Agents of continuity or catalyst of change? Exploring the role of INGOs in the quest for decolonisation.

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Laura Camila Reyes Torres | 9594507

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Thesis supervisor: Prof. dr. Marco van Leeuwen

Second reviewer: dr. Joey Tang

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This master's thesis marks the completion of a challenge I was unsure I was ready to take. Starting a master's programme in a new city, a study I had no prior knowledge of, was terrifying. However, walking into class and being able to partake in discussions where we were critically looking at systems that might help one person but hurt the next was a precious experience, one that led me to this thesis. I want to take some time to thank Marco, my supervisor, for granting me the experience of working on a research project and thesis that, although challenging, was very satisfying to finish. Also, thank you for helping me deal with my stress and self-doubt regarding this thesis project.

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Abstract:

Introduction: International Non-Governmental Organisations are essential in global development, but their role in decolonisation needs to be clarified. In the present day, they face criticism due to a disconnect between their activities and the desires of the countries in which they work. **Objective**: This study aims to explore INGOs' role in the decolonisation process of early 1970 by looking at the self-reported aims of INGOs and presenting a few case studies of some relevant organisations. **Theory**: World System Theory, Postcolonialism, and Humanitarian imperialism were used. **Method**: The data was obtained from the Yearbook of International Organisations from the Union of International Associations. A literature review was performed by snowballing from Baughen's (2022) book for the qualitative analysis. **Results**: Based on the self-reported stated aims, INGOs have little involvement in either maintaining, or weakening, a colonial system. The qualitative analysis of a few organisations, however, nuances this, as especially Save the Children was more an agent of colonial continuity than its, on paper humanitarian aims, suggest. **Conclusion and implications**: This study sheds light on the role INGOs have taken in the process of liberation. It also begins to present the possible discrepancies between the stated aims and the actions INGOs partake in. Future research should continue to use the YIO; that way, we can find ways to improve it. **Policy**: Recommendations for more effective initial data collection and more opportunities for research collaborations.

Keywords: *Decolonisation; International Non-Governmental Organisations; World Systems; Postcolonialism; Humanitarian Imperialism.*

Ethical Statement

This study is approved by the Ethical Review Board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences of Utrecht University by the number 24-1712. (Appendix A)

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Introduction

> *"**Anti-Slavery Society (for the Protection of Human Rights) – Aims:** suppression of slavery, slave trading and forced labour in all forms and the protection and advancement of aboriginal and primitive peoples through the world." (Union of International Associations, 1971).*

In the 19th century, the British and the French Empire united forces to abolish the slave trade. Their efforts created the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) in 1839 (Laqua, 2023). The quote above relates to that same organisation's name and stated aims 131 years later (Union of International Associations, 1971). The BFASS is an example of an International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO). These are private, nonprofit entities established outside the governmental sphere whose work aims to impact individuals' behaviour and the behaviour of businesses and organisations (Charnovitz, 1996; Manela et al., 2023). Understanding the role INGOs played in situations of global progress in the past allows us to learn what was successful and replicate it in the future.

Looking further into the Anti-Slavery Society, Laqua (2023) expanded on the process of abolishing the slave trade and its aftermath. He describes that this movement was only possible due to the pathways that the British and French Empires had created. Manela et al. (2023) also highlights the role of the Empire in abolishing the slave trade, as well as the paths for networking that imperialism created allowed for activists to remain in contact with each other, pushing for progress to happen in other nations. Looking back at this pivotal stage in the development of human rights, one might assume that organisations such as the Anti-Slavery Movement Society were acting according to their aims.

Unfortunately, this was not always the reality. First, most of the top-down support that existed for the movement was because of changes in economic priorities. Second, black men's voices continued to be limited once slavery was abolished. Third, the abolishment of the slave trade did not bring freedom to the colonies of either the British or the French Empire (Laqua, 2023). Instead, colonisation continued, and slavery within each colony was allowed to continue as well; only the trade was abolished. While the BFASS was an INGO with seemingly innocent aims, the organisation's actions were not. Its actions did not help solve the problems presented above. Instead, it contributed to colonial ideas and procedures, even if the slave trade was abolished

(Laquan, 2023). This thesis's central theme is the discrepancy between the stated aims of INGOs and INGOs' actions in the field.

INGOs are crucial players in the modern global arena as they advocate for human rights, social justice, and sustainable development (Iriye, 1999). However, their societal role has also been increasingly questioned (Szporluk, 2009; Walton et al., 2016), making this thesis relevant in today's society. Szporluk (2009) states that a significant issue of INGOs is that they must be held more accountable. INGO's ability to function outside of governmental influence also means that they are not elected, have no stakeholders, and their activities take place outside their country of origin (Charnovitz, 1996). Walton et al. (2016) adds that there is a current mismatch between the INGOs' ability and the issues within the territories they usually work in. Both researchers argue that the Global South is also dissatisfied with these organisations, as they have little control over which organisations they work with—resulting in distrust and caution (Szporluk, 2009; Walton et al., 2016).

The post-World War II years also brought high levels of global development. Historians argue that this is when the breakdown of the remaining empires took place, and the desire for complete independence for various colonies grew (Rao, 2000). This desire for independence was explicitly the case for the African British colonies. During the war, colonies were cut off from their coloniser, allowing them to develop independently for a while (Babou, 2010). After the wars, the previous great powers were weakened, furthering the desire for decolonisation in the colonies (Betts, 2012). It is here that the era of decolonisation speeds up. INGOs' role in this struggle for independence is significantly under-researched, so the present study attempts to bridge that gap.

This thesis uses a source that has yet to be extensively used in research. The Union of International Associations (UIA), founded in 1907, is a nonprofit INGO that provides services for other international associations. The UIA has been independently collecting information on 'truly international organisations', both non-governmental (INGOs) and governmental (IGOs), since around 1900 (Saunier, 2019). Information collected includes the organisation's name in English and French, date and place of foundation, headquarters, and aims. Some organisations share more information, whereas others do less. The difference in information depends on what is available for the UIA to present. The information is collected through self-reports, where organisations would give the information to the UIA. Unfortunately, they do not always provide all the information the UIA asks for. Once the information is collected, it is printed yearly under the name

Yearbook of International Organisations, and in more recent years, it has become digitally available as well. To the author's knowledge, this source is the most comprehensive collection of INGOs and IGOs available for research. The printed 13th edition of the Yearbook 1970/71 was the starting point of this thesis. Each INGO was identified manually, and their aims were noted. These aims were used to create a categorisation system for their activities.

This thesis looks at different theories which help explain the continuation of the colonial dynamic post-colonisation to investigate if INGOs aided or hindered independence. World System Theory postulates continuous exploitation of the colonised; Postcolonialism Theory explains how Western cultural values are maintained as superior post-independence; and finally, the notion of humanitarian imperialism is used to explain how the Empire remained after independence. The following four research questions are posed. First, the descriptive questions: 1) What were the stated aims of the active INGOs from 1970 to 1971? 2) Can INGOs be classified as colonial, anticolonial, religious, religious colonial, or educational? Second, the elaborative question, to what extent did INGOs' background and stated aim align with their role in the colony's decolonial process to self-determination? Third, the policy question: How can this type of research be done most effectively?

The academic contribution of this thesis is its attempts to quantify the historical role of INGOs worldwide during the 1970s, a time of decolonisation. As previously mentioned, the Yearbook of International Organisations (YIO) has yet to be used in research in this way. Research on the role INGOs have in decolonisation includes case studies on one organisation, such as Save the Children Fund (Baughan, 2022), or case studies on one area of action, such as activism (Laqua, 2023). By attempting to quantify INGOs' role in decolonisation, we can provide a numerical representation of what previous case studies have presented. A type of research that is yet to be done. In terms of societal relevance, this thesis allows us to look at the past and then reflect on the role INGOs take in the present. In present times, there is distrust of INGOs in the Global South, and this distrust might not be fully understood by only looking at current events. Instead, by looking at the past involvement of INGOs in decolonisation and the Global South, there might be a better understanding of the current distrust. This thesis brings to the forefront the importance of keeping a critical look at INGOs and their role in today's world.

Theory Review

In this chapter, three theories are employed to create a lens for this thesis, that is, to formulate possible answers to the research questions. First, World Systems Theory presents the expectation that an empire exploits colonised peoples. Second, the theory of Postcolonialism is used to maintain Western culture and civilisation norms in colonies and newly independent land. Third, humanitarian imperialism theory explains how the Empire is extended by other means. These theories explore the role that INGOs have historically played in empire-building. Based on this literature review/theoretical framework, research expectations about the role of INGOs in the decolonisation process will be made.

World Systems Theory: the exploitation of colonised people

Immanuel Wallerstein first introduced World System Theory in the 1970s to describe the economic relations between countries across the globe. The central themes in this theory are that global development does not happen in a vacuum and that development is not linear (Chirot et al., 1982). Instead, development is shaped by the relationships across various territories and countries, each evolving independently yet remaining interconnected and dependent on one (Wallerstein, 1974, 1979). World System Theory is based on Modernization Theory and Dependency Theory, which attempt to explain global and economic development. These two theories have flaws but are crucial to understanding World Systems theory.

Modernisation Theory puts modernity as a state of social experience distinctly different from previous forms, where society goes from traditional or primitive structures to structures and characteristics of modern life (Shilliam, 2017). Modernisation happens in uniform evolutionary stages, which include social, political, and economic development (Chirot et al., 1982). According to Rostow (1960), there are five stages: 1) traditional economies, 2) transition to take off, 3) take off, 4) the drive to maturity, and 5) the age of high consumption. These five stages have evident characteristics which allow us to observe them happening in different countries. One country could be in stage 1 when another is in stage 2, but the characteristics of stage 1 share similarities, allowing us to identify the stage and then track their development (Chirot et al., 1982; Rostow, 1960). However, this theory's crucial issue is that it fails to explain how some countries and territories did not follow the patterns expected, nor how different countries interact to achieve economic development (Chirot et al., 1982; Steinmetz, 2014; Velasco, 2002). Instead, some countries do not

develop at the same rate; they follow different patterns, which shows that poorer countries remained poor while rich countries were able to get richer (Velasco, 2002).

Dependency theory was developed to address the underdevelopment observed in Latin and South America. It provided an alternative economic development theory and addressed Modernization theory's shortcomings (Cardoso et al., 1996; Chirot et al., 1982; Velasco, 2002). Post World War II, Latin American countries were in the process of autonomous economic development, and according to modernisation theory, they would begin the transition from `primitive to modern'. However, this was not the case (Cardoso et al., 1996). Instead, inequality continued to grow within Latin American countries; the rich became richer, and the poor could not leave poverty (Velasco, 2002). While this was the case in Latin American countries, Western countries, such as the United States of America (USA), continued to develop economically. Cardoso et al. (1996) proposed the idea that this was due to Latin America's position in the periphery of the global economic system. This position was not created in the modern world but resulted from its historical position as a colony. In this position, their development depended on the Empire to which they belonged, and after decolonisation, this dynamic did not entirely shift.

Wallerstein (1979) then expanded on this with *World System Theory* by stating that before the capitalist system, world economies were unstable and tended to disintegrate. However, some found a solution in the form of conquest and transformation into world empires (Chirot et al., 1982). Through military power and new transportation methods, trade deals could form that benefited empires without destroying colonies. These empires became the '*core of the world economy'*, well-developed societies with well-paid populations and stable economic development (Cardoso et al., 1996). On the other side, countries, areas, and territories that were colonies became the '*periphery'*; their economic position did not change, and their resources continued to be sent to the core. For the core to continue to develop, it needs labour and resources (Cardoso et al., 1996; Wallerstein, 1974, 1979). If the periphery is not exploited of its resources, the capitalist system, which allows the core to flourish, will collapse.

The particulars of Marxist theories are too vast for the scope of this thesis, but it is essential to mention that World Systems Theory brings the point of class conflict to the international level. This includes a third category, the semi-peripheries (Chimiak, 2014; Steinmetz, 2014; Wallerstein, 1974, 1979). They are between the core and the periphery in economic power, where capitalist investment happens as labour becomes too expensive in the core. The core exploits semi-

peripheries as they are usually industrialised and have the infrastructure for exportation, but they also exploit the peripheries. This makes them essential as they also continuously exploit the colonised and previously colonised societies. Finally, some argue that the semi-peripheries help to deflect the anger in the peripheries, covering up their revolutionary efforts and propping up the benefits of the capitalist system (Chirot et al., 1982).

While INGOs are not explicitly mentioned within World Systems Theory itself, some researchers have investigated the role INGOs play. Conditions necessary for INGO growth (Lee, 2010) include the distribution of INGO throughout the years (Beckfield, 2003; Lee, 2010), as well as the location in which they work (Bradshaw et al., 2000). Lee (2010) investigates the rise of INGOs throughout the globe as well as the uneven distribution of this growth. Lee finds that for a country to have the conditions for INGO growth, both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' conditions need to be met. 'Top-down' conditions are related to globalisation, the country's involvement in the world polity and the world system. In contrast, 'bottom-up' conditions are the development of democracy and the prosperity of local economies. Free trade, a marker of economic globalisation, is not associated with a country's growth in the number of INGOs. Instead, the negative effects of free trade, such as the vulnerability of unskilled labour and wage inequality, might trigger the involvement of INGO within a country. These findings then suggest that countries that are more economically globalised and more democratically developed have more INGOs.

Beckfield (2003) studies the distribution of both IGO and INGO from 1960 to 2000. He finds that the distribution of IGOs has become equally spread over different parts of the globe, but this is different for INGOs. Rich, core, Western countries are more dominant in the INGO field, and he argues that this is due to their more significant ties to the world system and world polity (Beckfield, 2003); this is a similar finding to Lee (2010). With this, the interests of the rich, Western core can be expanded by using INGOs. Another study examining the role of INGOs in development and urbanisation has similar findings (Bradshaw et al., 2000). They find that most INGOs have headquarters in economically developed countries, but they are active in developing countries. Where they help development but do so to benefit the core (Bradshaw et al., 2000).

The literature discussed thus shows that even when INGOs work to help nations in development, their involvement is attached to how the world system functions. As a result, they could perpetuate dependency from the peripheries to the core and act within the interest of the Western, Rich core. Within world system theory, the development of the core needs the

exploitation of the peripheries. If international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) are considered part of the core and act to benefit the core, they then participate in maintaining a global system that keeps peripheral regions dependent on the core. Based on this, the following is expected:

International Non-Governmental Organisations will be involved in exploiting countries, territories or people in the periphery.

Postcolonialism: maintaining a Western civilisation.

The American Heritage Dictionary defines 'postcolonial' as "of relation to, or being the time following the establishment of independence in a colony: *postcolonial economy"*. (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2022). Following this definition, we assume that postcolonialism theory explains the period of post-colony; however, in historical sociology, the previous definition is not comprehensive. Postcolonialism is a theory which encompasses multiple academic perspectives. These consider colonial history to present new ways to look at the techniques of power that restrain self-determination. In this, Postcolonialism creates a series of truths based on forms of knowledge that centre on justice, peace, and political pluralism (Grovogui, 2013). The theory is contextualised and built during the postcolonial period and includes a study of the cultural interaction between powerful coloniser power and the colonised (Bahri, 1995). Using postcolonialism theory, researchers look at the time of colonisation and the period after to determine the effects colonisation has on the population. These can have economic, political, social, and cultural effects (Rao, 2000). With this, postcolonialism contests rationalist, humanist, and other universalist views claiming that Europe has better, more appropriate reasoning, morality, and law (Grovogui, 2013). With this, Postcolonialism stated that Eurocentric perspectives should not be hegemonic, and instead, there should be an effort to achieve international order, morality, and law.

This thesis limits the use of postcolonial theory to how it is described by Bahri (1995), as it relates to how colonialism affected the colonised populations when it came to cultural exchange. To understand this cultural exchange in postcolonial times, it is necessary to discuss the meaning of the terms 'imperialism' and 'colonialism', how they influence cultural exchange, and how this cultural exchange is seen in postcolonial theory. *Imperialism* can be generally defined as a strategy of political and economic control over foreign lands (Hobson, 1902). Instead of a direct act of

overtaking a people, imperialism is a more comprehensive concept. In it, colonies are pawns in larger political games instead of just a mass of lands owned by one powerful state (Steinmetz, 2014). Imperialism is separate from colonisation as it does not per se imply conquest, occupation, and rule by outside invaders, as the term colonialism does (Steinmetz, 2014). *Colonialism* is defined as the "domination of a people or area by a foreign state or nation" and "the practice of extending and maintaining a nation's political and economic control over another people or area" (Merriam Webster Dictionary).

Steinmetz (2014) discusses the characteristics of colonialism. The first characteristic is the conquering of a foreign people, followed by the creation of a system controlled by the members of the conquering party (Steinmetz, 2014). The second characteristic is that the conquered population is seen as inferior to their coloniser in biological, legal, and cultural terms (Burawoy, 1974). This can be done by transferring the population from the coloniser's home to the colony so that the coloniser can remain in control by leveraging their differences and placing themselves above the colonised (Veracini, 2013). Within this leveraging, the culture and norms of the coloniser become more critical than those of the native and colonised (Steinmetz, 2014).

Herskovits et al. (1947) argues that colonisation allows new forms of culture to arise. Some Africans successfully integrated due to the acceptance of the coloniser culture in Trinidad and Tobago. However, they also managed to maintain pieces of their culture. This is similar to what other researchers find for French colonies (Steinmetz, 2014). According to postcolonial theory, the consequences of this transfer of culture for the colonised are not positive. London (2003) finds that forced English education was used in Trinidad and Tobago to construct a native social class that was more culturally like the coloniser. English became the only language during British rule, the only language permitted in schools and other official institutions. Before British rule, Trinidad and Tobago had polyglot status as the population spoke multiple African languages. However, through policies, native languages were discouraged, so today they are essentially defunct. This was a process especially evident in schools where only English was taught. Native individuals could speak their native language, but in official settings and within education, this was not permitted. This resulted in many, who were not fluent in English to underperform academically. Essentially, this created a divide where some in the population could not fully participate in the system due to a lack of English, and others grew closer to the coloniser in culture. In this manner, the native population was successfully deculturated in the eyes of the colonisers, as well as expected to fit

into the new coloniser culture. Today, Trinidad and Tobago continue to have English as their primary language, showcasing the long-term effects 'cultural superiority' can have (London, 2003).

The roles of INGOs have not explicitly been stated within the postcolonial theory, but it does lead to criticisms of INGOs for their involvement in the Global South (Szporluk, 2009; Walton et al., 2016). Sakue-Collins (2021) states that all postcolonial societies are subject to forms of neocolonial domination, a domination which has yet to be helped by being granted independence. An example relates to Human Rights INGOs (Mutua, 2001). INGOs within the human rights sphere are very influential, with headquarters often located in the West and working in non-western areas. Their work can often be seen as 'civilising the savage' population. This is because human rights as we understand them today are a work of the West. Therefore, when they work in non-Western areas, INGO represents the West's ideology, culture and political perspective (Mutua, 2001). This can be seen as a continuation of the Western values in previous colonies. Additionally, Iriye (1999) finds that INGOs have been involved with education, setting up schools, and doing cultural exchanges between different countries. If these areas of work have remained connected to colonial ideas, as human rights INGOs have remained, we can generate the following expectations:

International Non-Governmental Organisations will contribute to expanding Western norms through their educational activities in colonised and newly independent territories.

Humanitarian Imperialism: Extending the Empire by other means

Humanitarianism embodies the set of beliefs, practices, categories, discourses, and procedures recognised as 'humanitarian' (De Lauri, 2021). Classic humanitarianism, the focus of this thesis, is further dictated by the Geneva Conventions initiated in the 1860s, which guides the responses of humanitarian organisations to emergencies around the globe. These conventions state that humanitarian relief agencies should act on the basic principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence (Hilhorst, 2018). The basic principles suggest that after an emergency, the world is united by common humanity, in which it is possible to be morally pure and actions and responses to an emergency can be done in an objectively good manner (Calhoun, 2010). As a result, humanitarian action should be needs-based and not involve political motives or

discrimination of any kind (Hilhorst, 2018). After an emergency, humanitarian organisations respond impartially and neutrally, acting independently to avoid relations with political entities.

In practice, this is not the case. Classic humanitarianism is built on a paradox of emergency. On the one hand, emergencies are considered exceptional situations where humanitarian action is needed for short, isolated interventions and the correct intervention is known (Calhoun, 2010; Hilhorst, 2018). On the other hand, emergencies where civilians are collateral damage are reflections of past colonialism due to the struggle for power and control over resources and in which the responses can be complex due to the nature of the conflict. (Calhoun, 2010). This is the paradox in which instrumentalisation becomes an issue for humanitarianism. Donini (2012) writes that humanitarian action or rhetoric can be used to pursue political, military, economic, or other non-humanitarian goals. An example of this is the interest of the actors involved. On the ground, workers express the desire to remain within humanitarian principles, but the intention of those not on the ground can be affected by the interests of donors or the policies that affect humanitarian organisation actions within a territory (Hilhorst, 2018).

Through instrumentalisation, humanitarianism turns into humanitarian imperialism, helping maintain the Empire through other means. Humanitarianism exists within the colonial context. Colonisers brought "civilisation" to the people they conquered (Calhoun, 2010). These civilising missions included medical aid, education and spiritualism (Calhoun, 2010; Laqua, 2023). In this way, humanitarianism was used to further Britain's status as a colonial power. 'Civilising' missions were taking place in which the "wild native" was a prisoner of unfortunate traditions, who could be turned into better people (Calhoun, 2010). Anti-slavery movements in the 19th century, for example, had a strong anti-Muslim stance, shifting slavery blame onto them and portraying European powers as liberators (Laqua, 2023). Generally, this can be seen as the idea that the "native" is incapable of caring for themselves and requires the help of the coloniser's power to do so. This rhetoric continues to be present in humanitarian actions, as evidenced by America's intervention in Iraq, which used military power to reach a humanitarian goal.

Clymer (1976)'s research presents the involvement of the United States of America (USA) in the Philippines in the 1900s, another example of a humanitarianism being used as a civilising mission. Even though there seemed to be an apparent distaste for the native population, as they were considered incapable of being independent, many Americans still went to the Philippines to participate in various humanitarian projects, with the aim of teaching them to be civilised people.

They ignored the fact that the Philippines had been colonised and influenced by Spain for around 300 years. Since the influence wasn't the USA's influence, volunteers saw Filipinos as inferior, 'uncivilised', which manifested itself in 'civilising' humanitarian aid, a humanitarian imperialistic venture.

INGOs have become vessels for humanitarian action and humanitarian aid. Thus, they play a significant role in conducting humanitarian imperialism. An example of humanitarian aid and INGOs being instrumentalised for military benefit comes from the presence of humanitarian INGOs in military zones (Price, 2014). Their presence in these areas is an essential part of the USA's counterinsurgency program; this means that INGOs are seen as important actors in the military tactic to weaken opponents (Price, 2014). This has been seen in the USA's participation in Afghanistan, where military personnel were told to shed their uniform and favour the use of civilian clothing to deliver aid. The military also built a reconstruction team, which missed military and humanitarian goals (Price, 2014). Including military goals in humanitarianism goes against the basic principles of humanitarian (Hilhorst, 2018) action and its instrumentalisation for military purposes (Donini, 2012). With this, we can generate the following expectation:

International Non-Governmental Organisations will contribute to the Empire's expansion through other means, such as participating in humanitarian activities in newly independent territories.

Methods

This study uses mixed methods. In the first section, the Yearbook of International Organisations (YIO) is used for the quantitative portion of this study. This was done based on the name of an organisation and the aims stated in the YIO. To begin, each organisation had to be located in the YIO, which sometimes took a lot of time if the name in our file was different or in another language than that in the YIO. Once identified, the aims were found by looking for the section Aims for each INGO. The aims section has information about what the organisation does and its goals. The quantitative section takes a step into quantifying the role INGOs played in an era of decolonisation. However, there is no statistical analysis in this thesis.

For the qualitative analysis, the recent study *"Saving the Children"* by Baughan (2022) will be used, together with other literature, to discuss the actual activities of three INGOs in Africa during the 1970s, as opposed to their aims. The intention was to study more organisations, but due to time limitations, this proved impossible. An unexpected empirical finding of the thesis was that the three organisations that are the focus of the case studies are not part of the YIO, an aspect of the research that will be further elaborated on in the results and the discussion. While, in a sense, unfortunate, this unexpected finding sheds new light on the limits of using the YIO.

Quantitative analysis of the Yearbook of International Organisations (YIO)

The Yearbook of International Organisations (YIO) by the Union of International Associations (UIA) is used for the quantitative portion. The UIA is an independent, nonprofit research institute recording the evolution of international society. It was founded in 1907 as the Central Office for International Associations, and since then, the association has been collecting, publishing, and decimating information on nonprofit and non-governmental organisations (Saunier, 2019). General information on organisations was recorded and published yearly in the Yearbook of International Organisations. This yearbook contains information on organisations that UIA classifies as truly international and divides them into International Non-governmental Organisations (INGOs) and Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs) (Union of International Associations, 1971). Each organisation is given an identification code, and if available, their year and place of foundation, participation of other countries, their connection to other organisations, aims, structure, and funding are published. The yearbook is a valuable source of data as it has this

information available to analyse how the networks of this organisation have changed over time or the changes and shifts happening in society.

The yearbook's 13th edition (1970 – 1971) was used as it is a public source of information on INGOs, which was readily available for this study. This specific edition is also important to look at as it has information on a period in which there was a shift in humanitarianism and international organisations were put into focus. Some sociologists argue that decolonisation had reached its goal before this decade (Cullen et al., 2022), while others suggest that imperialism might have continued through some INGOs. These changes are central themes of this study. This edition includes information on 2,538 organisations, of which 242 are IGOs, and 2,296 are INGOs. This study uses the information in the INGO section. To do this, the supervisor of this project provided a digital version of the data from 1988, Marco van Leeuwen. The 1988 file includes organisations which the UIA considers 'conventionally international organisations', which includes organisations with the following qualifications:

Table 1. INGO types included in this study

A	Federations of international organizations
B	Universal membership organizations
C	Intercontinental membership organizations
D	Regionally defined membership organizations

Table 1. qualification for conventionally international organisations (Union of International Associations)

The information for 1988 included the foundation dates, defunct dates, member countries and organisations, as well as relations with other INGOs and IGOs. With the dates of foundation and failure, we could start looking for organisations that existed in 1970 (also because the 1988 data included INGOs that had become defunct by 1988). In the 1970 YIO, we looked for organisations with a foundation date before 1970 and which had not closed, failed, or went defunct before. Given that this is historical information, information from the 1988 edition could differ from the 1970 edition; these possible changes needed to be cross-referenced and added to each spreadsheet section.

Some organisations (N=765) that, according to their foundation year in the 1988 file, should be found in the book were not found. This could be due to the nature of the data, as this

yearbook is built by self-reporting on the part of the organisations contacting UIA to get their information in the yearbooks. In 1970, some organisations were not in contact with the UIA and were not added to the yearbook. When, after 1970 but before 1988 contact between organisations and the UIA was made, the organisation information was added to the yearbook. So, these organisations are present in the 1988 YIO and the data file for that year but are 'missing' in our 1970 dataset.

The 1970 file consisted of N=1858 ABCD type of organisations. These organisations were cleaned up for this thesis based on the following criteria. The first was that the organisations had to have a stated aim. To categorise aims, one often needs more than the organisation's name. To ensure that all organisations had an aim and to note it, each organisation was manually checked and then marked into an Excel sheet. The total number of organisations with no aim was n = 346, which were removed. Within this process, organisations were checked again to ensure they were truly INGOs; a few organisations marked as INGOs in the 1988 dataset were identified as IGOs and removed from the final list. Finally, some organisations were found to be duplicated and needed to be removed. In total, 374 organisations were removed from the data set, of which 28 were either duplicates or IGOs, and 346 organisations had no aim and could not be classified into any category. This thesis created a new dataset for 1479 INGOs in 1970.

The categorisation of aims takes the printed aims at face value. Taking advantage of the data's self-reported nature, categorising them based on what they say. For an organisation to fit into a category, its aims must explicitly state its intention. For the sake of comparison, this thesis started with the category system of Cullen et al. (2022). They use the 'repertory of African NGOs', another source for African NGO activity. They then categorise the work into 13 areas for INGOs and 12 areas for local NGOs. The intention was to categorise this thesis's organisation in the same manner Cullen did in their article. The researchers were contacted to inquire about the process they had taken. However, they could not share the details as they had another ongoing research which prevented them from sharing their information. Instead of replicating this method of categorising, I thus had to come up with categories that would allow me to quantify the activities of the INGOs within YIO material in a way that is as similar to that of Cullen et al. as I could. While this thus involved making a pragmatic choice, the resulting categorisation captures as closely as possible what we need to answer our research question, in particular, if an INGO sees itself as colonial,

anticolonial, progressive, neutral but involved in 'civilising' activities about education and religion or otherwise `neutral' in this respect. The categorisation is explained below:

Colonial: When an organisation is explicitly colonial, the theories discussed assume that it will hinder the process of independence.

Decolonial: Decolonial organisations are the opposite of colonial organisations. Their aim is explicitly decolonial, and their language furthers liberation and helps the process of decolonisation in previously colonial territories and countries.

Progressive Aims: This category was created to include organisations that do not use explicit decolonial or colonial language in their aims. This includes helping a refugee population, workers' rights, women's rights, and charities.

Communist /Socialist INGO: This category was created as decolonisation in the 70s and was led by the socialist and communist movements. However, unless explicitly stated, one cannot automatically assume that all socialist and communist organisations are decolonial, hence the need to separate them. For this reason, this category is separate from 'decolonial' or 'progressive' aims. Keeping in mind that the 70s was within the time of the Cold War, it is expected that there would be a small number of organisations in this category.

Education: This category was created for organisations that only mention education without specifying religion or colonial education (see below). They are not deemed colonial unless they specify colonial or religious education. According to the theory, INGOs focused on education may be considered colonial. However, this would result in many organisations being considered colonial, even if we do not have any information on the individuals' organisations' actions at the time.

Colonial Education: This category combines colonial language within the aims paired with education. Colonial organisations (see above) have aims with general colonial language, and educational organisations are focused on colonisation within education. Colonial language, views, or norms being taught marked for the INGO to be placed in this category.

Anti-communist: This category was chosen to cover the opposition to communism during the 1970s. These organisations are exclusively those that oppose the expansion of communism and are explicit in their aims and names. They are not assumed to be colonial or decolonial but simply anti-communist.

Religious: Religious organisations are separate from colonial organisations for similar reasons as education INGOs are separate. According to the theory presented, religious organisations participated in the colonisation movement but were also involved in 'progressive' movements such as the slave trade abolition movement and some decolonial movements. For this reason, there is a separate category for religious organisations whose aims state colonial intentions. It is important to note that there is no specification of which religion is being categorised.

Religious Education: This category focuses on the INGOs, which focus on religious education and educating religious individuals.

Religious Colonial: This final category includes organisations that are religious and colonial. These are INGOs that use religion to continue to colonise and create dependency. This section would also include organisations whose aims include expanding religious values.

To put these organisations into different categories, I manually reviewed each organisation's name and aim. Each aim was read through carefully and placed in one out of eleven possible categories explained above. Table 2 shows the categories and their keywords. To be included in one of the categories, the organisation's aim must include one or more of the words in the table. To my knowledge, no other studies do this type of research or categorisation. The keywords included are based on words from the existing studies on colonisation and decolonisation and on what is possible with the YIO data.

Table 2. Categorization created based on words included in the organisation's stated aims

Typology	Word or sentence mentioned in aim
Colonial	"Colonial, colony, imperial, empire, commonwealth"
Decolonial	"Decolonisation, decolonial, liberation"
Progressive Aims	"Refugees, workers, women's rights, workers' rights, charity, disarmament"
Communist/Socialist	"Communist, communism, socialist, socialism"
Education	"Education, school (s)"
Colonial education	"Education on western values, commonwealth education, expand Western values, expand European values"
Anti-communist	"Fight communism"
Religious	"Religious, church, church interest, Christian, Catholic, Jewish, Islam"
Religious Education	"Religious, religious schools, religious education"
Religious Colonial	"Expand religious values"
Neutral	None of the above

Source: Yearbook of International Organisations

A few cases exist where one organisation could fit into more than one category. In this case, I decided to include them in the category they matched the most based on how the stated aims were written. For example, some organisations in the 'education' category were involved with the Christian church. However, in the aim, the education was not religious. Instead, it was just education that a religious institution backed, but it had a stated aim: general education effort. This is also the case regarding some instances of stated progressive behaviours. For example, Caritas Internationalis stated that the aim is "… charitable and welfare activities in all counties; represent internationally charitable activities of the Church…". This includes "charity" and "church" and, therefore, could qualify as 'Religious' and 'Progressive Aims'. However, since Caritas Internationalis stated aims are mainly related to their charity activities, they have been classified under progressive aims. Even though "church" is present within the stated aims, it is presented more as a background for their focus on welfare and charitable activities.

Appendix B shows some examples of the categorisation process, which shows how time-consuming the process was. The procedure taken to categorise twelve organisations is presented to demonstrate, in more detail, the process taken to accomplish the categorisation. In each example, the relevant words or sentences in the aim are highlighted within the picture. On the side, I provided the category and a small section explaining why this category was chosen. This is useful for connecting the words or sentences used within the aims to the words within the categorisation system.

Qualitative analysis of a few case studies

To collect further information for the case studies, the references from the book "*Saving the Children"* by Baughan (2022) were collected and used to further the analysis of the roles INGOs have in colonies and newly independent states. The book focused on the history of the organisation Save The Children Fund and how its quest to save the children perpetuated colonisation. She presents how aid and humanitarianism were used for colonial powers to remain in control. Even though her work is focused on one organisation, the references present a good source of literature on INGOs and dependency, imperial humanitarianism, colonialism, and the struggle for true liberation post-colonisation. The references allow us to look at patterns in the actions of INGOs, which were repeatedly mentioned within the literature and which work in different areas within Africa., notably Save the Children, OXFAM, Amnesty International, and Christian Aid.

Using this book as a source for the qualitative section allows us to overcome a challenge which comes up when researching the role of INGOs in decolonisation. Namely, there is a general lack of research regarding INGOs and their involvement in the decolonisation process. A major reason for this is that INGOs have had problems with a lack of transparency when it comes to their relationship with other governmental bodies, actions taken when working overseas, and what their overall aims were. This has, for example, been shown in their willingness to destroy documents which would implicate them in violent actions within colonies during their fights for independence (Baughan, 2022). As a result of these actions, finding sources presenting information about this period can be difficult, which presents a challenge for scholars interested in decolonisation. When it comes to this thesis, the time was not available to perform a comprehensive literature collection from scratch. Hence, the use of the Baughan (2022) Saving the Children book. From there, the

snowball method will be used, where more literature can be found and then used further for the qualitative analysis of this thesis. This section was originally supposed to be more comprehensive; however, due to the lack of time, it ended up being a shorter presentation of the actions of some relevant INGOs.

Results

Quantitative results

Table 3 quantifies the aims of ABCD-type INGOs as reported in the YIO. Most of the organisations were categorised as neutral (N = 1167) organisations, which are organisations that do not fit into any other category created for this thesis; an example is, for instance, INGOs related to sports. The second largest group are organisations with no stated aim (N=346). From there, progressive organisations follow. Organisations that fit my more specific categories are not a large part of the dataset, but some are still present.

Table 3. Number of INGOs falling under different categories of stated aims in the 1970 YIO.

Typology	Word or sentence mentioned in aim	Number
Colonial	"Colonial, colony, imperial, empire, commonwealth"	19
Decolonial	"Decolonisation, decolonial, liberation"	4
Progressive Aims	"Refugees, workers, women's rights, workers' rights, charity"	125
Communist/Socialist	"Communist, communism, socialist, socialism"	6
Education	"Education, school (s)"	61
Colonial education	"Education on western values, commonwealth education, expand Western values, expand European values"	0
Anti-communist	"Fight communism"	1
Religious	"Religious, church, church interest, Christian, Catholic Jewish, Islam"	75
Religious Education	"Religious, religious schools, religious education"	15
Religious Colonial	"Expand religious values,"	6
Neutral	None of the above	1167
No aim	Organisations with no stated aim	346

Source: Yearbook of International Organisations

Figure 1. Categorisation of all INGOs in the 1970 YIO according to stated aims (including 'no aim')
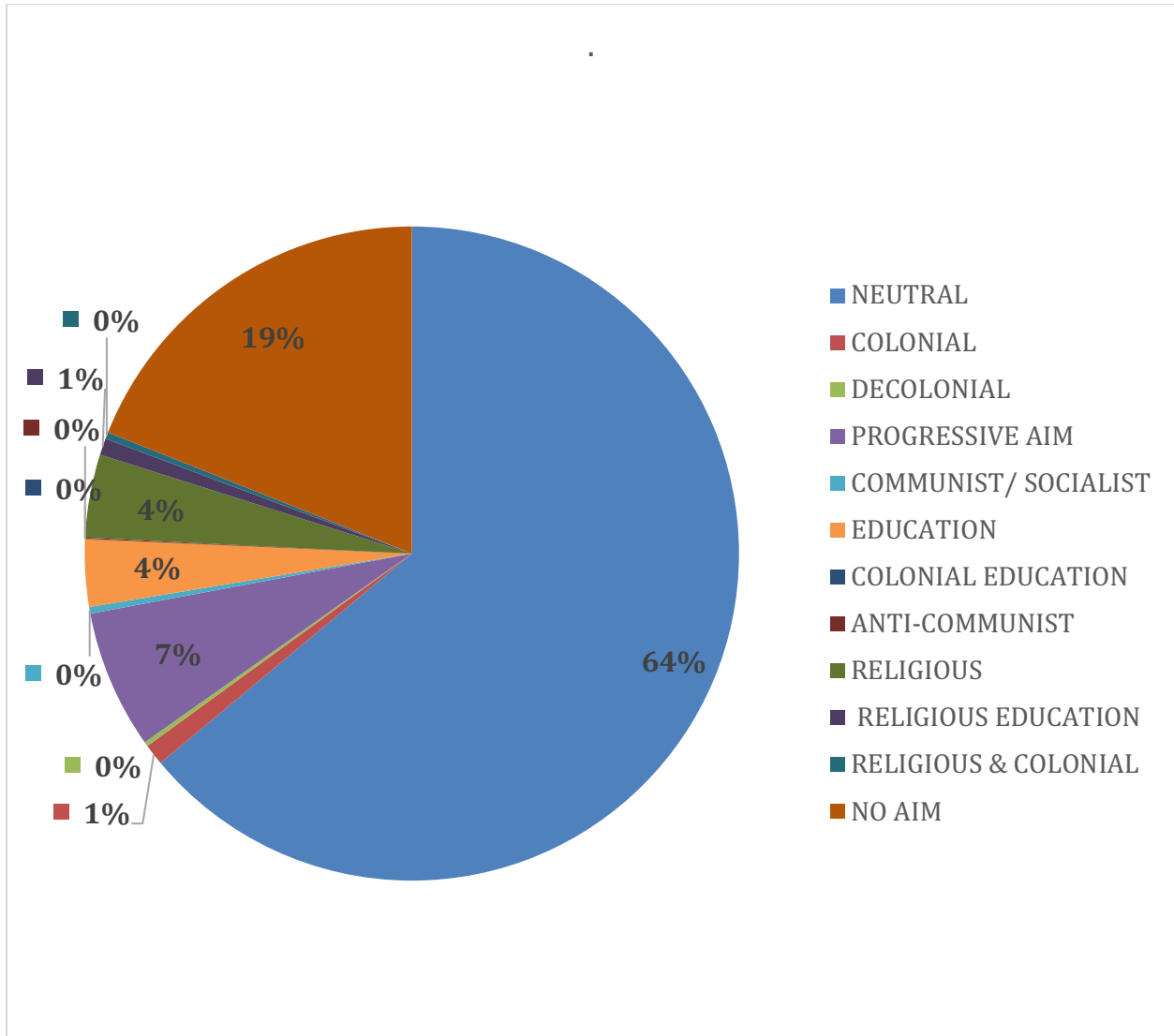
Source: Yearbook of Internation Organisations

Figure 1 shows the information from Table 3 in a pie chart, including organisations I have categorised as neutral and those with no aims. From this, we show that around 19% of INGOs present no aims, which makes it impossible to consider them further in this thesis.

Figure 2. Categorisation of all INGOs in the 1970 YIO according to stated aims (excluding 'no aim')
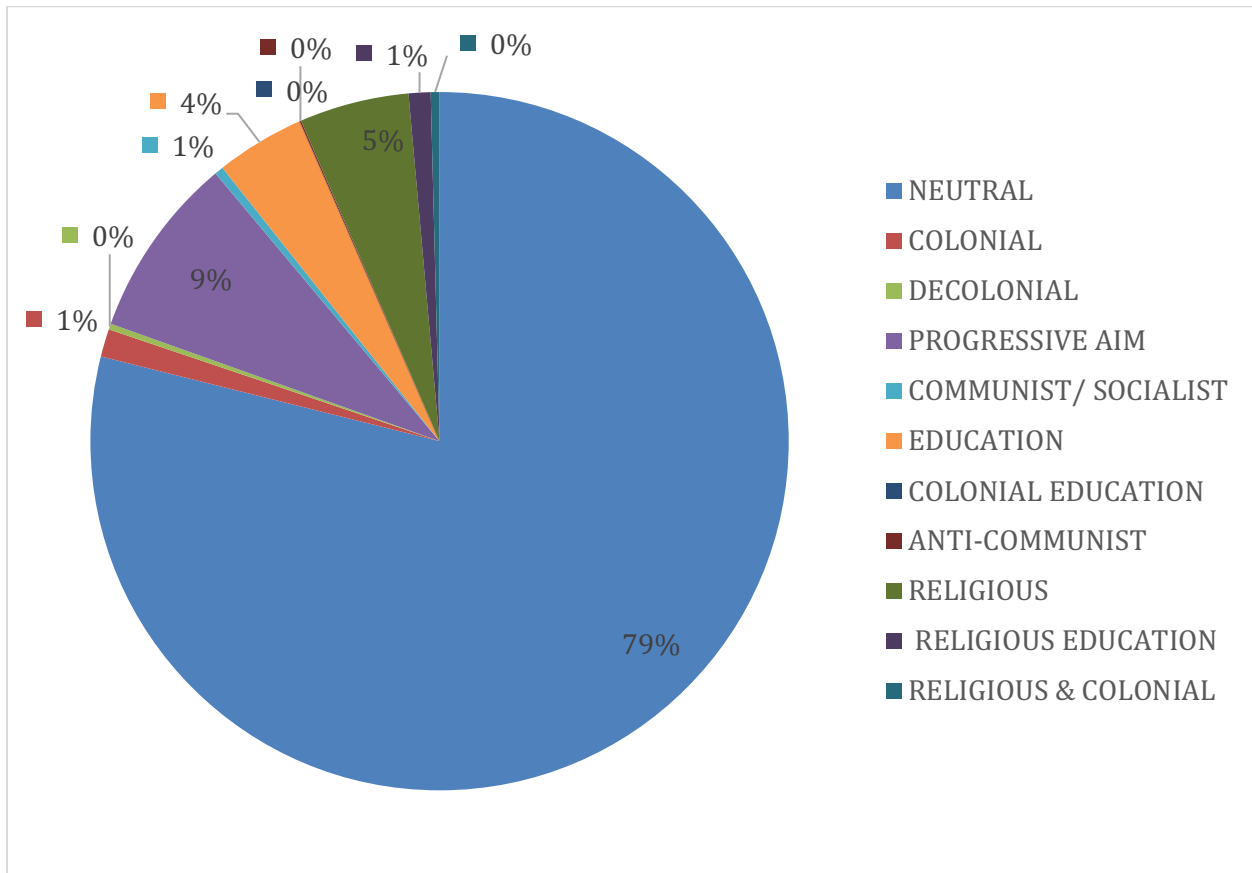
Source: Yearbook of International Organisations

Figure 2. Shows the information from Table 3 in a pie chart, without the INGOs with no aims, which allows for a better visual understanding of the distribution. Of the total N = 1479, 79% of INGOs in this data set have 'neutral' stated aims, making up the biggest category in the 1970s dataset. In this study, neutral means that INGO aims are not related to colonisation or decolonisation in any way, as stated in the INGO aims. By extension, it is also not related to any of the other categories set up; these INGOs are not communist or socialist, they are not anti-communist, and they aren't involved in any way with education or religion. These INGOs comprise most of the organisations in the 1970 / 71 yearbook.

Figure 3. Categorisation of all INGOs in the 1970 YIO according to stated aims (excluding both 'no aim' and `neutral)
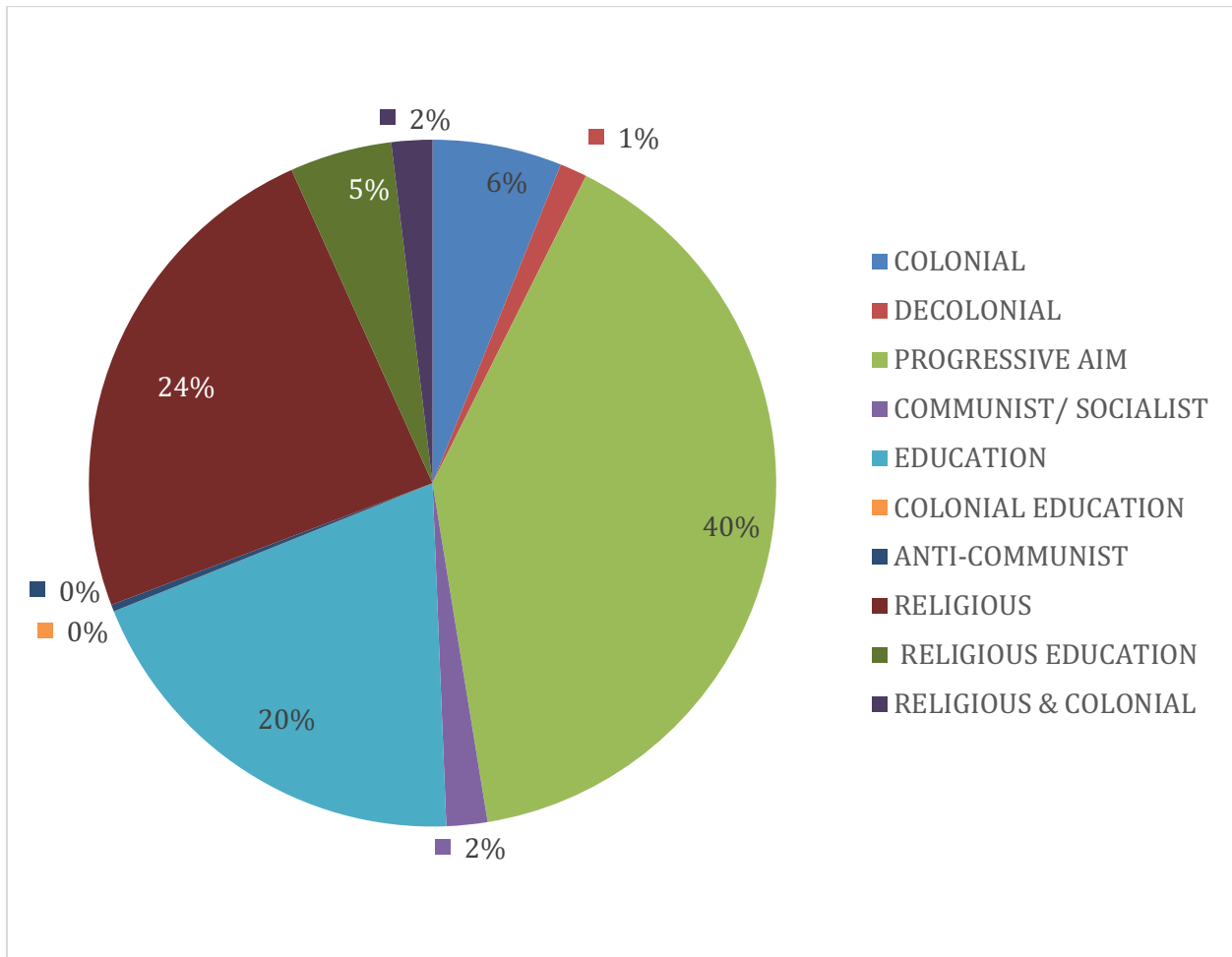
Source: Yearbook of International Organisations

Figure 3 shows us that 40% of the INGOs have aims that this thesis categorises as progressive aims. These are organisations that state in their aims that they work for the benefit of refugees, workers' rights, and women's rights and to raise money for different charities. Here, organisations which make a point not to take a side in any conflict are also placed. An example of one such INGO is number 1639, the International Committee on the Neutrality of Medicine (appendix 2). This organisation has at its core the need to practice medicine outside of conflicts in different regions and help other organisations maintain the same positioning. When not considering neutral INGOs, INGOs with progressive aims make up 40% of the relevant organisations. However, Figure 2 shows that these organisations make up 9% of INGOs when all

the organisations with aims are considered, and Figure 1 shows that when looking at all the organisations in the data set, this number is 7%.

What these findings mean for this thesis is that 83% of INGOs in this dataset do not meet the expectations of this thesis. This is because INGOs with no aims are not categorizable, and those with 'neutral' aims are not involved in the decolonial struggle when taken at face value. With this, we find the following. First, 83% of INGOs in this data set do not participate in exploiting countries, territories, or people in newly independent territories or those fighting for independence. Second, 83% of INGOs in this data set do not contribute to the expansion of Western norms through their educational activities in the colonised and newly independent territories. Third, 83% of INGOs do not contribute to the expansion of the Empire through other means. It is important, however, to reiterate that these findings come from taking the aims at face value, where some aims and actions taken by INGOs can be hidden.

The remaining 17% of organisations align closer with the expectations of this thesis; however, to effectively discuss them, Figure 3 will be referenced. When the aims are taken at face value, both religion and education INGOs do not meet the expectations presented by this thesis. Religious organisations make up 24% of the INGOs included in Figure 3, and their aims include different aspects of religion and other religious entities without including educating the population on aspects of the holy book or the ways of the church.[1] Education INGOs comprise 20% of INGOs, as shown in Figure 3. These also do not follow the expectations posed in this study when the aims are taken at face value. The aims do not mention the exploitation of countries, territories or people in newly independent states. They don't contribute to the expansion of western norms through education. Finally, they don't expand the empires through other means.

Colonial INGOs make up 6% of INGOs in Figure 3. These are INGOs whose aims are explicit in their intention to expand the Empire and colonise and which are from the commonwealth. These INGOs could have exploited newly independent countries, territories and peoples. Likewise, they could have been involved in the expansion of the Empire through other means. When it comes to the second expectation, contributing to the expansion of the Empire through Western norms through education, religious colonial INGOs are relevant. Religious

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[1] In the 13th edition of the YIO, the only religious organisations that appeared in the data set were from the Abrahamic religions. There is no mention of Hinduism in any of the organisations.

colonial INGOs make up 2% of the organisation in Figure 3. Colonial education would also fit; however, this study finds that 0% of INGOs can be categorised as such.

There are also two findings that go against our expectations. These findings state that INGOs would participate in the continuation of Empire through exploitation, expansion of Western norms, or other means. These findings are that 2% of the INGOs studied in this thesis are communist/socialist, and 1% are decolonial INGOs. From how the categorisation is built, decolonial organisations express support for independence and explicitly support resistance to colonisation and occupation. The 2% communist / socialist organisations do not express any involvement in empire expansion.

With this, we can say that only some of the INGOs in the 1970 / 71 edition of the YIO followed the expectations presented. When taking their aims at face value, they are colonial in some way.

Qualitative results

Initially, this section was meant to compare the actual behaviour of relevant organisations such as Save the Children with the aims they gave the UIA. However, this thesis finds that the organisations central to discussing INGOs in the 1970s are not part of the dataset, which consists of what the UIA classifies as ABCD INGOs and, in the literature, often are considered truly international INGOs. For this reason, instead of comparing the aims and true actions of INGOs that are part of the dataset, this section presents small case studies of the three previously mentioned INGOs and their actions. INGOs' involvement in liberation, whether positive or negative, is hard to track. This is because the reality of liberation is that it is often a long and complicated process. One which involves many people, organisations, and governments, even when discussing one individual Empire, such as the British Empire (Bailkin, 2015). Additionally, the destruction of information, which was common to protect the empires, hinders the ability to look at INGOs' role in liberation (Baughan, 2022). However, the following cases can be discussed.

Save The Children Fund is an INGO central to children's human rights and the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (Baughan, 2022). However, the organisation has also been involved in the continuation of the Empire in different ways (Bailkin, 2015). One example of this continuation of the Empire is the Save the Children Fund's involvement in Kenya's Mau Maus Emergency. During this time, Kenya's resistance fighters, the Mau Mau, fought British colonialists from 1952

to 1960 in what was one of the bloodiest independence fights post World War II. The Mau Mau emergency also gave aid INGOs another space within which these agencies and organisations could act (Hilton, 2016). To stop young boys from joining the Mau Mau resistance fighters, rehabilitation schools were formed through charitable organisations like the Christian Council of Kenya (Hilton, 2016, 2018). In theory, these rehabilitation camps were for young boys who were suspected of being sympathisers of the Mau Mau rebellion. However, due to the large amount of violence, the reality was that young boys were assumed to be such sympathisers, and many were sent to these rehabilitation camps. These rehabilitation camps were agents to stop the anticolonial struggle and hence looked to perpetuate the Empire (Manji et al., 2002).

Two British officials founded the Starehe Boys School in Nairobi when the emergency was under control. Geoffrey Griffin was a British Army official, and Patrick Shaw was known for being a brutal cop during the Mau Mau Emergency (Hilton, 2016). These two men were the heads of the school, and they managed to use the network and tracks that colonisation had established to help the children. Griffin connected with Save The Children Fund, making them their most significant donor and allowing Griffin and Shaw to be salaried workers (Hilton, 2016) instead of volunteers. Where Stahere was not as violent as the rehabilitating camps, it was started and functioned as a rehabilitation camp. Its interest was educating children to adhere to and uphold the British Empire's and Western values. In this way, they can maintain the youth sympathising with the British Empire post-independence

In a nutshell, the conclusion is that as an organisation, Save the Children Fund did not try to remove itself from perpetuating the Empire. The Empire was maintained by funding schools such as Stahere in Nairobi and others across West Africa.

OXFAM has a similar history in the territories of West Africa. Before the First World War, OXFAM was mainly concerned with activities with Greece through charity (Beinart et al., 2009). In the post-World War II era, its focus shifted to the British space and the British Empire. Here, OXFAM engaged in activities similar to those of the Save the Children fund. Beinart et al. (2009) showed that they donated to Christian organisations in India and, to a lesser extent, in Kenya. The donations to Kenya also went to Stahere School. These donations are part of OXFAM's initial focus on charity; however, where Save the Children maintains a strong tie to the Commonwealth and the British Empire, OXFAM tried to change.

When the British Empire began to fall, OXFAM shifted their presentation, adopting a more secular rhetoric (Beinart et al., 2009). Slowly, British workers stopped being hired, and native individuals were hired in their place (Beinart et al., 2009; Hilton, 2018). Consequently, OXFAM developed a better relationship with the people they were helping; the connection led to higher levels of trust, allowing them to learn a lot (Beinart et al., 2009). The political aspects and influences were removed from development, and a more international rhetoric was adopted. This shift was ultimately the most helpful as it allowed them to continue their work and bypass the pressure of the Cold War, which was present post-World War II (Beinart et al., 2009; Hilton, 2018). Eventually, these changes allowed them to transition into a long-term solution INGO. OXFAM's interest in acting to solve problems in the short term was replaced with the willingness to research the root cause of the problem so that it could be solved permanently.

Their connection to the Empire is muddy, as there is a lack of documentation within the period, but the effort OXFAM put to change the situation in (former) British colonies stands in marked contrast to the activities of the Save the Children Fund in the same period.

Less information was found on Christian Aid. This organisation was a Charity based on a war relief effort by British Churches (Beinart et al., 2009). Some of the donations collected by OXFAM also went into the church, which Christian Aid was funding and developed at the beginning of their involvement in Kenya (Beinart et al., 2009). One aspect of Christian Aid that was not as highlighted as the Fund or OXFAM is that it was more connected to networks on the ground from the beginning of their work (Manji et al., 2002). It is unclear if this was due to their status as a religious organisation or if there is any other reason.

Conclusion and Discussion

To explore INGOs' role in decolonisation, we posed the following descriptive and explorative questions. The two descriptive questions were: What were the stated aims of the active INGOs from 1970 to 1971? And can INGOs be classified as colonial, anticolonial, religious, religious colonial, or educational? The elaborative question, to what extent did INGOs' background and stated aim align with their role in the colony's decolonial process to self-determination? Expectations were based on World System Theory (Wallerstein, 1974, 1979), post-imperialism (source) and humanitarian imperialism (source). Data from the Union of International Association was used to answer the questions, and short case studies were used to provide a more complete answer, as this study does not engage in statistical analysis.

To answer the descriptive questions, we first created a dataset of all INGOs which were active in 1970 from the 1970 Yearbook of International Associations, with a particular emphasis on the stated aims. From this, 81% of the organisations within our dataset could be categorised by their aims. The remaining 19% had no aims, which prevented us from placing them anywhere. Within the 81%, the categorisation results indicate that most INGOs active in the 1970s were not involved in any activities this study considers relevant, as they were neutral (at least in their stated aims). INGOs with progressive aims followed; they have no colonial or decolonial language in their aims but have a language of helping the population in need, such as refugees, workers' rights, and women. Finally, there were INGOs explicitly stating they aimed to further colonialism via colonial education or religious means. Perhaps, also implicitly when the broader groups of educational and religious INGOs are taken into consideration. Still, these INGOs only make up a small fraction of INGOs with stated aims. With this, this thesis can conclude that the aims of INGOs in 1970 can be categorised into relevant categories for this thesis.

To answer the explorative question, both the data from the YIO and the case studies are used. This way, it is possible to explore the role INGOs had during the 1970s and whether they helped in the process of decolonisation from the British Empire. As mentioned previously, there are only a few organisations which further colonialism, even when considering the broader groups of education and religion INGOs. The number of INGOs which explicitly work in decolonisation is even smaller. When only looking at the quantification, this thesis would

conclude that INGOs have little to no role in colonialism nor in the decolonising process to self-determination. However, the case studies show a different picture.

This thesis looked at Oxfam, Christian Aid and Save the Children. The brief discussion of their actual work – as opposed to self-declared aims- acknowledging that due to time constraints, only three INGOs examined casts a somewhat different light on the answers to our research question. These three INGOs' involvements in West Africa were, to some extent, expanding the Empire by different means. The case studies also showed considerable variation, with Save the Children being the most colonial organisation of the three in the decades following the end of World War 2. Combining the quantification study of the stated aims of all international INGOs (of type ABCD according to the UIA classification) and the small study of three cases, we answer the explorative research question and return to our expectations.

Our first expectation was that INGOs would be involved in exploiting countries, territories, or people in the periphery. This is found, specifically, in the role Save the Children had in residential schools. Some of these schools were used to produce goods, where the boys were not educated and paid, resulting in further exploitation of the periphery (Baughan, 2022). However, we do not find such a dominant colonial disposition of INGOs from the quantification analysis of stated aims. There are a few colonial INGOs, but their stated aims are not explicit about exploitation.

The second expectation was that International Non-Governmental Organisations would contribute to expanding Western norms through their educational activities in colonised and newly independent territories. This was clearly shown in the qualitative portion of this thesis. The organisations' involvement with educational institutions that focused more on colonial ideals shows this. This, however, is not shown in our quantitative part; colonial schools have been 0% of the organisations.

The third and final expectation was that international non-governmental organisations would contribute to the expansion of the Empire through other means, such as by participating in humanitarian activities in newly independent territories. We can say the least about this expectation, as the quantification analysis finds no humanitarian imperialism within the stated aims. Our case studies also have no evidence of this. The nature of the INGOs chosen could have also hidden this dynamic, as only one of the three actively worked in the territories, Christian

Aid. OXFAM and Save the Children Fund worked from afar, perhaps shielding them from being used for humanitarian imperialism.

All our findings can help us answer the explorative question: To what extent do INGOs' background and stated aim align with their role within the decolonial process of the colony to self-determination? Given the discrepancies between the quantification analysis and the case studies, we can say that they do not align to some extent. The stated aims present a largely innocent image of INGOs, and the case studies do not. These show a picture of INGOs involved in the colonial process instead of the decolonial one, hindering self-determination. OXFAM has a smaller involvement in the colonial process, whereas SCF has a larger role. Once again, acknowledging that this comes from a small number of case studies, the differences are vast.

This finding has critical societal implications. INGOs are agents of global development, and if their work in newly decolonised territories or territories seeking self-determination can be tied to colonialism, it poses a problem to the trust civilians can have in organisations which are supposed to offer help. These findings also shed light on why the global south today does not trust and hesitates to accept help from INGOs outside its territory. The aspects we could not find in our study are likely due to some limitations.

The study's main limitation lies in the nature of the data used for the categorisation. The 1970 YIO had not been used previously to build categorisations. The decision was made to require both the name and the aim of an organisation to be used to classify each organisation. This was done to avoid misclassification based solely on names, but it also resulted in the unfortunate consequence of removing many organisations,

Another limitation lies in the fact that we looked at stated aims as reported to the UIA by the INGOs themselves. Colonial Organisations may have been unlikely to self-report their intentions at a time when decolonisation was at the centre of global development. An indication of this is that in the 1954 edition of the yearbook, more colonial organisations were clear about their intentions. Unfortunately, adding that dataset to this thesis was outside of the scope. On the other side of the political spectrum, communist organisations have likely also been underrepresented in the data, as the 1970s was during the Cold War, and there could be trouble for organisations that aligned themselves closely to communist ideology in disclosing this.

Yet another limitation of this study is that some of the big INGOs we know of in the 1970s, such as Save the Children Fund, OXFM, and Christian Aid, were not part of the dataset. This is

criticism the UIA has previously faced as their criteria for inclusion being 'truly international' can be unclear and hard to achieve (Saunier, 2019). In the 1970s, due to the post-war period, these organisations shifted their geographical focus but remained British organisations. Due to this, they would have been excluded from the ABCD categories of the yearbook. This finding, next to being a limitation, is also a result of correcting the equation of ABCD-INGOs with truly international organisation in the literature (Bloodgood, 2011; Grandjean et al., 2019).

A final limitation refers to the very small number of case studies we were able to look at, due to time constraints. Even with this limitation, research such as this one are relevant as they shed light on INGOs role within decolonisation, an aspect of global development which has been constantly evolving both in and out of academia. With more research in this area of historical sociology, researchers can be better equipped to tackle the role INGOs have in modern society.

Future research could look at more case studies, at other than ABCD categories of INGOs, and/or try to find other sources, notably for the rather large group of INGO's with no stated aim in the 1970 Yearbook of International Associations.

Policy Advise

Constructing policy advice based on historical, sociological research is challenging. This study aimed to explore the roles INGOs played in the decolonisation process, questioning whether they furthered or hindered liberation. During this study, difficulty arose because data was missing. For this reason, the policy advice here takes a broader approach, addressing universities and researchers to make the data collection more efficient and highlight the relevance of this type of research.

One of the limitations present in this study is that there is no comprehensive data set of INGOs which were active in the past and are currently active. For INGOs that were active in the past and are no longer active, retrospectively getting that information is understandably complicated. However, when it comes to currently active INGOs, we still face a similar issue where there is missing information about the organisation within a specific dataset, resulting in a lack of comprehensive information. To the best of this researcher's knowledge, the Union on International Association (UIA) is the only group that collects information on all governmental and non-governmental international organisations and then publishes it in the YIO. Their efforts are appreciated, as their data has allowed research such as this one to happen. Still, there should be more guidelines that these international organisations must follow if they wish to send their organisation information to the YIO. The UIA collects their information voluntarily; each organisation applies, and they are free to include or exclude any necessary information. This type of data collection was useful, especially as this organisation began in the 1950s, and it was more convenient for organisations to contact them than to attempt to find all organisations and keep track of them every year. Despite the benefits of this type of data collection, pitfalls have affected the present research and might affect future ones. Since organisations do not have to provide a standard minimum of information, when researchers attempt to use and standardise the data, they cannot do so due to the missing information. INGOs with no aim were presented in this research but could not be analysed. To solve this problem, an extra step could be added to the collection procedure. Currently, on the UIA website, the only required fields are the organisation's name, the current headquarters' full address, and an email. However, the optional areas are what a researcher would need to be able to conduct research comprehensively. To solve this, in verifying information sent in, the UIA should require the organisations to provide the year of foundation and location, relevant history (such as previous names), current aims, and

where the organisations are/were active. This would then provide the researcher with a more rounded and standardised pool of information to use for research.

The second piece of advice is related to the importance of this research area and the lack of resources currently available. As sociologists and researchers, our role was and continues to be pivotal in shaping society, as we can influence policies through research papers like this one and more significant research collaborations. However, when there is insufficient research and published journals that bridge the gap between historical qualitative data and quantitative sociological research, the appeal for the new generation of researchers is lessened. It is, therefore, necessary that universities and research institutions connect diverse researchers to the field. Sociology curriculums should be expanded within universities to include information on decolonisation and its connection to governmental and non-governmental organisations. The workshop can be organised within universities, where experienced researchers in this area act as main speakers. However, it would be open for students and other interested parties to foster an environment of collaboration and new ideas for research. By implementing these recommendations, there should be changes in the data and an increase in interest might be seen among researchers. This leads to increased collaboration and a higher rate of publications, permitting further understanding of the role of international organisations throughout history.

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Appendix A – Ethical Approval

P.O. Box 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht The Board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences Utrecht University P.O. Box 80.140 3508 TC Utrecht	**Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences** Faculty Support Office Ethics Committee **Visiting Address** Padualaan 14 3584 CH Utrecht
Our Description 24-1712 **Telephone** 030 253 46 33 **E-mail** FETC-fsw@uu.nl **Date** 24 April 2024 **Subject** Ethical approval	

ETHICAL APPROVAL

Study: Agents of continuity or catalyst of change? Exploring the role of INGOs in the quest for decolonisation.

Principal investigator: L.C. Reyes Torres

Supervisor: Marco vaan Leeuwenl

The study is approved by the Ethical Review Board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences of Utrecht University. The approval is based on the documents sent by the researchers as requested in the form of the Ethics committee and filed under number 24-1712. The approval is valid through 24 June 2024. The approval of the Ethical Review Board concerns ethical aspects, as well as data management and privacy issues (including the GDPR). It should be noticed that any changes in the research design oblige a renewed review by the Ethical Review Board.

Yours sincerely,

Peter van der Heijden, Ph.D.
Chair
This is an automatically generated document, therefore it is not signed

Appendix B – Sample Categorisation

638 - European Committee for Young Farmer's and 4 H Clubs

638

European Committee for Young Farmer's and 4 H Clubs — Comité européen des jeunes agriculteurs et des 4 H clubs

R F Gregor, Young Farmers' Centre, Ingliston, Midlothian, UK. T. 334-7576.
Founded Feb 1957, Rendsburg (Germany), as the European Committee for Young Farmers' Clubs Federations; functions widened and name changed 16 Feb 1960, Edinburgh. Charter revised 1965. **Aims** Further the interests of agriculture and rural youth as organized by Young Farmers' Clubs and 4H Clubs irrespective of national, political or religious considerations; encourage exchange of information and group or individual visits. **Structure** General Assembly (annual) elects Board, composed of one representative from the UK and Ireland, Scandinavia, Germany and the Low Countries, S Europe. **Staff** 1 voluntary part time. **Language** English.
SG R F Gregor (UK).
Finance Members' dues. Budget (1969) : about £ 1,200. **IGO Relations** Liaison status with FAO; Information status with UNESCO (C). Consultative status with Council of Europe. **Activities** Documentation centre; research work in co-operation with WAY. Annual Rally and Convention. **General Assemblies** 7 up to 1963; Aberystwyth 1964, Utrecht 1965, Edinburgh 1966, Bergamo 1967, Dublin 1968, Klagenfurt 1969. **Publications** Information service.
Members Organizations (22) with total membership of 500,000 in 15 countries : **Eu** Austria, Belgium, Denmark (2), Finland (2), France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy

Indexes (contd.) : English keywords (**5**), French keywords (**6**).

Category:
"Progressive Aims"

Reasoning:
"Farmers" → workers & workers rights

"Irrespective of national, political or religious considerations, ..." → focused on all

707 - European Documentation and Information Centre

707

European Documentation and Information Centre — Centre européen de documentation et d'information — (CEDI) — Centro Europeo de Documentación e Información — Europäisches Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum e V.
Poststrasse 22, 797, Leutkirch/Allgäu, Germany (Fed Rep). T. 771-3.
Esparteros 1, Madrid 12. T. 232 10 34.
First annual meeting 17-22 Aug 1952, Santander, Spain. Registered under German law on 4 Dec 1957. **Aims** Group the active forces in all the European countries which are ready to defend in public the fundamental principles of European Christian culture; assist in the permanent co-operation of the personalities of the cultural, political and economic life of the European countries. **Structure** General Assembly of members; Directing Committee; International Council; Secretariat.
SG Lt Col Georg von Gaupp-Berghausen (Austria).
Finance Donations. **Activities** Study of European problems. **Congresses** 12 up to 1963; El Escorial 1964, Santiago de Compostela 1965, LI Escorial 1966. **Publications** Annual reports.
Members Individuals; national centres in 11 countries : **Eu** Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany F R, Greece, Liechtenstein, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, UK.
10430 BIBL
18 Sep 69

Category: Religious Colonial

Reasoning: "...defend in public the fundamental principles of European Christian culture..."

↳ expresses the need to defend Christian culture

881 - European Union for Child Psychiatry

■ 881

European Union for Child Psychiatry — Union européenne de pédopsychiatres (UEP) — Unión Europea de Pedopsiquiatras — Union Europäischer Kinderpsychiater
Prof Dr A Friedemann, 6 chemin des Pêcheurs, 2500 Bienne, Switzerland. T. (0.32)2.78.89.
Founded 1954, Bienne. Registered in accordance with Swiss law. **Aims** Maintain European conceptions and traditions in the field of child psychiatry; develop contacts between specialists in European countries; exchange information on experiments and research; control the training of specialists in child psychiatry; work in conjunction with other organizations having similar aims. **Structure** Assembly elects Committee composed of the officers for a 4-year term. Membership and meetings closed. **Languages** French, German, English, Italian.
Secretary Prof Dr A Friedemann (Switz).
Finance Members' dues; gifts. **Activities** Symposia. **Congresses** Paris 1960, Rome 1963, Wiesbaden 1967, Stockholm 1971.
Members National organizations and individual doctors in 15 countries : Eu Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany F R, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK; and 2 other countries.
70920 HEALTH   Apr 68

Category: Colonial

Reasoning: "Maintain European conceptions..." & "...control the training of specialist in child psychiatry,..."

↳ While not about expanding empire, the focus on European psychiatry and on controlling how specialist train, does have colonial tones. This is because it centralizes eurocentric ideas.

1112 - Intergovermental Committee for European Migration

Category: Progressive Aims

Reasoning: "movement of migrants whom existing facilities are inadequate"
↳ helping with movement of people whose conditions are not well
"... agreement with the government..." → at face value seems to be in agreement w/ government which would not fit into colonial aims

1383 - International Atomic Energy Agency

Category: Progressive Aims

Reasoning: "... contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity ... not used in such a way as to further any military purpose."
↳ disarmament and no furthering of military are considered progressive aim

* This was not originally in list of words so any other org w/ similar words would also be considered progressive aims.

1639 - International Committee on the Neutrality of Medicine

Category: Progressive Aims

Reasoning: "... humanitarian principles..." & "neutrality of medical people..."
↳ neutrality in time of war and peacetime is considered progressive aim as it means the INGO would not be putting itself into a position of 'siding' in times of conflict

1737 - International Council of Christian Churches

■ 1737
International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) — Conseil international des églises chrétiennes — Internationaler Rat Christlicher Kirchen
Frederiksplein 24, Amsterdam 2. T. 248271. C. Intcouncil.
Founded 1 Aug 1948, Amsterdam. Aims Promote a world-wide fellowship of evangelical Churches and people for mutual encouragement and help in the things of the Lord; encourage all members to foster a loyal and aggressive revival of Bible Christianity all over the world; seek to awaken Christians everywhere to the insidious dangers of modernism, compromise and Roman Catholicism. Structure Plenary Congress, composed of 4 to 10 delegates from each constituent body, meets at least once in 5 years; Executive Committee. Regional Councils Latin American Alliance of Christian Churches; Far Eastern Council of Christian Churches; Middle East Bible Council; Scandinavian Evangelical Council; ICCC European Alliance; East Africa Christian Alliance; West African Council of Churches.
SG Rev J C Maris (Neth).
Plenary Congresses 5 up to 1964; Geneva 1965, Cape May 1968. Regional Meetings. Publications "The Reformation Review" (quarterly); "Getrouw" (monthly) in Dutch. Regional periodicals.
Members Associations (140) and Churches in 26 countries, including: Am Brazil, Canada, Chile, USA. As India, Japan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Philippines. Au Australia, New Zealand. Eu France, Netherlands, Sweden, UK.
14550 REL   8 Sep 69

Category: Colonial Religious

Reasoning: "...aggressive revival of Bible Christianity..."
↳ the use o "aggressive" goes to the nature of the actions taken by the INGO.

"...insidious dangers of modernism,..."
↳ also any other manner of thought or religion as less than

1996 - International Federation of Resistance Movement

■ 1996
International Federation of Resistance Movements — Fédération internationale des résistants (FIR) — Federación internacional de Resistentes — Internationale Föderation der Widerstandskämpfer
Postfach 149, Castellezgasse 35, 1021, Vienna II. T. 35.44.49. C. Federindir.
Founded 3 July 1951, Vienna. New statutes adopted 15 December 1962, Warsaw. Registered in accordance with Austrian law. Aims Unite resisters as in wartime resistance movements to secure the independence of their country, liberty and world peace; cherish the memory of all who fell for their country and liberty; defend the spirit and values of the Resistance; make known its historical role and transmit its teaching to the new generations; contribute to the defence of the material and moral interests of those having due rights and causes; create and develop social services in their aid; promote attainment of the aims set out in the UN Charter and strengthen links of fraternity and solidarity between resisters in all countries; oppose racial, political, philosophical or religious discrimination of any kind. Structure Congress (every 3 years) elects Bureau; latter elects Executive Committee from among its members. Congresses open. Staff 15 paid. Languages French, German, Russian.
SG Jean Toujas (Fr).
Finance Members' dues; gifts. Activities Documentation centre (2,000 vol, documents, photos). Commissions on cultural, social, medical matters and on reparations. Annual holiday camps for children of resisters. Research services. Pilgrimages to former concentration camps. Specialized meetings. Congresses 2 up to 1954; Vienna 1959, Warsaw 1962, Budapest 1965. Medical Conferences 3 up to 1963; Bucharest 1964, Warsaw 1968. Historical Conferences 2 up to 1964; Prague 1965. Publications "Résistance Unie" (quarterly) in French and German. Various medical publications on late effects of concentration camp detention. Conference reports.
Members National resistance organizations and individuals who took part in any way, in territories under Hitlerite domination, in the struggle for organizations of freedom against the occupying power; political prisoners, deportees, internees and all other victims of nazism or their legal assigns; total of 5,000,000 members (3 million full members) in 20 countries: As Israel. Eu Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany East, Germany F R, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, USSR.
24720 INT REL   9 Sep 69

Category: Decolonial

Reasoning: "unite resisters in wartime" & "resistance "secure independence"
↳ this is the outward position of independence as well as helping resistance movements which are often used involved in decolonization struggle

2099 - International Hebrew Christian Alliance

Category: Religious

Reasoning: "Hebrew Christians into fellowship..."
↳ religious entities which do not express the aim to expand simply a religious organisation

2205 - International League for the Rights of Man

Category: Progressive Aims

Reasoning: "Human rights" & "progressive democracy"
↳ focus on human rights makes an organization progressive. Also the mention of progressive democracies also fits the categorization

2220 - International League of Religious Socialist

Category: Socialist

Reasoning: "socialist" and "promote the cause of socialism"
↳ all of the aim also includes religion however its core is about joining individuals and promote socialism

3416 - Universities and the Quest for Peace

Category: Education

Reasoning: "...improved curricula..." & "...subject matter..." & "...teaching method..."
↳ focused on the education side of peace. All about the education system and methods of teaching.