oxfam participants. Despite Barrett's assessment, the Education Department was not just a barnacle on Oxfam's behind – its impact was greater than that. Rather, the Education Department was central to bringing a humanized vision of international development issues to the British public, influencing many to donate to Oxfam, become informed citizens, campaign against the government or pursue careers in the field. Essentially, as Harrison stated, the Education Department was responsible for increasing the profile of development, compellingly casting it as a responsibility for all.

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[177] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 119.
[178] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 155.

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Chapter 5 – Fostering Active Compassion Outside of Schools: Oxfam's Stowe Conference and Operation Oasis

On March 7, 1965 the *Sunday Mirror* ran a short, anonymously written piece which stated,

> Hundreds of school children will be taken on a guided tour of Algerian slums by Oxfam officials during an educational tour next year. Idea: to take them into the midst of naked poverty and show why money is needed for the starving. Horrifying shock treatment? No. A magnificent way of showing the young what world can really be like.[1]

Showing young people what the world can *really* be like is a difficult task, but one which Oxfam's Department of Education believed it could handle. Seeing British children and youth as both a resource and as global citizens, it sought to engage them in recreational and educational activities to increase their international understanding and awareness of development issues, specifically international poverty. Working from a cosmopolitan worldview that superseded Britain's borders, Oxfam's education staff promoted development education initiatives to establish feelings of North-South solidarity and responsibility among young people as the British Empire faded away.[2]

Oxfam took great pride in being "not just another charity" and this was reflected in its educational initiatives. Two such examples were the 1965 international Stowe Conference, held at Stowe School in Buckingham, England, which brought together 410 participants, primarily between the ages of 16 and 18,[3] and Operation Oasis, a unique educational voyage that allowed 800 British secondary school pupils, between the ages of 15 and 18, to visit Oxfam projects

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[1] *Sunday Mirror,* March 7, 1965, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/6.

[2] Audrey Osler, "Education for Development: Redefining Citizenship in a Pluralist Society," in *Development Education: Global Perspectives in the Curriculum*, ed. Audrey Osler (London: Cassell, 1994), 32.

[3] Of the 410 attendees, 300 were British. Most participants were aged between 16 and 18, which was younger than the organizers had originally hoped (they had set out to target young people between 15 and 25). See T.H.G. Fletcher, "Final Report of Stowe Conference" (17 September 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10; Oxfam Press Office, "Oxfam's 'Point Five' Conference," (29 July 1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10; "Point Five: List of Participants' Names and Addresses," (n.d. c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10. The number of participants within the three aforementioned sources varies – the Press Office states there were 374 participants in total (124 boys and 250 girls), Fletcher puts the total number at 410, 300 of which were British, and the participant list features 330 names. Some of the higher figures may also include facilitators.

firsthand in Algeria in 1966 at a cost of £49 each.[4] While Stowe and Operation Oasis are primary examples of Oxfam's Education Department's innovative and informal approach to teaching about the developing world in the mid-1960s, they are also vastly different as Stowe was Oxfam's first concerted effort to reach out to young people outside of schools (the youth section of Oxfam, Young Oxfam, was born out of this conference), whereas Operation Oasis was firmly rooted within the British educational system by targeting secondary school students. At the heart of both these initiatives, however, was the belief that young people could change the world.

In 1964, before Stowe, Operation Oasis and, most importantly, Young Oxfam, staff within the Education Department had remarked that there was "difficulty in suggesting interesting methods of expression for the enthusiasm of young people: the giving of money is inadequate really and voluntary service abroad can only cater for a tiny minority."[5] Such statements demonstrate that Oxfam's education staff had recognized that young people needed to be actively and creatively engaged, both within and outside of schools. At the same time, the Education Department team believed that "the general mass of unorganised young people" could "have their imaginations fired by an idealistic programme," with the "idealistic programme" unlocking the enormous potential of this dormant section of the population.[6] In other words, according to the Education Department, young people were not suffering from the political and social apathy so often ascribed to them by social commentators – they had simply not been granted adequate forms of expression and guidance for their personal commitments.

To face this challenge, and to capitalize on what they deemed to be the rich resource of youth, Oxfam's education staff sought to incite the participation of young people for its cause by first capturing their imagination and then, once this was fired up, by tapping into the action that their imaginative idealism provoked. This was done both through the educational material that Oxfam produced for schools, as we have seen previously, as well as through extracurricular activities. Both these approaches, the education staff hoped, would lead to a reciprocal

[4] Operation Oasis Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/6. According to *This is money*'s historic inflation calculator, today's equivalent of £49, based on the year 1966, is £824.45. "Historic inflation calculator: how the value of money has changed since 1900." *This is money*. Accessed 21 October 2014 < http://www.thisismoney.co .uk/ money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html>

[5] Oxfam Education Department, "Some Difficulties" ([internal memorandum], n.d., c.1964), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

[6] Bill Jackson, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in this Country" (London, March 1964), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

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relationship in which young people would collaborate with Oxfam to end world poverty. As Stella Dyer had remarked in 1960, through clever programming children and youth could be cast as colleagues of Oxfam, much to the benefit of the organization.[7] Despite organizing Stowe and Operation Oasis at a time when many in Britain felt young people to be delinquents and a threat to society, Oxfam was able to capitalize on what it saw as the energy and idealism of youth in order to sustain its fight against world hunger and poverty and increase its outreach potential.

In the late 1950s and 1960s many social commentators were concerned about "the generation gap," about the apathy of youth and their lack of social values which disconnected them from their parents' generation.[8] Discussions about juvenile delinquency in particular brought these concerns to the forefront,[9] especially in the wake of much publicized events such as the 1964 seaside clashes between the Mods and Rockers, prominent youth cultures at the time.[10] According to Catherine Ellis, this characterization of young people and the so-called "generation gap" in the late 1950s and 1960s was not straight forward and was therefore much debated. In her words, young people, or "teenagers," were cast as both conservative and radical, as "apathetic, complacent consumers, lulled into conformity by mass-produced culture and entertainment," as well as "angry, dissatisfied critics, threats to established institutions and mores."[11] In reality, however, these extreme characterizations were overstated – Ellis' work on British political youth organizations (the imaginatively named Young Conservatives, Young Liberals, and Young Socialists), as well as John R. Gillis' exploration of age relations in England, elucidate that young people had similar concerns as adults, despite growing up under the conditions vastly different from their parents.[12] Writing in 1974, Gillis goes as far to state that "[t]he political and social movements that were attracting the young in the 1960s displayed a general tendency to integrate youth with the adult world, to propel them into roles and concerns

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[7] Stella Dyer, Memorandum to Oxfam Staff (n.d., c.1960), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

[8] Ellis, "The Younger Generation: The Labour Party and the 1959 Youth Commission," 213, 16.

[9] See Rock and Cohen, "The Teddy Boy."; Wills, "Deliquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England, 1950-1970."

[10] For more on the 1964 seaside clashes, see Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*; Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c. 1920-c.1970*: 136-43; Richard S. Grayson, "Mods, Rockers and Juvenile delinquency in 1964: The government response," *Contemporary British History* 12, no. 1 (1998).

[11] Ellis, "The Younger Generation: The Labour Party and the 1959 Youth Commission," 201, 02.

[12] ———, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s," 444. See also John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present* (London: Academic Press Inc., 1976), 205-06.

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that called for an advanced level of autonomy and maturity,"[13] a statement reflected in Ellis'
work as well. Stowe, Operation Oasis, and Oxfam's subsequent work with young people verifies
these conclusions.

In her official history of Oxfam, Maggie Black characterized Oxfam as "the main vehicle
whereby the new crusade on behalf of the poor overseas took root in British hearts and minds" in
the 1960s.[14] Oxfam's work with young people is a primary example of this as, by the mid-1960s,
Oxfam's development education program was the largest in the country. Through this
programming, Oxfam staff purposefully targeted the many baby-boomers who were coming into
adolescence and were seeking engagement and expression within society. This chapter highlights
how Oxfam did this through an examination of Stowe and Operation Oasis, two events Oxfam
organized to complement its in-school initiatives. By providing a close description of these two
events and investigating the motivations behind their organization, as well as participant
responses to them, this chapter reveals how successful Oxfam was at transmitting passion for
"development action" to British youth. In addition to this, this chapter indicates the value many
of Oxfam's staff ascribed to youth engagement with development issues, demonstrating how
Oxfam's Education Department sought to align Oxfam's organizational strategy with the social
climate of the time.

Stowe Conference: Point Five International Discussion Week, 1965
"I thought that the atmosphere at the end of POINT FIVE was akin to the beginnings of a
revolution of attitudes among the people present," wrote an excited David Moore, Oxfam's
Youth Organiser, as a follow-up to Oxfam's Point Five International Discussion Week held at
Stowe in 1965.[15] Similarly, one of the conference participants, Barbara Zurawinski of Blackpool,
Lancashire, wrote that "that the conference was completely successful and brought a great
awareness of the world's problems - not as something vague and unrelated, but a personal
realization that I was involved and had a duty to do something about it."[16] Even T.H.G Fletcher,

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[13] ———, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present*: 206.

[14] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 70.

[15] David Moore, "Oxfam and Youth Against Hunger" (Participant follow-up to Stowe Conference) (n.d., c.1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[16] Barbara Zurawinski (Blackpool, UK), Letter to Oxfam regarding her participation in the Stowe conference (28 August 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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Oxfam's Deputy Director, was generous with his praise, writing in his final report, "It seems clear that the experiment should be repeated... In educational terms, Stowe has been well worth while, and the follow-up is likely to show a concrete financial return to Oxfam also."[17] And indeed repeated the youth conference format would be – in 1966 Oxfam hosted the Sibford Conference, premised on the question, "CAN WE REALLY WIN THE WAR?,"[18] and in 1967 it hosted "The Hunger Game" at Keele University, which climaxed with a simulation exercise in global governance and international development.[19]

The Point Five International Discussion Week, now commonly referred to as "Stowe" by former Oxfam employees, was held as a contribution to the Food and Agricultural Organization's (FAO) Freedom from Hunger Young World Appeal and the UN's International Year of Cooperation (IYC, 1965). Held from July 26 to 31, 1965 at Stowe School in Buckingham, England, the conference was co-organized by Oxfam and the International Student Movement for the UN and brought together 410 young people. The conference was called "Point Five" in order to draw attention to what Oxfam and other development organizations had identified as major problems facing the world:

.5 of the world's population suffers from lack of food or from inadequate diets

.5 of the world's children have picked up TB [tuberculosis] infections by the age of 14

.5 of the world's population over the age of 25 cannot read or write

.5 of the world's land surface is not yet used to produce food

.5 of the time for the United Nations Development decade (1960-1970) is behind us already[20]

With these problems in mind, the brochure promised that participants would discuss questions like, "If .5 of the world's population suffers from this or that, can **anyone** sort out what seems to be a hopeless mess?" or "Does aid go down the drain anyway?" or "What's the Freedom from

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[17] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[18] Oxfam Education Department, "CAN WE REALLY WIN THE WAR? – DISC. 2" Brochure (n.d., c.1966), Oxfam Archives 4/3/11.

[19] For more information on these other conferences, see Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/11 (Sibford), DEV 4/3/17 (Keele) and DEV 4/3/18 (Keele).

[20] Oxfam Education Department, Point Five Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10. Incidentally, this list points to the reality of progress made within these areas since 1965.

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Hunger Campaign? – and the Development Decade?"[21] In addition to these, the registration form also required participants to choose discussion strands under the separate headings of development and action, choosing two from each column. Under "development" discussants could choose agriculture, education, health, industry, the population explosion, disarmament, missionary work, human rights and political systems, the United Nations and aid, whereas under "action" they could choose voluntary service abroad, voluntary service at home, fundraising, study, careers, peacemaking, publicity, international links, and culture, sport and leisure.[22] In directly linking development with action in this manner, organizers hoped to make international development accessible to young people, to establish a sense of personal investment among them, and to provide them with concrete and practical examples of involvement. In this, according to Fletcher's final report on Stowe, the conference was successful.[23] Considering Fletcher was Oxfam's Deputy Director at the time, his evaluation of the Education Department's work was particularly important.

Fletcher characterized Stowe as an "experiment" in his report because it was Oxfam's first conference devoted solely to young people – not only young people in schools, but young people from all walks of life, including those in university and employment.[24] A little over a year before the conference, in March 1964, the Education Department justified its need to work with youth more broadly to Oxfam's Executive Committee:

> Up to the present Oxfam has done little in the way of a co-ordinated and thought-out approach to young people <u>outside</u> the academic stream. This is a section of the community in which there lies enormous potential, and I agree with the report of the Working Party, which recommends that this should be tackled with urgency.... However, youth work should be regarded as part of our general educational approach to young people, rather than as mainly a fund raising [sic] operation.[25]

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[21] Oxfam Education Department, Point Five Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[22] Oxfam Education Department, Point Five Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[23] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[24] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[25] While the document is unsigned, Bill Jackson likely wrote this as he was Education Officer at the time. Oxfam Education Department, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in This Country" (March 1964), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

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While Moore had already made contacts with different youth organizations in Britain before the summer of 1965, Stowe was the symbolic start of Oxfam's Youth Section, not only because it brought hundreds of young people together to discuss international development issues under Oxfam's banner, but also because it led to the formation of Young Oxfam groups throughout the country.[26]

The conference was to be held for and by young people.[27] Not only were many of the discussion group leaders under 30, but even the Oxfam staff responsible for organizing the conference were young – Bill Jackson, Oxfam's Education Officer at the time, was only 26 in the summer of 1965, and his main co-organizer was even younger – Moore was 23. In terms of participants, conference organizers sought to attract a broad range of young people, targeting those between 16 and 24,[28] which included young people in schools, colleges, universities, youth clubs, and employment.[29] In reality, however, secondary school students dominated Stowe, forcing Oxfam to maintain closer ties between its schools and youth programs than it had originally predicted. According to Fletcher, the age range of participants ended up being 16 to 19,[30] and, according to a draft report reflecting on Stowe after the fact, 75% of attendees were from British Secondary Grammars and Secondary Moderns.[31] Perhaps this was because secondary school students were on summer holiday and could therefore afford to participate in a week-long conference.

While novel to Oxfam, conferences and lectures on international topics targeting youth were not new – as stated previously, for example, the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC) held annual Christmas lectures for young people throughout the 1950s. Unlike these Christmas lectures, however, Stowe was premised on youth participation and dialogue – as Jackson wrote in his letter of invitation to educational institutions, "it is our

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[26] Oxfam Education Department, "The Educational Task of Oxfam in This Country" (March 1964), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1; Bill Jackson, "Oxfam's Educational Work: Some Thoughts on Handing over a Department," (Oxford, UK, August 1966), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

[27] Oxfam Education Department, Point Five Brochure (n.d., c.1965); Bill Jackson, Letter of invitation for the 'Point Five' Discussion Week (addressed to the Chief Education Officer) (n.d, c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[28] Bill Jackson, "Emphasis on Youth Activities in Oxfam Programmes, July 1965-March 1966" (1 September 1964), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/1.

[29] Oxfam Education Department, Point Five Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[30] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[31] "Point Five Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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intention to minimise 'preaching' and maximise discussion."[32] For this reason, the conference

featured only two keynote speakers – David Ennals (M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the

Minister for Overseas Development) and John Anderson (Office of the Assistant General,

Technical Department, FAO). The remaining invitees, the discussion group leaders, were

predominantly young people successful in the field. By virtue of their shared youth, organizers

hoped the discussion leaders would easily connect with participants and perhaps even serve as

role models. As an anonymously written official final report on the conference stated,

> The fact that all the discussion leaders are young people, in very few cases more than 5 or 10 years removed
> in age from the participants, but nevertheless having achieved a considerable amount in their respective
> fields, made a very great difference to the discussion week. These leaders were able to discuss, not as world
> experts in their fields, but as other young people deeply concerned about the problems and who had made
> some contributions towards their solution.[33]

To facilitate these connections between expert and novice, and to successfully draw

young people to the cause, Jackson made establishing an informal and engaging conference

environment a priority. Perhaps Jackson was familiar with education specialist Professor

Lauwerys' 1961 findings that "young people were growing more in favour of organisations

which offered specialist knowledge of subjects and adventurous activities and left leadership in

the hands of young people themselves, with adults retreating into the role of friendly advisor,"

for this was precisely what Jackson seemed to be doing.[34] Regardless, this informal approach,

"without too rigid discipline... was much appreciated by participants," according to Fletcher, and

there was only but "one instance (of drinking in a dormitory) where the bounds of propriety were

overstepped."[35] This act of impropriety may have occurred in the aftermath of the informal

evening held on July 28th, which was scheduled to include "dancing, folk-singing, beer bar,

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[32] Bill Jackson, Letter of invitation for the 'Point Five' Discussion Week (addressed to the Chief Education Officer) (n.d, c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[33] "Point Five Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 6, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[34] "Teenagers Not a 'Race Apart' But All Too Like Adults." *The Guardian* (London, England), 5 January 1961, p. 2. Accessed 24 July 2014. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/184752740?accountid=12339>

[35] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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appearance of groups of artistes from abroad: Poland, Arabia, India, New Zealand, United States etc."[36]

Another important element of the conference, as demonstrated by the aforementioned "informal evening," was its emphasis on international participation and representation. For one, the conference organizers reached out to international students in Britain, as well as to young people living in other countries. While participant numbers vary according to different sources, Fletcher recorded that while 73% of participants were British, 26 different nationalities were represented at the conference.[37] Whether this figure included British participants of immigrant backgrounds is unclear, but Oxfam's Press Office, in a media release, did state that participants hailed from Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, India, Korea, Malawi, Nigeria and the United States, among other countries, thus representing all parts of the globe.[38] Some of the foreign participants were sponsored by Oxfam Belgique, which "brought a party of some 30 students, mainly from French speaking Africa."[39] To accommodate those participants whose primary language was French, some discussion groups were hosted in that language. How other foreign participants financed their participation is unclear, as Oxfam was not in the financial position to offer substantial travel subsidies. One possible solution was corporate sponsorship – in the initial planning phase of the conference, Education Department staff suggested asking Rubery Owen, the British engineering firm, or Cadbury, the well-known confectionary, for financial support to bring down conference costs.[40] Another may have been collaboration with the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as this UN body supported international exchanges among young people at that time.

Discussion group leaders also hailed from different countries, or at least had experience working in them – Nirmalendu Basu of the Indian Young Farmers' Association headed the discussion on "Food, Nutrition and Agriculture," for example, while Father Adrian Hastings, a secular priest stationed in Uganda, headed the discussion on "Religion and missionary work, and

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[36] See Oxfam, Programme: International Discussion Week for young people (26-31 July 1965), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[37] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[38] Oxfam Press Office, "Oxfam's 'Point Five' Conference," (29 July 1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[39] "Point Five Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[40] Oxfam Education Department, "Discussion Paper & Report on plans made so far for Oxfam 'Youth Conference', Stowe School, July 26-31, 1965 as of December 1st, 1964" (1 December 1964), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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development."[41] Having an international presence at the conference, even if small, was of the utmost importance, according to Fletcher, as "their presence quite clearly contributed to the exchange of ideas and points, and especially to the younger participants was a very great encouragement and lent perspective to the whole gathering."[42] At a time when access to travel, television and reporting on developing world issues was limited, such dialogue with people from or working in developing countries would have been an invaluable learning opportunity for young people interested in international matters.

The international representation at Stowe should not be surprising as Oxfam has never operated in isolation – since its early days, Oxfam has always been an organization of collaboration. In addition to this, the conference was organized within the framework of the FAO's Freedom from Hunger Young World Appeal. As such, organizers anticipated "that the week will be one of several gatherings in different parts of the world dealing with the mobilisation or involvement of young people for development."[43] More conferences on the matter of youth mobilization did indeed occur in the following years, under the aegis of the FAO, in Ethiopia, Lebanon, Italy, the United States, Thailand, Peru, and Canada. But unlike Stowe, these conferences catered to development specialists from governmental organizations and NGOs.[44] Fletcher also noted that hosting such an international conference was "an extension of Oxfam's international work."[45] While Fletcher did not expand on the precise meaning of this statement, he could have been referring to Oxfam's collaboration with other internationally operating or oriented organizations in the execution of the conference (with discussion group leaders stemming from organizations such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, International Planned Parenthood, UNESCO, and Voluntary Service Overseas),[46] the fact that the

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[41] Oxfam, Programme: International Discussion Week for young people (26-31 July 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[42] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[43] Oxfam Education Department, "Developments and changes in the plans for the .5 International Discussion Week at Stowe School" (n.d., c.1965), p.1. Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[44] Christian Aid and the British Council of Churches, "YOUNG WORLD FOOD AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT WORLD CONFERENCE, TORONTO, September 1967," (6 October 1967), p. 1, SOAS, CA/I/21/1.

[45] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[46] See Oxfam, Programme: International Discussion Week for young people (26-31 July 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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presence of international participants, particularly from developing countries, lent credence to Oxfam's work, or the idea that the conference drew the gaze and conscience of Britain's young to the wider world.

Yet providing young people with an awareness of international problems was not a neutral task – archival sources point to the political nature (and danger) of Stowe, raising questions about Oxfam's educational work as a registered charity. According to Oxfam's anonymous report, "There were some who felt that the addresses and the tenor of the discussion week tended to advocate a leftist approach to [...development] affairs and problems." That said, the report continued, "The majority... felt that it was very easy to confuse a concern for society with socialism, and a concern for the community for communism." These comments allude to the backdrop of Cold War tensions in which Oxfam's work was taking place, demonstrating how young people were making sense of different political ideologies in their simultaneously connected and divided reality – connected by increasing North-South solidarity as promoted by organizations like Oxfam but divided by Cold War politics.

In a private letter to Jackson, Canon Theodore Richard Milford, a founding member of Oxfam and its Executive Committee chairman at the time, also voiced his concern over the politicization of young people, knowing that the Charity Commission could close Oxfam if its educational work became too political. "I think you have to watch a little carefully not to get tied up in the mind of the young with a leftish ideology," Milford wrote. "It was all right to discuss peace making and political action under ISMUN's [International Student Movement for the UN] wing," he continued, "but Oxfam as such cannot take a line about this."[47] This foreboding about the political aspect of Oxfam's educational work stems from the fact that in the 1960s, as previously mentioned, Oxfam's development projects started overshadowing its disaster relief origins.[48] This shift proved tricky for Oxfam's informational outreach as development work, at least for Oxfam, was about addressing poverty at its root and this was and is inherently political.[49] In contrast disaster relief, while also political, could more readily be cast as a one-dimensional, short-term moral obligation of one person or country assisting another, a moral

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[47] Letter from Canon T.R. Milford (London) to Bill Jackson (Education Officer, Oxfam, Oxford), 12 August 1965, p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.
[48] For a graphic representation comparing the types of aid that Oxfam gave in 1960 and 1970, see Gill, *Drops in the Ocean*: 13.
[49] See "Point Five Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 6, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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obligation that could be fulfilled with monetary donations rather than government lobbying. This division, sparked by the expanding concept of international assistance (to include both disaster relief and long-term development) in the 1960s, would cause conflict among Oxfam's staff for many years to come.[50]

Despite Milford's caution, however, Moore insisted on using radical language in the follow-up material that he sent to participants in the fall of 1965. As previously stated, Moore felt that Stowe kindled the "beginnings of a revolution of attitudes among the people present" and that young people the world over should come together through "joint action to end the scourge of hunger and poverty."[51] Yet Moore's revolution emphasizes attitudes, not politics, though those two are often closely linked given the right cause. While the British government might have been critical of such language, however, it was sanctioned by the UN FFHC, encouraged even.

Moore was not alone in his positive assessment of participant responses. Fletcher remarked that "[s]ome of the discussion leaders went so far as to say that Stowe had demonstrated the possibility of making action for development the thing which is most likely to capture the imagination and loyalty of young people in this country. This is a very large claim," he went on, "but if it is realized only in small measure, Stowe will have started something of great significance."[52] Zurawinski gives these sentiments a participant's expression:

> The 'Action' discussions proved how everyone could contribute in some way or other, & I came home full of enthusiasm & wanting to start straight away. It was a great disillusionment to return to people still ignorant of, if not indifferent to, the problems recently shown to me – some did not even know of Oxfam itself. Although I now realize that 'action' cannot take place as quickly as I hoped, I'm sure that because of this conference much more will be done by many more people. [53]

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[50] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 108, 55-62.

[51] David Moore, "Oxfam and Youth Against Hunger" (Participant follow-up to Stowe Conference) (n.d., c.1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[52] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[53] Barbara Zurawinski (Blackpool, UK), Letter to Oxfam regarding her participation in the Stowe conference (28 August 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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In the same vein, participant William Pollard of Exeter wrote that Stowe was "A well thought out and organised scheme, and I think the chord of radical, if not revolutionary, enthusiasm struck in the final meeting may stick... Certainly I'm still suffering from a sense of powerlessness and insignificance that many of us felt during the conference, and would like to do something about it."[54] The energy thus captured or generated at Stowe, according to the sources, seemed electric. Even Richard and Sally Taylor, approximately half a century later, remember Stowe with a certain kind of bemused enthusiasm, not least of all because that was where they first met.[55] That said, for at least one participant the experience of Stowe was eclipsed by other life events. Brendan Gormley, who as an adult worked for Oxfam for 30 years and thereafter headed Britain's Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) from 2000 to 2012, admitted in a recent interview that he did not remember Stowe. He did not deny his attendance – it was, in fact, quite likely that Taylor, his childhood friend, had encouraged him to attend. At the time, however, Gormley had other priorities – not long after Stowe he was set to join the White Fathers, a Catholic order established by the Archbishop of Algiers. This life event quite simply overshadowed the impact of Oxfam's conference. While it is tempting to credit Stowe as an important part of his career development, Gormley assured me it was not.[56]

But in 1965 Jackson remained convinced that young people could be mobilized through events such as Stowe. As he wrote in response to Milford's cautionary letter in August 1965, post-conference, "we must all examine very closely indeed within the next six months (at least this is my personal conviction) ways in which OXFAM might be able to contribute very largely and imaginatively to the development of a movement of young people in this country in favour of development, leading to the elimination of poverty in the broad." Jackson felt he had a recipe for success, he felt that that he knew what young people wanted – this was based on his belief that young people were inherently generous if taught about the needs of others, and that they

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[54] Letter from William Pollard (Exeter) to Oxfam's Education Department (Oxford), 23 August 1965, p. 2-3, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[55] Interview of Richard Taylor and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 20 August 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[56] Interview of Sir Brendan Gormley by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 3 July 2014, Hailey, United Kingdom. In 2014 Gormley was knighted for his emergency humanitarian work. It is interesting that he was knighted for his emergency work, rather than his involvement in Oxfam's development work. Perhaps, as argued previously in this chapter, the Crown felt emergency relief to be more morally clear-cut and therefore less controversial? See "Queen's birthday honours list 2014: Diplomatic," The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jun/13/queens-birthday-honours-diplomatic. See also Aida Edemariam, "Brendan Gormley: 'I wasn't very charitable'," The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2010/jan/23/brendan-gormley-dec-interview.

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needed to be able to follow their moral compass on their own terms if one wanted them to act effectively. In order to give them the freedom necessary to express their generosity and concerns, the establishment of an international development movement needed to be a collaborative project. All this he summed up succinctly in his response to Milford's letter:

> Stowe pointed out that, as we suspected, the field is wide open for a movement which smacks less of organisation than of an idea and a basic moral conviction. To the average young person this basic standpoint involves unfettered acceptance (at least initially) of other people, involves the desire for survival, and involves a willingness to share this world's goods with those whose present share is inadequate... OXFAM has a limited function and could never allow it to be felt that radicalism can be drunk at only one or two fountains![57]

Through this statement, Jackson recognized that despite his own vision of a "movement of young people," Oxfam could only do so much within the limitations of its mandate.

For this reason it is not surprising that Oxfam became one of the founding and leading members of the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD). VCOAD was established in 1965 at the behest of Barbara Castle, the then Minister of the newly formed Ministry of Overseas Development (MOD).[58] It was intended to harmonize the educational and awareness-raising work of British NGOs concerned with aid and development and serve as a platform for these organizations to approach the government on development-related issues.[59] This kind of umbrella organization was very important at the time as the Charity Commission's strict definitions of education and political activism were often at odds with the awareness-raising campaigns of the more radical NGOs. Jackson thus hoped that the youthful radicalism, felt to be nascent at Stowe, could find multiple channels of expression in the coming months and years, including Oxfam. If young people could be morally reeled in and become addicted to pursuing global justice with "unfettered acceptance," Jackson and others believed the world had a force to be reckoned with, a force that could quite possibly end world hunger.

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[57] Letter from Bill Jackson (Oxfam, Oxford) to Rev. Canon T. R. Milford (London), 16 August 1965, p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[58] Hilton et al., *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs Shaped Modern Britain*: 117-18. Barbara Castle was the sister of Oxfam's first Field Officer, Jimmy Betts.

[59] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 158. For more on VCOAD see Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," Chapter 5.

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The immediate action plan offered to Stowe participants during the final plenary session of the conference was the Youth against Hunger Campaign (YAH), set to commence that autumn. The YAH was sponsored by the FAO through the FFHC, making it a multi-organizational initiative. It was adopted to mark the twentieth birthday of the UN, as well as the half-way point of the UN's Development Decade. The FAO aide-memoire regarding its youth mobilization program, sent to FFHC participant organizations in June 1964, stated that "FAO proposes therefore to all present and future Campaign partners that together we use this great resource of youthful idealism to help mobilize the even greater resource of fallow labour as to bring victory over hunger and want with our lifetime and, also, to make a lasting contribution to world peace."[60] In this way the FAO requested that participant organizations in developed countries step up their educational programs, as well as encourage young people to offer service, either by volunteering in developing countries or through fundraising activities.[61] By this time international volunteering had become a real possibility for many young people, with facilitating organizations established in many developed countries, such as Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) in Britain in 1958, the Peace Corps in the United States in 1961, and Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) in Canada in 1961.[62]

This time it was the UN classifying young people as a resource needing to be tapped, to be mobilized, as "fallow labour." This sentiment the FAO shared with many of its partner organizations, such as Oxfam, demonstrating the integration of NGO and IGO work and philosophies, and the globalization of attitudes towards youth. The YAH was therefore structured around providing young people around the world with further channels for development action, through community and international service, fundraising for specific development projects, awareness-raising, and political lobbying.[63] Central to these activities was persuading young people to sign the FAO's "Young World Manifesto" (also known as "The Young Person's

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[60] FAO, "YOUNG WORLD MOBILIZATION APPEAL: OCTOBER 1965 – MARCH 1966: Aide-memoire to Campaign participants," (3 June 1964), p. 2, SOAS, CA/I/21/5.

[61] FAO, "YOUNG WORLD MOBILIZATION APPEAL: OCTOBER 1965 – MARCH 1966: Aide-memoire to Campaign participants," (3 June 1964), p. 3-4, SOAS, CA/I/21/5. Anna Bocking Welch is currently working on a detailed analysis of the YAH in Britain.

[62] For more on the history of international volunteering, see Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*; Bird, *Never the Same Again: A History of VSO*; Compton-Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-86,*; ———, "Ironic Interventions: CUSO Volunteers in India's Family Planning Campaign, 1960s-1970s."

[63] Christian Aid, "YOUTH AGAINST HUNGER CAMPAIGN – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE" (1966), SOAS, CA/I/22/2; Youth Against Hunger, brochure (n.d.), SOAS, CA/I/22/2.

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Manifesto on World Hunger"), which Jackson had contributed to and signed earlier that year in Rome. In signing this manifesto, young people the world over, in countries rich and poor, committed themselves to private action and political lobbying in order to put an end to hunger and want.[64]

But back to Stowe, to 1965, back to the beginnings of the YAH in Britain. In his conference feedback, participant Pollard concluded that Stowe was, in fact, a clever ploy to gain youth participation for the YAH: "Most people realized what you were doing, but noone [sic] resented it. Spend three days making them aware of the problem and another three asking 'What are YOU going to do about it?' Then chuck the Youth against Hunger Campaign at them."[65] And indeed, Pollard was right – in planning Stowe, Oxfam staff characterized it as their YAH launch,[66] taking its cue from the UN to further involve young people in the Oxfam cause. Therefore, in his follow-up letter to Stowe participants, Moore included basic information about the YAH, urging everyone to participate, and for Young Oxfam Groups to make YAH their central focus for the next six months.[67] In particular Moore emphasized the importance of the FAO's "Young World Manifesto," urging Oxfam's followers to politicise themselves at the behest of the UN. Once again it was an IGO initiative that put Oxfam's development education at odds with British Charity Law. But this did not stop Moore from calling young people to action within the framework of YAH. Echoing the words of the FAO's aide-memoire in characterizing young people as a fallow labour force to be mobilized, Moore wrote,

> The Young Oxfam Group is the basic grass-roots unit in OXFAM's approach to young people... From the
> point of view of the Christmas Campaign, in which they will, obviously, all be expected to play a major role,
> the [YAH] DECLARATION MUST BE SEEN TO BE AN EXCELLENT MEANS OF RECRUITING A

[64] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch, 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Bunch, "All Roads Lead to Rome: Canada, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, and the Rise of NGOs, 1960-1980," 155. See also Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), "Young World Manfesto," Trinity Methodist Theological College, http://www.tcol.ac.nz/images/PDF/Young%20World%20Manifesto%20Rome%201965.pdf.

[65] Letter from William Pollard (Exeter) to Oxfam's Education Department (Oxford), 23 August 1965, p. 4-5, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[66] Sally Ayers, "Sally Ayers' notes on Youth Against Hunger Meeting – 23 June" (23 June 1965), p. 2, SOAS, CA/I/21/5.

[67] David Moore, "Oxfam and Youth Against Hunger" (Participant follow-up to Stowe Conference) (n.d., c.1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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LABOUR FORCE FOR THE FAMILY BOX DISTRIBUTION, CAROL SINGING, PUB AND COFFEE
BAR COLLECTIONS ETC.[68]

The success of Oxfam's youth initiatives, including the YAH, remains to be written once the
relevant archival sources are made available.

As mentioned above, Oxfam organizers and directors felt that Stowe was so successful
that it needed to be repeated. That said, it did have some weaknesses. In his final assessment
participant Pollard, for example, complained that "much of the discussion was wasted because
none of us knew what we were talking about. The specialist guests who had had experience were
interesting to listen to, and many of the discussion groups dissolved into interviews of them from
the uninformed masses like me." Pollard also concluded that "[t]he lectures were wasted on us.
John Anderson's was almost universally deplored as deadly boring."[69] Preliminary reading
material would have helped on both these counts, he suggested. Fletcher noted the same problem
in regard to the discussion groups, concluding that future conferences should make more use of
audio-visual material.[70] In addition to this, the unanticipated late registration of a large number of
participants left discussion groups unwieldy, as there were an insufficient number of discussion
group leaders to cater to the inflated numbers.[71] Finally, in immediate terms, Oxfam lost money
on the conference. While participants were charged £3 for board, lodging and conference
participation,[72] with some even receiving travel grants and support from Local Education

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[68] David Moore, "Oxfam and Youth Against Hunger" (Participant follow-up to Stowe Conference) (n.d., c.1965), p.
2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[69] Letter from William Pollard (Exeter) to Oxfam's Education Department (Oxford), 23 August 1965, p. 2-3, Oxfam
Archives, DEV 4/3/10. Fletcher reiterated this sentiment, "John Anderson, in concentrating on the problems of
development, was unfortunately below his best, and too narrowly concerned with agriculture." T.H.G. Fletcher,
"Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives,
DEV 4/3/10.

[70] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2,
Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[71] "Point Five Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 7, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[72] Oxfam Education Department, Point Five Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10; "Point Five
Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10. According to *This is
money*'s historic inflation calculator, today's equivalent of £3, based on the year 1965, is £53.09. "Historic inflation
calculator: how the value of money has changed since 1900." *This is money*. Accessed 21 October 2014 <
http://www.thisismoney.co .uk/ money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-
1900.html>

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Authorities (LEAs),[73] Fletcher felt "we did not charge quite enough, so Oxfam spent more than it need have."[74]

Despite the success of Stowe, and Oxfam's subsequent youth conferences, Black does not mention these events in her official history of Oxfam in her discussion of Oxfam's work with schools and youth. Perhaps she felt that Oxfam's fieldwork, the focus of much of her narrative, was more significant. Yet despite this omission, these conferences were nevertheless a significant part of Oxfam's work. For one, Stowe reflects Oxfam's increased work with young people, both in and out of schools. In many ways, as mentioned above, this was prompted by the FAO's FFHC – the campaign's first phase targeting schools, with a later phase, the YAH in Britain, targeting youths – even if Oxfam gave the campaign its own flavor. While Oxfam's work with youth began before Stowe, the hosting of an international discussion week with over 400 participants from across Britain and even the world provided Oxfam's education staff unprecedented access to young people. Many of these participants were galvanized to action, making Oxfam's cause their own in the weeks and months following the conference. As participant Katherine S. Chedburn of Edinburgh, attested in September 1965, "You will be glad to know that your letter inspired a great upsurge of enthusiasm for Oxfam & I am very eager to get started on the Youth against Hunger Campaign... it does seem to be that Oxfam is the 'cause' I have been looking for..." In her letter, Chedburn anticipated promoting the YAH manifesto, going as far as stating, "I hope to incite mass support [for Oxfam's work] among the youth of Edinburgh."[75] Moore's vision of young people recruiting other young people for Oxfam's work was thus becoming a tangible reality through the excitement generated at Stowe,[76] justifying Jackson, Moore and the FAO's classification of youth as a formidable resource.

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[73] "Point Five Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[74] T.H.G. Fletcher, "Report on 'Point Five' Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 1965" (17 September 1965), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10. In preparation for Stowe, Oxfam's Executive Committee had budgeted up to £1,000 for the event, including organisation, administration and promotion, based on the expected participation of 300 students. This document makes no mention of the ISMUN's financial contributions or involvement. Oxfam Education Department, "Developments and changes in the plans for the .5 International Discussion Week at Stowe School, July 26-31, 1965 as of January 22" (22 January, 1965), p.1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[75] Letter from Katherine S. Chedburn (Edinburgh, Scotland) to David Moore (Oxfam, Oxford, England), 1 September 1965, p. 1, DEV 4/3/10.

[76] David Moore, "Oxfam and Youth Against Hunger" (Participant follow-up to Stowe Conference) (n.d., c.1965), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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Looking at Britain in the 1960s, it therefore seems Oxfam was taking advantage of a time of change that exceeded its own work. As Black pointed out, this was the very reason Oxfam was so successful in the 1960s – its organizational strategies benefited from and made use of historical circumstance.[77] Young optimists like Jackson, Moore and others challenged the negative views of youth that proliferated in the popular press at the time, and instead insisted that young British people could be effectively and beneficially engaged. Stowe and its aftermath confirmed this belief, demonstrating that many young people in Britain could indeed be politically active and concerned about world affairs in the 1960s when given the proper tools and channels.[78] In addition to this, secondary school student participation at the conference not only disturbs what historian John R. Gillis identifies as "[t]he traditional distinction between the conforming school boy and the radical university student,"[79] but it also reminds us that adolescents could become political actors and had political interests, despite being below the legal voting age, which was 21 in 1965 (in 1969 it was lowered to 18).[80]

Not only did conference participation exceed the expectations of organizers, demonstrating interest among young people in international development issues, but many participants felt moved by what they learned. Pollard admitted to "suffering from a sense of powerlessness and insignificance" in response to what he had learned, while Judith M. Brown of Leamington observed "that everyone found it both humbling and stimulating, and felt that it was

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[77] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 70.

[78] Ellis, "Strangers, Citizens, Subjects: Britain's 1969 Representation of the People Act."; Ellis and Redding, "Not Playing Games: The Young Liberals and Anti-Apartheid Campaigns, 1968–70."; Ellis, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s."; ———, "The Younger Generation: The Labour Party and the 1959 Youth Commission."

[79] Gillis himself argues that this distinction does not hold against the emergence of, what Kenneth Keniston, has called, the "post-modern" youth. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present*: 207-08.

[80] Ellis, "Strangers, Citizens, Subjects: Britain's 1969 Representation of the People Act." Ellis' work reflects this as well - Young Conservative members, for example, could be as young as 15. This meant that many members of the Conservative Party could not vote, despite their political affiliations. ———, "No Hammock for the Idle: The Conservative Party, 'Youth' and the Welfare State in the 1960s," 445. Similarly, Sarah Mills' work on the Boy Scouts in postwar Britain highlights how Scout leadership feared communist influences within its ranks. In this way Mills too demonstrates the feared politization of children and adolescents. Mills, "Be Prepared: Communism and the Politics of Scouting in 1950s Britain." See also Myers, "Local Action and Global Imagining: Youth, International Development, and the Walkathon Phenomenon in Sixties' and Seventies' Canada."

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just a beginning to something much wider."[81] While only 20% of conference participants responded to a questionnaire sent out by Oxfam's Education Department in September asking "what work they might be able to undertake for Oxfam in this country, within the realm of Youth Against Hunger," Oxfam staff still felt that this 20% was a testament "to the affectiveness [sic] of the week in alying [sic] young people to the cause of removing the problems of hunger, illiteracy, disease and poverty."[82] While conference participant numbers vary according to the sources, the list of participant names and addresses features 330 people.[83] If 20% of these completed the questionnaire, that could have meant 66 enthusiastic and motivated Oxfam supporters and organizers, 66 people who would potentially canvas their local towns, schools and universities to garner more support for Oxfam and its cause. Perhaps even more than that would take action – not answering the questionnaire did not necessarily translate into inaction.

While the questionnaire responses were not among Stowe's surviving archival material, there were five student participant letters, some of which have already been mentioned, providing feedback on Stowe and requesting more information on Oxfam and YAH. All of these letters attest to the successful translation of knowledge into practical action within the conference participants. Chedburn, for example, as president of her school's Literary & Debating Society, proposed organizing a debate on world hunger at her school.[84] Chedburn was not alone – Brown and Pollard also requested assistance in bringing Oxfam into their schools, with Brown hoping to initiate an Oxfam-sponsored program of community service and awareness-raising in hers.[85] Participant Brian Torode of Kidderminster went as far as writing, "The Conference cost money which could have been used for some other activity. We should justify it by raising more money ourselves and try stimulating interest in others who did not go."[86]

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[81] Letter from William Pollard (Exeter) to Oxfam's Education Department (Oxford), 23 August 1965, p. 5, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10; Letter from Judith M. Brown (Leamington Spa, United Kingdom) to David Moore (Oxfam, Oxford), 3 September 1965, p. 3-5, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[82] "Point Five Discussion Week" (draft report), (n.d., c. summer 1965), p. 8, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[83] "Point Five: List of Participants' Names and Addresses," (n.d. c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10

[84] Letter from Katherine S. Chedburn (Edinburgh, Scotland) to David Moore (Oxfam, Oxford, England), 1 September 1965, p. 2, DEV 4/3/10.

[85] Letter from Judith M. Brown (Leamington Spa, United Kingdom) to David Moore (Oxfam, Oxford, United Kingdom), 3 September 1965, p. 3-5, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10; Letter from William Pollard (Exeter) to Oxfam's Education Department (Oxford), 23 August 1965, p. 6, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

[86] Letter from Brian Torode (Kidderminster, United Kingdom) to David Moore (Oxfam, Oxford, United Kingdom), 15 September 1965, p. 2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/10.

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Operation Oasis, 1966

After successfully orchestrating Stowe in 1965, Oxfam's first ever youth conference, Jackson dreamed even bigger. After all, Stella Dyer had been very clear about Jackson's duties when she left Oxfam's Education Department in his hands in 1962 – Jackson was to think BIG. As Jackson reminisced during our interview,

> And she said, 'Of course you'll make mistakes,' and this is the memorable phrase, 'but if they aren't big ones, I'll have your guts for garters.' And this was typical Stella, that she would think big, you know. If one's ideas were just a bit small and ineffectual she wasn't interested. So if I was going to make any mistakes, I'd better make bloody big mistakes because they would be part of big thinking.[87]

With this remonstration likely tucked in the back of his mind, Jackson decided to take approximately 800 British youth between the ages of 15 to 18 to Algeria approximately one year after Stowe, in 1966. Through the students' direct experience of the developing world and international poverty, Jackson hoped to sharpen their social and political awareness and bring them on board with Oxfam's cause.

Taking young people overseas on educational tours or for conferences was not novel in 1966. For example, the Scouting and Guiding movements hosted international meetings around the world on a regular basis, starting in 1920, bringing together young people of different religions, ages, races, classes and political beliefs.[88] First organized in the wake of the First World War, these multi-day gatherings were intended to promote international friendship and understanding in order to prevent another such global catastrophe from happening again.[89] In the interwar period, tours of the British Empire were also common. In fact, according to historian Marjory Harper, these tours "became a favourite vehicle for inculcating imperial knowledge and understanding in schools, among both teachers and pupils" who could afford them.[90] The School Empire Tour Committee, for example, established in 1925, "organised 22 expeditions to

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[87] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.
[88] Proctor, "'A Separate Path': Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa," 621. The Scouts facilitated "International Jamborees," whereas the Guides hosted "World Conferences." ———, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*: 126-28.
[89] ———, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*: 126-27.
[90] Marjory Harper, "'Personal Contact is Worth a Ton of Text-books': Educational Tours of the Empire, 1926-39," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 32, no. 3 (2006): 51.

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Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South and East Africa, India and the Caribbean for approximately 500 senior boys..."[91] Harper argues that these tours were meant to equip Britain's elite with knowledge, understanding and affection for the Empire, as well as transmit British traditions to the people the boys encountered during their travels, thus reinforcing the bonds of empire.[92] In addition to this, Britain also served as a destination for young people from around the world. The British Red Cross Society (BRCS), for example, hosted 33 young people from the Commonwealth and colonies for Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1953. The youngest of these was an 11-year old girl from Sierra Leone.[93] Britain's universities also attracted young people from around the world – Goodenough College, for example, was built in 1930 to house the future leaders of the Dominions (and later the Commonwealth) who were studying in the United Kingdom.[94] The fact that Jackson decided to organize an educational overseas voyage for British school students was therefore not unrealistic and fit into a tradition of young people traveling around the globe in an organized manner.

Jackson believed that the reality of the developing world could only be properly understood through direct experience, and for this reason he wanted to organize a trip that, as Harper put it in her analysis of Empire tours, allowed access to places and people beyond the reach of ordinary tourists.[95] According to the flyer that advertised the trip (which was distributed to schools already supporting Oxfam), pupils deserved to go as "Boys and girls in Britain have knitted blankets, raised funds or held clothing drives..." over the past ten years during which Oxfam had channeled assistance to refugees and others in urgent need in Algeria.[96] The flyer went on to say "that Oxfam has said a great deal and schools heard a great deal about the needs of developing countries; it is time for teachers and pupils alike to see such a country with their

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[91] Ibid., 54.

[92] Ibid., 54-57.

[93] See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[94] Goodenough College, "History". For more on overseas students in Britain after the Second World War, see "Problem Learners: Overseas Students and the Dilemmas of Cold War Education" in Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire*; A. J. Stockwell, "Leaders, Dissidents and the Disappointed: Colonial Students in Britain as Empire Ended," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 3 (2008).

[95] Harper argued this in relation to the Overseas Education League (OEL) in the interwar years. That said, the School Empire Tour Committee also facilitated such access, taking students on tours of successful colonisation projects. Harper, "'Personal Contact is Worth a Ton of Text-books': Educational Tours of the Empire, 1926-39," 51, 64.

[96] Operation Oasis Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/6.

own eyes and really to know what successes they have contributed to and understand what problems remain."[97] That said, the cheapest ticket for the trip was priced at a substantial £49 (for a dormitory berth), thus allowing only those whose families had money to go. Regardless of this, however, all participants were to gain knowledge of the problems faced by the Algerian poor and this, the staff of the Education Department hoped, would translate into greater political awareness and perhaps even action. While the Education Department had a policy of not directly soliciting funds through its activities, it is certain that Oxfam as a whole was hoping to garner donations by actively showcasing its successful projects through the visit and the media attention it would generate.

The trip itself was brief. Students flew from Gatwick, the United Kingdom to Genoa, Italy. From there, they sailed for two days to reach Algiers, Algeria. Once in Algeria the teenagers were split into three groups that followed an arranged program. The program consisted of one day in Algiers, taking in the sights, "a one day excursion to the south and west of Algiers, visiting a vineyard and the marvellous Roman ruins at Tipasa and Cherchell" and "a two day excursion, with a one-night stay, to oasis towns on the edge of the Sahara" with the aim of visiting Oxfam projects.[98] After the four days in Algeria had concluded, the students then sailed to Lisbon, Portugal (the sailing took three days) where they had a 12 hour stopover and from there the last leg of the trip brought them to London four days later. While the students only spent four days in Algeria, Oxfam did its best to ensure that the impact would be long term. Essentially, the four-day adventure was to be the culmination of several months' worth of learning about all things Algerian, as Oxfam provided participating schools with educational material on Algerian history, geography and culture in the lead-up to the trip.[99] In this way Oxfam tried to contextualize and anchor what the participants saw within an academic framework.[100] These classes even continued on the ship to ensure the students would be prepared – it was not called a floating-classroom for nothing.

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[97] Operation Oasis Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/6.
[98] Operation Oasis Brochure (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/6.
[99] Interview of Audrey Boliver by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 23. August 2012, Birmingham, United Kingdom.
[100] Nandita Dogra, "'Reading NGOs Visually' - Implications of Visual Images for NGO Management," *Journal of International Development* 19(2007): 165. See also ———, *Representations of Global Poverty : Aid, Development and International NGOs* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013).

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Algeria was chosen as it was the only country in which Oxfam was active that was logistically suitable, according to Jackson.[101] Simply put, Algeria was considerably closer and more accessible from Britain than, say, India or Uganda. In addition to this, Oxfam had been active in Algeria and its neighbouring countries with large-scale grants since 1957, providing assistance and relief to refugees of the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), and later helping to rebuild the country once peace came in 1962.[102] The network that Oxfam had thus established in Algeria over these many years, including the contacts with its partner organizations and, after 1962, the Algerian government, was crucial to the smooth functioning of such a logistically challenging trip. Another benefit was that Algeria was suitably foreign – it was located in Africa, was Arab, had Islam as its dominant religion, and had never been colonised by the British. Considering that some people in Britain at the time considered Commonwealth members to be British, the fact that Algeria had been a French colony may have enhanced its exotic appeal.[103]

The Algerian War of Independence was particularly brutal. Not only did it result in the deaths of an estimated one million combatants and civilians, but it also resulted in the displacement of an estimated two million people (affecting Algeria and its neighbouring countries), as well as the destruction of much of the infrastructure (such as schools, hospitals, and communications facilities) built by the French during their colonial occupation of the country.[104] In addition to this, many of the French *colons* who fled Algeria upon losing the war constituted

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[101] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom; Interview of Richard and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[102] Oxfam Education Department, "Oxam and Algeria" (Operation Oasis Educational material for teachers) (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/7. For more examples of Oxfam's work in Algeria, see "Grants to Algeria" (Operation Oasis educational material for teachers), (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/7; "GRANTS ALLOCATED BY OXAM OCTOBER 1963 TO SEPEMTEBER 1964" sent to Christian Aid on 14 June 1965 by Jacques Beaumont (Executive Secretary of Service Œuménique d'Entraide, Paris), SOAS, CA/I/12/2. See also W. J. Hanson and Oxfam Education Department, *Algeria: Building the peace*, ed. Oxfam Education Department, Longmans' Oxfam Series (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1969). For more on Algeria and refugees, in relation to the UN's World Refugee Year (1959), see Gatrell, *Free World? The Campaign to Save the World's Refugees, 1956-1963.*

[103] Coward, Change & Co., "Charities Operating Overseas – NOTE of a meeting at the Ministry of Overseas Development" (18 May 1965), p. 3, SOAS, CA2/D/1/2. This nine-page report pertains to the official challenging of British Charity Law by seven charities, including Oxfam, Christian Aid, the Dulverton Trust, the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, War on Want and the Wolfson Foundation. One of the points debated in the case was whether "foreign" meant "outside the Commonwealth," the controversial example in this case being the self-governing colony of Rhodesia (3).

[104] Elizabeth Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, vol. 7, New Approaches to African History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 53.

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the majority of Algeria's technical and professional personnel.[105] While Operation Oasis took place four years after the signing of the peace agreement, Algeria remained a country rebuilding itself from the ruins of war.[106] Considering Algeria experienced a military coup in June 1965 and a break in diplomatic relations with the British government that same year (over Ian Smith's disputed unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia), it is amazing that the trip happened at all.[107] Conversely, during his presidency Colonel Houari Boumediène (1965-1978) pushed Algeria towards modernization and an "Algerian" national identity, making the mid to late 1960s and early 1970s, while his policies appeared to be working, an exciting time for international development enthusiasts to visit the country.[108]

Given this context, how did students and teachers experience this trip? What affected them? What kind of Algeria did they experience? In organizing the trip, Jackson tried to ensure that students and teachers would experience a multifaceted Algeria, characterized by not only poverty, but also history, culture, and Arab hospitality. In speaking to participants almost half a century later, it was interesting to see what they remembered. Jackson's secretary, Sally Taylor (née Elphinstone-Fyffe), for example, did not remember any of the Oxfam-assisted projects she saw. Instead she remembers Operation Oasis' traditionally touristic aspects – the ruins at Tipasa and the Algerian cultural evening of singing and dancing which had been organised for participants. While Operation Oasis was her first time in the developing world, it has since been eclipsed by other experiences, particularly the time she was working in India from 1967-1971 as Oxfam's Field Secretary. In contrast to India, Elphinstone-Fyffe characterises her Algeria trip as a

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[105] James Ciment, *Algeria: The Fundamentalist Challenge* (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 1997), 35-45.

[106] See Martin Evans and John Phillips, *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 58-95.

[107] It is important to note that "[t]here was strikingly little opposition to the coup. Ordinary Algerians were unmoved... In Algiers many assumed that the tanks on the streets were taking part in the filming of Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers*." Ibid., 80. See also Ciment, *Algeria: The Fundamentalist Challenge*: 40-41. Smith's declaration of independence was disputed because it maintained a white supremacist government in power in Southern Rhodesia, a country with a black majority. For a discussion on the British government response to this declaration, see Carl Watts, "Britain, the Old Commonwealth and the Problem of Rhodesian Independence, 1964–65," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 1 (2008). See also Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, 7: 115-21.

[108] Evans and Phillips, *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed*: 80. Evans and Phillips observed that "by the mid-1970s Algeria had become a pace-setter within the Third World." in terms of education and economic growth. Ibid., 88.

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tame touristic and cultural experience – it felt quite European (compared to India), she was there for only a few days, and the entire time she was surrounded by hundreds of other Britons.[109]

For Audrey Boliver, a participating teacher from King Edward VI Camp Hill Grammar School in Birmingham, on the other hand, the most striking memory she brought back was of visiting a farm run by the Catholic White Fathers in Laghouat. She remembers walking along a dyke in the middle of the desert, "and there was green, and there was sand. And that hit me. And it hit [the students] too."[110] For her, seeing first-hand how Oxfam was changing the physical landscape of Algeria, creating arable land with British funds, was astounding. Her former student, Linda Hisgett (née Anstey), however, does not share this memory – Hisgett only has a vague sense of visiting a project that cultivated previously infertile land. For her it was the suddenness of the desert sunset that "lived with [her] most." In addition to this, however, she also remembers the mosque in Lagouat, tasting Oxfam's newly developed high protein food (made from banana skin),[111] being heavily chaperoned (even having guards outside the girls' sleeping quarters in Lagouat), the heat, sand dune toilet stops, and her friend's dreadful travel sickness on every form of transport they took. When asked about the poverty in Algeria, she admitted that it was difficult to separate a more recent experience in Egypt from Operation Oasis, therefore hindering her ability to answer the question.[112] Like with Elphinstone-Fyffe, Hisgett's memories too have become multi-layered and intertwined, with many details also forgotten, understandably so.

Turning to archival sources allows for more details to emerge, alongside participants' immediate reactions to the trip. In a four-page report for her school magazine, for example, one student from King Edward VI Camp Hill Grammar School, Pam Harris, focused on the contrasts

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[109] Sally Elphinstone-Fyffe, Interview of Richard and Sally Taylor by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 5 July 2014, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[110] Interview of Audrey Boliver by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 23 August 2014, Birmingham, United Kingdom. It should be noted that Audrey Boliver was a school friend of Maggie Jackson (née Chirnside). At the time, Chirnside was working for Oxfam, and this connection might have also impacted Boliver's positive view of the organization.

[111] Bill Jackson invited Dr. Frank Wokes, the Director of Britain's Vegetarian Nutritional Research Centre, to participate in Operation Oasis "as a nutritional expert lecturing on the use of vegetable foods in relief work" (1). As a result, the menu on the *Devonia* included some of the foods being tested at the research centre, including high protein food which Higett remembers tasting. The Centre's final report on Operation Oasis, likely written by Wokes, stated that "[t]he experimental nature of the trial was generally realised and the opportunity was appreciated of being able to sample foods which will play an increasingly important part in solving the world food problem" (3). Vegetarian Nutritional Research Centre, "Report on nutritional aspects of OPERATION OASIS organised by Oxfam's Education Dept., March 22 to April 4, 1966" (May 1966), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/7.

[112] Interview of Linda Hisgett by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 14 March 2013, Birmingham, United Kingdom.

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she witnessed. While her report emphasizes Algeria's poverty, and the necessity for Oxfam's help, her first impression was of "a city covering the hillside in a picturesque mass of white buildings, which seemed almost disappointingly civilised." However, in contrast to this "superficial" or new "civilised prosperity," as suggested by modern buildings such as the National Library and Government Palace, as well as the elaborate mosques and a wedding party in the streets, was poverty, which was what the students had come to witness. Harris' school peers reading this account back in Birmingham would have been struck not only by the exotic and unimaginable nature of the poverty she describes, but also by the fact that one of *them* had been there. Harris wrote,

> We were not immediately aware of the shortages or omissions – such 'essential' institutions as good hospitals, schools and industries; only occasional beggars indicated the background existence of the notoriously primitive casbahs.
>
> Houses are crowded together in an anonymous mass of seemingly windowless walls. Many consist of one unfurnished room. Conditions are hard, unsanitary – we would say intolerable. The atmosphere is heavy and stagnant with disease. The entire area is a poverty-stricken confusion of never-ended steps; the shelters half-fallen, half falling. Men, not old in years but ancient by their standards, sit outside talking, unemployed and apathetic, with no urge to improve their conditions, never having had any contact with the luxuries of an affluent society.
>
> Islam states women are inferior, therefore they are confined to living quarters or compelled to wear *purdah* [sic]. Ragged children play barefooted in narrow dingy passages, perhaps steal. Some are hungry, others have trachoma-infected eyes[.] We saw men with withered hands or limbs but they, too, were happy to accept life with all its physical suffering and simplicity as unchanging and inevitable; this in Algeria's capital.[113]

As Boliver had exclaimed in our interview, "Algeria wasn't like just going on a French exchange, now was it?"[114] Harris' observations of the poor of Algiers, observations she is sharing with her

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[113] Pat Harris, "OPERATION OASIS," (n.d., c.1966), Personal Archive (Linda Hisgett). In the above quotation, Harris misuses the word *purdah* – she likely means hijab or *haik*, or other traditional head coverings. Interestingly *purdah*, the practice of keeping married women secluded, is a Persian word that is more associated with Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India than Arabic-speaking countries like Algeria.

[114] Interview of Audrey Boliver by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 23 August 2014, Birmingham, United Kingdom.

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fellow classmates, are laden with value judgements, even including claims about what the Algerians are (or are not) thinking. In this citation alone her language assumes that the people she saw are unemployed and apathetic, that children might steal, and that poverty is anonymous and confusing. In contrast to her time in Algiers, Harris' visit to Laghouat and Oxfam's project with the White Fathers filled her with hope. She reiterates Boliver's memory, although in more detail:

> During our last day, we visited an agricultural training centre for young farmers run by Catholic White Fathers. As a water-diviner Father Pierre Cheval had discovered an underground supply and initiated the scheme, supported by Oxfam because of its long-term value. We could literally stand and see typical Sahara in one direction and green cultivated land in the other; an experience to shame any sense of hopeless pessimism we may have felt in seeing the desert for the first time. The project is practically self-supporting now and the farmers are beginning to voluntarily re-pay Oxfam's investment, though under no obligation so that the money can be used to initiate a similar scheme elsewhere.

> This is the spirit that can establish Algeria and other developing countries as independent – a spirit we have actually seen and know to exist in the new generation.[115]

Considering that the desert has shaped life in Algeria for millennia, the fact that Harris initially characterized it as a pessimistic void demonstrates a naive understanding of the country's geographical reality. But nevertheless, with these words Harris describes hope for the new Algeria, a hope stemming from Algerians themselves. Yet it was the Algerians supported by Oxfam who gave her this belief in possible change, not the seemingly stagnant and lethargic poor she encountered in Algiers.

The most interesting and detailed follow-up report in Oxfam's archives was submitted by an anonymous male student participant. The 15 page report starts out by stating that, in signing up for the trip, he had expected a Mediterranean holiday in a country he would otherwise not have had access to. Scant attention was paid to the preparatory material and it was with mild surprise that he realised that it was Oxfam that was organising the trip upon boarding the *Devonia* in Genoa, and that the trip's purpose was to see poverty and its possible solutions. "Still not too enthralled by the idea we spent a couple of days idling around the ship, dodging lectures and classes," he wrote, "before the ship arrived one sunny afternoon in Algiers harbour, and from then

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[115] Interview of Audrey Boliver by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 23 August 2014, Birmingham, United Kingdom.

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on the next mad, hectic four and a half days left no doubt that I was involved in something big, important and with significance that I had never im[a]gined possible."[116]

The student then proceeded to detail his experience in Algeria by describing the suffocating stench, disease-ridden alleys and squalor of the casbah, much like Harris. He wrote, "While we were there we could only walk around gaping at the unimaginable squalor of the place, looking at but not grasping the meaning of all this hopeless poverty."[117] This direct experience of poverty was softened by his visit to Oxfam-sponsored projects. He visited both a training centre for boys in Djelfa (a town approximately 290km south of Algiers) and irrigated farms about an hour's drive outside the town. After these visits, with a newfound appreciation for Oxfam, he writes, "Coming at the end of the visit [the Oxfam projects] gave the impression of 'all being green in the garden'... and it tended to soften the abysmal horror of the Casbah and the general poverty of Djelfa. However, perhaps it also showed just how much could be done if the money or effort was spared."[118] Oxfam's projects thus thoroughly convinced him that "if countries like Algeria did not receive any aid they would slowly deteriorate until her people starved or left... Not to help them is condemning a nation and its people to a slow and miserable death."[119]

The essentializing and patronizing comments of Harris and the anonymous participant raise questions about the success of Operation Oasis. Considering their new-found support of Oxfam, can these reports be read as evidence of the success of Operation Oasis? This question hinges on what kind of image Oxfam wanted to portray of the developing world, poverty, and those living within it. As cultural critic Dean MacCannell has argued, "tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition..."[120] What narrative, then, of Algeria and development, was Oxfam trying to convey? In addition to this, what of Oxfam's chosen audience – were high school students an appropriate target demographic for this experimental trip?

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[116] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[117] The quote continues, "Only after we were sailing back to England and had thrashed the things over with each other and ourselves did we get some idea of what the place really meant..." Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 4, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[118] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 12, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[119] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 11, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[120] Dean MacCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1.

Ronald Payne, *a Sunday Telegraph* reporter who participated in the trip, wrote afterwards that he often felt students mistook reality. Having been taught to expect poverty, thus justifying Oxfam's presence in Algeria, the youth saw it in places where it was not. Payne was therefore critical of Oxfam's emphasis on classroom learning and whether it translated into understanding once on the ground.[121] Another newspaper correspondent was even more critical than Payne. This anonymous journalist, writing in *The Times Educational Supplement*, wholeheartedly argued against taking teenagers on such a trip, stating that they, the teenagers, "tend to be particularly imprisoned within themselves, too self-conscious to share other people's lives either imaginatively or in reality."[122] By citing the (assumed) nature of teenagers, the author thus questioned whether participants would even be affected by their brief adventure.

There is some validity to these concerns, particularly when considering the number of teenagers on the trip. For example, our anonymous participant was fascinated with the obsession he felt Algerian men had for the British girls, something he kept returning to throughout his report. His first mention of Algerians in his text referred to this:

> Before long the boat itself was surrounded by swarthy little Algerians whose ability at chatting up girls easily surpassed even the stylish Italians we had left behind in Genoa. Even over the boat rails and with no other method of communication except sign language they built up some very passionate relationships. Actually, the hungry way in which they wolf after our girls is at first a bit nauseating...[123]

While he demonstrates clear annoyance over the Algerian men (and the attention bestowed upon them by the British girls), and assigns their charm to them being Algerian, this initial observation could be interpreted as his own teenage frustration at not being able to garner similar attention.

Yet even if the aforementioned observer displayed some teenage angst in relation to how the Algerian men treated the British girls, this did not stop him from absorbing his environment and providing a detailed and insightful account of what he witnessed. His language, which is quite colourful, signals an internal struggle (perhaps unbeknownst to him) of making sense of

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[121] Ronald Payne, "When Charity Begins Abroad," *The London Sunday Telegraph,* April 3, 1966, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/6.

[122] Special Correspondent, "Teenage Travellers," *The Times 'Educational Supplement,'* April 29, 1966, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/19.

[123] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 2, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

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what he saw, a struggle characterized by a feeling of camaraderie towards the Algerians underpinned by his own racism and sense of cultural superiority. For example, when faced with riding camels in Djelfa, the observer comments on the "Arab oversight" of adequately preparing for the British girls to ride such notoriously difficult animals. According to his description of events, the ensuing comic scenario resulted in some girls almost falling off a camel because the "finesse" needed to properly attach them "is beyond the average Arab's wit."[124] A similar sentiment comes through in his description of the Algerian cultural night he attended during his first evening in the country – the music was "the harsh wailing type that most people have heard at some time or other, if only in joke records or bad movies." He confesses that "we were willing to applaud madly even if we didn't like it, just to show that we were all mates really."[125] Not surprisingly, when visiting the Roman ruins he failed to see the point – "What these Roman ruins had to do with Oxfam was obscure... The Ro[man] Ruins were of course like ruins all over the world; – ruined."[126] He did not make the connection between Algeria's past and present (perhaps because the guides spoke only French) or the fact that Boumediène was drawing on the presence of the ruins, on Algeria's history, to create a unified national identity within the aftermath of both the war and independence.[127] Harris was more astute in her observations, reporting, "The ruins were in an ideal Mediterranean setting reminding us that although in modern terms Algeria is a developing country, it also has a heritage."[128]

Harris' account, although much briefer, also demonstrates a dichotomy in her thoughts on what she witnessed. The comments she makes about Algerian people range from describing their "enthusiasm" and "friendliness" towards the British visitors, as well as the integrity of the farmers voluntarily repaying Oxfam, to Algerians' apathy, destitution and the invisibility of their women.[129] As these accounts demonstrate, for the most part participants picked up a multifaceted picture of Algeria, even if it took time to organize their "jumble of impressions."[130] Yet due to their limited experience of the country, having spent only four days there surrounded mostly by

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[124] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 9, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.
[125] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.
[126] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 4, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.
[127] Evans and Phillips, *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed*: 85.
[128] Pat Harris, "OPERATION OASIS," (n.d., c.1966), Personal Archive (Linda Hisgett).
[129] Pat Harris, "OPERATION OASIS," (n.d., c.1966), Personal Archive (Linda Hisgett).
[130] Joyce Chesterton and David Moore, "Public Relations Report on Operation Oasis" (12 April 1966), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/5.

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their fellow countrymen, the students had to create simplified narratives of what they saw in order to make sense of it, narratives over-determined by attitudes of cultural and racial superiority. These narratives were anchored in their own life experiences, as well as the framework provided by Oxfam's education team before and after the trip.

For this reason, in thinking about what Jackson wanted participants to take away from the trip, it is important to consider the educational material the Education Department distributed among teachers in the lead-up to Operation Oasis. Primarily this package consisted of typed pages organized by discipline – culture, economics, history (going back to the seventh century BC), geography, political science and Oxfam and Algeria.[131] These pages offer a concise introduction to Algeria accompanied by brief bibliographies for each subject area, which the teachers were to use as a springboard for their preparatory lessons to acquaint students with the social and political context of the country they would be visiting. In the introduction to the education pack, Oxfam's staff recommended that teachers "prepare their pupils as much as possible in advance for this educational visit," likely knowing that culture shock and misinterpretations would be rife for those venturing into Algeria blindly.[132] Overall the education material offered a balanced, academic entry point into all things Algerian, even if brief and therefore superficial, emphasizing the country's rich history, culture, diversity and economic potential, as well as the government's reconstruction efforts. Considering that this trip was intended to showcase how Oxfam was contributing to poverty alleviation, however, very little information was provided on how students should interpret the reality of those living in poverty, particularly the urban poor. It was for this reason that Harris and the anonymous participant characterized the poor they observed in Algiers as apathetic, helpless, anonymous and chaotic, perhaps even blaming them for their own poverty. In part, this lack of discussion reflects that scholars, politicians, development practitioners and others at the time were just starting to grapple with understanding and defining large scale poverty and urban slums in modern terms.[133] It also highlights the emphasis on rural development

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[131] Oxfam Education Department, "OPERATION OASIS: EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME" (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/7.

[132] Oxfam Education Department, "OPERATION OASIS: EDUCATION PACK: Introduction for the Teacher" (n.d., c.1965), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/7.

[133] See for example Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American* 215, no. 4 (1966). These changing definitions and perceptions of international poverty proved difficult for Britain's Charity Commission as it sought to regulate the activities of internationally operating charities such as Oxfam. See "Poverty 'must be proved'" *The*

that was common in the 1960s. This omission of a complex analysis of poverty gave some credence to the critiques voiced by Payne, the *Sunday Telegraph* reporter, who felt Oxfam's emphasis on classroom learning led some participants to misinterpret reality.[134] Despite this, however, it seems that Jackson's education team tried hard to convey an image of Algeria that went beyond its dependence on foreign assistance.

Yet even if the students gained a fairly complex picture of Algeria through their preparatory lessons and the trip itself, the participants' understanding was in no way complete. In reading the student reports, and in speaking to former participants, it quickly becomes clear that, for the most part, Algerians were looked at, were observed – either in cultural displays or in their impoverished environments. To their credit, in their evaluation of the trip Oxfam staff noted that this was a problem, one stemming from the trip's logistics. As an anonymous Oxfam staff participant wrote, "A most important part of Oxfam's aims in taking children to a developing country was – I hoped – to meet Algerians. They had hardly any opportunity to meet them... Too much time was spent on trips, when one looked <u>at</u> Algerians, whereas we should have looked <u>with</u> Algerians."[135] In addition to this, because of the lengthy travel times necessary for the desert visits (which had been optimistically underestimated by Algeria's Ministry of Tourism), Jackson lamented that participants did not witness enough "indigenous achievements" in terms of international development initiatives.[136] Rather they witnessed the successes of the Oxfam-funded projects run by the White Fathers, Save the Children, and Catholic Relief Services, or at least they

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Guardian (London, England), 4 September, 1964, SOAS, CA2/D/1/1; "CHARITIES WARNED ON SCHEMES TO EASE POVERTY OVERSEAS" *The Times* (London, England), 4 September 1964, SOAS, CA2/D/1/1.

[134] Ronald Payne, "When Charity Begins Abroad," *The London Sunday Telegraph,* April 3, 1966. Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/6.

[135] [Marieke Clarke], "Operation Oasis. Comments on Draft" (n.d., c.1966), Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5. A statement submitted by participating teacher E.M. South of Dame Allan's School in Newcastle-upon-Tyne stated her "[g]irls did not meet or visit any Algerian people apart from reporters, photographers and the guide. They would have liked to mix with the people and visit their homes and schools." E.M. South, "Operation Oasis" (18 May 1966), Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/19.

[136] Bill Jackson, "Operation Oasis in Retrospect," (August 1966), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5. In terms of indigenous achievements – in 1963, for example, Oxfam supported its first long term project in Algeria by providing funds to improve the water supply of Cherguia, now Assafia-el-Khalia (near Laghouat). According to the Operation Oasis education package, "Oxfam's initial assistance stimulated interest in the scheme among officials of the new Algerian government, and they gave a grant from government funds... to support the scheme." This reflects the complex nature of development work, emphasizing that many projects are multi-organizational affairs. Oxfam Education Department, "OPERATION OASIS: OXFAM AND ALGERIA" (n.d., c.1965), p. 1-2, Oxfam Archives, 4/3/7.

were supposed to. According to one report, "Some of the youngsters who spent 16 hours in a coach travelling to and from Laghouat did not see an Oxfam-supported project at all. The others had an unhappily rushed half hour visit to Father Cheneviere's agricultural training centre. Some of those who went to Djelfa saw only some Oxfam equipment in any empty classroom."[137]

Logistical problems aside, for those that did succeed in visiting the projects it was ultimately Oxfam, through the donations of the British public, which was helping Algeria develop. This could have been construed as paternalistic, a sentiment our anonymous participant seems to have absorbed; showing these projects, however, was the underlying purpose which validated the trip to both Oxfam's Executive Committee and the ever-watching public.[138] With this in mind, it is difficult to assess precisely what Oxfam was showcasing for the youngsters. Just like with its classroom aids, such as the Thabo material and Longmans' Oxfam Series previously mentioned, affirming the common humanity between the people of Algeria and the people of Britain was at the forefront of the organizers' minds. As seen above, in some ways this failed, reinforcing prejudices within at least some of the participants, while in others ways it succeeded, with Jackson concluding that "[t]he venture was a clear contribution to Anglo-Algerian understanding."[139] In many ways, then, Operation Oasis reflects the complex nature of international development work, the organizations which perform it, and their relationship with the countries they work in.[140]

Did Operation Oasis accomplish what Oxfam staff had intended? Did the students and teachers come back with the passion and compassion that Jackson hoped the trip would foster? For one, for a trip of this scale, it is impressive that everyone made it home in one piece. In addition to this, students and teachers certainly gained lifelong memories of desert sunsets, Arab hospitality, and White Fathers in billowing robes standing on the border of desert and farmland. In more concrete and collective terms for the organizers, upon their return home many participants increased their involvement with Oxfam or shared their experiences through talks at youth clubs. Student participant Hisgett, for example, went on to found a Young Oxfam group at

[137] Joyce Chesterton and David Moore, "Public Relations Report on Operation Oasis" (12 April 1966), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/5.

[138] Joyce Chesterton and David Moore, "Public Relations Report on Operation Oasis" (12 April 1966), p. 1, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/5.

[139] Bill Jackson, "Operation Oasis in Retrospect," (August 1966), p. 3, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[140] Dogra, "'Reading NGOs Visually' - Implications of Visual Images for NGO Management," 166.

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her school and she also participated in Oxfam's discussion weeks held in Sibford in 1966 and Keele in 1967. Nearly half a century after the trip, in 2013, Hisgett affirmed that the hands-on experience of Operation Oasis increased her international awareness in a life-changing way and that through this Oxfam gained a life-long supporter.[141] As participating teacher Terry Stephens of West Greenwich Secondary in London summed it up in his conference feedback in 1966, "I thought that Operation Oasis was successful. One saw many things, visited many places and I hope learned a little and began to understand more."[142] As a result of his experience in Algeria, Stephens went on to apply for a teaching post in Morocco.

Politically speaking, the trip may also have had another benefit for Oxfam. While Jackson was organizing the trip, Oxfam, alongside six other internationally-operating charities, was fighting a proposed narrowing of Britain's Charity Law in order to maintain its ability to fund overseas projects indirectly related to poverty alleviation, such as the building of roads, dams and public libraries.[143] By taking 800 secondary school students to witness the realities of poverty in Algeria, and how Oxfam was assisting people there, Oxfam was certain to win many of them to their side and convince them of the importance of a multi-pronged approach to aid.[144] As Black has pointed out in her official history of Oxfam, this act of first-hand witnessing was particularly important in the 1960s as "[t]elevision had not yet penetrated the mysteries of the Third World [and] few people went abroad for their holidays, [...]or if they did they [were un]likely to travel somewhere so exotic [...]or witness the workings of an Oxfam-type project."[145] If even a fraction of the trip's participants were convinced of the importance of Oxfam's work in Algeria, then Oxfam staff hoped, they would become ambassadors for the cause.

While most of the participants deemed the trip as successful, it was not to be repeated. Oxfam management criticised the project for taking up the time of too much staff over the two

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[141] Interview of Linda Hisgett by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 14 March 2013, Birmingham, United Kingdom.

[142] Letter from Terry Stephens (Bexley, Kent) to Oxfam (Education Department, Oxford), 10 June 1966, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/19.

[143] The Beit Trust, "Draft Memorandum to the Ministry of Overseas Development" (15 February 1965) p. 4-5, SOAS, CA2/D/1/2.

[144] For a beautiful photographic representation of Algeria in the late 1950s and early 1960s, to catch glimpses of what Operation Oasis participants might have been, see Franz Schultheis and Christine Frisinghelli, eds., *Picturing Algeria: Pierre Bourdieu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). Bourdieu went on to become a renowned sociologist, with much of his research focused on Algeria, and his photographs in the book are interspersed with his writings.

[145] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 105.

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years that it was being organised (both in the Education and Information departments), for not producing enough ready income and, ultimately, because of the financial loss it incurred. Jackson had refused to overbook the ship and thus, when a few school groups pulled out at the last minute, Oxfam had to pay the difference.[146] In addition to this, Joyce Chesteron, one of Oxfam's Press Officers, characterized the trip as a "time-bomb" waiting to go off because the immense logistics involved in organizing such a trip necessitated a large amount of luck necessary to pull it off.[147]

In retrospect, David Moore, one of Oxfam's Schools Organisers, wrote in his final report of the project that "... Operation Oasis was a brave experiment, and with a good deal of luck weathered the storm."[148] As a "brave experiment" Operation Oasis highlights how NGOs like Oxfam were coming to terms with integrating the public, in this case youth, into their fight against poverty. It also highlights Oxfam's innovative approaches to education and its emphasis on informal teaching methods in order to make the field "live" for its audience.[149] In the 1960s this was significant as the British Ministry of Education and Ministry of Overseas Development were starting to support (and even seek) the contributions of NGOs in teaching development and global understanding in British schools.[150] More importantly, however, this educational adventure also emphasizes the value that Oxfam put on youth. For Oxfam to put such a significant amount of resources into this initiative it had to see British youth as a worthwhile investment.

In tapping into this resource through educational and recreational activities, Oxfam sought to guide youth towards a responsible global citizenship based on understanding. This is especially significant in the 1960s within the context of Britain negotiating its post-imperial responsibility. The fact that Operation Oasis took 800 school-aged youth to Algeria the year after Algeria's government broke off diplomatic relations with Britain is noteworthy. Rather than adhering to the line of the British government, Oxfam emphasized people-to-people development

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[146] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 6. June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

[147] Joyce Chesterton and David Moore, "Public Relations Report on Operation Oasis" (12 April 1966), p. 1-2, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/3/5.

[148] David Moore, Unnamed document (Final Assessment?), March/April 1966, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[149] Bill Jackson, "Operation Oasis in Retrospect," (August 1966), p. 4, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[150] Harrison, "Oxfam and the Rise of Development Education in England from 1959 to 1979," 90-92.

Image 5.1: Père Louis Cheneviere of the White Fathers showing participants of Oxfam's Operation Oasis his well-digging projects in Laghouat, Algeria in 1966. Source: Photo courtesy of Frank Clearman, *The Sunday Mirror* and Bill Jackson (Private Archive).

by trying to bring British youth and Algerian people together on Algerian soil. In emphasizing the human element that lay at the basis of the effort to eradicate poverty and suffering, Oxfam hoped to trigger compassion and understanding within the students, and perhaps even to ignite ideas of social justice.[151] In this way Operation Oasis seemed to emphasize global rather than national or even Commonwealth responsibility. Yet what is interesting here is that Boliver observed in her interview that parents allowed their children to attend *because* Oxfam was British and because they felt that Britain still ruled the waves, despite the diplomatic stalemate and Britain's waning imperial might.[152] Hence Operation Oasis allowed different notions of Britishness and British responsibility to intersect. This sense of Britishness, however, did not necessarily override the desire of some students to share their local identity, as proven by a photography taken by Frank Clearman of the *Sunday Mirror* (see Image 5.1). This image shows

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[151] The term "social justice" became widely used in the 1970s by the more radical supporters of international development.

[152] Interview of Audrey Boliver by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 23 August 2014, Birmingham, United Kingdom.

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not only *Père* Louis Cheneviere of the White Fathers showing a hundred odd participants his well-digging projects in Laghouat, but it also depicts five smiling girls in the front row clad in Welsh national costume.[153] While perhaps an odd choice of garb to wear in the Sahara, it seems these girls sought to physically embody the cultural exchange Operation Oasis organizers had hoped for.

All that said, according to our anonymous participant, Oxfam succeeded in creating some form of international understanding: "I have now visited enough countries to know that there is no better way of destroying international prejudice, hatred and misunderstanding than to visit, see and speak to the people of other countries. Certainly this applied to Algeria, where a great friendship and understanding was set up between two totally different races..."[154]

Unlike the reporter who saw teenagers as too self-absorbed to react to a world of inequality, Oxfam staff were convinced that youth were a vehicle for change and wanted to trigger opinions like the one mentioned above, racism aside. To allow this, Operation Oasis was an intentionally designed space in which young people actively witnessed and engaged with international poverty in an exotic and adventuresome, albeit representative locale. In this manner Oxfam staff strategically appealed to the idealism of youth (even if it initially lay dormant in some of the participants) and evoked shock, anger, sympathy, hope and, ideally, action. By taking school pupils to the frontlines of development, Oxfam staff hoped to emphasize a personalized and hopeful image of poverty that went against common, generalized perceptions of the developing world, perceptions which included ignorance, helplessness and difference. As Tamara Myers points out in her work on the popular Miles for Millions walkathons held in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, in which Oxfam Canada was heavily involved, images of the "Third World child" stemming from that period were often generic, divorcing photographic subjects from their family, community, nation and even history.[155] While sustained interaction with Algerians was limited during Operation Oasis, Jackson still hoped that the British youth would move towards a more contextualized understanding of poverty, one centered on a human connection.

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[153] Photo by courtesy of Frank Clearman, *The Sunday Mirror* and Bill Jackson, Private Archives.

[154] Anonymous final report on Operation Oasis (n.d., c.1966), p. 13, Oxfam Archives, Dev 4/3/5.

[155] Myers, "Blistered and Bleeding, Tired and Determined: Visual Representations of Children and Youth in the Miles for Millions Walkathon," 253.

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Through the trip Oxfam staff also constructed and presented international development as a problem with simple solutions, solutions which could be pursued by Britain's young, with Oxfam's guidance of course. Myers came to similar conclusions in her work on Oxfam Canada. In a changing world, one which was increasingly defined by internationalism, international cooperation and global accountability, Oxfam was providing people with new meanings, responsibilities and avenues for action through its educational initiatives.[156] As such, through Operation Oasis, Oxfam staff tried to transmit values to participants, values centered on ideas of global responsibility and international citizenship which allowed foreign problems to become domestic within this new internationally integrated world. Ultimately Jackson hoped that Operation Oasis participants would become better informed citizens who could, in the future if not now, influence the foreign policy of the British government and perhaps regularly donate to Oxfam as well.

Conclusion

Stowe and Operation Oasis demonstrate Oxfam's commitment, in the turbulent 1960s, to mobilizing young people for international development. In taking youth out of their classrooms and requiring their direct participation in their initiatives, the staff of Oxfam's Education Department sought to make their subject come alive, to make it tangible and appealing. In thus promoting solidarity with the developing world, Jackson and his team shaped international poverty into something young people could directly engage with, have a stake in, and that required their active participation, be it through dialogue or travel. By taking young people to the field or by orchestrating discussion with those working in developing countries Oxfam's Education Department team made international development and poverty pressing and real for its program participants.

That said, facilitating such events was challenging and did not always achieve the desired outcome. First, the logistics involved in bringing hundreds of young people together, be it in Britain or elsewhere, required a lot of time, effort and manpower. Whereas Oxfam's Deputy Director congratulated the Education Department team on Stowe, Oxfam's management felt Operation Oasis had been a risky public relations and financial venture. For this reason, while

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[156] Ibid., 251.

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participants learned about international poverty and, in part, were galvanized into action by both events, the discussion weeks for young people were repeated, while educational forays in the field were not. Second, despite the efforts put into finding the right speakers, designing appropriate educational material or planning representative field trips, Oxfam's education staff could never ensure that their message would be appropriately absorbed by participants. As was demonstrated above, while young people may have been moved to support Oxfam and its fight against international poverty, their underlying motivations for doing so were sometimes superficial or did not align with the values that Oxfam staff were trying to promote. In part, this was because the issues surrounding international poverty and international development are many and varied, making it impossible to impart a clear sense of the field's nuances and complexities during a five-day conference or a four-day trip to the field. For the latter point, it must be remembered that just as the young participants were struggling to make sense of what they saw, so too was Oxfam as an organization trying to find its place within the fight against suffering around the world. Despite this, however, in order to foster a better understanding of underdevelopment in Algeria through Operation Oasis, the Education Department could have promoted more critical thinking about classist and racial prejudice in the face of poverty through its lessons and increased engagement with actual Algerians once on the ground. And perhaps, had there been another trip, this would have happened.

As discussed previously, as Oxfam's Education Department grew and gained more experience, its staff members increasingly brought the multifaceted engagement of Stowe and Operation Oasis into primary and secondary school classrooms as well, offering not only pictures, stories, and guest speakers, as they did at the beginning, but also films, recipes and music. In promoting pedagogical strategies that went beyond textbooks, and which offered an active, multisensory experience, Oxfam's education team was able to capitalize on the new position of young people in society in order to achieve its goal of moving young hearts and minds to consider the problems of the developing world, and then act on them.

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Conclusion

On the 21 of May, 1965, representatives of Oxfam, Christian Aid, Save the Children (SCF), the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR, formerly Sword of the Spirit), Britain's United Nations Association (UNA-UK), and War on Want convened for a one-and-a-half day of informal discussions about their educational strategies. Bill Jackson, head of Oxfam's Department of Education at the time, had organized the meeting, sending invitations to charities working on curricular educational programs similar to Oxfam's. The aim of the meeting was to share information and resources, evaluate existing educational material, and increase cooperation and coordination within the educational initiatives of "voluntary agencies involved in overseas aid and development."[1] The coming together of these organizations implied shared educational goals focused on increasing school pupils' understanding and support of international development, although participants also recognized that approaches varied by agency.[2]

The timing of this meeting corresponded with the end of the initial phase of the groundbreaking United Nations (UN) Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC), which lasted from 1960 to 1965. The FFHC did not eradicate world hunger, but the hope that had characterized the early years of the campaign gave it enough momentum to be extended for a further five years, allowing it to fully correspond with the first UN Development Decade (1960-1969). Despite its failure to successfully end human suffering and poverty, or perhaps because of it, the FFHC had many lasting impacts. Most importantly, it made ideas of international development accessible to the public, translating the scientific and technocratic language that had dominated the field in the 1950s into broadly accessible human terms. Through its discourse, the FFHC also opened up humanitarian work, providing a theoretical and rhetorical framework, as well as an expanded fundraising base, which allowed organizations to move beyond emergency and post-war relief into the more permanent realm of long term poverty alleviation.[3] Historian Anna Bocking Welch sums this up well, stating that the FFHC remains significant as "[t]he networks, practices and discourses that it established were at the foundation of the modern

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[1] Oxfam, "General Terms of Reference," (May 1, 1965). SOAS, CA/I/12/2.
[2] Oxfam, "Memorandum" and "Summary of Discussions," (n.d.). SOAS, CA/I/12/2.
[3] Interview of Bill Jackson by Marie-Luise Ermisch. 19 June 2012, Wheatley, United Kingdom.

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international development movement."[4] Indeed, it was also a catalyst in bringing international development issues into British classrooms, particularly through organizations such as the ones represented at Jackson's meeting.

Yet the six men and five women sitting in the Irish Club in Eaton Square, London, on the 21st and 22nd of May 1965, were not discussing these grand shifts in international development practice, at least not directly, and they were not meeting under the aegis of the FFHC, although many remained associated with it. Rather, they were discussing how to further their educational initiatives in a concerted effort, on their own terms. While at least some of these NGOs were involved in the continuation of the FFHC, such as Oxfam and Christian Aid, it seems that the participants not only meant to take stock of the field of development education, but they also sought to stake their organizations' own claims in this area beyond the FFHC. Perhaps this was why Gerald Furnivall, the Education Officer of the UK Committee of the FFHC, attended solely in the capacity of an observer.[5]

The people present at the conference represented a vast array of experience, approaches and ideologies in relation to development education in schools and these were clearly outlined by organizational representatives at the beginning of the meeting. As we have seen, working with schools became central to Oxfam's mandate in the 1960s, even if it was contentious both politically (in the eyes of the Charity Commission) and financially (in the eyes of Oxfam's administration). At the meeting, Jonathan Stockland, a Deputy Education Officer at Oxfam, stated that Oxfam provided primary and secondary school students with a comprehensive understanding of development issues as a "public information service." This knowledge dissemination was structured to promote "a sense of concern and involvement to meet the obvious needs of developing countries, resulting in service, fund-raising and a spreading of the word."[6] That said, from its initial inception awareness-raising was the main aim of Oxfam's

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[4] Bocking Welch, "The British Public in a Shrinking World: Civic Engagement with the Declining of Empire, 1960-1970," 172. For more on FFH, see ———, "Imperial Legacies and Internationalist Discourses: British Involvement in the United Nations Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 1960–70."; Bunch, "All Roads Lead to Rome: Canada, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, and the Rise of NGOs, 1960-1980."

[5] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 1. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.

[6] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 3. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.

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Education Department – if students chose to fundraise, it was seen as a happy but unnecessary by-product.

Similarly, education was at the heart of CIIR activities, as it advocated for "international thinking [to be] accepted as the norm in Catholic Secondary Education." According to Mildred Neville, CIIR's assistant secretary, CIIR had strong ties with 25% of British Catholic Grammar Schools (although it was in touch with more), and it furthered students' understanding of international affairs in relation to Catholic teachings by targeting teachers and students with conferences, study boxes and teaching kits.[7] Through their efforts, CIIR's education program was more advanced than that of Christian Aid. In May 1965 Christian Aid did not have an established education department, as the bulk of its work with young people was still being channeled through the Youth Department of the British Council of Churches (BCC), the focus of which was to develop universal Christian unity and ecumenical education. For this reason Christian Aid's primary catchment for its youth outreach was churches, not schools. The Christian Aid representative, Miss Russell, "underlined that her work with the Schools was as yet at a very early stage in its development."[8]

Like Christian Aid, SCF also did not yet have a formalized education program. That is not to say that SCF did not raise awareness of the plight of suffering children among British school children. According to SCF's educational advisor, M.B. Heys-Jones, SCF had contact with "some thousands of schools" through its fundraising initiatives which linked children in Britain with children abroad, an early example of today's popular child sponsorship programs.[9] By 1965 SCF was looking to expand its work in schools, which is why it had acquired Heys-Jones, a retired headmistress, as an educational advisor.[10]

Similarly, War on Want focused less on formal education and more on fundraising, in schools and other forums of organized children and youth (such as churches and youth clubs). War on Want representatives Joan Honor and Olwyn Battersea stated that their organization

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[7] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 3. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.
[8] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 4. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.
[9] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 3. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.
[10] Hey-Jones acted as SCF's educational advisor within a voluntary, part-time capacity. SCF Executive Committee Meeting Minutes (London, 30 March, 1965), p. 6, Cadbury, SCF A0422.

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facilitated fundraising through the establishment of "Junior Army of Compassion" units which participated in stamp-selling schemes.[11] Set up in 1960 in response to World Refugee Year, "Armies" linked money-raising "Crusaders" with international projects of their own choosing, be it "a well, farm implements, hospital equipment, a camel, a cow..."[12] Through this approach War on Want mobilized even the youngest members of society to battle international poverty and gain insights into the grim realities of the world. While Crusaders could be as old as 21, Honor and Battersea did emphasize that the Army of Compassion targeted primarily junior school students and, at the time of the conference, they admitted that the Army remained relatively small.[13]

Terence Lawson represented the UNA-UK's Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC) in his capacity as the organization's secretary. Operating solely through schools or school societies, CEWC fostered ideas of "world citizenship" by teaching students about international affairs situated in their economic, social, cultural and political contexts. Being affiliated with the UN and its broad global mandate, CEWC presents an interesting point of comparison to the other organizations. According to Lawson, while the FFHC noticeably boosted schools' interest in and support of charitable international development organizations in 1962 and1963, interest in CEWC's more broadly-focused educational program actually decreased. Lawson claims that this was because "schools bec[a]me preoccupied with development to the exclusion of virtually all else..."[14] This decrease Lawson linked to the FFHC, demonstrating how, even if only briefly, the FAO's FFHC eclipsed the importance of other UN bodies, initiatives, and concerns in the minds of the public. Lawson also stressed that CEWC was not a fundraising body, although he did concede that it occasionally acted as UNESCO's UK agent in its fundraising initiatives.[15] Lawson's comments emphasize that it was the eradication of hunger, human suffering and inequality, in other words the need for international development, which

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[11] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 1, 3-4. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.

[12] War on Want, "Junior Army of Compassion," *Record of Work, April 1, 1960 to March 31, 1961* (Ealing, UK, 1960), p. 12. SOAS, War on Want Box 109.

[13] War on Want, "Junior Army of Compassion," *Record of Work, April 1, 1960 to March 31, 1961* (Ealing, UK, 1960), p. 12. SOAS, War on Want, Box 109; Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 4. SOAS CA/I/12/2.

[14] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 4. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.

[15] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 4. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.

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had caught the British public's imagination in the mid-1960s and therefore had become the focus of internationally-oriented educational material.

An article published in *The Times Educational Supplement* more than three years later, in October 1968, emphasizes this as well. Not only because educational material on world poverty warranted an article in a respectable paper, but also because it demonstrates the proliferation of and continued investment in development education by the organizations present at the 1965 meeting. By 1968, for example, SCF boasted posters, pamphlets and SCF project information sheets which it distributed in schools, as well as a junior version of its once-a-term magazine, *World's Children*. Christian Aid too had expanded its outreach to schools through the creation of wall charts (produced in conjunction with Oxfam) and lesson plans based on the organization's field work. Not surprisingly Christian Aid's educational material was relevant for both general classes and religious instruction. As evidenced by the article, Oxfam remained the leader in terms of the design, creation, and quantity of "world poverty" classroom aids produced.[16]

The 1965 conference provides a window into the concerns and approaches of different NGOs to development education in the decade when the modern concept of international development was first being made accessible to the public. Just as the British government was coming to terms with its standing in the new world order, through its participation in UN, Commonwealth and NATO initiatives, among others, so too were British school children taught to question, understand and participate in this postwar and post-imperial world through NGO frameworks of international inequality, poverty and development. These educational initiatives taught the youngsters that there were serious consequences to inaction and lack of concern – not only was international poverty linked to the threat of a global crisis, but there was also an unquestionable moral necessity of saving lives in developing nations. The zealous language inherent to the discussions of these educational projects impresses on us the urgency many felt in the 1960s to end international poverty, providing such educational endeavors with a sense of religious or military necessity. For example, in discussing how students could turn their knowledge into action, conference participants recognized that "[n]ot enough emphasis [was] placed on involving young people by getting them to 'evangelise' in their own idiom to other

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[16] Peta Deschampneaufs, "TIMELY AIDS" *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 4, 1968, p. 688-689, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/2**.**

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young people..."[17] In other words, it was felt that young people should preach the news of international poverty to their peers and convert them to the cause. In addition to this, on the list of suggested points for discussion was the question, "do we enter schools as of 'divine right' or in order to render a service?"[18] Coming from Oxfam, a known secular organization, a question with such religious overtones might be surprising. For this very reason, however, it impresses upon us the importance the staff at Oxfam and other such organizations ascribed to the saving of bodies and life in the face in global inequality. In some ways, international development, which later came to be known as social justice amongst more radical organizations, was seen as a higher cause, a matter of life or death where lives rather than souls were at stake. It is no coincidence, then, that many years later Maggie Black aptly labeled this work as a "crusade" in her history of Oxfam – "the new crusade on behalf of the poor overseas..."[19]

Yet where was the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) in all of this? Why was it not represented at the meeting organized by Oxfam? One reason for this was likely because BRCS staff did not identify with the aforementioned organizations in their international development work. As Britain gradually lost its colonies, the BRCS too transitioned into a postcolonial framework at the expense of its social work abroad. Through its imperial networks, the BRCS had been able to provide development-type assistance across the empire, by supporting its overseas branches in social welfare initiatives. With decolonization, however, the nature of these networks shifted and, while continuing to support Commonwealth Red Cross Societies, the BRCS's work abroad increasingly focused more on disaster relief, according to the directives coming from LORC and the ICRC. National welfare, particularly social welfare, was now the purview of newly independent National Societies. In addition to this, the fostering of "international friendship" among its younger members was but one part of its three-fold Junior mandate, as established by the League of Red Cross Societies (LORC). While within the British geopolitical imperial framework this often translated into British Juniors supporting long term welfare projects overseas, this aspect of the Junior program was not supported by detailed educational material for participating British children. Rather, participation in these initiatives

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[17] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 5. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.
[18] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 2. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.
[19] Black, *A Cause for our Times: Oxfam, the First 50 Years*: 70.

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depended more on feelings of common humanity and loyalty to the International Red Cross mandate and network. While some knowledge and awareness of the wider world was incorporated into the Junior program, the brunt of BRCS educational material in the 1950s and 1960s focused on first aid, health, home nursing, and mothercraft, all underscored by the need for community service. True, these skills were exported to the colonies by the 1950s in the form of booklets and, by the 1960s through volunteers, but first and foremost they were meant to serve the British nation. All these abilities were the attributes of good British citizens after all, as made clear by the BRCS Junior promise, where members pledged first to "serve God, Queen and Country" through their Red Cross membership, and then "to join with others, all over the world, to help the sick and suffering."[20]

In the 1960s, however, the BRCS Junior program had to conceptually change its approaches to children and youth in order to maintain its relevance. By the mid-1950s youth were becoming more visible through alternative lifestyle choices, pressure groups, protest movements, and activist charities, leading to a re-evaluation of how young people should be integrated into society.[21] To maintain its membership, therefore, the BRCS had to move away from its traditional emphasis on character training and gendered virtues, and the idea that children were empty vessels to be filled.[22] In the 1950s the BRCS Junior program engaged children relatively passively – it did not encourage critical thinking or judgement, nor was it particularly innovative. Its program, centered on the protection of life and health, service to the sick and suffering, international friendship and understanding, and voluntary service, helped raise good British citizens, loyal to the BRCS's patron, Queen Elizabeth. It did allow Juniors to engage with the wider world, but usually within the framework of British government policy. The knitting of blankets for refugees, the learning of first aid, home nursing and mothercraft, the collection of money and goods, the assembling of disaster relief kits, the sharing of international friendship albums, all these activities centered on moral or gendered virtues, not critical

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[20] British Red Cross Society, "Junior Red Cross Promise," *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 3rd ed. (London: BRCS, 1962), p. 12. LORC Archives 00019560; British Red Cross Society, *Junior Red Cross: Training Handbook,* 5th ed. (London: BRCS, 1972), p. 14. LORC Archives 00019560.
[21] Jefferys, *Politics and the People: A History of British Democracy since 1918*: 141-42. To see how university student action became politicized in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, see Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980*: Chapters 9 and 10.
[22] Cook, "Differential Social and Political Influences on Girls and Boys Through Education Out of Doors in the United Kingdom."

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international engagement. Ultimately the supervisors of the BRCS Junior program in the 1950s, alongside those at LORC, characterized children and youth as malleable and therefore focused on moulding them into good adults who could serve the state. This was true in both Britain and the colonies.

Newer organizations such as Oxfam, not weighed down by long histories or traditions, could afford to cater directly to young people within this new context of youthful independence through experimental activities such as Stowe and Operation Oasis. In addition to this, because international development had become such a pressing concern by the mid-1960s, both politically and socially, organizations like Oxfam were encouraged by the Ministry of Overseas Development (MOD) and the Department of Education and Science (DES) to create educational material for British school children. As children and youth became increasingly exposed to the world through technological changes that facilitated travel, international communication, and media exposure, it was important for them to be able to make sense of what they saw and experienced. As Oxfam Education Officer O.G. Thomas wrote in 1968, "Teaching about world poverty means looking for moral response. It is beginning to be generally realized now that moral education is not simply a matter of telling the children what is right and what is wrong but of teaching them to judge situations." Furthermore, according to Thomas, classes should "become involved both emotionally and rationally in a problem," as "study, judgement and action should all be part of the same educational process, not separate or, as some people judge, mutually exclusive."[23] With that statement, Thomas emphasizes what the staff at Oxfam's Education Department sought to do in the 1960s – rather than using its education programs to train future adults, they tried to make children and youth responsible to the international community, particularly the world's poor, in their own right. This was why Stella Dyer from the outset of Oxfam's Education program characterized young people as Oxfam's colleagues in the fight against world poverty, and not as wards or subordinates. Oxfam education initiatives were less about character-building than enabling young people to evaluate and act on issues related to world poverty. It is therefore not surprising that, by 1972, Oxfam, in collaboration with Selly

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[23] O. G. Thomas, "INVOLVEMENT," *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 4, 1968, p. 689, Oxfam Archives, DEV 4/1/2.

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Oak Colleges in Birmingham, was advocating for and planning one of Britain's first post-secondary diploma programs for international development.[24]

As NGOs increasingly contributed to international awareness from the 1950s onwards, they tried to mould the international consciousness of Britain's young to correspond with the mandate of their organizations, to get it to match their idea of the international responsibilities of young people. Both the BRCS and Oxfam did this by offering what must have felt like a personalized connection to those living in faraway places. The way these connections were crafted, however, was underpinned by different political understandings of how young people in Britain were supposed to relate to and engage with the world. The BRCS operated within a nationally-oriented framework, with BRCS Junior activities of "international friendship" and assistance reflecting and supporting Britain's geo-political concerns. The staff of Oxfam's Education Department, on the other hand, tried to foster a cosmopolitan worldview through its education material, with its work often inspired by UN initiatives such as the FFHC. Both these approaches reflect two different ways in which British actors were coming to terms with and making sense of Britain's place in a changing world order, how they were imagining the postwar world. The underlying ideas behind these approaches they transmitted to children and youth in order to harness their energy, time and resourcefulness and make them responsible citizens of Britain and the world.

Concluding Remarks

Those present at the 1965 education conference had gathered to assess the present state of development education in order to move forward in their work, build on their past successes and "intensify their work with schools."[25] At no point did anyone express concern over the future of such endeavors– there was a consensus that the work they were doing was important, necessary, even urgent. The meeting had been organized, after all, because Oxfam's Education Department felt "that the degree of understanding of international affairs and problems so far achieved, and the growing acceptance of the importance of these in syllabuses and extra-curricular work,

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[24] This one-year course was to offer a diploma or certificate in "Development Studies and Aid Management." See "Draft Course proposal II – Papers for discussion" (19 October 1972), Cadbury, SCF A0072.
[25] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools..." (n.d.), p. 2. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.

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provides a ready platform from which the organisations could together proceed to more successful work, in greater depth etc."[26]

The fact that those working for Oxfam's Education Department were able to place such confidence in their work was because they were not operating in isolation and there was an obvious demand for their goods. This was because there was a widely held consensus in Britain that there was a real need for international development and responsibility by the mid-1960s, a need that went beyond short-term disaster relief or imperial welfare initiatives. International development had become a recognisable "thing," something that could be felt, perceived and engaged with at local, national and international levels, something that was as appropriate for children as it was for distinguished statesmen and women. In addition to the rise of development education and the expansion of NGO-mandates to including long-term development initiatives, the 1960s also witnessed the founding of the academically-oriented Overseas Development Institute (ODI, 1960), the creation of the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC, 1963), the establishment of the Ministry of Overseas Development (MOD, 1964), and the formation of the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD, 1964), among many other initiatives that formalized and institutionalized the concept of "development" in Britain. Internationally, the UN, through the FAO, UNICEF and UNESCO, among others, also promoted the cause of international development to all levels of society, as did a plethora of non-state organizations such as the Geneva-based International Union of Child Welfare (IUCW) and the World Council of Churches (WCC). All these entities contributed to the language and idea of development – to establishing the paradigm of international development – even if there was no general agreement over how to best proceed. While ideas of development existed before the 1960s, it was in the 1960s that the structures of international development within its modern framework became institutionalized in thought and practice.

Britain's landscape of international development organizations and operations in the 1950s and 1960s was complex and dynamic. Now as then, different actors struggled to get their foothold in the field and create meaning and purpose for themselves. The dialogue and struggles over meaning that ensued at different levels should be investigated in detail. It is only relatively

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[26] Oxfam, "Detailed report on the discussion between those in charge of the educational work with schools…" (n.d.), p. 2. SOAS, CA/I/12/2.

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recently that international development has been approached from a historical point of view by historians. This work needs to be built on, in order to provide the multifaceted examination that this field requires. My dissertation contributes to our understanding of international development, elucidating the shifting attitudes towards the field as it was first emerging in Britain while concurrently highlighting the centrality of overseas and British youth in early development work and education. From the evidence I have presented it is clear that further investigation into the early years of modern international development work, including shifting national and international attitudes towards such work and the multiple strategies employed by the diverse actors in the field, will yield rich results.

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Epilogue

Sixty-one years after Truman's speech, where he proclaimed that the eradication of international poverty was possible "for the first time in history,"[1] the influential Australian philosopher, Peter Singer, published *The Life You Can Save* (2010), a book about assisting the world's poor. The back-cover reads, "For the first time in history, eradicating world poverty is within our reach. Yet around the world, a billion people struggle to live each day on less than many of us pay for bottled water."[2] For much of his readership these words would appear fresh, insightful, inspirational. Yet to my eyes they echo the naive faith of Truman's 1949 speech all too much. While international development and relief work has not been stagnant over the past 65 years, with the intervening decades characterized by many changes in the fight against human need, it would appear that our thinking about development issues, or at least the way they are presented to the public, has not evolved as much as it perhaps should have. Case in point – earlier this year, in 2014, the UN partnered with the well-known American photo-blogger Brandon Stanton (Humans of New York, HONY) to collect photographs and quotes of people in developing countries, such as South Sudan, the Congo, India and Vietnam.[3] Through this initiative it seems the UN and Stanton wanted to convey to their public today what the BRCS and Oxfam had sought to convey mid-century: that a common humanity connects people the world over, regardless of where one is born. Going back even further, this was also the message that abolitionists expressed in their campaign to end the slave trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with their slogan, "Am I not a man and a brother?"

These examples, alongside the complicated past and present of international development, and humanitarian endeavors at large, underscore the necessity of bringing historians into conversation about international development, to allow them to provide historical sensibility to areas where this has not been adequately addressed.

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[1] Truman, "Inaugural Address".

[2] Peter Singer, *The Life You Can Save* (New York: Random House, 2010), back cover.

[3] Brandon Stanton, "Humans of New York," http://www.humansofnewyork.com/.

Appendix 1: Primary Oxfam Oral History Interviewees

For a complete list of the people I interviewed for this dissertation, see the Bibliography.
Recordings of the interviews pertaining to Oxfam have been deposited at the Bodleian Library of
the University of Oxford.

NAME	BIRTH YEAR & COUNTRY	POSITION/AFFILIATION	DATE
Maggie Black	1945 (England)	Assistant Public Relations and Information Officer	1971-1975
		Information Officer	1976
Audrey Boliver	1936 (England)	Operation Oasis Participant (Secondary School Teacher)	April 1966
Linda Hisgett	1948 (England)	Operation Oasis Participant (Secondary School student)	April 1966
Bill Jackson	1939 (Northern Ireland)	Education Officer (Head of Education Department)	1962-1966
		Special Assistant to Oxfam Director (Leslie Kirkley)	1966-1967
		Field Director for West Africa	1968-1970
		International Secretary	1970-1971
Maggie Jackson	1937 (England)	Primary Schools Organiser	1963-1965
Richard Taylor	1939 (England)	Regional Education Officer for central London	1965-1966
		Education Organiser	1966-1967
		Field Secretary for East Africa (Overseas Division)	1967-1969
		Field Director for Eastern India, Nepal and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)	1969-1971
		Education Officer (head of Education Department)	1971-1975
Sally Taylor	1944 (England)	Secretary (for Elizabeth Stamp, Information Officer)	1963-1964
		Secretary (for Bill Jackson, Education Officer)	1964-1967
		Field Secretary for Eastern India, Nepal and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) (for Richard Taylor, Field Officer)	1969-1971

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Archival Sources

Archives d'état de Genève, Geneva, Switzerland
          International Union for Child Welfare (IUCW) Collection

British Red Cross Archives, London, UK

Oxfam Archives, Oxford, UK

Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK
          Barbara Castle Collection

Cadbury Research Library (University of Birmingham), Birmingham, UK
          Save the Children Collection

Goodenough College Archives, London, UK

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Geneva, Switzerland

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), Geneva, Switzerland

New Internationalist, Oxford, UK

Private Archives
          Maggie Black
          Marie-Luise Ermisch
          Linda Hisgett
          Bill and Maggie Jackson
          Richard and Sally Taylor
          Hebe Welbourne

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library, London UK
          Christian Aid Collection
          War on Want Collection

Wellcome Library, London, UK
          International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) Collection

United Nations (UN) Archives and Library, Geneva, Switzerland

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Interviews[1]

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[1] Recordings of the interviews pertaining to Oxfam have been deposited at the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford.

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