

# Evaluation of Oxfam GB's Climate Change Campaign

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March 2010



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**Proposed citation:**

Cugelman, B., & Otero, E. (2010) Evaluation of Oxfam GB's Climate Change Campaign. Leitmotiv, AlterSpark, & Oxfam GB.

**Cover photo:** The rally on 12 December 2009 in Copenhagen

**Photo credit:** Ainhua Goma, Oxfam International.

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**Registered Charity No. 202918.**

**Oxfam (also known as Oxfam GB) is a member of Oxfam International.**

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# Acknowledgements

This evaluation was carried out by a team of two independent researchers. The coordinating body, Leitmotiv, is a Spanish based consultancy firm specializing in development and social issues. Methodological direction was provided by Alter-Spark, a firm specializing in research and digital mass-engagement.

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This study would not have been possible without the contributions of many people. It reflects the views of 24 Oxfam staff who completed the needs assessment, 57 internal and external people interviewed, and 110 survey respondents. Together, they cover 69 external organizations, in addition to the numerous Oxfam affiliates and country offices. Moreover, we are indebted to numerous people at Oxfam who helped us along the way.

## We wish to thank the following people who contributed to this report:

- ◇ Simon Starling and Claire Hutchings of Oxfam GB who provided invaluable insights and amazing support.
- ◇ Firststone Malapula and Rob Saunders of Oxfam GB who provided comprehensive financial analysis according to the evaluation framework.
- ◇ Carmen Manaute and Maria Delgado of Leitmotiv for providing valuable insights and logistical support.
- ◇ Prof. Mike Thelwall, SCRG, University of Wolverhampton provided advise on research methods.
- ◇ Al Kinley, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Antonio Hill, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Bertha Chiroro, Oxfam GB South Africa
- ◇ Charlie Powell, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Eddy Lambert, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Ged Baker, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Giulia Biasibetti, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Hugh Cole, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Karina Brisby, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Kate Geary, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Natalie Curtis, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Nuzhat Imam, Oxfam OI Bangladesh
- ◇ Rachel Brown, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Rob Flatt, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Stuart McWilliam, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Thomas Schultz-Jagow, Oxfam GB
- ◇ Kirsty Hughes, Oxfam GB
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- José Antonio Hernández de Toro, Intermón-Oxfam
- Julie-Anne Richards, Climate Action Network
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- Dr. Steve Jennings, Oxfam GB, South Asia RMC
- Tamin Ahmed, The New Age
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- Ziaul Huq Mukta, Oxfam OI Bangladesh

## List of organizations represented by all sources:

- ActionAid Bangladesh
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- Agua Sustentable
- Aldrin Calixte
- All Party Parliamentary Group on Climate Change, Bangladesh
- Asroy
- Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies
- Bangladesh Economic Association
- Bangladesh UK Climate change Action Group
- Business Day
- CAN - South Asia (CANSA)
- CAN - Working Group on Adaptation
- CAN - Working Group on Financing
- CAN – Southern Africa
- CEDAC
- Centre for Global Change
- Climate Change and Development Forum (CCDF)
- Climate Change Cell - GoB
- Climate Change Negotiator, South Africa
- Corporate Leaders Group
- CSF/WALHI (FoE Indonesia)
- DCA/CA
- Department of Water and Environment Affairs
- DFID
- DHAN
- Dinna Umengan
- E.ON
- Earthlife Africa
- Environmental Monitoring Group
- Equity and Justice Working Group (EJWG)
- European Commission DG Environment
- FBCCI
- Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce
- Forum Syd
- Greenpeace
- GUK, Char land Campaign Group
- IBIS
- IDEA, Haor Campaign group Lead Partner
- IIED
- Indian Youth Climate Network
- Jahangirnagar University
- Jugantor
- Karmajibi Nari
- Ministry of Environments and Forests Bangladesh
- Nagorik Sanghati, Youth Action Climate
- National Grid
- New Age
- NGO Forum on the Asian Development Bank
- Pan African Parliamentarians Network on CC
- PELUM
- People's Empowerment Trust
- Prothom Alo
- SABC - Channel Africa
- Salem Environment Dev. Assoc.
- SBC
- SDCEA
- SEATINI
- Society for Prevention of Environment in Kenya
- Stop Climate Chaos Coalition
- Sustainability NZ
- TckTckTck
- The Greenhouse Project
- The New Age
- Uloshi, Beel Campaign Group Lead Partner
- UNDP
- UNFCCC
- WWF
- YACOUBA DEME
- Youth in Action on Climate

# Executive Summary

Internationally, Oxfam affiliates work together, to campaign on climate change under the leadership of Oxfam International (OI). This evaluation is limited to Oxfam GB and a combination of their own country offices and those that have received funds or technical support, but which may also be part of other Oxfam affiliates. We looked at Oxfam GB's global campaign with in-depth case studies from Bangladesh, South Africa and the UK. However, many of the campaign's geographical boundaries and departmental affiliations were difficult to define. The evaluation covers the period from March 2008 to December 2009, although the majority of available documentation and evidence is from 2009.

The evaluation followed a seven step framework: (1) engaging stakeholders and conducting a needs assessment; (2) describing the campaign; (3) refining the evaluation design; (4) gathering credible evidence; (5) consolidating data and writing the report; (6) sharing the draft report with Oxfam for feedback then finalization; and finally, (7) ensuring the lessons are learned and shared. For data collection and analysis we used a mix-method approach, drawing from the best credible evidence across numerous sources. The correlation between these different sources of information was surprisingly high.

## History of the campaign

In 2001, three Oxfam affiliates launched their first global campaign, on making trade fair, with considerable success. By 2004, consensus emerged among a larger number of Oxfam affiliates that global campaigning could be an effective tool for the organization. Soon after, in 2005, Oxfam was involved in the Make Poverty History campaign, which again, was a huge success.

Oxfam's work on climate change began when staff started to make connections from their own work, including unusual weather patterns that were negatively affecting vulnerable people, and the potential impacts of climate change on the world's poor. Additionally, the work of UNDP researchers helped to demonstrate the urgency and importance of climate change. Politically, with the Kyoto protocol expiring in 2012, Oxfam staff judged that the organization had a short window of time to lobby for a political outcome that could result in lasting and long-term impacts for the world's poor. Thus, climate change became a top priority for some parts of Oxfam GB. Although, the climate change campaign (CCC) was introduced to Oxfam with some controversy, it is now firmly up and running, and is a recognized and resourced core priority.

## Objectives of the CC Campaign

The overall objective of the campaign was to get a fair and safe global climate change deal at COP15 in December 2009. This would translate into concrete policy where rich countries recognize their obligations and historic responsibility, to support and finance adaptation actions in developing countries (beyond development assistance) and equitable mitigation based on historic responsibility and capacity, where global temperature would not increase beyond 2 degrees.

To achieve these policy goals, Oxfam's CCC aimed to increase political will by encouraging progressive forces and opposing, or winning over, obstructive ones. Identification of these progressive and obstructive forces was done through a power analysis that shaped the focus of the campaign. To move these actors, Oxfam employed a generic campaign model, blending research, alliances, popular mobilisation, media work, and lobbying.

## Evaluation Findings

- The package of activities, grouped by Oxfam's generic model, helped the campaign to succeed. Most campaign activities were cross-functional, blending elements of research, alliances, popular mobilisation, media work, and lobbying.

## Main impact contributions

- Oxfam did not achieve a fair and safe deal at COP15 in Copenhagen. However, they made significant contributions in the lead-up to this event and at present, are pursuing this goal into 2010.

- Oxfam GB's CCC has contributed more to the climate change policies of Southern governments than their Northern counterparts, although they have contributed to political debates, agendas, policies and legislation at all levels. One example was the statement related to prioritizing most vulnerable countries (MVC) in the final COP15 Accord that came directly from the Bangladesh delegation. This demand was picked up by the Government of Bangladesh at the MVC Civil Society conference organized by Oxfam and CSRL.

## **Main impact contributions con't**

- Oxfam helped to place climate finance on the EU agenda. Oxfam played a key role in highlighting climate financing in the newspapers, and their research and lobbying helped to make the adaptation financing case. At UK, EU, and UNFCCC level, Oxfam's work around adaptation financing contributed to the formulation of concrete numbers by various actors (such as the World Bank and UNFCCC), which is likely to have influenced the debate and, potentially, concrete financing proposals.
- Oxfam made an impact on politics and policy in regards to raising the relevance of human impact and adaptation financing. There were a few cases of influencing debates on additionality and mitigation. In Bangladesh, the CCC contributed to a shift of government position in international forums from primarily discussing adaptation to being one of the few governments advocating for the 1.5 degree limit with an early peak by 2015. PACJA, with support from Oxfam, contributed to shifting African negotiators in Nairobi to a common negotiation position that changed from calling for Annex I 2020 targets of 25% to 40% to calling for "at least 40%".

## **Research**

- Over the last two years, the number of climate change publications has increased dramatically, with many being released to coincide with COP15.
- Oxfam's research papers have a small target audience. However, those who know Oxfam's research generally hold a high regard for them.
- The strongest paper, in terms of influencing policy, was "Raworth, K. (2007) Adapting to climate change: what's needed in poor countries and who should pay". It is credited with having shaped the debate on climate financing and is cited in a number of UNFCCC publications.
- At the UNFCCC Oxfam research is well regarded. The first UNFCCC record for Oxfam is 2008, WWF from 1992, and Greenpeace from 1990. However, in a short period of time Oxfam was listed in six public UNFCCC publications, more than either WWF or Greenpeace.
- Although Oxfam's papers are widely regarded, informants also expressed critical views, including the charge that they are too Northern-based and too focused on drawing news headlines.

## **Lobbying/Advocacy**

- Oxfam's lobbying capacity has continually improved during their campaign. They have significantly expanded their political contacts during the course of the campaign in terms of breadth and depth, moving from an early estimate of 11 to 33 documented relations with countries/ negotiating blocs.
- Informants believe that policymakers consider Oxfam to be a realistic and pragmatic organization, possibly due to their grounding in developing countries and the quality of their research.
- Oxfam supported LDC countries with information and analysis that helped them negotiate at COP15. More could have been done to support parties had Oxfam invested additional funds.
- The CCC has supported many progressive forces, and has achieved considerable success in this regard. However, we found only a few examples where Oxfam has obstructed or won over opposing forces.
- Oxfam took a moderate policy position that has allowed them to engage successfully with a number of key players. The question is whether they could have taken a stronger position around specific issues.

# Executive Summary

## Popular mobilisation

- There is evidence of an increased change in public perceptions linking climate change to poverty in the UK, where among peer organizations, Oxfam is the organization most frequently cited in news articles that discuss climate change and poverty.
- Oxfam has attained a niche role as the number one non-environmental organization associated with climate change.
- Across all campaigns, Oxfam's public mobilisation work was frequently conducted through coalitions, often targeting partners' constituencies. This is especially important in the South where it is not always appropriate for a foreign actor to put certain issues on the table.
- There were a range of views on stunts, and overall the feedback was highly positive.
- The climate hearings were singled out as an innovative campaign tool able to mobilize people who are vulnerable to climate change. The climate witnesses have been a valuable instrument across many countries. Through this programme, Oxfam was able to bring the voices of poor and vulnerable people directly to global policy environments.

## Media

- Oxfam's media impact was impressive in terms of the volume of coverage. Between COP14 and COP15, Oxfam's media hits at these events roughly doubled.
- At UNFCCC, Oxfam's media capacity and service to journalists was considered to be comparable to that offered by Greenpeace and WWF.
- Oxfam is considered to offer journalists a well-rounded package: a nice story, a credible organization, good and quick analysis, an opinion on the human dimension and a nice photo.
- The synergies between public stunts and media relations were considered a valuable part of Oxfam's media capacity, with the content of many news stories covering stunts.
- There were different views on branded versus unbranded media coverage, and how each may have more or less impact given different contexts.

## Alliances and networks

- During the CCC, Oxfam played a key role in facilitating, funding, and supporting the formations of various coalitions around climate change. Partners had a high regard for Oxfam who often underplayed their own branding in support of the coalitions' identity.
- Oxfam's work with the private sector resulted in the heads of well established UK-based companies joining Oxfam in direct lobbying of the UK Prime Minister. Likewise, Oxfam played an active role with the corporate leaders group, which included contributions to their joint policy positions.
- From partnerships, Oxfam gained partners' expert and local knowledge, support for implementing activities, credibility (especially in the South), capacity and the ability to express views they would otherwise not necessarily say. Partners benefited from Oxfam's credibility, financial expertise, development knowledge, campaigning support, financial assistance and a pleasant working relationship.

## Emerging issues

- **North/ South tension:** Although respondents acknowledged that Oxfam has made an effort to engage country offices in the South, some staff feel that not enough investment has been made. When conducting policy analysis and planning campaign objectives and strategies, informants felt the process rolled down from the Head Office. There is a felt need to increase the human resource capacity in country teams and regional offices.
- **BASIC shelter:** In the lead up to the COP15, the BASIC negotiating bloc emerged, as countries classified as developing countries but which are fast becoming the major polluters, with one member, China, now the world's leading

greenhouse gas emitter. Many considered that the BASIC group's position and role in the G77 and China created tensions, with some advocating the break up of this group and others wanting to hold it together. Oxfam officially advocates keeping the group together, though staff hold a multitude of views on this subject. This may have led to the contradictory criticism that Oxfam was trying to hold together the bloc, whilst also seeking the opposite, to break them up.

- **Switching on/off:** There was broad agreement that Oxfam shifts its campaigning priorities too quickly, which hinders their ability to build effective relationships with the media, policymakers and civil society partners. Partners fear being left in a difficult position if Oxfam shifts priorities, and lowers their support for a climate change deal.
- **Gender mainstreaming:** Oxfam GB has internalized gender mainstreaming within the CCC. However, many agreed that they have been only timid actions and that gender has not yet been fully mainstreamed within the campaign. There is a need to do more gender disaggregation in research and to give women a more prominent role in policy debates within the organization, and when relating to the outside world.
- **Credibility:** Oxfam is regarded as a highly credible organization. They are perceived as a legitimate and authoritative source of information, particularly in regard to climate impacts on poor people. Reasons cited for their credibility include being a charitable organization, their global network, work on the ground, quality research publications, consistent quality work over many years, and their pragmatism. This credibility was cited as a key success factor in political lobbying, media relations, and building alliances, as Oxfam could leverage their strong reputation to forge consensus among a broad political spectrum of organizations.
- **Quality of their staff:** CCC staff were frequently praised during this evaluation. Oxfam GB would not have got to this point if it were not for the professional and human calibre of their staff.



*This painting, Flood in Bangladesh, was created by students in Jessore, south-western Bangladesh. Every year, cyclones and monsoon rains cause the massive rivers that come together as they reach the Bay of Bengal to burst their banks. This canvas depicts how communities have to cope whenever the floods come. Part of Oxfam's Canvas for Change Campaign, it was one of sixteen canvases illustrating the human impact of climate change around the world that were exhibited at the UN Climate Negotiations in Poznan, Poland, 2008, to act as a reminder of how millions of poor people who are already feeling the impacts of climate change, must be at the heart of negotiations. Photo credit: Oxfam*

## Acronyms and Terms

Acronym	Term
AEZ	Agro-ecological zones
ANC	African National Congress
APPG	All-Party Parliamentary Group
BASIC	UNFCCC negotiating bloc including Brazil, South Africa, India and China
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BUP	Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad
CAN	The Climate Action Network
CC	Climate change
CCC	Climate Change Campaign
CCPT	Climate Change Project Team
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
COOT	Counting Oxfam's Outcomes Together
COP	Conferences of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
COP15	The 15 <sup>th</sup> COP held in Copenhagen, December 2009
CSRL	Campaign for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
ENB	Earth Negotiations Bulletin
EU	European Union
GB	Great Britain
GCCA	Global Campaign for Climate Action
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LCA	Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention
LMTS	Long Term Mitigation Strategy
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
MVC	Most vulnerable countries
OA	Oxfam America
OGB	Oxfam Great Britain
OI	Oxfam International
PACJA	Pan African Climate Justice Alliance
PPM	Parts-per-million
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on climate change
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
YAC	Youth Action Climate

The purpose of this evaluation is to assess Oxfam GB's ability to influence debates, policies and practices at national, regional and global levels that support a fair, safe, and binding global climate change deal. A fair deal would significantly reduce developing country emissions while supporting poor countries in their efforts to tackle and cope with the effects of climate change. An ambitious deal would ensure global greenhouse gas emissions peaked no later than 2015, and that greenhouse gas concentrations remain below 350ppm. A binding deal would offer a legal and enforceable framework.

Internationally, Oxfam affiliates work together to campaign on climate change, under the leadership of Oxfam International. When working together at the international level, Oxfam offices operate as a team and, regardless of their national affiliations, brand their collective action as “Oxfam” plain and simple. However, there are a number of distinctions between Oxfam offices. To provide perspective on the numerous campaigns, this evaluation is just one of many which are simultaneously examining different parts of the international CCC.

This evaluation is limited to Oxfam GB and a combination of their own country offices and those that have received funds or technical support, but which in some cases were member of other Oxfam affiliates. Oxfam GB's global campaign covers their country and their respective Oxfam affiliates (in brackets): Bangladesh (OGB), Bolivia (OGB), Brazil (OI), Ethiopia (OA), Haiti, India (OIndia), Indonesia (OGB), Kenya, Malawi, Nepal, Philippines (OGB), Russia (OGB), South Africa (OGB), Uganda (OGB), UK (OGB) and Vietnam (OGB). Although the evaluation covers Oxfam GB as a whole, three case studies are featured: Bangladesh, South Africa and the United Kingdom.

Despite these distinctions, many of the campaign's geographic boundaries and departmental affiliations were difficult to define. For instance, at the UNFCCC process, all Oxfam affiliates worked under Oxfam International and operated as one organization. In this context, there was no clear distinction between the work of Oxfam GB, Oxfam India, or Oxfam America (OA). Additionally, in the UK the Oxfam GB global campaign focuses more on regional and global campaigning, but is distinct from Oxfam's domestic UK campaign. However, there was considerable overlap of staff, and at times units were indistinguishable. Additionally, in regards to the country offices covered in the evaluation, we received reports from some offices that were outside the scope of this evaluation, while some country offices within its scope did not return their reports on time.

The evaluation aims to help Oxfam staff learn from the feedback, gain a new perspective on their campaign's performance and make informed decisions when planning the CCC's future strategies. The evaluation timeframe covers a period from roughly March 2008 to December 2009. However, the majority of available documentation and evidence covers 2009.

This evaluation is structured as follows: It first presents the methods chapter, which outlines the evaluation objectives and research approach used. The campaign description provides a descriptive overview of the campaign. Then four findings chapters are presented, which cover the Oxfam GB's global campaign, then the three case study countries: Bangladesh, South Africa and the UK. Monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) is discussed and afterwards, the conclusions and then the final recommendations are presented. The appendix provides supplementary material such as tables and figures, as well as technical details.

## 2. Methodology

This evaluation follows a seven-step process: (1) engaging stakeholders and conducting a needs assessment; (2) describing the campaign; (3) refining the evaluation design; (4) gathering credible evidence; (5) consolidating data and writing the report; (6) sharing the draft report with Oxfam for feedback then finalization; and finally, (7) ensuring the lessons are learned and shared.

The first step was to understand how the evaluation might be used and what Oxfam staff needed to learn from the final report. At the same time, we constructed a description of the global Oxfam GB campaign. After better understanding the needs and the scope of the campaign, we then designed a mixed methods evaluation approach. Within the framework of the logic model (a description of how Oxfam believes change happens), a number of questions were drawn up. In answering these questions, we drew from the best available evidence across a range of sources, such as interviews, surveys, third party research, documents and our own independent research. The correlation between these different sources of information was high. This report presents the main findings and answers to those questions on the basis of this evidence.

During the evaluation, the following research tools and data sources were used:

### **Preliminary needs assessment with management and staff**

Critical to the evaluation process was to ensure that the final report would be relevant to the end users. It was important to start with an accurate description of the campaign's purpose and *modus operandi*. Telephone consultations with nine key staff and an online needs-assessment survey of 24 staff members helped to shape the evaluation design.

The original ToRs were combined with several questions raised during the needs assessment, prioritized according to need and organized within the evaluation's logic model framework. Some questions were rejected on the basis that they were too hypothetical or speculative to be answered, or that they implied a variety of untested assumptions. In line with the ToRs, emphasis was given to questions regarding outcomes and impacts. Others were kept in mind as issues to be explored, but not systematically examined.

### **Desk review**

Oxfam provided numerous documents, including strategy documents, reports, media briefings and research publications. We also reviewed a number of third party reports and official documents from organisations such as UNFCCC or APPG and declarations from conferences (like the MVC in Bangladesh).

### **Stakeholder map**

We used a stakeholder map to identify and classify Oxfam GB partners and staff members involved with the campaign. Oxfam GB partners and staff were classified according to units of analysis (research, popular mobilisation, media, or advocacy); importance (key, relevant, occasional); and geographical scope. The map served two purposes: it provided a snapshot of the range of Oxfam GB CCC partners; and the evaluation team used it to select potential interview and survey respondents.

### **In-depth informant interviews**

The team conducted semi-structured interviews with 57 key informants selected based on the stakeholder map. Efforts were made to ensure a range of voices were represented. For each of the potential interview groups, questions were drawn up that addressed some of the core evaluation questions and also intersected with their background. Although the interview sheets were highly structured, we freely followed-up on any emerging issues that appeared relevant to the core questions.

### **Online survey**

To ensure that a maximum number of views were represented, and to collect more quantitative responses, a web survey was conducted, covering impressions of the global Oxfam GB campaign and the three national case studies. We sent out invitations to 226 people and 116 people responded, representing a response rate of over 50%. After screening the responses and removing six for being highly incomplete or potentially bogus, there were 110 responses, out of which 104 completed every question asked.

### **Oxfam GB monitoring data**

Oxfam has a wealth of monitoring data that was useful for this evaluation. Some of it exists as raw data, queries from COOT, publications, and occasionally ad hoc records. Much of the data is decentralized across different systems and departments. We are grateful for the support of many Oxfam staff who provided data for this evaluation, and in particular, those who conducted customized analysis such as providing a financial breakdown by the logic model. However, it was not possible to obtain all the data we requested, and as a result, we had to draw on data that was available by the deadline. We also drew on a number of third party data sources, including Oxfam coded data from the YouGov public opinion poll, and various sources identified by Oxfam's Marketing Intelligence Unit.

### **Independent research**

To provide some perspective on Oxfam's work, and strengthen the empirical basis of this evaluation, we conducted our own independent research. This included: a systematic search of UNFCCC publications and library; a time-series analysis of UK print media based on text abstracted from the Lexis-Nexis database; search engine trends from Google; a bibliographic web impact analysis of all Oxfam CC publications based on the LexiURL search application (Thelwall, <http://lexiurl.wlv.ac.uk>); and a search of references to Oxfam's publications in the ISI Web of Knowledge social science database. During the evaluation, Greenpeace and WWF continually came up as a peer organizations frequently compared to Oxfam. Both organizations offered a convenient benchmark, as environmental NGOs that have been campaigning around climate change for many years. Consequently, in some cases, to place Oxfam's work in perspective we use Greenpeace and WWF for comparison.

### **Basic Efficiency Resource (BER) analysis**

We conducted a Basic Efficiency Resource (BER) to provide perspective on which activities were most or least effective, given their resources, in terms of their contributions to policy outcomes or impacts. The activities assessed were based on the first round of interviews, and assessments were made by survey respondents. Throughout this evaluation, we refer to the BER analysis chart.

### **Ethics**

During this evaluation, all informants were told about the research project and offered the option of confidentiality. To this end, the researchers are protecting participants' identity by holding all data in confidence, and within the report we describe all informant views in plural to mask the identity of individuals who could easily be identified. When requested, we have not published the names of individuals. Moreover, we have treated and held all documentation provided by the Oxfam GB as highly confidential.

### **Attribution challenges**

Assessing impact in complex social and political contexts is difficult, and readers need to keep some of the following challenges in mind. First, at regional and global levels, climate change policy is negotiated behind closed doors, and many informants rely on third party information. Second, our access to people who could offer an insider's perspective on climate change policy varied across the four studies: access to policy insiders was significant in Bangladesh; in South Africa and the EU we only had access to one person; and in the UK we relied on external sources. Third, many organizations (including Oxfam in some instances) consider that the less credit they take for their lobby work, the more influence they can exert. Therefore, it has been difficult to distinguish Oxfam's work from that of other actors. Consequently, many of the policy impact claims rest on informant views of Oxfam's contribution to policy within complex social contexts, rather than direct sole responsibility.

## 3. Campaign Description

In 2001, three Oxfam affiliates launched their first global campaign on making trade fair. Many hailed it a success, demonstrating that Oxfam could use global campaigning as a tool to achieve policy change, but not all Oxfam staff were convinced at the time. However, by around 2004, consensus emerged among a larger number of Oxfam affiliates that global campaigning could be an effective tool for the organization. Soon after, in 2005, Oxfam was involved in the Make Poverty History campaign, which was another huge success. However, the campaign ended in 2005, and this left Oxfam exploring options for their next global campaign.

Over several years, climate change had been an emerging issue across political and non-profit agendas. Traditionally, it was considered an environmental issue, outside the scope of Oxfam's work. Over time, more and more Oxfam staff began making linkages between their work on poverty and rights, and climate change, including unusual weather patterns negatively affecting vulnerable people, the potential impacts of climate change on the world's poor, and the need to address adaptation to aid people already feeling the effects. Moreover, they realised that climate change could undermine all of the Millennium Development Goals.

At this time, Oxfam's analysis team had a strong relationship with the UNDP Human Development Report team. UNDP's research on climate change may have helped convince some Oxfam GB staff that climate change was a top priority relevant to Oxfam's work. At the same time, with the Kyoto protocol expiring in 2012, and a global drive to fill this vacuum with a new, post-Kyoto global deal, Oxfam staff judged that the organization had a short window to lobby for a political outcome that could result in lasting, long-term impacts for the world's poor. Thus, climate change became a top priority for some parts of Oxfam GB. At the time, it was considered controversial, as some staff opposed it, and this has been a source of tension that still lingers today. The initial disagreement appears to exist still as a minor tension, but there is widespread recognition that climate change is an important issue for Oxfam.

Within Oxfam GB, the CCC is firmly up and running and is a recognized and resourced core priority. It is firmly mainstreamed into Oxfam's 2010/11 to 2012/13 strategic plan, under which helping poor people cope with the impacts of climate change is considered a contribution to work on the right to economic justice. At the same time, Oxfam also implements programmes that help communities adapt to the adverse effects of climate change. These programmes are in their infancy and Oxfam staff can see them becoming critical to the organization's work in the future.

Oxfam's CCC primarily focused on seeing a fair and safe deal come out of the 2009 intergovernmental UNFCCC process at COP15, in Copenhagen, Denmark. This did not happen. The event in Copenhagen has been described as a “breakdown” and a “circus”, and without any doubt many regard it as a deep disappointment. No global consensus was reached. As a result, Oxfam staff have been rethinking their next moves and the global campaign is poised to continue pursuing its objectives in the year ahead.

### 3.1. Campaign Structure

Oxfam's CCC exists under the leadership of Oxfam International, which includes numerous Oxfam affiliates and country offices, and involves coalitions, partnerships and relationships at global, regional and national levels. The global and national campaigns in this evaluation are organic. They exist within complex network of overlapping boundaries and interdependent cooperation. To describe the current campaign and clarify the boundaries used in this evaluation, the following definitions are used:

1. **Oxfam International** comprises a family of 14 Oxfam affiliates.
2. **Oxfam GB's global campaign** is a part of the Oxfam International global campaign. When describing the Oxfam GB global campaign, it is difficult to separate contributions from other Oxfam offices and the domestic UK campaign.
3. **Bangladesh** is an Oxfam GB office, but their CCC is funded by Oxfam GB, Oxfam Novib and Oxfam Australia. The Campaign in Bangladesh is also supported by Oxfam America. The Bangladesh office is the secretariat for a national coalition called the Campaign for Sustainable and Rural Livelihoods (CSRL). When evaluating the Bangladesh CCC, much of the analysis overlaps with the work of the CSRL, rendering any clear distinctions impractical.

4. **South Africa** includes the national CCC team (staffed by one person) working alongside the Southern Africa Regional Centre that covers six countries. CCC was essentially an OGB campaign but Oxfam Novib also supported the initial stages of research and strategic thinking.
5. The **UK campaign** describes Oxfam GB's domestic campaign, which frequently appears to overlap with staff involved in the global campaign, for example with research and policy analysis. In addition, there is considerable overlap between the national and global campaigns' efforts to shift the UK position to leverage influence in the EU and beyond.

### 3.2. Logic Model (theory of change)

Although there are a wide variety of terms used to describe Oxfam's in-house approach to campaign design, the CCC follows a standard recipe that starts with *power analysis*, follows *Oxfam's generic campaigning model*, and devises activities as described in the *CC impact chain*. These various theories, processes, and approaches to campaign design represent the conceptual basis for the CCC. We have united these various ideas in a logic model that describes how the CCC expects to foster change.

#### Power analysis

Once a campaign is decided, Oxfam's in-house approach is to use "power analysis" to identify actors who can influence the desired outcomes. The process begins by identifying the campaign's goals, then working backwards to identify the *champions* who can help realize those goals, the *blockers* who may obstruct achievement of the goals, and the *swinglers* who are actors that could be swayed to either support or obstruct. Based on this analysis, Oxfam tailors their campaigns to support the *progressive forces* (champions).

The power analysis is carried out through a negotiating process between Oxfam staff who work closest to the targeted policy environment. An example comes from Oxfam's 2009 CCC strategic plan, which presented a power analysis that displayed the EU as progressive, as one of the most supportive of a 2 degree Celsius goal and also one of the most powerful actors in terms of supporting this goal. Given this analysis, Oxfam has placed considerable emphasis on engaging the EU directly and through UK political processes.

#### Oxfam's generic campaigning model

The primary theory of change informing Oxfam campaigns has many names, such as *Oxfam's campaigning model*, *campaigning tools* or *the generic campaigning model*, and is conceived in different ways: as concentric rings or through a "mixing board" metaphor when looking at the model over time. For lay audiences, it has even been described as a jelly doughnut. We will use the term *Oxfam's generic campaigning model* when referring to it. There are also various views on what the model is, and how it works. This diversity may be rooted in its gradual development or the fact that it is tailored to campaigns depending on their stage, with some parts being more relevant at start-up and less relevant once the campaign is underway.

Oxfam's generic campaigning model starts with a broad vision and strategy, then incorporates the generic campaigning model's elements around that vision. These elements include:

1. **Programme linkages (within OGB):** Drawing on relations and knowledge across OGB programmes and country offices.
2. **Research and analysis:** Developing a deep understanding of the issue.
3. **Policy development and power analysis:** Determining Oxfam's policy position.
4. **Lobbying:** Act on the power analysis to encourage progressive forces to bring about the desired change.
5. **Media:** Engaging the media to generate coverage that influences public and political audiences.
6. **Popular mobilisation:** Activities to engage the public.
7. **Alliances/Networks (external to OGB):** Working within the global Oxfam network and with external partners.

### 3. Campaign Description

Oxfam GB is so committed to the generic campaigning model that they not only structure their campaigns according to it, but have also used it to structure the *Campaign's and Policy Division* at their Oxford Head Office. The division has sections focused on media, lobbying, popular mobilisation, etc., each of which has staff dedicated to Oxfam's different campaigns. In a matrix design, each campaign has a coordinator who has access to specialists in each of the generic campaigning model areas. Following this structure, Oxfam GB runs simultaneous campaigns on a range of topics. Oxfam staff consider this matrix model to be effective, although a number of people argued that it is too centred on Head Office and does not sufficiently include voices from country offices.

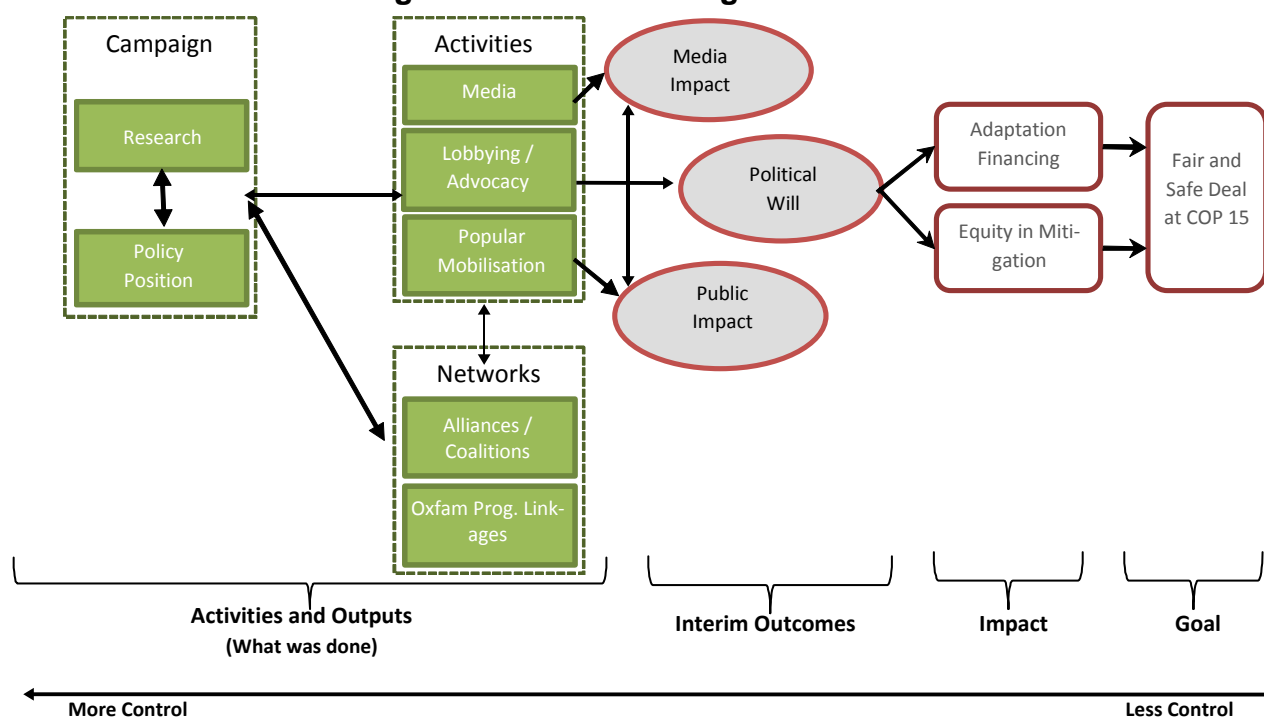
#### CC impact chain

The *CC impact chain* is a logic model designed for the Oxfam Climate Change Project Team (CCPT). It is used primarily in OGB to gain clarity on campaign planning and coordination. At the beginning of the year, staff update the CC impact chain by adding their intended activities to the model, which shows how they might lead to the campaign's policy outcomes. As the CCC tries to balance long-term planning with responsiveness to short-term opportunities, the right side of the CC impact chain presents the long-term strategic goals, which rarely change, and the left side presents activities, which are in constant flux.

#### Evaluation logical model

We devised the logic model for this evaluation (Figure 1) by combining *Oxfam's generic campaigning model* with the right-hand side of the CC impact chain. Across the two, media, public, and political will were all identified, with political will being the primary way to achieve a fair and safe CC deal. The left side of the logic model is operational, and the right hand side describes outputs and goals, primarily the ultimate goal: a global deal that is binding, fair and ambitious (on adaptation financing and mitigation targets).

**Figure 1: Evaluation Logic Model**



This model adopts the following definitions:

- *Activities* (in sphere of control) are specific tasks that result in outputs.
- *Outputs* (in sphere of control) are tangible things that have been done and can be counted.
- *Outcomes* (potentially outside sphere of control) are generally short-term achievements resulting from outputs but which may be difficult to measure.
- *Impacts* (potentially outside sphere of control) are generally longer-term achievements which represents the campaign's overreaching goals.
- *Ultimate goal* (outside the sphere of control) is a huge goal, whose achievement may be far outside the reach and power of an organization. This is a goal that institutions may strive to attain, and helps to unify staff in the programme.

## 3. Campaign Description

To achieve the expected effects (outcomes, impact, and the ultimate goal), Oxfam performs activities aligned with their theory of change. The scope of activities is so large that no single Oxfam staff member was aware of all of them, nor was there any list of all activities. Consequently, this evaluation has focused on the CCC's functional areas, which match its theory of change. Within this framework, the evaluation has only focused on campaign activities that have emerged during the course of the evaluation. These activities are targeting a number of outcomes and impacts as follows:

### Outcomes

#### Increase national *political will*:

- Encourage progressive forces that impact political will
- Thwart opposing forces that could decrease political will

#### Impact on *media* to help increase political will

#### Impact on *public that contributes to increased political will*

### Goal and Impacts

Fair and safe global climate change regime in place by the end of 2012:

#### Adaptation financing

- Rich countries recognised the need to support/finance adaptation actions in developing countries, recognizing they are responsible
- Financing beyond ODA.

#### Equitable mitigation

- No more than 2 degree increase
- Based on historic responsibility and capacity

## 3.3. Finance

As shown in Table 1, over the last two years, the Oxfam GB CCC has cost roughly £7.4 million pounds, and the cost has grown from approximately £2.2 million in the first year, to £5.2 million in its second year. The largest cost increase has been in popular mobilisation and increasing programme linkages between Oxfam country offices.

The rapid cost increase is consistent with growing campaign outputs and impacts, such as the increase in publications, media attention, Google search trends, and others discussed in the findings sections.

Fitting campaign expenditure to the evaluation logic model was far from straightforward. Thus, these numbers represent an approximation based on a number of assumptions, subject to particular limitations. First, considering the assumptions mentioned above, it is possible that numbers may have shifted categories depending on how a particular item was classified. Second, the costs of research and policy positions were combined for convenience. Third, the large increase of spending on popular mobilisation reflects more than just stunts, but broad grass roots efforts at public engagement and mobilisation.

**Table 1: Oxfam's CCC Financial Estimate (2008/9 to 1009/10)**

Activities	2008/9		2009/10		Total
	UK (£'m)	Non UK (£'m)	UK (£'m)	Non UK (£'m)	
Research and policy position	0.1		0.1		<b>0.2</b>
Programme linkage	0.2		0.3	0.6	<b>1.1</b>
Media	0.2		0.3	0.1	<b>0.6</b>
Lobby	0.2		0.2	0.2	<b>0.6</b>
Popular mobilisation	0.3	0.5	1.3	0.9	<b>3</b>
Alliances	0.1		0.2	0.1	<b>0.4</b>
<b>Total direct costs</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>5.9</b>
Operational costs	0.1		0.2		<b>0.3</b>
Organisational costs	0.5		0.7		<b>1.2</b>
<b>Total indirect costs</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1.5</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>7.4</b>

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

Although the Oxfam GB's CCC's ultimate goal, to achieve a fair and safe global climate change deal, did not materialize in 2009, it has achieved a lot and continues to pursue this goal. Overall, the campaign is well regarded, and evidence shows a number of significant social impacts and contributions to relevant policy. During this evaluation, there was a high degree of agreement between internal and external informants, the online survey, and third party data sources. Although this chapter is organized according to the logic model, the outcomes and impacts were the result of a holistic campaign approach that blended research, alliance building, popular mobilisation, media, and lobbying.

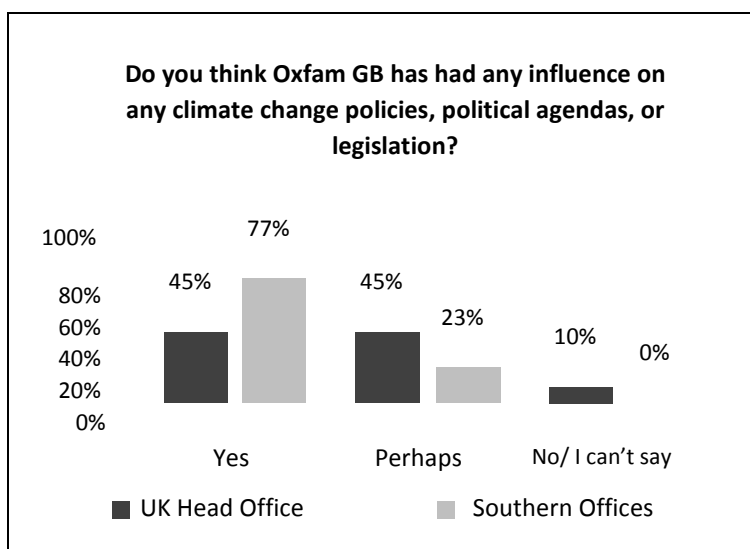
### 4.1. Contributions

One challenge in assessing contributions to climate change policy is the complexity of the ongoing global negotiations. At present, countries are making proposals and counter offers, and potentially holding back to strengthen their negotiating position. In this context, there are many moving targets. Policy contributions made one day could be lost the next, such as when additionality was added to UNFCCC's LCA track text in Barcelona was only to be removed in Copenhagen.

Informants believed that politicians held Oxfam's CCC in good regard, in particular their research and policy work. However, the CCC has contributed more to the climate change policies of Southern than Northern governments. While Oxfam is good at supporting Southern governments, some believe it may overestimate its capacity to

influence Northern governments. This distinction was echoed by Oxfam staff (Figure 2), with almost 80% of those from Southern Oxfam offices believing that their CCC had impacted policy, political agendas or legislation, and only 45% from the UK Head Offices considering that their campaign had comparable impacts.

Figure 2



### Political actors

#### UNFCCC

Oxfam's performance at COP15 impressed many and their work was mentioned frequently, in various contexts. Some respondents felt that delegates and NGOs at COP15 knew Oxfam's policy and research work quite well. Others stated that delegates felt the effects of Oxfam's various campaign activities, whether direct lobbying, research dissemination or mobilisation of public support such as the 100,000 people who attended the TckTckTck demonstration midway through COP15. Oxfam is regarded as an important partner of CAN, the largest network of organizations engaged with the UNFCCC process. One informant commented that they could see Oxfam's political engagement moving from the national to the global context. As shown in the research section, Oxfam's financing research is credited with influencing the global debate on climate change financing, adding weight to these perceptions.

#### European Union

Alongside WWF, Greenpeace, and CAN, Oxfam is a key NGO pushing climate finance up the agenda in the European Union. One NGO policy analyst argued that finance was not on the EU agenda in 2008. By bringing climate financing to the newspapers, alongside their research and lobbying, Oxfam helped make the adaptation financing case. Additionally, internal informants cited contributions to the EU's short-term financing position and their work on bunker fuels.

#### Global South

The strongest evidence of contributions to political processes is found across the global South. It is in the South where Oxfam often exerted influence through supporting local partners, governments, and civil society coalitions. However, Oxfam country offices had varying levels of engagement, depending on the priority that their management gave to the CCC

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

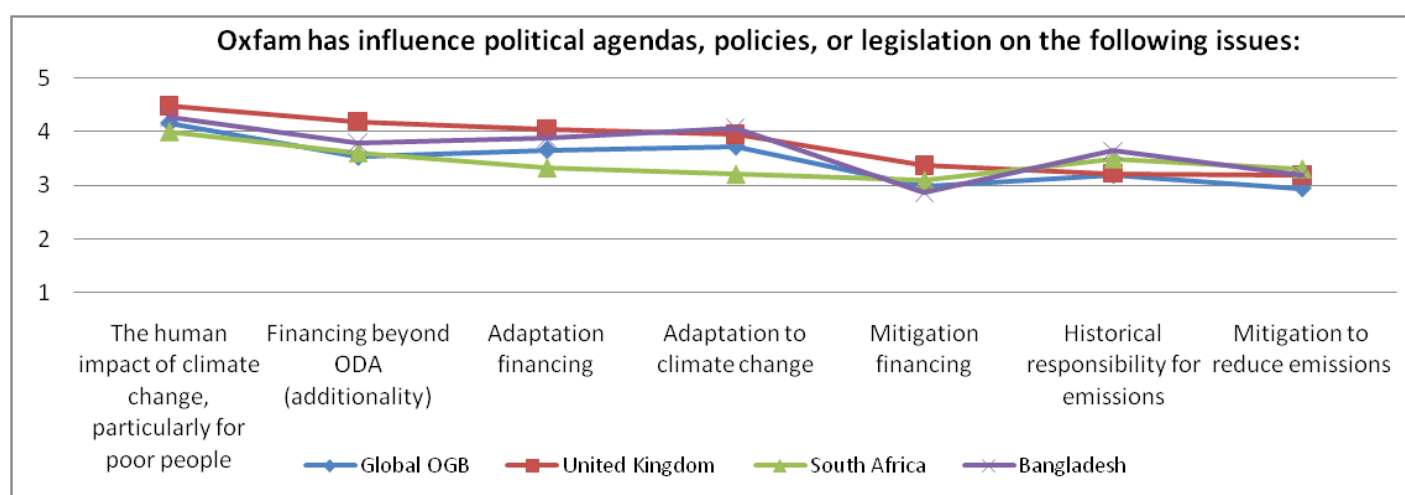
and whether there was a champion among the staff motivated to campaign on the issue. Concrete policy contributions were reported in Zambia, Philippines, Malawi, and Bangladesh. Additionally, we were informed that with the support of Oxfam, PACJA contributed to shaping Africa's position during the third special session on climate change held in Nairobi. We have no clear evidence of concrete policy contributions in emerging economies, though Oxfam in South Africa, Brazil, and India reported contributions to policy debates and good access to negotiators.

### Climate change issues

It is clear that Oxfam has made an impact on climate change politics and policy in regards to raising the relevance of human impacts and adaptation financing. A few informants from the South, claimed to have influenced debates on additionality and mitigation. The issue of historic responsibility was infrequently mentioned.

The chart in Figure 3 shows the issues, to which survey respondents believed Oxfam had made the greatest or least contribution. For each, we asked respondents if Oxfam had influenced any political agendas, policies or legislation. Findings are presented for Oxfam GB, Bangladesh, South Africa, and the UK. Overall, the trends are similar across the four campaigns. The following paragraphs discuss these findings in light of informant interviews and other evidence.

**Figure 3: Survey Question on the Nature of Political Impacts**



### Human impact and poverty

Oxfam has definitely strengthened the human dimension of climate change debates in political contexts, and this has contributed to raising the moral relevance of climate change. Although many actors routinely link climate change and human impacts, Oxfam was the most vocal organization, influencing dialogue on climate change and impacts on the poor. As a development organization working in countries around the world, Oxfam has high credibility in terms of representing developing country voices and describing firsthand experience of climate change impacts. This background gives Oxfam a unique role among organizations addressing climate change.

### Additionality

There are some examples where Oxfam raised awareness of additionality in the climate change negotiations and, in some cases, strengthened negotiators' ability to identify situations where additionality was relevant. However, this issue did not come up often.

Oxfam lobby the EU to address additionality, but additionality does not appear to be a priority within the EU. Perhaps this situation is also reflected in the temporary contribution to additionality policy within the UNFCCC process. At the Barcelona climate change Talks in 2009, Oxfam staff contributed to the additionality text being negotiated within the UNFCCC document<sup>1</sup>. In this document, there are two references to additionality (plus one duplication of a passage).

<sup>1</sup>UNFCCC/AWGLCA/2009/14

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

These passages make specific reference to funding that is additional to official development assistance commitments of 0.7 percent of GDP, including lower and higher percentages that were also on the agenda. However, the passages were enclosed in brackets, indicating they were on the agenda but not yet fully endorsed by other parties. This achievement was short-lived, as the passage was subsequently removed at COP15, but is concrete evidence of policy contributions within a volatile negotiating environment.

### Adaptation & adaptation financing

Oxfam made a major contribution towards the debates on adaptation financing. Most interviewees, at national, EU and UNFCCC levels, mentioned Oxfam's contributions to the financing debate, and we found a number of citations to Oxfam's financing research in UNFCCC's reports (discussed at length in the research section). At national level, Oxfam sought to shape climate finance policy by encouraging developed countries to take responsibility for meeting targets, such as lobbying the UK Treasury to find a way to finance the 200 billion dollars required to finance climate change adaptation.

Anecdotal evidence from Oxfam staff suggests that, when the 100 billion financing proposal was put forward at COP15, rumours circulated within the G77 and China negotiating bloc that Oxfam was behind the proposal. Also, according to Oxfam staff, at COP 14 in Poznan, Oxfam advocated for a 2% levy from the CDM to be used on other financial mechanisms for adaptation. In response, the Colombian Environment minister expressed support for contributions to developing countries. Informants told us that the statement related to prioritising MVC in the final COP15 Accord came directly from the Bangladesh delegation, which they had picked up from the MVC Civil Society conference organised by OI and CSRL.

### Historic responsibility

Although historic responsibility did not emerge as an area influenced by Oxfam, in the emerging issues section we discuss criticism levelled at Oxfam for advocating historic responsibility.

### Mitigation & mitigation financing

Oxfam appears to have contributed to shaping mitigation policy positions in developing countries, but not to have made significant impact on emitter nations. With support from Oxfam, PACJA helped to shift African negotiators in Nairobi to a common negotiation position that changed from calling for Annex 1 2020 targets of "25% to 40%" to calling for "at least 40%". In Bangladesh, the CCC contributed to a shift in government position from primarily discussing adaptation in international forums to being one of the few governments advocating for the 1.5-degree limit with an early peak by 2015. In the UK and EU, it is not clear whether Oxfam's campaign contributed to any lasting mitigation targets.

## 4.2. Lobbying

Survey informants considered lobbying as Oxfam's best tool for contributing to policy, and one that was appropriately funded<sup>2</sup>. There is a widespread view that Oxfam is an organization that policymakers consider realistic and pragmatic. Part of this is explained by their grounding in developing countries, the quality of their research, and their policy positions which often exist between various actors. In Northern governments, it was considered that Oxfam offered EU policymakers a shortcut to access Southern perspectives, which aided the design of policy representing developing country needs. In Southern governments, policymakers respect Oxfam because of their longstanding development and emergency relief work and their sharing of valuable information and intelligence. Many informants located Oxfam's positions between those of other actors, variously between the far left and right, between Northern and Southern, and between the idealistic demands of environmental organizations and the practical demands of science. Perhaps it is this position in the middle ground that led some informants to judge that European officials take Oxfam seriously and consider Oxfam's research to be based on sound analysis and within the realm of realistic proposals.

### Growing political contacts

Oxfam has significantly expanded its political contacts during the course of its campaign. Documentation shows that Ox-

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<sup>2</sup> See the BER analysis in Figure 9 for details.

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

fam began the campaign with 11 national/ negotiating blocs' policy contacts, and this number may date back to December 2007. By October 2008, there were 30 policy contacts, and after COP15 Oxfam had contacts and relations across 33 countries/ negotiating blocs. These figures are based on documented sources<sup>3</sup>; however, Oxfam staff believe the actual numbers are probably higher, with one estimate being over 40 policy contacts by the end of COP15.

Beyond the actual numbers, we know that in some countries, the strength of relationships ranged from superficial to highly collaborative, indicating a growth not just in breadth, but also depth of political relationships. In Bangladesh, Oxfam staff have played a significant role in governmental work around climate change, while in Europe, Oxfam maintains relations with many policy players in the UK and the EU. The growing quantity and quality of policy contacts demonstrates that Oxfam has continued building the types of relationships that empower it to increase its influence on climate change policy at national and global levels.

There was contradictory feedback on the effectiveness of the 'adopt a negotiator' programme, where young people build relationships with their national climate change negotiators. According to the BER analysis (Figure 9), the programme was not a very effective way of eliciting policy change, but several respondents felt that it was an effective way to build the types of relationships that extended Oxfam's political reach and was highly valued by participating young people. Moreover, we believe the current youth negotiators could one day become Oxfam's future, politically minded climate change activists.

### Support to Parties

Many Southern governments are ill-equipped to participate in the UNFCCC process, as indicated by publication "*On Behalf of My Delegation--A Survival Guide for Developing Country Climate Negotiators*" by the Institute for Environmental Studies which offers advice to developing country delegates. Oxfam supported developing countries with information and analysis that helped them negotiate a fair deal at COP15, and had staff members or partners in five Southern delegations: Bangladesh, Malawi, Haiti, Ethiopia and the Philippines. In some of these cases (Bangladesh, Malawi and the Philippines), Oxfam was able to exert considerable influence during the negotiations by supporting the delegations to shape their national position, and to gain access to information. According to one internal informant, COP15 was the first time that Malawi was able to present a position paper. Many argued that with more funds from Oxfam, more could have been done to support delegations.

### Timing

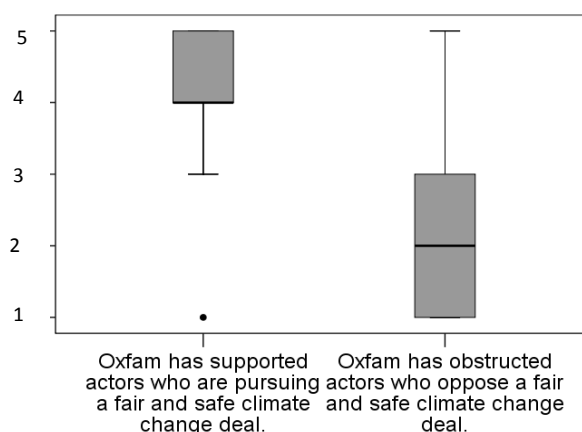
One UNFCCC insider noted that by the time major policy events come about, countries have clear marching orders and will not budge one millimetre. Thus, to have any impact, lobbyists need to demonstrate public opinion to politicians so that their governments can formulate appropriate policy positions in advance. During our preliminary interviews, Oxfam staff told us that they did not conduct lobbying at UNFCCC, but some informants believed that Oxfam was engaged in lobbying at these events, and argued that they needed to improve their timing, and do more ahead of policy events.

### Carrot and stick

The campaign has primarily focused on supporting progressive forces and has invested little effort in obstructing opponents. Most informants were unable to think of examples of negative campaigning. This consensus was supported further in the survey (Figure 4).

Nonetheless, we identified a few exceptional examples of "stick" tactics, despite the perception that Oxfam only uses "carrot" approaches. At the EU and in South Africa, it was felt that civil society pressure could counter balance pressure from industry. For instance, when the EU wishes to take policy forward, they consult a range of stakeholder groups. Oxfam's role at the EU, along with

Figure 4



<sup>3</sup> Starling, S. (2009) Oxfam engagement with Parties at COP 15. Oxfam.

<sup>4</sup> Two spread sheets of staff policy contacts covering October 2008 and December 2009.

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

other NGOs, provided a counterbalance to the interests of corporate lobbyists. Also in the EU, Oxfam was regarded as having strengthened the position of progressive nations, and weakened obstructive ones, by feeding information about national negotiating positions to the media, thus generating public pressure in support of progressive climate change negotiating positions. In another case, from the UK case study, Oxfam ran an effective campaign to stop a UK energy company from building a coal-fired power station while also lobbying the UK Government to support this call.

Despite these examples of confrontational campaigning, a number of staff expressed the desire to have done more, for instance, to have taken on the climate sceptics who generated substantial media coverage during the "climategate" scandal, when hackers illegally obtained emails from the University of East Anglia accusing the IPCC of conducting biased climate science.

Often the Oxfam CCC avoids confrontation, and takes a middle path, because of the global alliance. This is often a function of collaboration, not design. For instance, some members wished to single out the US Government to "name and shame", which Oxfam America argued would have been counterproductive. Some staff want to single out China, which others also consider potentially damaging for their Chinese relations, and counterproductive to the final objective of the campaign. Thus, Oxfam's global alliance requires the CCC to adopt a moderate negotiating position, which some consider a problem (as it restricts what can be said), but which others consider a benefit (because the organization gains a balanced perspective, which this research shows is fundamental to their political credibility).

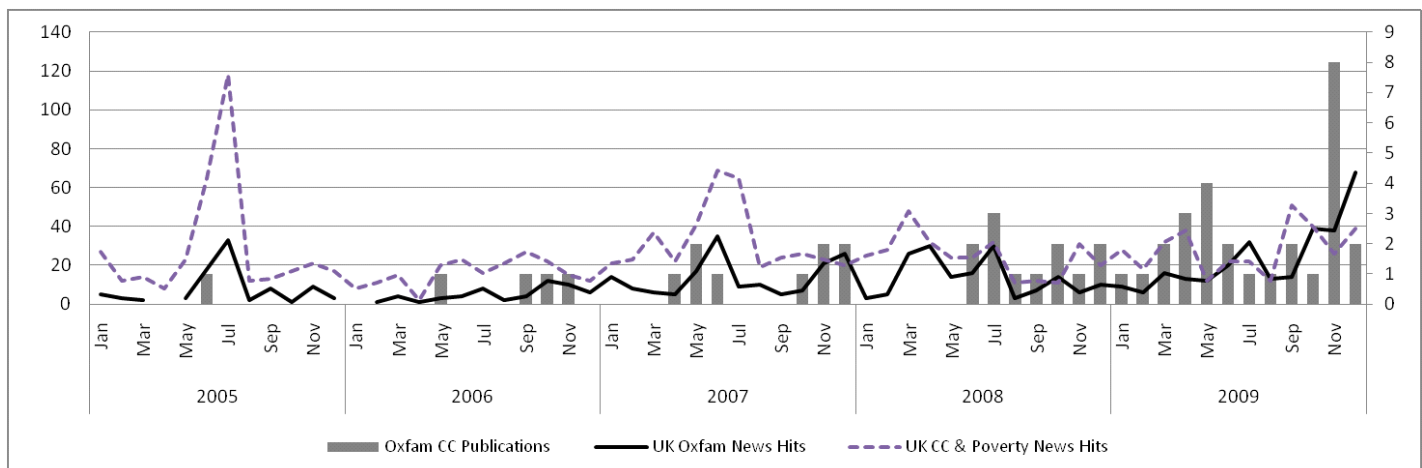
Given Oxfam's centrist position, they have never fully sided with radical progressive forces, whether governments like Bolivia or Venezuela or civil society movements. This was widely considered to be the right approach, although a few informants, both internal and external, felt they could have taken a stronger position at key moments.

### 4.3. Research

Oxfam's earliest report on climate change dates back to 1983, when they first wrote about the effects of adverse weather patterns on agriculture and the potential threat to the world's poor. Over the years, they have continued producing reports about climate change. Figure 5 presents a time-series chart showing the number of Oxfam publications on climate change per month. It also shows UK print news hits for the terms "climate change" and "Oxfam", and for stories that use the terms "climate change" and "poverty" in the same sentence.

The time-series chart shows that over the last two years, the number of climate change publications has increased dramatically, with many released to coincide with COP15. One informant said that though they may be expensive for Oxfam to produce, these publications offer value to many. Another said that because of frequent and regular publishing, many people go to Oxfam for their research.

**Figure 5: Oxfam Climate Change Publications and UK News (2005-2009)**



## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

### Perceptions of Oxfam's research

Oxfam papers have a small target audience. Many of our informants were unaware of Oxfam's papers and were not able to comment on them. However, those who knew Oxfam's research generally held it in high regard. Some regarded the research as influential and providing a good contribution, though the BER analysis (Figure 9) showed that survey respondents considered the contribution to be in-between other activities. Informants said the research papers were quoted quite a lot in the EU, had been discussed by government people at UNFCCC level, and referenced by many NGOs in CAN. In comparison to similar work, one informant voiced the view that the highest quality climate change research was produced by WWF, followed perhaps by Oxfam in second place.

Different publications have contributed to different impacts, depending on the type and use. For example, publications were variously targeted at the media, at policymakers or at educating civil society. Informants noted that Oxfam was good at translating complex technical and policy issues into a digestible format for broader audiences.

Critical views of Oxfam's publications were also expressed. Some informants regarded them as too Northern-based, others too focused on drawing news headlines, and others said there were just too many. Oxfam's highly-regarded publication on adaptation financing was initially heavily criticised, in part for artificially keeping the financing value artificially low at around 50 billion. Our own assessment of the impact of Oxfam's climate change publications based on web references and academic citations shows that they do not appear to have made any noteworthy impact on academic literature, although they are not targeted at academic audiences. One exception was Oxfam's financing paper, indexed in the ISI Web of Knowledge social science database.

### Noteworthy research

A number of pieces of research and publications came out of the evaluation positively. The publication "Hang Together or Separately? How global co-operation is key to a fair and adequate climate deal at Copenhagen" emerged as an important paper because of the influence it had in South Africa. Oxfam staff mentioned that "Beyond Aid: Ensuring adaptation to climate change works for the poor", a paper addressing the impact of diverting aid, was cited in a speech by Ed Miliband, UK Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change. Oxfam's national reports were well regarded in Southern countries and Oxfam supported national research was regarded as influential by governments.

Perhaps the strongest Oxfam publication, in terms of contributing to climate change policy, was the 2007 Raworth paper "Adapting to climate change: what's needed in poor countries and who should pay." Released before many people were thinking about financing, it is credited with having shaped the debate on climate financing. Across the board, this was the most talked about, most cited, and probably the Oxfam publication which made the greatest contribution to financing debates and policy proposals. Like many good innovations, this paper had a controversial birth, and there is a retrospective view that it sparked the debate on climate financing but also kept the numbers artificially low for a while. Our claims about the impact of this paper are based on numerous informant comments, and also our own independent search of UNFCCC documents (Appendix II.1) and web citations (Appendix II.2).

### Oxfam research in UNFCCC publications

As a relative newcomer to climate change campaigning, Oxfam made considerable contributions to UNFCCC publications, comparable to Greenpeace and WWF who have been engaged with the process for much longer.<sup>5</sup> Oxfam's contributions to the UNFCCC process are relatively new, with three records dating back to 2008. In contrast, Greenpeace's earliest record dates from 1990, while WWF dates from 1992. However, in a short period of time, Oxfam has been listed in six official UNFCCC publications, which is more than either WWF or Greenpeace.

The high number of citations is primarily attributed to the Oxfam's star publication "*Adapting to climate change: what's needed in poor countries and who should pay*", cited in four publications. Across UNFCCC publications it was common to treat Oxfam's financial estimates on par with the World Bank, Stern Review, IPCC, UNFCCC, UNDP, and Climate Works Foundation's Project Catalyst. Two additional references were due to participation in The Nairobi Work Programme and one for the 2006 publication "*Causing Hunger: an Overview of the Food Crisis in Africa*".

<sup>5</sup> Refer to Appendix II.1 for our search methods.

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One additional research contribution, highlighted by Oxfam staff, was another reference to Oxfam's financing paper within an official UNFCCC technical paper on financing (FCCC/TP/2008/7), published in November 2008. Oxfam staff noted that section three of this technical paper (on financial resources and investment for adaptation) was based on a paper that Oxfam had written and then used to participate in a workshop on the issue.

### 4.4. Alliances & Networks

Partnerships played a critical role in Oxfam's CCC. Partnerships and alliances were frequently cited as critical to the campaign's success, and this was sustained in the BER analysis which shows it to be the second most effective way to make policy contributions (Figure 9). Many staff reminded us that partnerships are central to how Oxfam works. As one member of staff put it: "Working with partners is part of Oxfam's soul."

#### Working in coalitions

During the CCC, Oxfam played a key role in facilitating, funding, and supporting the formation of various coalitions around climate change. Partners had a high regard for Oxfam who often underplayed their own branding in support of coalitions' identities. In this section, we review Oxfam's participation with CAN, GCCA/TckTckTck, the Corporate Leader's Group, various national alliances, and partners who attended COP15.

CAN is a worldwide network of over 450 NGOs working to promote government and individual action to limit human-induced climate change to ecologically sustainable levels. Within CAN, Oxfam is a strong and active partner, and Oxfam's finance work has benefited the network. With a strong understanding of both financing and policy, Oxfam provided a unique perspective, including bringing additionality to the debate. CAN considers that Oxfam helped them improve their campaigning, providing sound strategic thinking, a "holistic campaigning approach", and a public stunt expertise that was similar to those of Greenpeace but more focused on the links to human impacts. Oxfam's contacts with African countries has benefited CAN, which improved its work on the G20 because of insight offered by Oxfam staff.

As CAN is primarily comprised of organizations engaged in policy analysis and lobbying, their capacity to engage public audiences and ignite public passions is limited. Recognizing this gap, after Poznan, a number of organizations (WWF, Greenpeace, Avaaz and Oxfam among others) began discussing the formation of a global network better positioned to mobilize public support. The organization that emerged was the GCCA, and their flagship campaign - TckTckTck - became the largest citizen-focused campaign focused on COP15. During the formation of GCCA and adoption of the TckTckTck campaign, there were a number of internal tensions, to which Oxfam responded by advocating an inclusive campaign that could bring together various actors under a loose coalition structure, called "the flotilla".

TckTckTck was launched in the 100-day lead up to Copenhagen, to show that many groups were united to push international leaders to deliver a fair safe deal in Copenhagen. Oxfam were large supporters of TckTckTck, funding a full time member of staff to be the TckTckTck campaign manager; dedicating a staff member to build up Danish capacity to achieve the 100,000 persons march in Copenhagen; and doing much of their campaign work behind the TckTckTck brand. The Prince of Wales' Corporate Leaders' Group on Climate Change has worked with leaders from the private sector to engage in lobbying activities around the UNFCCC process. They have issued statements at COP13 in Bali, COP14 in Poznan, and COP15 in Copenhagen. Oxfam began working with the Corporate Leaders Group prior to COP14, and contributed to an earlier communiqué by strengthening emissions targets, developing country leadership in emission cuts, and including adaptation funding, among other elements. Subsequently, Oxfam made contributions to the Copenhagen Communiqué that was issued by business leaders of over 500 companies ahead of COP15, expressing a call from business for Governments to agree an ambitious deal at Copenhagen.

National partners who attended COP15 with Oxfam felt they had benefited, in terms of increasing their capacity to understand the negotiations. However, across countries, informants expressed that some partners funded to participate at COP15 did not have a clear role and their ability to contribute was underutilised. This raised questions on Oxfam's criteria for partner participation in global policy events.

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

### Quality of relationships

As shown in Figure 6, survey respondents slightly agreed that Oxfam's partners had benefited from their relationships, but they did not think that Oxfam had gained more. Although overall this suggests that people believe Oxfam may give more than it receives in partnerships, external informants felt that Oxfam gave more, while internal staff felt that Oxfam had given less.

When examining the benefits experienced by each side, Table 2 presents a list of the benefits experienced by Oxfam and their partners. Although most partnerships were generally perceived to be mutually beneficial, a few issues emerged. In global policy contexts, Oxfam staff may have drawn more policy information from their partners than they were sharing. Additionally, Oxfam played a passive rather than an active role, in engaging with global policy partners.

Figure 6

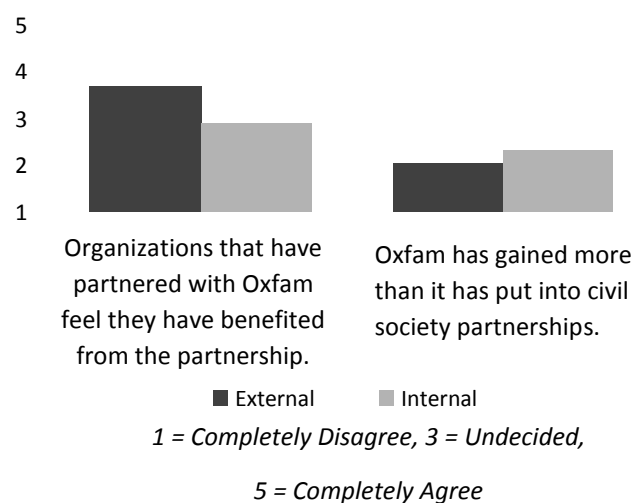


Table 2: What Oxfam and Partners Gain from Working Together

#### What Oxfam gets from partners

- Allow Oxfam to voice opinions by proxy which they would otherwise not say themselves
- Credibility (particularly in the South)
- Exchange of information
- Expertise in environmental issues (to supplement Oxfam's short time in CC)
- Implementing campaign activities
- Knowledge about national contexts
- Outreach
- Share efforts to engage huge complex political institutions

#### What partners get from Oxfam

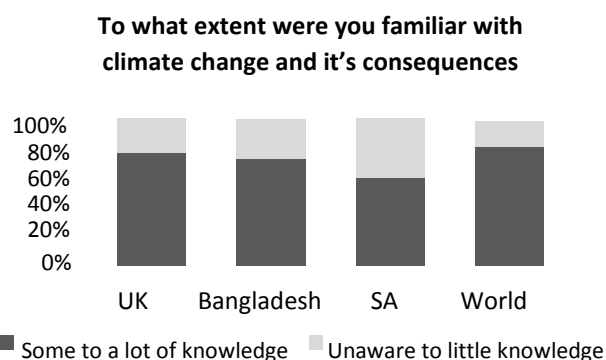
- A good strategic approach
- Access to a global network and an international perspective
- Credibility
- Expertise on finance, which many organizations are weak at
- Financial assistance
- Niche on the link between climate change and poverty, development, and social justice
- Technical support, in regards to climate change and campaigning
- They're nice to work with and are not overly Bureaucratic

### 4.5. Popular Mobilisation

Across all campaigns, Oxfam's public mobilisation work was frequently conducted through coalitions, often targeting partners' constituencies. The nature of these relationships is discussed in the alliances chapter, while this chapter looks at the output of those alliances, in terms of public mobilisation.

In 2009, across all Oxfam affiliates, people took over 1,691,000 actions as part of the global climate change campaign. Of these, the vast majority (1,480,000) were offline, with 211,000 people also participating in digital activities. These numbers are based on internal reporting and are known to be incomplete. One staff member estimated that if reporting were complete, there could have been over 2 million total activities in 2009. Out of this total, in the UK there were over 105,000 offline activities and roughly 30,000 digital activities.

Figure 7



Across the case study countries, the UK and Bangladesh held comparable awareness of the consequences of climate change, while South Africa was the least aware.

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

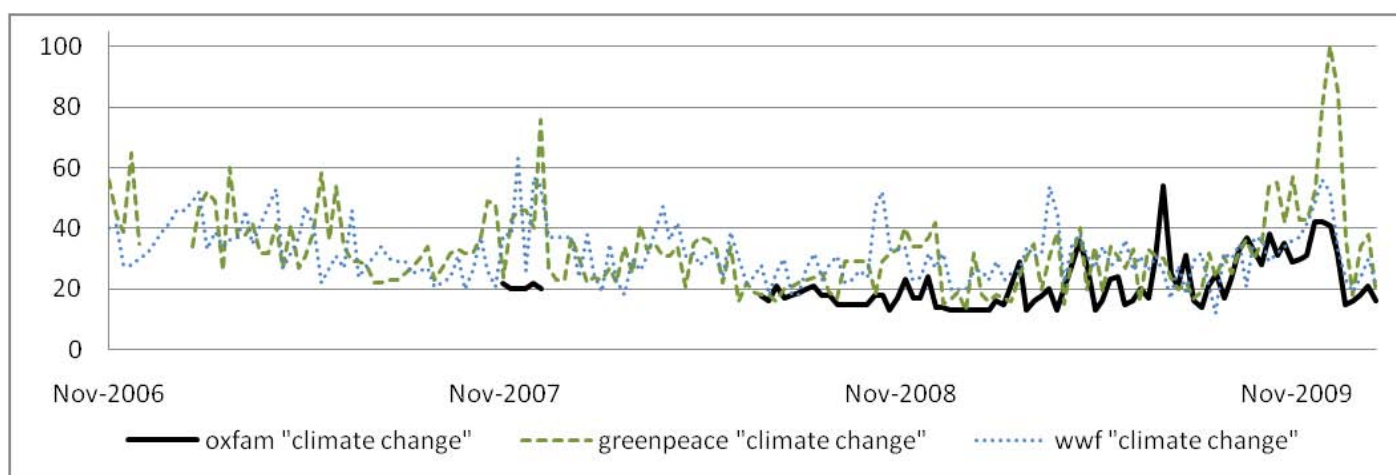
### First non-environmental organization associated with climate change

There is evidence that Oxfam has attained a niche role as the number one non-environmental organization associated with climate change. This association appears to be linked to their niche focus on climate change and human impacts. In the UK, research shows that Oxfam is recognized as the third organization associated with climate change, compared to Greenpeace and WWF.

### Public awareness of Oxfam's CCC in cyberspace

Analyses of web searches suggest that internet users began associating climate change with Greenpeace and WWF as far back as 2006, and this probably dates back much longer. They began associating Oxfam with climate change midway through 2008 and then by mid 2009, this association started to be comparable to that of Greenpeace and WWF. Figure 8 presents data extracted from Google Trends<sup>6</sup>, which shows this timeseries, and which demonstrates Oxfam's growing reputation as an organization tackling climate change. It is possible that this trend is associated with their large media impacts and online campaigning activities which included featuring climate change on Oxfam affiliate websites, numerous online outreach campaigns, blogging on climate change (which had peak hits around COP15), participation in the GCCA 'Climate Bloggers', and a Flickr account that received over 20,000 views. However, we did not receive the data required to make a more conclusive assessment of the online campaign.

**Figure 8: Web searches for organizations and climate change (2006-2009)**



### Climate hearings

Oxfam's climate hearings were events where people suffering the impacts of climate change could share their experiences in public. By the end of 2009, around 1.6 million people in over 30 countries had participated in a climate hearing. There is a consensus, especially among the country offices, that the hearings are a powerful tool, offering communities the opportunity to share their testimonies of how climate change is affecting their lives and send messages to world leaders. This activity ranked high in the BER analysis, in the top quarter of most effective activities, as demonstrated in Figure 9.

The climate hearing programme culminated in an International Climate Hearing during COP15 with Desmond Tutu, Mary Robinson and four Oxfam climate witnesses. The event generated extensive attention from the media and the public. The verdict of the hearing was handed to Yvo De Boer, UNFCCC Executive Secretary<sup>7</sup>, together with a branded lifer- ing. He was quoted as saying *"I'll hang myself with it if this goes wrong"*.

The climate hearings had clear intrinsic value. In many instances, they were implemented with a clear policy focus, as illustrated in the case studies of Bangladesh and South Africa. However, some respondents questioned whether they had any real influence on negotiators and the political leaders.

<sup>6</sup>The data from Google trends demonstrates that people have been searching Google for both ("Greenpeace" and "climate change") and ("WWF" and "climate change") from 2006 until the present. Searches for ("Oxfam" and "climate change") began appearing for the first time in 2007 and then midway through 2008, when Oxfam's climate change campaign was building up.

<sup>7</sup>On February 18th 2010, Yvo de Boer announced his July departure from his position as Executive Secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

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*Climate Change Hearings: 1.5 Million People, 36 Countries*

*Photo credits: Oxfam*

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

### Climate witnesses programme

The climate witnesses programme has been a valuable instrument to link climate change and poverty across many countries. At COP15, witnesses travelled to Copenhagen to testify at Oxfam International's International Climate Hearing and other global fora. Between them, they did over 60 interviews and spoke in 13 events. They testified in front of members of parliaments, the media and climate experts. Through this programme, Oxfam was able to bring the voice of poor and vulnerable people directly to global policy environments.

### Copenhagen rally

On the global day of action, 12 December 2009, roughly 100,000 people from around the world came together in Copenhagen under the GCCA's TckTckTck campaign to demand a fair outcome from world leaders at COP15. As the largest mobilisation on the day, this flagship event was organized in concert with over 2,500 events taking place in more than 125 countries. According to ENB news, 14 Dec 2009, this was one of the critical public expressions at COP15: "Inside the conference centre, groups of delegates gathered to watch live images of the demonstrators. Many were heard commenting on the incredibly large numbers of people urging Copenhagen to provide a meaningful outcome and set the world on a path to avoiding dangerous climate change. 'It feels good to know that many people out there are as invested in this as I am,' enthused one veteran negotiator."

Oxfam made considerable contributions to this event, including dedicating staff to build up domestic support half a year in advance, producing promotional materials, and substantial participation on the day. The GCCA coordinator for the mobilisation recognized Oxfam's contributions in terms of bringing wisdom and spirit, as well as having built a trusted reputation among the various actors.

### Impressions of public stunts

Oxfam's stunts are designed to generate international media attention in order to raise public awareness and increase political space for issues or, on specific occasions, to influence political negotiations. Oxfam have organized public stunts around numerous events, including COP13, COP14, and COP15. There were a range of views on Oxfam's stunts. Overall, the feedback was highly positive. Informants deemed Greenpeace's stunts to be most effective, and WWF to invest less effort in stunts. Between the two, Oxfam was seen to play a middle role, offering moderate stunts that delivered a message about climate change and human impacts.

One UNFCCC staff member mentioned the 2007 Bali Bears and the Copenhagen lifesavers as witty ways to drive home their message with simple symbols and images. The Bali Bears was deemed a successful stunt in Bali, and for their second appearance at COP15 they helped to generate significant news coverage in large media. They were frequently cited during the evaluation and staff considered the coordination between popular mobilisation and media units an example of highly synergistic cross-functional working. Furthermore, Oxfam's experience in organising public stunts contributed to capacity of the CAN network, according to one member.

Sceptical informants argued that stunts in general had little impact on policymakers, especially seasoned negotiators who come to the events with pre-conceived negotiating positions and who are used to the antics of NGOs. However, it was felt that the events could have a trickle down effect on public opinion through the media. Still others suggested Oxfam should make stronger links between their policy change objectives and the visual language used to express them. Oxfam's stunts were regarded as attention grabbing with no real impact, by some who advised Oxfam staff to think through their symbolic messaging, and the possible impact on audiences of the message imbedded within the stunt.

## 4.6. Media

Oxfam's media work ranked in the top quarter of activities believed to influence policy in the BER analysis (Figure 9). Oxfam's media impact was impressive, in terms of the number of times Oxfam was mentioned in the media. At COP14 in Poznan, Oxfam recorded 99 media hits, including major news, print, radio and online coverage. During COP15 in Co-

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

penhagen, Oxfam reported having hit nearly 200 media sources, many including major international news sources. These include 107 broadcasts (including 84 TV appearances), 47 print publications and 27 features on major news websites.

When trying to place Oxfam's media volume into perspective, the media analysis in the UK case study provides an indication of the comparative impact at the UK national level (see section 7.4). According to the analysis, Oxfam is on par with what is probably a low estimate of the WWF's media impact and below that of Greenpeace. However, both of those organizations cover a broader range of climate change issues and have campaigned on climate change for longer. We consider this a noteworthy achievement for Oxfam given the climate change campaign is just a few years old.

### **Oxfam's appeal to media professionals**

In general, at the UNFCCC process, NGOs play an important role in the media. They are seen to represent particular standpoints and opinions, and sometimes as trusted sources of information. One UNFCCC media insider considered Oxfam's media capacity at the COPs to be comparable to Greenpeace and WWF, while Oxfam staff noted that they had just five staff in comparison to Greenpeace and WWF's 15-20 person strong media teams<sup>8</sup>. The synergy between public stunts and media relations was considered a valuable part of Oxfam's media capacity.

There was broad consensus that Oxfam offered a good media service, with material that journalists could use in a well-rounded package: a nice story, a credible organization, good and quick analysis, an opinion on the human dimension and a nice photo. Oxfam facilitated access to people who could help link global policy debates to human impacts, such as setting up international trips for media partners and organising the climate witness programme. For instance, the BBC mission to Bangladesh resulted in a large volume of news coverage across various BBC media channels (TV, radio, Internet) during September and December 2009.

Given the capacity of the policy team to rapidly gather and analyse negotiating shifts COP15, Oxfam was often one of the first organizations to know about major events happening within the negotiations. They then would analyse the events, formulate a policy position, and engage the media. Frequently, staff cited this rapid reaction as an effective way to engage the media, with journalists appreciating early access to news on events. The impact was underpinned by Oxfam's credibility as a source, a critical success factor which our research suggests is based on their policy positions, the quality of their research and their hands-on policy work. We explore this further in the emerging issues section.

### **Recognition/ impact or branded/ unbranded**

Respondents held strong and opposing views on how to best use the media for campaign objectives. Many staff felt that Oxfam's CCC could be more influential if they did not seek brand recognition in the media. Others noted that, at times, the Oxfam brand brings credibility that can boost media efforts.

A number of staff felt pressured to obtain brand recognition for Oxfam in the media and believed that this could undermine their efforts to use the media for core campaign purposes, and ultimately reduce campaign impact. A number of staff and partners articulated this perspective as a dichotomy between brand recognition versus campaign impact. Some staff felt that Oxfam was only interested in obtaining media coverage of Southern partners (which could bolster Southern voices in the media) if it was able to obtain recognition of the Oxfam brand.

Others viewed this issue as one between branded versus unbranded media relations. Oxfam has a policy on when to brand media work or not, and have held internal discussions on this policy at different levels. Although some staff were clear on this policy, others were unaware of it. Oxfam prefers not to brand media work around messages better delivered by partners, or where taking credit could undermine the collective action of coalitions. For instance, in Bangladesh, Oxfam did not use their name when engaging the media, and opted to promote their national climate change coalition instead. The most commonly cited reason to promote brand recognition was to aid Oxfam's fundraising in the UK. Other reasons included drawing from their existing credibility and seeking to build their reputation as a strong voice on climate change and poverty. Nonetheless, staff and partners hold strong views on these issues, with many feeling the wrong approach can undermine campaign efficacy.

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<sup>8</sup> We have not verified the claims about the press units of these organizations.

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

### 4.7. Efficiency Analysis (BER)

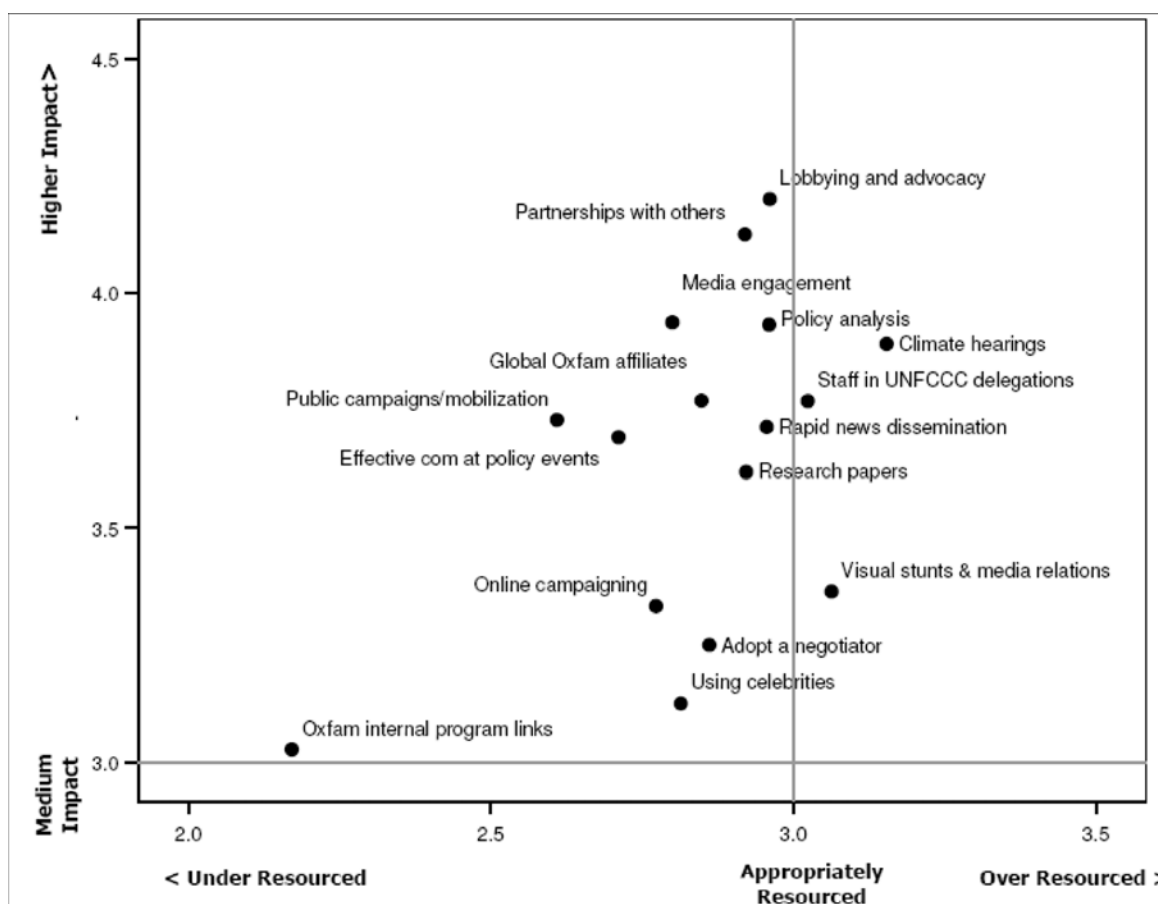
Figure 9 presents the Basic Efficiency Resource (BER) analysis, comparing the perceived resourcing of activities to their impact on policies, political agendas or legislation. It seeks to identify the most efficient activities, in terms of achieving political impacts with the least resources.

The BER analysis shows that survey respondents perceived lobbying and advocacy, partnerships with others, and media engagement to be critical factors in achieving policy impacts. It also shows that people considered internal programme linkages to contribute the least impact, though it also was rated as the activity, possibly explaining the lower impact.

Oxfam's CCC seeks to strike a balance between long-term planning and adapting to emerging opportunities and threats. Thus, it is in a constant state of flux, rendering it difficult to identify and assess the efficiency of their activities. To overcome this limitation, we identified key CCC activities during our initial interviews with internal staff, then opened up the assessment of these activities to all survey respondents.

There is a lot of information contained in this chart. Instead of discussing it at length, we refer to it in the body of the report and leave readers to draw their own conclusions from it. Please read our footnote below, which provides important background information to aid interpretation of the BER analysis<sup>9</sup>. In addition, we caution readers not to jump to conclusions about which approaches are better or worse. For instance, many activities do not directly influence policymakers, but may indirectly influence them via changes in public attitudes, possibly producing more long-term impacts in comparison to the direct and sometimes short-term impacts of lobbying.

**Figure 9: Efficiency Analysis of Oxfam's CCC Activities (BER Analysis)**



<sup>9</sup> When interpreting the BER analysis, note the following: this chart zooms in on what would otherwise be a larger chart. The value 1 (which you can't see) shows under resourcing or the lowest policy impact. A score of 5 is over resourced and the highest policy impact. Finally, 3 means appropriately resourced and medium policy impact. In producing this graph, all evaluation of resource expenditures was made by 54 Oxfam staff who assessed each activity. For the impact questions, 102 respondents assessed the policy impacts of Oxfam's research papers, policy analysis, lobbying and advocacy, campaigns and mobilisation, media engagement, network of Oxfam affiliates, and partnerships. Then 52 Oxfam staff assess the impact of all other activities, which we believed external informants may not have

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

### 4.8. Emerging Issues

#### North-South relations

In general staff from all country offices were very appreciative of the efforts by the global campaign team to increase Southern engagement in the campaign. These included the national climate change reports, money raised by OGB through DFID for Southern campaigning, the inclusion of the Southern Africa Regional Adviser in the core policy team, the Beijing meeting in January 2009, and recruitment of a Southern Campaign Coordinator. However, some staff feel that not enough investment has been made to engage the South, that the relationship is largely "extractive", and that it is still a "token effort".

There were loud criticisms on how inclusive decision-making mechanisms are within the campaign. Many argued that Southern voices, and particularly women, were yet to be incorporated fully. Although it is true that the overall CCC manager, the media lead, the research lead, and the UK lead are all women, most of the strategic thinkers in the policy team tend to be men from the North. This leads to the perception, especially during COP15, that the public image of the campaign is not inclusive enough (i.e. too Northern, too male). When conducting policy analysis and planning campaign objectives and strategies, informants felt that the process rolled down from Head Office. Even though the campaign made a conscious effort to include Southern voices through the CC South group and policy calls, many argued that Southern programmes should have been more involved in the process. However, contrary to this, at headquarters staff felt that their policy analysis was only as strong as their network of people working at the country level, to provide local perspective on national political activity.

Many internal staff from the South, voiced concerns about the relationship with the Oxfam Head Office. They pointed out that Oxfam GB sometimes engaged them in ways that were contrary to the organization's principles for engagement: challenging local knowledge and analysis, and displaying behaviours that undermine staff in the region. Whilst it was always acknowledged that this was not intentional, these attitudes can be contrary to supporting Southern staff to run advocacy and campaigning activities.

Many of these criticisms were exemplified in the preparation and running of the Pan- Africa Climate Hearing in Cape Town. This example was also mentioned at Head Office, arguing that they were merely responding to explicit requests of support from the Oxfam Regional Centre during this event. However, there was an obvious tension that Oxfam could use to analyse the working relationship between Head Office and country offices further.

There is a felt need to increase human resource capacity in country teams and regional offices. Staff from country offices felt overwhelmed as they had enough work to be engaged full time with the climate change campaign while also working on campaigns on agriculture, the private sector, trade etc. Sometimes they also have to attend to programme or emergency work.

#### BASIC shelter

In the lead up to the COP15, a new negotiating block emerged: the BASIC countries which include emerging economy nations Brazil, South Africa, India, and China. Under the Kyoto Protocol, these countries are treated as developing countries, and do not have obligations to cut emissions. However, they are fast becoming major polluters, with China now the world's leading emitter of greenhouse gases. As both developing countries and large emitters of greenhouse gases, these countries are highly controversial in the UNFCCC process.

This year, however, their role within the larger G77 and China negotiating bloc reached a tense climax in Copenhagen. The G77 and China appeared to be splitting along a number of lines, one of them being the position of the BASIC countries, which was seen to be at odds with many other members. One informant described the view of developing nations towards the BASIC group as "*the historical emitters have ganged up with new emitters not to do anything regarding the menace*". The backlash surrounding the near break up of the G77 and China negotiating block resulted in a number of accusations over who was responsible for the internal fractures and also, for sacrificing COP15.

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

Several organizations advocated holding the G77 and China together, and this was Oxfam's position at COP15. Oxfam received their share of criticisms for this position. A few informants, representing views from within UNFCCC and a significant partner NGO, agreed with the views of a recent Financial Times article, which criticised green groups, including Oxfam, for having played a destructive role at Copenhagen. The journalist charged NGOs with creating discord among developing countries, which the BASIC countries allowed to happen in order to derail the climate talks. They argued that the policy to maintain the G77 and China provided a shield for BASIC countries with a different negotiating position. One informant said: "[I] cannot understand why Oxfam is still pushing to adhere to 'G77+China group' as a negotiating block, while the BASIC countries themselves found their own platform to keep all the others (i.e., G77+China– BASIC) as hostages!" Another informant argued that China was abusing the principle of "historic responsibility" and treating it as a "right to pollute", showing how one of Oxfam's policy positions could backfire.

Although some have criticized Oxfam for trying to hold together the G77 and China, others have criticized Oxfam for trying to break it up - the exact opposite. For instance, in July 2009, Oxfam provided resources to convene an international conference of civil society in the most vulnerable countries (MVC) in Dhaka. This was seen as an acknowledgment that the MVC had a different agenda than the G77 and China, and needed support to have their own voice at Copenhagen. This resulted in Oxfam being blamed by some for attempting to break up G77 and China. The lead negotiator for the G77 and China contacted Oxfam in the Philippines to try to assess whether Oxfam was seeking to break up the bloc.

These contradictory criticisms of Oxfam's position towards the G77 and China may be a reflection of the different views held by Oxfam staff around this subject. Some staff argue that Oxfam should stand beside their "political constituency", which are the most vulnerable countries. Other staff argue Oxfam should keep a more prudent position, to be seen as a relevant partner by the more powerful actors.

### Switching on and off

There was broad agreement that Oxfam shifts its campaign priorities too quickly, which hinders their ability to build effective relationships with the media, policymakers and civil society partners. Many staff and partners fear that Oxfam will shift its focus, and leave the climate change campaign prematurely. People voiced concern that if Oxfam were to stop their global CCC, there would be a vacuum that could damage the gains made thus far. One staff member argued that the CCC was "the biggest challenge Oxfam had ever faced" and which "needs to remain in the heart".

### Gender mainstreaming

Oxfam GB has internalized gender mainstreaming within the CCC. They have integrated gender in several of their national strategy papers, especially in South Africa, and have favoured women's voices when selecting climate witnesses, to highlight the different effects of climate change on men and women. They also promoted networks and partners with the specific mandate to highlight gender issues in relation to climate change; like the Women Energy Climate Change Forum in South Africa and the Global Gender and Climate Alliance (GGCA).

However, some internal and external informants agreed that they are only timid actions, and that gender was not yet fully mainstreamed within the campaign. Gender disaggregation of all Oxfam's research on climate change would help the campaign to generate better understanding of what needs to change in a policy framework, for the campaign to go beyond being gender neutral and actually ensure it is creating positive impact for women as well as men.

A few informants noted that climate change policy discussions are perceived to be dominated by men, especially during COP15. Although research & policy related post holders in Oxfam are both men and women, Oxfam's public face, in terms of policy talks, is still heavily dominated by men, and some requested more efforts to diversify that "face".

### Credibility

In general, Oxfam is regarded as a highly credible organization. They are perceived as a legitimate and authoritative source of information, particularly concerning climate impacts on poor people. They are also highly trusted. Oxfam takes a moderate position, which makes it easier for policymakers to engage with them as a safe source of information. At the EU level, one informant suggested that policymakers regard Oxfam as a credible source of information and Southern voices on

## 4. Findings: Oxfam GB's Global Campaign

climate change policy. Some partners felt that Oxfam's credibility was a major benefit of their relationship, and that their strong reputation could be leveraged to forge consensus among a broad political spectrum of organizations. Their credibility was cited as a factor in their appeal to journalists. Reasons cited for their credibility include being a charitable organization, their global network, work on the ground, quality research publications, consistent quality work over many years, and pragmatism.

### Quality of Oxfam staff

Throughout this evaluation, external and internal informants have praised the quality of Oxfam staff on numerous occasions. The success of a campaign is entirely dependent on the passion, commitment and expertise of the people who work for it. In this sense, it is fair to state that the CCC in Oxfam GB would not have got to the point where it is were it not for the professional and human calibre of their staff.



*Photo credit: Oxfam*

## 5. Findings: Bangladesh

Due to complex political turmoil, Bangladesh officially declared a state of emergency that lasted from January 2007 until December 2008. During those two years, the caretaker government lead by Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed drove the nation towards free and fair elections, which were complete by the end of 2008. The newly elected government, led by Bangladesh Awami League, took power in January 2009. During this emergency period, most political activity was banned, though the media was not affected by these restrictions.

Bangladesh is considered one of the most vulnerable countries to the affects of climate change. The Global Climate Risk Index says that Bangladesh is the most vulnerable nation to extreme weather events. According to the National Strategy, climate change will severely challenge the country's ability to achieve the high rates of economic growth needed to sustain significant reductions in poverty. In the coming years, it is predicted that there will be increasingly frequent and severe floods, tropical cyclones, storm surges and droughts, which will disrupt the life and economy of the country. Potentially, millions of Bangladeshis will become "environmental refugees" as the sea level rises.

The Oxfam Policy and Advocacy team in Bangladesh, where the climate change campaign sits, is a robust team that has evolved significantly over the past two years. The team has increasingly recognized their need to dedicate skilled and experiences staff to each of the areas of campaigning: lobbying, popular mobilisation, and media.

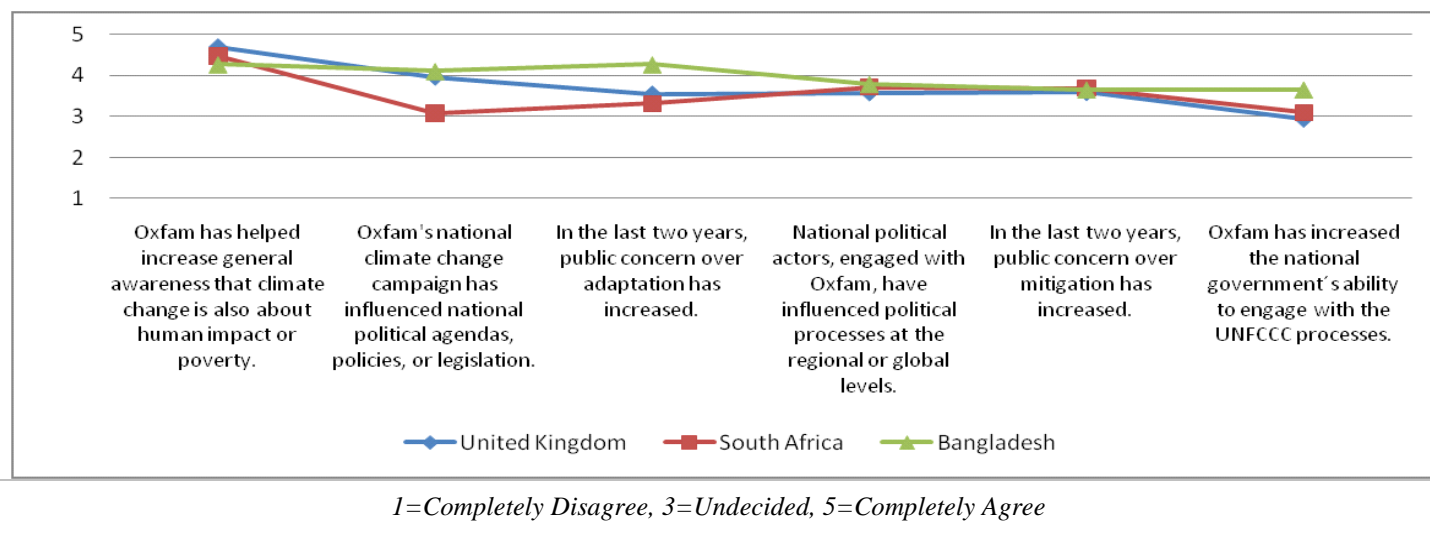


*Enlisting the help of elephants, cows, donkeys and horses to get their messages across, more than four thousand people took part in a colourful march and rally in Gaibandha, northern Bangladesh, to raise awareness of climate change, and its impact on the most vulnerable communities. Many in the crowd wore head banners reading “Stop harming, start helping”. The mass mobilization was the first of a series organized by Oxfam and its key partner, the Campaign for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (CSRL), ahead of the United Nations conference on climate change in Poznan, Poland, December 1-12 2008. Photo credit: Caroline Gluck/Oxfam*

### 5.1. Contributions

Oxfam in Bangladesh has produced an impressive campaign, in partnership with the national Campaign for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (CSRL) of which Oxfam is the secretariat. We were able to collect concrete evidence of their contribution to national climate change policy, and to increasing the ability of the Bangladeshi delegation to engage with the UNFCCC processes.

**Figure 10: National Impact for the UK, South Africa, and Bangladesh**



Comparing the three cases studies and the global campaign, we can see that Bangladesh is the highest ranked "case study" in many of the online survey questions dealing with the perceived impact of the campaigns on different climate change issues (Figure 10)<sup>10</sup>. The evaluation even shows a direct connection between a conference organized by Oxfam/ CSRL and one of the statements of the final Copenhagen Accord that refers to financing the most vulnerable countries.

The Conference of the International Civil Society of Most Vulnerable Countries, organized in July 2009 by Oxfam International and CSRL, asked that "*Three key principles crucial to adaptation must be articulated in the text of the Copenhagen agreement*". The first principle was to "*focus on the most vulnerable countries*". Several informants stated that the outcomes of the conference fed into the Bangladeshi Government's position towards COP15. External informants told us that the final Copenhagen Accord's statement "*Funding for adaptation will be prioritized for the most vulnerable developing countries, such as the least developed countries, small island developing States and Africa*" was actually a direct contribution from the delegation of Bangladesh.

The relationship between CSRL/Oxfam and the official delegation has been extremely close and they both advocated a similar message in the global negotiations. This was not unexpected given Oxfam/CSRL's constant support to the negotiators. The secretary of the coalition, an Oxfam staff member, is a fully accredited member of the UNFCCC negotiating delegation of Bangladesh. In fact, Oxfam's Policy and Advocacy Manager was the only member of the official delegation from an INGO. The reasons given for Oxfam's prominent role include: the legitimacy given by a large coalition like CSRL; their ability to network; and Oxfam's strong reputation which was built up in response to their work on natural disasters.

Domestically, campaign staff have invested time to advocate for adequate disbursement mechanisms for adaptation funds. In this regard, Oxfam's position was different to that of the Finance Ministry. However, this aspect of the campaign has not been their primary focus. Overall, the aims of the campaign have been more inclined towards the global agenda given the level of international negotiations happening during 2008 and 2009. This global focus has diverted the campaign from national campaigning issues.

<sup>10</sup> This graph presents results of the primary impact questions for the three country case studies. The graph has been placed in the Bangladesh section where it is first referenced, but is subsequently referenced in each case study.

## 5. Findings: Bangladesh

Many informants agreed that Oxfam/CSRL had contributed to the review of the National Strategy for Climate Change. The final version was an update of a previous document published in 2008, which Oxfam and CSRL criticized for having missed critical areas and being too "top down". Oxfam/ CSRL assisted efforts to pressure the new government to revise the strategy. Early in 2009, the newly elected government held a high-level meeting on climate change conducted by the Prime Minister herself with all the cabinet ministers. They decided to revise the strategy in the light of Oxfam and its partners' suggestions. The revised version of the National Strategy reflected the campaign's demands on Bangladesh's position at international climate change negotiations, particularly calls for mitigation, compensatory grants for adaptation and planned migration for displaced people. Our research suggests that the final document has been very well received in the country and abroad. An American representative in Copenhagen noted that no other developing country has adopted such a comprehensive strategy. A British parliamentarian echoed this sentiment.

Another major contribution of Oxfam/ CSRL has been on mitigation. CSRL came to the conclusion that a 1.5 degree rise in global temperatures was already too dangerous for the country, and decided to focus on a cap of 1.5 degrees or less. The *International Civil Society of Most Vulnerable Countries* produced a declaration backing this policy position. The message was picked up by the highest authority in the country, and the Prime Minister of Bangladesh mentioned the 1.5 degree cap during her speech to COP15. This was a major shift in Bangladesh's international position on emissions cuts and was in fact the first time that the issue of mitigation had come up in a major way. Oxfam and its partners cannot claim direct credit for this shift, but we did find enough evidence to conclude that they were significant in supporting government officials to reach this national policy position.

In line with the rest of the campaign (see Figure 10), the most important impact is perceived to have been made in linking climate change and poverty. Indeed, through the 60 climate hearings and the subsequent collection of climate witnesses' stories, Oxfam has been able to tell real life stories from people who are feeling the effects of climate change. This strategy was considered an effective way to provoke a response in people at both an intellectual and emotional level. It was further suggested that Oxfam's work to put a human face to the effects of climate change had been useful for the Bangladeshi Government to push the linkage between poverty and climate change at international venues.

### 5.2. Lobbying & Advocacy

Oxfam/ CSRL has been extremely effective at doing lobbying and advocacy in Bangladesh, using formal and informal channels. A good example is the formation of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Climate Change and the Environment.

During the present government period, soon after the government came to power in 2009, Oxfam/ CSRL supported a number of orientations for Members of Parliament (MP) on climate change, where an estimated 150 MPs participated. CSRL had the opportunity to share their understanding and views on climate change, and how it links to the country's current and future development. Through this process, an All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Climate Change and Environment was formed in Bangladesh. Members of the group act as a medium to influence their government's decisions around national climate change plans and actions, and strategies for global negotiations. Oxfam supported the formation of the APPG through the People's Empowerment Trust, a small NGO that works with parliamentarians and is a member of CSRL. The APPG has become instrumental in uniting a broad political spectrum around issues of climate change. At least six times in the last year there have been questions from MP members of the APPG to the Prime Minister about climate change.

Another key aspect to strengthen lobbying access to policymakers has been informal networking. Senior members of Oxfam's campaigning team and the CSRL have built trusting relationships with key figures in the government. Having national staff at different levels and in different roles connected through their professional history and activist backgrounds, was key to building such relationships. There was a broad consensus that one of the things Oxfam has done very well is using their deep understanding of how politics works in Bangladesh to identify influential people and relate to them in a constructive manner.

In general, Oxfam has been a highly visible and relevant actor in relation to management of climate change within the country and in international negotiations. Since the Bali negotiations, they have been a consistent and a respected player, and they are the only international NGO that is part of the Government's UNFCCC delegation. This recognition reflects the value of the work they have been doing.

### 5.3. Research

Many informants stated that it was more useful to work with briefing papers than full research papers. Oxfam has produced a number of convincing briefing papers that have had a very warm welcome among media and policymakers. Furthermore, CSRL has produced a remarkable amount of research on various aspects of climate change in Bangladesh that have contributed to the climate change debate in Bangladesh and abroad. Most notably, Oxfam/ CSRL research findings are specifically mentioned in a joint report issued by the UK and Bangladesh APPG on climate change, used during COP15.

Here is a list of the papers produced by Oxfam/ CSRL in Bangladesh, most cited by informants:

- *A Study on the Impact of CC in 30 AEZs of Bangladesh:* a comprehensive scientific research on the impacts of climate change on the livelihoods in 30 Agro Ecological Zones. It has been considered as one of the groundbreaking researches from Bangladesh perspective due its potential to be used for microlevel adaptation planning.
- *Climate Change in Bangladesh:* AEZ Focused Local Assessment of Temperature and rainfall Data Gathered in Last Fifty Year.
- *Climate Change Adaptation Practices in Thirty AEZs of Bangladesh:* a systematic documentation of community-based ecological, social and economic adaptation in 30 agro-ecological zones.
- *Climate Change, Loss of Livelihoods and Forced Displacements in Bangladesh: Whither Facilitated International Migration?* The research paper gives analysis on how climate change is impacting on complete loss of livelihoods and provoking out migration or displacement.
- *Livelihoods of Coastal Fishermen in Peril: In search of early evidence of climate change induced adverse affects in Bangladesh:* This research analyzed the plight of Bangladeshi coastal fishermen due to climate change.

### 5.4. Alliances & Networks

Without doubt, one of the campaign's greatest achievements was setting up the CSRL. This coalition is a network of over 150 organizations working towards issues that are important to Bangladesh, such as climate justice. The network is organized democratically and transparently through eight regional groups covering 30 agroecological zones of Bangladesh. The eight lead organizations coordinate in those geographical areas, which gives the coalition a national coverage with local reach. The coalition adopted climate change as a campaigning priority in 2009, organizing than 60 climate hearings, among other activities. Most of the organizations in the coalition are grassroots organizations representing the most vulnerable people in the country. However, members of the coalition also include reputable scholars, research organizations and the media.

For years, experienced researchers in Bangladesh have been trying to engage with policymakers on issues related to climate change, with little success. Many think that Oxfam, through this coalition, has been able to connect scientific research with the reality on the ground, and drive forward policy change. The coalition brings credibility to the country's climate justice movement, due to their broad backing and representation. Where it may not be appropriate for Oxfam, as an INGO, to engage with policymakers directly, CSRL offers greater legitimacy. Oxfam has promoted this very well, giving up their own logo and identity in favour of CSRL's in all their CC campaigning work.

## 5. Findings: Bangladesh

### 5.5. Popular Mobilisation

There is overwhelming consensus that public awareness around climate change has risen in Bangladesh. Many factors were believed to have contributed to this:

1. The 2007 IPCC report and the messages from the experts.
2. "Hard reality": Unfortunately, in 2007 there were two big floods, and the last one damaged crop production. This was followed by a super cyclone; and finally in 2008 the international price-hike worsened the country's tight food security situation. Although it was not certain that these events were driven directly by climate change, the link was clearly made in the media.
3. COP15 and the media buzz around it.
4. The activities of CSRL.

The CSRL organized numerous activities aiming to increase public awareness and promoting active participation among citizens around climate change issues. Youth in Action on Climate (YAC), formed with support from Oxfam, organized numerous colourful, provocative and innovative events around the country. However, one activity - the climate hearings - was unequivocally singled out as the most efficient tool to create public awareness among the decision makers and the public, consistent with the BER analysis (see figure 9).

Since February 2009, CSRL has organized 52 local hearings and seven regional hearings covering almost all of Bangladesh's 30 Agro-Ecological Zones (AEZ). A national hearing was organized with climate witnesses from around the country and more than 200 local folk singers on 4 December 2009, only a few days before the UNFCCC conference.

There is no hard evidence - surveys or external studies - about how successful the climate hearings were at informing and educating participants, or changing attitudes towards climate change. However, informants believed that they had contributed to increasing awareness in the country and the legitimacy of CSRL with the policymakers.

Testimonies from all the climate hearings served as the foundation for all of Oxfam's national and international advocacy and lobbying work. A good number of the testimonies were provided to the Bangladesh APPG on climate change. UK and Bangladeshi parliamentary groups considered the testimonies from climate hearings as key documents in developing a joint enquiry report.

The climate hearings proved to be an efficient way to collect powerful life stories that Oxfam brought to global forums to highlight the relationship between climate change and poverty. Witnesses travelled to Bangkok to testify at the Asian People's Climate hearing during the Bangkok round of climate negotiations, and to Copenhagen to testify at the International Climate Hearing of Oxfam International during COP15. They also testified in front of hundreds of journalists, members of the European Parliament and Climate experts at the EU Climate Hearing.

### 5.6. Media

The main limitation to assessing Oxfam's media impact in Bangladesh is that there is no media monitoring service in the country, and the team did not have the capacity to conduct a comprehensive media analysis, even at key events. However, there was overwhelming consensus among all informants that the media have increasingly covered climate change during 2009, and that Oxfam and CSRL have contributed to this increase. One piece of evidence presents a comparison of the number and content of news published on the front page of *The Daily Star*, a leading English daily in Bangladesh, during the period of the COPs in Bali, Poznan and Copenhagen. The comparison clearly shows a dramatic rise in media attention during COP15.

Several reasons were given for this media success, including the management of the campaign. While the campaign follows solid planning it is also flexible enough to grasp opportunities to convey the climate change messages to the media. Several informants cited this as key to the success of the media work of the campaign. A number of activities emerged as main drivers for media attention: firstly the climate hearings; secondly the conferences and national consultations organized by CSRL; and finally the TV documentary series produced with BUP. The documentaries made it to national TV several

## 5. Findings: Bangladesh

times and a summary was shown and distributed in Copenhagen.

As well as producing "domestic" products targeting national media, the Bangladesh office has done a considerable amount of work serving Northern media, mostly responding to requests from different affiliates, including OGB in Oxford. These initiatives were seen as a positive way to put Bangladesh on the international news. However, on occasions, this dynamic was considered to have placed too much pressure on an already stretched team. The presence of Bangladesh in the Northern media may have positively influenced policymakers and therefore contributed to the success of the campaign, although we have no concrete evidence for this.



*Nearly 2,000 women workers from Dhaka wearing masks representing leaders of the world's leading industrialized nations, the G8, called for richer nations to do more to help poorer countries like Bangladesh who've been affected by the negative impacts of climate change. The mass mobilization was the last of eight events organized across the country by Oxfam and its key partner, the Campaign for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (CSRL), ahead of the United Nations conference on climate change in Poznan, Poland, December 1-12 2008.*

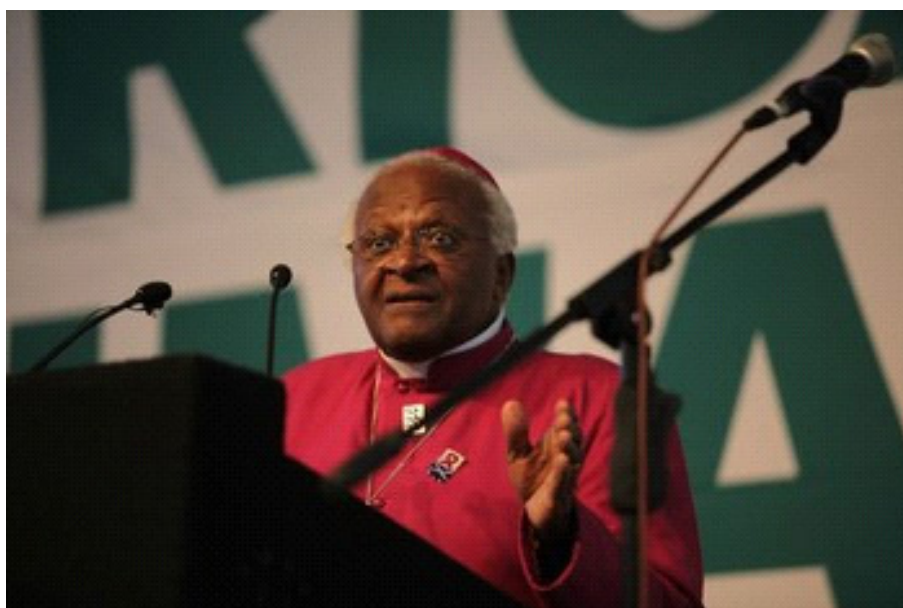
*Photo credit: Caroline Gluck/ Oxfam*

## 6. Findings: South Africa

As Africa's superpower, South Africa has the continent's biggest economy, though it faces major problems. Having held four successful national elections as well as local polls since the end of apartheid, a democratic culture is taking a strong hold. But many South Africans remain poor (around 22 millions) and unemployment is high (23.3%). Land redistribution is an ongoing issue, as is HIV-AIDS. South Africa has the second-highest number of HIV-AIDS patients in the world, and free anti-retroviral drugs are available under a state-funded scheme. The economy went into recession in May 2009 though the construction industry has benefited from a huge programme of government investment ahead of the 2010 World Cup.

South Africa has maintained a strong voice in global negotiations on climate change. On the domestic front, while climate change is on the government agenda, dirty industry remains largely uncontrolled and unaccountable.

Oxfam's South African climate change campaign started fully at the beginning of 2009. From September 2008, the South Africa Office conducted work on climate change, involving research on the state of the nation on the issue, and a stakeholder analysis. The Oxfam GB office in South Africa shares premises with the Oxfam Southern Africa Regional Centre, which services five other countries: Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Angola. Some of the staff of the Regional Centre are heavily involved in the South Africa Campaign, especially (but not exclusively) the Regional Climate Change Adviser who is also part of the core policy team in Oxford. The campaign in South Africa only has one staff member who also coordinates other campaigns in the country.



*Desmond Tutu speaking at the Pan Africa Climate Change Hearing*

*Photo credit: Oxfam*

### 6.1. Contributions

Oxfam has produced a successful CCC in South Africa. We were able to collect enough evidence to state that it has contributed to shaping the South African position on climate change, although it is hard to judge to what degree.

Building relationships of trust and credibility with decision makers requires a considerable effort. In this regard, Oxfam has managed to position themselves remarkably well, given the short time span of the campaign. In general, Oxfam (as a foreign actor) is very realistic about the degree to which they can influence the South African government and has favoured working through national civil society partners. However, climate change has not been very high on the agenda of broader civil society in South Africa, and the climate justice movement is still at a nascent stage.

In line with the rest of the global campaign, the greatest impact has been noted in highlighting the relationship between poverty and climate change. The government of South Africa has also acknowledged Oxfam's role supporting them on financing issues.

The private sector, particularly Sasol and Eskom, were seen as the main blocks to changing national policy on climate change. Oxfam took a twofold approach to dealing with these blockers. On the one hand, they worked through their local partners for more confrontational strategies like “naming and shaming”, demonstrations and stunts. On the other hand, Oxfam tried to engage with the private sector to put forward the case of the economic benefits of “greener energy”. None of these strategies has significantly dented their position yet, although Oxfam did manage to create agitation around them.

The South African government is perceived as being formed of blockers as well as of progressive forces. Oxfam worked with them as “allies” in foreign policy issues like financing, where Oxfam has managed to get an excellent credible position. Civil society was unanimously identified as the main progressive force within the country. Both internal and external informants agreed that Oxfam has done an outstanding job in bringing together a wide spectrum of civil society actors around the issue of climate change - beyond the usual environmentalists. Partners greatly appreciated Oxfam for their role as a bridge between them, and as an interlocutor with the government. They were able to do mass mobilisation and capacity building with these social movements and small organizations and also bring those voices into discussions with government officials, within parliament and within global venues. The majority of informants think that Oxfam is responsible for increased activity on climate change over the last year in South Africa.

### 6.2. Lobbying & Advocacy

The most valued advocacy strategy was Oxfam's involvement and promotion of different fora like the Energy Caucus, the Women Energy and Climate Change Forum and, to a lesser extent, with CAN Southern Africa. This helped support external dialogue with the government, while helping civil society to engage more with climate change issues.

During 2009, a number of senior foreign officials visited South Africa and tried to lobby the government on climate change related issues. Oxfam played a key role facilitating meetings between these officials and civil society, which was highly appreciated by their partners. During official government consultations on climate change, Oxfam served as chair of the “financing” table. The consultations received a mixed welcome among civil society partners, some voicing that it was just a way to tick the “consultation box”, while others thought that it was a genuine attempt on the part of the government to build consensus.

Although in South Africa Oxfam preferred to conduct lobbying through their partners, they also lobbied directly. This strategy was highly valued, both internally and by civil society partners, and regarded as an efficient way to influence the government. In this regard, Oxfam achieved a number of successes and has gone a long way to building trust within key government officials.

### COP15

The government of South Africa played a critical role during negotiations at COP15. They had a well-resourced delegation with specialists in different subject areas. At the start of COP15, South Africa was considered a progressive force and this was reflected in Oxfam's power analysis. Their delegation played a very propositional, proactive and somewhat ambivalent role in Copenhagen. Towards the end of the COP, South Africa was perceived by the majority of civil society as having compromised the position of Africa in favour of the BASIC, which was a cause of deep disappointment.

Despite this difficult scenario, Oxfam has managed to maintain a centrist position. They are seen by the government as a credible, constructive and pragmatic organization, largely backed by the work they do in South Africa and elsewhere through development and emergency projects. Consequently, Oxfam has access to negotiators and officials in South Africa and their civil society partners appreciate the opportunity this gives them to convey their messages through Oxfam.

### 6.3. Research

In South Africa, Oxfam has tailored Oxfam GB's research to the country context, sometimes funded by other affiliates. The papers produced have had three uses; informing the general public through the media; empowering civil society; and informing the policymakers.

Informants value the reports for two reasons: their rigour and credibility, (as one informant put it “*it is authentic, credible*”).

## 6. Findings: South Africa

and trustable") and their ability to link complex climate change issues with real life stories. Some papers were not regarded as very scientific, but had the capacity to highlight how real men and women were experiencing climate change.

A few of these reports, either done in South Africa or by others in the Oxfam family, were linked to specific outcomes in South Africa:

- *LMTS critique*, September 2008. It was a response to the government paper *LMTS* that was downgraded from policy paper to research paper. It was appreciated among civil society partners in the sense that helped them increase their capacity to respond to the South African government and to understand how they do their research.
- *Hang Together or Separately? How global co-operation is key to a fair and adequate climate deal at Copenhagen*, January 2009. The paper was developed by Oxfam International. The document argued that mitigation funding should be distributed to developing countries according to a capacity index and it also put forward individual emission reduction targets for Annex I countries. The paper reached technical people working within the delegation of South Africa who reflected on the contents of the report, especially in regards to the distribution mechanism.
- *Climate Change, Development and Energy Problems in South Africa* by Earthlife Africa and OI, February 2009. Both internal and external informants agreed that this publication was an excellent tool that helped convey the key issues of climate change to civil society. The document was distributed through the Energy Caucus. It was launched right when the government was having a climate change summit and got maximum publicity in South Africa.
- *Suffering the Science: Climate change, poverty, and people*, July 2009 was identified by various informants as a useful report to use with the media, although our global analysis shows that online citations were much lower than other Oxfam publications. *Beyond Aid: Ensuring adaptation to climate change works for the poor*, September 2009, was identified as a useful tool to use as the technical level in the South African context.

### 6.4. Popular Mobilisation

Although we did not find any concrete evidence in social statistics or public opinion polls, there is broad consensus that public awareness towards climate change has risen in South Africa during 2009, particularly among the educated middle-class (still a very small percentage of the population). Oxfam and its partners have contributed greatly to this awareness, raised through several popular mobilisation activities like the climate hearings, the Global Day of Action and their media work.

Popular knowledge about climate change is still at an embryonic stage. Actually, analysis of worldwide views of climate change (Figure 7) indicates that South African public opinion on climate change is significantly less developed than the global average. Climate change and environmental awareness have never been big issues in South Africa, even among active civil society. Nonetheless, there has been a shift within civil society over the last year with a climate justice movement starting to take shape. For instance, Climate Action Day was the largest climate change protest in South African history, though with only 1,500 people.

The biggest impact beyond middle classes and civil society organizations seems to have been among some of the constituencies of the civil society partners. It is particularly interesting because some of the Oxfam partners work with grassroots organisations which traditionally voted for the governing party, the ANC. Some external informants thought that this gave added strength to the debate, bringing these issues (though timidly) into national consciousness.

Oxfam has also played an important role linking climate change and poverty within civil society and the South African public at large. Traditionally, climate change has always been a focus of environmentalists and not something that could easily be brought into people's struggles. Oxfam has partnered with a wide variety of organizations aiming to connect climate change with broader development issues such as access to land, housing, energy and water and with gender issues - how climate change differently affects men and women.

The climate hearings caught partners' imaginations, and were positively rated as an effective means to link climate change and poverty. Partners also valued the fact that Oxfam gave complete freedom of content to the hearings within the pre-agreed format. Some of the climate hearings took an unusual turn as they became a street protest outside of Sasol, coupled

with a mock trial and street theatre. The format achieved considerable media attention, and was considered innovative. On the negative side, some informants felt that Oxfam's popular mobilisation was ad hoc in nature, a bit rushed and would have benefited from a more consistent strategy.

### 6.5. Media

Informants expressed that the media has a prominent role in informing the public and influencing politicians in South Africa. However, it was also noted that media pressure is not enough and can only be a catalyst to change. There is broad consensus that the campaign been very effective at working through the media, particularly towards the last quarter of 2009 when climate change became a buzzword. Many factors seem to have contributed to this, but informants from both media and civil society agreed that it would not have been possible without Oxfam's contribution.

Oxfam's media work was mainly organised around events, ranging from research launches to popular mobilisation activities. The media campaign was organized by a very well-connected Regional Media Officer who supports five other countries. Respondents agreed that impact could have been much greater had Oxfam South Africa had a dedicated media person.

Among all stakeholders, including media partners, Oxfam is perceived as an accurate and reliable source, able to break down complex subjects in an articulate manner. We established that they are one of the South African media's leading sources on the ground on climate change, on a par with WWF. We found that media professionals value Oxfam's credible brand, their availability, and how they have been able to provide a development angle to the issues, linking climate change to real life stories.

While there is no clear evidence that Oxfam's media work had any direct impact on politician's views on climate change, the existence of a media monitoring system in the Ministry of Environment implies that appearances in the media by Oxfam and its partners do not go unnoticed. In a few instances, Oxfam has had feedback on specific pieces that have made a positive impression on decision makers.

### 6.6. Alliances and Networks

Oxfam in South Africa has established excellent relationships with their partners, a very positive working affiliation that was described as open, generous and free of unnecessary bureaucratic requirements. In doing so, Oxfam has supported a variety of organizations across the political spectrum. Despite variations in tactics and approaches, Oxfam has managed to leverage pressure coming from all sides.

Respondents agree that, as a foreign NGO it is not appropriate for Oxfam to raise certain issues. Consequently, Oxfam works in partnership with local organizations, alliances which enabled Oxfam to bring issues to the table. Furthermore, partnering with local NGOs is critical for effective work in the South, as the context and way of working is very different from Northern/ international lobbying.

Although for some key activities, like the climate hearings, Oxfam followed a clear strategy regarding how and why they engaged with partners, overall these relationships have been based more on ad hoc events and activities. In some cases, the sum of the parts was something substantial, but partners and staff both expressed the need to establish more steady and long term relationships with partners.

Oxfam partners value the financial assistance they receive from Oxfam; the technical support both from the Southern Africa office and Oxford; the innovative campaigning tools such as the climate hearings; and the insight Oxfam gave them into international/Northern campaigning.

Oxfam staff find their relationship with their partners greatly beneficial. They especially value the constant exchange of information, their excellent campaigning outputs, learning about what agitates civil society, and the credibility they gain through their civil society constituency. Above all, Oxfam values how partners help them to expand their reach, and they often partner with organizations that can reach grassroots organizations. For instance, one of their main partners, Earthlife

## 7. Findings: United Kingdom

According to Oxfam's power analysis, part of the EU is regarded as highly supportive of a fair and safe climate change deal, and they are also considered to be one of the most powerful actors in the UNFCCC process. Within this context, the UK was seen to be a strong voice that could influence both the EU's regional position and, ultimately, help to sway the UNFCCC's global position towards a fair and safe deal. However, after a chaotic meeting of heads of state in Copenhagen, the outcomes of COP15 were deeply disappointing. In response to these outcomes, the UK campaign wrote, "*While the UK government worked hard trying to get a global deal, it completely failed to influence the EU or the US and was marginalised in the Copenhagen talks.*"

In the lead up to Copenhagen, Oxfam ran a large-scale domestic campaign that made numerous contributions across many fronts. Although a fair and safe global climate change deal was not reached in 2009, many actors still hope to achieve one in 2010, and the UK campaign has called on their constituents to double their efforts in the year ahead.

This chapter examines Oxfam's domestic UK campaign. Although the UK campaign describes the domestic CCC activities taking place within Scotland, Wales and England, there is considerable overlap between the global Oxfam GB and domestic UK campaign. Consequently, research and lobbying are covered in the global Oxfam GB chapter. This chapter discusses Oxfam's contributions to policy, alliances and networks, popular mobilisation and the media.



*Demonstrators, including Oxfam, marched around Parliament to Westminster Bridge where they sent a noisy message Prime Minister Gordon Brown not to return empty handed from the United Nations Copenhagen climate summit, December 2009. Photo credit: Jonathan Evans/Oxfam*

## 7.1. Contributions

Oxfam had engaged with numerous political actors during their campaign, and survey informants believed they had influenced policy. Self-reporting from the UK campaign demonstrates a number of positive changes among UK politicians and political bodies, and shows that the UK campaign was actively engaged with these actors. During the 2009 CCC, MPs were increasingly asking the government to take action on climate change, with a substantial number of UK politicians voicing support for a climate change deal that would protect the poorest.

## 7. Findings: United Kingdom

Oxfam staff felt this support gave the government a clear mandate to show leadership in Copenhagen. For instance, similar to Scotland's position, the National Assembly for Wales unanimously adopted a target of 40% emissions cuts by 2020. Over half the members of the Welsh Assembly had pledged to reduce emissions and were advocating a robust deal in Copenhagen. In August, Oxfam reported that Manchester City Council had starting taking action on climate change, locally and globally. Additionally, ahead of the Copenhagen talks, as a result of the Wave (discussed below), Oxfam's Director and a volunteer met with UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown, and Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change Ed Miliband, resulting in Gordon Brown expressing confidence that he had the will of the people behind him.

Respondents believed that Oxfam UK had influenced political agendas, policies and legislation across a range of climate change issues, as shown in Figure 10. Ranked from most to least impact, the issues are as follows: the human impact of climate change, particularly for poor people; additionality; adaptation financing; and adaptation. They were less decisive about Oxfam's impact in terms of mitigation financing and historic responsibility, and undecided about Oxfam's contribution towards mitigation.

Informants working at EU level, representing insider and lobbyist perspectives, believed Oxfam had influenced the EU's financing debate, and this is strongly linked to the domestic UK campaign. Figure 3 shows that survey respondents considered the UK campaign to have had more influence on financing than the other three campaigns evaluated.

For instance, the publication "*Beyond Aid: Ensuring adaptation to climate change works for the poor*", addressing the impact of diverting aid, was cited in a speech by the UK Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change. Then, in October 2009, the UK government helped place climate funding proposals on the European agenda. However, European heads of state did not agree to it, and instead, proposed \$50 billion in financing and 30% emissions reduction by 2020. Oxfam deemed the European proposal inadequate and called for a minimum of 40% reductions and \$150 billion per year in financing. Several months later, in Copenhagen, a figure for public and private adaptation financing was proposed at \$100 billion per year by 2020. The EU's latest offer, in response to the Copenhagen Accord, is a 30% reduction by 2020 compared to 1990 levels, though it is a conditional offer, and part of a negotiating position. It seems that the EU did not budge on their mitigation targets, but have adopted a financing target higher than their earlier proposal, smaller than Oxfam's demands, and in agreement with the US proposal.

From the UK private sector, "platform companies" including Royal Mail, the National Grid, The Co-op and Marks & Spencer have been engaged with Oxfam in direct lobbying. The executive heads of three of these companies, in partnership with Oxfam, wrote to the UK Prime Minister expressing their interests ahead of the April 2009 G20 meeting in London. Soon after, in July 2009, another three platform companies and Oxfam wrote to the Gordon Brown urging action at the upcoming G8 meeting. Furthermore, in June 2009 as a response to the World Business Summit organized by the World Business Council on Sustainable Development, the platform companies wrote a letter to Ed Miliband. The Climate Secretary wrote back saying that the stories of many businesses "*can be enormously helpful in building political conditions for a deal – both in the UK and overseas*". Oxfam was also invited to join businesses to meet the Climate Secretary's strategic lead for Copenhagen.

Another noteworthy achievement was a campaign that pressured the UK energy company E-ON to scrap plans to build a coal power plant, and then to encourage the UK Government to stand behind this decision. In 2009, E-ON was planning to build a coalpowered power station in Kingsnorth, which would have emitted greenhouse gases equal the combined emissions of 25 developing countries. Over that year Oxfam UK's campaign implemented a number of measures to pressure E-ON to stop building the power station, including popular mobilisation activities such as the Mili-band stunt, and arguing to the UK Government that it could undermine their credibility in international climate change negotiations. In the end, E-ON scrapped their plans, claiming that the decision was due to market conditions. However, Oxfam staff argue that their combined public and political pressure were important factors in this outcome.

One explanation for Oxfam's lobbying capacity is their prior campaigning experience with the Make Trade Fair and Make Poverty History campaigns, which has placed Oxfam in a good position to lobby for domestic policy change and built strong links with government. However, as climate change is a new issue for Oxfam, it was felt that their lobbying capacity on the issue depended on partnerships with environmental organizations. Through these partnerships, such as through the

## 7. Findings: United Kingdom

BOND Development Environment Group, Oxfam has been able to make policy contributions. This point was further underscored by the BER analysis (Figure 9) where *partnerships with others* was deemed the second most successful way for Oxfam to influence policy.

### 7.2. Alliances & Networks

The UK campaign has been carried out in consort with various partner organizations. They include the Stop Climate Chaos Coalition, WWF, Greenpeace, Tear Fund, Christian Aid and the Green Alliance. They also forged private sector relationships with the Co-op, which promoted the Wave by providing transport across the country and funding events, and Marks & Spencer, who asked website visitors to contribute to a 'Copenhagen patchwork'. The Royal Mail and National Grid joined forces with The Co-op and Marks & Spencer to engage in lobbying the UK Government.

Oxfam's partnership with the Stop Climate Chaos Coalition was considered beneficial on both sides. Oxfam are core members, the largest financial contributors, and provide staff at both strategic and tactical levels. Oxfam prefers to work through the coalition rather than campaign exclusively in the name of Oxfam. Some of the pros of the relationship include the weight of Oxfam's brand, the expertise of staff members and their contributions in terms of taking on work and implementing activities. However, it was felt that Oxfam could have played a less humble role working behind the coalition, and moved up front to leverage their strong UK brand.

Being involved in two climate change campaign coalitions — the global TckTckTck campaign and the national UK Stop Climate Chaos Coalition — Oxfam's resources were divided, limiting their capacity to support the national campaign. For example, Oxfam opted to promote TckTckTck in their shops instead of the Wave. This raised the question of how many co-brands Oxfam could juggle while still meeting their commitments.

### 7.3. Popular Mobilisation

Given their resource limits, the UK CCC did not try to raise broad public awareness on climate change, but focused on a demographic called the "world aware" who are active supporters of different social causes. Nonetheless, in 2009, the UK campaign reached their mobilisation target of 100,000 actions and 58,000 people attended the Wave event, which Oxfam helped to promote through their partnership with the Stop Climate Chaos Coalition.

#### Activity highlights

Mobilisation highlights of the UK campaign included: engaging the public in promoting, then attending the Wave; the Kingsnorth campaign which included 1,200 people forming a human chain (called the Mili-band) around Kingsnorth; various traditional mobilisation activities such as joining the UN Millennium Campaign's Stand Up event; campaigning at freshers' fairs and Oxfam events, where over 50,000 people painted their faces blue to show they were set to demand action on climate change until they were blue in the face; mail-in activism cards that informed the public about the campaign, and encouraged them to express their support; and various forms of online activism such as the demanding a real deal e-petitions, donations, or registering for the campaign.

The most noteworthy popular mobilisation event was the Wave, a 58,000 strong climate change march that took place in Glasgow and London on 5 December 2009, ahead of the Copenhagen talks. As a member of the Stop Climate Chaos Coalition, Oxfam was the chief supporter of this event, which was designed to show public support for progressive climate change policies. As a result of the Wave, Oxfam's Director and a member of staff met Gordon Brown and Ed Miliband in two meetings. During the meeting with the UK Prime Minister, one Oxfam staff member told him why she had cycled from Birmingham to London to attend the Wave. In response, Gordon Brown said he was moved by the show of support and that it gave him confidence to go into negotiations with the British public was behind him. The Wave was considered successful, in terms of public and political engagement, and Oxfam played a key part in it, through their campaign and collaborative work with the Stop Climate Chaos Coalition.

#### Public perceptions of Oxfam's CCC

Informants found it difficult to gauge public opinion of Oxfam's CCC in general. At Stop Climate Chaos Coalition

## 7. Findings: United Kingdom

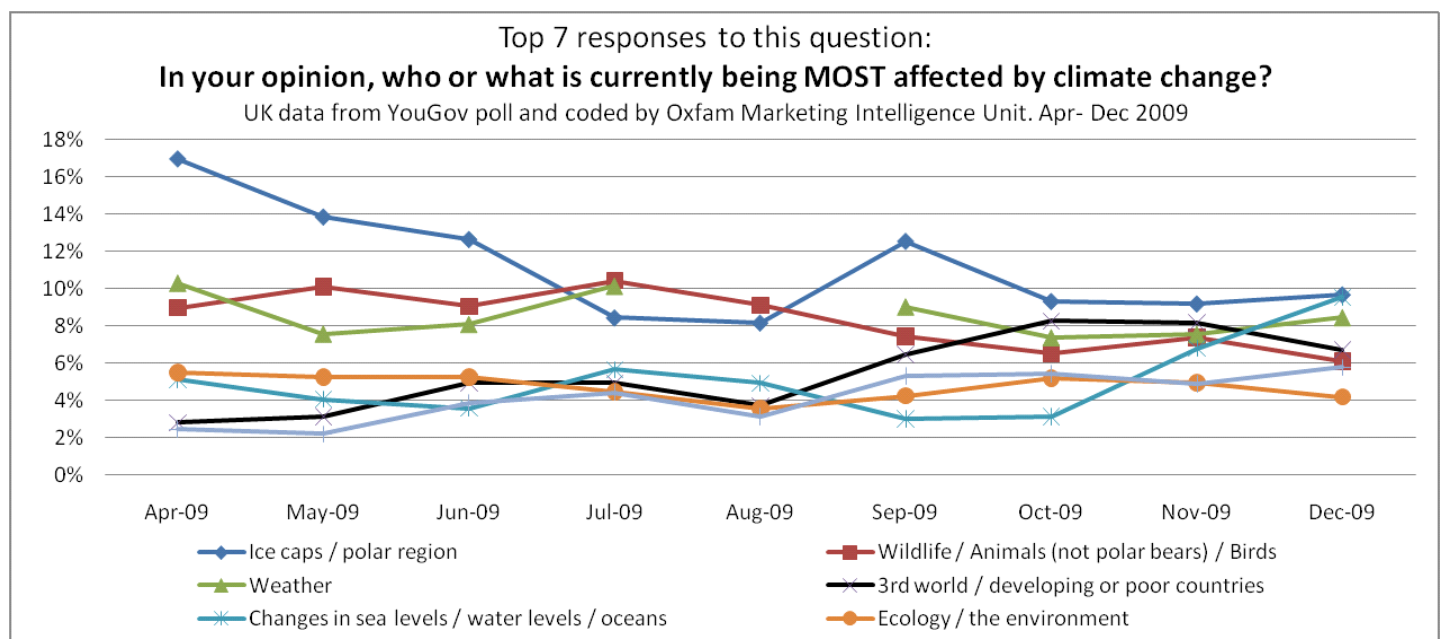
events, participants were often surprised to learn that Oxfam was conducting climate change campaigning. At the same time, senior Oxfam staff are known to have commented that the climate change campaign can be difficult to promote among their supporters, as many do not see the link between development and climate change. However, it was felt this creates public curiosity about Oxfam's role in climate change, providing Oxfam with the opportunity to explain the links and enable people to understand their approach. Despite these views, in the UK, Oxfam comes out as the third UK charity associated with climate change, and the top non-environmental organization associated with climate change<sup>11</sup>. One explanation for their ranking is that they are naturally behind the two organizations who have campaigned on climate change for longer, but ahead of other non-environmental organizations because of their earlier engagement on the issue.

### Awareness of human impacts

According to the survey (Figure 3), informants believed the UK campaign had influenced public awareness as follows: First, they highly agreed that the campaign influenced the link between climate change and human impacts. Second, they somewhat agree that the prominence of the mitigation issue had raised. Third, they somewhat agree that awareness of adaptation issues has increased.

In accordance with the survey findings, there was overwhelming evidence that Oxfam's campaign had influenced UK public perceptions on the links between climate change, human impacts and poverty. Beyond the survey, this conclusion was backed up by informant interviews, a UK-wide public opinion poll and our own independent media analysis. This association is best exemplified by the public opinion poll that asked: "*who or what is most affected by climate change?*" The graph in Figure 11 clearly demonstrates a gradual yearlong rise in the percentage of British citizens citing *3rd world, developing or poor countries* as the most affected by climate change. Also during the year, people's associations between climate change and *icecaps/polar regions* and *wildlife* have gone down, while *3rd world/developing countries* has increased, particularly during the intense campaigning period that started 100 days before Copenhagen, though *rising sea level* is an exception to this. When examining this evidence, the trend appears consistent with the outcomes expected by Oxfam's climate change campaign. It is possible that these changes were caused by factors unrelated to Oxfam's campaign, but given correspondence with survey respondents and our own independent media analysis, we believe that Oxfam must have played some role in this major shift of public awareness.

**Figure 11: UK Public Opinion on Climate Change Impacts** <sup>12</sup>



<sup>11</sup> This is based on data from Oxfam's marketing intelligence report (assumed to cover 2009) which shows that the UK general public associates the following organizations with climate change: Greenpeace (74%), WWF (41%), Oxfam (24%), Christian Aid (10%).

<sup>12</sup> Data from the YouGov public opinion poll which was then coded by Oxfam's Marketing Intelligence Unit

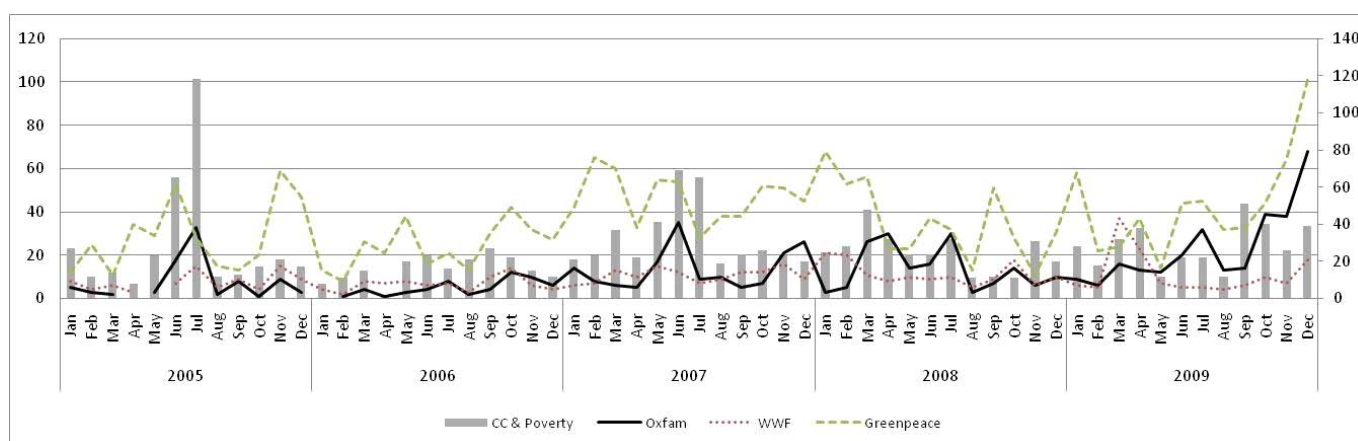
## 7. Findings: United Kingdom

### 7.4. Media

Oxfam reported that by the end of 2009, their UK CCC had received a huge amount of national, regional and local media coverage, getting in all the major print, broadcast and online media channels. Additionally, The Wave received massive interest in the UK, and Oxfam's activities as part of the TckTckTck campaign were a focus for journalists. Further, they claimed that in December, Oxfam became the organisation of choice for journalists covering the human impact of climate change. Additionally, Oxfam formed a noteworthy media partnership with the BBC throughout 2009. The BBC wants to continue that partnership to into 2010, ensuring continued broad national coverage.

Oxfam's self-reported impacts are fairly consistent with external views and our own media analysis. Interview informants felt that journalists were interested to see the broad coalition campaigning to address climate change, and to see Oxfam's involvement. Survey respondents marginally agreed that Oxfam attained significant media coverage in the UK. Our own media analysis on the Nexis-Lexis database for UK print media showed that Oxfam was quoted on the issues, but less than their partner organizations Greenpeace and WWF. However, Oxfam appeared to be the driver of media discussions linking climate change to poverty (see Appendix II.3 for details). Figure 12 presents a time-series graph covering UK print media. In general, Oxfam appears to have attained significant media attention, less than Greenpeace and on a par with a low estimate for WWF<sup>13</sup>, which have both campaigned in the UK on climate change for many years. We conducted statistical analysis and believe that the same days when journalists are speaking to Oxfam, they are also contacting Greenpeace and WWF.

**Figure 12: Comparative UK print media hits (2005-2009)**



When interpreting this chart, the *grey bars* show news articles where the words "climate change" and "poverty" appear in the same sentence. The remaining series show when the terms "climate change" AND "Oxfam" appear in the same news article, then when "climate change" AND "world wildlife fund"; and "climate change" AND "Greenpeace" appear.

The point where Oxfam stood out was in the association between climate change and poverty. Of the news articles mentioning climate change and poverty in the same sentence, Oxfam was cited in 119, Greenpeace in 47 and WWF in 10 (see Appendix II.3 for details). Surprisingly, the peak months when climate change and poverty were used in the same sentences of news articles were before Oxfam formally launched their climate change campaigns, but were campaigning on poverty issues. These include a peak in 2005, perhaps in response to the Make Poverty History campaign, and in 2007, perhaps in response to the MDG midway point event on 07/07/07.

<sup>13</sup> It was difficult to accurately assess WWF's print media coverage as other organizations use the acronym WWF. We used the full search term "world wildlife fund", which excludes articles that only use "WWF".

## 8. Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning

Oxfam GB invests considerable effort in monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) and has the capacity to plan, implement and benefit from strong MEL processes. However, these processes are not used consistently across the CCC due to variations in the availability of data, staff capacity to monitor their work, costs associated with data collection, the challenge of monitoring complex social objectives, and the priority ascribed to MEL processes by different managers.

Across Oxfam GB's CCC, the UK CCC team's approach to MEL is considered the gold standard, and we fully agree. UK CCC staff have developed a comprehensive logic model for their work, outlining the outcomes towards which they are working, and clarifying the contribution each strand of the campaign makes to these outcome. Staff routinely record monitoring information in an Internet database called Counting Oxfam's Outcomes Together (COOT) which over time has consolidated a large pool of data showing what has been done and what achieved. Perhaps the only limitation we faced was drawing out summaries of this and synthesizing the details to identify larger trends.

Drawing on Oxfam GB's data-tracking capacity, the UK CCC team can access national data far beyond the capacity of any other Oxfam GB office. Oxfam GB has a full marketing intelligence department that monitors public opinion and other marketing measures, a media unit that monitors media hits, and third party services that track the number of mail-in advocacy cards along with other data sources. The UK CCC team holds monthly meetings where they use this data to relate their activities to their known impacts and, together with an external partner, negotiate an evaluation score that reflects the monthly performance of the campaign, which they publish on their website. In many ways, their practice is akin to developmental evaluation, an approach that embeds evaluation in the programme as an ongoing process that supports transparent reflection and continual adjustment to improve effectiveness.

The other CCC teams we assessed faced serious MEL challenges. The global CCC team developed a monitoring programme system early on, but staff motivation to record their work appears to have diminished over time. Unlike the UK CCC MEL practices, which capitalised on high quality data available in Oxfam GB, the costs of monitoring across numerous countries are prohibitively high, and hard to justify. Monitoring the impact of political lobbying has been a particular challenge for the CCC, difficult enough within one country context, and exceptionally challenging to assess across many, particularly for UNFCCC process where policy is often negotiated behind closed doors. To overcome these challenges, the global CCC team runs strategically timed MEL activities, such as "quick-and-dirty" reviews after key activities, and commissioned this evaluation.

In the two other national campaigns we evaluated, there were no dedicated MEL staff, and monitoring data was not readily available. The campaigns have set benchmarks against which to judge progress in terms of both outputs and outcomes, but there is no systematic monitoring against them. Although some MEL work is done on the implementation of particular campaign strategies, like the climate hearings, there is no systematic way to consider how these have contributed to policy outcomes, or not. The teams would benefit from bringing sharper evaluative thinking into their strategic planning, and creating the necessary space to stop and reflect on their progress.

## 9. Conclusions

The outcomes and impacts achieved by Oxfam's CCC were the result of a holistic campaign approach, blending research, alliances, popular mobilisation, media, and lobbying. Although some parts of the campaign were credited with contributing more to campaign goals, the integration of cross-functional activities was at the heart of the campaign's achievements. For instance, Oxfam's research raised the organization's credibility as experts on climate change, which opened doors for lobbying, building alliances and media attention. Oxfam used mobilisation and alliances to engage the public, bringing excitement and colour to the campaign, which helped generate media coverage and demonstrate to politicians that the will of the people were behind them. Behind all of this, power analysis gave campaign staff an understanding on how change could happen and where to focus efforts, while the CC impact chain provided a bird's eye view on how all these elements fit together. It was the package of activities, grouped by Oxfam's generic model, and underpinned by quality staff, that brought the campaign success.

### Contribution to policy change

Oxfam did not achieve a fair and safe deal at COP15 in Copenhagen, although they made many important contributions in the lead up to the event. In general, Oxfam GB's CCC has contributed more to the climate change policies of Southern rather than Northern governments, though it has contributed to political debates, agendas, policies and legislation at all levels. Respondents agreed that Oxfam had made an impact on politics and policy, raising the relevance of human impacts and adaptation financing. There were a few cases of influencing debates on additionality and mitigation, though few mentions of influencing the issue of historic responsibility.

### Research

Over the last two years, the number of climate change publications has increased dramatically, with many being released to coincide with COP15. Oxfam's research papers have a small target audience, but those who know Oxfam's research generally hold it in high regard. The strongest paper, in terms of influencing policy, was the paper "*Adapting to climate change: what's needed in poor countries and who should pay*", credited with shaping the debate on climate financing. Across the board, this was the most talked about, most cited Oxfam publication, probably the one that exerted the largest influence on policy change. Some informants also expressed criticism of Oxfam's publications, including the charge that they are too Northern-based and too focused on drawing news headlines.

### Lobbying/Advocacy

Oxfam's lobbying capacity has continually improved throughout the campaign. They have significantly expanded the breadth and depth of their political contacts, with a growth in the types of relations required to achieve their policy objectives. Informants believed policymakers considered Oxfam to be a realistic and pragmatic organization, possibly due to their grounding in developing countries and the quality of their research. In general, there is wide agreement that the CCC has supported many progressive forces, and has achieved considerable success in this regard. Although there are a few examples of obstructionist tactics, such as the E-ON campaign, few informants were able to give examples of negative campaigning.

### Popular mobilisation

Oxfam has engaged public audiences during its campaign, and there is strong empirical evidence of their impact. Oxfam has attained a niche role as the number one nonenvironmental organization associated with climate change, as indicated by a study of UK charity givers, online searches and our media analysis. In the UK, Oxfam is the most frequently cited organization in association with news stories discussing climate change and poverty. Across all campaigns, Oxfam's public mobilisation work was conducted through coalitions, often targeting partners' constituencies. There were a range of views on Oxfam's stunts, and overall, the feedback was highly positive. The climate hearings were singled out as an innovative campaign tool, giving people vulnerable to climate change a platform to voice their concerns and potentially influence local, national, and global decisions.

### Media

Informants were largely impressed by Oxfam's media impact, in terms of the volume of coverage. Oxfam's media hits at COP15 were roughly double those at COP14. In the UK, Oxfam is on a par with what is probably a low estimate of the WWF's impact and below that of Greenpeace. At UNFCCC, Oxfam's media capacity and service to journalists were considered comparable to that offered by Greenpeace and WWF, and they are said to offer journalists a well-rounded package: a nice story, a credible organization, good and quick analysis, an opinion on the human dimension and a nice photo. The synergies between public stunts and media relations were considered a valuable part of Oxfam's media capacity, with the content of many news stories covering stunts.

### Alliances/Networks

During the CCC, Oxfam played a key role in facilitating, funding, and supporting the formation of various coalitions working on climate change. Partners had a high regard for Oxfam, who often underplayed their own branding in support of the coalitions' identities. Overall, survey respondents believed that Oxfam had given more than it received in partnerships, with external informants tending to overestimate benefits to partners, and Oxfam staff to underestimate their contributions. Partners benefited from Oxfam's credibility, financial expertise, development knowledge, campaigning support and a pleasant working relationship. Oxfam gained partners' expert and local knowledge, support for implementing activities, credibility (especially in the South), capacity, and the ability to express views they would otherwise not necessarily say. In some cases, Oxfam may have drawn more policy information from partners than they were sharing, and they may have used partners' networks more than their own. Oxfam's work with the private sector resulted in the heads of well-established UK-based companies joining Oxfam in direct lobbying of the UK Prime Minister. Likewise, Oxfam played an active role with the corporate leaders group and contributed to their joint policy position.

### Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning (MEL)

Although Oxfam GB has the capacity to plan, implement and benefit from strong MEL processes, these practices are not used consistently across the CCC, due to variations in the availability of data, costs, staff capacity to monitor their work, the complexity of measuring social impacts, and the priority given such processes by different managers. The UK team's approach to MEL is considered the gold standard within the CCC. They regularly record activities, outputs, and outcomes in an Internet database. Then, with access to high quality marketing, media and other data sources, they conduct monthly meetings to reflect on their work, performance, outputs and outcomes. The other campaigns face more barriers to achieve this level of MEL, due to the high costs and complexity of obtaining quality data on a global scale, limited resources at country level, and the general challenge of assessing political impacts.

## 10. Recommendations

During this evaluation, while COP15 played out, the CCC's social and political context has shifted radically. Many interviewees felt that the future of the planet hinged on the outcome of COP15, and without knowing the outcome, it was not possible to offer concrete recommendations for the campaign. While this evaluation was being finalized, Oxfam staff were in the process of analysing the outcomes of COP15, and assessing the CCC's current and future operating context. It is impossible to make concrete recommendations without fully knowing the context in which they will be applied. Consequently, this section contains general principles, which need to be considered in consort with sound analysis of CCC's social and policy contexts.

### **Broad power analysis**

We propose that Oxfam strengthen its power analysis capacity in a way that draws on technical policy expertise across its network. Power analysis forms the backbone of Oxfam's campaigns and it is only as strong as the people who contribute to it. Given its importance, mistakes in analysis may have huge consequences on the ground. Additionally, the policy playing field is rapidly changing and any changes that are not detected or fully understood ahead of time may result in missed opportunities or potentially damaging implications. The better Oxfam's capacity to predict the direction that policy is going, the better their capacity to influence it. During the evaluation, some Oxfam staff in headquarters noted that input from Southern countries, which could strengthen the power analysis, was insufficient. Equally, some staff from Southern countries felt left out of the policy analysis process. By including analysis from across Oxfam's network, a variety of views can be integrated to paint a fuller picture of the power dynamics at play.

### **Integrated transnational policy approach**

Oxfam should strengthen and integrate the work of CCC staff working towards policy change across a range of countries and regions. There was concern that Oxfam was too focused on specific policy change and not enough on the broader political context that can bring about change. One way to influence politics is to design regional campaign strategies integrating all relevant Oxfam offices, such as a European strategy and an African strategy, and perhaps even transnational strategies around negotiating/ political blocs such as a transnational BASIC strategy.

### **Matching national resource allocations to potential impact**

Some felt that the global distribution of national CCCs did not fully reflect a broad strategic vision. Oxfam needs to consider how national campaigns can influence global policy objectives, ideally in a way that also addresses national climate change priorities. On the basis of this, Oxfam should consider the allocation of resources in a way that can help move nations, actors, and negotiating blocs which are most likely to bring about a fair and safe global climate change deal. When making these decisions, Oxfam should reflect on some of our findings. Oxfam appears to be less effective at influencing powerful actors, and more effective at influencing weaker actors. There are some exceptions, such as countries vulnerable to the effects of climate change, which may be low in political or economic power, but with strong 'moral' power and powerful voice in the UNFCCC process. In addition, there is a need to balance the broader strategic vision with national priorities.

### **Aim all activities at impact**

Oxfam GB need to think through the potential impact on audiences exposed to their various activities, for example considering the impression made on observers by a particular news story, stunt, public event, flyer, research paper, lobby meeting, or placard. In some cases, activities have clear links to change goals. From lobbying, for example, the change can be read in policy papers, or heard in politicians' speeches. However, for the majority of campaign undertakings, the links between activities and the end goal are not so easy to link. Even social scientists and seasoned activists disagree on the complex interplay of influence between public, media, and policy agendas. For each activity, staff need to ask themselves: "What will the impact be on people exposed to this?" and "How will this convey the campaign's core message?" If staff do not believe a particular activity will contribute an impact, they need to go back to the drawing board.

### Building on a solid financing reputation

During Oxfam's CCC, they have built a solid reputation around adaptation financing. There are two areas where Oxfam could extend their established financing reputation: First, Oxfam needs to focus nationally on setting up and managing disbursement mechanisms that will be employed to distribute adaptation financing, such as in the case of Bangladesh. Second, given the gains made on fast-track financing at COP15, some informants recommended that Oxfam focus their lobby efforts on fast-track financing, playing a "watchdog" role in implementing commitments. At the same time, Oxfam needs to keep their eye on additionality throughout this process.

### MEL Recommendations

To overcome the uneven distribution of MEL capacity and practice across Oxfam GB's CCC, we suggest campaign staff identify a way to systematically record campaign activities, outcomes and impacts in a quick and simple way. The UK campaign's MEL system can serve as a template to be adapted, drawing on the principles of developmental evaluation, and tailored to global and national contexts. We recognize that many aspects of the UK CCC team's MEL system would not scale, and that they have access to information that is unavailable or prohibitively expensive in many other contexts. However, there are a few general principles that could scale, such as: using a developmental evaluation approach; constantly bringing evaluative thought into campaigning ( "*What?*" "*So what?*" And "*then what?*" ); using an online system to collect brief campaign information from staff; keeping the workload requirements low; and integrating relevant third party data where available.

### Long-term planning and commitments

Many people considered that Oxfam's intention to change global policy in just two years was not realistic. Oxfam should take a long-term planning approach, and plan their exit strategy in advance. This means consulting with staff and partners who could be left stranded if Oxfam were to exit prematurely, and considering the consequences of leaving the global CCC if Oxfam were to shift priorities too early. It also means providing a long lead-time to engage policymakers far in advance of policy events, and ensuring campaigns can secure longer-term funding throughout the campaign period. A good example of this is Bangladesh, where CSRL efforts would be enhanced by securing longterm funding from Oxfam and other donors.

There are few organizations with the ability to engage global networks and coordinate global action on climate change. If Oxfam backs away, civil society may lose many of the gains made so far. Many informants felt that Oxfam needs to stay focused on climate change. Some could not think of any specific recommendations for improving the CCC, and just recommended that Oxfam should continue what they are doing, because it is making a difference.



*Women from Nasapir village who have gathered to plant tree seedlings, raise their hands to show they are willing to put in the effort to ensuring the saplings would grow. Oxfam is encouraging villagers to replant their forests. It has provided more than a thousand saplings to women to plant in Nasapir village. Africa contributes less than 4% to the world's carbon emissions, but is the continent hardest-hit by the negative impacts of climate change.*

*Photo credit: Caroline Gluck/Oxfam*

### 11.1. Searching UNFCCC publications

To assess contributions to UNFCCC processes, a systematic search was undertaken on UNFCCC documents. Two UNFCCC sources were searched. The first source was the UNFCCC library that lists reference material relevant to the process <[http://unfccc.int/essential\\_background/library/items/3598.php](http://unfccc.int/essential_background/library/items/3598.php)>. Official records in UNFCCC's searchable library shows that Oxfam's contributions to the UNFCCC process are relatively new, with three records dating back to 2008. This is in contrast to Greenpeace whose earliest record dates to 1990 and WWF whose earliest record dates back to 1992. Despite being a newcomer to the process, there is evidence that Oxfam has made a significant contribution to the UNFCCC process as indicated by a number of citations in official UNFCCC publications.

The second source were official UNFCCC publications of which 45 official documents were downloaded and searched

Organization	Cited in UNFCCC library	References in 45 UNFCCC Publications
Greenpeace	21	0
WWF	16	5
Oxfam	3	6

<[http://unfccc.int/essential\\_background/background\\_publications\\_htmlpdf/items/2625.php](http://unfccc.int/essential_background/background_publications_htmlpdf/items/2625.php)> . To provide perspective, we searched for Oxfam, Greenpeace, and WWF. In a short period of time, Oxfam has been listed in six official UNFCCC publications, which is larger than WWF and Greenpeace which has not been listed. The high number of citations is primarily attributed to the Oxfam's publication "*Adapting to climate change: what's needed in poor countries and who should pay*" which was cited in four publications. Two additional references were due to participation in The Nairobi Work Programme and one for the 2006 publication "*Causing Hunger: An Overview of the Food Crisis in Africa*".

#### UNFCCC publications with references to Oxfam

Title	Year	Citations Used	Citations
Investment and financial flows to address climate change	2007	Raworth, K. 2007. Adapting to climate change: what's needed in poor countries and who should pay. Oxfam International. Available at: < <a href="http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/bp104_climate_change_0705.pdf/download">http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/bp104_climate_change_0705.pdf/download</a> >.	2
Climate change: impacts, vulnerability and adaptation in developing countries	2007	Oxfam International. 2007. Adapting to Climate Change: What's Needed in Poor Countries, and Who Should Pay. Oxfam Briefing Paper 104. Oxfam International Secretariat. Oxford, UK. 47 pp.  Oxfam. 2006. Causing Hunger: An Overview of the Food Crisis in Africa. Briefing Paper. 39 pp. < <a href="http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/briefingpapers/bp91_africa_food_crisis">http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/briefingpapers/bp91_africa_food_crisis</a> >	4
Update on the implementation of the Nairobi work programme	2007	Reference to Oxfam participation	1
The Nairobi Work Programme, the second phase	2008	Reference to Oxfam participation	1
UNFCCC Publication - LDC Support needed to fully implement NAPAs	2009	Oxfam (2007). Adapting to Climate Change: What's Needed in Poor Countries, and Who Should Pay. Oxfam Briefing Paper 104. p. 47.	3
Investment and financial flows to address climate change--an update	2009	Raworth, K. 2007. Adapting to climate change: what's needed in poor countries and who should pay. Oxfam International. Available at: < <a href="http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/bp104_climate_change_0705.pdf/download">http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/bp104_climate_change_0705.pdf/download</a> >.	2

# 11. Appendices

## 11.2. Online references to Oxfam's CC research

All Oxfam publications on climate change were assessed through a web impact analysis. Using the LexiURL searcher (Thelwall, <http://lexiurl.wlv.ac.uk>), we used the Yahoo API to query links to pages with reference to Oxfam publications. The publication names below were used with quotes, when searching, however the name Oxfam was added to searches ensuring more accurate results. For example, each search looked like this: ("Africa – Up in Smoke?" Oxfam). This was a quick, rather than a methodologically deep assessment, which means that we only verified the results were reasonably accurate, as opposed to assessing each publication, which would have been methodologically more robust, but far outside the scope of this evaluation. A higher reliability study would have been possible, but would have been far outside the scope of this evaluation.

Bold publications titles, are the publications that staff felt had the most impact. The date, is the publication date. URLs lists the number of URLs linking to a page which contained a reference to an Oxfam publication. Sites list the number of websites linking to a page, with a reference to an Oxfam publication.

When interpreting the results, please note that we did not make an accuracy assessment, meaning some results may be incorrect. We only double checked a few of the publications that were frequently mentioned. Also, publications with long or complex names are less likely to have been picked up, while short and simple names are more likely to be picked up. We also advise readers to use the sites count as opposed to the URLs, as it is a more reliable number, given that some websites may contain many URL links to a publication.

Publication	Date	URLs	Sites
Africa – Up in Smoke?	Jun-2005	305	245
<b>Adapting to climate change: What's needed in poor countries and who should pay</b>	May-2007	182	145
Africa Up in Smoke 2	Oct-2006	121	99
<b>Another Inconvenient Truth: How biofuel policies are deepening poverty and accelerating climate change</b>	Jun-2008	99	74
<b>Climate Alarm: Disasters increase as climate change bites</b>	Nov-2007	101	72
Weathering the Storm: Lessons in Risk Reduction from Cuba	Apr-2004	99	71
Climate Change and Gender Justice	Nov-2009	90	61
Fair Miles: Recharting the food miles map	Dec-2009	89	61
<b>Climate Wrongs and Human Rights: Putting people at the heart of climate-change policy</b>	Sep-2008	86	60
<b>Turning up the heat: climate change and poverty in Uganda</b>	Jul-2008	84	60
Survival of the fittest: Pastoralism and climate change in East Africa	Aug-2008	71	53
Haiti: A Gathering Storm	Nov-2009	75	51
<b>Financing adaptation: Why the UN's Bali climate conference must mandate the search for new funds</b>	Dec-2007	62	50
<b>Up in Smoke? Threats from and responses to the impact of global warming on human development</b>	Oct-2004	59	48
Asia - Up in smoke	Nov-2007	57	44
<b>Beyond Aid: Ensuring adaptation to climate change works for the poor</b>	Sep-2009	69	44
Even the Himalayas Have Stopped Smiling: Climate change poverty and adaptation in Nepal	Aug-2009	57	41

Publication	Date	URLs	Sites
The Right to Survive: The humanitarian challenge in the twenty-first century	Apr-2009	48	28
Viet Nam: Climate Change, Adaptation and Poor People	Nov-2008	39	27
The Right to Survive in a Changing Climate	Apr-2009	33	23
Turning Carbon into Gold – How the international community can finance climate change adaptation without breaking the bank	Dec-2008	37	23
Climate Shame: Get back to the table: Initial analysis of the Copenhagen climate talks	Dec-2009	39	22
Climate Change Development and Energy Problems in South Africa: Another World is Possible	Feb-2009	32	21
Drought management considerations for climate change adaptation: Focus on the Mekong region	Oct-2007	28	19
The forecast for tomorrow: the UK's climate for change	Oct-2008	24	18
Climate Change Poverty and Environmental Crisis in the Disaster Prone Areas of Pakistan	Nov-2009	28	16
Now or Never Climate change: time to get down to business	Sep-2009	27	16
Two degrees one chance: The urgent need to curb global warming	Jun-2007	20	16
<b>Coping with climate change: what works for women?</b>	Jul-2008	23	15
People-Centred Resilience: Working with vulnerable farmers towards climate change adaptation and food security	Nov-2009	24	14
Russia and Neighbouring Countries Environmental Economic and Social Impacts of Climate Change	Jul-2008	18	12
Assessing the Alternatives: Financing climate change mitigation and adaptation in developing countries	May-2009	15	11
Global Sectoral Industry Approaches to Climate Change: Helping or harming?	May-2009	19	11
<b>Hang Together or Separately? How global co-operation is key to a fair and adequate climate deal at Copenhagen</b>	Jun-2009	17	11
A Just and Global Green New Deal	Mar-2009	10	7
Climate Change Adaptation: Enabling people living in poverty to adapt	Nov-2009	13	7
Tackling climate change reducing poverty: The first report of the Roundtable on Climate Change and Poverty in the UK	Jan-2009	11	7
EU Leadership or Losership? Time to beat the impasse on climate talks	May-2009	9	6
4-a-week: Changing food consumption in the UK to benefit people and planet	Mar-2009	7	5
Glacier melt – why it matters for poor people	Jan-2004	7	5
Oxfam Analysis of the Bali Conference Outcomes	Dec-2007	9	5
Climate Poverty and Justice: What the Poznan UN climate conference needs to deliver for a fair and effective global deal	Dec-2008	7	4
Sectoral Solutions or Carbon Cartels: Will global industry proposals result in a fair and safe climate deal?	May-2009	10	4
Suffering the Science: Climate change, poverty, and people	Jul-2009	6	4

# 11. Appendices

Publication	Date	URLs	Sites
A Challenging Climate for Oxfam	Oct-2003	4	3
<b>Climate change: The Implications for Oxfam's Programme Policies and Advocacy</b>	Oct-2000	4	3
Drought Management Considerations for Climate Change Adaptation Focus on the Mekong Region: Cambodia, Svay Rieng province	Oct-2008	5	3
Forecasting numbers of people affected annually by natural disasters up to 2015	Apr-2009	8	3
Latin America Up in Smoke	Sep-2006	4	3
Response of Oxfam GB to the Consultation on the Renewable Transport Fuel Obligation	May-2007	4	3
<b>What Happened to the Seasons? Changing seasonality may be one of the major impacts of climate change</b>	Oct-2009	6	3
<b>Background research paper on the predicted climate change impacts of greatest relevance to Oxfam</b>	May-2006	2	1
Jasmine Rice in the Weeping Plain: Adapting Rice Farming to Climate Change in Northern Thailand	Nov-2009	2	1
<b>Oxfam submission to the Stern report: Turkana and climate change</b>	Nov-2006	1	1
<b>Weather Alert! Evidence of a hidden crisis for the world's poor</b>	Sep-1983	2	1
World's poorest will be hardest hit by climate change	Apr-2007	2	1

## 11.3. UK print media trends

UK print media data was extracted from the Nexis-Lexis database. An initial assessment was made to verify that each time series was related to the key words used in the search engine. There are differences between the number of records retrieved and the number of data points in each time-series. The final figures are as follows: The search ("climate change" AND oxfam) produced 865 results of which 864 were extracted. The search ("climate change" AND "world wildlife fund") produced 876 results of which 868 were extracted. The search ("climate change" AND greenpeace) produced 3,385 results of which 3,345 were extracted. The search ("climate change" with "poverty" in the same sentence) produced 1,783 results of which 1,781 were extracted.

To assess whether or not Oxfam's media work was associated with the appearance of climate change and poverty in the media, we undertook two tests. First, we compared when ("climate change" AND poverty) appeared in news articles, and also assessed how often Oxfam, Greenpeace, and WWF appeared in association. This produced the following trends: Oxfam (119), Greenpeace (47), and WWF (10). These results show that Oxfam is associated with climate change and poverty more frequently than their partner organizations. We additionally ran a multiple regression with the time-series of each organization, which showed that Oxfam's media attention is statistically far more associated with the appearance of climate change and poverty than their two partner organizations.

## 11.4. Total CCC actions by Oxfam affiliates (2009)

The following table presents the total offline and digital actions conducted across a number of Oxfam offices. These figures were recorded on 8 February 2010 and it is known that they are incomplete. One Oxfam staff member estimated that if reporting were complete, there could have been 2 million actions in 2009.

Oxfam office	Offline	Digital
Great Britain - UK	105,000	30,000
Oxfam America	43,477	50,926
Oxfam Australia	7,525	10,266
Oxfam Canada	24,000	2,340
Oxfam Germany		4,485
Oxfam Hong Kong	2,500	2,500
Oxfam Intermon		71,270
Oxfam International	1,203,676	2,247
Oxfam Ireland	1,500	11,425
Oxfam New Zealand	8,024	4,184
Oxfam Quebec	66,821	5,299
Oxfam-Solidarite	9,856	6,112
Phillipines	8,000	10,000
	<b>1,480,379</b>	<b>211,054</b>

**Total: 1,691,433**



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